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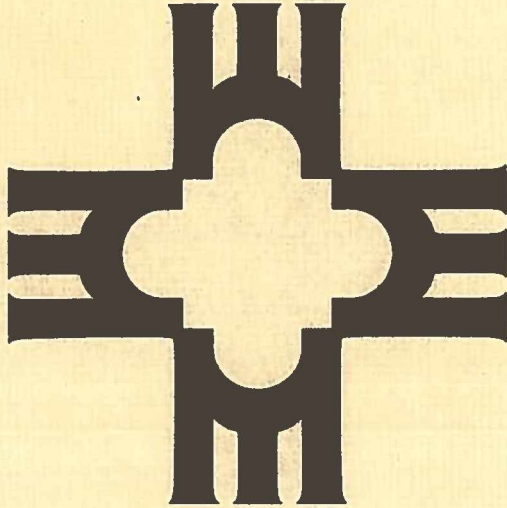


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# The Route of the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition 1776-77



Edited by  
David E. Miller

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THE ROUTE OF  
THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE EXPEDITION, 1776-77

A REPORT OF TRAIL RESEARCH CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF  
THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE STATE/FEDERAL BICENTENNIAL COMMITTEE

AND  
THE FOUR CORNERS REGIONAL COMMISSION

EDITED BY  
DAVID E. MILLER

1976

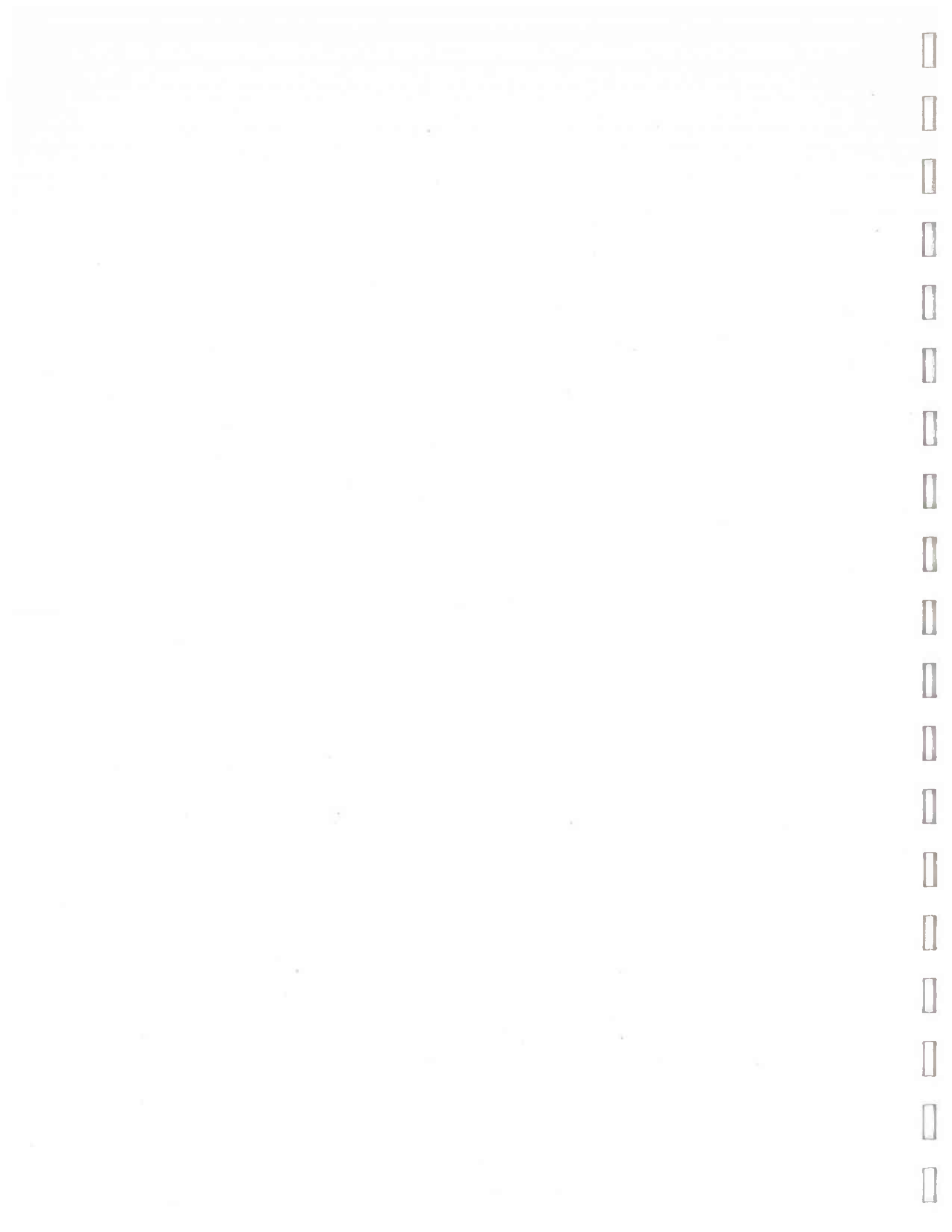


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## PREFACE

In July 1776, while George Washington was attempting to prevent superior British forces from capturing New York City, two Catholic Fathers-- Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante--set out from Santa Fe, New Mexico, at the head of a ten-man missionary exploring party bound for California. Before completing its work, that expedition had accomplished one of the most remarkable explorations in the history of the United States. It had penetrated deeply into the vast, as yet unknown, interior region of the great American West.

The padres intended to follow a fairly well known trail **northwestward** from Santa Fe into present-day western Colorado before swinging to the west. Such a route would avoid the deep canyons of the Colorado River and hopefully bring the expedition into contact with new Indian tribes--likely subjects for conversion to the Christian faith. Thus, the two major objectives of the expedition would be achieved: (1) to open a line of communication between the New Mexico settlements and Monterey, newly established capital of California; (2) to take Christianity to the natives with the expectation of laying the groundwork for establishing missions among them.

As it turned out, neither objective was achieved. Although numerous friendly Indians were encountered during the five-month trek, not one was baptized (various brief contacts did not allow sufficient time for true conversion), and no mission was established among them. From a point in present southern Utah, far short of its Monterey goal, the company was forced to turn back to Santa Fe.

However, in spite of its failure to achieve intended goals, the small group conducted the earliest known European exploration of parts of the present states of Colorado, Utah, and Arizona. (The New Mexico areas traversed had already been explored and most of the region colonized.) The daily journal kept by Father Escalante constitutes the earliest written description of **most of the area covered, including Indian tribes encountered, flora, fauna, mountains, rivers, and lakes.** The map prepared by Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, the expedition's cartographer, is a remarkable piece of work--the first to show many significant physical features in addition to marking each campsite of the company. Even some of the mistakes carried on the map were destined to have considerable influence on the future **history and later exploration and settlement of the West.**

Because of the historical importance of this expedition, plus the fact that it was conducted during the latter half of 1776, the four states of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona formed the Dominguez-Escalante State/Federal Bicentennial Committee to plan for and direct a program that would properly commemorate that famous exploration as part of the national Bicentennial

celebration. Major aspects of the program developed by the four-state committee called for: (1) a new translation of the Escalante journal (subsequently done by Fray Angelico Chavez) with a **bilingual** Spanish-English publication of that journal; (2) a thorough **reenactment of the** route followed by the 1776 expedition; (3) suggesting appropriate trail markers with interpretive signs and displays.

The present report deals only with the trail research portion of the larger program.

The Editor

THE ROUTE OF  
THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE EXPEDITION, 1776-77

INTRODUCTION

- Three different translations of the Escalante Journal have been published in Utah during the first half of the twentieth century.
- (1) W. R. Harris, The Catholic Church in Utah (Salt Lake City: Inter-mountain Catholic Press, 1909)
  - (2) Herbert S. Auerbach, "Father Escalante's Route" and "Father Escalante's Itinerary" (Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. 9, 1941), "Father Escalante's Journal" (Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. 11, 1943)
  - (3) Herbert E. Bolton, "Pageant In the Wilderness" (Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. 18, 1950.)

All three of these publications provide guides and maps purporting to define the route taken by that Spanish party, and all three disagree **regarding** many important portions of the trail. All have major shortcomings due to insufficient, thorough, on-the-ground field work by competent researchers. Dr. Bolton's work, researched personally by him during the 1920's, contains by far the most nearly accurate trail guide. Yet his published report leaves some important portions of the trail completely or virtually untouched. One good example of such an omission is that segment of the route lying between present Lee's Ferry and the confluence of Navajo and Kaibito creeks. That area was just too remote and inaccessible for Bolton or either of the other authors. Serious questions have also arisen regarding some trail interpretations dealing with areas actually covered in the field by the three authors.

Since the 1950 publication of "Pageant In the Wilderness" other interested scholars have made rather detailed studies of special segments of the Dominguez-Escalante trail. In the early 1950's Dr. C. Gregory Crampton conducted a careful, on-the-ground examination of that portion of it lying between the main forks of Douglas Creek, south of Rangely, Colorado, and the Green River ford north of Jensen, Utah. Dr. S. Lyman Tyler and I accompanied Dr. Crampton in this field research. His report was published under the title, "Discovery of Green River" in the Utah Historical Quarterly, October 1952.

A few years later I led several **expeditions to trace the padres' route** through lower Glen Canyon--from Lee's Ferry to the Crossing of the Fathers. Results of that work were also published in Utah Historical Quarterly, July 1958: "Discovery of Glen Canyon, 1776". Several other scholars examined segments of the route from time to time, finding that important mistakes had been made by earlier writers and that some portions of the route had not actually been researched at the ground level.

As a result of all this, when plans unfolded for a four-state commemoration of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition as part of America's Bicentennial celebration, the decision was made to conduct a thorough reexamination of the trail. Subsequently the Utah Department of Development Services, Division of State History, entered into a contract with the Four Corners Regional Commission to undertake that reexamination. I was employed by the Utah Division of State History to direct and supervise the actual research and to submit a detailed report, including appropriate maps, photographs, and any other documentary material found relevant. This work was to be completed by the end of October 1975.

In order to facilitate the work and make it physically possible of completion, I divided the Dominguez-Escalante route into ten segments and appointed the most competent researchers available to conduct and direct the actual examination of each portion. Each researcher was required to pick a competent associate to accompany him and assist with the interpretation of the Escalante journal and identification of the route. Each research team was required to supply: (1) a detailed map of the route showing each campsite of the 1776 expedition; (2) a detailed description of the terrain covered and a logical justification for the identification of route and campsites; (3) a report of research methods used by that team for each day of the Escalante journal covered. In addition each team was required to supply high quality black and white photographs (and the negatives) and 35 mm colored slides of significant physical features currently found along the route.

The ten segments of the trail are:

- (1) From Santa Fe to the Colorado-New Mexico boundary  
Researcher: Dr. W. Alan Minge  
Associate: Dr. Robert Archibald
- (2) From the Colorado-New Mexico boundary to Montrose, Colorado  
Researcher: Dr. Robert W. Delaney  
Associate: Robert McDaniel
- (3) From Montrose to the head of East Fork, Douglas Creek  
Researcher: Dr. Floyd A. O'Neil  
Associate: Gregory C. Thompson
- (4) From head of Douglas Creek to the Green River  
Researcher: G. Clell Jacobs  
Since C. Gregory Crampton, S. Lyman Tyler, and I had conducted an on-the-ground study of this segment during the early 1950's, another detailed examination was at first not considered necessary. However, the decision was finally made to appoint Mr. Jacobs to supply a map and report of this area.)
- (5) From the Green River to Utah Lake  
Researcher: Msgr. Jerome Stoffel  
Associate: George E. Stewart
- (6) From Utah Lake to the Utah-Arizona boundary  
Researcher: Dr. Ted. J. Warner  
Associate: Dr. Thomas G. Alexander

- (7) The Arizona Strip: From the Utah-Arizona boundary to Lee's Ferry  
Researcher: W. L. Rusho  
Associate: Dr. C. Gregory Crampton
- (8) From Lee's Ferry to Crossing of the Fathers  
Researchers: Dr. David E. Miller, to report the work conducted as part of the "Archeological Salvage Project" prior to the building of Glen Canyon Dam, and W. L. Rusho, to report the work he and Dr. C. Gregory Crampton completed in identifying the trail from Lee's Ferry to present Wahweap Marina.
- (9) From the Crossing of the Fathers to Zuni Pueblo  
Researcher: W. L. Rusho  
Associate: Dr. C. Gregory Crampton
- (10) From Zuni Pueblo to Santa Fe  
Researcher: W. L. Rusho  
Associate: Dr. C. Gregory Crampton

Numerous other scholars assisted with various parts of the research, as the individual reports indicate. Also there was considerable overlapping and correlation among the various teams.

John W. Headly was engaged to prepare a general map of the trail and some detailed maps of crucial points along it. This map shows the location and date of every campsite.

In determining how best to present the trails research, I decided to prepare a brief description of the route from Santa Fe and return. This report explains each day's progress of the 1776 expedition; it is drawn from the detailed reports of the research teams and my personal on-the-ground examination of most of the trail. My report is divided into the ten segments listed above and is accompanied by the reports of the various research teams. It should therefore be obvious to the reader that this is by far the most detailed and thorough examination of the Dominguez-Escalante trail ever undertaken. It is expected to be the definitive study, although some people are almost certain to disagree with portions of it. Maps and photographs prepared by the various research teams are housed at the Utah State Historical Society for use by researchers.

Unless otherwise indicated, all journal quotations found in the various reports are from the 1975 Fray Angelico Chavez translation of the Escalante journal.

David E. Miller  
October 16, 1975

# THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE EXPEDITION, 1776

## GENERAL ROUTE

David E. Miller

SEGMENT I: From Santa Fe to the New Mexico-Colorado Boundary.

Researcher W. Alan Minge and Associate Robert Archibald conducted the basic research on this segment of the trail. Walter W. Briggs, W. L. Rusho and David E. Miller also participated at various times on parts of the route. The Minge report and contributions of others is found in RESEARCH REPORT A.

From Santa Fe to Abiquiu the ten men followed a well-beaten track. At least some members of the party had been that way before, and Escalante found no need to describe the route in any detail. The trail led northward from the Santa Fe Plaza, over juniper-covered hills as far as the Rio Tesuque, which is more often than not a dry wash. Travel was easy along the south bank, past the Pueblo of Tesuque to the Rio Pojoaque which joins the Rio Grande near the Black Mesa just north of San Ildefonso Pueblo. Here the party forded the Rio Grande and continued up its west bank to the Santa Clara Pueblo where they spent the first night, July 29, of what was eventually to be a five-month trek.

Nine leagues of travel on July 30 took the party northward along the west bank of the Rio Grande, through the present sprawling town of Espanola (which was not founded until the nineteenth century) to the confluence of the Rio Chama and the Rio Grande. Following the south bank of the Chama (paralleling New Mexico State Highway 84) the company arrived at Santa Rosa de Abiquiu, the ancestor of the modern village of Abiquiu, which overlooks the Chama River and valley from its perch high upon the south bank. The Dominguez-Escalante expedition remained here two nights. Abiquiu was on the northern New Mexico frontier. It was the last Spanish settlement the padres would see until their return to "civilization" some months later.

August 1 found the expedition striking into territory unknown to any of them save Andres Muniz, guide and interpreter, who had accompanied Rivera on an earlier Spanish exploration into the interior as far as the Uncompahgre River, in present Colorado. However, the guide's knowledge of the trail and the terrain through which they passed would soon prove to be quite inadequate.

From Abiquiu the trail continued northwestward up the valley of the Chama as far as the confluence of the Rio Canjilon. Near that point the trail left the Chama to follow the Canjilon, called by Escalante the Arroyo Seco. Present Highway 84 parallels the route through this area. Along the Canjilon the trail was tortuous and slow. The padres followed it to a point where a smaller but currently named "Arroyo Seco" enters it from the right, and there they made camp for the night.



On August 2 the party continued up the Canjilon past the modern town of Canjilon before turning west by northwest into the valley of Rio Cebolla, crossing that stream somewhat east of present Highway 84. After crossing the Cebolla the trail continued northwestward into the drainage of Rio Nutrias where the party camped for the night at the site of the present town of the same name.

From Nutrias the trail takes a west by northwest course for some ten miles to again arrive at Rio Chama about a mile south of La Puente. It follows the east bank upstream to cross the river via a good ford at or near the site of the present town. From the river ford the trail strikes to the northwest along a juniper-covered ridge in clear view of the three mesas mentioned in Escalante's diary. Heron Lake currently covers part of the trail. Between the northernmost of the three mesas and a hill lying immediately in front of it is a narrow pass through which the trail leads. The party camped at the foot of the mesa before entering the pass. The date was August 3.

The following day the expedition rounded the northernmost of the three mesas, past Sawmill and Tecolote mesas and through the narrow pass to Laguna de Olivares (now called Horse Lake) located inside the Jicarilla Apache Reservation. From Horse Lake the route followed by the padres probably struck nearly due north to the present old mining town of Monero. An old trail is clearly visible there today. From Monero a now abandoned Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad grade parallels the trail through Lumberton and Dulce to reach the Navajo River by way of Amargo Creek.

The trail followed the right bank of the Navajo westward for a short distance to a point where that stream turns sharply to the north. At that point the padres crossed the river and continued in a southwesterly direction for about a mile, west a couple of miles, and then lost the trail completely and wandered northwestward through that rugged area seven or eight miles. Fortunately, they finally came to a high point from which they could see the distant channel of the San Juan River, which they mistakenly thought to be the Navajo. After working their way down a steep slope they reached the stream, crossed it at a good ford, and camped on the north bank of the San Juan near the present site of Carracas.

That part of the Jicarilla Apache Reservation is criss-crossed with numerous unimproved roads and trails which seem to lead nowhere. Because of the difficult terrain and the vagueness of Escalante's descriptions, it is well nigh impossible to plot the route with any degree of certainty. However, by using descriptions and listed distances for succeeding days, the Carracas site seems to be about the point where the padres crossed the San Juan River into the present state of Colorado. They had evidently reached that site by way of a tributary of Carracas Canyon.



SEGMENT 2: From the New Mexico-Colorado Boundary to Montrose, Colorado.

Researcher Robert W. Delaney and Associate Robert McDaniel conducted the basic research on this segment. The Delaney-McDaniel report is found in RESEARCH REPORT B.

The August 5 campsite is generally agreed to have been on the north bank of the San Juan River at or near Carracas, a deserted station on the abandoned D.&R.G.W. Railroad line. The camp was barely inside the boundary of the present state of Colorado. That same evening Father Escalante rode horseback eastward upstream to the confluence of the San Juan and Navajo rivers and estimated the distance at three leagues from camp, nearly due east "as the crow flies." The actual distance is about six miles. This leads to the suggestion and possibility that the expedition reached the San Juan farther downstream to the west. However, distances and landmarks for the following few days of August tend to measure quite accurately from the Carracas site. Escalante, weary after a long day in the saddle, probably overestimated the distance to the mouth of the Navajo.

A short day's march on August 6 took the company westward through the meadowland along the north bank of the San Juan. The campsite, now covered by the waters of Lake Navajo most of the year, was located about four miles east of Arboles--approximately one mile west of Sandoval Canyon.

On August 7 the expedition left the San Juan Valley, keeping on the slopes to the north. The trail skirted the present site of Arboles and crossed the Piedra River about a mile above its confluence with the San Juan, then passed north of Allison and Tiffany to the Las Pinas River which the company forded just south of present day Ignacio. During the day they caught their first good view of the La Plata Mountains, along the southern edge of which they intended to travel.

After leaving the Las Pinas camp the following day, August 8, the padres continued in a northwesterly direction and forded the Florida River at about the place where Colorado Highway 172 bridges that stream. From the crossing of the Florida the trail continued generally northwestward, (somewhat south of Highway 172) to reach and ford the Animas River. The campsite was almost due west of the junction of U.S. Highways 550 and 160--on the west side of the river--some four miles south of Durango's city limits.

August 9 was a relatively short day's hike. Some of the terrain was difficult. The direction was west-northwest to the La Plata River just south of the present site of Hesperus.

Colorado State Highway 160 parallels the course of the trail most of the way between Hesperus and the East Mancos River. The expedition reached that stream just upstream from its confluence with the West Mancos--the two branches form the Mancos River. The camp was some three miles northeast of the present town of Mancos. The Spanish party remained there two days,

August 10 and 11, because Father Dominguez was ill.

August 12 found the ailing father considerably improved and the journey was resumed. Continuing in a northwesterly direction the company crossed from the Mancos drainage into that of the Dolores. Travel was relatively easy most of the way to the Dolores River where the party arrived near the site of present Dolores. Easy access to the river was found by way of Lost Canyon; camp was pitched on the east bank of the stream. Two days were spent here, allowing expedition personnel to visit and examine an ancient pueblo located on the west bluff opposite their campsite.

After breaking on August 14 the expedition traveled a short distance northward (downstream) before crossing again to the west side to leave the river channel by way of a wide valley. After gaining the high ground that separates the Dolores drainage from that of the Yellow Jacket-McElmo-San Juan, the Spanish party continued in a northwesterly directly, keeping a couple of miles east of present U.S. Highway 160. At a point some five miles southeast of the present town of Cahone the trail entered a "tall and draggy canyon" which led directly to the Dolores River. After fording that stream twice the leaders found good pasturage for a camp in a meadow on the west bank.

Sometime during the afternoon of August 14 the company was "overtaken by an Indo-Caucasian half-breed and an Indian of mixed Plains parentage from Abiquiu." These two men, Filipe and Juan Domingo, had run away from Abiquiu, had followed the expedition's trail, and now wished to join the exploring party. Escalante makes it clear that the runaways were not welcome, but the padres reluctantly agreed to let them continue with the expedition. This raised the number to twelve men.

On August 15 the padres traveled from their Dolores campsite "through a canyon of some ruggedness and rock" for about three-quarters of a mile westward. After again reaching the high ground the trail turned once more to the northwest. During the day the expedition passed slightly east of present Dove Creek and (on August 16) west of Egnar to enter the upper reaches of Summit Canyon. The August 16 camp was located just about on the present Utah-Colorado boundary.

The following day the expedition continued down rugged Summit Canyon to the Dolores River for the third time. After camping on the west bank of the river the night of August 17, the padres were at a loss to know how to proceed. There seemed only one course open--down the bed of the stream, northward. However, the going was difficult and slow and the evening of August 18 found them only one league from the previous campsite. The next day's progress was equally difficult as the company continued downstream two leagues. That night camp was established at a point where Little Gypsum Valley opens on the Dolores. The bed of the river was not passable beyond that point but two trails left the Dolores near the campsite, one by way of Little Gypsum Valley and the other led southwestward into the mountains. A third trail out had earlier been sighted leading to the southeast in what

is now Big Gypsum Valley. Boxed in and confused, the padres decided to cast lots, leaving the decision to God. This was done August 19. The Big Gypsum Valley trail was chosen. Expedition leaders expected this route to lead to the land of the Utes and seemed quite happy with the choice.

As a result of the decision, August 20 found the expedition backtracking upstream along the Dolores (southward) to the Big Gypsum Valley which they followed for several miles before climbing out to the east into Dry Creek Basin. This they crossed with little difficulty and entered the west fork of Dry Creek Canyon where sufficient water for camp was found just south of the present Montrose-San Miguel county line. Continuing down Dry Creek Canyon the following day, the company crossed the south tip of Paradox Valley to reach the San Miguel River a couple of miles downstream (northwest) from Naturita.

After camping on the San Miguel with good pasturage, the expedition climbed out of the river channel to the east, passed through present Nucla, and turned southeast to again reach the San Miguel and camp (August 22) in its meadows a couple of miles upstream from the present electric substation.

Because of the many bends of the San Miguel River, the padres decided to ascend the Uncompahgre Plateau. Their route was generally parallel to Colorado Highway 90. Probably on Cottonwood Creek they encountered a Ute Indian and pitched camp (August 23) in order to allow time to establish friendly relations. The Ute agreed to lead the company to his people and guided them from that point to the Uncompahgre River. The route was by way of upper Horse Fly Creek for a campsite of August 24, thence paralleling that stream for several miles before crossing the crest of Uncompahgre Plateau northwest of Horsefly Peak to reach the Uncompahgre River a half dozen miles southeast of present Montrose (August 26) after spending one additional night (August 25) on the mountain.

SEGMENT 3: From Montrose to the head of Douglas Creek, Colorado.

Researcher Floyd A. O'Neil and Associate Gregory C. Thompson conducted the basic research on this segment of the trail. They were assisted by G. Clell Jacobs and others. The O'Neil-Thompson report is found in RESEARCH REPORT C.

From their August 26 campsite on the Uncompahgre the expedition continued downstream past the present town of Montrose, crossed to the east bank some six miles northwest of La Cienega and continued along the east bank. After an easy march of approximately 15.5 miles the company camped in a meadow approximately two miles north of present Olathe.

Doubtless, the main Indian trail followed the Uncompahgre River downstream. Rivera's 1765 expedition had gone that way as far as the Uncompahgre-Gunnison River confluence. But the Dominguez-Escalante expedition was now being guided by a Sabuaganas Indian (named Atanasio by the padres) who had promised to lead the Spaniards to a main camp of his people, location of which turned out to be high on the Grand Mesa. As a result, the company left the August 27 campsite traveling in a slightly east of north direction, crossed an almost level tableland to reach the south bank of Gunnison River and camp August 28 about a half mile east of present Austin. Two nights were spent at this camp. Meanwhile Andres Muniz and the Indian Atanasio had been sent ahead to seek out the main Subuaganas (Ute) camp.

The following morning the absent men returned in company with five Sabuaganas and one Laguna Indian. The Lagunas (lake dwellers) were another branch of Utes living at present Utah Lake. Since the padres were intending to strike westward toward Monterey, California, they immediately began making offers to this Utah Lake Ute to act as a guide to lead the expedition westward into his own country. Eventually their offers were accepted, and the new guide was given the name Silvestre. His services proved invaluable during the following weeks as he led the company westward to Utah Lake.

Seeking a main camp of the Sabuagana Utes, the company crossed to the north bank of the Gunnison and continued eastward roughly following the route of present Colorado Highway 92. The night of August 30 found them camped near the mouth of Leroux Creek slightly west of present Hotchkiss.

Continuing up the north fork of Gunnison River for several miles, the expedition crossed that stream to the south bank, passed through the present town of Paonia, recrossed the river some two miles beyond, and continued along the north bank to Hubbard Canyon. This stream they followed northward approximately seven miles for the evening camp of August 31. The expedition was now ascending the Grand Mesa in search of the Indian camps. Their efforts were rewarded the following day as they continued up Hubbard Creek into present Hubbard Park where they encountered "eighty Yutas, all on good horses and most of them from the encampment to which we were going." After this meeting the padres continued on to present Cow Creek, followed it eastward for a couple of miles to an excellent campsite at the confluence of Fawn and Cow creeks. This September 1 camp was at an 8,600-foot elevation. Nearby was the long-sought Ute camp of some 30 tents. Father Dominguez and interpreter Muniz went at once into the Indian camp to explain the objectives of the expedition, to preach Christianity to the natives, and to convince them that the purpose of the company was entirely peaceful. The conference lasted until dark, September 1.

Early the next morning the conference continued. The main thrust on the part of the Indians was an attempt to dissuade the Spaniards from continuing westward. But the padres were determined to push forward, and finally were able to convince the Laguna, Silvestre, that he should keep an earlier promise and guide them to his people. Also on September 2 a second Laguna Indian, a boy of eleven years, stepped forward, wishing to accompany the expedition.

His offer was accepted. Given the name of Joaquin, he eventually accompanied the padres all the way back to Santa Fe. (The addition of Silvestre and Joaquin increased the expedition's number to 14.) Meanwhile the Indian camp was breaking up and the Spaniards were happy to get on the move. The trail they followed led westward up Cow Creek, over into Dyke Creek and thence by way of a pass westward from Chimney Rock. They camped on upper West Muddy Creek just inside present Mule Park.

September 3 found the expedition again in motion. After crossing northward to avoid a high elevation--they were already traveling at the 9,800-foot level--the company passed over into Plateau Creek (Escalante's deep arroyo) which they followed downstream to the meadows.

On September 4 the company continued down Plateau Creek past the mouth of Buzzard Creek. About two miles below Colibrán, Plateau Creek was forded to the north bank; they followed it downstream to the approximate site of Fuller Bridge. From that point the expedition left Plateau Creek northward, crossed Hayes Mesa and camped on the upper waters of Jerry Gulch. The following day the trek continued across Battlement Mesa about a half-mile east of Castle Peak, then down Alkali Creek to the plain of the Colorado River. The party camped on the north bank of the Colorado after having forded that stream about a mile and a quarter downstream from the present Una bridge. The date was September 5.

On September 6 Silvestre led the expedition westward to Roan Creek where they arrived about a half mile below the point where Logan Wash enters the Roan. The party then followed Roan Creek upstream past the confluence of Clear Creek to camp at the mouth of Brush Creek. The following morning the party traveled one league westward to the point where Carr Creek joins the Roan. The travelers progressed up Carr Creek for three leagues, then climbed a difficult shale hill northeastward to reach the divide between the drainages of the Colorado and White rivers. The campsite of September 7 was located approximately three quarters of a mile north of the Rio Blanco county line in the northwestern quarter of Section 32.

SEGMENT 4: From the Head of East Fork Douglas Creek to the Green River.

Researcher G. Clell Jacobs completed research on this portion of the trail during the summer of 1975. His report, together with contributions of others, is found in RESEARCH REPORT D.

From the crest of the divide that separates the Colorado and White River drainages, Silvestre had been able to point far ahead to the Uinta Mountains and westward to the Wasatch, beyond which his people lived. The



Cliff Ridge of the Blue Mountain Plateau was also clearly in view and the Indian guide doubtless pointed out the general route westward along the base of that ridge. Ten days later, from the vantage point of "Silvestre's Overlook," the faithful guide would point back to the same ridge on which they were now standing--September 7.

September 8 found the expedition moving down the East Fork of Douglas Creek to camp below the point where Cathedral Creek joins that stream. The following day's march was a long one of some 25 miles. By nightfall the padres had threaded Douglas Creek all the way to its confluence with White River at the site of present Rangely. Camp was set up on the north river bank with good pasturage and plenty of water. During the day the company had passed, and Escalante had made note of, two sets of Indian paintings. As a result he named present Douglas Creek, Canon Pintada--Painted Canyon.

Because Silvestre informed the fathers that the next water was more than a day's journey distant, the expedition decided to rest at the White River camp until noon, then continue for a half-day. The route was toward the northwest over not too difficult terrain where numerous buffalo tracks had blotted out any sign of a regular trail. The route was east and north of present Highway 64. About eight miles northwest of Rangely the company was forced to make camp without water or forage for the animals.

Continuing a few miles the company found a small spring, insufficient to water the horses. From a ridge three leagues farther on the padres saw a grove of cottonwood trees directly to the north. Although Silvestre doubted that water would be found there, he thought it might be possible. The site is the location of K Ranch located right on the Utah-Colorado boundary about a mile and a half north of the point where U.S. 40 crosses that line today.

During the day the men had picked up a fresh track of a buffalo and soon located the animal. After a chase of some ten miles the big bull was killed and the meat brought into camp. Escalante reported that much more meat was obtained from that beast than would have been had from a domestic bull. In honor of the kill the padres named the site Cibolla Creek--Buffalo Creek (present Cliff Creek). They remained there two nights.

On September 13 the expedition traveled westward along present Cliff Creek, passed several springs known to Silvestre, turned to the northwest from the narrows where Cliff Creek falls into the Green River Plain, and established camp in a grove of huge cottonwoods on the east bank of Green River, opposite the mouth of present Brush Creek. There the company remained until September 16. U.S. 40 parallels Cliff Creek for several miles west of the Utah-Colorado Boundary.

SEGMENT 5: From the Green River crossing to Utah Lake.

Researcher Jerome Stoffel and Associate George E. Stewart conducted the basic research for this segment of the trail. They were assisted at times by G. Clell Jacobs, Ted J. Warner, Thomas G. Alexander, and others. The Stoffel-Stewart report is found in RESEARCH REPORT E.

On the morning of September 16 the expedition was again on the move. After breaking camp they headed upstream one mile to the Old Ute Green River ford. (During the 1975 study considerable controversy developed regarding the actual location of that ford. However, a careful examination of the Escalante diary and the actual terrain leads to the conclusion that the "traditional" crossing site is the correct one.) Once across the stream the company followed its right bank downstream. Brush and Ashley Creeks were noted and forded, the latter about where U.S. 40 bridges it today. After crossing Brush Creek the direction was to the southwest taking the travelers farther away from Green River which continues in a southerly direction for several miles. The trail headed for a pass in Asphalt Ridge now known as Collier Pass. From the pass a difficult trail led down hill into Collier Hole to again arrive at Green River and to camp in the meadows located on the west bank, a couple of miles below Horseshoe Bend.

From this campsite the party turned more to the west, again leaving Green River which continues toward the south. Overlooking the confluence of the Uinta and Duchesne rivers is a high ridge from which Silvestre pointed out features of the area, including the channel of White River where it joins the Green at present Ouray. In honor of the fine service the Indian guide gave to the expedition this spot has been named Silvestre's Overlook. From that point the trail led directly to the Uinta-Duchesne confluence. After fording the Uinta River the company pushed on along the north bank of the Duchesne to camp near the point where the Duchesne-Uinta county line intersects that stream.

On September 18 Silvestre led the expedition up the Duchesne Valley, bypassing present Myton to the north and crossing the river five different times before arriving near the confluence of the Duchesne and Strawberry rivers just north of the present city of Duchesne. Camp was established on the west bank of the Duchesne about a mile upstream from the confluence. Not confused by modern terminology, Escalante considered present Strawberry River to be the main stream (his Rio de San Cosme) and the present Duchesne River, flowing into it from the north, to be just a tributary.

After following upstream along Strawberry River on September 19 the company left the main channel by way of present Rabbit Gulch, where Escalante noticed the swallow nests now covered by the waters of Starvation Reservoir. About four miles from the mouth of Rabbit Gulch the expedition encountered present Sink Draw which they followed to the tableland where present Utah Highway 208 joins U.S. 40. The Escalante route parallels present U.S. 40 through this area, keeping a mile or more to the north of it. The party camped on Red Creek about a mile north of present Fruitland.

Continuing westward on September 20 the Dominguez-Escalante expedition crossed Currant Creek a couple of miles **upstream** from the U.S. 40 bridge. After passing over another ridge westward the trail intersected Deep Creek and followed it to the summit. About a half-mile short of the summit the company camped at a spring which they called Santa Lucia. Present U.S. 40 and the old wagon road to the Uinta Basin parallel the Escalante trail at this point.

After leaving the Saint Lucy campsite the trail parallels present Highway 40 into Strawberry Valley. At about the point where that highway comes to the edge of Strawberry Reservoir, the expedition turned to the southwest to arrive at the west valley rim about a mile north of the present Strawberry tunnel. After working their way over Strawberry Ridge the company camped some two miles west of the summit on Sixth Water Creek, inside the Great Basin drainage.

September 22 found the expedition working its way across the upper reaches of Diamond Creek **drainage**, west up Sawmill Hollow, across the upper slopes of Red **Mountain**, then down the slope to again arrive at Diamond Creek near the mouth of Wanrhodes Canyon. The trip down Diamond Fork on September 23 took the padres into Spanish Fork Canyon and thence into Utah Valley to camp a couple of miles south of present Spanish Fork. Enroute Escalante had made special note of "three copious springs of hot water," now recognizable as the Castillo Springs, and three other springs farther down the canyon. At the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon the company crossed the stream to the south, "went up a brief slope, and caught sight of the lake and spreading valley." (The 1975 research teams concluded that this first sighting of Utah Lake was from the Bonneville level along the East Bench southeast of Spanish Fork.)

In clear view to the northwest were Indian villages located along the Provo River. In order to reach the natives as soon as possible, to establish the friendly nature of the expedition, Father Dominguez, Silvestre, **Joaquin**, and Andres Muniz mounted the best horses and rode full speed to the Indian camp six and a half leagues away. The following morning, September 24, the remainder of the Spanish company followed the advance guard to the Indian camp on the lower Provo River, probably just south of today's entrance to Utah Lake State Park. There is no unanimity of opinion regarding the location of that Indian camp--and thus the Dominguez-Escalante camp. However, since that group of Utes lived primarily from fish taken from Utah Lake, it seems logical that their camp, which would be visible from a distance, would have been near the lake. Other Indian camps were doubtless located upstream in the rich meadows of Provo River. Evidently the main chief had his lodge in one of those since he had to travel quite a distance to meet with the padres.

SEGMENT 6: From Utah Lake to the Utah-Arizona Boundary.



Researcher Ted J. Warner and Associate Thomas G. Alexander conducted the basic research on this segment of the trail. They were assisted at times by Jerome Stoffel, **George E. Stewart** and others. The Warner-Alexander **report** is found in RESEARCH REPORT F.

Right after noon on September 25 the Dominguez-Escalante expedition took leave of the friendly Lake Indians, accompanied by Joaquin and an additional guide **whom** the fathers named Jose Maria. Because of the late start the company traveled only as far as Dry Creek (the former channel of Hobble Creek) and camped near the point where I-15 crosses that creek today. The following morning the trek was continued across the relatively flat terrain, through the present town of Spanish Fork, past the campsite of September 23, then slightly west of present Salem and (paralleling U.S. 50 and 6) into present Payson. Camp was established on Peteetneet Creek.

Still paralleling the route of modern highways (W.S. 50, 6, 91) in a southwesterly direction, the expedition passed the southeast corner of **Santaquin** and left the valley of Utah Lake to enter Juab Valley. The September 27 campsite was slightly southwest of present Mona at Burriston Ponds. September 28 the company continued southward, passing four or five miles west of present Nephi to reach some springs approximately four miles west of present **Levan**.

After passing east of the present Chicken Creek Reservoir the party left Juab Valley in a west-southwesterly direction by the approximate route of what is now the Old Botham Road. The route took them around Red Point, where present U.S. 91 crosses their track, to arrive at the Sevier River which at this point winds northward through Mills Valley. Camp was located a couple of miles north of the point where U.S. 91 bridges the Sevier. After crossing the river **on September 30** the company continued on a southerly course into Scipio Valley. They evidently passed slightly to the west of that townsite, and headed for a spring at the foot of the Pavant Mountains approximately two and a half miles southwest of Scipio.

After circling slightly to the northwest from the September 30 campsite, the expedition turned to the southwest to climb out of Scipio Valley by way of Scipio Pass, the same route followed today by U.S. 91 and I-15. Once over the summit the company turned to the westward into the Sevier Desert. After marching some five miles westward across the sterile alkali flats, the party camped at a point some four and a half miles northwest of Pavant Butte which is clearly depicted on Miera's map. On October 2, after moving almost eight miles to the south-southeast, the padres camped near the base of "a small bluff"--Pavant Butte.

After considerable difficulty in getting through the marshes that punctuated the region, the company struck a southwesterly course heading toward the pass through which Beaver River enters the Sevier Desert from the south. The day's march (October 3) took them east of present Clear Lake following close to the route now used by a desert road, arriving at the Beaver River about where that road reaches it. Camp was established slightly to the south of that point--about two and a half miles north of east from the railroad siding of Bordon. Once on the Beaver River the expedition followed that stream (October 4) southward through the Black Rock Desert to camp at a pass some five miles northwest of North Twin Peak. This pass marks the exit from the Salt Plain of the Sevier Desert into Beaver Bottoms.

The route of October 5 was virtually that taken by the Union Pacific Railroad today for at least ten miles, or to a point where that railroad and Utah Highway 257 leave Beaver River to strike almost due south toward Milford. Escalante and Dominguez followed the river southwestward to camp at the northeast base of Red Rock Knoll two and a half miles southwest of Black Rock Siding. Weather conditions had been getting progressively worse as the company advanced. On October 5 they were struck by a heavy snowstorm that prevented further progress until October 8. On that day the southward journey was continued to a point some 11 miles north of present Milford.

After passing southward six and a half miles through the present town of Milford into the Escalante Desert, the Spanish party camped just west of the Beaver River on October 9. The following day, after four leagues travel to the southwest, the expedition came to a "low hill" standing in the middle of the plain. The padres decided to climb to the top of three hot springs which help serve as a positive identification point. The hill and springs are located a couple of miles south of Thermo Siding on the Union Pacific Railroad. From the hill and springs the Spanish party continued south another five miles to camp at a site now known as Brown Knoll at the west end of the Black Mountains.

Because of early winter snows, plus the fact that all trails led southward instead of westward to Monterey, and since no member of the party could even guess how far it might be to the West Coast or what the nature of the terrain would be in that direction, the padres had decided on October 8 that the direction must be changed; the expedition would give up its original California objective and return instead to Santa Fe. By October 11 major opposition to this change in plans had developed into a virtual mutiny. As a result, the fathers decided to leave the decision to God by means of casting lots. It was probably after traveling a couple of leagues that day that Father Dominguez halted progress and laid the plan before the men. All seemed willing to follow this course of action and after earnest prayers by all, the lot was cast with the result that the opinion of the padres was verified. The expedition would return to Santa Fe. All members accepted the decision as the will of God and harmony was restored. The likely spot where this important action was taken seems to have been some five miles south of Brown Knoll at or near a hill now known as Hill 5343. (It would now seem appropriate to give this hill a more fitting

name, possibly Dominguez Hill.) After the lots were cast the expedition continued southward into present Cedar Valley, probably by way of Horse Hollow. The October 11 camp was located on Coal Creek, 11 miles north of Cedar City.

After skirting some swampy land the expedition continued southward on October 12. The route took them west of the Cross Hollow Hills but east of Quichapa Lake toward the upper waters of Kanarra Creek, a tributary of Ash Creek. Camp was established on the Kanarra some ten miles south of Cedar City and one and a quarter miles west-northwest of Kanarraville. The following day the trek continued down Kanarra and Ash creeks. At a point southeast of Ash Creek Reservoir the company found it necessary to leave the rugged canyon and move into the almost as rugged hills to the west to again reach Ash Creek by way of Pintura Creek. That night the expedition camped on the west side of Ash, some two and a half miles north of the present Pintura interchange on U.S. 1-15.

The valley or canyon of Ash Creek seemed to afford the only possible route, although the expedition had to leave it to the west in some places. The night of October 14 found them camped inside the boundaries of present Toquerville. On October 15 the padres made a long march southward, crossed the Virgin River in the vicinity of present La Verkin and ascended to the Hurricane Plain just west of the town of Hurricane, Utah. Keeping considerably west of the Hurricane Cliffs, the Spaniards shifted directions to the southwest onto Sand Mountain which they crossed southward to camp that night slightly north of the Utah-Arizona boundary in Fort Pierce Wash.

#### SEGMENT 7: The Arizona Strip to Lee's Ferry.

Researcher W.L. Rusho and Associate C. Gregory Crampton conducted basic research on this segment of the trail. They were assisted at times by additional persons. The Rusho-Crampton report is found in RESEARCH REPORT G.

The Spanish party had hardly left camp on October 16 when eight Indians, indicating a desire to talk, hailed them from a nearby hill. During the following two hours the Catholic leaders gathered considerable information about the terrain into which they were heading, including a report of an impassable gorge now recognized as the Grand Canyon. The natives made vague reference to a river ford which lay somewhere to the east and instructed the padres that they would have to locate that ford before the great river could be crossed and the return to Santa Fe continued. Although not quite convinced of the sincerity of the natives, expedition leaders agreed to deviate from their southern course and turned eastward up Rock Canyon which breaks out of the Hurricane Ridge. However, after about five miles of difficult travel, the canyon became completely impassable, forcing the company to backtrack to Hurricane Wash. The difficult detour in Rock Canyon took most of the day, forcing the Spaniards to camp in Cottonwood

Wash just beyond the point where this wash emerges from the Hurricane Ridge. The camp was east of Hurricane Wash.

From their campsite of October 16 the Spanish party continued southward up Hurricane Wash with the Hurricane Ridge towering above them to the east. After traveling nearly 20 miles along this route the padres located a break in the cliff to the east and managed to climb out to establish a dry camp in a shallow valley a short distance beyond the crest. This was camp San Angel, October 17. (During the day the Spanish route paralleled the Temple Road built by the Mormons nearly a century later to obtain timber from Mt. Trumbull for the St. George Temple.) The draw through which the padres climbed out of Hurricane Wash is known as "Temple Trail Hill," although that road deviated somewhat from the trail used by the padres. The present Old Mormon Road is not passable, but a modern one known as the Navajo Trail is passable; from the crest it runs directly through the site of San Angel.

After leaving the San Angel Camp on October 18 the padres continued up the valley in which they had camped to reach the top of the mesa near the present Temple Tank Reservoir. They were now on the Uinkaret Plateau. Striking an east-southeast course for two leagues, they arrived at Lang's Run but found no water. After leaving that dry wash the party circled more to the east-northeast through a group of cinder cones locally known as Seven Knolls, then down a steep slope into the south end of Black Canyon, just north of present Black Canyon Reservoir. Again they found no water and continued on, passing south of an imposing cinder cone called Hat Knoll. The route took the party past a small mesa which Herbert E. Bolton in 1927 dubbed a "hayrick," or haystack. From the crest of this mesa five Indians hailed the Spaniards who persuaded them to guide the expedition to water. The natives conducted the party five miles to an upper tributary of Clayhole Wash (which the 1975 research team named Bobcat Canyon). Water was found and camp established a couple of miles south of present Swapp Reservoir. The Spaniards remained there two nights, October 18 and 19, partly because Miera was sick and partly because numerous Indians came into camp with foodstuffs to sell. Also, the Indians told of the river ford the Spaniards were seeking, insisting that it was only two or three days distant. All attempts to obtain an Indian who would guide them to the ford failed.

October 20 found the expedition again on the move, this time through relatively open country to the northeast--in the general direction they believed the river ford to be. By nightfall they had arrived at a point where Bull Rush Wash breaks through Sunshine Ridge. Here they found plenty of water and good pasturage for the camp. Enroute they had passed beneath the volcanic Heaton Knolls seen to the east and crossed Antelope Valley into the upper waters of Bull Rush Wash which they followed to the campsite.

Following down Bull Rush Wash for a half-dozen miles (October 21) the Dominguez-Escalante expedition was plagued by twists and turns but found plenty of water. The company left the wash, probably at the mouth of Pipe Valley Wash, near the point where the Bull Rush turns to the east to



drop into Kanab Creek some five miles distant. Continuing in a generally northeast direction and paralleling, then crossing the present Mt. Trumbull-Toroweap Valley Road, the Spanish party crossed Kanab Creek at or near Nagle's Crossing near the mouth of Johnson Wash. This is some miles upstream from Kanab Canyon. After following up the north side of Johnson Wash, the expedition camped slightly east of the spot where U.S. 89A crosses that wash--some five miles southeast of Fredonia, Arizona.

From their October 21 campsite the padres headed almost north in search of Olivares who had gone ahead to look for water. They found him in one of the small canyons of the Shinarump Cliffs, not far south of the Utah-Arizona boundary. To the south and east the Kaibab Plateau was in clear view. After picking up Olivares the expedition followed Johnson Wash and White Sage Wash northeastward to a point about a mile south of the Utah-Arizona line before turning southward to the west base of the Kaibab. From a point just north of the "Winter Road" the expedition climbed eastward to the summit of the plateau--a climb of 1,000 feet up the steep western slope. On top the trail crosses the route of the old Mormon Road, opened about a century later to connect Utah settlements with those in Arizona by way of Lee's Ferry.

From the top of the Kaibab the expedition traveled east-northeast to descend the steep eastern slope into Coyote Wash where camp was established at or near Coyote Spring. Here the company remained an extra day (through October 23) in order to converse with the numerous Indians of the region.

On October 24 the expedition resumed the march, traveling southward to the head of Coyote Wash, thence over a small divide to the upper waters of House Rock Valley. This valley they followed southward and southeastward to near a point where U.S. 89A intercepts the present House Rock road. Circling the south base of the Vermilion Cliffs, remaining north of the present highway route, the company passed about a mile and a half south of Jacob Pools. Camp for the night was on Emmett Hill, the divide between House Rock Wash and Emmett Wash. There they found good pasturage but no water.

From their October 24 campsite the expedition continued eastward at the base of the Vermilion Cliffs to camp for the night in the Soap Creek Wash immediately upstream from the U.S. 89A bridge. Highway 89A parallels the Spanish route through this region. The padres reached their campsite at the mouth of Soap Creek Canyon, after having wandered for some time in the south fork of Soap Creek Wash looking for water.

After crossing Soap Creek on the morning of October 26 the padres rode northeastward along the base of the Vermilion Cliffs. Their choice of routes narrowed as the cliffs on their left approached the precipitous Marble Canyon Gorge. The Spaniards doubtless got their first good look at Marble Canyon from the vicinity of present Navajo Bridge which was opened to traffic in 1929. Obviously there was no possibility of crossing the Colorado at that point, so the company continued upstream in search of the ford. That night found them camped at the mouth of present Paria

River where Lee's Ferry would be established almost a century later. Hoping that this was the ford referred to by the Indians, the padres made several futile attempts to cross the river at that point. It was not until November 1 that the frustrated party left the site to continue the search for the river crossing which certainly must lie farther upstream.

SEGMENT 8: From Lee's Ferry to the Crossing of the Fathers.

Researchers for this segment were W.L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and David E. Miller. Their reports are found in RESEARCH REPORT H.

After their futile attempts to cross the Colorado at the site of present Lee's Ferry, the fathers broke camp (November 1) and hiked some two and a half miles up the Paria to camp at the base of a slight declivity in the east canyon wall. During their stay on the Colorado the leaders had dispatched explorers with instructions to find a way out, if possible. They had located the only possible place where the steep canyon wall (Echo Cliff) could be breached. On November 2 the expedition worked its way up that almost impassable cliff and continued northeastward in search of the ford. (The 1975 researchers have proposed that this route out of the Paria be named Dominguez Pass in honor of the expedition leader.)

Escalante complained about the deep red sand that hampered the expedition's progress as the company made its way toward present-day Wahweap Creek to camp for the night on November 2. The Spaniards' route crosses that of U.S. 89 just south of the road that now leads to Wahweap Marina. Keeping south of that road the 1776 expedition passed south of the present campgrounds to a spot slightly north of the Arizona-Utah boundary where they found some water and pasturage in present Wahweap Creek, a short distance upstream (north) of the nearly perpendicular walls of lower Wahweap Canyon. The campsite was named San Diego. The location is now covered by the Wahweap Bay and Marina.

An Indian trail led northeastward from the San Diego campsite. If the padres had followed it they would have found a well-worn trail to the river ford with good water at present Castle Spring, in a low pass north of Castle Rock, and an easy way to cross Warm Creek above the steep narrow canyon that marks that stream's lower reaches. But the expedition leaders were anxious to get to the Colorado River. As a result they struck a southeast course to arrive on the high west wall of Glen Canyon, opposite the mouth of Navajo Creek. A waterless camp, San Carlos, was pitched at that point. Hoping that Navajo Creek might afford a way out, the padres sent two men to cross the river and explore that canyon. When the men had not returned by the following day, expedition leaders decided to take the horses down an almost impassable trail to the river's west bank. There the company remained during the night of November 4.

As day broke on November 5 with no report from the two explorers, expedition leaders decided that this was not the ford referred to by the Indians. The only route open was to continue upstream in search of it. During the day the company marched northward along the high west rim of the canyon gorge, passed the mouth of Warm Creek (astride the present Arizona-Utah boundary), found a little-used trail into and out of Warm Creek Canyon, and continued northeastward to camp at the base of Romana Mesa where they found some water and fair pasturage.

At or near the November 5 campsite the expedition intersected the main Indian trail which they could have followed to the ford. However, just east of Romana Mesa that trail turned to the north up Gunsight Canyon. Rather than follow it in what seemed to be the wrong direction, the padres turned to the south and skirted the south end of Gunsight Butte to camp within a mile of the Colorado Gorge. During the day and previous night progress had been hampered by storms of heavy rain, snow, and hail. (Had they followed the trail northward they would have reached the ford by way of Gunsight Pass and the north bank of Padre Creek.) Before nightfall two men were dispatched to examine the country immediately ahead in search of the elusive ford. The two returned with a favorable report.

Early on November 7 Escalante and Dominguez, accompanied by part of the crew, went personally to check the area. They found that access to the Colorado must be by way of a small tributary now known as Padre Creek. In order to provide secure footing for the horses, the men cut some notches about ten feet along one of the ledges of Padre Creek's west wall. From the mouth of Padre Creek the expedition turned to the south and reached a permanent sandbar just upstream from a major river bend. This seemed to be the west side of the ford. Two men immediately waded into the stream and crossed to the east bank without having to swim. The padres followed them at once on horseback and reached the east bank without incident. Orders were sent back to the camp with instructions to carry all of the camp gear and other equipment to a low spot in the west canyon wall and lower it to the sandbar with ropes. The horses were brought without packs over the route the fathers had taken, then repacked before fording the stream. It is not surprising that the whole company held a mild celebration that night, November 7, having finally overcome the major barrier in their way back to Santa Fe. The Crossing of the Fathers now lies far beneath the waters of Lake Powell in the area officially known as Padre Bay. The November 7 camp was located about three miles north of the present Utah-Arizona boundary.

SEGMENT 9: From the Crossing of the Fathers to Zuni Pueblo.

Researcher W.L. Rusho and Associate C. Gregory Crampton did the basic research on this segment of the trail. They were assisted at times by several other people. The Rusho-Crampton report and the contributions of others are contained in RESEARCH REPORT 1.

On a well marked and much used trail the Spaniards left the Crossing of the Fathers and climbed the slopes eastward to the base of present Padres Butte. The trail then turned to the south, keeping west of the butte, and the padres followed it for a long day's march to the south end of a prominent formation now known as Tse Tonte. (A couple of miles south of Padres Butte, just north of the Utah-Arizona boundary, is a magnificent set of buttes standing somewhat apart from the north of Tse Tonte. This outstanding formation has been given the name of Dominguez Butte.) After leaving Padres Butte the trail heads southward keeping east of Dominguez Butte to the vicinity of the Arizona line, then heads southwestward toward a low divide that separates the drainages of Face and Labyrinth canyons as well as Dominguez Butte and Tse Tonte. (Just west of the divide the 1975 researchers found the Navajo shepherders. These men were using the old trail between their hogan and Lake Powell, keeping it well worn and easily followed.)

From the divide the trail turns to the south along the west side of Tse Tonte. It is lost in the sand along this stretch and one can only surmise exactly where it lay 200 years ago. In 1776 the trail was well used and the padres had no difficulty following it to the south end of Tse Tonte which Escalante referred to as the "range." Near the south end of that range the route ascends some rolling sand hills before turning eastward across the divide into the drainage of Navajo Creek. The swing east took the Spanish party to the south tip of Tse Tonte where they camped near a cliff in a fairly sheltered spot where they found pools of rain water in some natural rock tanks. They named the camp San Miguel, November 8.

Although the trail had been easily followed to the south end of Tse Tonte, the padres lost it in the sand and rocks the following morning and moved eastward in search of it. The day's march took the party slightly north of east across present Weed Bench which drains to the north toward Face Canyon. To the south, and paralleling their route about a half mile distant, is a long line of cliffs which the fathers were trying to avoid. However, at the east side of Weed Bench they found to their chagrin that the cliff curved to the north to cut them off. Thus the party was rim-rocked overlooking a tributary of present West Canyon. In clear view below them was a camp of Indians. During the course of the afternoon and next morning the two groups established communications and the padres learned from the natives that they must backtrack to the San Miguel campsite to pick up the lost trail. The company was obliged to spend the night of November 9 at that point. The following morning the expedition returned to the San Miguel site and established camp slightly southeast of the earlier camp.

On the morning of November 11 expedition leaders located the lost trail and followed it into the canyon where present Navajo and Kaibito creeks merge. The route was a difficult one (which our 1975 researchers located only after considerable effort since major portions of it have been abandoned for nearly a century). Navajo Canyon at this point consists of a network of smaller steep-walled canyons feeding into the main branch. The trail winds through side gulches, around buttes, and across ledges. At two points small rock cairns mark the route; at another point a short stretch of the old trail is clearly visible. After crossing the relatively high ground "the trail



approaches Navajo Creek through a narrow valley, over a small plateau then down switchbacks cut into the sandstone. Finally it emerges on a low bench about fifty feet above Navajo Creek. At a point opposite the mouth of Kaibito Wash a rough dugway of rocks and logs aids the traveler in reaching the creek floor." (Rusho-Crampton Report.) This dugway is mentioned in the Escalante diary. (The segment of the Dominguez-Escalante trail between Padres Butte and the confluence of Navajo and Kaibito creeks had been considered too remote and too rugged for any researchers prior to 1975. Under the leadership of W.L. Rusho an on-the-ground examination of it was undertaken during the first week of May 1975. On May 2 and 3, Rusho and Don Cecala hiked the entire distance.)

From the floor of Navajo Creek at the mouth of Kaibito Wash the Spanish party climbed out of the canyon over a steep, rocky route between the two streams. In 1975 Dr. C. Gregory Crampton found that "The trail...goes up close to the canyon wall of Kaibito Creek. At a point about a quarter of a mile from the canyon floor a substantial amount of work has been done on the trail...through some flinty limestone ledges.... One mile from the canyon floor the trail turns abruptly to the north-northeast and goes up a wide cleft for about a half a mile and then swings abruptly south-southeast and ascends a very steep slickrock slope for about 150 yards. This is the steepest part of the trail...." In more recent times some user of the trail has picked out a series of steps in the rocks at this point. "The trail tops out at a point approximately 800 feet above and three trail miles from Navajo Creek; two upright slabs of rock mark the place." (Rusho-Crampton Report.) An occasional rock cairn marks the trail through this difficult section. Once out of the canyon the Spaniards traveled some eight miles over much better terrain, across Cedar Tree Bench. Enroute they passed Small Butte and Tsai Skizzi Rock, the two small buttes referred to by Escalante. The November 11 campsite was some four miles south-southeast of Tsai Skizzi Rock where the fathers found good pasturage but no water. They named the place San Proto. It had been a long difficult day.

November 12 found the travelers making good time over relatively easy terrain. The fact that they had to break ice to get water at a spring northeast of present Kaibito gave warning of approaching winter weather. The weather grew colder as the company advanced; Miera, especially, was affected by it. During the afternoon the fathers stopped long enough to build a fire to warm the mapmaker for fear he would freeze to death. The route was generally to the south, veering on occasion to the southwest. After crossing Kaibito Wash to the west bank about a mile north of present Kaibito village the expedition continued southward across the Kaibito Plateau, passing through the present location of Kaibito. By steering a course west of south the company passed west of White Mesa and thus avoided Kaibito Canyon which drains from that mesa to the north. Being eager to contact friendly Cosninas (present Havasupais) believed to be in the region, when the padres reached a fork in the trail some five miles south of Kaibito they chose the one to the right whereas the left fork would have given them a more direct route to the Hopi villages. Continuing southwest over relatively open country they reached a campsite called San Jacinto on the north edge of a small butte some four miles northeast of Preston Mesa.

Pasturage was available, but no water. A few miles north of the camp, the present Black Canyon - Lake Powell Railroad now crosses the padres' track.

Continuing in a west of south direction on November 13, keeping east of Preston Mesa, rather than west of it as indicated by earlier interpreters of the trail, the expedition camped in an open area of sandstone and sand dunes about five miles north of present Tuba City. During the day the men had captured and killed a porcupine which supplied a small portion of delicious meat to each of the thirteen men that night. In honor of this event they named the campsite El Espino.

After traveling southward about four miles the following morning, November 14, the expedition reached the head of Pasture Canyon where they located four springs, which still supply water for Pasture Canyon Reservoir, and the Hopi village of Moenkopi. The Spanish party found the canyon deserted but noted evidence that the Cosninas had already harvested a bumper crop and had evidently gone on a pinion nut hunt. Since all attempts to contact the Cosninas had failed, the padres now decided to strike for the Hopi village of Oraibi. Leaving Pasture Canyon near the present site of Tuba City, the company followed a well-worn trail in a southeast direction. The expedition crossed Moenkopi Wash, then carrying a good flow of water, a half dozen miles east of present Moenkopi and continued in a southeast direction to the top of Coal Mine Mesa on Moenkopi Plateau. Their camp for the night was near the head of Coal Mine Canyon close to present Arizona Highway 264.

On November 15 the Spaniards made good time across open country in an east-southeast direction. Camp was established, probably at or near the right bank of Dinnebito Wash--Canada de los Chizas. Continuing in the same general direction the following day the padres headed for a divide between Oraibi Mesa and Padilla Mesa, where they found a well defined trail which led northeastward to the south base of Oraibi Mesa, also known as Third Mesa. Camp was made at the base of the mesa while Dominguez, Escalante, Joaquin, and Andres Muniz climbed to the top on a trail leading from the modern village of Oraibi. There they spent the night of November 16.

The next day, after completing their business at Oraibi, Dominguez and Escalante took up the trail to Shongopovi, located on Second Mesa. The route was virtually that of present Highway 264; the distance is only about six miles. Hopis from Shipolovi and Mishongnovi conferred with the padres during the morning of November 18, after which the Spanish party departed for Walpi by a route paralleling present Highway 264. They remained at Walpi two nights, November 18 and 19.

Having had no success in their attempts to convert the Hopis, Dominguez and Escalante left Walpi November 20, headed for Zuni. From the present site of Polacca, at the base of First Mesa, the Spaniards rode east by southeast up Keams Canyon, on a route paralleled today by Highway 264, to the present site of Keams Canyon Village where they found excellent fresh water springs.

After leaving the springs the following morning, November 21, the company followed the natural route up Keams Canyon to the northeast, passing

the spot where Kit Carson carved his name in 1863 and the location of Thomas Keam's original 1875 trading post. After leaving the canyon to the east and heading to Jodito Wash, the party turned to the south to camp that night on or near Beshbito Wash about one and a half miles north of Highway 264.

Since the route from Beshbito Wash to Zuni was presumably well known, Dominguez and Escalante left the main camp and with three companions hurried on to the pueblo where Escalante had already spent much time as a missionary. On a difficult twisting course, generally to the southeast, they reached Steamboat Wash, then continued south and southeast to Cumaa, recognized on today's maps as Sunrise Springs. Refusing to stop at the springs the padres pushed on another two leagues before their horses gave out, forcing them to camp in a pinion-juniper forest.

On November 23, in a hurry to get to Zuni, the padres traveled some 30 miles over quite difficult terrain punctuated by pinion-juniper forests and numerous ravines and gullies. One of these gullies, Wide Ruin Wash, was intersected at Klagetok down which the trail led for some three miles before heading out to the east and up a three-mile hill. It was twelve miles from the top to Pine Springs, the modern name for Ojo de San Jose where the party camped.

Daylight found the padres again in the saddle, determined to reach the warmth and security of Zuni before they literally froze to death. The route was in a southeast direction most of the way. U.S. 40 crosses it and Rio Puerco about one mile east of Houck, Arizona. Once across the Puerco the trail continued in the same general direction across a brush and juniper covered sand hill to a point some four miles west of the Arizona-New Mexico boundary. Here in an open valley the trail turned to the east-northeast to reach the springs of Okioppa, a couple of miles inside present New Mexico. From that spring the trail took a southeast course through Bosson Wash just west of the Zuni Buttes before turning due east to reach Zuni. There the padres remained through December 12.

#### SEGMENT 10: From Zuni to Santa Fe.

Researcher W.L. Rusho and Associate C. Gregory Crampton conducted the major research on this portion of the route. Their report is found in RESEARCH REPORT J.

After having spent nearly three weeks at Zuni the padres resumed their return trip to Santa Fe, December 13. Since the route they were to follow was well known, having been used by Spaniards for more than two centuries, Escalante supplied few details concerning it. December 13-16 is covered in one sentence, merely listing the mileage at 30 leagues and not mentioning the campsites of December 13, 14, and 15. The old Spanish trail eastward

from Zuni was along the Rio Pescado to El Morro 33 miles distant. New Mexico Highway 53 follows that same route today. It is likely that Escalante and Dominguez reached that point to camp on December 13, although they left no record of it. But there was (and is) good water there and it would have been a logical campsite.

From El Morro the old trail continued eastward, as does present Highway 53, across the Continental Divide, then skirted the southern base of the Zuni Mountains. From that point the travelers took a north-northeast course to avoid an extensive lava flow, the "Malpais." Dominguez and Escalante probably camped one night, December 14 or 15, near the present site of San Rafael at El Gallo Spring. Although the diary does not mention such a camp, it is shown on Miera's map.

Eastward from El Gallo Spring the trail crossed the north end of the Malpais to reach the Rio San Jose about five miles west of present McCartys on I-40. Less than a mile east of McCartys a graded road leads southeast, directly to Acoma. That road parallels the 1776 route of the fathers.

Dominguez and Escalante spent four nights at Acoma (December 16, 17, 18, and 19), then traveled the well-worn trail to Laguna Pueblo. New Mexico Highway 23 parallels the route today. The fathers did not leave Laguna until December 22 on which day they arrived at El Alamo. El Alamo is not marked on present-day maps but the site is identified on Wheeler's Atlas sheet No. 77 as Sheep Spring. The location is near the intersection of I-40 and New Mexico Highway 6. The route from Laguna took a north-easterly direction for a few miles, then turned to the east-southeast, passing south of Mesa Giganta to reach the campsite.

No modern road parallels the Spanish trail between El Alamo and the Pueblo of Isleta. However, from the Escalante diary and other sources the general route can be plotted. For the first five leagues the road lay parallel to (but south of) I-40 to the Puerco River. At that stream it turned east-southeast to Isleta, keeping north of Wind Mesa. The Wheeler Atlas sheet no. 77 shows a road along this general route. The expedition arrived there on December 23.

The padres celebrated Christmas at Isleta before leaving for Albuquerque on December 28. The route was along the west bank of the Rio Grande before fording that stream to reach Albuquerque's "Old Town". U.S. Highway 85 parallels that route today.

On December 30 the fathers journeyed northward to the Pueblo of Sandia on the well beaten road. Continuing northward the following day they arrived at Santo Domingo where they remained through January 1, 1777.

The journey was completed on January 2, 1777, when the expedition again arrived at Santa Fe.

RESEARCH REPORT A

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL  
FROM SANTA FE TO THE NEW MEXICO-COLORADO BOUNDARY  
JULY 29-AUGUST 5, 1776

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

BY

- I. DR. W. ALAN MINGE, RESEARCHER  
DR. ROBERT ARCHIBALD, ASSOCIATE
- II. W. L. RUSHO, RESEARCHER

## RESEARCH REPORT A

### THE W. ALAN MINGE REPORT

July 29

On July 29 of the year 1776, under the patronage of the Virgin Mary Our Lady conceived without original sin, and of the thrice-holy Joseph her most blessed spouse, we, Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, current commissary visitor of the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul in New Mexico, and Fray Francisco Silvestre Velez de Escalante, missionary of the mission of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Zuni--voluntarily accompanied by Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, chief magistrate of the said Pueblo de Zuni; Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, retired captain of militia and citizen of La Villa de Santa Fe; Don Joaquin Lain, citizen of the same Villa; Lorenzo Olivares from La Villa del Paso; Andres Muniz, Lucrecio Muniz, Juan de Aguilar, and Simon Lucero--after the afore-mentioned had implored the protection of our thrice-holy patron saints and received the Holy Eucharist, set out from La Villa de Santa Fe, capital of this Kingdom of New Mexico, and at the end of nine leagues arrived at El Pueblo de Santa Clara where we spent the night. Today nine leagues to the northwest.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. Alan Minge

Little is said in the diary until the party reached Abiquiu, the last settlement before exploring the wilderness. However, Fathers Dominguez and Escalante began the journey in the historic plaza at Santa Fe. Except perhaps for the much altered Palace of the Governors, the plaza would scarcely be recognizable. The site of the castrense where the party most likely heard mass has now been replaced by a commercial establishment.

From here they traveled over juniper and pinion covered hills on the established road north of Santa Fe and kept their northward course until they hit upon the Rio Tesuque. This arroyo flows only occasionally and its level banks afford easy passage. Along the left bank they passed the outskirts of the Pueblo of Tesuque. This area affords spectacular vistas of the Jemez Mountains to the west and the Sangre de Cristo Range to the east. The group followed an easy trail from here to the junction of the Rio Tesuque and the Rio Pojoaque.



The valley of the Rio Pojoaque is fertile with small farms and ranches from here to its junction with the Rio Grande near the shadows of the Black Mesa just north of San Ildefonso Pueblo. The vegas lining the river, supported by the permanent flow of water, produce a perceptible change in flora from the thin line of green along the banks of the Tesuque. The Pojoaque Valley from the junction to the Rio Grande contains fields of alfalfa, corn, squash, and chile. The explorers continued along the left bank past the site of Jacona to San Ildefonso Pueblo. Very likely passing through the plaza, the explorers continued down the Rio Pojoaque to its junction with the Rio Grande, a short distance. Although the Rio Grande is wide at this point and carries a large volume of water, they crossed it with ease, making use of gravel banks in midstream created by the incoming current of the Pojoaque. They turned north by northeast up the river valley and passed up to Santa Clara Pueblo where they spent the night. The bank of the Rio Grande supports small ranches and numerous cottonwoods which provide a cooling shade.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Both Drs. Alan Minge and Robert Archibald were personally familiar with this area and were able to plot the route from highways before taking to the field. Most of the excursion was done by automobile, although short side trips were made on foot to ascertain the exact route of the trail.

#### July 30

On the 30th we traveled another nine leagues more or less, and we arrived at El Pueblo de Santa Rosa de Abiquiu where, due to various circumstances, we stayed over through the 31st without undertaking a day's march; and by means of a solemn high mass we once more implored the aid of our thrice-holy patron saints.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. Alan Minge

On the morning of July 30 Escalante and his companions left Santa Clara Pueblo and continued north along the right bank of the Rio Grande, passing through tall cottonwoods and various grasses. Their route was between highway 30 and the Rio Grande. It is a relatively short journey to the town of Espanola which sprawls over a large area of the valleys at the junction of the Rio Chama and the Rio Grande, thus obliterating the exact route of the trail.

Espanola is a modern town originated in the nineteenth century. This fertile section of the Rio Grande produces vegetables and fruit, particularly apples.

Around Espanola, including both the valleys of the Rio Chama and Rio Grande, are hills covered with scrub pinon and juniper. Ranchos follow the threads of both streams. To the northwest of Espanola the Chama runs through rich vegas which are lined with orchards interrupted by thriving young

cottonwoods. The traveler cannot but be impressed by the beauty of the Chama Valley.

In the late afternoon the expedition reached Santa Rosa de Abiquiu, the ancestor of the modern Hispanic village of Abiquiu, which overlooks the Chama from its perch high upon the left bank. The route can be approximated by following Highway 84. Abiquiu is a pleasant town, retaining many of the characteristics of an earlier age. Residents have an exhilarating view of the Chama Valley to the jagged sandstone cliffs beyond. The expedition remained in Abiquiu for two nights. Abiquiu was on the frontier and the last contact which the explorers had with a Spanish settlement for the duration of the journey. One can readily imagine the final rush to complete provisions, send final messages, and the anticipation with which the group prepared to move on.

The Escalante diary gives only meager information and description of the trip to this point. The trail from Santa Fe to Abiquiu was well known and well traveled since it was within the Hispanicized area of Nuevo Mexico. Surely Escalante assumed that this portion of the route was known to all and that exploration began beyond Abiquiu.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Both Drs. Alan Minge and Robert Archibald were relatively familiar with this area. Highway 84 follows the Chama to Abiquiu and the trail apparently follows the river. Some time was spent exploring Abiquiu itself and speculating upon where in the village the expeditionaries might have stayed. Changes wrought by 200 years include a remodeling of the old church.

July 31 (No travel)

August 1

On the 1st of August, after both of us had celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass, we set out westward from El Pueblo de Santa Rosa de Abiquiu along the box channel of El Rio de Chama and, after having gone through it a little less than a league, swung to the northwest; then, after about three and a half leagues of bad going because there are some little mesas very much strewn with rocks, we paused to rest on the north side of El Valle de la Piedralumbre, close to the dry arroyo. They say that there is rock alum and transparent gypsum in some mesas which stand to the east and northeast of this valley. By afternoon we set out northward from the dry arroyo, took to the northeast a short distance away through a wooded canyon, and after two leagues of very bad going halted at the edge of said arroyo. Today a good heavy downpour caught us, and we traveled seven leagues.



From Abiquiu the Dominguez-Escalante trail follows the canyon of the Rio Chama west by northwest. The old path most probably followed the left bank since the right bank is tightly crowded by steep cliffs. The right side of the Chama has expansive vegas which now support gardens and small ranches of alfalfa. The bank of the river sustains cottonwoods, Russian olive, mulberry, and a few fruit trees. The white cliffs to the north are sparsely vegetated with chamise, cholla cactus, and a variety of wild and cultivated grasses. As the trail moves farther upstream it is confined to a narrowing canyon whose banks are covered with scrub juniper, pinion, and oak with occasional chamise and cholla.

As the trail continues the canyon of the Chama becomes rough and tortuous, taking a northwesterly course to the junction with the Canjilon. The Rio Canjilon is appropriately labeled by Escalante the Arroyo Seco. At this point the explorers took siesta in El Valle de la Piedralumbre just to the north of the Chama-Canjilon junction south of the present site of Ghost Ranch. This part of the Canjilon presents an attractive but austere aspect. On both sides are dramatic and colorful rock formations and steep cliffs as it flows past prominent landmarks such as Echo Amphitheatre. The small amount of water carried by the stream at this point creates no particular increase in growth but some scrub oak and a few box elder. There is no farming or ranching in this area, and the river is flanked by steep but low cliffs as one ascends. The residents call this section of the Rio Canjilon "Arroyo Seco."

The route on its way up the Canjilon to the campsite north of Echo Amphitheatre continues tortuous as the Canjilon winds its way between steep-walled cliffs and rugged terrain. The Arroyo Seco name apparently applied to this portion of the Canjilon (from the junction with the Chama northward) up to the junction with a small Arroyo Seco. They reached the point at which Arroyo Seco enters the Canjilon and just before the Canjilon enters a wooded area. They camped in a meadow located at the junction here.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Most of the trail is accessible from Highway 84 which was followed. Side trips were made to ascertain the exact route with the help of maps. The research team had trouble locating the Canjilon because natives kept referring to Arroyo Seco. Then they found the lower portion of the Canjilon to be known by the natives as Arroyo Seco. The area around the junction of the Canjilon and Chama is altered by Vado Lake and other engineering projects. Researchers found a highway gravel quarry situated on a bluff from which they could get a picture of the area of the siesta.

August 2

On the 2nd of August we continued northeast along the same canyon, and at a little more than a quarter-league we swung north. We entered through a wooded canyon in which for a quarter-league's distance there is a scruboak thicket so dense that in it four horses vanished from our sight while passing through, so that we had to make a halt in order to look for them and they were found within a short time. And though we lost the path in this thicket for its being little used, we later saw that it went along the east side of the arroyo which runs through its middle, and it is the same one which farther down we call Arroyo del Canjilon, a dry arroyo. Past the thicket there is a short plain of abundant pasturage and one very pleasant to see, because it produces certain rosettes having a tint between purple and white which, if they are not carnations, are very much like those of the same color.

There are also clumps of lemita, which is a red bead the size of the blackthorn's, and its coolness and taste very similar to the lemon's, so that in this country it is regarded as its substitute for making cool drinks. Besides this there is choke-cherry very much smaller than the one of the valley of Mexico, and another tiny fruit called manazanita, the bush of which is like the lemita's but the leaf more like that of celery. The little fruit's size is almost that of ordinary chickpeas, the color white in some and black in others, the taste a sharp bittersweet but agreeable.

Where the rosettes mentioned begin, the canyon is split in two by a tall mesa which enters it in this wise. There are trails through both of them, one of which goes north and the other west. Where the latter begins, and below the southern point of said mesa, there is a small spring of good perennial flow; however, for the horse herds to drink even a little of it, it will be necessary to dig waterholes. When the horses turned up we continued our day's march westward along the canyon and trail, having traveled a league and a quarter to the north. After going less than half a league to the west, we swung northwest, and after a little more than three leagues' travel over good terrain we arrived to take a rest at an arroyo which is called El Rio de la Cebolla, getting away from the trail a bit. In its sunken channel we found plenty of still water, for it seldom flows with it according to indications.

From here we set out in the afternoon, going up northward for about a quarter-league to take up the trail we had left. We turned to the northwest, and after a little more than three leagues of good terrain we stopped on a short plain and at the edge of another arroyo which is called El Rio de las Nutrias; for although it does not have water running permanently, it apparently keeps it throughout all or most of the year in banked ponds where beaver are said to breed. Today eight leagues.

From the August 1 campsite of the expedition the trail veers to the northeast and then to the north along the bed of the Canjilon. The trail goes forward into a more wooded canyon of the stream which is flanked with ponderosa pine, cedar, juniper, and pinion. It was in this area that Escalante complained of temporarily losing four horses. The party followed the Canjilon, which was seen by the researchers at the same time of year, through a beautiful meadow covered with wild fruits and flowers as described in the diary. It is almost certain that the explorers followed the northeast trend of the Canjilon past the modern village of Canjilon before turning west by northwest into the valley of the Rio de la Cebolla where they stopped for siesta. The trail crosses the Rio Cebolla somewhat to the east of Highway 84.

After siesta they continued through the fields to the east of the road and descended into the valley of El Rio de las Nutrias where they made camp for the night near the present roadway. This is a broad valley dotted with the small ponds which Escalante noted. It is now covered mainly with grasses, but there are indications that it may have been wooded in 1776.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The route is straightforward except for the area around the village of Canjilon which was explored on two separate days. To clarify the approaches and exit from Canjilon, the researchers drove several little-used roads above and below the town.

#### August 3

On the 3rd we set out headed northwest from El Arroyo de las Nutrias, entered a small pine forest, and, after traveling a little less than three leagues, descended to El Rio de Chama and went up to rest on the opposite side. The river ford is good, but on the margins nearby there are big hidden quicksands covered over with thin rubble. In one of them Don Juan Pedro Cisneros' mount got completely submerged. The river's meadow is about a league long from north to south, good land for farming with the help of irrigation; it produces a great deal of good flax and abundant pasturage. There are also the other prospects which a settlement requires for its founding and maintenance. Here it has a good grove of white poplar.

In the afternoon we went on and, after climbing the river's west slope, came into a small valley which we named Santo Domingo. It is surrounded by three large pine-forested mesas which, starting with three little bluffs that they have somewhat to the north, formed a half-arc from north to south until they reach the river. They told us that to the west of these mesas there were two lakes, the first and southernmost to the west of the gap which from the slope mentioned is seen between the first and second mesa, and the second to the west of the next gap which also can be seen

between the second and third mesa. These lakes with the valley mentioned are very suitable for raising large and small livestock.

We continued northwest through the valley, entered a small pine forest; in it a loaded mule strayed off and did not turn up until after sundown, so that we had to halt on broken brambly ground next to the three little bluffs mentioned, which we named La Santísima Trinidad, after having traveled only two leagues northwest from the river. There is no water at this site, although we found a little in an arroyo to the east-southeast near the broken ground. Where we crossed it today, El Río de Chama runs from north to south, from a little before it faces El Cerro del Pedernal west to east until it passes El Pueblo de Abiquíu. Today five leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. Alan Minge

From Nutrias the trail takes a west by northwest course to avoid hills to the north which would have impeded travel. An old trail is clearly marked through this area. The trail descends to the Río Chama about a mile south of La Puente and then follows up the east bank to the village where it most probably crosses. La Puente is a quiet Hispanic village with farming and ranching in the valley of the Chama which it overlooks. Escalante's 1776 description still fits this portion of the trail well. The meadows are still there, groves of cottonwoods grow along the stream, flax bloom, and the river bed is filled with small stones and tanks which provide a poor footing for man or beast.

After crossing the river the trail moves up the juniper-covered ridge to the northwest from which the Spaniards spotted the three mesas which were familiar to the guides and are obvious to the modern explorer. Between the ridge and the mesas is a valley formed by Willow Creek which has now been dammed to form Heron Lake. This is properly identified with Escalante's Valle de Santo Domingo.

Between the northernmost of the three mesas and the shoulder of the hill just in front of it there is a pass toward which the trail leads. When they had reached the foot of the northernmost mesa, the party made camp at a meadow formed at the northern edge of a small seasonal lake. The camp was located in what is now the bed of Heron Lake.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The researchers selected much of this route on the basis of natural land contours which pointed out the probable route. They found the old trail which led directly to the Chama and identified the correct meadow out of a possible three or four along the river. The area around La Puente and Heron Lake was looked at from all possible angles. Heron Lake alters much of the valley and obliterates some of the trail from Ruthenon to the Canada de la Laguna.

August 4

On the 4th we set out northward from El Paraje de la Santisima Trinidad. We went two leagues through the same forest, which consists of pines, some pinons, and scrub oak. It also abounds in pasturage and very tall-growing flax, being fenced about by two large mesas, both of which by forming a semi-circle almost came together at their points, the first's northern and the second's southern one -- a small narrow gap or pass separating them. We marched northwest about a quarter-league and passed through the little gap where another lake begins, which we named Olivares, and which must be a quarter-league in length and in width two hundred yards, more or less. The waters even if not very palatable, are fit to drink.

From the lake and small gap we proceeded north for half a league and swung to the northeast, leaving the trail which goes toward La Piedra Parada (site known to our people who have traveled through here), and the guides directed us through a sagebrush stretch without path or trail whatsoever, saying that there were three very troublesome inclines on the trail we were leaving, and that it was less direct than the straight way we were taking.

We went a little more than a league, and on the same sagebrush stretch turned to the west-northwest; we again entered the forest (which continues), and at half a league we took to the northwest. We traveled three leagues and a half through a narrow valley most richly abounding with pastures, and arrived at a very spacious meadow of the arroyo which along the said trail of La Piedra Parada they call El Belduque. On the meadow we swung to the west, and after going two leagues down the arroyo we halted in a canyon which, on account of a certain incident, we named El Canon del Engano. Today nine leagues and a quarter. There is plenty of ponded water here, and pasturage.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. Alan Minge

From El Paraje de la Santisima Trinidad the trail rounds the northernmost of the three mesas and moves up the Canada de la Laguna past Sawmill and Tecolote mesas. This portion of the route is inaccessible except on foot or by horse. The explorers then passed through a narrow gap and arrived on the banks of Laguna de Olivares which is now called Horse Lake. It is in a secluded valley of the Jicarilla Apache Reservation and can be reached with a little ingenuity. The narrow pass just south of Horse Lake forms a distinctive part of the landscape.



Despite suggestions to the contrary by others, the trail moves almost directly north from Laguna de Olivares along an old trail to the old mining town of Monero and then follows the valley formed by Amargo Creek through the modern town of Dulce, just inside the Jicarilla Reservation. The route northwest directly to Dulce, which has been suggested, would have been difficult since it is a series of steep hills as stated in the diary.

Researchers were unable to follow the entire trail from Laguna de Olivares to Monero because of posted private property, but both ends of it were investigated. An old man in Monero substantiated Escalante's report of forests along this route. When the old man's son was asked about the trail the man inquired, "Quiéren saber el camino para la selva?" Otherwise, both asserted the same trail, which they used to forage for wood, continued on to Horse Lake.

Amargo Creek, which the trail followed from Monero to the Canon del Engano, is identified with the Arroyo del Belduque of the Escalante diary. The Canon del Engano is located on this arroyo about one half league above its junction with the Rio Navajo. On August 4, 1776, the expeditionaries camped here, on a site well selected for pasturage.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The country in this area is so complex that preliminary ideas were altered several times as the researchers made actual observations. J8, a road hardly deserving of the name, approaches Laguna de Olivares from Dulce, and J9 runs from Dulce down Amargo Creek and along the Rio Navajo. Much time was spent exploring various trails in the Monero area before discovering the one which the expedition followed.

#### August 5

On the 5th we left El Canon del Engano toward the southwest, and at half a league we reached El Rio (de Navajo) which rises in La Sierra de la Grulla; it runs from northeast to southwest up to here, whence it turns north a little more than three leagues until it joins another river which they call San Juan. Here the said one of Navajo carried less water than the Chama. Having crossed the river, we continued with difficulty through the same canyon for nearly a league to the south. We swung southwest a quarter-league, and three quarters west through canyons, over inclines, and very troublesome tree growth. The experts lost the trail -- and even the slight acquaintance they showed to have had with this terrain. And so, to avoid going farther down, we took to the northwest. We traveled without trail for about three leagues, going up a high mount but without a steep grade, and we caught sight of the said arroyo's sunken channel. We went over to it down slopes which were rather rough yet negotiable, and at a little more than three leagues west-northwest we crossed it at a good ford and halted on the northern side. Here it is already joined with that of the San Juan.



## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. Alan Minge

The trail follows the narrow canyon of Amargo Creek, following the route taken by the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad grade. Two miles down the canyon is the junction with the Rio Navajo in a beautiful narrow canyon with some meadowland in the bottom.

The trail followed the Rio Navajo for several miles to the south through difficult terrain. As soon as the Spaniards left the river they lost the trail, and their meanderings are difficult to plot with accuracy. However, Escalante's distances and directions make it possible to mark the trail on a map with some accuracy. They crossed the Colorado border at approximately  $107^{\circ} 15'$ , or near the Carracas Canyon.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The researchers followed J9 and the old Denver & Rio Grande Western Railway as far as possible and carefully observed the probable route. There was not enough time remaining to walk the area west of the Navajo.

## NARRATIVE

W. Alan Minge

Our assignment of the Escalante trail included that segment between Santa Fe and the Colorado border. We covered the distance between Santa Fe and Rio Pojoaque to the Rio Grande junction on July 20, 1975. Our plan was to take in the junction of the two rivers, but the road over Rio Pojoaque had been flooded. On July 29 we covered the distance easily from the junction on the west side of the Rio Grande, through Santa Clara Pueblo and Espanola, stopping at Abiquiu. On our return trip to Santa Fe, I was able to redo some of the black and white photos of special items missed the first Sunday. On Wednesday, July 30, we again hit the trail and managed to cover the segment from Abiquiu to the probable campsite at the Rio Nutrias. This day required considerable driving around on little-used roads and some backtracking. August 3 brought us from the Rio Nutrias to the narrow pass leading to and beyond Horse Lake (Laguna de Olivares) and involved considerable driving over little-used roads. We brought the expedition to beyond the Rio Navajo and the Colorado border on August 4, but the broken area and road conditions again required backtracking and checking landscapes from different places. We were satisfied that we had covered as much of the trail as possible in five days, tracing all but about 10 miles. Some of the trail has been obliterated by modern developments as indicated by the formal report.

I was assisted throughout the project by Dr. Robert R. Archibald and accompanied on July 20, 27, and 30 by my nephew, Fred Robinson.

We used an automobile for transportation and were able to cover all but about 10 miles. We drove some of the area between Horse Lake and Monero, but the old trail which appeared to be the most likely (there are several out of Monero) had a heavy gate and padlock.

If time had permitted we would have hiked the area from the Santisima Trinidad campsite to Horse Lake, about five miles or less, and the area south from the Rio Navajo and up the area of the Carracas Canyon. It is our opinion that the expedition used the one high point that falls within Escalante's distances and directions, indicated on our map as the lookout to find the San Juan River. We needed no special equipment. It is advisable to stay off the back roads during wet spells. For cameras, we used a Nikkormat 35 mm and a Rolleiflex.

In the future, parties will find it useful to interview the residents at Monero for help in pinpointing the trail between Horse Lake and that village. Another area to check is the walk from the Santisima Trinidad campsite to Horse Lake. The last would help eliminate the confusion created by a series of lakes through the area between La Puente and the Santisima Trinidad campsite. There is an unimproved road which will take one all the way to the northern tip of the north mesa and then it swings from there south-southwest. We were unable to find an old trail to the north of Heron Lake. Even a boat ride would not help much because the lake itself covers the low areas through which the party moved.

One final note. The manzanita of the Bolton and Chavez texts I have been able to identify (see field notes for July 30) but the others are a mystery. Something might be gained by inquiring of the residents of the village of Canjilon. Time did not permit us to accomplish more than to find the meadows and determine where the party most likely left the Canjilon Valley.

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

That part of the Dominguez-Escalante trail lying between the present town of Dulce, New Mexico, and the New Mexico-Colorado Boundary has been very difficult to identify. Walter Briggs, W. L. Rusho, Janie Chavez, and David E. Miller attempted to define it on April 26, 1974, but came away dissatisfied. Since W. Alan Minge did not have time to thoroughly examine that area as part of his 1975 research of the route, W. L. Rusho undertook a second reconnaissance of it on September 26, 1975. He was accompanied by Brad Smith.

Armed with detailed USGS quadrangle maps and a four-wheel drive vehicle, the two men picked up the trail at Dulce and succeeded in identifying the probable Spanish route from that town to the crossing of the San Juan River near present Carracas, Colorado. The Rusho report follows.

## RESEARCH REPORT A

### II THE W. L. RUSHO REPORT

August 4

On the meadow we swung to the west, and after going two leagues down the arroyo we halted in a canyon which, on account of a certain incident, we named El Canon del Engano. . . .There is plenty of ponded water here, and pasturage.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

From the spacious meadow the expedition headed west, passing through the future site of Dulce, New Mexico, which is the location today of tribal headquarters of the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation. Following Amargo Creek they turned northwest, then west, where the valley began to narrow into a canyon. They camped about one and a half miles short of reaching the Navajo River, at a point where the canyon was still wide enough to contain a narrow strip of river bottom pasturage.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

On September 26, 1975, W. L. Rusho, accompanied by Brad Smith, visited Dulce, consulted with Jicarilla Apache officials, and drove down Amargo Canyon on a dirt road designated J9.

August 5

On the 5th we left El Canon del Engano toward the southwest, and at half a league we reached El Rio de Navajo which rises in La Sierra de la Brulla; it runs from northeast to southwest up to here, whence it turns north a little more than three leagues until it joins another river which they call San Juan. Here the said one of Navajo carried less water than the Chama. Having crossed the river, we continued with difficulty through the same canyon for nearly a league to the south. We swung southwest a quarter-league, and three quarters west through canyons, over inclines, and very troublesome tree growth. The experts lost the trail--and even the slight acquaintance they showed to have had with this terrain. And so, to avoid going farther down, we took to the northwest. We traveled without trail for about three leagues, going up a high mountain but without a steep grade, and we caught sight of the said arroyo's sunken channel. We went over to it down slopes which were rather rough yet negotiable, and at a little more than three leagues west-northwest we crossed it at a good ford and halted on the

northern side. Here it is already joined with that of the San Juan.

The experts said that these two rivers came together a little farther up, and so we decided to take the latitude of this stopping point, and hold up for this purpose until the afternoon of the following day. A bearing was taken by the sun's meridian and we found the place, which we named Nuestra Senora de las Nieves, to be at 37° 51' latitude. Fray Silvestre went out to inspect the place where the said rivers of Navajo and San Juan come together and found that it lay three leagues as the crow flies almost due east of Las Nieves, and that on either one's banks at the junction itself there were good prospects for a moderate settlement. . . .

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Amargo Canyon, through which the expedition began the day's travel, continues from the campsite to the west, but near its junction with Navajo River it makes a sharp bend to the south. Hence, the composite direction was indeed toward the southwest. At the confluence the Navajo River flows through a deep canyon, formed by steep, wooded mountains, and here makes a sharp bend toward the northwest. The padres traveled west along this bend for less than a mile (certainly not a league to the south as stated in the diary), where they reached a side canyon from the southwest now called La Juita Canyon.

Modern developments in Amargo Canyon and along the Navajo River are few. For many years the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad had a spur track through these canyons to Chama. Now the tracks are gone and the railroad grade is the pathway for J9, one of the maintained dirt roads of the Jicarilla Reservation. At the mouth of Amargo Canyon still stand two steel bridges and a decrepit, but picturesque, water tower.

Highway J9 turns southwest up La Juita Canyon, as did the padres of 1776, led by their "expert" guides. They had gone less than two miles, however, when they reached a three-way fork in the canyon. Today Road J9 continues southwest, Road J3 heads northwest, while an undesignated and faint road heads straight west. Obviously the guides should have continued southwest, but they instead turned west, up a broad canyon that goes nowhere. As a result, they found themselves against a steep, wooded mountain on which they proceeded to the north, then west, quite near Barrella Canyon and La Huida Canyon. Traveling west, then southwest along La Huida Canyon they groped, finally turning northwest to get their bearings from the crest of a high mountain.

Although densely wooded, the mountain they climbed is not excessively steep except on the northwest side, but they were approaching it from the southeast side. The mountain, located in Sec. 16, T 32N, R 3W, is shown on Carracas Canyon Quadrangle as 7,753 feet in elevation. From its highest point,

however the view of the river is blocked by the broad shoulder of the mountain that extends to the west. Therefore, they rode one-half mile to that shoulder and saw the San Juan River at Carracas and a few miles further downstream. They could not see either the Navajo or the San Juan rivers to the north since these are too deeply entrenched in canyons.

From their high vantage point, almost 1,600 feet above the river, the route to reach it was obvious. They descended the gentle southwest side of the mountain and turned northwest just before reaching Frijoles Peak. Jicarilla route J9 rejoins the path of the 1776 expedition at this point. Within two miles, however, the boundary of the Jicarilla Reservation is reached and the road ends. Beyond this boundary is private land posted with "no trespassing" and "keep out" signs.

Traveling west-northwest the padres crossed Frijoles Canyon, then went over the low divide into Carracas Canyon. At this point they turned northwest and reached the San Juan River in less than half a mile. Where they crossed the river and camped was probably just east of the old D&RGW Railroad siding of Carracas, Colorado.

Apparently traveling alone, Escalante made a late afternoon ride up the San Juan to the mouth of the Navajo, passing through what is now the interesting, abandoned railroad village of Pagosa Junction, Colorado. The equally interesting village of Juanita lies between the San Juan and the Navajo, at the point where Escalante said prospects were good for a moderate settlement.

Escalante overestimated the distance from the Nieves camp to the mouth of the Navajo. His estimate of three leagues is about right for the winding distance up the canyon, but "as the crow flies," the distance is only a bit more than two leagues.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

On April 26, 1974, David E. Miller, Walter Briggs, Janie Chavez, and W. L. Rusho made a brief reconnaissance of the trail area, but they arrived at no definite conclusions on the routing.

On September 26, 1975, W. L. Rusho, accompanied by Brad Smith, traveled in a four-wheel drive vehicle, closely following almost all of the trail. Although they deviated slightly at that point where the padres became lost, they traveled on a road just below. The researchers left their vehicle and climbed the north side of the high mountain to the viewpoint where Carracas and the San Juan River can be seen. They drove to the west boundary of the Jicarilla Reservation but could only visually survey the two miles of trail on private land immediately to the west. They then drove to the mouth of the Navajo and down the San Juan to Carracas.

Maps used on the recent survey were as follows: USGS Quadrangles Wirt Canyon, Carracas Canyon, Bancos Mesa, Carracas Colo., and Pagosa Junction, Colo.; USGS AMS Aztec, Jicarilla Reservation Master Road Plan.

RESEARCH REPORT B

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL

FROM THE NEW MEXICO-COLORADO BOUNDARY TO MONTROSE, COLORADO

AUGUST 6-26, 1776

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

BY

DR. ROBERT W. DELANEY, RESEARCHER

ROBERT MCDANIEL, ASSOCIATE



## RESEARCH REPORT B

THE R. W. DELANEY AND ROBERT MCDANIEL REPORT

August 6

On the 6th in the afternoon we set out from El Paraje de Nuestra Senora de las Nieves, downstream and to the west, and after traveling two and a half leagues of bad terrain we halted by the river's edge. Don Bernardo Miera had been having stomach trouble all along and this afternoon he got much worse, but God willed that he got better before morning the next day so that we could continue on our way. Today two leagues and a half.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION R. W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

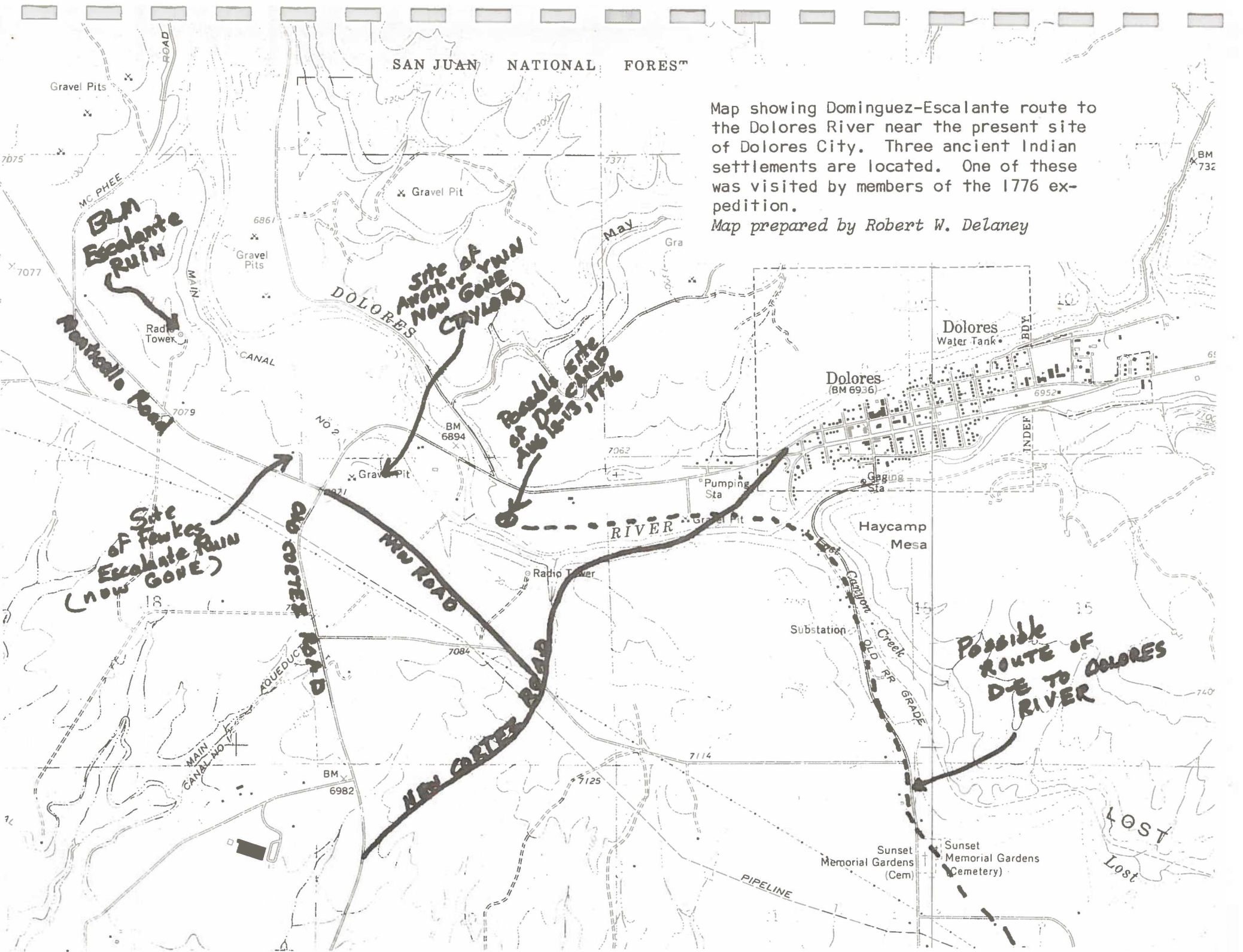
Carracas, Colorado, is a deserted station on the abandoned Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad line, located on the San Juan River near an unnumbered Archuleta County gravel road between its junction with Colorado Highway 151 and Pagosa Junction. The surrounding country is hilly terrain forested with typical Upper Sonoran vegetation including sage, pinion, juniper, and oak brush with cottonwoods and willows along the watercourses and large Ponderosa pines on the slopes with a northern exposure. The San Juan River is usually very high and muddy in spring and early summer but was undoubtedly much lower in August, 1776. The river at Carracas would be easy to cross in August of any year. The campsite of Nuestra Senora de las Nieves was probably located on the north bank of the San Juan in the vicinity of a bridge which is still standing but little used. This bridge is about one-eighth mile off the gravel road that goes to Pagosa Junction and on to Pagosa Springs. As Bolton points out, Escalante is wrong on the distance to the confluence of the Navajo and San Juan rivers. Bolton indicates that the campsite was so named because of the vista of snow-covered peaks. One cannot see the snow-covered peaks from the campsite, but they would have seen them from the high ground before descending to the San Juan River. Escalante is absolutely right about the land downstream from the campsite. The valley broadens out and is ideal for irrigated crops.

(In all of this, it must be remembered that the expedition had a very primitive compass. At best, the compass directions would be only true north and magnetic north is about 14°. Of course, the earth's

SAN JUAN NATIONAL FOREST

Map showing Dominguez-Escalante route to the Dolores River near the present site of Dolores City. Three ancient Indian settlements are located. One of these was visited by members of the 1776 expedition.

Map prepared by Robert W. Delaney



magnetic field has been changing, but it would have been approximately the same 200 years ago.)

The trail for August 6 parallels the San Juan on the north side through the river bottom. There is excellent farmland with good irrigation, although only a portion is farmed at the present time. The trail passes south of Sandoval Canyon which runs north-northeast and opens up into the valley of the San Juan. Both Bolton and Russon<sup>1</sup> agree on the trail for August 6. It does not appear to be "bad terrain," especially after the country they had just traversed in northern New Mexico. Perhaps Escalante was still sulking at the guides from his experience in Canon del Engano. The livestock probably needed the time to graze and regenerate themselves in a fairly lush setting while the astronomical observation was taken. Both Bolton and Russon agree that the campsite of August 6 was about four miles east of Arboles; that would place it about one mile west of Sandoval Canyon. Today this campsite, which was on the north bank of the San Juan, is covered by water that forms Lake Navajo for the larger part of the year.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Researchers drove from Durango, Colorado, to Carracas, Colorado, near the Colorado-New Mexico boundary by way of U.S. Highway 160 and Colorado 172 to Ignacio and via Colorado 151 to Arboles and thence east along an unnumbered Archuleta County gravel road to Carracas. (This last mentioned road goes on to Pagosa Junction and Pagosa Springs). Near Carracas we inquired of a farmer-rancher about roads, etc. He told us about the bridge over the San Juan about one-eighth mile off the gravel road. We proceeded to that bridge and crossed the San Juan going south. (The road forks immediately on the south side of the bridge; one fork goes to a dead end and the other has a gate across it with a "no trespass" sign put there by the Southern Ute Tribe). The expedition must have crossed the river in the vicinity of the present-day bridge. We turned around to view what the expedition must have seen before crossing the river. We then recrossed the river and walked downstream on the north side to examine the lay of the land and photograph the best place for the campsite of Nuestra Senora de las Nieves.

After photographing the campsite of Nuestra Senora de las Nieves, we took photos of the level land on the north side of the river--land that is now in forage crops and pasture. We then proceeded back to the gravel road which parallels the expedition's short journey of this day. We drove off the gravel road along a road used by fishermen and then walked to where we figured the campsite must be at a bend of the river.

#### August 7

On the 7th we continued west along the river's

<sup>1</sup>-Robert S. Russon, "A Trail Guide to the Dominguez-Velez de Escalante Expedition, 1776." Master of Science Thesis, Utah State University, 1973; unpublished.

edge and adjacent mesas' slopes for a little more than a league, and we went up a difficult incline. We turned northwest, and after another league we arrived at the river called La Piedra Parada, very near to where it joins the Navajo. Here it has a very large meadow which we named San Antonio, of very good land for farming with the help of irrigation together with all the rest that a settlement requires by way of firewood, stone, timber, and pastures--and all close by. 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 where it passes through El Pueblo de Abiquiu. Having crossed this river we traveled west two leagues, somewhat more than another two west-northwest, and arrived at the western edge of the river called Los Pinos because some grow along its edges. It consists of very good water, is a bit smaller than the one of El Norte; it flows through here from north to south--enters that of the Navajo, and rises out of La Sierra de La Grulla near its western end where they call it Sierra de la Plata. Here it has a large meadow very abundant with pastures, especially of grama-grass, extensive and good lands for farming through irrigation, with all the rest that may be desired for a goodly settlement. We stopped in it, naming it La Vega de San Cayetano. Today a little more than six leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

Bolton and Russon disagree on the route of August 7. We would tend to agree with Bolton since Escalante says " . . . along the river's edge and the adjacent of its confluence with the San Juan (now under water), and proceeded west, probably passing over the present-day site of Arboles. They proceeded west-northwest, skirting the highlands to the north, much as does Colorado Highway 151, passing near Allison and Tiffany. Along the way they would have caught their first good sight of the La Platas along the southern edge of which they intended to go. They reached and crossed the Rio de los Pinos just south of Ignacio (but perhaps, not so far south as Bolton believed). The valley here is broad and they could have camped anywhere with abundant pasturage for the animals. The Vega de San Cayetano is broad and flat ground. They probably would have gone as far north on the Los Pinos as the point from where they intended to cut across to the Florida, Animas, and on to the south end of the La Platas.



## RESEARCH METHODS

We returned to the gravel road and traveled west parallel to the river to the junction of that road and Colorado Highway 151, which roughly parallels the Dominguez-Escalante route from Arboles to Ignacio, Colorado. Colorado 151 is probably just a little to the east of the route traversed by the expedition. We turned south on La Plata County Road 322 to photograph the broad and lush valley of the Pine River south of Ignacio. It is our belief, after looking at the land traversed, that they camped not more than a mile south of the present-day town of Ignacio.

### August 8

On the 8th we set out west-northwest from La Vega de San Cayetano and Rio de los Pinos, and at the end of four leagues arrived at El Rio Florido, which is medium-sized and smaller than that of Los Pinos. It rises in the same sierra farther to the west, and where we crossed it has a large meadow, and of good land for farming with the aid of irrigation the pastures on the meadow are good, but not in the immediate vicinity, although it evidently has them in wet years. Having crossed El Rio Florido, we traveled west two leagues, and west-northwest a little more than another two. We went down a rocky and not too lengthy incline and arrived at El Rio de las Animas, near the western point of La Sierra de la Plata where it has its origin. We crossed it and halted on the opposite side. It is as large as that of El Norte, and now carried somewhat more water and with greater rapidity, because here its currents which run from north to south have a steeper fall, and it flows like the foregoing ones into that of the Navajo. Through here it runs through a box channel, but farther down it is said to have meadows. Today eight leagues, a little more. There is no good pasturage here, but there is some a little farther on.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R. W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

Examination of the terrain indicates that the expedition probably traveled in a more direct route than that followed by present-day Colorado Highway 172. In all probability, they paralleled that highway somewhat to the south, across a broad plain. From higher rises along the way they would have had a fine view of the La Plata Mountains whose southern end they intended to skirt. They would have crossed the Florida River in the vicinity of the present bridge on Colorado 172.

Downstream from there, the land is quite rocky and arid, although near the bridge there is the good pasturage alluded to in the diary.

From the crossing of the Florida they again went somewhat south of Colorado 172 toward Farmington Hill, the "rocky and not too lengthy incline," which they descended to the Animas River where they crossed it. The best camping place on the west bank of the Animas is a level place directly west of the livestock sale barn about four miles south of the city limits of Durango. Escalante mentions no good pasturage here and this would be true. The river is, indeed, in somewhat of a canyon.

Bolton and Russon do not agree on the route from the Vega de San Cayentano: their routes are parallel with Bolton's route a short distance to the north of Russon's. Russon has the campsite on the Animas farther south than does Bolton, who places it at the south end of Moving Mountain. We tend to agree with Bolton because of the best place to camp and the probability that they would try to camp on a river at about the point where the intended to leave it and proceed across country.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We traveled along Colorado Highway 172 from Ignacio going through Oxford. This road goes almost north from Ignacio two and a half miles before turning west-northwest. The expedition would have cut across immediately from Ignacio in a west-northwest direction but parallel to this road. In all probability they crossed the Florida River near the present-day bridge there on Colorado 172 to where that road turns almost due north to effect a junction with U.S. Highway 160. They would have kept west-northwest on to the Animas River. We went on to U.S. 160 and followed it to U.S. Highway 550 where we turned south to pick up the trail again and photograph the rocky slope which they descended to the Animas. We then came back to U.S. 160 and proceeded toward Durango. We crossed the Animas and traveled south on La Plata County 213 (La Posta Road) for photos of the Animas River campsite and the very stony and in places very rugged west bank of the Animas.

August 9

On the 9th we set out from El Rio de las Animas, ascended the Incline west of the river which, although it is not too lengthy, is quite difficult for consisting of plenty of rock and being very steep in places. We passed the small forest on its crest, with which it must measure a little more than a quarter of a league. We entered a narrow valley of abundant pastures, traveled through it one league to the west, and turned west by northwest; then, after going three leagues through a leafy forest of good pasturage



we reached El Rio de San Joaquin--de La Plata by another name--which is small and like the one which passes through El Pueblo de San Geronimo of the Taos Indians.

It rises at the same western point of La Sierra de la Plata, and descends through the same canyon in which there are said to be veins and outcroppings of metallic ore. However, although years ago certain individuals from New Mexico came to inspect them by order of the Governor, who at the time was Don Thomas Velez Cachupin, and carried back metal-bearing rocks, it was not ascertained for sure of what kind of metal they consisted. The opinion which some formed previously, from the accounts of various Indians and from some citizens of the Kingdom, that they were silver ore, furnished the sierra with this name.

From the aforesaid incline by El Rio de las Animas to this Rio de San Juan, the terrain is very moist, since it rains very frequently because of its proximity to the sierra; as a result, both in the mountain forest which consists of very tall and straight pines, scrub-oak, and several kinds of wild fruits, and in its narrow valleys, there are the prettiest of pastures. The climate here is excessively cold even in the months of July and August. Among the fruits mentioned there grows a small one of black hue, pleasant taste, and looking very much like the medlar if not that sweet. We did not proceed ahead today because the mounts had not fed enough the night before and were rather weak by now, and also because a thick and prolonged heavy downpour made us halt. Today four leagues and a quarter, almost all to the west.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

Climbing out of the Animas would be rather difficult for the livestock, as mentioned in the diary. They climbed the steep west bank to get on higher land and on a route that would take them to the south end of the La Platas. The small forest at the top has long since been cut down but at that time probably contained large Ponderosa pines. From the top, about three-fourths of a mile from the starting place, they would be able to see into Ridges Basin, the "valley of abundant pastures." They were paralleling present-day La Plata County Road 211 a little to the south where the terrain lends itself to much easier traveling.

After traveling a league directly westward, the expedition turned

west-northwest. Present-day La Plata County Road 141 forks off almost directly north from Colorado 211, and La Plata County Road 125 forks west-northwest from that road toward Hesperus. As the road climbs the hill toward Hesperus, the vegetation changes from pinion, juniper, and sagebrush to tall pines interspersed with oak brush and some cottonwoods and aspens--Escalante's "leafy forest."

From the top of the hill, they had a fine view of the La Plata Valley and the entrance to La Plata Canyon. Again, they made their way to camp on the La Plata at about the point where they intended to leave it and proceed to the drainage of the Mancos. There is fine pasturage and excellent places to camp all along the La Plata after it leaves La Plata Canyon. Bolton has them camping near the present site of Hesperus and we tend to agree with him rather than Russon who places the campsite farther south on the La Plata. We believe that their best place to camp was right at the site of Hesperus and from where they could see the hill they had to skirt to get to the Mancos drainage.

Showers in the afternoon are common in August and the temperature of low 40's to middle 30's at night would be cause for complaint.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We retraced our route on La Posta Road to its junction with La Plata County Road 211. This road skirts Moving Mountain to the north and goes through a pass into Ridges Basin. We turned on to La Plata County Road 125 to its junction with Colorado 140. Together these roads parallel the route of the expedition from the Animas River to the La Plata River campsite. A reenactment of the expedition could use these roads and follow almost exactly the route of the padres.

#### August 10

On the 10th, although Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke in bad condition because of a rheumy flow in his face and head which he had begun experiencing the day before, and it was necessary to tarry awhile until he could breathe better--the steady rains, the weather's inclemency, and the great humidity of the place forced us to leave it by heading north; after going a little more than a league we turned northwest. We traveled one league and turned west through very pleasant narrow valleys with woods, very abundant with pastures, with different blooms and flowers, and after about two leagues a very thick downpour caught us again. Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio got worse, the trail became impossible, and so, after very painfully traveling another two leagues to the west, we found ourselves obliged to halt at the

edge of the first rivulet of the two which make up the San Lazaro--or the Mancos by another name. The pasturages continued in great abundance. Today four leagues and a half.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R. W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

From the campsite at Hesperus, the Spaniards could see the high hill to their north, which they had to skirt. Colorado Highway 160 goes right along their trail here and turns northwest around the hill before turning almost due west toward Thompson Park, consisting of "very pleasant narrow valleys with woods, very abundant with pastures." The wild flowers are still abundant on the slopes of the hills. They probably skirted Mancos Hill to the west and crossed present Colorado 160 to camp on the East Mancos River just before its confluence with the main Mancos River. The campsite is on private land, but from the highway one can see the two lines of cottonwoods that mark the East Mancos and Mancos rivers. Both Bolton and Russon place the campsite too near the present town of Mancos. Escalante says ". . .we found ourselves obliged to halt at the edge of the first rivulet of the two which make up the San Lazaro--or the Mancos by another name. . ." This description fits perfectly the East Mancos just before it joins the West Mancos to form the Mancos River. There is a sense of urgency in Escalante's words, suggesting that they would have camped at the first water and good pasturage.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We turned from Colorado Highway 140 to U.S. 160 from Hesperus to the campsite on the East Mancos River. We consulted at Hesperus and at two ranches before determining "the first rivulet of the two." Only by retracing our route to a high place were we able to see exactly the cottonwoods which mark the courses of the creeks which form the Mancos River.

#### August 11

On the 11th, notwithstanding the severe cold and wetness we were experiencing, we were unable to change our location, for Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke very much exhausted from the trouble mentioned, and with some fever. For this reason we could not go over to see the sierra's metallic veins and rocks mentioned, even though they were a short distance away as one companion who had seen them on another occasion assured us.

Escalante is probably referring to the "metallic veins and rocks" in the La Plata Mountains, which were known to earlier expeditions. The best place to have seen these would have been in La Plata Canyon and that would have meant back-tracking several miles. It is difficult to see how they could have suffered so much from the cold and dampness in the first part of August. Things must have been so soaked from the showers they experienced that they were unable to make a fire to dry out. There is no shelter to speak of at the campsite except the little bit afforded by the cottonwoods.

August 12

On the 12th, Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke somewhat improved, and more to change terrain and weather than to gain a day's march, we set out from the site and Rio de San Lazaro toward the northwest. We traveled [crossed out: a little more than a league, turned west by west-northwest] five leagues through leafy tree-growth with good pasturage, took to the west, went two leagues and a half through a sagebrush stretch of little pasturage and, after a quarter-league of travel toward the north, crossed El Rio de Nuestra Senora de Dolores and halted on its northern edge. This river rises from La Sierra de la Plata's northern flank, runs southwest to this place, and from here makes a turn. It is a bit smaller than El Rio del Norte around this time of year. Today a little more than eight leagues and a half.

From the campsite on the East Mancos River the expedition traveled generally west-northwest toward Dolores. The expedition probably took a more direct route than does Colorado Highway 184. Their route would have been to the south and west of that road. The vegetation is mostly pinion, juniper, sagebrush, and oakbrush with cottonwoods along the courses of creeks. As the road climbs in elevation, pines appear and the brush is higher. Summit Lake is surrounded mostly by tall pines and oakbrush. Summit Lake is man-made and may cover a small portion of Escalante's trail, although it appears to us that they would have passed just south of the lake. In this regard, we believe that Bolton's route is more correct than Russon's.

The travel of August 12 was easy going over mostly flat terrain and it is easy to see why they would have traveled a greater distance on that day. Bolton believes that the expedition reached the Dolores

River via Lost Canyon, and that is very possible. If so, we believe with Russon that they camped very near the present-day site of Dolores. After one of the longest marches of the expedition, they would have probably camped at the closest good water and pasturage which were afforded at the present site of the town, probably right at the point where the Dolores turns to the north (the "turn" mentioned by Escalante).

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We drove on U.S. 160 into Mancos and turned northwest on Colorado 184 which parallels the trail between Mancos and Dolores. We consulted several people in Dolores, especially Larry Pleasant, owner and publisher of the Dolores Star, who believes that Dominguez and Escalante entered Lost Canyon quite a bit earlier and followed it to the Dolores.

#### August 13

On the 13th we made camp, both to allow the Padre to improve some more in order to go ahead, and to take a bearing on the polar elevation of this site and meadow of El Rio de los Dolores where we found ourselves. The bearing was taken by the sun, and we saw that we were at  $38^{\circ}13'$  and a half latitude. Here there is everything that a good settlement needs for its establishment and maintenance as regards irrigable lands, pasturage, timber, and firewood. Upon an elevation on the river's south side, there was in ancient times a small settlement of the same type as those of the Indians of New Mexico, as the ruins which we purposely inspected show. Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio got better, and we decided to continue our journey the following day.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R. W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

The exact site of the Anasazi ruin visited by members of the expedition is a matter of some controversy at this time (June 1975). A museum is being constructed and ruins are being stabilized at the "Escalante Ruin" which may or may not be the one mentioned by Escalante.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE

Page 36 of the Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin #70, Prehistoric Villages, Castles and Towers of Southwestern Colorado (Washington, D.C.:

Government Printing Office, 1919) is quoted here for the light it sheds on the ruins mentioned by Escalante. It is followed by a map which shows the location of the ruins in relation to the Dominguez-Escalante route into the Dolores River and the campsite of August 12-13, 1776. The map is based in part on information supplied by Merton Taylor and Larry Pleasant of Dolores.

#### Escalante Ruin

The name Escalante Ruin, given to the first ruin recorded by a white man in Colorado, is situated about 3 miles from Dolores on top of a low hill to the right of the Monticello Road, just beyond where it diverges from the road to Cortez. The outline of the pile of stones suggests a D-shaped or semicircular house with a central depression surrounded by rooms separated by radiating partitions. The wall on the south or east sides was probably straight, rendering the form not greatly unlike the other ruins on hilltops in the neighborhood of Dolores.

This is supposed to be the ruin to which reference is made in the following quotation from an article in Science:

"There is in the Congressional Library, among the documents collected by Peter Forco, a manuscript diary of early exploration in New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, dated 1776, written by two Catholic priests, Father Silvester Velez Escalante and Father Francisco Atanacio Dominguez. This diary is valuable to students of archeology, as it contains the first reference to a prehistoric ruin in the confines of the present State of Colorado, although the mention is too brief for positive identification of the ruin. While the context indicates its approximate site, there are at this place at least two large ruins, either of which might be that referred to. I have no doubt which one of these two ruins was indicated by these early explorers, but my interest in this ruin is both archeological and historical. Our knowledge of the structure of these ruins is at the present day almost as imperfect as it was a century and a half ago."

"The route followed by the writers of the diary was possibly an Indian pathway, and is now called the Old Spanish Trail. After entering Colorado it ran from near the present site of Mancos to the Dolores. On the fourteenth day from Santa Fe, we find the following entry: 'En la vanda nustral del Vio [Rio] sobre un alto, huvo antiquam (te) una Poblacion pequena, de la misma forma qe las de los Indios el Nuevo Mexico, sequn manifieran las Ruinas qe dc invento registramos.'



By tracing the trip day by day, up to that time, it appears that the ruin referred to by these early fathers was situated somewhere near the bend of the Dolores River, or not far from the present town Dolores, Colorado. The above quotation indicates that the ruin was a small settlement, and situated on a hill, on the south side of the river or trail, but it did not differ greatly from the ruined settlements of the Indians of New Mexico with which the writers were familiar, and had already described."

August 13 (no travel)

August 14

On the 14th we set out from the meadow and Rio de Dolores toward the north, and after a quarter-league of travel we continued northwest for one league, to the northwest by west for five leagues over a rather troublesome stretch of sagebrush. We entered a tall and craggy canyon and, after going through it two leagues to the north, we arrived a second time at El Rio de Dolores which already here runs northwest. We crossed it twice within a brief space and halted by its western edge, calling the stopping-point, which is a brief meadow of good pasturage, La Asuncion de Nuestra Senora.

This afternoon we were overtaken by an Indo-Caucasian half-breed and an Indian of mixed Plains parentage from Abiquiu, the first Felipe and the second Juan Domingo by name. So as to wander among the heathens, they had run away without the permission of their masters of that pueblo, with the desire of accompanying us as their excuse. We had no use for them, but, to forestall the mischief which either through their ignorance or through their malice they might do by wandering any further among the Yutas if we insisted on their going back, we took them on as companions. Today eight leagues and a quarter.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

The expedition traveled directly north close to the river and then turned to the northwest close to where the river turns. Escalante does not mention crossing the river near McPhee but they must have done so, as Bolton believed, to travel northwest by west for five leagues through difficult sagebrush to enter a "tall and craggy canyon" and travel two leagues to the north where "they" arrived a second time at El Rio de

Dolores." There is a deep canyon (unnamed on any maps available to us) which runs north-south and which opens up to the Dolores just east and a little south of Cahone. (They were probably joined by their two unwelcome companions before entering the canyon).

They then crossed the river twice which placed them again on the west bank and camped just opposite where Narragrunnep Creek enters the Dolores. There is a small level place here which would have provided the necessary forage for the animals, and firewood would have been no problem. To reach this spot one has to stop at Brewer's Ranch and walk directly north along the river. Mr. Brewer's house is located on the west bank of the Dolores near the bridge which spans the river.

The closest road for today's traveler goes along the river from Dolores on the east side, whereas the Dominguez-Escalante expedition traveled on the west side of the river almost the entire day.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Leaving Dolores, we drove the unnumbered Montezuma County road which follows the river on the east side to a place just opposite the extinct town of McPhee (now part of the ranch owned by Roy Shepard), where the expedition crossed the Dolores the first time that day. We had previously climbed the high hills just north and east of Dolores to view the Big Bend of the river and the route from the campsite. From the point opposite McPhee we could see the mesa west of the river along which they traveled before hitting the Dolores again. We continued along the unnumbered gravel road to the bridge that crosses the Dolores at Brewer's Ranch. After consulting the Brewers, we retraced our route back over the river and took a Forest Service road to a point where we could see the confluence of Narraguinnep Creek with the Dolores and photograph the probable campsite. We then returned to Brewer's Ranch and walked downstream a short way to be sure that we had photographed the most probable site for the camp.

#### August 15

On the 15th we set out from La Asuncion (on El Rio de Dolores) through a canyon of some ruggedness and rock, along which we traveled a quarter-league to the west-northwest. We then took to the northwest and, after a little less than a league and a half of travel, turned north-northwest and went over a sagebrush stretch of good and almost level terrain for a little more than three leagues. We turned one league northwest again and, after going another two and a half west and over the trail which, of the two into which it splits, swerves farthest from the river--the one we had been following since La Asuncion--we paused to rest in a small arroyo which

the experts thought had water; but we found it completely dry.

We did not know if there would be another adequate water source in this direction, and at a suitable distance for reaching it today, and so we ordered a reconnaissance of what we were to travel this afternoon. One was found, but so scanty that it sufficed for the people only and not for the horse herds. It was covered up with rocks and wood, evidently on purpose. It consists of permanent water, not too tasty. Perhaps the Yutas covered it up because of some misfortune that overtook them at this place, for, according to what was told us by some of the companions who had traveled among them, this is what they are accustomed to do in such cases. In the afternoon we set out again and, after two leagues of travel northwest and one half north, we arrived at the water source mentioned, which we named La Agua Tapada. Today nine leagues and three quarters.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION.

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

Almost straight across the Dolores from the confluence with Narraguinep Creek a small canyon runs northwest-southeast. The expedition probably went up this "canyon of some ruggedness and rock" for about three-fourths of a mile to reach the high land and pass just east of present-day Cahone. From there the route went northwest--generally easy going with only arroyos to cross and through sagebrush which is still there except where it has been cleared in order to grow pinto beans. They passed just east of Dove Creek. It is impossible to determine the exact arroyo in which they stopped for a siesta and sent men forward to explore for water. Also, it is impossible to determine the exact location of the covered pool where they camped for the night.

Both Bolton and Russon agree on the general area of Agua Tapada, the campsite. The pool was probably formed at the end of an arroyo and possibly impounded by a small earthen dam built by the Utes. Did they cover it to prevent evaporation and ensure a water supply on the high land, thereby eliminating the necessity to go all the way down to the Dolores?

The campsite was probably just west of Highway 141 and almost directly southwest of Egnar, Colorado.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We continued on the road from the bridge to its junction with an unpaved road just east of Cahone. After taking photos of this area we went to U.S. Highway 666 which parallels the trail from Cahone to Dove Creek. At Dove

Creek, we turned on to Colorado Highway 141 and proceeded to Egnar, Colorado. No one in the area had any idea about the Agua Tapada or any old spring or seepage which we might photograph nor could we see any cattails or other reeds which might give us a clue as to the covered pool.

#### August 16

On the 16th we discovered more than half of the horses missing, since, having had no water, they strayed away looking for it and found it near the trail halfway back on yesterday's march. They made their appearance, arriving when it was already late. For this reason we left La Agua Tapada at half past ten in the morning, taking a little-used trail which we figured would last us until we again reached El Rio de Dolores, which we intended to follow. However, after we had traveled over it for two leagues to the northwest, and a league and a half west, it played out on us because the ground was very loose and it had been obliterated by the rains. From here we took to the northwest; at a quarter of a league we entered a canyon, wide at its mouth, where we found a well-used trail. We followed it and, after another quarter-league of travel northward, we found a water source that appeared to us sufficient for the people and the horsesherds, and which, for its lying hidden on the eastern side within a dense woods of pinon and juniper, we called La Agua Escondida. No further directions are given because the trail goes right to it.

Two waterholes were made so that the horse herds could drink, and they drank all of it although not quite enough to be sated altogether. While we were reconnoitering the terrain on either side in order to proceed this afternoon, Don Bernardo Miera set out all alone through the said canyon without our seeing him. And so, while impelled to continue the day's march, we halted, sent another companion to bring him back before he could get lost; but he had gone so far ahead that they did not arrive until after midnight at the place where the rest of us were waiting extremely worried over the two's delay. They said that they had arrived through the canyon at El Rio de Dolores, and that in the intervening space there was no more than a difficult but improvable stretch for getting through. This made us decide to continue through here the next day. Today four leagues.

Almost certainly, after rounding up the livestock and getting a very late start, the party proceeded generally northwest and entered Summit Canyon where they found sufficient water and camped.\* Their trail passes to the west and roughly parallel to Highway 141. The last part of the day's travel would have been rough. Summit Canyon is deep and rocky. It is easy to understand why Miera would have wanted to reconnoiter. To descend to the Dolores without knowing a trail would seem a waste of time and would be generally opposed to the direction in which they knew Monterey to be.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We continued on Colorado Highway 141, which roughly parallels the trail for this date. At Slick Rock we inquired at the cafe about roads into Summit Canyon and were advised not to try it, given the heavy rains of that day. The best opinion was for us to cross the Dolores on the highway bridge and turn immediately left on a gravel road and follow it to a mining camp where we would be able to view the mouth of Summit Canyon. This we did but were not able to determine the probable campsite of August 16.

#### August 17

On the 17th we set out from La Agua Escondida, and about half past three in the afternoon we arrived a third time at El Rio de Dolores, having traveled along the entire canyon and its many turns for seven leagues to the north, which in a straight line must be four or five at the most. The canyon we named El Laberinto de Miera because of the varied and pleasing scenery of rock cliffs which it has on either side, and which, for being so lofty and craggy at the turns, makes the exit seem all the more difficult the farther one advances--and because Don Bernardo Miera was the first one to go through it. It is negotiable all the way and not too troublesome for the horse herds, except one passage which can be easily improved.

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\*(Editor's note) There is a considerable difference of opinion regarding the actual route the padres took into Summit Canyon. Bad weather and shortness of time prevented our 1975 research team from traversing the route on foot. An on-the-ground examination of it must yet be made to satisfy several interested researchers.



On reaching the river we saw quite recent tracks of Yutas, from which we figured there was an encampment of theirs nearby. And weighing the fact that if they had seen us, and we did not make advances toward them, they might suspect some mischief on our part, the fear of which would alarm them, and that one of them might be able to guide us or furnish us with some hints for continuing our journey with less difficulty and hardship than the one we were now experiencing--for none of our companions knew the water sources and terrain ahead--we decided to seek them out.

As soon as we halted by a bend of the river, which we named San Bernardo, Padre Fray Francisco set forth, accompanied by Andres Muniz the interpreter and Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, following the tracks upstream and for about three leagues. They ascertained that they were Tabehuachi Yutas but could not find them, after having gone as far as the point where the little Rio de las Paraliticas (so named because the first of our own to see it found in an encampment by its edge three female Yutas with the infirmity of this name) separates the Tabehuachi Yutas from the Muhuachi ones, the latter living to the south and the others to the north. Today seven leagues, which in a straight line would be four to the north.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

The expedition continued down Summit Canyon, reached the Dolores and camped there. At the present time there is considerable mining activity opposite Summit Canyon. Disappointment Valley opens up immediately east of the campsite, but the padres could not have seen it from their position.

#### RESEARCH METHOD

To get photos of Summit Canyon we went to Slick Rock, crossed the Dolores on the highway bridge, and proceeded to higher ground. We drove on a rather bad road to Disappointment Valley to photograph the probable campsite at the mouth of Summit Canyon. Before reaching Disappointment Valley we reached the best point from which to photograph Summit Canyon, and the campsite for this day.

#### August 18

On the 18th, two of the companions set out early to study a way by which we could get out of the river's box channel, which here has tall and very rocky mesas on either side, so as not to get too far away from it for as long as it did not change direction, which is north here, nor stray too far off for lack of water

and pasturage. No way was found by which to get out without going through the river's box channel in which because of so much rock and the necessity of having to cross it many times, we feared that our mounts would wear out their hooves. Leaving El Ancon de San Bernardo, we went downstream toward the north and halted so that they could go on to survey more than what they had traveled during the morning. They returned about eight in the morning, saying that only through the river's box channel could we get out, although with difficulty, from this impassable mass of mesas. And so we decided to proceed through the river's box channel. Today one league north.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

From the mouth of Summit Canyon the party proceeded almost due north along the Dolores and camped at the mouth of McIntyre Canyon. One can understand their concern about traveling along the river and crossing it many times, but that, too, seems preferable to climbing up to the high mesas on either side and taking a chance on not finding water and having again to descend to the Dolores.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

From several mining roads west of Slick Rock we examined and photographed the most feasible route for this day's travel. None of these roads is numbered; together they form a network of narrow roads from which one can determine the very short march of August 18.

#### August 19

On the 19th we continued downstream and, after going with no little difficulty one league to the northeast, and another northwest, we halted by another bend of the river so that, after the mounts had drunk, we might be able to leave it and follow a path which went northwest, here taking the river northward should the terrain's roughness allow us to do so. In the meantime, one of the companions went to find out if this path was negotiable up to where one passed the chain of high and rocky mesas over which we intended to cross, since by now the river's box channel was impassable. It was discovered that the path did not go over passable ground in that northwesterly direction. Another foot-path or trail was found going southwest; but, even though it was gone over for a long distance during which it presented no obstacle, we did not risk following it because, farther ahead of what had been inspected, high

mesas and canyons could be seen where we could again hem ourselves in and find ourselves forced to backtrack.

Over and above this, the great aridness of the surroundings already seen made us believe that whatever rainwater pools and even small springs of running water that might be encountered hereabouts would turn out to be completely dry. We conferred with the companions who had journeyed through this region as to which direction we should take in order to forestall so many difficulties, and each one had a different opinion. Therefore, finding ourselves in this quandary, not knowing if we could follow the path mentioned or if it were better to backtrack a little and take the trail which goes to the Sabuagana Yutas, we put our trust in God and our will in that of His most holy Majesty; then, after begging the intercession of our thrice-holy patron saints that God might direct us through where it could be more conducive to His most holy service, we cast lots between those two trails and drew that of the Sabuaganas. That one we decided to follow until we reached them.

We took a bearing by the sun's position at this site, which we named El Cajon del Yeso for there being some [gypsum] at a nearby mesa, and found ourselves at  $39^{\circ} 6'$  latitude. Today two leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

Following the river, the Spaniards passed Steamboat Hill and Grassy Hill and camped where the Little Gypsum Valley opens on to the Dolores at the south end of Andys Mesa. The Dolores continues on generally north at this point and would indeed present a great difficulty to animals trying to follow it downstream. To view this campsite by road one has to go east on Highway 141 to Gypsum Gap and go back north-northwest through the Big Gypsum Valley. We reached the river and took photos downstream at a point probably two miles from their actual campsite.

This camp marked a major change in plans for the expedition because of the casting of lots and the determination to take the trail that would lead them to the Sabuagana Utes in a general east-northeast direction. The padres observed gypsum deposits near Cajon del Yeso and today there is a great deal of mining activity in Little Gypsum Valley and the surrounding area.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We returned to Colorado Highway 141 and followed it through Gypsum Gap to a gravel mining road which runs northwest through Big Gypsum Valley.

Upon reaching the Dolores again we could examine a portion of the trail for this day but could not get to the actual campsite.

August 20

On the 20th we got out of El Cajon del Yeso, backtracking one league to the southeast; we crossed the river again, east-northeast of which about a quarter-league away we saw, on some little bluffs, outcroppings of very good transparent gypsum. After crossing the river we entered a very wide ravine, and over a well-beaten trail which goes toward the foot of a tall mesa we traveled three leagues to the east-northeast. Then, at the importunities of Don Bernardo Miera who did not favor following this course, Andres the interpreter took us over a high rough incline, and so rocky we expected finding ourselves forced to backtrack from half-way up; for the mounts were being so much abused that many of them were marking the spoor on the stones with the blood which these were drawing from their hind and fore feet. We climbed it with the most trying labor and at the end of several northbound hours, after having gone about a quarter-league in the ascent, we traveled a mile northwest atop the crest. And from here we saw that the trail went along the base of the mesa, and over good and entirely level terrain.

In the descent, which is extensive and without stone, we went north for more than three quarters of a league. We continued northeast a little more than a league over a sagebrush stretch where there was a lot of small prickly-pear cactus; and to avoid the trouble which this caused the mounts we entered the box channel of an arroyo; then, after going through it for a league to the east, we unexpectedly came upon a plenteous water source of good water, consisting of that which banks up when it rains, and from a tiny spring. This we named San Bernabe. As the trails and the ruins of huts hereabouts indicate, it is a Yuta camping site, and to it comes the trail we had left on climbing that impassable incline. We halted here even though the pasturage is not very abundant after having traveled six leagues today (not counting the backtracking).

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

From their campsite at Cajon del Yeso the members of the expedition

could see Wedding Bell Mountain to the northeast. To the northwest the Little Gypsum Valley would lead them to dry mesas and very rough ground. Apparently they retraced their steps of the day before, crossed the Dolores, and proceeded southeast along the edge of Big Gypsum Valley. Before reaching the southeast end of the mesa they climbed the hills, went across the mesa, and entered Dry Creek Basin. Here an Indian trail led them across the basin and probably to the southeast of Spectacle Reservoir. From there they entered the west fork of Dry Creek Canyon which runs generally north-south and found water and a Ute camping site where they decided to stay for the night.

Bolton and Russon agree on the route of travel for the forenoon of August 20, but they disagree on the last part. We think that Bolton is much closer to the actual line of travel. One must remember the variation of the compass and the difficulty of a traveler ascertaining the actual miles covered. After retracing upstream, the expedition crossed the Dolores and went southeast (not east-northeast as Escalante says) through Big Gypsum Valley. The mesa to their left is very high and rough going. They probably climbed the mesa about three and a half to four leagues from where they crossed the Dolores because of the steepness of the mesa.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The gravel mining road through Big Gypsum Valley closely parallels the route of August 20 after the expedition had retraced its steps from Cajon del Yeso and to the point where they crossed the high mesa and continued into Dry Creek Basin. We could not find a road leading into this Basin so we continued on to Naturita and then came back south on the highway into Paradox Valley and then on a gravel road which rises steeply. We were not able to get from there to the west fork of Dry Creek.

#### August 21

On the 21st we set out from El Aguaje de San Bernabe and, through the canyon where it is situated at its southern end, we traveled north four leagues of very good terrain and some difficult stretches. Midway in the canyon there are good waterholes, and almost at the end for the space of a quarter-league as much water flows as that coming from a middling spring. After passing through this canyon we went one league northwest, a little less, over a level stretch of sagebrush. We entered another canyon, as bad for traveling as the foregoing was, and, after going through it one league to the north, we reached El Rio de San Pedro and halted in a small meadow it has here, naming it El Paraje de San Luis. Today six leagues.



The group continued through the west fork of Dry Creek Canyon and into the southeastern end of Paradox Valley, skirted Sawtooth Ridge probably north by east, and reached the San Miguel River. There they camped northwest of Naturita in a meadow on the west side of the river at about the junction of present-day Highways 141 and 90.

There is a great discrepancy between the six leagues reported by Escalante and the actual distance between the campsites of San Bernabe and San Luis. The distance would appear to be no more than three and a half to four leagues. Perhaps, the windings of Dry Creek which they followed to the San Miguel threw off Escalante's calculations.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We talked to several people in Naturita who showed us on the map their ideas for the travel of this date and the best campsite. We retraced our steps to photograph the best site and determined that it was on the river very close to the present-day junction of Colorado Highways 141 and 90.

#### August 22

On the 22nd we left El Paraje de San Luis, crossed the river, went up a rather high and steep incline, but not too rocky, and started over an extensive mesa which is like a piece off La Sierra de los Tabehuachis. We went over it northeast for two leagues, east-northeast for more than half a league, east-southeast for another half, and descended the mesa down another steep but short incline, and it is the one which Don Juan Maria Rivera in his Diary dwells on as being very trying. Then we traveled along the edge of El Rio de San Pedro (upstream) for a league toward the northeast. We paused for rest, and they went on to reconnoiter what we were to travel in the afternoon--by getting away from the river now if there were a water source handy, and if not, the following day. Those who had gone out for this purpose returned late, and so we slept [overwritten: ended the march] at this spot which we named San Felipe. Today four leagues.

The eastern bank of the San Miguel is quite high here and would have been somewhat difficult to ascend. The route at the start of the day led the expedition to high and dry mesas. After going generally northeast for some time they turned generally southeast, hit the San Miguel again, and camped on its banks just west of where Colorado Highway 90 goes today and not far from the electric generating plant on the river.

Russon has the route going up Tuttle Draw and then swinging southeast and then northeast and then southeast and northeast again to reach the campsite of San Felipe. This ignores Escalante's notation of climbing the difficult hill across the river. Bolton has them going almost due east after climbing the hill. We think it is likely that they passed through the site of the present town of Nucla, reached the San Miguel at about the site of the substation, and continued along the river to the campsite of San Felipe.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Most of the route for this day could be examined from Colorado Highway 97 between Naturita and Nucla and from Colorado Highway 90 east of Naturita. From Highway 90 we turned off on several unpaved roads to get closer to the river and the actual route. A mileage check and the directions given by Escalante enabled us to photograph the most probable campsite although almost any place along the river and in the narrow valley could have provided an excellent stopping place.

#### August 23

On the 23rd we left El Paraje de San Felipe (on El Rio de San Pedro), went up a hill, and along the foot of La Sierra de los Tabehuachis (thus called for being inhabited by the Yutas of this name) we traveled for four leagues which, because of the turns we made, would be two east from San Felipe. We already had left the said Rio de San Pedro which rises in La Sierra de las Grullas, at its small branch which continues north after the one called Sierra de la Plata-- [crossed out: flows north-west] and west until it joins that of the Dolores near the small so-called Sierra de la Sal--for their salt beds next to it from which, as they informed us, the Yutas hereabouts provide themselves. It is a medium-sized river.

We stopped to rest near a small source of ever-flowing water coming down from the sierra, and on a level sagebrush stretch which has a narrow valley with good pasturage at its southern end, and forming ahead of it something like a low ridge. On top of this are the ruins of a small and ancient pueblo, the houses of which seem to have been made of the stone with which the Tabehuachi Yutas have fashioned a weak and crude rampart. Here once more we found the mounts some pasturage, which had become scarce since El Paraje de la Asuncion by El Rio de Dolores until today, for the earth was scorched and dry enough to show that no rain had fallen all summer.

It started to rain by afternoon, ceased within a little more than an hour, and we continued our day's march by ascending La Sierra de los Tabehuachis along

a high hill which was ruggedly steep in places; then, after one league of travel to the northeast, and another to the east, we were overtaken by a Tabehuachi Yuta, who was the first one we had seen in all that we had traveled until now (since the first day's march from El Pueblo de Abiquiu when we encountered two others). In order to talk with him at leisure, we halted near the beginning of the water source where we had rested, and here we named it La Fuente de la Guia. We gave him something to eat and to smoke, and afterward through the interpreter we asked him various questions about the land ahead, the rivers and their course. We also asked him where the Tabehuachis, Muhuachis, and Sabuaganas were.

At first he denied knowing anything, even the country where he lived. However, after he had lost some of the fear and suspicion with which he conversed with us, he said that the Sabuaganas were all in their own country and that soon we would be meeting them; that the Tabehuachis wandered scattered about throughout this sierra and its surroundings; that the rivers, from that of San Pedro to the one of San Rafael inclusive, flow into the Dolores, and the latter joins with the Navajo. We suggested to him that he might want to guide us as far as the encampment of a Sabuagana chieftain whom our interpreter and others said was very fond of the Spaniards and knew much of the country. He consented on condition that we waited for him until next day in the afternoon; We agreed to wait for him, both to acquire him as a guide and lest he came to suspect something of us which would disturb him and the rest. Today six leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

Because of the many turns of the San Miguel River, the padres decided to ascend the Uncompahgre Plateau. Their route was generally parallel to Colorado Highway 90. Here they found sufficient water in the small creeks and good pasturage for the livestock. Although the going was comparatively easy, they decided to camp and wait for the return of the Ute Indian. Cottonwood Creek is the best permanent water in the area because of the area it drains. They went generally northeast and east from Cottonwood Creek and then reached it again near its source and camped there in order to have time to talk to the Ute Indian.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We continued along Colorado Highway 90 which climbs the Uncompahgre Plateau just as the expedition did at the point where the river bends. We

followed Colorado Highway 90 up the plateau. The route of the expedition was probably parallel to this just to the north. We walked up Cottonwood Creek to a relatively wide meadow on either side. This is probably the best campsite (water, wood and pasturage) in the whole area.

#### August 24

On the 24th, before twelve, the said Yuta arrived where we were waiting for him--with his family, two other women and five children, two of these at the breast and three from eight to ten years of age, all of good features and very friendly. They thought we were here to trade, and so they brought cured deerskins and other things to barter. Among these they had raisins of black manzanita, about which we already spoke at the beginning of this diary, and which are very much like those of small grapes, and very tasty. We gave them to understand, although they did not wholly believe it, that we were not here for what they thought, or carried goods for trading. And lest they took us for scouts intending to conquer their land after we had seen it, and hence impede our progress--judging within ourselves that a report from the Cosninas about the trip made by the Reverend Padre Fray Francisco Garces might have passed on to the Payuchi Yutas, and from the latter to the rest--we said that a certain Padre, a Brother of ours, had come to Cosnina and Moqui, and that from here he had gone back to Cosnina.

With this they were allayed, fully sharing in our worry, and said that they had not received any news concerning said Padre. We fed them all, and our guide's wife presented us with a bit of jerked deer meat and two dishes of raisin or dried manzanita, and we returned her the favor with flour. After midday we gave the Yuta what he requested for leading us, which were two big all-purpose knives and sixteen strings of white glass beads. These he turned over to his wife who, along with the other women, went off to their camps at the time we set out from La Fuente de la Guia with him (whom we began calling Atanasio from here on).

We traveled along the sierra's flank for half a league to the east, another half east-southeast, and a quarter-league southeast. We turned east again, leaving a path which goes to the southeast as it takes off from the one we were following; and after going three quarters of a league, one southeast and two east, we stopped in a narrow valley, the descent and ascent of which are very steep but not difficult. For this reason we called it La Canada Honda. In it there is a copious

spring of good water, much firewood, and abundant pas-  
torage for the mounts. Today two leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

R.W. Delaney and Robert McDaniel

Continuing from the camp at Fuente de la Guia (probably Cottonwood Creek), the expedition went generally east-southeast across the Uncompahgre Plateau. They came to Red Canyon, a very deep one, and descended its steep northern end and camped there on the branch of Horsefly Creek which runs through the canyon. Their new guide was taking them on a longer but much easier route to the Uncompahgre River.

Red Canyon is by far the deepest canyon on the southeast flank of the mesa and would have been noted by any traveler along that edge of the plateau. Undoubtedly it would have been well known to the Utes for its good water and excellent game.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We returned to Colorado Highway 90 and continued along it in a general easterly direction. We could see the very deep Red Canyon from the road and walked over to photograph it and the place where the route descended from the high plateau. We returned to the road and continued a short distance. We then walked again to the edge of the plateau to photograph the route of a branch of Horsefly Creek.

#### August 25

On the 25th we set out from La Canada Honda toward the east, and traveled half a league through dense clumps of scruboak; we swung to the southeast over less encumbered terrain, and went along the same path for three leagues and a half; then, having gone another half toward the east, we now began crossing the sierra in a northeasterly direction, and at the end of a league and a half of good terrain, now unencumbered and without any laborious slope, we reached its top. It is an eminence of very good pastures, and of pleasant scenery due to the thickets and beautiful poplar groves, briefly spaced from one another, which it bears. There are three paths here, and we followed the one going northeast. Having gone a league and a half in this direction, we halted while still on the northern flank of the sierra, and by a copious spring of good water that we named El Ojo de Lain, which comes out about six ordinary paces east from the path. Before any repast could be prepared, which we needed badly enough all along, a full heavy downpour fell. Today seven leagues and a half.



From La Canada Honda the expedition was guided almost east-southeast and parallel to Horsefly Creek. They then skirted the high lands going along Horsefly Creek and turned northeast at about Johnson Spring, camping at a spring which they called Ojo de Lain. There are numerous springs in the vicinity, and it would be impossible to determine which one was the Ojo de Lain.

They crossed the crest of the Uncompahgre Plateau northwest of Horsefly Peak at about the 9,000-foot elevation. Because of the travel on August 25 and 26, the Ojo de Lain must be at least one league northeast of Kem Spring.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We returned to Colorado Highway 90. By walking off this road to the southeast flank of the plateau we were able to view below almost the entire day's march for August 25.

#### August 26

On the 26th we set out from El Ojo de Lain toward the northeast and traveled one league. Here the path we were following splits in two, one toward the east-northeast and the other toward the northeast. This one we followed, and after going two leagues and a half northeast we finished descending the sierra and came upon the banks and meadows of El Rio de San Francisco--among the Yutas called Ancapagari (which according to our interpreter means Red Lake), because they say that near its source there is a spring of red-colored water, hot and ill-tasting. On this river meadow, which is large and very level, there is a very wide and well-beaten trail. We went along it downstream for a league and half northeast, and halted next to a big marsh greatly abounding in pasturage which we named La Cienega de San Francisco. Today five leagues.

From the Ojo de Lain, the group went generally northeast toward the Uncompahgre River. They had to cross numerous small creeks but the travel was generally easy with plenty of water. They descended to the valley floor along one of the creeks which flow toward the Uncompahgre and then proceeded to touch the Uncompahgre at the closest point in a general northeasterly direction. From there they proceeded downriver about one and a half leagues which would put the campsite at about where Highway 550 crosses the Uncompahgre.

## RESEARCH METHODS

We continued on Colorado Highway 90 to Montrose and then turned south on U.S. Highway 550 to where we had a good view of the end of the plateau and the best possible and shortest route to the Uncompahgre River. We left U.S. Highway 550 to the west and drove to higher ground looking for any evidence of a swamp. Their shortest route (keeping in mind the direction they intended to follow) from the southeast end of the plateau would be to a point where U.S. Highway 550 crosses the river. We returned to U.S. Highway 550 and drove to the Ute Museum. It is located on the Uncompahgre and there is a small swamp on the river immediately to the north of the museum building. Probably the ciénega was much larger in 1776 because the railroad tracks and the museum represent large fills.

RESEARCH REPORT C

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL

FROM MONTROSE, COLORADO, TO THE HEAD OF EAST FORK DOUGLAS CREEK

AUGUST 27-SEPTEMBER 7, 1776

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

BY

DR. FLOYD A. O'NEIL, RESEARCHER

GREGORY C. THOMPSON, ASSOCIATE

## RESEARCH REPORT C

### THE FLOYD A. O'NEIL AND GREGORY C. THOMPSON REPORT

August 27

On the 27th we set out from La Cienega de San Francisco, downstream and heading northwest. At a short distance we met a Yuta, called the Left-handed, with his family.... We continued our day's march through the meadow, and after trekking two leagues and a half to the northeast [Bolton has northwest], crossed the river and dense leafy grove of poplars and other trees which its banks bear hereabouts. We went up a small incline, entered a plain of no pasturage but of very minute stone, and, after going all they way downstream for three and a half leagues northwest, halted on another meadow of the same river which we named San Agustín. It is large, and has on either side of it abundant pastures and a great deal of black poplar. Today six leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION      Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

Leaving La Cienega de San Francisco to the south, the padres proceeded over relatively good, even terrain along the west bank of the Uncompahgre River, traveling northwest past the present site of Montrose for two and one-half leagues. There is a major difference in the Bolton translation and that by Fray Chavez. At this point Bolton states they marched to the northwest and Chavez has them marching to the northeast. The translation by Chavez makes no sense. Bolton's translation seems to be perfect for the terrain. The party crossed the river six miles northwest from La Cienega and marched down the east bank from that point. The way along the eastern bank of the Uncompahgre River is somewhat smooth and gentle. The probable campsite is at the point where the Uncompahgre River splits into several branches making a broad meadow. This campsite is approximately two miles north of Olathe. This day the party traveled six leagues which we measured as 15.7 miles or 2.6 miles per league.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We traveled U.S. Highway 550 - 50, crossing over on Colorado Highway 90 to get an overview of the Montrose and La Cienega de San Francisco

areas. At several points we left the highway and descended into the river bottom to view the trail at close range. The route is visible from U. S. 550 - 50 for the complete day's march. The party traveled six leagues.

In Bolton's discussion of the Don Juan Maria de Rivera's journey to El Purgatorio, or the confluence of the Uncompahgre River with the Gunnison River, the date is incorrectly stated as 1761 but correctly stated by Chavez as 1765.

Bolton translates "...having crossed the same Sierra de Los Tabehuaches, on whose crest according to the description which he gives in his diary, ..." Chavez translates "diary" as "itinerary." In special work done for this section of the trail, the authors employed Dr. Vicente V. Mayer, Jr., who translated the word "diary" from Bolton and "itinerary" from Chavez as "chart book, map book, or journey-book." Previous historians who have looked for a diary by Don Juan Maria de Rivera, might better employ their attention in searching for a book of geographical description.

#### August 28

On the 28th we set out northward from La Vega De San Agustin, already leaving El Rio de San Francisco, and after half a league of travel we continued three leagues and a half north-northeast over loose dirt and without stone, and arrived at the already mentioned Rio de San Francisco Xavier... --Tomichi by another name--which is made up of four little rivers coming down from the northernmost points (of La Sierra de la Grulla). It is as bounteous in water as the one of El Norte, runs west, and at the western point of La Sierra del Venado Alazan it joins that of San Francisco as we already said. Its banks hereabouts are very sparse in pasturage. By a bend in it ...we stopped.... Today four leagues. (Santa Monica).

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

The route shown on the map is one that allows a gentle rise out of the Uncompahgre River Valley, across country which rises very slightly in elevation and descends equally gently into the valley of the Gunnison River. The measurements and the lay of the terrain make the area of Austin, Colorado, a natural point at which the trail terminated in the afternoon of August 28. Approximately a mile north of San Agustin, the padres left the Uncompahgre River striking a course north-northeast for nine and a half miles to camp at Santa Monica.

Because Dr. Mayer translates "bend in the river" as "cove" or "inlet", the campsite of Santa Monica is probably one-half mile east of present-



day Austin. We placed the site at the northwest corner of Smiths Mountain on the south bank of the Gunnison River.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The route is not totally observable from U.S. 50 and Colorado 92. However, the route can be seen from other roads, mostly built along section lines. Across open terrain such as this where farming, road building, and canal building have taken place, exact routing is impossible.

August 29 (No travel this day)

August 30

On the 30th in the morning, the interpreter Andres and the guide Atanasio arrived with Sabuaganas and one Laguna.....This afternoon we left Santa Monica, crossed El Rio de San Xavier in which the water reached the mounts well above the shoulder blades, climbed a hill, and over broken terrain but tractable and without stone, traveled upstream and east-northeast for two leagues; then, after going another two north-east over country not quite as broken up but with some sagebrush, a lot of small pear-cactus, and finely ground black lava, we halted at the edge of a little river which we named Santa Rosa. It rises in La Sierra del Venado Alazan, on the southern flank of which we now find ourselves, and it enters into that of San Xavier. Here it has a medium-sized meadow of good pasturage and a scenic grove of white poplar and scrub oak. Today four leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION      Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

The party crossed the river to the north and traveled along the side hills which are riven by several arroyos, roughly following the route of Colorado Highway 92. They crossed Rogers Mesa and arrived at the banks of Leroux Creek where they camped at a place they named Santa Rosa. They traveled four leagues or twelve miles. (Escalante's leagues for that day averaged three miles.)

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The entire route is easily surveyed from Colorado Highway 92.

August 31

On the 31st we set out from El Rio de Santa Rosa toward the northeast, went a league and a half over good country and arrived at another medium-sized river, which comes down from the same sierra like the previous one and with it enters into that of San Xavier, and we named it Rio de Santa María, in the leas and bends of which there is all that is needed for the founding and subsistence of two settlements. We went to the northeast four leagues and a half upstream, over those meadows and through the groves which it also has, crossing it once. We turned north, crossed the river again, entered a woods of juniper and a great deal of rock which lasted for about three miles; then we continued by going up La Sierra del Venado Alazan along the slope of a very deep narrow valley, breaking through dense clumps of scrub oak; then, after going four leagues northward also, we stopped at a perennial water source which we named San Ramon Nonnato. Today nine leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION    Floyd A. O'Neill and Gregory C. Thompson

Leaving Santa Rosa de Lima, the explorers passed just north of the Hotchkiss townsite, across Hanson Mesa, and continued along the north bank of the north fork of the Gunnison River to a point approximately one and one-half miles below Paonia. Crossing the river the party proceeded along its south bank through the present town of Paonia, ascended the river to approximately two and one-half miles northeast of Paonia, crossed the river to the north, went for approximately two and one-half miles through rocky, juniper-covered terrain, and swung north to enter Hubbard Canyon. Escalante estimated the number of leagues from Santa Rosa to the mouth of Hubbard as four and one-half leagues, or about twelve miles. The distance to the creek by actual mileage is fifteen. From the north fork of the Gunnison River, Escalante estimated their travel as four leagues which we determined to be seven miles, placing the group in a meadow one mile north of the confluence of Willow Creek and Hubbard Creek. This is the first realistic campsite that has pasturage of any magnitude between the mouth of Hubbard Creek and this point. The day's travel was nine leagues. (Escalante's league averaged 2.45 miles for the day's travel.)

## RESEARCH METHODS

The trail from Leroux Creek to the mouth of Hubbard Creek is easily observable by traveling along Colorado Highways 92 and 135. A jeep trail is open up Hubbard Creek to about one-half mile above the campsite of San Ramon Nonnato.

### September 1

On the 1st of September we set out headed north from San Ramon, and after going three leagues through small narrow valleys of abundant pastures and thick clumps of scrub oak, we came upon eighty Yutas, all on good horses and most of them from the encampment to which we were going... We kept on going with only the Laguna, descended a very steep incline, came into a very pleasant narrow valley in which there was a small river and all along its bank a spreading grove of spruces very tall and straight, and among them certain poplars which seem to ape the erectness and height of the pines. Through this narrow valley we traveled eastward for a league and reached the encampment, which had numerous people and must have consisted of thirty tents. We stopped a mile down from it and by the edge of the river mentioned, naming the site San Antonio Martir. Today four Leagues, 199 [in all].

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION      Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

The group left San Ramon Nonnato and ascended Hubbard Creek into Hubbard Park. It is probable that the eighty Utes the party encountered were near the present site of the hunting lodge in the north extremity of the park. From that point they descended the steep hill due northward to Cow Creek. (Cow Creek was probably much larger in those days because Overland Reservoir did not impound its waters.) They then turned eastward along Cow Creek for nearly two miles to a natural campsite where Fawn Creek enters Cow Creek at the 8,600-foot elevation.

Travel for the day was four leagues. Our estimation of four leagues is nine and one-half miles, or 2.4 miles per league.

## RESEARCH METHODS

It is impossible to ascend from San Ramon Nonnato up Hubbard Creek

to Hubbard Park by vehicle because of private ownership of the land and rotted or destroyed bridges. From one-half mile above San Ramon we ascended by vehicle. We then walked to the southern end of Hubbard Park before returning to Paonia. The access road to Hubbard Park is northward from Paonia (through Stevens Gulch across the headwaters of Terror Creek into Hubbard Park) over a graveled road to approximately three miles south of the point where the jeep trail crosses West Hubbard Creek, thence northward along the jeep trail across West and Middle Hubbard creeks and through Hubbard Park to the Electric Mountain Hunting Lodge on the west slope of Electric Mountain. The trail ascends a short incline before descending rapidly into the Cow Creek drainage. There it makes an almost 90-degree turn to the east-southeast to arrive at the campsite of San Antonio Martir.

#### September 2

On the 2nd of September, quite early, the same ones assembled in our king's camp, and even more than yesterday afternoon....With the utmost pleasure did we leave the route which the encampment was taking, and with the two Lagunas--Silvestre and the lad whom we named Joaquín--pursued our own travel plan and, after tracing back a league toward the west of San Antonino, we took another trail; we traveled less than a league and three quarters northwest, and more than a quarter west-northwest, and halted in a short valley of good pastures near a rivulet of good water which we named San Atanasio. Today we traveled three leagues over good terrain and through a poplar grove and clumps of scrub oak, but advanced two leagues only. Tonight it rained heavily.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION      Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

The travelers left San Antonio Martir going up Cow Creek. After leaving their previous trail they crossed over into Dyke Creek over a pass westward of Chimney Rock and camped in the extreme portions of Mule Park on upper West Muddy Creek. The day's travel was three leagues but only two forward. This distance measured five total miles but only three miles progress.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Jeep trails allow one to travel along part of the trail. A good portion of it is visible from these trails and from the road through Mule Park. Because of high water and the lateness in the day, we were

not able to photograph the site of San Atanasio. From prominences about a mile away we could see the area very well.

September 3

On the 3rd it rained again very early, and we had to wait for it to stop; then, about eleven we set out from San Atanasio toward the north. At a quarter of a league we took to the northwest, and traveled two leagues and a quarter through a valley of many poplar groves and spruce, and very abundant in pasturage and water. We turned north-northwest one league, then northwest somewhat more than a league and three quarters over good and stoneless terrain, although with some hills, passing through rather troublesome forests of spruce and poplar and clumps of scruboak. We turned north-northwest again for a quarter of a league through a low narrow valley in which enough water flows to fill two middling furrows; and although it does not continue all through the narrow valley, since it disappears completely in some places, running in spots and in others reappearing in waterholes like ponded rain water, it seems to be perennial because throughout the entire narrow valley there were huts and tiny dwellings which indicate that it is a camping site for these Yutas. Following the box channel of an arroyo in which said water disappears and reappears along the northern side and to the northwest, we went a league and a half and halted in it almost at the foot of a bluff which the Yutas called Nabuncari, we naming the site San Silvestre. Today seven leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

Leaving San Atanasio the party traveled northward for about one mile and then circled around the high elevation and across rather open country to Buzzard Park, traveled the south face of Bronco Knob at approximately the 9,800-foot level northwest through Wagon Park, Plateau Park, and down Plateau Creek to the Meadows. At the west end of the Meadows, Plateau Creek becomes the deep arroyo Escalante describes. The party traveled to a point before Plateau Creek, turned westward, and camped at San Silvestre at the foot of a high hill (in one mile the elevation drops 1,100 feet). Travel was seven leagues or 15.5 miles by our measurement. (The average league of the day's travel equaled 2.2 miles.)

## RESEARCH METHODS

Because of the volume of water and the inability to secure permission from private owners not all of the route was personally traversed between the Mesa-Delta County line and Plateau Creek above the Meadows. The researchers took great pains to plot dozens of possible routes through the area. The one chosen fits more nearly the overall distances and directions than the alternative possibilities. Particularly, the description of the area of the stagnant pools of water of magnitude enough to attract the attention of Father Escalante seems to us to be the Meadows. The arroyo leading from the Meadows also convinces us that our marking of the route is approximately correct. The Ute Mountain, Nabuncari, is interpreted by us to be Campbell Mountain, and the campsite of San Silvestre is interpreted to be west of the northern peak of Campbell Mountain.

September 4

On the 4th we left San Silvestre headed northwest, following the same arroyo. At a short distance we turned west-northwest, and after two leagues swung northwest again, went up a very high incline leaving the arroyo's box channel toward the south, and traveled among hills of various kinds of broom. We went down to another rivulet which flows into the arroyo mentioned; we crossed it, went up another incline with some rock and pinon growth, and after a quarter league almost west-southwest we crossed it again already joined with the arroyo. Here with tree-sections the beaver have constructed ponds so big that they look like a more than medium-sized river at first sight. Then we went west along the southern side and over a sagebrush plain for three quarters of a league, and we crossed it once more to continue along the other side and leave it to the south.

Having crossed it we took to the west-northwest, passed through a section of pinon growth, and came upon a sagebrush stretch where three Yuta women with a child were preparing the small fruits they had picked for their sustenance in the arroyos and rivulets hereabouts... We took up our day's march, and after going a league and a half west-northwest from the rivulet mentioned (crossing another one next to the Yutas, at the exit of which there is a leaning rock about five palms high, shaped like a laundering place on which some horses slipped), we entered a narrow valley or small dale of good pasturage.



Here another trail comes in, the one which from Santa Monica and Rio de San Xavier directly crosses over La Sierra del Venando Alazan which we finished descending today, and is half way shorter than the one we have been following. We turned northwest along the narrow valley for a little more than half a league. We went west-northwest once more, and after another half a league, going up and down a rather long and steep but rockless incline, crossed a rivulet of extremely cold water and halted by its edge--naming it and the little valley of good pastures that are here, Santa Rosalia. Tonight, and the one before, we were feeling the cold very much. Today six leagues. 201 [in all].

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION      Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

The previous day's camp at San Silvestre is located in such a position that after a short distance the party turned westward (Escalante says northwestward) and continued for two leagues in the deep arroyo, then crossed over what is now referred to as the Peninsula, and encountered a second creek now called Buzzard Creek. Here Buzzard Creek flows almost southwest and joins Plateau Creek. The party crossed the creek and traveled along the south side of Plateau Creek. The plain which Escalante described is clearly the area that extends on the south side of Plateau Creek. The party crossed the river to the north about two miles below Collbran. The group then followed along the north side of Plateau Creek to a point near Fuller Bridge, headed northwest across Anderson Creek, over Hayes Mesa, and through Lugans Basin to Jerry Gulch where they camped at a site they named Santa Rosalía. Today's march was six leagues by Escalante's measurement or fifteen miles for an average of two and one-half miles per league.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The route differs radically from both Bolton and Russon. The description of the trail through the Meadows in the previous day's march disagrees by several miles with the earlier writers' routes and places San Silvestre farther downstream towards Collbran by many miles than does the Bolton interpretation. Further, the site is on the Plateau Creek rather than on Buzzard Creek. Starting from this westward location, the route fits far more accurately Escalante's description including his discussion of the deep arroyo than our on-site searchers of the Bolton route could find. Further, crossing the peninsula and coming to the point where Buzzard and Plateau creeks join fits the journal description very well. Traveling through the sagebrush plain fits perfectly the Escalante description of the trail after passing the confluence of Buzzard and Plateau creeks. The probable

trail across Hayes Mesa and Lugans Basin led the travelers to Jerry Gulch where a stream of cool water pasturage existed.

If one uses the trail conjectured by Bolton up Kimball Creek and down Wallace Creek, the distances do not fit. Furthermore, the cliffs that are only one yard wide are not to be found. There seems to be a discrepancy between Bolton's and Chavez's six leagues given for the total distance traveled by Escalante. They total only 5.25 leagues. At the beginning of the day's march Bolton identifies a half-league distance not mentioned by Chavez. This description is given after the party had gone slightly more than two leagues from the San Silvestre campsite.

#### September 5

On the 5th we left Santa Rosalia headed northwest, went up an incline without troublesome rocks but extremely steep and dangerous when approaching the top, because there are winding turns where the path is not more than a third of a yard wide. The footing is of very loose white dirt, and so it is very easy for some horse to slip; and should it happen to lose its footing it would not be able to keep itself from reaching the level ground below. The ascent must be somewhat more than a quarter-league long, counting the half already covered. We descended it through a spreading narrow valley which in places produces nothing but scrub oak and chokecherry, and in others ponderosa pine and white poplar; then, after going a little more than four leagues to the northwest, we entered a small woods of juniper while swinging half a league north-northwest, and after a short stretch of sagebrush arrived at a river which our own call San Rafael, and the Yutas Red River.

We crossed it and halted by its northern edge on a meadow of good pastures and a middling poplar grove. On this side there is a chain of high mesas which are of white earth from the top down to the middle, and from the middle down evenly striated with yellow, white, and not too deeply-tinged red ochre. This river carries more water than that of El Norte; it comes down, according to what they told us, from a great lake which lies in the high Sierra de los Sabuaganas next (toward the north) to that of La Grulla. Its course along here is to the west-southwest, and it enters that of the Dolores. At the ford it splits into two branches, and the water reached the mounts above the shoulder blades. Some which crossed

farther up from the ford swam in places. Everywhere we could see, the river has many rocks, and big ones; hence, whenever some party should find it necessary to cross it, it would be better to ford it before this on good horses. Today five leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION      Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

The path appears to go from the campsite of Santa Rosalia up Jerry Gulch and across the top of Battlement Mesa at a point about a half mile east of Castle Peak, then down Alkalai Creek to a place where it reaches the plain on the south bank of the Colorado River. There the trail turns northward to the point of the crossing. The party camped on the north bank of the Colorado River at approximately one and one-fourth miles downstream from the Una bridge. The day's total was five leagues which is by measurement ten and one-half miles or 2.1 miles per league.

RESEARCH METHODS

We did not traverse this section of the trail, but plan to do so in the next sixty days.<sup>1</sup> The trail and campsite were established on information furnished by G. Clell Jacobs who examined the trail after we had cooperatively decided that the Kimball-Wallace Creek route did not fit Escalante's description.

September 6

On the 6th we set out westward from the meadow and Rio de San Rafael (where there are no prospects for a settlement). We went half a league downstream, another half through some narrow valleys to the west-northwest leaving the river to the south, to the north-west a quarter of a league, and through deep passes without rock for a league and a quarter west by west-northwest for about a mile and, after having gone nearly two more leagues westward over broken terrain with some stone and a lot of small pear cactus, went down to a little valley through which a small river of good water flows. At its edge, next to the only poplar that there is, and at eleven in the morning,

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1. Since writing this original report, Dr. O'Neil has re-checked the area and reported (February 26, 1976) that he is now quite thoroughly convinced that the route described here is correct. (Editor)

we halted, ordering some companions to keep on going with the loose and loaded animals... We caught up with the other companions, who had stopped and were disgusted with the guide after having gone two leagues northwest; for, by leaving a trail which went upstream toward the west, and which seemed more direct according to reports, he was leading us along another one which enters a canyon and goes directly north--saying that the trail, even though it went northward through the canyon, made a turn to the west....As a result, we had to continue westward and, after going two leagues and crossing another rivulet, we halted by its edge, naming it La Contraguia. Today seven leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION      Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

On September 6 the party went down the Colorado River for approximately one and a quarter miles where a relatively easy access trail through the broken country exists. From there they traveled west and northwest for about six miles where they encountered Roan Creek, probably at a point one-half mile downstream from where Logan Wash enters Roan Creek. The party then followed Roan Creek upstream to the point where Clear Creek enters from the east. They then turned west and followed Roan Creek to the mouth of Brush Creek where the party established La Contraguia. The day's stated march was seven leagues. This distance measures 19.5 miles or 2.1 miles per league.

RESEARCH METHODS

There is only one major route through the hills north of De Beque, Colorado, and it is the obvious choice of the travelers. Escalante's direction and distances are not exact but relatively good. In the second segment of the journey--along Roan Creek--it is even farther from the stated distances given. The geographical features are sufficiently clear to allow for this interpretation. Escalante's journal lists the day's march as seven leagues, but the addition of the segments he lists aggregates to 8.5 leagues plus one mile. Our calculations have him traveling approximately 19.5 miles or 2.1 miles per league for the day. It is obvious at this section that Bolton used Escalante's total rather than adding the individual segments listed. We placed the campsite at the location of old Highmore near the confluence of Brush Creek with Roan Creek.

September 7

On the 7th we set out from La Contraguia through

a wide ravine in which, after going one league west, we found a meadow with very much pasturage. We turned northwest along the same ravine, and going three leagues we paused awhile to let the horses drink, as we did not know if we would find water tonight. Afterward we kept on going in the same direction and, at a little more than a quarter-league, swung north-northwest [Bolton has north-northeast], going up an incline of so difficult an ascent that we doubted ever reaching the top because, besides its being very steep in places, there was not even a footpath and--as it consisted of very loose dirt--the mounts could not gain a sure foothold anywhere. Its ascent must be half a league long, and when one reaches the top there are some shelves of very brittle flagstone [shale?] where two pack mules lost their footing and rolled down more than twenty yards at the least. But God willed that they did not tumble upon any of those following behind, and that they come out unhurt.

We climbed it on foot and underwent our share of fatigue and big scares. This is why we named it La Cuesta del Susto. On it our guide gave us irrefutable proof of his sincerity and lack of guile. Having climbed the slope, we traveled half a league north-northeast [Bolton says north-northwest] going down a short narrow valley, and we stopped at a really scanty water spring, naming the site La Natividad de Nuestra Senora, where there was middling pasturage for the mounts. Today a little more than five leagues and a quarter.

#### RESEARCH AND INTREPRETATION

Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

The party left La Contragula on the morning of September 7 and traveled what Escalante described as one league west to the point where Carr Creek enters Roan Creek. Here Escalante interpreted Carr Creek as being the main body of the ravine, which it appears to be. The travelers then progressed up Carr Creek three leagues, watered their horses, and climbed a very steep shale hill to the northeast to ascend to the divide between the drainages of the Colorado and the White rivers. They then turned northwest and traveled to an area where springs exist to this time. They named their campsite La Natividad de Nuestra Senora. This site we interpret to be three-fourths of a mile north of the Rio Blanco county line in the northwest quarter of section thirty-two. Travel was a little more than 5.25 leagues or about 3.4 miles per league.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The first segment of the day's journey is described as one league. The "league" is long, but the terrain is extremely easy.

It is at this point that a major mistake seems to have been made. Carr Creek by topographical representation is the major ravine. It was up this canyon that Escalante and the party turned.

There are many places near the top of Carr Creek where the travelers could have gone over the shale with great difficulty to reach the crest. Using Bolton's description that the party traveled northwestward to a spring near the headwaters of the right fork of Lake Creek.

At this point there is a contradiction in the texts. At the spot where the party exits from the canyon, Bolton has them traveling northeastward; Chavez has them traveling northwestward. After reaching the crest of the mountain, Bolton has them traveling northwestward and Chavez has them traveling northeastward. We have chosen the Bolton translation, but will reinterpret as soon as a translator can be employed.



CAMPSITE DATES AND LOCATIONS

Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson

August 27	La Ciénega
August 27-28	San Agustín
August 28-30	Santa Monica
August 30-31	Santa Rosa
August 31-September 1	San Ramon Nonnato
September 1-2	San Antonio Martir
September 2-3	San Atanasio
September 3-4	San Silvestre
September 4-5	Santa Rosalia
September 5-6	San Rafael
September 6-7	La Contraguia
September 7	La Natividad de Nuestra Senora

RESEARCH REPORT D

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL

FROM THE HEAD OF EAST FORK DOUGLAS CREEK, COLORADO, TO THE GREEN RIVER, UTAH

SEPTEMBER 8-13, 1776

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

BY

G. CLELL JACOBS, RESEARCHER

DR. C. GREGORY CRAMPTON, W. L. RUSHO, AND DAVID E. MILLER, CONTRIBUTORS

## RESEARCH REPORT D

### THE G. CLELL JACOBS REPORT

September 8

On the 8th we set out from La Navidad de Nuestra Senora toward the north, went half a league, crossing an arroyo of good perennial water; then, climbing up a steep incline, but without shelves and rock, we took a path--and better terrain than yesterday's--and after going two and a half leagues northwest among spreading hills and some poplar groves, we reached a high ridge where the guide Silvestre pointed out to us the sierra on whose northern side dwell the Yamparica Comanches, who come to this one north of the Sabuaganas and the point of the same sierra where his own people are --on the western side with respect to the spot from where he showed it to us.

We descended to the ridge down an extremely steep slope, rough in places but without rock, and with many clumps of scrub oak and chokecherry which help prevent the mounts from slipping and go rolling down. We entered an ample canyon of good terrain; then, after going a league north-northwest, counting the descent from the ridge, we turned north along it for a league and a half and halted so that the animals could drink--for a goodly amount of water which flows down from here, along the canyon route we took, either runs underground or dries up. In the afternoon we kept on going downstream through the canyon; after a league of travel west-northwest, we stopped without water handy because here the arroyo no longer has any, by a bend with good pasturage which we named Santa Delfina. Today five leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

G. Clell Jacobs

Leaving the camp La Natividad de Nuestra Senora, the Dominguez-Escalante expedition traveled north. The camp was situated on top of Brush Mountain between Carr Creek and Brush Creek. This is high up on the Roan Plateau which had served as a thoroughfare of Indian trails for hundreds of years before the coming of the Spanish and up to the time they were displaced from this territory. The camp was located in a small valley that drains

toward the north and joins with a small tributary of Brush Creek.<sup>1</sup> There is no running water in the valley but there are two scanty springs. The small tributary with which the valley joins does have permanent running water. They crossed this stream at the only convenient crossing and turned generally toward the northwest, climbing a rugged hill. The hill is mostly of soft soil with no ledges or stones. Toward the summit of the hill they joined the Old Ute Trail which was better than the minor trail they were on the previous day.

Hayden gives a good description of this trail in the Tenth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey. The trail ran the entire length of the Roan Plateau and connected with feeder trails that lead at various points from the crest of the plateau to the valleys below, connecting with other trails leading to various places.

Continuing toward the northwest through gently sloping hills, they passed the heads of the right and left forks of Lake Creek and ascended the summit of Razorback Ridge. It was from this ridge that Silvestre pointed out the White Cliffs of Cliff Creek on Blue Mountain to the northwest.

From the summit of Razorback Ridge they turned generally west for a few hundred yards to a promontory that juts out into East Douglas Canyon. There they descended an extremely long slope to the canyon floor.

After traveling down East Douglas Canyon for a league and a half they stopped for water. Actually they stopped very near the junction of East Douglas and Cathedral creeks, for the journal records that they continued down the canyon west-northwest. This is a change of direction and must be at the confluence of these two creeks. A league past the junction they camped for the night without water but with good pasturage. They called the camp Santa Delfina.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

It was necessary to fix the location of the Camp La Natividad de Nuestra Senora in order to accurately follow the march of the succeeding day.

This researcher studied the journal and maps for directions and distances. Then on July 28, 1975, a research trip was taken to Roan Creek and Carr Creek. It was concluded that the Dominguez-Escalante party went up Carr Creek based upon interpretation of the distances traveled, the direction given, and the description of the terrain. It was hard at first to imagine that Silvestre took a trail out of Carr Creek up the steep slopes, through the ledges and on to the top of Brush Mountain.

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1. It will be noted that there is considerable difference of opinion between the Jacobs report and that of O'Neil and Thompson regarding the location of the September 7-8 camp. Additional research will undoubtedly need to be done in this area. (Editor)

Yet, that was obvious from the description.

Interviews with local residents, especially the older ones, revealed the existence of an old Indian trail in one location. This trail was used for many years to move cattle to and from Brush Mountain. This was attested to by George Altenbern who owns the ranch on which the exit is located. Further, an interview with James B. Franklin, now of Fruita, Colorado, revealed other pertinent information. Mr. Franklin is 90 years old, born and raised on Carr Creek. He herded cattle most of his life on the ridges and in the valleys around Carr and Roan creeks. He stated that in his opinion the only trail ascent from either Roan Creek or Carr Creek that fits the description given in the journal was the one we had selected on Carr Creek. He further added that until recent years it was used by cattlemen. A few years' prolonged storms loosened the shale cliffs and slides have made it nearly impassable now.

On October 14, 15, 16, and 17, 1975, this researcher, in company with Randy Roper of Carr Creek, revisited this area to accurately determine the campsite and the trail to the summit of Razorback Ridge and the descent into East Douglas, if indeed they went that way. We investigated the trail out of Carr Creek and found a long ridge or hill extending from the cliffs back to the middle of Brush Mountain. From the top of the hill we proceeded in the direction given in the journal and found a small valley with two scanty springs. This must be the camp La Natividad de Nuestra Senora. There is no running water in this valley, but about a half a league to the north this valley enters a small canyon tributary of Brush Creek which does have running water and is the only crossing of this small canyon. On the north and west there is a rugged hill which meets the description given in the diary.

A point of note: The Old Ute Trail as traced by Hayden extended the length of the crest of the Roan Plateau. The expedition intercepted this trail after ascending the previously mentioned hill. It is the contention of this researcher that Silvestre was headed for this trail when he had wanted to go up Clear Creek two days previously. Had he done so and not been overruled by the others, his ascent to the summit of the Roan Plateau would have been much easier.

From the summit of Razorback Ridge, Silvestre pointed out the white cliffs at Cliff Creek where they were to be in about three or four days. We examined all of the possible descents from the top of the Roan Plateau to the valley of East Douglas Creek and concluded that although there are four possible routes, one stood out as the most practical and probable. Had they gone via Gillam Draw or any of the ridges around it, that would place them too high in Douglas Canyon to meet the distance criteria stated in the journal. Had they gone lower than Decker Canyon, they would have faced Willow Creek Canyon and the climb over the ridge separating it from East Douglas Creek. This left two long slopes to consider. One was steep and narrow, the other more gentle and very broad. We chose the latter as most probable.

It is hard to imagine no water in East Douglas when the party went through, because there is plenty at the present time. However, it appears they stopped for a while near the junction of East Douglas Creek and Cathedral Creek.

During this investigation we traveled by 4-wheel drive vehicle, a dune-buggy, and on foot to cover the entire trail. We camped out at night in a camping trailer.

#### September 9

On the 9th we left El Paraje de Santa Delfina along the same canyon, and having gone half a league northwest we swung north-northwest; then, after having trekked nine leagues in this direction all through the canyon over a well-beaten path--and with only one bad stretch which can be avoided by crossing the stream a little ahead, and going across a thicket of high sagebrush and osler of the kind they call latilla--we got out of it. Halfway in this canyon toward the south there is a quite lofty rock cliff on which we saw, crudely painted, three shields or "Apache shields" of hide, and a spear head. Farther down on the north side we saw another painting which supposedly represented two men in combat. For this reason we named it El Canon Pintado, and it is through it that one can go from the ridge mentioned to the nearest river, for the rest of the terrain in between is very broken and rocky.

On this same side of the canyon, already near its exit, there is an exposed vein of metallic ore, but we were ignorant of its nature or quality, although one companion took one of the rocks fallen off the vein--and Don Bernardo Miera, showing it to us, said it was of the sort which miners call tepushete, and that it is an indication of gold ore. We neither decided nor shall we vouch for in this matter, for not having mining expertise and because a more thorough testing is always required than what we could do at the time. Gone past the canyon, we traveled half a league north-northwest, came to a river which we named San Clemente; we crossed it and halted on its northern edge where there is a middle-sized meadow of good pasturage. This river is middling, flows west through here, and the terrain adjacent to it offers no prospects for a settlement. Today ten leagues.



## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

G. Clell Jacobs

The Dominguez-Escalante party continued on down East Douglas past the junction with Douglas Creek and thence to the mouth of the canyon where they found the confluence of Douglas Creek and White River. They crossed the river and camped on the north side. Halfway down the canyon they viewed some petroglyphs, and because of this they named the canyon Pintado or Painted Canyon.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This researcher in company with Jim Keaton of the Bureau of Land Management office, Meeker, Colorado, and Hartley H. Bloomfield, county assessor of Rio Blanco County, Colorado, drove down East Douglas and Douglas Canyon, observing the terrain, taking photographs, and analyzing the Dominguez-Escalante route. We found and photographed the petroglyphs which fit very closely the description given in the journal. They are situated about a half-mile above Philadelphia Creek and Big Bull Draw.

September 10

On the 10th because, according to the interpreter, the guide kept saying that the next water source was too far away and that we could not reach it today even if we started early, we decided to cut the day's march in half--and so we set out after midday from El Rio de San Clemente toward the northwest over rockless hills and brief plains with neither pasturage nor trees, and of very loose soil; then, because night was approaching and the terrain was not negotiable, and perilous in the dark, we stopped in the box channel of an arroyo which we named El Barranco. There was neither water nor pasturage in it, and so it became necessary to keep a watch over the animals and have them herded together all night. From the river up to here we traveled directly and without a path because, although there are several, they are those left by bison herds which come down to winter hereabouts. Today three leagues.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

G. Clell Jacobs

The party left the Camp Rio San Clemente and traveled over what is now the Rangley oilfields. Their description fits very closely the terrain of Raven Park.

They must have camped on one of the dry arroyos near Stinking Water Wash. In fact, this arroyo could well have been the camp spot, as it provides the best level spot with high walls which could help form a corral.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

This researcher drove and walked over a good portion of the oilfields according to the directions and distances described in the journal. Although it would be nearly impossible to accurately name the exact camping place due to the numerous dry washes, the measurements and the driving distances favor Stinking Water Wash.

#### September 11

On the 11th, as soon as it was full daylight, we set out from El Barranco headed west-northwest, and after going a league and a half through arroyos and embankments, some of them steeper than yesterday's, we found in one of them a tiny spring of water from which the horses were unable to drink. We kept on going west-northwest for one league and climbed a ridge having an easy and not too high ascent. From it we traveled three leagues over good terrain with middling pastures. We caught sight of a poplar grove, and when we asked Silvestre if there was a water source there where he was leading us, he said that there wasn't any, that it was an arroyo and not a river but that it might have water now. Thereupon we aimed for it and found plenty of running water for ourselves and for the horse herd, which was already much fatigued from thirst and hunger --and even a pack mule was so worn out that they had to remove the load it carried. In order to reach the arroyo we turned half a league north. Today six leagues.

A short distance from El Barranco we had seen a recent spoor of bison. We saw it again still fresher on the plain, and that it went in the direction we were taking. By now we had few provisions in view of the long traveling we still had to do, because of what we had spent among the Sabuaganas and the other Yutas. And so, a little before reaching the arroyo, two companions took off and followed the spoor mentioned. A little after midday one of them returned saying that they had found the bison. We dispatched others on the fleetest horses and, after chasing it for about three leagues, they killed it; then, at seven thirty at night they brought back a grand supply of meat (much more than what a big bull of the common variety has). And in order to prepare the meat so as to keep the heat from spoiling it for us, and at the same time to let the horse herd regain strength, we spent the 12th without undertaking a day's march at this place which we named El Arroyo del Cibolo. Tonight it kept on raining for many hours.

At daylight the party set out from Camp El Barranco toward the west-northwest. This would be toward Raven Ridge - Mellen Hill region. It would follow quite closely the present highway from Rangely to Dinosaur, Colorado. Climbing Mellen Hill near and north of the highway, they entered the valley of Dripping Rock Creek which formed a good roadway for them to the vicinity of the present town of Dinosaur, Colorado. They were headed for the junction of the Old Ute Trail from Uintah to White River which terminated in the region of Meeker, Colorado. When near the Utah state line they saw cottonwoods on Cliff Creek at what is now known as the K Ranch. Here they found water and camped for two days.

An examination of maps reveals three possible routes from the confluence of Douglas Creek and White River to the northwest and to the Green River. The route of Stinking Water Gulch was an early road and may have contained a minor Indian trail. The presence of a small spring in the foothills at the head of Stinking Water Gulch may have provided water for Indians on foot but probably not enough for horses. Early maps give the main trail from Uintah to White River as passing just north of the Hogbacks south of Blue Mountain, Colorado. A minor trail forked west of Dinosaur and went down to the Rangely area. There was also a trail further to the west along Raven Ridge. This was used mainly going to the White River in the vicinity of Bonanza, Utah.

If the party was on the west side of Snake John Reef, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for them to see the cottonwood grove, which must have been on or near the K Ranch. Otherwise, they would have had to be much further west. This would not meet the criteria of the distance traveled reaching Arroyo del Cibolo or to the camp on the Green River.

After making many trips to this region and driving and walking the route, this researcher has concluded that the party was east of Snake John Reef and that the campsite was near the present K Ranch.

The plain through which they were to travel the next day and on which they secured the buffalo is large and rather level. According to early settlers there were signs of buffalo throughout the region. Many piles of buffalo bones and horns were reported to have been found in early settlement days.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

In addition to the study of present-day maps, great help in the interpretation of the journal was obtained by studying old maps. The latter show the existence of old Indian trails, used perhaps for hundred of years before the coming of the Spanish. In the 1800s the country was criss-crossed by major and minor trails. Silvestre was a Ute and undoubtedly knew many of them. Therefore, this researcher would expect to find close agreement between the route taken by Silvestre and some of the old Ute

trails. Hayden's report of 1876 shows many of the trails that became parts of the Dominguez-Escalante Trail and the Old Spanish Trail.

We drove over the territory of the day's travel by jeep and dune buggy. We also investigated alternate routes and determined which most nearly fit the description given in the journal.

September 12 (No travel)

September 13

On the 13th, about eleven in the morning, we set out from El Arroyo del Cibolo over a plain lying at the foot of a small sierra which the Yutas and the Lagunas call Sabuagari; it extends from east to west, and its white cliffs can be seen from the high hills which come before El Canon Pintado. After going west two leagues and three quarters, we arrived at the water source which the guide knew; it is a scanty spring and lies at the sierra's base almost at its western point. We continued for a quarter of a league in the same direction along a well-beaten path near which, toward the south, two copious springs of the finest water rise, a musket shot apart from each other, which we named Las Fuentes de Santa Clara. The small plain over which they flow and are absorbed produces a good deal of pasturage from their moisture. From here we went a league northwest over the trail mentioned, and crossed an arroyo coming down from the plain of Las Fuentes, and in which there were large waterholes. From here downstream there is a lot of good pasturage in its box channel bed, which is wide and level. We crossed it again, went up some low hills with finely ground rock in spots, and after going two leagues northwest came to a large river which we named San Buenaventura. Today six leagues.

This river is the most copious one we have come by, and the same one which Fray Alonso de Posada, Custos of this [Custody] of New Mexico in the century gone by, relates in his report as separating the Yuta nation from the Comanche, according to the indications he gives in it and the distance at which he locates it with respect to Santa Fe. And in fact it is the boundary between these two nations, along the northeast and the north. Its course along here is to the west-southwest but, ahead and down to here, to the west. It comes together with the one of San Clemente, but we do not know if it does with the preceding ones. Here it has a meadow abounding in pasturage and good land for farming with the help of irrigation, which in width might be more than a league, and in length could reach five. It flows into it

between two lofty stone hogbacks which, after forming a sort of corral, come so closely together that one can barely make out the gorge through which the river comes.

According to our guide, one cannot cross anywhere else than by the single ford it has in this vicinity, which lies on the side west of the hogback on the north, very near to a chain of small bluffs of loose dirt, some lead-colored and others of a yellow hue. It consists of finely ground rock, and there the water does not reach the mounts' shoulder blades, whereas everywhere else that we saw they cannot cross without swimming. We halted by its southern edge about a mile from the ford; we called the site La Vega de Santa Cruz. The latitude was taken by the north star, and we found ourselves at  $41^{\circ} 19'$  latitude.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

G. Clell Jacobs

The route in all probability followed closely the Old Ute Trail as this was a major trail from Uintah to the White River. Hayden reported that in places the trail was worn a foot deep with traces worn into the sandstone. This would be fairly close to the base of Blue Mountain and Cliff Ridge. The journal mentioned finding a spring at the foot of the sierra. There are several springs along this route today, but the most likely one to fit the description in the journal was at the western terminus of Cliff Ridge where Cliff Creek cuts through Sand Ridge. After Cliff Creek turns west it cuts through Sand Ridge between two high red cliffs where it leaves the gorge or cliffs to wind its way to the Green River through gentle rolling hills. The trail taken by the party was almost certainly one of the minor trails that went to the north of Cliff Creek heading northwest to the Camp Vega de Santa Cruz of Rio de San Buenaventura. The major Indian trail remained to the south of Cliff Creek, however, until it reached the meadows. Perhaps the padres were anxious to get a better view of Split Mountain to the north. There is much conjecture about the camp location and the ford of the river because of the description given of Split Mountain. If one reads carefully the account in the journal and visits the site, it will be amply clear that the description of the river above Split Mountain and Split Mountain was given by one viewing it from a distance, not close up. What appears to be gorges are only rock formations. The gorge of Split Mountain is only steep on one side; the other slopes gently to the high cliffs on the west side of the gorge.

Survey plats of the area in 1874 show the old Indian trail going to the traditional Ute ford: therefore, the camp spot was about a mile below the bend of the river in the meadow and among the trees.

## RESEARCH METHODS

New and old maps were studied and comparisons made with the description given in the journal. Many trips were made to investigate any other possible route to the river after arriving at the west end of the sierra. The only practical trail was the one described above. This researcher drove 4-wheel drive vehicles and walked the entire area from Split Mountain to the traditional crossing and found none which would meet the criteria set forth. Many interviews were held with descendants of original settlers, people who have lived in that vicinity for many years--some even before the turn of the century. All attest that the traditional Ute crossing was near the west of the valley where the Green River turns south.

## THE D.E. MILLER SUPPLEMENT TO THE JACOBS REPORT

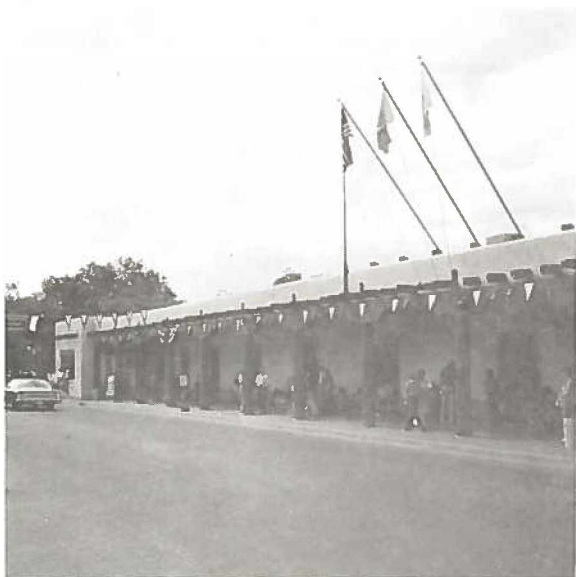
Early in the 1950s Dr. C. Gregory Crampton, S. Lyman Tyler, and David E. Miller conducted a reconnaissance of the Dominguez-Escalante Trail from the forks of Douglas Creek to the Green River campsite and ford. At that time they located and identified the Indian paintings mentioned by Escalante--the main one being some 16 miles upstream from Rangely. They then followed the trail past Rangely and on to the Green River.

In addition to having located and identified the Indian paintings, Crampton and associates came to the definite conclusion that the Spanish party had not followed the route defined by Herbert E. Bolton and others regarding the point where the expedition entered Utah. A careful reading of the journal together with on-the-ground research led the Crampton researchers to the conclusion that the Spaniards had entered Utah at about the location of the K Ranch then followed Cliff Creek westward to the Green River Valley. Along Cliff Creek Crampton and associates located the springs recorded in the Escalante diary.

In April 1974 W. L. Rusho and D. E. Miller took a close look at the region between Rangely and the K Ranch and came up with the same conclusions reached by the Crampton party. It is significant to note that G. Clell Jacobs arrived at the same conclusions in 1975.

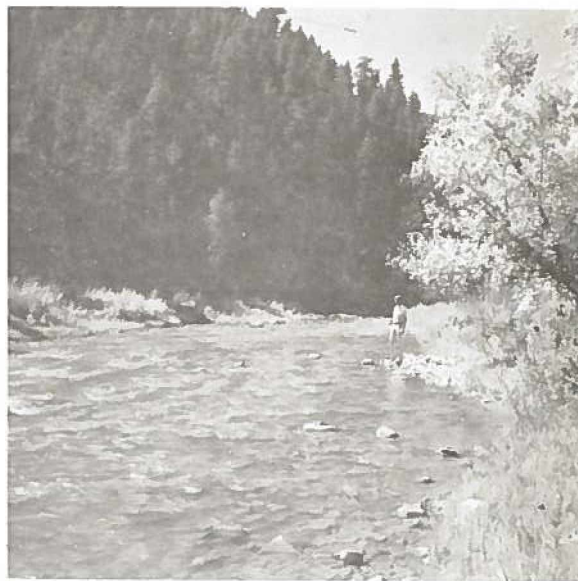


PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT A



GOVERNOR'S PALACE, SANTA FE

The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition left this plaza July 29, 1776, and returned here on January 2, 1777.  
*Alan Minge photo, 1975*



ALONG THE NAVAJO RIVER

The expedition made its way along this river August 5, 1776 while traveling between present Dulce, New Mexico, and Carracas, Colorado.  
*Alan Minge photo, 1975*



"NARROW PASS" LEADING TO HORSE LAKE

On August 4, 1776, the expedition negotiated this pass leading to present Horse Lake which the padres called "Lake Olivares" in honor of Lorenzo Olivares, a member of the company.  
*Alan Minge photo, 1975*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT B



SAN JUAN BRIDGE AT CARRACAS

The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition forded the San Juan River near this site August 5, 1776. Camp was established on the north bank.

*Robert McDaniel photo, 1975*



THE DOLORES RIVER

This view is looking downstream from the mouth of Big Gypsum Valley. After failing to negotiate the lower Dolores Canyon, the expedition left the river at this point by way of Big Gypsum Valley, August 20, 1776.

*Robert McDaniel photo, 1975*



SAN MIGUEL RIVER

The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition camped (August 21, 1776) at this point a couple of miles downstream from Natarita, Colorado. Escalante called the stream the San Pedro River.

*Robert McDaniel photo, 1975*



CAMPSITE ON THE UNCOMPAGHRE RIVER

On August 26, 1776, the expedition reached the Uncompahgre River (called San Francisco River by Escalante) and camped at this site a short distance upstream from Montrose, Colorado.

*Robert McDaniel photo, 1975*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT C



DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE COUNTRY

This view is toward the east on the Dominguez-Escalante trail south of Paonia, Colorado. The Spanish party passed this way August 31, 1776, guided by a Ute Indian. From this point the trail led eastward onto the Grand Mesa.

*Floyd A. O'Neil photo, 1975*



PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT C



COW CREEK CAMPSITE ON THE GRAND MESA

At this point the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition encountered a long-sought band of 80 Ute Indians on September 1, 1776. Here they also picked up an eleven-year-old lad whom they named Joaquin. (This young man eventually accompanied the padres all the way back to Santa Fe.) From this campsite high on Grand Mesa (which Escalante called San Silvestre) the other Ute guide, Silvestre, led the Spanish party westward to his people at Utah Lake.

*Floyd A. O'Neil photo, 1975*



PLATEAU CREEK

On September 4, 1776, the Ute guide Silvestre led the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition down this creek as the party descended from the upper levels of Grand Mesa headed for a Colorado River crossing near the present Una bridge.

*Floyd A. O'Neil photo, 1975*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT C



CARR CREEK

After fording the Colorado River slightly downstream from the present Una bridge, Silvestre led the Spanish party up Roan Creek to Carr Creek, thence across the divide to the east fork of Douglas Creek. This picture shows Carr Creek looking back along the route of September 7, 1776, toward Roan Creek and the Colorado River valley in the far distance.

*Floyd A. O'Neil photo, 1975*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT D



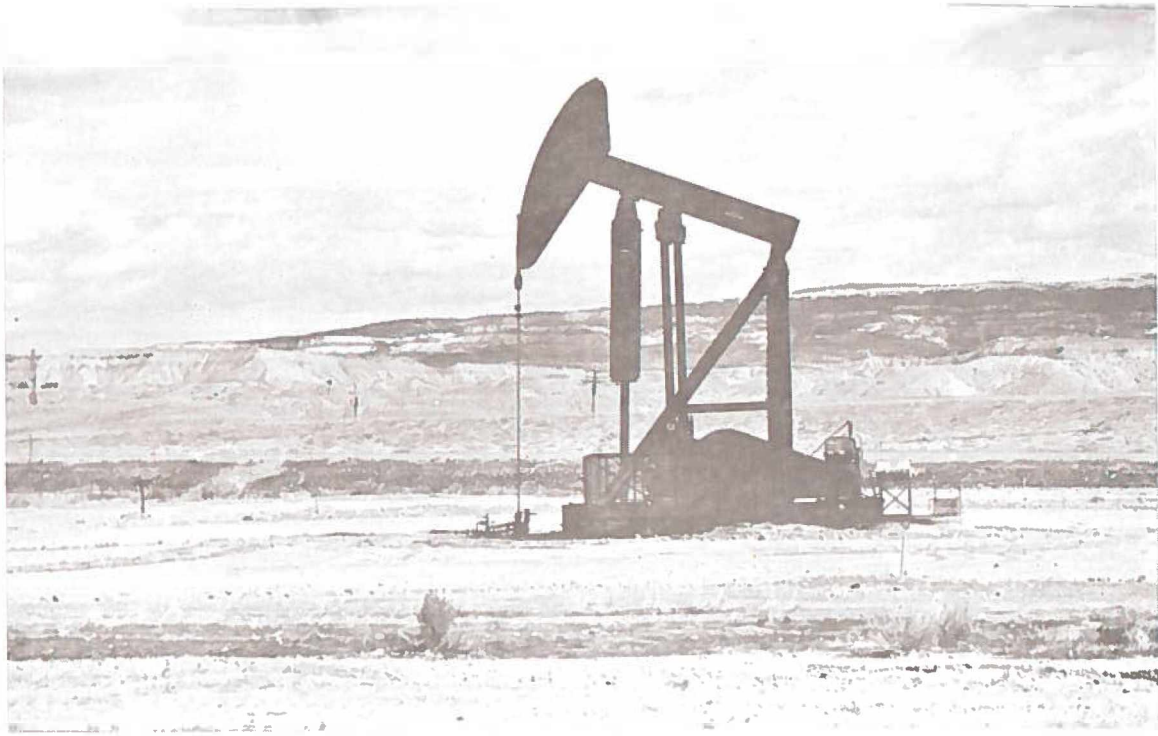
DOUGLAS CANYON PAINTING

On September 9, 1776, the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition discovered this Indian painting on the west wall of present Douglas Canyon south of Rangely, Colorado. Because of this and other paintings found farther downstream, the padres named this Painted Canyon. David E. Miller is shown in the picture.

*W. L. Rusho photo, 1974*



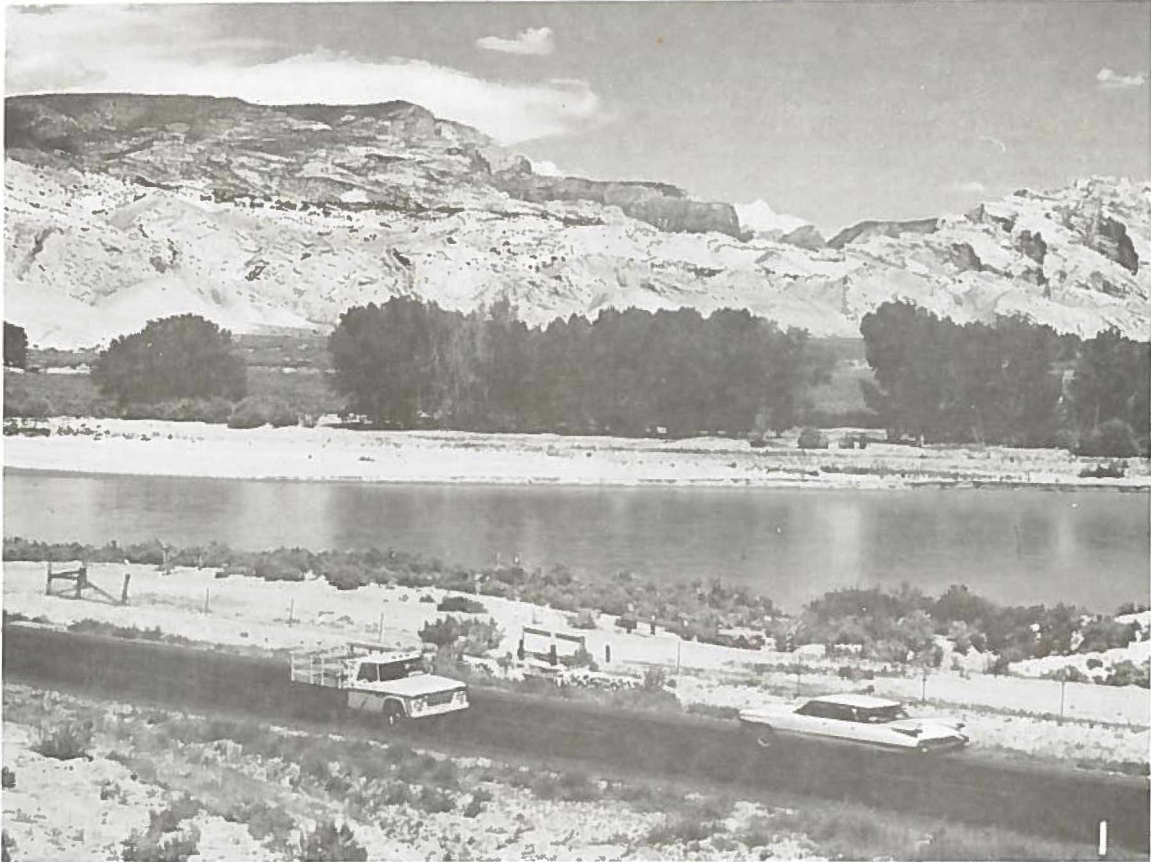
PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT D



RANGELY OIL FIELDS

On September 10, 1776, after camping opposite the mouth of Douglas Creek on the north bank of White River (called Rio San Clemente by Escalante), the expedition struck a northwest course from the present Rangely, Colorado, across this region, now dotted with oil wells.  
*W. L. Rusho photo, 1974*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT E



GREEN RIVER FORD

After camping in a large cottonwood grove on the east bank of Green River (opposite the mouth of Brush Creek) September 13-15, 1776, the expedition traveled a mile northward--upstream--to reach the old Ute ford well known to the Indian guide Silvestre. The company forded the river on September 16, 1776. The ford is located approximately six miles north of Jensen, Utah, on the south edge of Dinosaur National Monument--shown in background. This view is from a small monument on the hill west of the ford and highway. At this site the Green River (called Rio San Buenaventura by Escalante) is flowing to the right (southward). Cottonwood trees on the opposite bank are not those in which the expedition camped before fording the stream.  
*W. L. Rusho photo, 1964*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT E



SAN LINO CAMPSITE

This campsite, just right of center in picture, is located at the confluence of Wanrhodes Canyon and Diamond Creek. The view is down from slopes descended by the expedition on the evening of September 22.  
*Jerome Stoffel photo, 1975*

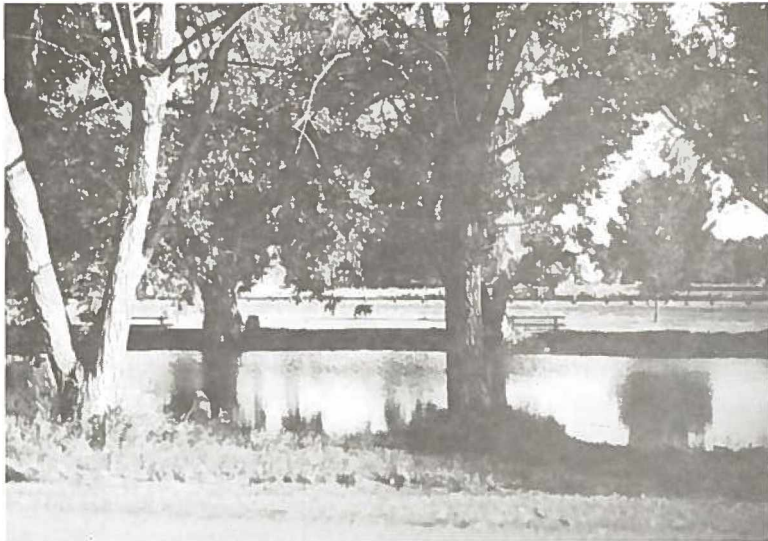


CASTILLO SPRING

This is the middle of three hot springs once developed into the Castillo bathing resort but long since abandoned. The springs were discovered and noted by the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition on September 23, 1776. They are located on the north side of Spanish Fork Canyon a short distance downstream from present Thistle.  
*Jerome Stoffel photo, 1975*



PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT F



PROVO RIVER CAMPSITE

Father Dominguez reached the Ute Indian camp on the evening of September 23, 1776. With him were the Indian guide Silvestre, Andres Muniz, Joaquin, and possibly one or two others. The rest of the expedition camped at the present site of Spanish Fork and did not travel to the Indian camp on the Provo until the next day, September 24. Escalante called the Provo River Rio San Antonio de Padua.  
*Ted J. Warner photo, 1975*



CAMPSITE IN PAYSON CITY PARK

On September 26, 1776, the Spanish party arrived at Peteetneet Creek (called Arroyo de San Andres in Escalante's journal) and camped for the night on that stream where it cuts through present Payson City Park.  
*Ted J. Warner photo, 1975*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT F

HOT SPRINGS HILL

On October 10, 1776, Escalante recorded sighting and examining some hot springs issuing from the top and edge of a small hill in the center of the valley through which the party was passing. This site has been positively identified as a small hill lying several miles south of the Union Pacific's Thermo siding. The party continued on to camp at the base of Brown Knolls southwest of present Minersville. The journal also notes that this is the south boundary of the "bearded Indians" who had been seen on the Sevier River and as far north as Utah Lake.

*David Vickstrom photo, 1975*



HOT SULPHUROUS SPRING

This is one of the springs described by Escalante on October 10, 1776. It is located at a small hill some two miles south of the railroad and almost due west from Minersville. Persons in the photo are unidentified.

*Courtesy Deseret News*

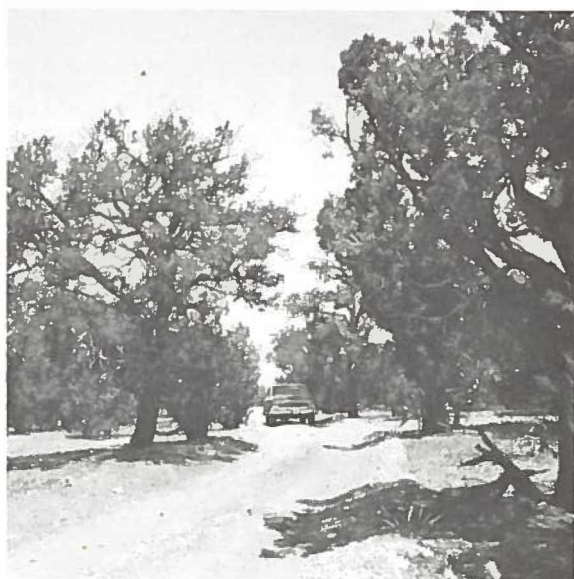
PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT G



BOLTON'S HAYRICK

On October 18, 1776, the Dominguez-Escalante trail led past the foot of this small butte on which friendly but timid Indians were hiding. The natives were persuaded to guide the Spanish party to water located in the upper reaches of Clayhole Wash. Escalante called the campsite San Samuel; 1975 researchers dubbed the site Bobcat Canyon.

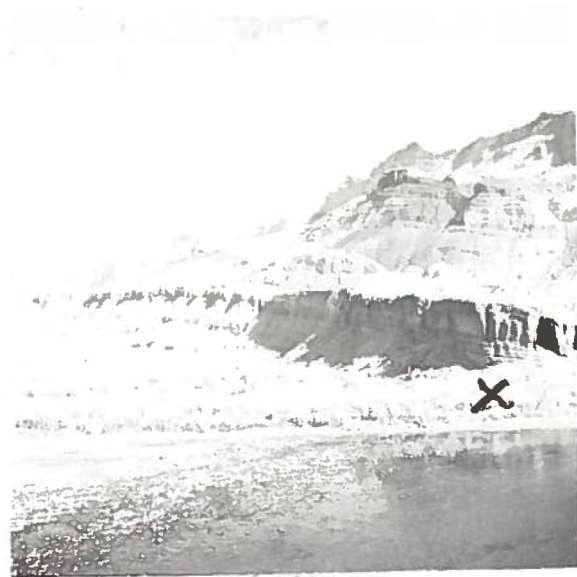
*W. L. Rusho photo, 1975*



ON KAIBAB PLATEAU

The 1776 Spanish party climbed the steep west slopes of the Kaibab Plateau on October 22 near the site of this picture.

*C. Gregory Crampton photo, 1975*



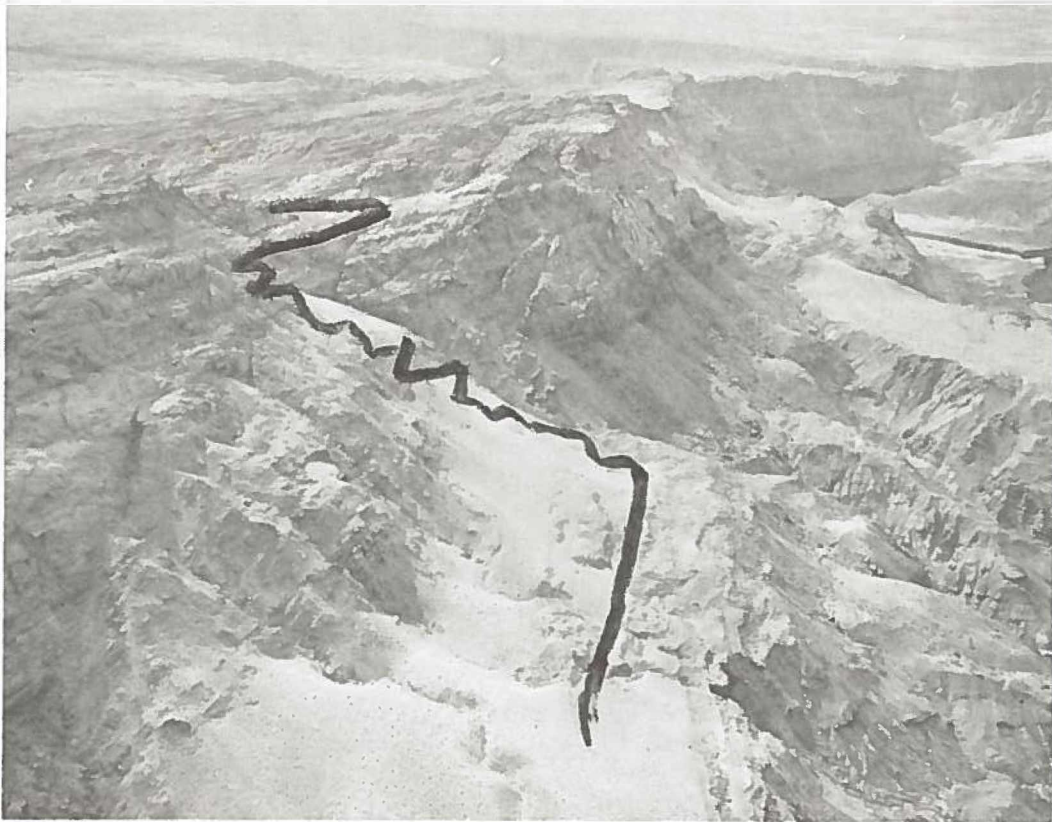
LEE'S FERRY CAMPSITE

On October 26, 1776, the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition reached the mouth of Paria River and camped near the site where John D. Lee would establish a ferry nearly a century later. Camp was established at the base of a cliff marked by an "x". The party remained at this site until November 1 seeking a way out of the canyon. Escalante named the site San Benito de Salsipuedes.

*C. Gregory Crampton photo, 1974*



PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT H

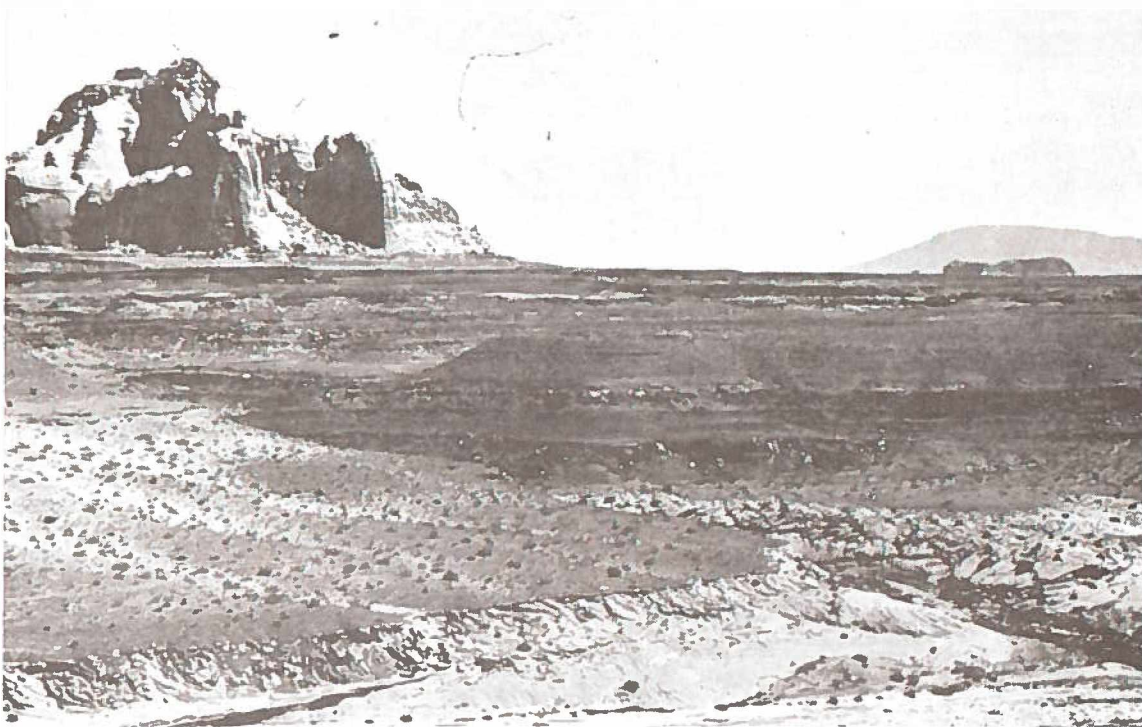


DOMINGUEZ PASS

This aerial photo shows the Dominguez-Escalante trail leading up and over the Echo Cliffs from the Paria River campsite of November 1. The 1975 researchers have named this pass in honor of the Spanish company's leader. Lee's Ferry and a portion of the Colorado River can be seen in the upper right corner.

*W. L. Rusho photo, 1962*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT H



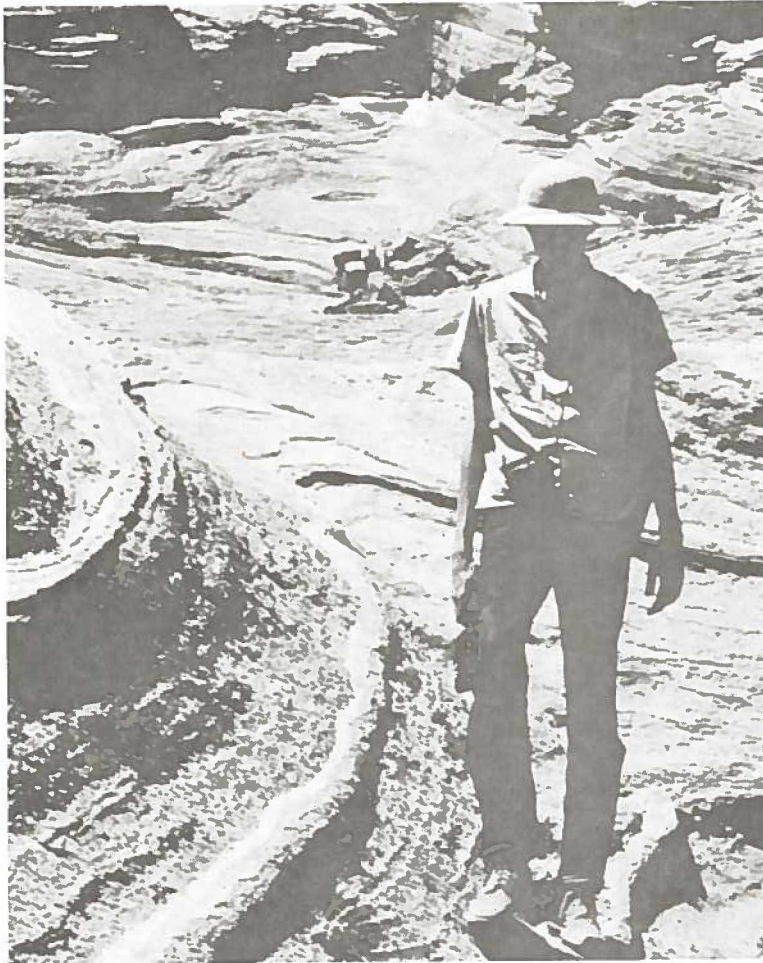
CAMP SAN DIEGO

After negotiating Dominguez Pass and the deep red sand lying between that pass and present Wahweap Creek, the Spanish party arrived at this site to camp on the Wahweap November 2, 1776. Camp was located near the center of the picture in the bottom of the wash where the padres found a limited supply of water and grass. They called the campsite San Diego. It is located slightly north of the present Utah-Arizona boundary. To the left is Castle Rock which reminded Father Escalante of an ancient fortress ruin. On the horizon in the center of the picture is Navajo Mountain which Escalante also noted.

*David E. Miller photo, 1957*



PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT H



ESCALANTE STEPS

On November 7, 1776, the padres hacked out these notches with an axe to ensure safe footing for the horses. The "steps" extend about 10 feet along a difficult portion of the steep west wall of Padre Creek. David H. Miller is shown walking along the Spanish trail at this point.

*David E. Miller photo, 1957*

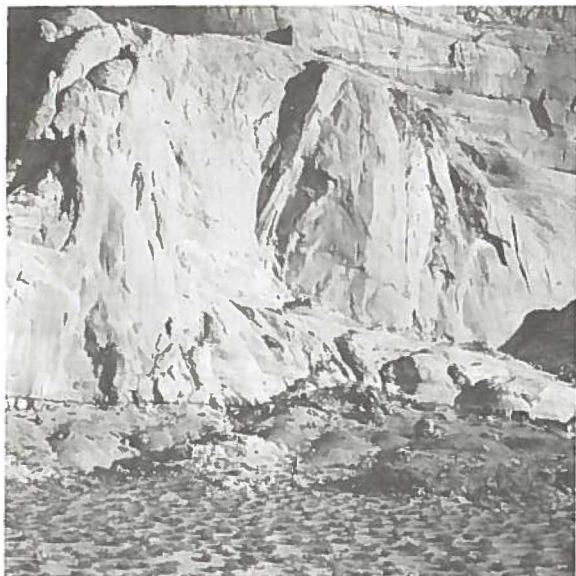
CROSSING OF THE FATHERS

On November 7, 1776, the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition forded the Colorado River at this site. Significant points are identified by number: (1) the Escalante steps; (2) Padre Creek; (3) low cliffs on the west side of the ford; (4) campsite of November 7; (5) Padres Butte; (6) Dominguez Butte; (7) Tse Tonte. The ford is approximately three miles north of the Utah-Arizona boundary. Picture shows the area before the waters of Lake Powell covered it.

*W. L. Rusho photo, 1962*



PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT I



SAN MIGUEL CAMPSITE

Sunlight bathes the San Miguel campsite located at the south end of Tse Tonte. The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition spent the night of November 8, 1776, at this site. *W.L. Rusho photo, 1975*



OLD TRAIL INTO NAVAJO CANYON

Slickrock canyon south of the San Miguel campsite leads over rough, steep switchbacks into Navajo Creek Canyon. Shown here is a cleared space through the boulder-studded terrain showing positive evidence of the trail. The Spanish party passed this way on November 11, 1776. The hiker in the picture is Don Cecaia. *W.L. Rusho photo, 1975*

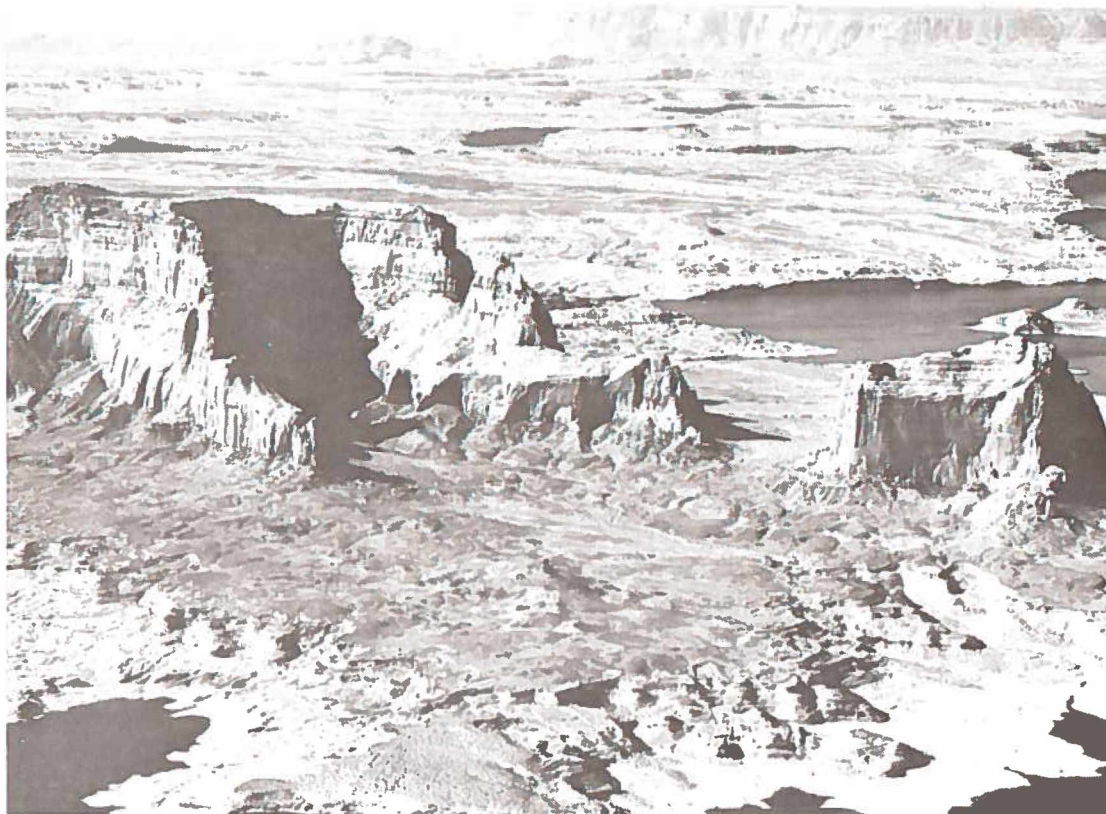


OLD TRAIL, KAIBITO CANYON

Larry Sanderson climbs up steps cut into sandstone as part of the old trail leading out of Navajo Creek and Kaibito Wash. The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition negotiated these steps November 11, 1776. *W.L. Rusho photo, 1975*



PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT I



DOMINGUEZ BUTTE

About a mile downstream from the Crossing of the Fathers the trail the Spanish party was following passed along the east base of the formations shown in this picture, one of which (at extreme right) has been named "Dominguez Butte" in honor of the expedition's leader. The company passed this way November 8, 1776. This view is toward the southwest; portions of Lake Powell are seen in front of and behind the butte. Dominguez Butte is located approximately two miles north of the Utah-Arizona boundary.

*W.L. Rusho photo, 1967*



PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT I



OLD TRAIL OUT OF KAIBITO WASH

On November 11, 1776, the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition climbed out of Kaibito Wash on this old Indian trail. A portion of the trail is seen at lower left of photo.

*W. L. Rusho photo, 1973*

ORAIBI CHIEF TEWAQUAPTEWA

In 1958 Chief Tewaquaptewa, holding a ceremonial knife in one hand and a Kachina doll in the other, posed for this picture. At that time he stated that he was 110 years old. His ancestor might well have been the Oraibi chief when Escalante was there in 1775-76.

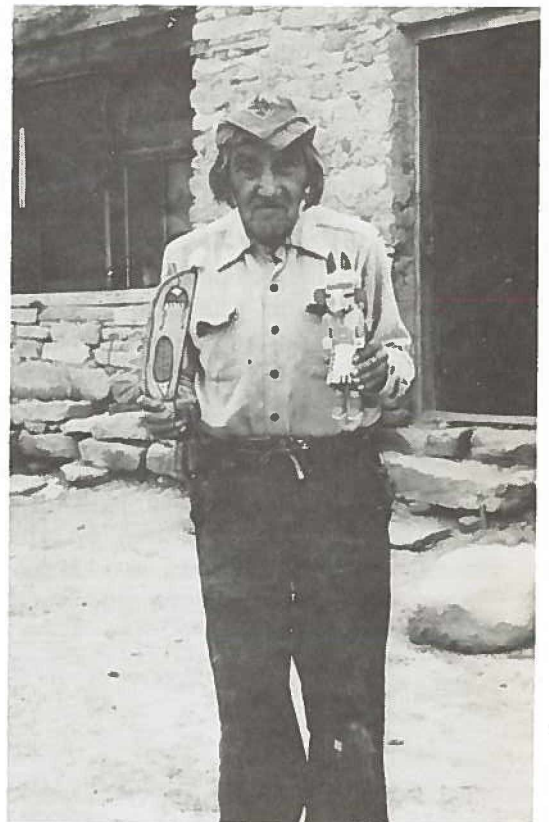
*David E. Miller photo, 1958*



OLD ORAIBI

On November 16, 1776, the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition arrived at this oldest continuously occupied village in the United States. Escalante was not a stranger here. As a missionary priest he had visited the village earlier but had found the Hopi Indians unwilling to adopt Christianity. They were still disinterested in 1776. Oraibi is now (1976) closed to all whites.

*David E. Miller photo, 1958.*



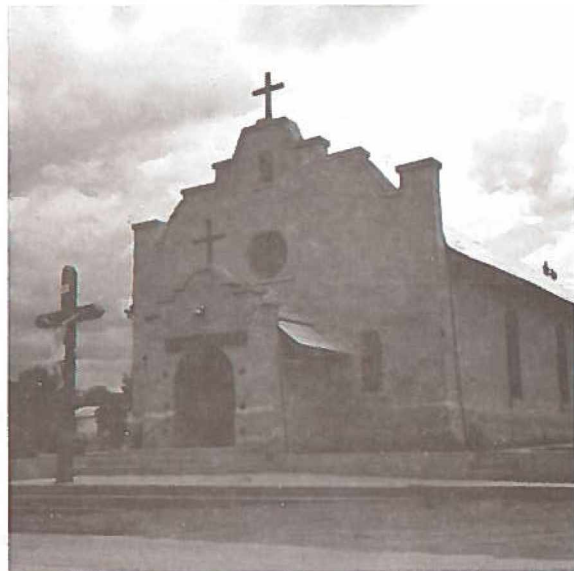
PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT I



ZUNI PUEBLO

On their return trek toward Santa Fe, the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition stopped at the Zuni Pueblo and remained there from November 24 until December 13. Father Escalante was well known there since he had been formerly stationed at Zuni as a missionary. Father Dominguez probably used the two weeks to conduct his review of the mission and to participate in the celebration of the Feast of our Lady of Guadalupe (December 12) while Escalante renewed old friendships, participated in the same celebration and likely put some finishing touches on the daily journal he was writing.

*John M. Kitchen photo, 1967*



SAN RAFAEL CHURCH

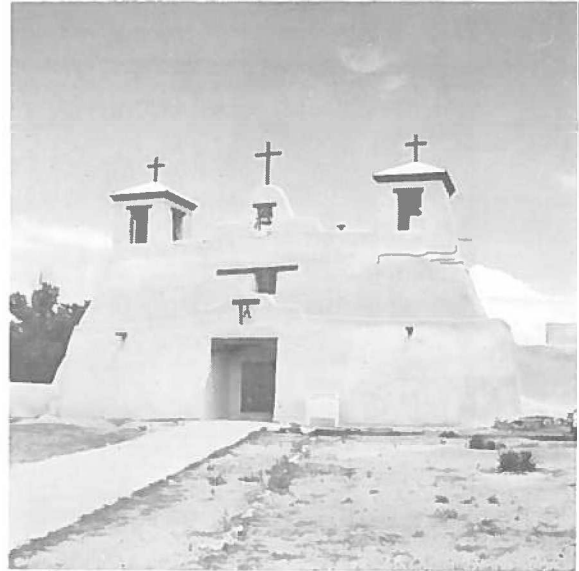
On the return trip from Zuni to Santa Fe the Spanish party probably stayed overnight at present San Rafael either December 14 or 15. The Escalante journal is silent about any overnight stops between Zuni and Acoma, but three days were spent on that segment of the trail--December 13-16, 1776.  
*C. Gregory Crampton photo, 1975*

PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT J



ACOMA CHURCH

Fathers Dominguez and Escalante celebrated mass in the San Estaban de Acoma church while stopped there December 16-19, 1776 on their return to Santa Fe. The church is currently in good repair and still in use by the citizens of Acoma.  
*C. Gregory Crampton photo, 1971*



ISLETA MISSION CHURCH

Fathers Dominguez and Escalante celebrated Christmas Mass at this St. Augustine Mission Church located in the Isleta Pueblo. The church is in fine repair today and in regular use by the population of Isleta. The 1776 Spanish party spent December 23-28 at Isleta.  
*W.L. Rusho photo, 1975*



"OLD TOWN" ALBUQUERQUE

After traveling up the west bank of the Rio Grande from Isleta (December 28, 1776) the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition crossed the stream to spend one night in the "Old Town" segment of Albuquerque.  
*C. Gregory Crampton photo, 1976*



PHOTOGRAPHS TO ACCOMPANY RESEARCH REPORT J



INSCRIPTION ROCK (EL MORRO)

This famous register is located right on the regular Spanish road between Zuni Pueblo and Acoma. With abundant water and forage available, it is possible that the returning Dominguez-Escalante Expedition spent one night here--possibly December 13, 1776.

*John M. Kitchen photo, 1971*

ACOMA PUEBLO

The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition arrived at Acoma December 16, 1776 and remained two days. The "Sky City" has not changed much.

*W.L. Rusho photo, 1974*



RESEARCH REPORT E

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL  
FROM THE GREEN RIVER TO UTAH LAKE  
SEPTEMBER 16-24, 1776

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION  
BY  
MSGR. JEROME STOFFEL, RESEARCHER  
GEORGE E. STEWART, ASSOCIATE



RESEARCH REPORT E

THE JEROME STOFFEL AND GEORGE E. STEWART REPORT

September 14 and 15 (No travel)

September 16

On the 16th we set out from La Vega de Santa Cruz (on El Rio de San Buenaventura), went up about a mile to the north, arrived at the ford and crossed the river. We took to the west, and after going one league along the northern side and meadow of the river, crossed another smaller one which comes down from the northwest, and we entered it. Over the same meadow we turned south-southwest for a league and crossed another rivulet, a little larger than the first, which comes down from the same northwesterly direction and enters the river. From both of them irrigation ditches could be dug for watering the land on this side, which is likewise good for farming even when they could not be conducted from the large river. We continued toward the southwest, getting away from the river which swings to the south among hills and ravines of finely ground stone in spots. We descended to a dry arroyo down a long and very stony grade, its ascent on the other side being not as bad.

As soon as we reached the top we found a spoor, of one or two days' imprint, of about twelve horses and some people on foot; and after a close study of the surroundings, indications were found that they had been lying in wait or spying for some time on the bluff's highest part, without letting go of the horses.

We suspected that they might be some Sabuaganas who could have followed us to deprive us of the animal herd at this place---where it would be likely that we would attribute the deed to the Comanches instead of the Yutas, since we were no longer in the latter's country but the former's....

We continued exactly where the spoor led, descended once more to El Rio de San Buenaventura, and saw that the ones making the tracks had stayed for a long while in the leafy poplar grove and meadow which it has. We kept on following it over the meadow by the river's edge, naming the site Las

Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco---after having gone over the broken hills and slopes, and the meadow mentioned, six leagues to the southwest, and in the whole day's march eight leagues.

As soon as we halted, two companions went southwest along the trail to explore the terrain roundabout, and concluded they had been Comanches.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Jerome Stoffel and George E. Stewart

### Identification of the Crossing

During the course of the years several sites have been offered as the ford used by the Dominguez-Escalante party to cross the Green River. Understandably there is confusion because, after noting their crossing, Escalante writes: "We took to the west, and after going one league along the northern side and meadow of the river..."

Now, if one chooses the traditional site identified on the right bank and just within the boundaries of Dinosaur National Monument, one cannot both go "west" and at the same time go along "the northern side and meadow of the river." The river at this point flows south. However, one must keep in mind that, to this point of the crossing, the expedition's only knowledge of the river was that it flowed generally west from Split Mountain to this place. As far as anyone yet knew, it continued generally in a western direction--a supposition, incidentally, which Don Miera later enshrined on his map. Moreover, when they again encountered the river the evening of the same day of the crossing, it was again traveling to the west.

In spite of these wrong directions (which, incidentally, occur only this once), there seems to be no other place on the river that will fit the description as given in the diary entry for September 13:

...after going two leagues northwest [we] came to a large river which we named San Buenaventura.... Its course along here is to the west-southwest but, ahead and down to here, to the west. It comes together with the one of San Clemente.... It flows into [the meadow in which they are encamped] between two lofty stone hogbacks which, after forming a sort of corral, come so closely together that one can barely make out the gorge through which the river comes.

According to our guide, one cannot cross anywhere else than by the single ford it has in this vicinity, which lies on the side west of the hogback on the north, very near to a chain of small bluffs of loose dirt, some lead-colored and others of a yellow hue.

It consists of finely ground rock, and there the water does not reach the mounts' shoulder blades, whereas everywhere else

that we saw they cannot cross without swimming. We halted by its southern edge about a mile from the ford; we called the site La Vega de Santa Cruz.

With the aid of Demar Dudley, long-time resident of Jensen, we considered some of the known crossings and the possibility that the river has changed its course since 1776. However, in the many gyrations of the river after leaving Split Mountain no possible ford other than the ancient Indian crossing at the northwest corner of these meanderings will fit the very specific description so clearly translated in the Chavez edition of the diary: ". . . lies on the side west of the hogback on the north, very near to a chain of small bluffs of loose dirt, some lead-colored and others of a yellow hue." Specifically there and only there at the traditionally assigned place of crossing, do the hogback and the chain of yellow and gray hills meet!

Moreover, in the fall of the year, the water will not reach the shoulders of a mount. Finally, if one totals the distance from the camp of September 13-16, across the ford (west), and south through the meadow to the crossing of Brush Creek, it amounts to approximately a league, the distance assigned by Escalante to the crossing of Brush Creek. As on other occasions, he assigns a "mile" to a short distance which he then also includes in another longer measurement of a league or more. This it seems he has done here.

In the memory of residents, an extensive flood of the Green River in 1917 altered the dimensions of the traditional crossing but not its site. For this reason the travels of the day of September 16 have been plotted on area maps, using the compass directions as given, and possible alternatives to the crossing of Brush and Ashley creeks. These were followed by several visits to the only two possible sites, the traditional one and another some two to three miles to the east. We are convinced that only the traditional site will stand the test. On the west bank there is even evidence of a well-used (and long-used) trail cut through the clay banks and heading south.

#### The September 16 Route

Leaving a cottonwood grove near an ancient channel of the Green River, the trail passed to a gravel bar just south of a northwestern bend of the river tucked tightly against gray and yellow hills, and here crossed over in a westerly direction and up through a break in the clay banks. It is an ancient Indian crossing, disturbed by a river flood in 1917.

Keeping to the river meadows the trail crossed Brush Creek, much as does the highway from Dinosaur National Monument, and then veered to the southwest, rising to the lower yellow hills of Sunshine Bench and then dropping into the meadows of Ashley Creek.

From here it took off to the south-southwest, probably crossing the U. S. Highway 40 in the vicinity of the dogleg some three and a half miles west of Jensen. It then ascended shallow draws and soft

ridges aiming for a pass in Asphalt Ridge known as Collier Pass.

Before entering the actual pass, the Dominguez-Escalante trail intersected what almost surely is an ancient Indian trail. Accompanied by Curtis Tucker of the Vernal BLM on the morning of June 11, we shared the courtesy of Uel Hunting, a resident of Naples farming on the Green River near the Horseshoe Bend, who introduced us to this Indian trail known to him as the "Old Ute Trail" This trail is known to have come down from the buffalo plains of Wyoming through Brown's Hole, over Diamond Mountain and into upper Ashley Valley. From there it seems to have passed down a hidden valley along the eastern side of Asphalt Ridge, a draw formed by the escarpment and some smaller ridges flanking the ridge. It leads into Collier Pass, down a difficult draw and into a dry and rocky valley known as Collier Hole. Skirting the higher parts of Collier Hole, the trail crossed another pass to the head of another gulch, and then a third pass leading to what is known as The Stirrup on the Green River just west of Horseshoe Bend. Here, before the river turns south, are two meadows. From the westernmost, a road takes off to the southwest and rises to the benchland. Presumably this is the ancient Ute trail which then divided at the top, one trail leading south to Ouray and the Tavaputs Plateau.

We feel quite secure in contending that this is the trail intersected by the Dominguez-Escalante party at the entrance to Collier Pass. Nearby is a high hill which could be the place noted by Escalante as having evidence of the Indians lying in wait or spying. From its top one can see most of the Green River from Split Mountain southwest to its bends east of Pelican Lake. More important, one can see much of the trail for the days of September 16 and 17 and even the distant landmark of the Roan Plateau crossed many days before. The site deserves attention for development.

It is to be noted that one other trail is possible, one drifting down further south around the lower end of Asphalt Ridge, skirting again along the river for a short distance and then climbing away from the river to Collier Hole and thence over the third pass into the meadows. It is not possible to stay along the river as it leaves Horseshoe Bend. The fact that Escalante mentions a high lookout and a rugged "arroyo" on the other side of the ridge, but does not mention the river until they arrive at the meadows, seems to rule out this alternative.

The only other alternative on this trail is that, after passing through Collier Pass, the expedition might have made a loop to the north before descending to Collier Hole. The fact, however, that an old trail is evident down Collier Draw causes us to conclude that they took it, difficult as it was.

Passing over the third pass out of Collier Hole, the trail led to the first meadow on The Stirrup along the receding cliffs. Here the Spaniards noted the evidence of the long encampment of the Indians whose trail they had intercepted at Collier Pass. From here the trail passed over low rocky mounds and to a second meadow where they encamped, naming it Las Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco. (Significantly, the Presidio of San Francisco was formally established the very next morning.)

## RESEARCH METHODS

### An Overview

Inasmuch as most of this section of the trail (from Green River Crossing to Utah Lake) is associated with rivers and streams and lies near improved road systems, a general visual survey of the topography was made on April 16, 1975, by Jerome Stoffel. George E. Stewart, a lifetime resident of eastern Utah, was already familiar with most of the terrain. At that time, a decision was made to locate certain distinctive features associated with this part of the trail, e.g., the overlook mentioned September 17, the ruins of a pueblo on the same day's travel, and the canyon of the swallow nests mentioned September 19. Certain other features were assumed to be known, e.g., the site of the crossing of the Green River, the confluence of the Uinta and Duchesne, and the confluence of the Duchesne and Strawberry rivers. On the western end of the trail, lower Diamond Creek and the site of the hot springs in Spanish Fork Canyon were also assumed to be correct.

The work was then sketched out on the USGS 1/250000 maps for this region, noting directions and distances as described in the diary. Ten days of map review with these indicators in mind (i.e., accuracy of general compass directions, accuracy of distances in relatively open country, and the use of Indian trails) prepared us to begin the serious tracing of the trail that we undertook on June 23, 1975.

Much of the trail we have been on since that time, mostly by four-wheel vehicle. Some of it passes on private land posted "No Trespassing," or follows through meadows and river bottomlands, but most of these are observable from observation points and are not identifiable precisely. Two reservoirs cover some of the trail, but maps are available enabling us to reconstruct the terrain for the purposes of identifying the trail. Only one part of the trail cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy--that out of Strawberry Valley across the ridge into the waterways of Diamond Creek. Escalante notes that they were breaking trail at this point, and so we propose three possible alternatives but offer one as our preference.

### Specific Research for the September 16 Journal Entry

Although we had crisscrossed the trail through Ashley Valley, we could confirm its practicality from Collier Pass, and from there we could look southwest to the meadows of Las Llagas. With a four-wheel drive vehicle we descended the draw to the west for some distance, noting the trails. Then we approached it again from the west, noting here and there the trails passing through the second and third passes and through the cliffs to the Las Llagas meadows. Significantly, the trails, where observable, stayed high so as to avoid the numerous and steep gulches.

Thanks go to Mr. Uel Hunting for pointing out the Old Ute Trail.



September 17

On the 17th we set out from the meadow of Las Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco toward the southwest, went up some low hills, and after going a league left the path we were following, the one on which the spoor of horses and people continued. Silvestre told us that they were Comanches who were going in pursuit of the Yutas who, while likely on a bison hunt, had made their presence felt. We convinced ourselves of this, from the direction they were taking as well as from other signs they left. We crossed a dry arroyo, climbed up a hill, and after going west a league and a half over good terrain, almost flat and arid, arrived at a high ridge from which the guide pointed out to us the junction of the rivers San Clemente and San Buenaventura, which now joined together flowed to the south with respect to where we stood.

We descended to a plain and another river's large meadow, and after going west another league and a half, arrived at the juncture of two medium-sized rivers which come down from the sierra which lies near here and to the north of El Rio de San Buenaventura. The one more to the east before the juncture runs to the southeast, and we named it Rio de San Cosme. We continued upstream along the latter, and after going west one league we saw ruins near it of a very ancient pueblo where there were fragments of stones for grinding maize, jars, and pots of clay. The pueblo's shape was circular as indicated by the ruins now almost completely in mounds.

We turned southwest over a plain which lies between the two rivers, went up some hills of loose stone, and very troublesome to the already hoofsore mounts; we went down another meadow of El Rio de San Cosme, and having gone southwest for half a league, and one half towards the west over the meadow, we halted on it, naming it La Ribera de San Cosme. Today eight leagues.

A little after we had stopped, we saw wisps of smoke at the sierra's base, and when we asked the guide who in his opinion had sent them up, he said that they could be Comanches, or some of the Lagunas who usually came hunting hereabouts

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Jerome Stoffel and George E. Stewart

Note: There are significant differences among the various translations:

Bolton has "... ascended some hills of loose stone...We descended to another meadow of Rio de San Cosme, and having traveled southwest half a league and west a league and a half... A little after crossing we saw columns of smoke..."

Auerbach has "league and a half west" but uses the word "stopping" rather than "crossing."

Harris has "league and a half by this plain" but does not have the short paragraph about the columns of smoke.

From the campsite of Las Llagas the trail left the river by a draw to the southwest with evidence that the unpaved road essentially follows the old trail to the top of the bench. At this point Silvestre led them away from the Old Ute Trail heading south to Ouray, then almost directly west, crossing a shallow dry valley and west across the bench. Jutting out from this bench are many cliff edges providing overlooks of Ouray Park and Pelican Lake. Tucked back among them and in many ways seemingly insignificant is an unnamed mesa higher than all the rest. It lies in almost a direct line from Las Llagas to the confluence of the Uinta and Duchesne rivers, and therefore is undoubtedly the "high ridge" from which Silvestre pointed out the joining river systems of the White and the Green. Nearby the old trail passed down along a little stream whose treeline points like an arrow to the confluence of the Uinta and the Duchesne. We have tentatively named this "Silvestre's Overlook", and would urge that it be submitted as a fitting name for the Ute who so faithfully and knowledgeably led the expedition through the Uinta Basin.

The trail led to the confluence of the two rivers, the Uinta (named San Damian) and the Duchesne (named San Cosme). Crossing the former, the expedition traveled to a point south of Fort Duchesne where they saw the ancient ruins of a pueblo. By "pueblo" we assume is meant the ruins of several buildings. The site was "near" the river. As yet we have not found evidence of its location. It would be a most desirable find in that it would give us a fix as to the trail.

However, not far beyond its presumed location, we encountered the "hills of loose stone" and then meadows. To the west the Duchesne River has thrust itself against the bluffs of Windy Ridge, almost surely compelling the expedition to cross the river and **then** proceed westerly along its southern meadows, arriving at an area of springs just north of Sand Pass. The area has become a slough because of a road fill but likely at that time was a well-used campsite. By reason of distance and direction we have concluded this to be the general area of the campsite of Ribera de San Cosme.

Our interpretation favors the Bolton translation with its crossing of the river and the extra league of travel. Located about five miles east of Myton, it also provides the locale for the difficulties encountered the next morning since this is an area of changing river channels, requiring them to cross and recross the river. Also the fact that they crossed the river an uneven number of times the next day (five) put them on the north side of the stream at the right times.

## RESEARCH METHODS

With a four-wheel drive vehicle we traveled most of the trail to Silvestre's Overlook and nearby to the confluence of the Uinta and Duchesne rivers. From there on to Sand Pass we have overlooked the river from both sides. In the earlier reconnaissance the trail was worked out tentatively on maps and then reworked on the ground from the known landmarks. Where exactly the party traveled along the river bottoms would depend upon the water conditions for the year 1776.

On June 10, 1975, a preliminary search was initiated by Jerome Stoffel and George Stewart, and a guest, G. Clell Jacobs, for the overlook site described in the diary entry for September 17. On June 11, 1975, Stoffel and Jacobs worked by car and foot over the ridges, passes, and meadows related to the Green River from Horseshoe Bend to north of Ouray, attempting to get an anchor on the trail as it left the Green River for the Duchesne.

### September 18

On the 18th we set out from La Ribera de San Cosme, and because the guide wanted to cross over to the river's other side and follow it, he stuck us through an almost impenetrable osier, bosque or thicket, and into marshy estuaries which made us backtrack and cross the river thrice while making many useless detours. Then over a plain next to its meadows we went three leagues west, turned west-southwest one league, crossed the river a fifth time, and again took to the west in which direction we traveled three leagues and a quarter, now over the river's meadow, now over the plain next to it. We climbed up to a not very high mesa, flat on top and very stony, traveled for about three quarters of a league, which includes the ascent and descent, crossed another small river which close to here flows into that of the San Cosme and which we named Santa Catarina de Sena, and halted by its edge. Today nine leagues.

...There is good land along these three rivers that we crossed today.... From the land of the Comanches a very long and high sierra comes down... Tomorrow we shall begin climbing it and going across where it appears less lofty.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Jerome Stoffel and George E. Stewart

East of present-day Myton is a mesa where the Myton airstrip is located. The Duchesne River flows against the mesa's northern abutments and then out into a sometimes flooded area of marshes and heavy undergrowth.

It is not surprising, then, to read in the diary that Silvestre wanted to cross again to the northern side of the river but found it necessary to cross the river not once but three times. The trail then remains north of the river channel some seven and a half miles, crossing Lake Fork along the way.

Then, because of a northern escarpment or bench, it again becomes necessary to cross to the south side. Farther west approximately three miles the fifth crossing of the river was made near the settlement of Bridgeland. Following along the northern meadows and nearby plains, the trail then led west approximately seven miles. The old highway from Duchesne to Bridgeland would seem to be on the Dominguez-Escalante trail in this area.

The town of Duchesne lies near the confluence of the Strawberry River, coming in from the northwest, and the Duchesne River, coming in from the north. Easternmost is the Duchesne which is turned east and then east-north-east by the impact of the Strawberry. At this point the triangular peninsula of a bench abuts the river, compelling the traveler to ascend and intersect that triangle, climbing out of the Duchesne on the east side of the abutment, crossing it, and then descending to the Duchesne. A further triangular abutment separates the Duchesne from the Strawberry.

Hence it is not surprising that the Dominguez-Escalante party, approaching the present town of Duchesne, climbed "a not very high mesa, flat on top and very stony, traveled for about three quarters of a league, which includes the ascent and descent, crossed another small river which we named the Santa Catarina de Sena, and halted by its edge." They had crossed the little mesa and descended it to cross the Duchesne River, camping in a meadow about a mile north of U. S. Highway 40. On the following day they crossed the next triangular bench to the Strawberry.

There can be little question of the general location of the campsite of Santa Catarina de Sena in a meadow on the northern side of the Duchesne and about a mile above the town. On Purple Mesa to the west there are trails ascending to the top and across to the Strawberry.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

All of the river bottomlands have been reconnoitered on both sides from Randlett to Duchesne. The various river crossings and the exact trail cannot be identified but only approximated. However, the directions given in the diary and the distances involved make it possible to assume the reasons for the crossings and the approximate area crossed by the trail. The sloughs east of Myton, the airstrip mesa, the crossing of "three rivers" on September 18, and the Blue Mesa obstacle near Duchesne all make the approximate line of the trail very clear, especially when related to detail maps of the areas.

#### September 19

On the 19th we set out with no trail from El Rio de Santa Catarina de Sena toward the southwest, went up a gradual and short but very rocky slope; then, after a quarter-league we turned west, went down to El Rio de San Cosme's edge and traveled along it for two lea-

gues and a quarter, making several turns over almost impassable terrain, either because of so much rock or the rock-cliff precipices that are here. One of them caused one of our horses to be injured, and made us back-track about a mile and descend to another meadow of the river. We crossed it by breaking through a bosque of osier and tall bamboo-reed, and at half a league swung for the northwest by taking the channel bed of an arroyo for our route, ascending the sierra and leaving El Rio de San Cosme behind.

We continued through the arroyo, which led us before we knew it into a canyon, narrow and tall on both sides with no other negotiable ground than the arroyo's channel bed. Halfway up the canyon there is another arroyo which comes from north to south. We continued northwest through the one we were following, and after going four leagues, which with the many windings came to be west-northwest, we got out of the canyon---which we named Las Golondrinas for there being many nests of these birds in it, built with such symmetry that they looked like tiny pueblos. Then we continued over a sagebrush stretch of good terrain, and at half a league's going west-northwest we swung west by going up a gradual hill with some tree growth; then, after descending it, we started over a plain across which a well-beaten path goes from north to south.

At the plain's end we descended by a high ridge, rocky and steep, to the water source which we named San Eustaquio, having traveled two and a half leagues west. This water source is perennial and copious, and there is abundant pasturage by it. We arrived very tired, both on account of the day's march's painful travel and because a very cold west wind did not cease blowing very hard all day long. Today ten leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Jerome Stoffel and George E. Stewart

The trail for this day started out clearly enough with a climb over Purple Mesa and into Strawberry Canyon now covered by the waters of Starvation Reservoir. One can go a short distance up the canyon before encountering the damsite and catch a momentary glimpse of the cliffs that beset the travelers. But at first it is not at all clear why the Spaniards should have struggled around those cliffs and marshy valleys now hidden under water. The answer seems to lie in the fact that they were soon to leave the river by way of Rabbit Gulch. But why Rabbit Gulch?

Wrestling with the diary descriptions, maps, and the visible terrain round about, we concluded that Silvestre guided them through the difficult terrain of Pulley Bend until they broke through the marshes and thickets into what Escalante describes as "the channel bed of an arroyo...ascending the sierra and leaving El Rio de San Cosme behind." Stewart recalls that



it was here in the bottomlands of Rabbit Gulch the swallows were abundant, the reason given in the diary for the name Las Golondrinas. An estuary of the reservoir now covers the apparently difficult climb to the "sierra."

Some two miles up from the buried mouth of the arroyo, Rabbit Gulch is as it was then described, an open "arroyo," but it soon begins to narrow and grow deeper as it is overwhelmed by the rising plateau to the west. It is truly an arroyo, carrying water only intermittently, and in its deeper parts is scarcely twenty feet wide although hundreds of feet deep.

About four miles upstream the arroyo is joined by another coming from the north just as Escalante describes it. But here, he says, they continued up the one going to the northwest. Because in later naming, the north-south arroyo continues the name Rabbit Gulch. It is necessary to describe the remaining part of the canyon through which they climbed as Sink Draw or Sink Hollow. At this point Sink Draw is still narrow and deep but gradually opens out, permitting our travelers to leave it to the west, ascend an upper valley and ridge, and then break out into the open. In the ascending plain to the west, it crosses the highway to Tablona (State 208), a highway which likely preserves the well-traveled Indian trail from the Uinta Mountains to the country of the Price River and the Tavaputs Plateau. Undoubtedly this is the "well-beaten path" they crossed.

West from this intersection, the trail passes up an open plain, through the lower part of a ridge, and descends into the meadows of Red Creek. Here it would seem that the exact site of the camp of San Eustaquio cannot be identified, although a definite trail down from the ridge from the east somewhat fits the description. There also appear to be abundant springs in several locations up the creek some two miles north of Highway 40.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Much of this day's travel was researched first upon maps, giving consideration to possible alternatives. Then several trips by vehicle into parts of the trail helped make it quite clear that, improbable as it first seemed, Silvestre did indeed take the party through the northern loop of canyons of the Strawberry and from there up Rabbit Gulch and Sink Draw.

Why? After one has followed the trail awhile, the answer seems to lie in Silvestre's remarkable knowledge of the country. Here, indeed, is an example of his choosing the most direct route.

However, there may also have been another reason, namely, that this was the beginning of the harvest season for pine nuts. This day's route passed at the edge of a great pinion forest. Conceivably this would attract numerous and possibly hostile bands of Indians. Rabbit Gulch and Sink Draw would provide an ideal hidden road carrying the party without detection past the large forest. Tired as they were, they pushed on through the open country to the encampment beyond the ridge in Red Creek. They had traveled 25 miles that day through very difficult country.

September 20

On the 20th we set out from San Eustaquio, leaving dead one of the strongest horses we had--it was the one which had broken its neck at Santa Cruz del Rio de San Buenaventura. We went southwest up a long but gradual incline, then swung west for a little less than three leagues and a quarter over a stretch of sagebrush, flat but bothersome, and with a lot of small pear-cactus.

We entered a short narrow valley, ample and gently sloping, and at a quarter-league's going south-southwest we turned west again, went down to a small river which runs east and could be the one we previously named San Cosme. We crossed the river, and to the west-southwest we went up another spreading incline, but gradual and easy to travel; then, after a mile we swung to the south-west for nearly two leagues through a very pretty and pleasant narrow valley with the most abundant pastures. We halted at the end of the narrow valley, at a small marsh with a good deal of pasturage, and which in the middle has a good water spring that we named Ojo de Santa Lucia. Tonight it was so cold that even the water which stood close to the fire all night was frozen by morning. Today nine leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Jerome Stoffel and George E. Stewart

As noted previously, we have suggested that the campsite of San Eustaquio was located in Red Creek approximately two miles northwest of where U. S. Highway 40 crosses the same creek. This would seem to be the only location where it can be said that, leaving it, they went "southwest up a long, but gradual incline, then swung west." Corrected from compass reading, this would read "west-southwest" and "west-northwest."

The trail (as does an old road) from there makes for the head of a shallow valley and then drops into Currant Creek a little over two miles upstream from Highway 40. Crossing the stream to the southwest it mounts a reasonably gentle slope as does the old wagon road into the Uinta Basin. Contiguous is an old and well-worn trail, mounting to a shallow pass and thence west-southwest to a junction with Highway 40 as it rises out of the deep lower regions of Deep Creek. From here the trail and modern highway mount to a pass some three miles distant before descending to Soldier Creek. Some half-mile before reaching the summit to the right of the highway-fill in a draw are the meadows, springs, and marshes of the campsite of Ojo de Santa Lucia. At this time of the year (July 1975) the spring consisted of many vents. Nearby is the old road to the Uinta Basin.

## RESEARCH METHODS

As with previous stretches, but more so from here on, the trail was plotted as to direction and distance many times, and then incursions made by driving and walking to possible reference points. In this case, the old wagon road and here and there an old Indian trail gave reference points and finally led us to conclude that the Dominguez-Escalante trail did not go south through Strawberry Valley as previous descriptions had suggested, nor did Soldier Springs fit the diary description. Bolton: "We camped at the end of the valley at a small marsh..." Chavez: "We halted at the end of the narrow valley, at a small marsh..." Auerbach: "We camped at the end of a ravine in a strip of marshland..." Harris: "We crossed the river [Currant Creek] to the south-southwest, and went up an extensive rising ground, and going a mile farther we dropped to the southwest about two leagues, through a mountain pass very pleasant and with good pasturage, in which we found a large pool of good water, which we called Ojo de Santa Lucia."

We make much of this point of the location of the springs because of what follows. The spring we have chosen drains east into Deep Creek. A half-mile further on, one crosses a summit and Soldier Springs and the others roundabout drain into the Strawberry basin. Only by Harris's description can we suppose they passed over a summit, and even then it notes that the spring is in the mountain pass.

Hence we conclude Ojo de Santa Lucia lies at the top of Deep Creek drainage. The discovery of this spring makes it possible to site the trail across the upper part of Strawberry Reservoir, better fitting to the western terrain.

### September 21

On the 21st we set out from El Ojo de Santa Lucia toward the southwest along the same narrow valley which we just ascended through a grove of white poplar, and after going a quarter-league we swung west for a league and three-quarters, now over bothersome sagebrush stretches, now through low narrow valleys of very soft dirt and many small holes in which, because they lay hidden in the undergrowth, the mounts kept sinking and stumbling at every instant. Then we went down to a medium-sized river in which good trout breed in abundance, two of which Joaquin the Laguna killed with arrows and caught---and each one must have weighed more than two pounds. The river runs to the southeast along a very pleasant valley with good pasturages, many springs, and beautiful groves of not very tall or thick white poplars. In it there are all the conveniences required for a settlement. We named it Valle de la Purisima.

...After crossing the river and climbing a hill, we came onto the valley floor; then, after going one league south-southwest through a narrow valley with a lot of sagebrush and bad surface, and at the end of three quarters of a league, we

crossed a small stream of very cold water. We continued west another quarter-league and entered a dense forest of white poplar, scrub oak, chokecherry, and spruce; then, through the same forest we took the southern slope of a forested narrow valley, and after going a league west by south crossed over to the other side. The guide, anxious to get there sooner than we ourselves could make it, was hurrying so fast that he vanished in the forest at every step, and we knew not where to follow him because, what with the great density of the forest, there was neither a foot path nor could his track be discerned in many places. He was ordered to go slow, and always within our sight.

We continued through the forest, which became denser the more we advanced, and after going west for half a league we emerged from it, arriving at a very lofty ridge. From here the guide pointed out to us the side on which the lake lay, and to the southeast of it the other side of the sierra where he told us lived a great number of people of the same language and type as the Lagunas.

Along this ridge we went southwest for a quarter and descended it, breaking through almost impenetrable swaths of chokecherry and scrub oak, and passing through poplar forest so thick that we doubted if the packs could get through unless they were first taken off. In this forest the guide again began annoying us with his haste, so that we had to hold him back and never leave him to himself. In this dense growth Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio got a hard blow on one knee against a poplar tree.

We finally descended with great difficulty and labor into a deep and narrow valley in which, on finding enough of the pasturage which abounds throughout all this sierra, and water for ourselves and for the animal herd, we halted in it after having traveled a league west in the descent, naming the site San Mateo. Today six leagues and a half. Tonight we felt the cold more than in the previous ones.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Jerome Stoffel and George E. Stewart

Between Ojo de Santa Lucia and the summit lie groves of aspen or white poplar, except, of course, along the highway cut. Down from the summit a short distance the present U. S. Highway 40 rounds a hill and then heads generally in a west-northwest direction for approximately four miles, arriving at an overlook of Strawberry Reservoir, and then turns north.

Translating the Escalante description in its compass readings, this part of Highway 40, as also the previous three miles to the spring, is the Escalante trail.

From this overlook at the edge of the reservoir, we are compelled to translate the trail by means of maps of the valley and streambeds made in

1904. If one stands on the overlook and looks out to the west-northwest to what is now an island, one is looking across a buried valley to a ridge that separated it from the Strawberry River Valley beyond. In this first valley was Trout Creek, fed by its tributaries Cow Creek and Coal Creek and numerous springs. From approximately this overlook, the Dominguez-Escalante party descended to the stream where Joaquin caught the trout. Then, as is narrated, they crossed the stream, climbed a hill, and "came onto the valley floor." This could only mean they crossed the now nearly buried ridge and entered into the main Strawberry Valley beyond, which they could have seen as they approached the first valley of Trout Creek.

At this point they turned south-southwest by compass, (translated: southwest), crossed the Strawberry River without mentioning it (perhaps because they had already noted its valley), and farther on headed westerly up a dry gully lying between the basins of Mud Creek and Bryant's Fork. Two miles up they crossed the "small stream of very cold water" (Bryant's Fork near where the road crosses it) and then ascended into the heavily wooded hills to a low point on the ridge and the head of Sixth Water Creek.

Turning southeast along Strawberry Ridge a half-mile, they then worked their way down a ridge and valley to what we can only conjecture was a campsite some two miles west of the summit on Sixth Water Creek.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Obviously, across Strawberry reservoir we can only attempt to plot the trail by old maps, and this we have done. Something, however, is missing in the Chavez translation. It pertains to the critical point of direction and distance after the party climbed out of Trout Creek over the hill and entered Strawberry Valley proper. We quote:

Chavez

...then, after going one league south-southwest through a narrow valley with a lot of sagebrush and bad surface, and at the end of three-quarters of a league, we crossed a small stream of very cold water. We continued west another quarter league...

Bolton gives us this description:

...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 chamiso and bad terrain, and, having gone three-fourths of a league, we crossed a small stream of very cold water. We continued west....

Auerbach is essentially the same:

...we entered the plain of the valley, and after a league south-southwest we changed to a westerly course along a ravine with much chamiso and where going was difficult. Three-quarters of a league farther on we crossed a little river of very cold water....



Harris is clumsy:

...we crossed the river and ascended the rising plain of the valley, and going a league to the south-southwest, we descended to the west through a mountain pass of bad traveling, and after three-quarters of a league, we crossed a small river of very cold water.

Distances as given are not particularly good here, but following Bolton and Auerbach we find some resemblance to the countryside and a direction that leads to a low point on Strawberry Ridge. More than this, it again suggests the mind of Silvestre. By admission, the explorers were breaking a trail over the ridge, but Silvestre seemed to know how best to take them on the most direct route.

September 22

On the 22nd we set out from San Mateo to the southwest along this narrow valley's north slope on which there were many dangerous defiles and slides, with no other trail than the one we went opening all along---and over the sierra's corrugated ruggedness which all over here made us change direction and wind about excessively at every step---suffice it to say that, after going about five leagues up and down hills and lofty shoulders, some of them craggy with rock, we descended by a lengthy negotiable ridge-cut with many pastures onto a brief plain which lies between two rivulets that join each other on it, having traveled a league southwest along the cut. Our horses were much worn out, there was plenty of pasturage, and so we halted on it, naming it San Lino. Today we traveled six long leagues and, because of so much winding about, they must have amounted to three leagues toward the west-southwest with respect to San Mateo.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Jerome Stoffel and George E. Stewart

As with the previous day's journey from the Strawberry River westward, so for September 22 the diary makes clear that the expedition was making its own trail, guided by Silvestre who knew the country and the direction they must take. For this reason we plotted several alternative routes upon local maps of the region and then compared the proposed routes with the actual terrain.

One thing is noteworthy: there is no mention of an arroyo, a canyon, or a stream. The language is of the high country: "dangerous defiles and slides," "the sierra's corrugated ruggedness," "made us change direction and wind about excessively at every step," "up and down hills and lofty shoulders, some of them craggy with rock." Finally, they "descended by a lengthy negotiable ridge-cut with many pastures onto a brief plain which lies between two rivulets that join each other." Only as they arrived at the campsite did they mention streams.

Bolton's translation differs only slightly, applying "rough" and "stony" to the "hills and high elevations."

Auerbach's translation has it that some of the "hills and high elevations" were "covered with small stones." He differs about the last slope: "We descended by a gentle slope, flat and with much pasturage, to a short plain between two rivers."

Harris is even less descriptive, but does add the item that they "descended to a short plain, where two small rivers join going to the southwest two leagues." The two leagues cannot refer to the remaining length of Diamond Creek, made clear in the other translations as being but a league; nor does it fit the "passable" or "negotiable" slope leading to the confluence of the streams which is noted in the other translations as being a league. One is tempted to conjecture that some later traveller guided by the diary adjusted it here to another campsite!

At any rate, we propose that the Dominguez-Escalante party worked its way down from the campsite of San Mateo to the upper part of Diamond Creek and descended along it a short distance but did not descend into the almost impassable gorge formed as the stream rounded the southern buttress of Red Mountain. Rather, we surmise that they went west up Sawhill Hollow, climbing around the northern slopes of Red Mountain and then descending by the more gentle terraces east of Wanrhodes Canyon, or even along the lower part of the canyon itself. There seems little doubt that the campsite the night of September 22 is at the junction of Wanrhodes Canyon and Diamond Creek.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

As we have noted, the basic research has been in trying to read the mind of the Indian guide Silvestre as he traversed the difficult terrain west of Strawberry Ridge. After working over the deeper parts of Diamond Creek, we are convinced that Silvestre would have avoided it. Because the road has been cut along the stream, it would seem not to be too difficult, but before the road was cut it must have been very difficult for a horse. This observation caused us to consider the more practical strategy of avoiding deep arroyos and canyons by keeping high. Hence, we have theorized that the trail led out of the upper Diamond Creek basin and into Wanrhodes Canyon.

One final bit of information. Up Diamond Creek but below Sawhill Hollow are a series of stinking springs. It would have been necessary for the expedition to have passed by them if they had followed down Diamond Creek. It is almost unimaginable that Escalante would not have mentioned such an obvious landmark as the narrow canyon or the springs.

#### September 23

We left San Lino early heading southwest, went up a short hill and on its top found a big ant hill, all of very

finely ground rock alum, cleaned and crystalline. We went down the little Rio de San Lino, and after going a league along its brief meadows which are very flat, without leaving the river, and alongside of it we turned west downstream. Here another small one enters it, and there are pretty bends in both of them and everything just right for shepherding camps. After going west downstream for three-quarters of a league, we saw and passed by three copious springs of hot water that we touched and tasted, and it is of the same sulphurous quality as the one adjacent to El Pueblo de San Diego of the Jemez Indians in New Mexico.

We continued west another three quarters of a league, entered the narrowest part of the river's canyon, and swung north for a mile. Here there are three other water springs like those immediately ahead, and all come out at the base of an extremely high bluff very close to the river on this northern side, and they flow into the river. This is why we named it Rio de Aguas Calientes. In this narrow part of the canyon there are some difficult but improvable stretches.

We went for half a league northwest, crossed over to the other side of the river, went up a brief slope, and caught sight of the lake and spreading valley of Nuestra Senora de la Merced of the Timpanogotzls (This is what we name it from here on)....

We went down to the plain, already entering the valley: we crossed the river once more and, after going over its spreading meadows and along its northern edge for somewhat more than a league, we crossed to the other side and halted on one of its southerly meadows, which we named Vega del Dulcisimo Nombre de Jesus. Today five leagues and a half....

Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio set out for the first camps as soon as we halted, together with Silvestre the guide, his partner Joaquin, and Andres Muniz the interpreter. Then after racing the horses as much as they could even to the point of exhaustion, so as to get there this afternoon, and for six and a half leagues north-northwest, they got to them....

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Jerome Stoffel and George E. Stewart

The campsite of San Lino is located in what is known now as Palmyra Camp. From there the Dominguez-Escalante trail followed rocky hills for about a mile. Not clear is whether it crossed to the left side or stayed on the right. Soon the trail entered meadows, which may have required one or two more crossings of the stream, and then after approximately five miles entered Spanish Fork Canyon. Down canyon a little more than a mile, one encounters the hot springs known as Castillo Springs. A mile and a half farther on the canyon turns north, and on the right side is the other set of springs mentioned by Escalante. These are not hot today as they may have been in 1776, possibly due to earth movements.

The canyon then turns to the northwest and approximately two miles farther down opens into Utah Valley. Here the Escalante trail crossed the river and likely climbed to the old Bonneville Lake bench from which the Spaniards could view the lake and valley they named Our Lady of Mercy of the Timpanogos.

Down to the northwest approximately a mile, a trail led off the bench and down to the river. Somewhere near here it would seem the party crossed and then went west for better than two and a half miles. Here they again crossed the river and camped in the meadows south of the river. We have conjectured why the campsite should be here rather than to the north toward the Indian settlements revealed by the numerous smoke signals up the valley. The logical explanation is that they did not yet know how they would be received. The better part of valor would suggest that they be prepared to flee south if necessary. The herd of thirty or forty horses and mules might be too much of a temptation.

This seems borne out by the fact that Dominguez set out with the two Indians and the Ute interpreter Andres Muniz to meet with the Indians before their fears could crystallize. Only the next morning did he send word back to the camp to bring the stock north to the Provo encampment. Caution may also explain why Silvestre chose to lead the expedition into the valley by way of Spanish Fork Canyon instead of Hobble Creek.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

On June 30, 1975, Jerome Stoffel with Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander worked from San Lino down to the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon and then up on the southern bench. Climbing the pyramidal red hill overlooking the bench, they then worked down to cross the river just east of the working gravel pit and followed the river west for the allotted "somewhat more than a league." Noting approximately the location of the campsite across the river, they crossed and noted it from the south, agreeing it probably was located just east of U. S. Highway 91, some two miles south of Spanish Fork.

The trip itself was made to coordinate the common meeting point of two sections of the trail to determine whether there might be any appreciable disagreement.

On July 8, 1975, Stewart and Stoffel reworked their final section of the trail.

They then made a visual study of the countryside north of the city of Spanish Fork and agreed with Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander that the present freeway north from Spanish Fork approximates the Dominguez-Escalante trail to the Rio de San Antonio or Provo River. One can only approximate the Indian campsite (and the expedition's camp). Stoffel guesses it would have been located on the southern tip of the Orem Bench, up from the river and the mosquitos and flies. Stewart recalls Indians encamped on river bottoms, seemingly not so bothered by the insects that affect whites. At any rate, the distances from the campsite south of Spanish Fork north to Hobble Creek seem fairly accurate, but not those beyond, unless perchance the Indians were encamped some distance up the Provo River.

The Indians seem to have been numerous, and possibly their lodges were scattered about the lake shore and up the river. Consequently, up river there might have been a larger and more permanent settlement where wood was plentiful, especially for the fires necessary to smoke and preserve the fish and other game. Perhaps, too, as the colder weather came, it became important to move toward the mountains where fuel was more accessible.

(Editor's Note: Drs. Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander, in researching Segment F of the trail, seem quite certain that the Indian camp was located at or near the mouth of Provo River.)

The Spanish party did not again move forward until October 25.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

### 1. Indians

As referred to in the text, Sabuaganas appears to be the expedition's understanding of the tribes living east and south of the Green River. They are recognized as Utes and kinsmen of the Timpanogotzis or "Lake Dwellers."

Timpanogotzis appears to be an Aztec rendition of a Ute name. According to George Stewart it was probably derived from an old Ute name for the mountain now called Timpanogos. Not having gender, the name seems to mean "the Stone Person" or "Stone One," and refers to the image of a reclining human being as formed by the ridges of the mountain Timpanogos.

Comanche could refer to one or more of the Shoshonean clans who after getting the horse remained in the mountains. Like their cousins who moved out to the buffalo plains, they too moved into the territory of other tribes, in this case the Uintah Utes, driving them out of the Duchesne River country. Thus, the diary may be correct in its nomenclature. However, as George Stewart points out, there is another possibility, namely, that this was another tribe of Utes, possibly the ones known today as the White River Utes. There is some evidence of ancient antagonisms between the Uintah and White River tribes which may reflect conditions existing in the eighteenth century. Thus, the name Comanche may refer to the White River bands then roaming the Wyoming plains and the northern areas of the Colorado Rockies, and from there making incursions into the Uinta Basin even to the ramparts of the Wasatch Mountains.

### 2. Silvestre

Silvestre was the name given by the padres to the first Timpanogos Ute who volunteered to guide the party to Utah Lake. As it turned out, he was one of four chieftains of the Lake Dwellers. It is evident that he was knowledgeable of the trails and led the expedition by a surprisingly direct route. Our estimation of him has grown immeasurably.



3. Miera's Map

In tracing the trail, Miera's map is of little value other than to identify the general direction of the journey. But it does give us his viewpoint of the stream systems of the Green and Duchesne rivers and those flowing into Utah Lake. It also reflects what may be the general belief of the members of the expedition from their brief contacts with Green River that it flowed to the compass direction of west-southwest. That Miera finally joined it to the Sevier River is obviously a belief not shared by the padres at the time of writing the diary.

4. The Diary

On the other hand, the diary is a document evidencing surprising accuracy both as to direction and distances pertaining to our segment of the journey, excepting only the distances estimated in the dense forest and rugged ridging of the Strawberry Ridge.

5. Direction and Measurements

It is noted that each day's journey is recorded in segments of distance and direction. This suggests that Don Miera used his "quadrant" or parts of it as a measuring device to read backwards on the trail to known landmarks, likely using some kind of triangulation or range-finding technique.

It is to be noted that all directions given are compass readings representing a  $16^{\circ}$  declination to the east from true north. In the diary entry for September 14 it is noted that they found such a declination, but seem not to have corrected to it in their continuing directions.

6. Finally, all the above suggests that the diary entries represent some kind of evening conference around the campfire to summarize the noteworthy items for the day. We can imagine Silvestre describing what he knew of the countryside roundabout and describing what lay ahead for the next day; Don Miera noting the general direction of the trail that day and noting the important segments to guide future travelers; the padres noting areas of possible future settlement (including water, pasturage, timber, and other resources); and other members of the expedition contributing details discovered during the day that were worthy of note such as the improvement of the trail for future use.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

With a view to interpretation and development of the Dominguez-Escalante trail we note that much of the land on this part of the trail appears to be in private ownership; nevertheless, there are some magnificent overviews not far removed from the actual trail, and in some cases actually on the trail. They are:

- a. September 16 --Collier's Pass in and through Asphalt Ridge
- b. September 17 --The San Clemente Overlook where Silvestre was able to point out the basins of the White and Green rivers. We have tentatively called this "Silvestre's Overlook," thinking it fitting that this faithful Ute's memory be commemorated.
- c. September 18 --Blue Bench just north of the town of Duchesne which gives a view back along the trail.
- d. September 19 --The Starvation Dam overlook, useful for interpreting the now buried canyon of the Strawberry River and the beginning of the journey through Rabbit Gulch and Sink Draw.
- e. September 19 --The rest stop on U. S. Highway 40 just east of Tabiona Road. Here a magnificent vista to the west makes for an ideal interpretative site for the trail into the Strawberry Reservoir country.
- f. September 20 --The Spring of St. Lucy. There seems to be little question that this meadow and springs, partially intersected by the fill of Highway 40 and located at the summit of Deep Creek, provides a view of an actual campsite.
- g. September 21 --Several sites in Strawberry Valley could be used as interpretative sites.
- h. September 21 --Strawberry Ridge. The present road over the ridge and into the stream systems of Diamond Creek is a relatively unimproved road. From the ridge itself a magnificent view to the east and northeast gives feeling for the trail but is exceeded by a breathtaking view to the west and south of the peaks of the Wasatch Mountains and of the forested mountains and chasms that lie below.

This viewpoint is magnificent, but we feel that considerable thought and study is essential before there is any development. It belongs in its somewhat primitive state of development.

- i. September 23 --Castillo Springs. These springs are probably in private ownership. We shudder to think of the possible ways these might be commercialized.
- j. September 23 --The Bonneville Lake bench which the party climbed to view the valley and lake of the Timpanogotzis. We do not know the ownership of this property but would most emphatically recommend it for future development.

RESEARCH REPORT F

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL  
FROM UTAH LAKE TO THE UTAH-ARIZONA BOUNDARY  
SEPTEMBER 25-OCTOBER 15, 1776

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION  
BY  
DR. TED J. WARNER, RESEARCHER  
DR. THOMAS G. ALEXANDER, ASSOCIATE

RESEARCH REPORT F

THE TED J. WARNER AND THOMAS G. ALEXANDER REPORT

September 24 (No travel)

September 25

On the 25th, about one in the afternoon, we left the first camps mentioned and Rio de San Antonio by the same way we had come, and, after going a little more than three leagues and a half, we stopped to spend the night at the edge of El Rio de San Nicolas.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

The major problem in interpreting the route through Utah Valley was the location of Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus, the campsite on the Spanish Fork River on September 23. Because of the distances and direction of travel from this site to San Antonio (Provo), San Nicolas (Springville or Hobble Creek), and San Andres (Payson) its location became crucial. For this reason the researchers spent some time with Msgr. Jerome Stoffel in locating this site before proceeding on our investigations. The location of Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus facilitated the location of the other sites and the route of travel also, because the new Chavez journal translation includes a phrase, omitted from the Bolton work, saying they had come from "Rio de San Antonio by the same way we had come."

Perhaps the major difficulty in locating the sites in this area is the highly developed character of the region, including extensive urban areas and developed farmland. In general, the route of the party and the campsites were estimated from the information on terrain, distances traveled, and location of rivers given in the journal. Starting from Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus (on Spanish Fork River, about one and three-tenths miles south of Spanish Fork High School just east of U. S. Highways 50 and 6) we proceeded north to Dry Creek. We learned from talking with Mr. Victor Phillips, a local farmer and 76-year resident of Springville, that Dry Creek had formerly been the channel of Hobble Creek. The distance from the Provo River campsite (San Antonio) to the present channel of Hobble Creek was much too short for the distance as recorded in the journal. The distance to Dry Creek, however, corresponds well with the 3.5 leagues or 9.2 miles recorded in the journal. San Nicolas campsite is located probably on what is now Dry Creek approximately at the point where the U. S. Interstate 15 crosses the creek. Our informant indicated that some Indian campgrounds had existed in this immediate vicinity. The Miera map locates the San Antonio campground near Utah Lake which corresponds with information received from archaeologists who told us that the early Indians camped on the river very near the lake. We located the site of San Antonio on the south side of Provo River just south of the entrance to Utah Lake State Park.



## RESEARCH METHODS

Each evening we would discuss the day's route, study our maps and make notes, and study the maps for the next day's travel. We used the Provo and Spanish Fork quadrangles of the USGS 7.5 Minute Series this date. We checked the distances by clocking the mileage in an automobile. (We used the generally accepted eighteenth-century Spanish league as being equivalent to 2.63 miles today.) We visited each of the presumed campsites to see if their character would be suitable for camping. We carefully studied and compared the various journal manuscripts and translations for agreement and discrepancies. We used:

- Herbert E. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness (1950)
- Documentos para la historia de Mexico, 3rd Series (1854)
  - the first published version of the journal in Spanish
  - Handwritten MSS copies of the journal from AGN, Historia 26 and 62
  - The new Fray Angelico Chavez translation (1975)
  - A comparison of the Bolton-Russon work on the trail prepared by the BLM

Pictures were taken of the approaches to the site, the site itself and the immediate terrain about the campsite.

### September 26

On the 26th we left El Rio de San Nicolas with the two Lagunas, Jose Maria and Joaquin, arrived at the one of Aguas Calientes, crossed it and after going two leagues south from the latter, halted while still on bottomland and close to an arroyo of good water which we named Arroyo de San Andres. It seems to have constant flow, and so is more correctly a small river or running spring than an arroyo. Along its edges there is a species of medium-sized to large-sized trees which breed on their foliage a great number of certain tiny living mites as foreign to our ken as they (the trees) are. Today two leagues.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

Escalante errs on the known or total distance traveled this date. The Rio de San Nicolas (Hobble Creek), now Dry Creek, is slightly less than two leagues (about 4.7 miles) from the Rio de Aguas Calientes (Spanish Fork River). This distance was not included in the total of two leagues traveled that date. Proceeding from the campsite at San Nicolas (Hobble Creek, Dry Creek), their line of travel would take them approximately along the main

street of the town of Spanish Fork, past the campsite of Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus (September 23), then slightly west of the town of Salem almost paralleling U.S. Highways 50 and 6 into the present town of Payson. The distances approximate those of Escalante's estimation. Because of the failure to include the two leagues from Hobbie Creek-Dry Creek to Spanish Fork River, Escalante arrived at the two leagues distance traveled that date, from Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus to San Andres. Total for the date was slightly less than four leagues or about ten miles.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

We used the Spanish Fork and Santaquin quadrangles of the USGS 7.5 and 15 Minute Series and checked the distances by clocking the mileage in an automobile. Directions were determined by the use of a compass. We found from experience gained throughout the tracing of the route that the directions given are generally magnetic rather than true directions. We discussed the problem of archaeomagnetism which might have caused discrepancies in our readings and those taken by Miera 200 years ago, but maps prepared of the wanderings of magnetic north show that from the present longitude, the changes would have made little difference in the direction of magnetic north. This is especially true since the directions are given only to the nearest 22.5°.

#### September 27

On the 27th we started out from El Arroyo de San Andres toward the south and, after going one league while still on bottomland, crossed another rivulet with as much water as that of a medium-sized irrigation ditch, and wherever it goes it follows the lay of the land, which is very good for farming. We continued south over the same bottomland for a league and a half, went through its southern pass--which we named Puerto de San Pedro--and entered another spreading valley which, because the salt flats from which the Timpanogotzis provide themselves lie very close to it on the east, we named Valle de las Salinas. This is one of those just mentioned above, and it must extend fourteen leagues from north to south, and five from east to west. It is all level land, greatly abounding in water and pasturage, even though no river flows through it other than a small one. We went another four leagues south over the valley floor, and stopped by a copious running spring of good water which we named Ojo de San Pablo .... Today six leagues and a half to the south.

From El Arroyo de San Andres (at Payson on Peteetneet Creek), the line of travel took the party near the present route of U. S. Highways 50, 6, and 91 in a southwesterly direction. The second arroyo mentioned is probably Spring Creek which crosses the highway approximately 2.7 miles south-southwest of Payson City Park. Passing the southeast corner of the town of Santaquin we continued through a rather gentle pass (Puerto de San Pedro) into la Valle de las Salinas (Juab Valley). This pass also marks the Utah County-Juab County line. The line of travel approximates the route of U. S. Interstate 15 which continues as Highway 91 south. The distance traveled this date of 6.5 leagues (17 miles) south could place Ojo de San Pablo at Burrison Ponds, approximately 1.3 miles south-southwest of Mona, Utah. This is the largest spring in the area and fits the description of "a copious" spring of good water.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Again, use was made of the 15 minute USGS map of the region, and checks of the distances were made by clocking in an automobile. We again used the compass to check directions. As before, the various versions of the journal were compared.

September 28

On the 28th we set out from El Ojo de San Pablo headed south and, after going four leagues, arrived at a small river which comes down from the eastern side (with respect to the river) of the sierra where the salt flats are, according to what they told us....We continued south and, after going three leagues, turned southeast for half a one; another half to the south, we stopped while still in the valley near a spring which we named San Bernardino. Today eight leagues, all almost south.

The route of travel would have taken the expedition through Juab Valley west of the present town of Nephi and past Four Mile Creek (which is pictured on the Miera map) about 4.5 miles southwest of Nephi. The route continues southwest to a group of springs about 4.2 miles southwest of Levan. The diversion to the southeast mentioned in the diary was probably to avoid a group of springs located approximately 1.5 miles northeast of their camp-site. the total distance traveled was about 21 miles from Burrison Ponds to San Bernardino.

Juab Valley is fairly level throughout the entire course of travel and is used for farming and pasturage today. To the east as far south as Nephi are the Wasatch Mountains which are dominated by Mount Nebo. The San Pitch Mountains extend southward from Nephi. On the western edge of the valley are

Long Ridge and the West Hills which are somewhat lower than the Wasatch and San Pitch Mountains. The springs near the campsite at San Bernardino feed into marshes which fringe the north end of Chicken Creek Reservoir which in turns extends to the southwest.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Methodology similar to that of the previous days was used. In addition, beginning with this leg of the journey and continuing to El Cerillo (Pauvant Butte), we had the services of Mr. Stuart Jacobsen of the Fillmore office of the Bureau of Land Management who has been studying the route and is quite knowledgeable on the land over which we traveled. Beyond this, he was able to give us considerable information on the changes in the land caused by changing irrigation patterns and the development of reservoirs in the region.

#### September 29

On the 29th we left San Bernardino heading south-southwest.... After going two leagues and a half we turned southwest, already leaving El Valle de las Salinas which still continues south.... He [an Indian] informed us about an adjacent river and about some of the country which we still had to travel. We went southwest for half a league, swung more to the west-northwest through some little ravines and arid hills and, after going a league and a half, we reached the river without seeing it until we were at its very edge, and halted on a short meadow of good pasturage which we named Santa Isabel. Here we took latitude bearings by the north star and found ourselves at  $30^{\circ}$  latitude . . . .

This river, according to the name these Indians have for it, appears to be that of San Buenaventura, but we doubt that this can be so since here it carries much less water than where we crossed it at  $41^{\circ} 19'$ --the fact being that after it joins that of San Clemente, the ones of San Cosme and San Damian enter it along with other rivulets. Moreover...it seems likely that when we crossed it at said latitude, Silvestre would have told us that this river ran near his country, as he told us other things about the sierra, other rivers and the lake--which data we brought along according to his information, in which the one he included is this one passing through Santa Isabel.

From San Bernardino (4.2 miles southwest of Levan) the line of march took Dominguez and Escalante southward to the east of Chicken Creek Reservoir and along the eastern edge of the South Hills. The party left the valley in a west-southwesterly direction by the approximate route of what is now Old Botham Road. The ravines and arid hills are probably the South Hills mentioned above. These hills are today covered with grasses, juniper, and sagebrush. After passing through the Washboard Valley their route took them to the northwest around Red Point where they crossed present U. S. Highway 91 before arriving at the Sevier River or Rio de Santa Isabel.<sup>(1)</sup> It is easy to see why they could not see the river until they stumbled upon it. The valley is extremely flat and covered with sagebrush, and the Sevier River (Rio de Santa Isabel) has carved a narrow channel at this point which is somewhat below the level of the sagebrush. This part of the Sevier River Valley is now known as Mills Valley, and the campsite of Santa Isabel was located at approximately the point at which U. S. Highway 91 crosses the Sevier River.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Again, we were accompanied by Mr. Jacobsen, used the USGS maps, clocked distances by automobile, and used the compass. We thought at first that the sun shots and Polaris observations taken by Miera might be of some use to us, but we found them too far to the south though not to a consistent degree.

September 30

At nine we left Santa Isabel, crossed the river, and traveled south for three leagues and a half over a plain thick with sagebrush which harassed the horses. We went into a small canyon with good terrain, and at a short distance onto a plain abounding in pasturage but waterless; then, after traveling south on it for a league and a half, we found behind some low hills a good water spring which we named El Ojo de Cisneros. By it there are two small trees which divulge it. Today five leagues south.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

Soon after leaving the Sevier River (Rio de Santa Isabel) the line of travel begins an ascent through a series of low hills and small depressions and enters Scipio Valley by the first pass just west of that used today by Highway 91. The party seems to have continued on to a point about 2.5 miles west of the town of Scipio in a bay formed by the Pahvant Mountains, possibly near the edge of Fishlake National Forest. From the campsite on the Sevier River to this campsite the distance was five leagues or about 13 miles.

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(1) Some researchers believe that the Sevier River was crossed some two miles downstream from the point indicated in this report.



## RESEARCH METHODS

The methods and procedure we used for this day's travel was essentially the same as the previous day. The expedition's travel of September 27 through October 1 was covered by us on July 1, 1975.

### October 1

On the 1st of October we left El Ojo de Cisneros, going back nearly half a league toward the north. We again took to the south and, after going a quarter-league through a narrow valley which was rocky in places, climbing in it a ridge-cut of the sierra (which since El Valle de las Salinas continues to the south), we swung southwest for a quarter-league and discovered a most spacious plain surrounded by mountains in which they had told us El Rio de Santa Isabel entered another lake, and leaving it again continued toward the west.

Having descended the ravine or pass, we took to the west-northwest over low hills with a great deal of rock and, having gone two leagues west by north, turned toward the plain. We thought we saw marshland or lake water nearby, hurried our pace, and discovered that what we had judged to be water was salt in some places, saltpeter in others, and in others dried alkaline sediment. We kept on going west by south over a plain and salt flats and, after traveling more than six leagues, we halted without having found water fit to drink or pasturage for the horses, since these already could go no farther. There was some pasturage where we stopped, but bad and scarce. All over the plain behind there had been none, neither good nor bad. Today fourteen leagues.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

From Ojo de Cisneros (near Scipio) the line of march moves north-northwest to the approximate route of Highway 91 through Scipio Pass toward the Sevier Desert. It should be noted that at the time the researchers crossed over this pass, construction crews were at work on Interstate 15. Upon completion of the Interstate, the point of departure for the northwestern leg of this journey will be approximately at an interchange located about one mile southwest of the crest of Scipio Pass. About a mile below the summit of the pass the route shifts to the northwest across a series of rocky washes and brush-covered hills abounding with juniper into the drainage of Eight Mile Creek.

The researchers noted that the hills that Escalante and Dominguez called "low hills with a great deal of rock" today carry a set of large power transmission lines not shown on the USGS map. These lines also follow Eight Mile Creek westward toward the Sevier Desert. The dry arroyo was probably Eight Mile Creek. At the mouth of Eight Mile Creek the route of march took them northwestward along the face of the mountains and then westward onto the

plain or salt flats to the campsite about five miles north of the headquarters of the Clear Lake Waterfowl Refuge. The campsite was located on the edge of salt marshes about 4.5 miles northwest of Pahvant Butte and appropriately named Llano Salado.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The principal research this day was the route from the Scipio Pass into the Sevier Desert. Again, the assistance of Mr. Jacobsen, who had previously spent considerable time traversing these hills, was invaluable. In addition, we used the USGS maps, compass readings, and, where possible, clocked the distances with an automobile odometer.

#### October 2

At this site, which we named Llano Salado where, because of some white and thin shells that we found, there seems to have been a lake very much larger than the present one, we observed the latitude which was  $39^{\circ} 34' 36''$ . This observation was made by the sun almost at the middle of the plain, which from north to south must be a little less than thirty leagues, and from east to west fourteen. It is very sparse in pasturages in most places; and though two rivers run into it, that of Santa Isabel from the north and the other medium-sized one from the east, the waters of which are very brackish, we did not see any location suitable for settlement.

In the afternoon we pursued our journey to the south-southeast because the marshes and lakes were not letting us go south, which was the direct route to the pass through which we were to leave the plain. After going three leagues we halted near a small bluff which stands on it. Wherefore we named the stopping point where there were marshes with much pasturage but with brackish water, El Cerrillo. Today three leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

From the October 1 campsite to the October 2 campsite was three leagues or 7.89 miles. The line of march was south-southeast across undulating salt flats strewn with volcanic ash and rock from Pahvant Butte, an extinct volcanic cone. On the butte's west side is a sheer cliff dropping like tapestry into the desert and faced with eagles' nests. The campsite appears to have been near the southern tip of the butte. The Fathers called Pahvant Butte El Cerrillo which means a "small eminence." It is easy to understand their discouragement at the sight of the terrain at this point.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Again, we used the USGS maps, various versions of the journal, and compass readings. We also hiked over much of the route and climbed Pahvant Butte in order to get our bearings and take compass readings.

October 3

On the 3rd we left El Cerrillo, made several detours because we were surrounded by marshes, and decided to cut across by going over the east river mentioned, which appears to sink into them and the plain's other lakes--and which abounds in fish. The ford was stickily miry, and in it the mount which Andres the interpreter was riding fell and pitched him into the water, dealing him a hard blow on one cheek. The crossing having been made with some labor, and after we had gone six leagues south by west over flat and good terrain, we came to an arroyo which seemed to have much water, but we only found some waterholes where the horse herd might be able to drink with difficulty. Nevertheless, we stopped here because there was good pasturage. All over the arroyo there was a kind of white scum, dry and thin, which looked from afar like linen spread out, for which reason we named it Arroyo del Tejedor. Today six leagues south by west.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

From El Cerillo the route of travel proceeds west-southwest toward the marshes around Clear Lake where the waterfowl refuge is now located. The character of this land has changed much because of the dams and dikes that have been constructed to maintain the waterfowl refuge. A discussion with the caretaker at the refuge together with information supplied by the Bureau of Land Management led us to the conclusion that the area was previously marshy and virtually impassable. A causeway now allows east-west travel across Clear Lake. The expedition was forced to detour to the south, and after having crossed a plain covered with salt flats and lava flows the party reached the Beaver River which they called the Arroyo del Tejedor. The river bank in this region is heavily alkaline and might well have appeared in the distance like linen spread out by a weaver. Thus they gave it the name Arroyo of the Weavers. They reached the Beaver River at approximately the point where the present desert road from Clear Lake reaches the stream bed. That is about four miles south of the point at which the river passes under the Union Pacific Railroad tracks and the highway (State 257). The camp is approximately one mile south of the desert road on the Beaver River, which is an intermittent stream and thus satisfies their description of an arroyo. From El Cerrillo to the campsite of Arroyo del Tejedor was six leagues or 15.78 miles. In a straight line the distance would be 13.5 miles.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Since the character of the area has been changed considerably by the development of the Clear Lake Waterfowl Refuge, much of the route must be conjecture. Discussions with Msgr. Jerome Stoffel, however, and his reports of the methodology used by George E. Stewart, who worked with him on his portion of the route, led us to believe that the route now followed by the desert road must have been the one that the party took. After contacting the Beaver River, the route becomes rather "cut and dried" since the party continued to follow the river.

### October 4

On the 4th we set out from El Tejedor up the arroyo toward the south, and at the quarter-league swung a little to the south-southwest; then, after going somewhat less than five leagues we reached the south pass and exit of Llano Salado. In the arroyo mentioned we found more water, and not as bad as yesterday's and beautiful meadows greatly abounding in good pasturage for the horse herds, which by now were very much exhausted because the brackish waters had done them much harm. And so we stopped here, naming the site Las Vegas del Puerto. Today five leagues.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

The route ascends the Beaver River in a south-southwesterly direction toward a pass which separates the Black Rock Desert from the Escalante Desert. To the west are the Cricket Mountains and to the east the Pahvant Range which swing here toward the west-northwest ending about five miles northwest of North Twin Peak where the pass is located. This "South Pass" marks the exit from the Llano Salado or Salt Plain into Beaver Bottoms which form the northern reaches of the Escalante Desert. The campsite is about 7.5 miles south of Bloom Siding of the Union Pacific Railroad west of the Beaver River. The USGS map (1:250,000 revised 1962) shows a railroad siding known as "Cruz" near this point but a rather uncomfortable ride on a dirt road parallel to El Tejedor revealed no such place. The distance from Las Vegas del Puerto was five leagues or about 13 miles.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Over this portion of the route the only maps available are the 1:250,000 Army Map Service maps revised by the USGS. The route of travel is quite straightforward, however, since it parallels the Beaver River. The principal difficulty came in locating campsites. For this, the various versions of the journal, compass reading, map measurements, and clocking by automobile were used, since the estimates were for distances actually traveled rather than horizontal distances.

## October 5

On the 5th we set out from Las Vegas del Puerto, heading south along the same arroyo's edge and, after going two leagues, we turned southwest for three leagues and halted in another meadow of the arroyo, naming it San Atenogenes. Today five leagues.

After we halted, two went off to find out if the sierra's western side, and likewise the valley that was there, could be negotiated and furnished any hope of finding water sources and pasturages for the horse herds. It was already dark when they returned saying that they had not found any pass for traversing the sierra, that it was very high and rugged from this direction, and that ahead of it lay a wide plain without any pasturage or water source whatsoever. This being so, we could no longer take this direction, which was the best for getting to Monterey where our goal lay, and we decided to continue south until we crossed the sierra mentioned through a very wide valley which begins at this Paraje de San Atenogenes, and which we named Valle de Nuestra Senora de la Luz. Through it El Arroyo del Tejedor continues with sufficient waterholes or banked ponds of good water, and very spacious meadows abounding in pasturage, of which this valley is very scarce....

### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

From Las Vegas del Puerto the line of march followed the west side of the Beaver River (Arroyo del Tejedor) into the Beaver Bottoms past Black Rock, which is a lava ridge along the east side of the river. The campsite of San Atenogenes is approximately 2.5 miles west-southwest of Black Rock Siding on the Union Pacific line, and just northeast of Red Rock Knoll (5,237-foot elevation). The distance traveled would be about 13 miles.

At Black Rock Siding is a cluster of houses belonging to the Union Pacific Railroad Company. There is abundant water at this site, and ranch land stretches to the east from the siding. The ranchers have constructed some small reservoirs from which they water their stock and irrigate the nearby pastures. The party did not move again until October 8.

### RESEARCH METHODS

Our methodology continued much as before. We were hampered in our visual inspection of the terrain south of this point by an almost constant dust storm which pervades the region. We surmised that it was constant since the State Highway Department has placed permanent warning signs on the highway.



October 6 and 7 (No travel)

October 8

On the 8th we set out from San Atenogenes over the plain toward the south. We traveled only three leagues and a half with great difficulty, because it was so soft and miry everywhere that many pack animals and mounts, and even those that were loose, either fell down or became stuck altogether. We stopped about a mile west of the arroyo, naming the place Santa Brigida where, after having taken a bearing by the north star, we computed  $38^{\circ} 30' 30''$  of latitude. Today three leagues and a half to the south.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

It is easy to understand the inconvenience of this point since the route of travel took them through Beaver Bottoms which is today a dust-blown alkaline waste all the way from San Atenogenes to Santa Brigida (about nine miles). The route of travel continued to follow the west side of Beaver River through the Beaver Bottoms region of the Escalante Desert north of Milford, Utah. To the west are the Beaver Lake Mountains and the San Francisco Mountains. To the east are the Mineral Mountains. The plain is fairly level though sloping upward toward Milford. The campsite is approximately 11.5 miles south-southwest of Black Rock Siding and 11 miles due north of the town of Milford. About seven miles to the south of the campsite are some picturesque log cabin style ranch ruins which add to the desolate character of the landscape today. The party traveled 3.5 leagues or about nine miles.

RESEARCH METHODS

We were limited here to the use of the 1:250,000 USGS map on which we could measure distances, checking by clocking on an automobile odometer, visual inspection of campsites and route of travel by foot, and the use of the various versions of the journal.

October 9

On the 9th we set out from Santa Brigida headed south and, after going six leagues with less trouble than yesterday, for the ground being less soft and no longer as wet, we stopped near a nook formed by the valley and great plain of Nuestra Senora de la Luz, from where it continues wider and for many leagues to the southwest. We named the stopping point San Rustico. Here, for our not having to go near the arroyo for water or near its meadows for pasturage, we found it all very convenient. The water was from the rains and not permanent. Today six leagues south.

The Spaniards continued southward still following the Beaver River (Arroyo de Tejedor) across the present Escalante Desert which they called Nuestra Senora de la Luz. San Rustico campsite is located about 6.5 miles south of the Milford railroad station on the southward extension of State 129. The site was still just west of the Beaver River. It should be noted that this campsite can be located with a greater degree of precision than a number of the others. For the previous days, it was necessary to compound errors of judgement made by Escalante and Dominguez in approximating distances traveled. On October 10, however, after traveling four leagues they found a hill with hot springs on its top and east side. By reckoning backward, we determine the distance of travel at about 16.5 miles, slightly more than the six leagues they estimated.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

For the location of the San Rustico campsite, we were able to measure backward from the hill with the springs on the USGS maps. We found that the site we had picked by measuring forward from the presumed El Tejedor site through San Atenogenes and Santa Brigida missed by only three miles, or slightly more than a league, the site we had assumed. Since the distribution of the league over the three days of previous travel is well within the degree of error of estimation we would have expected from Escalante and Dominguez, we are quite confident of the location of this site and of the three previous sites as well.

#### October 10

On the 10th we left San Rustico headed south, went one league and, after going three more leagues south-southwest, came to a short and very low hill standing in the middle of the plain; so as to survey by eye the extent of this valley and plain of La Luz, we climbed the hill and saw that from here toward the southwest it stretched for more than thirty-five or forty leagues, for where it ends in this direction one could barely discern the sierras, these being very high as we saw better later on. We also saw three outlets of hot and sulphurous water which are on the top and east flank of said hill. Around it below are other short patches of nitrous soil. We continued over the plain and, after going two leagues south, we halted, fearing that farther on we would not find water for tonight. Here there was a large good quantity of it from the melted snow, dammed up like a lake; there was also good pasturage. We named the site San Eleuterio. Today six leagues.

From San Rustico campsite south of Milford the expedition left the Beaver River and traveled southwest through the Escalante Desert approximately paralleling the present route of the Union Pacific Railroad tracks. From here the route upstream southeast along the Beaver River would have taken them to the present city of Minersville which is southeast of the San Rustico campsite. From San Rustico, however, they began to ascend the Escalante Desert toward the southwest, and the land is somewhat more brush and broken in this region than it is north of Milford. The area directly south of Milford near San Rustico is today cultivated but further to the south the land consists principally of sagebrush-covered rangeland. The hill with hot springs on the east side and top is the northernmost of two hills south of Thermo Siding on the Union Pacific. The water is warm to hot, sulphurous, and contains some iron in solution which we surmise from its rust color. The ponds near the springs are covered with rushes and the soil of the hill itself is quite alkaline. This is an important reference point in determining distances, because the hill is a landmark that can be pinpointed with some certainty. From the small hill, the Escalante-Dominguez party proceeded south about five more miles along the foot of the Black Mountains to a campsite at a point now known as Brown Knoll, about two miles east of the Union Pacific Railroad tracks. There is a small ravine in the eastern edge of the knoll that would have been ideal for camping, as it would have afforded shelter from the desert and mountain winds. At its base the ground is wet and is used today as a watering place for range cattle. This wet land would have afforded water for their animals. They journeyed six leagues or about 15.8 miles to this camp which they named San Eleuterio.

RESEARCH METHODS

Beginning with this day's investigation and on through the end of our research and travel, we had the assistance of Mr. David Vickstrom of the Cedar City office of the Bureau of Land Management. He has spent considerable time in attempting to locate the route of the expedition and was of incalculable assistance to us. He had previously located the thermal springs mentioned in the diary, and we confirmed from the Chavez translation that the northernmost of two possible hills must be the one mentioned. Again, the use of 15 minute USGS maps and compass with measurements checked by automobile odometer were used.

October 11

On the 11th we left San Eleuterio on a south by east course.

We started out again, quickening our pace as much as possible, having come from San Eleuterio ten leagues, two south by east, three south-southeast (already leaving the plain of Nuestra Senora de la Luz), a fourth southeast and a fourth south-southeast, three and a half southeast of good terrain; then, going through a woods of pinon and juniper along a

spreading narrow valley with much pasturage, and afterward some hills fully clad with pastures, we went down into a beautiful valley and halted when it was already dark near a small river on one of its meadows, which are most abundant in pasturage. We named them Valle y Rio del Senor San Jose. Today ten leagues.

A bearing was taken by the north star, and we found ourselves at 37° 33' latitude.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

It seems probable that the company's vanguard may have gone two leagues before it was overtaken by Dominguez and Escalante who had remained behind to discuss a new course of action. This would place the party near Hill 5343 almost due south of Brown Knoll. Here lots were cast to decide whether the party was to go to Monterey or Cosnina. Since Dominguez exhorted the men and preached a sermon to them prior to the casting of the lots, it would be appropriate to name this hill "Dominguez Hill" (except that in its isolated location few would ever see it.) From this point there are two possible routes into Cedar Valley and the campsite of Senor San Jose. At present the unimproved roads tend to take the Mud Springs route. This route, however, does not fit the Dominguez-Escalante description of a canyon covered with pinon and juniper. In addition, from the point at which the lots were probably drawn, it is not obvious that Mud Springs presents a passable canyon, whereas Horse Hollow somewhat to the west is obviously a canyon and presents today juniper-covered slopes. Unfortunately, neither of the canyons contain pinon today. In addition, the party was now traveling without a guide who might have taken them down Mud Springs. We believe that Horse Hollow is the most probable route. Through Horse Hollow the expedition proceeded onto the plain of Cedar Valley to what is now a dry streambed, which appears to have been the former streambed of Coal Creek. Camp was made at Senor San Jose which we locate in a pasture 11 miles north of Cedar City, on a dry streambed. The number of leagues traveled and the description of the campsite correspond well with this location. It is near the extension of Old Airport Road and about one mile north-northwest of Old Stevensville Townsite (Enoch Quad., 15 min series, 1950). They journeyed 10 leagues this date or 26.3 miles.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The methodology used this day was similar to that used previously. Mr. Vickstrom suggested the possibility of Horse Hollow; and we agreed, since the direction of travel (which we checked with the compass) together with the presence of juniper and the relative obscurity from the route of travel of Mud Springs led us to believe the route of travel was Horse Hollow.

October 12

On the 12th we left the little Rio del Senor San Jose and, because there were some miry places in it, we went across a big marsh with much water and pasturage through the middle of which another parcel of water flows as though it were an irrigation ditch. Then, after crossing it in a northwesterly direction, we swung straight south along the western side of the plain's meadows; and after going four leagues and a half over good terrain we saw that the companions, who were going some distance ahead of us, hastily left the trail.

We continued over the plain and valley of Senor San Jose, and after going south for three more leagues saw other Indians who were running away.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

The diversion to the northwest was probably made to bypass marshes southward through Cedar Valley, west of the Cross Hollow Hills and east of Quichapa Lake toward the headwaters of Kanarra Creek, a tributary of Ash Creek, which is located in a narrow valley between the Cedar Mountains and the Harmony Mountains. The campsite of Nuestra Senora del Pilar de Zaragoza is located on Kanarra Creek about 20.9 miles south of Senor San Jose campsite, about 10 miles south of Cedar City and about 1.25 miles west-northwest of the town of Kanarraville. They traveled eight leagues this date or about 20.9 miles.

RESEARCH METHODS

Again, we used the various versions of the journal, assistance from Mr. Vickstrom, and USGS 15 minute maps together with clocking by automobile to check the distances.

October 13

On the 13th we set out southward from the rivulet and stopping point of Nuestra Senora del Pilar. We traveled south for two leagues and a half and came to the camp mentioned ahead, which was his own. [An Indian encountered enroute].



We traveled south for a league and a half, went down to the little Rio del Pilar which here has a leafy poplar grove, crossed it as we now left El Valle del Senor San Jose, entered a ridge-cut entirely of black lava rock which lies between two high sierras by way of a gap. In the roughest part of this cut the two guides vanished from our sight, so that we never saw them again. We applauded their cleverness in having brought us through a place so well suited for carrying out their ruse so surely and easily. This we had already detected, simply from their great eagerness and the manner in which they agreed to guide us. Bereft of a guide, we continued south for a league with great hardship on account of so much rock, went down a second time to the said Rio del Pilar, and halted by its edge and pleasant poplar grove, naming the place San Daniel. Today five leagues south.

El Valle del Senor San Jose which we finished crossing lies in its northernmost part at 37° 33' latitude, and is nearly twelve leagues from north to south, and from east to west more than three in places, in others two, and in others less. It greatly abounds in pasturelands, has large meadows and middling marshes, and very fine land sufficient for a good settlement for dry-farming because, although it has no water for irrigating more than some land by the rivulets of San Jose and El Pilar, the great moisture of the terrain can supply this lack without irrigation being missed; for the moisture throughout the rest of the valley is so great that not only meadows and lowlands, but even the elevations, now had pastures as green and as fresh as the most fertile of river meadows during the months of June and July.

Very close to its circumference there is a great source of timber and firewood of ponderosa pine and pinon, and good sites for raising large and small livestock.... At this place of San Daniel ends the country of the Lagunas, which extends from El Valle de las Salinas directly south to here; and from here to El Rio Grande it is all mesa-strewn land, and it shows signs of having many minerals.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

The route continues down Ash Creek Canyon which is extremely rugged with black lava cliffs to the east, past a yucca field (on U.S. Highway 91) and Ash Creek Reservoir thence on to Interstate 15. Southeast of Ash Creek Reservoir, the canyon narrows and the party had to move into the rugged hills west of the canyon. To the north of Pintura, the canyon widens slightly, and it was apparently here that the party descended to the creek. The river of Pilar is Kanarra Creek, then Ash Creek. San Daniel campsite is located about 2.4 miles north of the Pintura Interchange and three-quarters of a mile north of Snowfield Interchange (I-15). It is in a clearing on the west side of Ash Creek. This day's travel was 5 leagues or 13 miles.

## RESEARCH METHODS

With the continuing assistance of Mr. Vickstrom, the use of the 15 minute USGS maps, clocking by auto, visual inspection, and the compass, we followed Ash Creek on the west side. The route is generally obvious here since the terrain allows only one convenient direction of travel.

October 14

On the 14th we set out from San Daniel going south by west along the west side of the river, getting away somewhat from it, and after going two leagues over hills of very brilliant white sand and plenty of rock cliffs in places, we crossed two most copious springs of good water which flow into the river mentioned ahead. We swung to the south, now over rock of malpals (which is like volcanic slag although heavier and less porous) and not too troublesome, now in-between sandstone cliffs or else along sandy shelves, and after going two more leagues went down a third time to the river and halted by its edge, naming the stopping place, where there was good pasturage, San Hugolino.

Here it is already very temperate country for, in spite of our having experienced plenty of heat yesterday, last night, and today, the river poplars were so green and leafy the flowers and blooms which the land produces so flamboyant and without damage whatsoever, that they indicated there had been no freezing or frosting around here. We also saw growths of mesquite, which does not flourish in very cold lands. Today four leagues south.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

From campsite San Daniel the trail follows the west bank of Ash Creek, skirting onto the mountains to the west in many places in order to bypass some almost impassable canyons. From a point about one mile northeast of Anderson Ranch the trail tends in a southwesterly direction away from Ash Creek following some small canyons formed by low hills. It probably returned to the Ash Creek Valley by a pass just south of present state Highway 15 then moved southeast and east toward Toquerville. The campsite for this date, San Hugolino, was located just west of Ash Creek inside the boundaries of the town of Toquerville about two blocks due west of the old LDS chapel. They went four leagues this day or about 10.5 miles.

## RESEARCH METHODS

With the assistance of Mr. Vickstrom and the use of maps and compass, we spent some time hiking over the approximate route of the trail. The principal problem was the route toward Toquerville. This site was checked from both directions in order to make the distance traveled before leaving Ash Creek Valley correspond to the diary. We thought at first the route taken by the highway (State 15) might have been the course of travel, but the passes to the south of the highway seem more likely from the description and ease of travel.

### October 15

On the 15th we left San Hugolino along the river's west side and along the slope of some adjacent hills, and after going south-southwest for two leagues and a half we returned to the river's edge and poplar grove. Here we found a well-constructed primitive pergola with plenty of ears and shocks of maize which had been placed on top. Close to it on the brief bottoms and bank of the river were three small maize fields with their well-dug irrigation ditches.

We continued south downstream, and after going half a league swung to the southwest, getting away from the river, but a tall embankment without any descent made us backtrack more than a quarter of a league until we returned to the river, which here flows southwest. Here two other tiny rivers enter it, one which comes from the north-northeast, and the other from the east. The latter consists of hot and sulphurous waters, for which we named it Rio Sulfureo. Here there is a beautiful grove of black poplars, some willow trees, and rambling vines of wild grape. Over the space where we backtracked there are ash-strewn areas, veins and other mineral indications, and many rocks smeared with mica.

We crossed El Rio del Pilar and El Sulfureo near where they join, and going south we climbed a low mesa between outcroppings of black and shiny rock. After climbing it, we got onto good open country, crossed a brief plain which has a chain of very tall mesas to the east, and to the west hills with sagebrush (what in Spain is heather), and red sand. On the plain we could have taken the edge of the cliffs and ended our day's march on good and level land, but those who were going ahead changed course in order to follow some fresh tracks of Indians, and they took us over the hills and low sandy places mentioned, where our mounts became very much exhausted.

Over them we went three leagues to the southwest (after previously traveling two other leagues south across the mesa and plain mentioned). We turned south a little more than two leagues and got a view of a short valley surrounded by mesas, on one of which we found ourselves unable to descend to the valley. There was neither water nor pasturage on it for the horse herds, and so we were obliged to go down a rough and very rocky high ridge; then, having gone three quarters of a league south, we halted by the time the sun had set, in an arroyo where we found good and large waterholes with sufficient pasturage for the horse herd. We named the place San Donulo or Arroyo del Taray (tamarisk) because here there were trees or growth of this designation. Today ten leagues which in a straight line would be seven south by west. We took a bearing by the north star and found ourselves at 36° 52' 30" latitude.

On this plain or small valley, besides the tamarisk, there is a good deal of fetid wild rue, the sprig leaves of which are very curative as learned by experience in New Mexico. Tonight our provisions ran out completely, with nothing left but two little slabs of chocolate for tomorrow.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Ted J. Warner and Thomas G. Alexander

From Toquerville (San Hugolino) the line of march followed Ash Creek about 1.5 miles to the south, then moved to the west and southwest in order to avoid the virtually impassable canyon formed by Ash Creek. Since the airline distance from Toquerville to the confluence of Ash Creek, La Verkin Creek and the Virgin River is about four miles, about half the distance they actually traveled, it seems probable that they spent considerable time wandering in the hills west of Ash Creek and north of the Virgin River before finally descending from the west to the confluence of the three rivers. Their route of travel probably took them between Hill 3436 and a mesa just west of Ash Creek before they reached a point where they found they could not descend to the Virgin River. It seems probable that Dominguez and Escalante considered the Virgin River below Ash Creek to be an extension of Ash Creek rather than a continuation of the Virgin River itself. The Rio Sulfureo is the Virgin River and its sulphurous taste was caused by Dixie Hot Springs, a short way up the river. The hills to the south of the confluence of the three streams are black, and the trail they followed to ascend those hills is quite evident today. On reaching the plain near Hurricane, Utah, a logical route would have taken them by Mollie's Nipple and along the Hurricane Front almost due south. Instead, they were diverted to the southwest onto Sand Mountain. The major problem here is the means of descending Sand Mountain. In order to ascertain the point of descent we went completely around Sand Mountain through Sand Hollow Draw and Warner Valley. We found only one likely point of descent, on the extreme south end of Sand Mountain. The arroyo (Arroyo de Taray)

(tamarisk) is approximately three-quarters of a mile south of the cliffs which they descended. The campsite of San Donulo is located on this arroyo (Fort Pierce Wash) and is about three miles east of Old Fort Pierce, slightly south of the present Arizona-Utah state line. This day they traveled 10 leagues or 26.3 miles.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Our major problem was locating the route off Sand Mountain. Our visual inspection of the area showed that there are bands of virtually impassable cliffs with which the party would have had to contend. The USGS maps show several intermittent streams leading off Sand Mountain, but in every case, the streambed is actually a waterfall at the face of the cliffs (when there is any water in the stream). Again, the journal descriptions, USGS maps, clocking by car and visual inspection by hiking were used.



RESEARCH REPORT G

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL  
FROM THE UTAH-ARIZONA BOUNDARY TO LEE'S FERRY, ARIZONA  
OCTOBER 16-26, 1776

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

BY

W. L. RUSHO, RESEARCHER

DR. C. GREGORY CRAMPTON, ASSOCIATE

## RESEARCH REPORT G

THE W. L. RUSHO AND C. G. CRAMPTON REPORT

October 16

On the 16th we left San Donulo with the intention of continuing south as far as El Rio Colorado, but shortly after we set out we heard people shouting behind us; and turning around to see where the repeated sounds came from, we saw eight Indians atop the little bluffs at the stopping point we had just left. These are situated on the plain's middle, extending almost all the way across it and abounding in transparent gypsum and mica. We went back to them, ordering the interpreter, who was going ahead, to come also. We reached the base of the bluff, and advised them to come down without fear because we came in peace and were friends.

We made a halt and talked for more than two hours and a half or three hours. They told us that in two days we would reach El Rio Grande, but that we could not go by the route we intended because there were no water sources, nor could we cross the river by this route for its being very much boxed in and very deep, and having extremely tall rocks and cliffs along both sides; and finally, that between here and the river there was very bad terrain. We presented them with two large all-purpose knives, and each individual with a string of white glass beads. Then we suggested to them that, if any one of them wanted to lead us to the river, we would pay him. They answered that they would go along and set us on our way through a canyon which lay at the mesa east of the plain, and that from there we could make it alone, since they were barefoot and could not walk very far.

We did not want to give up going south toward the river, no matter what this information; for we suspected that the Moquis might have come to be at odds with the Cosninas for their having escorted Padre Garces to them, and that they, fearing that we might again bring other Padres and Spaniards into Moqui, had tried to restrain them with threats--and the news having spread about, these ones were now trying to lead us astray so that we would not reach the Cosninas or their neighbors, the Jomajabas. But at the insistence of all the companions, to whom revealing our suspicion did not suit us at present, we consented to take the canyon route.

We offered these Indians soles from the hide of hampers as footwear, so that they would guide us. They said that two could go with us until they set us on a correct and proper route. We entered the aforesaid canyon with them, went through it for a league and a half with extremest difficulty and obstruction for the horse herds, because of the presence of so much rubble, flint, and recurring difficult and dangerous stretches. We came to a narrow defile so bad that it took us more than half an hour to get only three saddle mounts through. This was followed by a cliff-filled incline so ruggedly steep that even climbing it on foot would be most difficult.

When the Indians saw that we could not follow them they ran off, prompted no doubt by their mean timidity. This made it necessary for us to backtrack in order to take to the south once more. Before doing this we stopped a while for the horses to regain some strength and drink of the water that was here, but so bad that many of the mounts refused to drink. In the afternoon we backtracked through the entire canyon, and after going south half a league along the plain, we halted near the valley's southern pass, without water for ourselves and for the horse herd. Tonight we were in direst need with nothing by way of food, and so we decided to deprive a horse of its life so as not to forfeit our own; but because there was no water we postponed carrying it out until the place where there would be some. Today, in so painful a day's march, we only advanced one league and a half south.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

Having descended the rocky and steep south slope of Sand Mountain, the Spanish party on October 15 camped on Fort Pearce Wash in Utah very close to the Arizona boundary and nearly opposite the mouth of Hurricane Wash which comes in from the south. From their San Donulo camp the Spaniards started up Hurricane Wash through a cut in a ridge that crossed their line of travel. Some Indians on the ridge hailed them and talked them into going east up Rock Canyon. This canyon, which is very well named, receives the drainage from the Short Creek and Clayhole country to the east, and its waters empty into Fort Pearce Wash. At its mouth in the Hurricane Cliffs, Rock Canyon is over 1,500 feet deep. It was clearly visible to the padres as they headed overland generally parallel to Fort Pearce Wash and then up its tributary, Short Creek Wash. As they neared the mouth of the canyon, they found the wash to be full of large rocks and boulders brought down by occasional floods.

Once in the canyon, horse travel some distance would have been fairly easy. But owing to boulders and talus blocks in places extending entirely across the floor of the canyon, travel beyond the first two miles would have been extremely difficult.

Although Escalante states that the animals would not touch the "bad" water in the canyon, the water in one of the pools was tasted (June 15, 1975) and was judged to be alkaline, but still quite palatable.

Leaving Rock Canyon the party swung south again and camped in rocky Cottonwood Wash just beyond the point where this wash emerges from the Hurricane Cliffs. They camped just to the east of Hurricane Wash.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

By jeep we traveled over good dirt roads from St. George through Warner Valley. We made a detour to old Fort Pearce (about three miles west of San Donulo), put up as an outpost by the Mormons in the 1860s. We had good views of Sand Mountain to the left where the expedition descended the rocky ridge of Sand Mountain. We were able to drive within about a mile and a half of the mouth of Rock Canyon. From there we hiked into the canyon and reached a point about two miles from the mouth. At about one and a half miles into the canyon we found a series of spring-fed pools of water on the bedrock. The water was surprisingly cool, almost cold.

Researchers were W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Jane Rusho who made the study on June 15, 1975.

Any student of the trail across the Arizona Strip will profit from Herbert E. Bolton, "Escalante in Dixie and the Arizona Strip," New Mexico Historical Review, 3 (January 1928): 41-72. In 1927 Bolton made an on-the-ground study of the Escalante trail from the Cedar City area to the Kaibab Plateau. It appears that a good many of his findings on this study were not incorporated in Pageant in the Wilderness.

Maps consulted: (1) Hurricane, Utah, and Hurricane Cliffs 2 NE (preliminary), Arizona, Quadrangles, U. S. Geological Survey. These maps, published on scales of either 1:62,500 or 1:24,000 hereinafter will be cited as USGS Quad followed by name of map.

#### October 17

On the 17th we continued south on our way, went through the little valley's gap mentioned along the box channel of an arroyo where we found a good waterhole, and the entire horse herd drank. We traveled south for two leagues, and after swinging southeast for another two, found a great quantity of good water in another arroyo, not merely in one spot but in many. And even though it is rain water, what is left from the freshets, it does not seem to waste away throughout the entire year. Here we came upon some of the (edible) weeds that are called quelites. We thought we might supply our most urgent need with them, but we could gather only a very few, and these tiny.

We continued south east and, after going four leagues and a half over level and good terrain, although somewhat spongy, we halted, both to see if there was water in the mesa's drainings and to provide some nourishment from the weeds mentioned for Don Bernardo Miera, since he--as we had not eaten a thing since yesterday morning--came so weakened already that he could barely talk. We had the leather hampers and the other luggage searched, in which we had brought food supplies, to see if there were some leftovers, and only found some pieces of squash which the servants had obtained yesterday from the Parussl Indians, and had hidden them to avoid having to share them with the rest. With this, and a bit of brown sugarloaf which we also found, we made a concoction for everybody and took some nourishment. We found no water to help us pass the night here, and decided to continue our day's march south.

The companions, without letting us know, went to reconnoiter the east mesa and terrain which went on from here. Those who went on this scouting came back saying that the mesa's ascent was very good, and that beyond it came flat country with many arroyos where there had to be good water, and that they figured the river to be at the end of the plain lying beyond the mesa. With this, all were for changing course. We well knew that they were fooling themselves as on other occasions, and that they could not have seen so much in so short a time; and we held a contrary opinion because toward the south we had a great deal of good level land in sight, and today we found so much water in contrast to the Indians' story, and had made the whole day's march over good country, so that our afore-mentioned suspicion kept on growing.

But since we now found ourselves without provisions, and the water could be far away--and lest carrying out our notion made the thirst and hunger we might encounter on either route more intolerable for them, we told them (for our sake) to choose the way that suited them best. They took us over the mesa toward the southeast, climbing it through a rough wash or very rocky arroyo in which there is very good gypsum rock of the kind used for whitewashing. We finished climbing the mesa over a quite steep slope and a great deal of black rock. Night fell, and we halted atop the mesa on a short plain of good pasturage but without water, naming it San Angel. Today nine leagues.

We were very sorry for having changed directions because according to the latitude in which we were, we could have reached the river very quickly by going south. As soon as we stopped, those who had been on the mesa before told us that a short distance from here they thought that they had seen water. Two went off to bring some for the men, but they did not return all night, and the next day dawned without our having heard from them. Of course, we concluded that they had gone ahead looking for Indian camps where they could relieve their privation as soon as possible. For this reason, and because there was no water here, we decided to go on without waiting for them.



From their camp of October 16 the Spaniards headed south up Hurricane Wash with the towering Hurricane Cliffs on their left. They were closely paralleling the old Temple Trail, or road, built by the Mormons nearly a century later to haul timber 80 miles from Mount Trumbull to St. George for the construction of the temple. This road has been marked by numerous posts placed by the Bureau of Land Management.

The padres threaded the narrow two-mile long Black Canyon, formed by an extensive lava flow, and then continued south and then southeast over good open country near the base of the Hurricane Cliffs until they reached the point where the Temple Trail later ascended these cliffs. Had they proceeded farther they would have been forced many miles to the west by a projection of the Hurricane Cliffs. This factor, combined with the statement made to them the day before by Paiutes that the route to the south would eventually be blocked by the Grand Canyon, influenced their decision to ascend the cliffs. Although the cliffs could have been ascended at a point six miles to the north, at the Navajo Trail, neither the topography nor the distance would agree with the diary account.

The Temple "Hill" is actually a slight break in the cliffs, where a few shallow draws have carried eroded material from the crest and from a lava bench part way down to form a climbable slope about 1,000 feet high. Approaching from the north, the padres would have ridden directly up a slope to the southeast, followed a deep gully through the lava bench (the "black rock"), then zigzagged up to the limestone crest. Only near the top would their route have coincided with the Temple Trail.

From the crest the route led into a shallow valley that is thickly covered with grass--good pasturage, but no water. At this point Camp San Angel was made.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

From the October 16 campsite we found a good dirt road paralleling the trail south about four miles to a new power line which crosses the road from east to west. Beyond that a little-used road has been built over a lava-strewn hillside bypassing Black Canyon, the route taken by the Spaniards and followed by the Temple Trail. The bypass road is very rough in places but we found it traversable by jeep. In the open country beyond, the going was easy but there is bad arroyo-cutting in places.

From Gyp Pocket Reservoir existing roads veer wide to the west of the Hurricane Cliffs, even though the trail is frequently in view. At the present road ascent of the cliffs known as the Navajo Trail we crossed the Dominguez-Escalante Trail, drove to the crest, and then across the top of the plateau to the Temple Trail Hill. From the crest of the precipice, the ascent as well as the approach route of the padres could be seen easily. The Temple Trail Hill is impassable to all types of vehicles.

From the crest, the road (here quite passable) goes directly through the camp of San Angel. Researchers were W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Jane Rusho who made the study on June 15-16, 1975.

Note on a possible marker: where the old Temple Road crosses the Navajo Trail, the main east-west road today across the Hurricane Cliffs in this area, the BLM has erected an elaborate historical marker commemorating the Mormon road. This would also be a good place to mark the trail of the Spaniards who opened the route a century before the Mormons.

Maps consulted: AHD, Mohave County, Sheet 3; AMS Grand Canyon

#### October 18

On the 18th we set out from San Angel toward the east-southeast, and, after going half a league turned east by south for two leagues over spreading hills and narrow valleys, well pastured but with a great deal of rock; and not finding water, we turned east by north for two more leagues, going up and down hills of a kind of rock which was very troublesome for the horse herds. There were five Indians peering at us from a short but high mesa; as we two, who were coming behind the companions, passed along its base, they spoke to us. When we turned toward where they were, four of them hid themselves and only one stayed in sight. We realized the great fear they had; we could not persuade him to come down, and we went up on foot with plenty of trouble. At each step we took, as we came closer to him, he wanted to take off. We let him know that he did not have to be afraid, that we loved him like a son and wanted to talk with him. And so he waited for us, making a thousand gestures to show that he feared us very much.

As soon as we climbed up to where he was, we embraced him, and on seating ourselves beside him we had the interpreter and the Laguna come up. Now composed, he said that the other four were hiding over yonder, that he would call them if we wished, so that we could see them. When we told him that we did, he laid his arrows and bow upon the ground, took the interpreter by the hand, and they went to fetch them. They came over, we talked for about an hour, and they told us that we already had water close at hand. We begged them to come along and show it to us, promising them a swatch of woolen cloth, and after much urging three of them consented to go with us. We went on with them, very much exhausted from thirst and hunger, for a league toward the southeast and, after going another to the south over a bad and very rocky route, we came to a juniper woods and an arroyo which harbored two large waterholes within its deep recesses. We drew out enough for ourselves, and brought over the horse herd which, for coming so thirsty, drained both pools. Here we decided to spend the night, naming the site San Samuel. Today six leagues.

From San Angel the Spaniards followed the small valley one mile south and east to its head on the mesa top proper, topping out near the present Temple Tank Reservoir. At that point they faced a rolling land of low relief, punctuated by occasional cinder cones and ridges. They headed east-southeast for two leagues, reaching Lang's Run, but finding no water, they turned north-east. This swing took them through a group of cinder cones known locally as Seven Knolls, then down a rough steep slope into the south end of Black Canyon. They reached the canyon floor just north of the present Black Canyon Reservoir.

Still without water they crossed Black Canyon, heading east directly beneath the imposing cinder cone known as Hat Knoll. Just beyond this they passed an isolated small mesa about 200 yards long and 50 yards wide, crowned with a flat lava surface that dips to the north. In his 1927 study Herbert E. Bolton said it was shaped like a hayrick, or large haystack. It was on this mesa that the five Indians hid from the approaching Spaniards, then spoke to them as the expedition passed beneath.

For a piece of cloth the timid Indians were persuaded to conduct the expedition to water, which was found about five miles to the southeast in a short canyon which we have called Bobcat Canyon. This canyon, an upper headstream of Clayhole Wash, is about two miles long, leading north from Bobcat Reservoir through a long lava ridge. The camp named San Samuel was undoubtedly made at the mouth of the canyon nearest several pools of water that had collected on the bedrock streambed. This camp, located two miles south of Swapp Reservoir, was occupied by the Spaniards for the nights of October 18 and 19.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

This section required careful consideration of directions, distances, and landmarks. Not only is the topography confusing, but the diary indicates an initial direction from San Angel that is in error. By reference to the earlier Bolton study this error was quickly found and the route properly adjusted. When this was done the remainder of the route fell easily into place. After determining that the site of San Samuel was at the mouth of Bobcat Canyon, we learned that the site is also known to local ranchers as "Cooper's Pockets," which was the name Bolton applied to the site. The route for the day of October 18, 1776, could not be followed closely for lack of roads, but it was followed for short distances at Lang's Run, Black Canyon, Bolton's Hayrick, and Bobcat Canyon. Researchers were W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Jane Rusho who made the study on June 17, 1975.

Joseph C. Bolander, employee at Pipe Spring and old-time resident of the region, ran sheep in this area in 1926 and 1927. He advised that the pools in Cooper's Pockets are found on lava bedrock a short distance from the mouth of the canyon.

The researchers propose that the small but prominent lava butte where Dominguez and Escalante met the Indians on October 18, 1776, be named "Bolton's Hayrick." It is located in sections 27-28, T37N, R7W, Gila and Salt River Meridian.

Maps consulted: AHD, Mohave County, Sheets 3, 6, 1; AMS Grand Canyon; USGS Quad Heaton Knolls.

(October 19 No travel)

October 20

On the 20th we set out from San Samuel toward the north-northeast, directing our way to the ford of El Rio Colorado and, after ignoring a low wooded and very rocky sierra that lies on this side, and having gone a little more than two leagues, we swung northeast and came onto flat country and without rock; then, after traveling four leagues we found several banked pools of good water in an arroyo. And, after going one league east-northeast, we halted by its edge between two bluffs which stand on the plain close to the arroyo, where there was a great supply of water and good pasturage. We named this place Santa Gertrudis, observing its latitude by the north star, which is  $36^{\circ} 30'$ . Today seven leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

On this date the Spaniards made good time riding across open country. They encountered no difficulties. Starting out they saw a "low wooded" sierra on their right. This is a ridge about 200 feet in height which runs parallel to the Spaniards' trail for about four miles. Towering above it are the Heaton Knolls, a volcanic group, and a prominent landmark. The padres traveled to the east of Little Hurricane Ridge where they reached the headstreams of Bull Rush Wash. They arrived at Bull Rush proper near Wild Band Pockets, in Wild Band Valley (so named from large bands of wild mustangs which once thrived in the area) where local informants say good water is found in bedrock pools. The party followed down the wash past the present Wild Band Reservoir with the prominent hogback, Sunshine Ridge, on its right. Dominguez and Escalante came finally to a point where Bull Rush breaks through a low, northern extension of this ridge. The two sides of the hogback appear as bluffs, and here the Santa Gertrudis camp was made. The breaks of the hogback are very prominent in an area that is practically a plain, and the campsite can be fixed positively.

The breaks in Sunshine Ridge are otherwise historically interesting. To dam Bull Rush, perhaps in the 1870s, the Canaan Cattle Company, local informants say, built a dam across the opening, a dam that has long since washed out. But extensive remains of the dam are still there as evidence of the enormous labor that went into its construction.

Like nearly all streams in the Strip country, Bull Rush Wash has been deeply entrenched. This is clearly evident at Santa Gertrudis where the arroyo is 20 feet deep.

On the left side at the upstream side of the break, among rocks near the top, are the remains of a prehistoric structure, about 20 feet square, and numerous flint chippings and pottery sherds.

Escalante's direction for the last league of the day should read north-northeast, which was the direction the party was traveling, not east-northeast. Furthermore, he may have reversed his mileages for the first part of the day's travel. The party seems to have traveled four leagues to the east-northeast and then two to the northeast, not the reverse.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

All but a few miles of this day's trail were covered by jeep following typical cattle country roads, many of which were little more than cattle trails. We opened innumerable gates, no two alike, and swallowed great quantities of dust which, driven by a high wind, swirled about the jeep and its passengers. Jane Rusho, W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton made the study on June 17, 1975.

Some information about the route and local history was provided by Joseph C. Bolander, employee at Pipe Spring and resident of Orderville, Utah. It was interesting to learn that Bolander was running sheep in the Bull Rush country and beyond when the Bolton party came through in 1927. He met the men and remembers them well.

Maps consulted: USGS Quad Heaton Knolls; AHD, Mohave County Sheets 1, 2; AMS Grand Canyon.

#### October 21

On the 21st we set out from Santa Gertrudis headed east, and after going half a league we turned northeast. Several times we crossed El Arroyo de Santa Gertrudis, which in most places had large banked ponds of water; then, having traveled five leagues and a half northeast over not too good terrain and some twists and turns, we went over sagebrush stretches which were not troublesome, and over good terrain. Then, after going a little more than four leagues east-northeast, we halted when it was already dark near a small ravine with good pasturage, but lacking water even for the men. Lorenzo de Olivares, driven by thirst for having eaten too many of the seeds, pinon nuts, and cactus pears we had bought, went off as soon as we stopped in order to look for water in the arroyos, and did not make an appearance all night; this caused us plenty of worry. Today ten leagues. We named the place Santa Barbara.



Following down Bull Rush Wash for about six miles the Spanish party had ample water but the "twists and turns" of the arroyo were troublesome. The padres left the wash, probably at the mouth of Pipe Valley Wash. This is very near the head of Bull Rush Canyon, which empties into Kanab Creek, and is at that point several hundred feet deep. They now struck out across dry country paralleling and crossing the Mount Trumbull Toroweap Valley road. Where they left the road in Sec. 1, T 39M, R4W, Gila and Salt River Meridian, they were an even four miles from Pipe Spring National Monument. Going east-northeast across open country, heading up the canyon of Bitter Seeps Wash and staying below the ledges and benches, the Spaniards reached Kanab Creek in the vicinity of Nagle's Crossing (locally pronounced "Nails"), at or near the mouth of Johnson Wash.

Escalante makes no mention of Kanab Creek. It must have been dry and the creek banks fairly flat. The Spaniards were above the canyon of Kanab Creek, which heads just below Nagle's Crossing, and they might have made the crossing anywhere upstream within distance of two or three miles without difficulty.

The valley of Johnson Wash (sometimes known as Kimball Valley) is wide and open, but numerous ledges and benches occur at no great distance from the stream bed. The northern side of the wash appears generally to be more open than the opposite side. It seemed apparent to us that the party followed the northern side--Johnson Run--as it appears on the map.

Camp Santa Barbara was practically on U. S. Highway 89A about five miles southeast of Fredonia, Arizona.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The survey was made on June 18-19, 1975, by jeep along Bull Rush Wash, the Mount Trumbull-Toroweap road, the Pipe Spring Highway (Arizona Route 389), and Johnson Wash. From the Pipe Spring Highway, west of Fredonia, there is a good dirt road of two miles to Nagle's Crossing, a bedrock crossing, dry on June 18, where a gauging station is located. An investigation on foot in the area where Johnson Wash enters Kanab Creek revealed that a crossing could be made here with ease. The willows are no longer present today but tamarisk have replaced them. Survey members were Jane Rusho, W. L. Rusho, and C. Gregory Crampton.

Maps consulted: USGS Quads Heaton Knolls, Fredonia, Shinarump; AHD, Mohave County Sheet 2, Coconino County Sheet 4; AMS Grand Canyon.

October 22

On the 22nd we left Santa Barbara headed north-northeast looking for the said Olivares. About two leagues away we found him near a scanty pool of water which only provided enough for the men to drink, and for a small barrel we brought along in case we came upon water tonight. We continued over the plain and, after going four leagues northeast, saw a path which went south; then, when the interpreter said that the Yubuincariris had told him that this was the one we had to take to reach the river, we took it; but, after following it one league south, we found that the interpreter was ambiguous about the signs, because the path mentioned turned back after a short distance. And so, heading west, we went up the low sierra we had been trying to avoid which stretched almost from north to south all across the eastern side of the plain. We crossed it with plenty of difficulty and fatigue experienced by the horse herds, because it was very rocky besides having many gulches.

Night overtook us while we were descending on the other side along a very high ridge, steep and full of rubble. From it we saw several fires below, beyond a short plain. We thought that Andres the interpreter and Joaquin the Laguna, who had gone ahead looking for water for tonight, had built them to let us know where they were. But, after we had finished descending and gone five leagues east-northeast upon leaving the path mentioned, making some detours in the sierra's ravines, we came to the fires where there were three tiny camps of Indians, and with them our interpreter and Joaquin. We decided to spend the night here since a little distance away to the east and west there was water and pasturage for the horse herd, which by now was almost totally spent, naming the place San Juan Capistrano. Today twelve leagues.

Since it was already dark when we reached these camps, and the Indians could not make out the number of people coming, they became so much alarmed that, in spite of the pleadings of the Interpreter and Joaquin the Laguna, most of them ran away as we arrived, only three men and two women remaining behind. Greatly worried, the latter were saying to our Laguna, "Little brother, you belong to our very own kind, do not let these people with whom you come kill us."

We treated them all fondly, and tried by every possible means we could think of to rid them of the suspicion and fear they bore us. They calmed down a bit, and in an effort to please us presented us with two roasted jackrabbits and some pinon nuts. Two of them, although very much afraid, went to show the servants where the horse herd could drink. This place is located east of the northern point of the little sierra mentioned, close to a number of small red earthen bluffs. South of these, very near, on the top of some cliffy hills with some pinon and juniper trees, are two good deposits of rain water. Closer to them in a small arroyo there are

waterholes also, but here scanty and not as good. To the west-southwest from the same little bluffs at the sierra's base there is also a little spring of permanent water.

#### October 23

On the 23rd we undertook no day's march, to give those from around here a chance to calm down, and those of the surrounding area to come over. The wild plant seeds and other stuff we had bought and eaten made us quite sick, weakening us instead of giving us nourishment. We could not get these people to sell us any of the usual meat, and so we had a horse slaughtered and the flesh prepared for taking along.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

From their camp at Santa Barbara the Spaniards headed north-northeast toward the low Shinarump Cliffs, the most prominent landmark on their left. We believe they found Olivares some distance up a rather prominent small canyon cutting through the Shinarump Cliffs in this area and the most likely place to find water. This is located in Sec. 17, T41N, R1W, G and SR Meridian. From this point the men could see for miles, the dark green crown of the Kaibab Plateau bulking ahead of them. They traveled right along for 10.5 miles, crossing Johnson Wash and then going up a tributary, White Sage Wash, reaching a point about one mile south of the Arizona-Utah boundary.

On the basis of information obtained from the Indians earlier, the party at this point turned south. When the route seemed uncertain the men headed east across the Kaibab Plateau. Their position at the start was just north of the Winter Road, an alternate road across the Kaibab, used in the 1930s (?) when U. S. Highway 89 was closed by snow. Escalante's brief description of Kaibab Plateau, the first we have, is a good one. Its surface is covered with hard Kaibab limestone, and there are numerous rocky ledges and small and large canyons. Oddly, Escalante does not mention the pinion-juniper forest. Officials of the Bureau of Land Management say that the forest, possibly less dense than it is now, covered this part of the Kaibab in 1776. We did see some juniper trees estimated to be over 200 years old.

It was a tough, thousand-foot climb up the steep western slope of the plateau. On top the Spaniards crossed the old wagon road, opened about a century later, in the 1870s, which by way of Lee's Ferry was the early connecting link between the Utah settlements and those in Arizona. The route has been recently marked by the BLM as the "Honeymoon Trail," so named because young people from Arizona traveled the road to be married in the Mormon temple at St. George, Utah.

From the top of the Kaibab the Spaniards went east-northeast and came down over the steep eastern side of the plateau about a mile and a half north of the Winter Road. Camp on October 22-23 was made at or very near Coyote Spring, Sec. 13, T41N, R3E, G and SR Meridian, called by them San Juan Capistrano. The location is definite. There is no other springwater north or south for several miles. The spring, later covered over by drifting sands, was reportedly revealed to ranchers by coyotes who dug down to water. The spring was later developed and in a constant pencil-thin stream now fills a pond on the ranch owned by Trevor Leach, resident of Kanab, Utah, who supplied us with information.

The Spaniards' camp was on the sandy benches east-northeast of the spring a short distance from and about a hundred feet above the bed of Coyote Wash. In this area, among piñon and juniper trees we found abundant quantities of flint chippings, but only a few pot sherds, indicative of an Indian camp. The location, with fires burning, would have been seen easily by the Spaniards as they worked their way down the Kaibab's eastern slope. The pools of water mentioned in the diary were probably located at the base of the red sandstone Coyote Buttes east of camp. The spring at that time was probably at the base of a sand dune (the "red earthen bluffs") to the west-southwest of the Indian camp.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

By following roads closely parallel to the trail, we found it possible to survey the entire route from the campsite at Santa Barbara. Over the Kaibab we followed a fair dirt road close to the northern rim of Buck Pasture Canyon. On top of the plateau this is joined by the "Old Arizona Road," or the Honeymoon Trail, as it is marked by the BLM. We dropped down over the steep eastern slope of the Kaibab on the Winter Road which reaches the floor of the Narrow Coyote Wash Valley about a mile and a half southwest of Coyote Ranch. At the ranch we made a thorough reconnaissance of the area on foot.

The survey was accomplished by Jane Rusho, W. L. Rusho, and C. Gregory Crampton on June 19, 1975. We were assisted by Wayne B. Erickson and William Sprauer, Arizona Strip District, Bureau of Land Management, St. George, Utah.

Maps consulted: USGS Quads Shinarump, House Rock Spring; AHD Coconino County, Wheels 4, 14; AMS Grand Canyon.

#### October 24

On the 24th, about nine in the morning or a little later, we set out from San Juan Capistrano through a narrow valley heading south-southeast, and after going four leagues we turned southeast within the same valley. Here at the base of the valley's

eastern mesa are three runoffs of good water, but there was not enough for the horse herd. From the stopping point to here we traveled over good terrain. After going two more leagues southeast, we swung east-southeast for about three leagues over sandy and troublesome country. And even though we found no water for the horse herd, we stopped on finding pasturage because it was very tired by now, and it was already dark. We named the place San Bartolome. Here there is extensive valley land but of bad terrain, for what is not sand is a kind of ground having about three inches of rubble, and after that loose soil of different hues. There are many deposits of transparent gypsum, some of mica, and there also seem to be some of metallic ore. Today nine leagues.

Through this area runs El Rio Colorado, from north-northeast to south-southwest, very deep inside a canyon, so that even if the land were good, the river is of no help for farming near it. This afternoon we saw the embankments and cliffs of the river's box canyon which, when viewed along the western side, give the impression of a lengthy row of structures, but we figured it to be some box canyon of the many arroyos found on the plain.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

On this day Dominguez and Escalante made good time through open country and traveled about 25 miles over "good terrain". Their route is easy to follow. They went up Coyote Wash to its head eight miles from San Juan Capistrano and crossed over the imperceptible divide to the head of House Rock Valley. At eleven miles from their camp the padres turned to the southeast and at the foot of the Vermilion Cliffs on their left they found some pools of water. Quite likely the pools had been filled by water flowing from House Rock Spring (shown as One Mile Spring on the USGS House Rock Spring Quadrangle), an important watering place on the old Utah-Arizona road opened by the Mormons in the 1890s.

Continuing down the widening House Rock Valley the Spaniards followed House Rock Wash, staying close to the base of the Vermilion Cliffs and leaving the plunging slopes of the Kaibab Plateau behind them. Leaving the wash they stayed north of U. S. Highway 89A and crossed miles of red sand. Their track was about a mile and a half south of Jacob's Pools, a watering place on the old Utah-Arizona road. The padres camped for the night on Emmett Hill, the divide between House Rock Wash and Emmett Wash at a point just to the east of the southernmost point of the Paria Plateau which towered more than 2,000 feet above them. The campsite can be definitely located. Escalante mentioned soil of different colors. This suggests the many-hued Chinle Formation. A patch of the Chinle about a quarter of a mile in diameter is to be seen on the surface precisely where the padres made camp. The formation is exposed nowhere else along their trail in this general area. The campsite may be seen from the highway. One can stop at mile 555.3 (mileposts are found along Arizona highways) and look to the north a quarter of a mile where the Chinle formation appears.



## RESEARCH METHODS

A good gravel road running from U. S. Highway 89 to 89A through Coyote Valley and House Rock Valley and U. S. 89A closely parallel the Escalante Trail, and research was easily accomplished by jeep. On prior trips to this area we had determined that the Spaniards did not stop at either House Rock Springs or Jacob's Pools, though they came close to both.

The study was made on June 19, 1975, by Jane Rusho, W. L. Rusho, and C. Gregory Crampton.

Maps consulted: USGS Quads House Rock Spring, Jacob Lake, Emmett Wash; AHD Coconino County Sheet 14; AMS Grand Canyon, Marble Canyon.

### October 25

On the 25th we set out from San Bartolome going east-southeast, and went eastward for one league and less than a half; we did not care to approach near what is actually the box canyon of El Rio Grande, because we crossed several arroyos which had canyons as big as its own, and so we concluded that the river did not run through these but through some other arroyo; this is why we turned toward the north-northeastern side of the valley, where we thought we might be able to avoid the mesas that surround it. We took the box channel of an arroyo in search of water for the horse herds, which by now were exhausted from thirst, and, after traveling two leagues northeast through it, we could go no farther, and we got out of it toward the western side by climbing a very bad incline. We took to the north-northeast, and after going two leagues we saw poplars at the mesa's base. We aimed for them and found a good water spring. It had something like saltpeter around its edges; we thought it might be salty water, but on trying it we found it tasted good. We halted here, naming the place San Fructo. Today five leagues.

In the afternoon Don Juan Pedro Cisneros went to explore along the valley's north corner, to see if there was a way through, and if he could find or catch a glimpse of the river and its ford. He returned after midnight with the welcome news of his now having reached the river, but saying that he did not know if we would be able to get across some mesas and big hogbacks that stood on the other bank. Nevertheless, since he said that the river looked all right to him and to have a ford there, we decided to go that way.

From their San Bartolome campsite the Spaniards generally paralleled U. S. 89A, camping on October 25 in the wash of Soap Creek immediately above the highway bridge. They drifted down Emmett Wash to the present U.S. 89A. Following along the highway for a mile and a half they reached the South Fork of Soap Creek. Looking for water they followed down the arroyo of the South Fork, swinging from an easterly to a northeasterly direction. Having gone three miles they found themselves in a dry canyon over two hundred feet deep. At this point the padres located a steep ramp in the canyon wall which carried them in a westward direction to the rim. From here they turned to the northeast, not far from the wash they had just left. Probably they were some distance from the cottonwoods referred to when they saw them.

Very close but south and east of U. S. Highway 89A the Spaniards passed the site of the present Cliff Dwellers Lodge and camped near the cottonwoods at the mouth of Soap Creek Canyon where it breaks through the Vermilion Cliffs. Here they found a spring which may still be seen on the right side of the wash about 75 feet upstream from the highway bridge. The spring, with white alkali ("saltpeter") around its edges, waters a large growth of reeds and other plants. But the cottonwoods are gone now and no other trees have replaced them. Although there are other springs within a few miles, the distances traveled correspond only with Soap Creek. Furthermore, these other springs are in remote gulches and would not have appeared as described in the diary.

It should be noted here that the Spaniards' crossing of Soap Creek is the only one possible since the creek drops off into a straight-walled canyon immediately below camp and the Vermilion Cliffs, rising near here to heights in excess of 3,000 feet, prevent crossing at any point more than a quarter of a mile upstream. All later travelers coming this way were forced by the topography, which also dictated the routing of U. S. 89A, to pass through this narrow corridor.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

This section of the trail was surveyed on June 19-20, 1975, by Jane Rusho, W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton. In addition to visual study by jeep on U. S. Highway 89A, Rusho and Crampton hiked down the canyon of the South Fork of Soap Creek reaching a point where the canyon was about 200 feet deep. Rusho found a steep slope or ramp where the Spaniards with some difficulty could reach the rim, this by traveling westward. This is located in Sec. 8, T38M, R6E, G and SR Meridian.

Maps consulted: USGS Quads Emmett Wash, Tanner Wash; AMS Marble Canyon

October 26

On the 26th we left San Fructo headed north, traveled three leagues and a half, and came to the place where we previously thought the valley's north exit was; and it turns out to be a corner all hemmed in by very lofty bluffs and big hogbacks of red earth which, for having various formations and the bed below being of the same color, present a pleasingly jumbled scene. We continued in the same direction with excessive difficulty because the horse herds sank up to their knees in the dirt when the surface rubble gave; then, having gone a league and a half, we arrived at El Rio Grande de los Cosninas. Here another small one joins it, which we named Santa Teresa. We crossed this one and halted at the edge of the large one close to a high cliff of tawny rock, naming the spot San Benito de Salsipuedes. The entire terrain from San Fructo up to here is very troublesome, and altogether impassable when it contains a little moisture from snow or rain. Today five leagues north.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Crossing Soap Creek on the morning of October 26, the padres rode along the base of a low mesa topped by the Shinarump conglomerate. Close behind this mesa rise the magnificent Vermillion Cliffs, probably the most spectacular cliffs in the canyon country. Here their choice of route narrowed as the cliffs on their left approached the precipitous Marble Gorge on their right. The point where they supposed the northern exit of the valley to be was the narrow neck of the valley floor where the Marble Canyon Trading Post and Lodge stand today. Just beyond this point is Navajo Bridge, opened to traffic in 1929. "Jumbled" the country most certainly was, but why it was "pleasingly" so to these lost, tired, cold, and hungry travelers is puzzling.

Within five miles of Lee's Ferry their route led across a gullied field of disintegrated Moenkopi formation, which was too soft for easy horse travel. Even a traveler on foot sinks a few inches into the dark brown soil with each step. As Escalante says, it is particularly bad when wet.

Probably their route led east of the small butte now labeled Church Rock (also known as Sunset Rock). It then descended toward Lee's Ferry, crossing some troublesome gulches on the way. Finally, they dropped to the flood plain of the Paria River, where at that time the stream was probably running against the cliff on the extreme east side just before it emptied into the Colorado. Crossing the Paria they camped beside the Colorado, immediately beneath a precipitous yellow-brown rock ledge of Shinarump conglomerate, or just downstream from the present boat-launching area. Today their campsite is covered by a dense growth of tamarisk which has invaded the area largely since 1900.

Gazing at the multitude of sheer cliffs about them, and at the menacing brown river, they named their camp San Benito Salsipuedes. In a verbal communication, Fray Angelico Chavez stated to the researchers that a "San Benito," to a New Mexican Franciscan of the eighteenth century, referred

to a garish white cassock with colored markings that was worn by errant brothers as a mark of punishment. "Salsipuedes" means "get out if you can." Hence their name for their camp served as an expression of their pent-up frustrations. To escape from their particular San Benito, however, required a choice of three alternatives: to cross the river, to climb the cliffs along the Paria, or to return the way they had come. Naturally, they would place most of their efforts on the most acceptable of the three, crossing the river.

That very afternoon, October 26, they made their first attempt at crossing the Colorado by sending some swimmers over. Then on October 28 Escalante and "servants" tried to cross by means of a driftwood raft. These attempts would logically have been made about one-quarter mile above their campsite at the mouth of the Paria. This distance would afford ample room to cross above the Paria Rapid and would have permitted them to reach the opposite bank where it was easy to climb out.

Frustrated in their attempts to cross, they looked at the next alternative, a possible climb out up the cliffs along the east side of the Paria valley. Today these cliffs are called the Echo Cliffs, being an extension of the cliffs on the opposite side of the river that extend to Moenkopi. Don Juan Pedro Cisneros had found a possible place of ascent on October 27, and the following day the Muniz brothers were sent to reconnoiter the route and to look for the ford. Finally, on November 1, the brothers returned with favorable news, upon which the entire party packed up and left the "distressful Paraje de San Benito de Salsipuedes."

The expedition remained at the same campsite through October 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The distance from San Fructo to San Benito Salsipuedes and the route were traced on October 2, 1973, and again on April 1, 1974, by researchers W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Don Cecala. The campsite and probable points where attempts were made by Escalante's party to cross the river were also examined. Lee's Ferry was also visited by W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Jane Rusho on June 19 and 20, 1975.

Maps used: USGS AMS Marble Canyon; USGS Quadrangle Lees Ferry. Grand Canyon, Map prepared by the Army Map Service on a scale of 1:250,000. These maps hereinafter will be cited as AMS followed by name of map. General Highway Map, Mohave County, Arizona, Sheet 3, issued on a scale of 1:126,720 by the Arizona Highway Department. These maps hereinafter will be cited as AHD, followed by the name of the county and the sheet number.

RESEARCH REPORT H

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL  
FROM LEE'S FERRY, ARIZONA, TO THE CROSSING OF THE FATHERS, UTAH  
NOVEMBER 1-7, 1776

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

BY

W. L. RUSHO AND DAVID E. MILLER, RESEARCHERS

DR. C. GREGORY CRAMPTON, ASSOCIATE



## RESEARCH REPORT H

### THE W. L. RUSHO AND DAVID E. MILLER REPORT

#### November 1

On the 1st of November they returned when it was already one in the afternoon, saying that they had found a passage, although a difficult one, and a ford in the river. The way over the mesa was the incline which Cisneros had seen, and, since this was very high and steeply rugged, we decided to get next to it this afternoon. We left the bank of El Rio Grande and the distressful Paraje de San Benito de Salsipuedes, went along El Rio de Santa Teresa and, after going a league northwest, halted by its edge at the base of the incline mentioned. Today one league. This afternoon, from sundown to seven in the morning, we were exceedingly cold.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Travel this day was simply one league up the shallow, winding Paria River. At Lee's Ferry the Shinarump ledge, against which the party had camped, forms a vertical escarpment that dips gradually to the north. At the point where this cliff finally disappears at river level is where the ascent was to begin the next day. Camp was made along the Paria at this spot, probably in a nearby grove of cottonwood trees.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The Paria River was walked from Lee's Ferry to the point of ascent by W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Don Cecala on October 1, 1973, and again on March 30, 1974.

Maps used: USGS Quadrangle Lee's Ferry

#### November 2

On the 2nd we left El Rio de Santa Teresa and went up the incline, which we named Las Animas, and which must have been half a league long. It took us more than three hours to climb it because it has a very sloping sand dune for a start, and afterward extremely difficult stretches and most dangerous ledges, and is at the very last impassable. After we had climbed it heading east with utmost difficulty, we went down the other side through cliff-filled gorges as we headed north, and after one league turned east for half a one over a stretch of red sand which was quite troublesome for the horse herds. We

ascended a small elevation and, likewise going northeast for two leagues and a half, went down into an arroyo which had water running in places, but brackish even though drinkable. There was also pasturage here, and so we halted in it, naming it San Diego. Today four leagues and a half.

Today we stopped about three leagues northeast in a direct line from San Benito de Salsipuedes, close to a multitude of earthen embankments, small mesas, and peaks of red earth which look like ruins of a fortress at first sight.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Immediately upon leaving camp beside the Paria River, the Spaniards began their ascent of the Echo Cliffs. For the first half-mile their route twisted among bleak formations of Chinle shale. This was followed by a steep climb of about 400 vertical feet to a sloping bench covered with large areas of loose red sand. Some of this sand could be avoided, some could not, as they climbed slowly across the bench to the southeast. At a point about 1,000 feet above the Paria the terrain forced them to turn up another very steep slope covered with loose soil and boulders. Finally about 300 feet from the top they reached a series of bare sandstone ledges that were not only narrow but were dangerously rounded on the outside edge. Switchbacking over and across these ledges, which Escalante terms "impassable," they reached the top through a shallow notch about 150 yards long.

In their ascent toward the southeast they were actually approaching Lee's Ferry so that they crested the ridge only about two miles from San Benito Salispuedes, yet they were 1,700 vertical feet above the Colorado River. Since Escalante does not mention an existing trail, it must be presumed that the padres climbed a previously unscaled route. The trail and the pass over the cliffs, however, were traversed several times in later years. On his early trips to the Hopi villages, Mormon missionary Jacob Hamblin and his men ascended the same point in 1858, 1859, and 1860. It was later used by some of Major John Wesley Powell's men, by John D. Lee in the 1870s, and by various ranchers and miners until about 1920. At the present time (1975), cattlemen in the area are unaware of the long unused pass, but research disclosed the remains of an old corral in the notch near the crest as well as extensive remains of a constructed trail down the steep slopes.

In a recent book on Lee's Ferry,<sup>1</sup> the researchers have named the ascent and the point where the trail crests the ridge "Dominguez Pass," in honor of the often-neglected head of the 1776 expedition.

The crest of Dominguez Pass lies between two rough, arid hills and is at the head of a dry gulch leading to the east. From this high point Dominguez and Escalante could see Glen Canyon far upstream to the northeast. Even with-

<sup>1</sup> W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton, Desert River Crossing--Historic Lee's Ferry on the Colorado River (Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1975)

out the reports of the Muniz brothers, it would have been apparent that the sheer walls of lower Glen Canyon would allow no fording place. Since the nearest probable ford was still several miles upstream, they did not need to travel close to the rim of the canyon but could take shortcuts. Obviously, they would have to head the deep tributary canyons along their path. Leaving the rocky ravine at Dominguez Pass, they wound around the hill to the north and then descended to the very deep sand of the valley floor. They followed the valley northward for a league, turned east to climb a low bench, then headed northeast directly toward the present Wahweap Lodge on the shore of Lake Powell.

Their path led them down a gentle broad gulch containing many patches of sand dunes. They crossed present U. S. 89 about one-half mile south of the Lake Powell Motel and passed just south of the Wahweap trailer village. From this point they could probably see that if they continued on they would reach Wahweap Creek where it flowed through a shallow, but rocky, sheer-walled canyon. They therefore turned more to the north and crossed a low, rounded ridge, probably passing between the present Glen Canyon National Recreation Area headquarters and the Wahweap Lodge.

Just north of the present Wahweap Lodge the padres could see that they had successfully headed Wahweap Canyon. Upon reaching the creek they found that they could cross it easily on the next day's travel. They therefore stopped for the night, naming their camp San Diego. It was almost exactly on the present Utah-Arizona border. <sup>1</sup> The campsite lies today under about 200 feet of Lake Powell water. The nearest shore of the lake is the site of the Wahweap Swim Beach.

The small mesas and peaks that looked like "ruins of a fortress" are easily identifiable as Castle Rock and other unnamed formations directly across the Wahweap Lodge.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Dominguez Pass and the associated trail were researched on several occasions. On October 1, 1973, W. L. Rusho and Don Cecala climbed on foot from the Paria River about 1,000 vertical feet before exhaustion set in. Then on March 30, 1974, these same two researchers ascended by a different route, traversed along the ridge, then descended Dominguez Pass all the way to the Paria River and on to Lee's Ferry. On October 3, 1973, W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton took a jeep from U. S. Highway 89 to the valley of deep sand near Dominguez Pass. They then walked some distance to a point nearer the pass. On May 5, 1975, W. L. Rusho and Don Cecala made an aerial reconnaissance of the Lee's Ferry to Wahweap route.

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<sup>1</sup> The campsite was actually slightly north of the present Utah-Arizona boundary. This fact was definitely determined by David E. Miller and associates in 1957 when they conducted a thorough examination of the area before the waters of Lake Powell rendered an on-the-ground examination impossible.

The Wahweap Creek area has been researched on various occasions as far back as the early 1950s, especially by Dr. David E. Miller. The specific route into Wahweap was traced by W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton on June 21, 1975.

Maps used: USGS Quadrangles Lees Ferry, Leche-e Rock; USGS aerial photos taken Sept. 10, 1951 of Wahweap area.

### November 3

On the 3rd we got out from San Diego headed east-south-east and after going two leagues came to the river a second time, that is, at the edge of the canyon which here serves as its box channel. The descent of it to the river is very long, steep, rugged, and full of cliffs, and consisting of such evil rock embankments that two pack animals which descended the first one could not make it back even without the equipment....

The river was very deep, although not as much as at Sal-sipuedes, but the horse herds had to swim for a long distance. The good thing about it is that it was not quicksand, either going in or getting out. The companions kept insisting that we should descend to the river, but since there was no way out on the other side to go ahead after one crossed the river, except a deep and narrow canyon of another small one which joins it here--and since we had not learned if this one could be negotiated or not--we feared finding ourselves obliged (if we went down and crossed the river) to do the necessary backtrack-ing which on this precipice would be extremely difficult. So as not to have to risk it, we halted above and sent the mixed-breed Juan Domingo to go across the river and find out if the said canyon had an exit....

### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

D. E. Miller

From the east bank of Wahweap Creek the expedition struck a southeasterly course toward the Colorado. The route was over sandy terrain most of the way. They reached the sheer west rim of the river gorge opposite the mouth of Navajo Creek which flows into the Colorado from the southeast. One glance convinced the padres that this did not fit the description of a ford the Indians had referred to.

Here the precipitous walls of Glen Canyon were found to be almost impassable for man or beast, but Juan Domingo and Lucrecio Muniz were sent across the river in search of a passable way out via Navajo Creek Canyon should the Colorado prove fordable.

## RESEARCH METHODS

As Glen Canyon Dam was being planned the United States government created the "Upper Colorado River Basin Archeological Salvage Project." As part of that program Dr. David E. Miller of the University of Utah history department was assigned the task of researching and mapping the Dominguez-Escalante Trail through the region that would eventually be inundated after that dam was completed. The research was accomplished through several jeep trips into the area and river reconnaissances by boat before the impounded water covered any part of the area. Almost every foot of the Spaniards' trail was covered by jeep, on foot, and by boat during 1957 and 1958. Numerous people participated in the research: Dr. C. Gregory Crampton, Dr. A. R. Mortensen, Dr. Henry J. Webb, Dr. Kenneth E. Eble, W. H. Snell, Dr. Wendell E. Taylor, Fay Hamblin, and Earl E. Olson. Special help was given by Bureau of Reclamation personnel under the direction W. L. Rusho. That bureau helped supply transportation into the area by jeep and boat, assisted with the interpretation of the diary and route, and made available many excellent photographs. Equipment used included jeeps, boats, cameras, USGS quadrangle maps and compasses. The project was basically an on-the-ground activity.

For the November 3 diary interpretation Miller and associates took a jeep along the established trail from Wahweap to Castle Rock, then turned south across the open terrain to the site of the San Carlos camp, the location of which is definitely established. A very steep, rugged trail was found leading down to the riverbank through a rocky draw. There was some evidence that this trail had been used by livestock. Miller climbed down the trail about halfway to the river in order to test it as a passable route for horses. No attempt was made to ford the river at this point. On one of the river reconnaissances the lower end of the trail was examined.

### November 4

On the 4th, day broke without our learning about the two who we had dispatched yesterday on the reconnaissance mentioned. The meat from the second horse had run out, we had not eaten a thing today, and so we breakfasted on toasted pads of low pear cactus, and gruel made from a tiny fruit they brought from the river bank. This tiny fruit of itself has a good taste but, crushed and boiled in water the way we had it today, it is very insipid. On seeing how late it was and the two aforementioned ones did not show up, we ordered that an attempt be made to get the animal herd down to the river, and on the bank to slaughter another horse. They got them down with great difficulty, some of the mounts injuring themselves because, when they lost a foothold on the big rocks, they rolled down a long distance.

A little before nightfall, the mixed-breed Juan Domingo returned asserting that he had found no way out, and that the other one, leaving the horse midway in the canyon, had kept on following some fresh Indian tracks. And so we decided to continue upstream until we found a good ford, and passable terrain on one and other side.



After examining that rugged trail down to the river's west bank, it is easy to understand how some of the animals would lose their footing and roll part way. The wonder is that some of them did not plunge to their death on the rocks. Camp for the night was on a rocky shelf a few feet above the river current. The "tiny fruit" referred to was probably hackberries, according to Dr. Walter P. Cottam.

It is difficult to understand why the two explorers failed to negotiate the canyon of Navajo Creek. During the 1950s--before Lake Powell waters inundated it--numerous persons hiked the 25 miles from the Colorado to Kaibito Creek following the floor of Navajo Creek most of the way. Dr. A. R. Mortensen reported no major difficulties as he made that hike.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The same described for November 3.

#### November 5

On the 5th we left San Carlos, no matter if Lucrecio had failed to return, his brother Andres remaining behind with orders to wait for him until evening, and for him to try to overtake us tonight. We went along this western side and over many ridges and gullies a league and a half to the north; we went down into a dry arroyo and very high-walled canyon where there was a deal of copper sulphate. In it we found a little-used trail; we followed it and by means of it came out of the canyon, passing over a brief shelf of soft (white) rock, difficult but capable of improvement. We kept on going and, after we went a league and a quarter toward the north-northeast, found water, even though a little, and enough pasturage; and since it was almost dark, we halted close to a high mesa, naming the place Santa Francisca Romana. Today three short leagues.

Tonight it rained heavily here, and it snowed in some places. It was raining at daybreak and kept it up for some hours. About six in the morning Andres Muniz arrived, saying that his brother had not turned up. This news caused us plenty of worry, because he had been three days without provisions and with no covering other than his shirt, since he had not even taken trousers along--for, even though he crossed the river on horseback, the horse swam for a long stretch and the water reached almost to the shoulders wherever it faltered. So when the mixed breed mentioned decided to go and look for him for this reason, by following the tracks from

where he saw him last, we sent him on his way with meat for provision, and with orders to leave the mount behind if it could not get out of the canyon, and to proceed on foot; and should he find him on the other side, for them to look along it for signs of us and to come after us--and if on this one, to try to overtake us as quickly as possible.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

D. E. Miller

Having failed in the attempt to negotiate the Colorado at Navajo Creek the Spanish party climbed out of the river gorge and continued upstream along the west river rim. En route they passed the mouth of Warm Creek which enters the Colorado from the north, right on the Arizona-Utah boundary. After a league and a half of very difficult traveling the expedition found itself high on the west bank of Warm Creek which cuts through a narrow, winding, steep-walled gorge in its lower reaches. The expedition located the only practical access route into it from the west by way of a long sandy slope. Already used to mastering steep canyon walls, the company soon worked its way down to the canyon floor almost a mile above its confluence with the Colorado. A little-used trail led upstream a short distance before scaling the east canyon wall.

Once out of Warm Creek Canyon the padres steered a northeast course toward the base of Ramona Mesa where limited water and pasturage were found near the head of Cottonwood Wash--one of the tributaries of Warm Creek. They named the site Santa Francisca Romana.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Dr. Miller and companions hiked and rode in a jeep along the west rim of Glen Canyon, right on the route the padres had taken. Local cattlemen informed them that there was no passable way into Warm Creek from the west or out of it to the east. But the researchers knew that the Spanish party had found such a trail. After considerable exploration that trail was located. In fact it showed some recent use by livestock. Upon examination the west approach was found to be not very difficult. But the trail out to the east was up a very steep slickrock notch. Drs. Miller and Crampton climbed up it to the east canyon rim where they found a rock cairn strategically placed to mark the point. No visible trail was found leading to Ramona Mesa, but some cottonwoods clearly beckoned them toward the water source

This part of the trail was examined by jeep and on foot. Dr. Crampton suggested that we call the mesa "Ramona Mesa," which name was ultimately formalized by the U. S. Board on Geographic Names

November 6

On the 6th, after it had stopped raining, we left Santa Francisca headed northeast, and after we had gone three leagues we were stopped for a long time by a strong blizzard and tempest consisting of rain, thick hailstones, amid horrendous thunder claps and lightning flashes. We recited the Virgin's Litany, for her to implore some relief for us, and God willed for the tempest to end. We continued east for half a league, and halted near the river because it kept on raining and some rock cliffs blocked our way. We named the place San Vicente Ferrer. Today three leagues and a half.

Don Juan Pedro Cisneros went to see if the ford lay around here, and came back to report having seen how very wide the river was hereabouts, and that he did not think it was deep according to the current, but that we could get to it only through a nearby canyon. We sent two others to inspect it and to ford the river, and they came back saying that everything was difficult to negotiate. We did not give much credence to the latter's report, and so we decided to examine it ourselves next day along with Don Juan Pedro Cisneros. Before night came the mixed breed arrived with the said Lucrecio.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

D. E. Miller

The stormy campsite of November 5 was on or near the regular Indian trail to the river ford, although Escalante does not mention this fact. After circling the south end of Ramona Mesa the trail led toward Gunsight Canyon. Probably on the west bank of that gulch the storm broke with all its fury, most likely sending a flash flood down Gunsight Canyon and causing the party to stop until the storm and flood cleared. At any rate, once across Gunsight Canyon (which is not too difficult at that point) the padres skirted the south end of Gunsight Butte and camped within a mile of the Colorado just southeast of the butte's base on the west side of Padre Creek but not in sight of either it or the Colorado.

The main Indian trail to the river ford went by way of Gunsight Pass rather than skirting the south tip of Gunsight Butte. The pass is just wide enough for animals to go through single file. The trail through the pass crossed Padre Creek on dry ground a quarter of a mile above the main springs that supply that creek's regular flow, and arrived at the floor of Padre from the east bank where the creek's floor is more easily reached than from the west bank. But the padres did not go that way.

RESEARCH METHODS

Dr. Miller and fellow researchers made several jeep trips to cover this part of the trail. Gunsight Pass was negotiated on foot. On one occasion, Miller, in company with a group of Explorer Scouts, was caught by a severe snow and hail storm, much as Escalante reported. Not able to get "extra aid," the modern explorers waited out the storm and were rewarded by a beautiful rainbow, right over the Crossing of the Fathers.

November 7

On the 7th we went out very early to inspect the canyon and ford, taking along the two mixed-breeds, Felipe and Juan Domingo, so that they might ford the river on foot since they were good swimmers. In order to have the mounts led down to the canyon mentioned, it became necessary to cut stairs with axes on a stone cliff for the space of three yards or a bit less. Over the rest of it the horse herds were able to get across, although without pack or rider.

We got down to the canyon, and after going a mile we reached the river and went along it downstream for about as far as two musket shots, now through the water, now along the edge, until we came to the widest part of its currents where the ford appeared to be. One man waded in and found it all right, not having to swim at any place. We followed him on horseback, entering a little farther down, and in its middle two mounts which went ahead missed bottom and swam through a short channel. We held back, although with some peril, until the first one who crossed on foot came back from the other side to lead us, and we successfully passed over without the horses on which we were crossing ever having to swim.

We notified the rest of the companions, who had stayed behind at San Vicente, to hoist with lassos and ropes--down a not very high cliff to the ford's bend--the equipment, saddles, and other effects, and to bring the horse herd along the route we had come. They did it that way and finished crossing the river about five in the afternoon, praising God our Lord and firing off some muskets in demonstration of the great joy we all felt in having overcome so great a problem, one which had caused us so much labor and delay--even when the main cause of our having suffered so much, ever since we entered Parussli country, was our having no one to guide us through so much evil terrain. For through the lack of expert help we made many detours, wasted time from so many days spent in a very small area, suffered hunger and thirst.

.....

The river's ford is very good. Here it must be a little more than a mile wide. Already here the rivers Navajo and Dolores flow joined together, along with the rest which we have said in this diary enter one or the other; and in all that we saw around here, no settlement can be established along their banks, nor can one even go one good day's march downstream or upstream along either side with the hope of their waters being of service to the people and horse herd because, besides the terrain being bad, the river flows through a very deep gorge. Everything else adjacent to the ford consists of **very** tall cliffs and precipices. Eight or ten leagues to the northeast of it rises a round mountain, high but small, which the Payuchis--who begin from here onward--call Tucane, meaning Black Bluff, and the only one to be seen hereabouts. The river passes very close to it.

On this eastern side at the ford itself, which we named La Purisima Concepcion de la Virgen Santisima, there is a small bend with good pasturage. We spent the night in it and took a bearing of its latitude by the north star, and it is 36° 55'.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

D. E. Miller

On the morning of November 7 the fathers probably hiked to the west rim of Glen Canyon to a point overlooking the likely fording place. As Cisneros had reported, the ford proper could only be reached through a narrow side canyon, now known as Padre Creek. Dominguez, Escalante, and two others approached Padre Creek from the west at a point marked by an outcropping of grey stone in contrast to the red stone that dominates the area. Access to the canyon floor was over a steep sandstone slope that a man could negotiate without danger. However, lest the horses lose their footing and tumble to the canyon floor, the expedition hacked out some shallow footholds or steps for about ten feet in one of the most dangerous places, making it less hazardous for the animals.

After walking down the creekbed to the mouth of Padre Creek (about a quarter of a mile) the padres reached the Colorado proper, turned downstream to a permanent sandbar found at the base of the west canyon wall. Diagonally across from that bar was a similar one on the opposite side of the river. A ripple in the water surface indicated the shallowest point leading directly to that sandbar. The fathers crossed without difficulty.

At a point immediately west of the west end of the ford there was a depression or low spot in the perpendicular cliffs of the canyon wall. At one point in the low spot a man could easily reach a position not more than 50 or 60 feet above the sandbar below. It was evidently from this point that the camp gear was lowered over the cliff to the bar. When this task had been accomplished, the animals (without packs) were brought to the base of the cliff by way of the route the padres had pioneered. There the packs were again loaded, and all made the crossing without incident. After such a long and difficult search for the ford, it is understandable that the company



should have held a mild celebration on the east bank of the Colorado. The "Black Bluff" mentioned in the journal is Navajo Mountain.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Research methods were similar to those already described in connection with the November 3 - 6 diary entries. However, some details must be given.

In 1950 Dr. C. G. Crampton, Dr. D. E. Miller, W. H. Snell and T. Joseph Steed made a boat trip from Hite to Lee's Ferry. The party camped at the mouth of Kane Wash (which was erroneously designated as the Crossing of the Fathers) and hiked overland to the east bank of Padre Creek and thence down to the canyon floor. At that time the men examined the steps cut in the east canyon wall as well as those cut by Escalante and an additional set supposedly carved out by Jacob Hamblin. At that time a metal box containing a register book was located at the base of the Hamblin steps. Miller remembers having signed that book as number 69. The 1950 travelers hiked down Padre Creek to its mouth to take a look at a plaque placed on the canyon wall just below the mouth of Padre Creek and above high water level. The plaque was placed there in 1937 by Dr. Russell G. Frazier, Charles Kelly, and Byron Davies. It carries the basic information about the Dominguez-Escalante crossing. As the waters of Lake Powell rose, the plaque was removed and placed in the custody of the Knights of Columbus, Salt Lake City.

The official name of present Padre Creek was Navajo Canyon until very recent times. In 1938 members of the Julius F. Stone expedition suggested the name of Padre Creek as a proper one for that access canyon. During his explorations of the 1950s, Dr. Miller requested the U. S. Board on Geographic names to make Padre Creek the official name. His request was denied at that time but subsequently adopted.

The actual fording place probably changed slightly from time to time depending on the shifting sandbars, the volume of river water, and the season of the year. Drs. Crampton and Miller found a temporary sandbar reaching three-fourths of the way across the river at that point in March 1958. From a boat the two measured the water at the ripple finding it not more than three feet deep.

Escalante's estimate that the ford was a mile wide would have to mean from Padre Creek to the sandbar at the east side of the river.

At the base of the west canyon wall there were some interesting petroglyphs and a series of foothold steps leading to the canyon rim. All of this indicating that the ford had been in use a long time. It is known to have been used by Jacob Hamblin and others in historic times. However, after Lee's Ferry began operation in the 1870s the river ford fell into more and more disuse until its actual location was lost for several decades only to be relocated during the twentieth century.

Drs. Miller and Crampton conducted their last river examination of the Crossing of the Fathers and the trail opposite the mouth of Navajo Creek after the waters of Lake Powell (not then named) had backed up some 15 miles above the coffer dam. The two had floated downstream from the mouth of Kane Wash into the still waters of the lake. There they were met by W. L. Rusho in a Bureau of Reclamation boat, towed to the damsite, and taken to Page.

Needless to say, most of this area traversed by the 1776 Spanish party now lies beneath the waters of Lake Powell. Thus it is fortunate that the research reported here was completed before Glen Canyon Dam was built.

RESEARCH REPORT I

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL  
FROM THE CROSSING OF THE FATHERS TO ZUNI PUEBLO  
NOVEMBER 8, 1776 - DECEMBER 12, 1776

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RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

BY

W. L. RUSHO, RESEARCHER  
DR. C. GREGORY CRAMPTON, ASSOCIATE

## RESEARCH REPORT I

THE W. L. RUSHO AND C. GREGORY CRAMPTON REPORT

November 8

On the 8th we left the ford and stopping point of La Concepcion, climbed the river's box canyon over a not too troublesome reclining cliff. We headed south-southeast by following a well-beaten path. We turned east for a league and halted near the last standing cliff in a chain of them extending from the river up to here, naming the place San Miguel. In it there was good pasturage and plenty of rain water. Today six leagues.

### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

From the camp of La Concepcion at Crossing of the Fathers the trail enters a region seen only by occasional Navajos. All previous investigations of the trail have avoided this section as being too remote and difficult to penetrate.

On the south shore of Lake Powell at Crossing of the Fathers stands a towering red sandstone butte. (Around the base of this butte the Navajo Indian Tribe reportedly plans to eventually put in a recreation complex to be known as Padre Point). The Dominguez-Escalante Trail leaves the lake, follows the east side of the butte, then angles southwest over fairly firm soil and rock. Rising across a series of sloping rock benches, the trail, crossing from Utah into Arizona, heads southwestward toward a low divide between the drainages of Face and Labyrinth canyons. Along the way, Lake Powell presents a spectacular backdrop to the east. In places the trail is obscure, while in others it is distinct, showing signs of recent use. Just across the divide two Navajo sheepherders, Harry Bitsouie and his uncle, Fred Tsinniginie, live in a hogan. They use the trail to go to and from Lake Powell for water.

Beyond the Navajo hogan the trail enters a valley of sand dissected by numerous winding gullies. Where possible, the trail edges along rock ledges that occasionally jut out from the sand. On the left heading south rise the magnificent cliffs of Tse Tonte, referred to by Escalante as "a chain," Tse Tonte is prominently visible from Wahweap Marina or from Page and would make a distinctive marker of the Dominguez-Escalante Trail. About three miles south of the hogan the trail virtually disappears. From there to the end of Tse Tonte one can only surmise that the padres traveled the easiest route, usually to be found about halfway between the sand gully and the cliffs.

Near the south end of Tse Tonte the route ascends rolling sand hills, then turns east across the divide into the drainage of Navajo Creek. The swing east to the campsite of San Miguel, however, is far less than Escalante's "league"--probably even less than half a mile. San Miguel itself can be fairly well pinpointed because of the following factors. On a cold November night a traveler would select a spot near the cliff most sheltered from the prevailing west wind. The padres also found standing pools of rain water in shallow depressions. Third, the canyon where the descent was later made must appear to the southeast. Only one possible campsite meets all these criteria. It lies in a pocket of large boulders at the foot of the thousand-foot high Tse Tonte--a beautiful campsite. The only wonder is that the padres failed to mention the spectacular setting of San Miguel.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Using aerial photographs that W. L. Rusho had previously taken, researchers picked out the probable route before reaching the area. Then on Friday, May 2, 1975, Don Cecala and W. L. Rusho were taken by a Bureau of Reclamation boat to Crossing of the Fathers. From that point they backpacked along the trail about twelve miles and camped at the San Miguel site.

#### November 9

On the 9th we lost the trail, could not find a way by which to descend to a nearby canyon to the southeast of us, nor to get across more than half of a league's length of a mass of cliffs and ridges which prevented us from pursuing our itinerary. This is why we headed east-northeast and, after we had traveled two leagues of bad terrain, the same obstacle forced us to halt atop a mesa, unable to go a step further. Near this mesa we found some camps of Payuchi Yutas, who border on the Cosninas. We made great efforts through the Laguna and other companions to have them approach where we were, and, either because they suspected that we were friends of the Moquis with whom they share great enmity, or because they had never seen Spaniards and greatly feared us, we could not get them to come near.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

In spite of the diary entry it seems unlikely that Dominguez and Escalante knew, on November 9, that they would have to descend the canyon to the south-east of them. Probably this entry was added to the diary at a later date. The only point of descent into the canyon is not that hard to find--providing one is looking for it. More likely the party lost the trail in the sands and kept moving eastward in hopes they would find it. They did realize, however, that they were probably rimrocked by the long line of cliffs paralleling their route about a half mile to the south. These cliffs, together with higher elevations along the edge, make up the "cliffs and ridges" referred to.



In their quest eastward for the trail they descended a long gentle slope to Weed Bench, a region of deep, dry sand about four miles wide. The drainage is to the north, toward Face Canyon and Lake Powell (which can be seen in the distance), and away from the ridge, or *cuesta*, that they wanted to cross. Possibly the party stayed too near the *cuesta*, where the gullies are deepest, and thus encountered "bad terrain."

As they neared the eastern edge of Weed Bench they headed for a low point between two small mesas but found to their chagrin that the cliff they had been paralleling merely curved to the north and again cut them off. Thus they faced the "same obstacle," being rimrocked overlooking a tributary of West Canyon, and could not take another step forward. About 150 feet below they could see a temporary encampment of nomadic Paiute Indians. Undoubtedly, the two groups could shout greeting to each other. Although the cliff between them is not vertical, it is quite steep and would be a hazardous place to descend. The words "to halt atop a mesa" seem to suggest an ascent of one of the small nearby mesas, but this is not what Escalante meant. The mesa he refers to is Weed Bench itself, which is a tableland when compared to the canyon where the Paiutes were camped. Also, the low point on the east side of Weed Bench is almost directly east-northeast by compass needle (not true north), from San Miguel. In this low point the Spaniards made camp for the night.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Leaving San Miguel on foot about 7:00 a.m., May 3, 1975, W. L. Rusho and Don Cecala followed the probable route eastward onto Weed Bench. Due to lack of time and available water they stopped about one and a half miles from the eastern edge of Weed Bench. This latter point had been photographed from the air earlier. Also, they reexamined the eastern cliff edge in an aerial reconnaissance on May 5, 1975.

#### November 10

On the 10th, very early, both of us went to their camps along with the interpreter and the Laguna. We could not get near to where they were, even by coming on foot. We sent over the two mentioned, while we stayed behind on an elevation from which we could see them and were seen by them, so that when they saw us alone they might approach us more freely and with less fear. After the interpreter had cajoled them for more than two hours, without our being able to detain them, the interpreter went back again to see if they would sell us some provisions, but they replied that they had none.

They told him that the Cosninas lived very close to here, but that they were now away, wandering through the forests gathering pinon nuts; and that a short distance from here we would find two trails, one toward the Cosninas and another to El Pueblo de Oraibi in Moqui. They also showed him how to find the trail we had lost, saying that we would have to retrace our steps to San Miguel, and from here go down to the canyon mentioned before. And in this we wasted most of the day, and during the rest of it we got back to El Paraje de San Miguel, getting closer by half a league to the arroyo or canyon into which we had not been able to descend before; then we halted where the descent began. Today half a league to the southeast.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Failing to accomplish the descent to the Paiute camp, the padres sent the interpreter (Muniz), who apparently reached the Indians, for he talked with them for more than two hours. Whether Muniz climbed directly down or whether he took a more roundabout route is uncertain. At any rate, Dominguez and Escalante remained on the canyon rim--the eastern edge of Weed Bench--where they could be clearly seen from below. It was not necessary for them to climb any higher than they already were. Their return toward San Miguel was probably nearer the center of Weed Bench, where the traveling is easiest.

Their campsite that night cannot be pinpointed. Although they must have been near the trail over the edge of the canyon the diary entry for November 11 says that they had to search for the trail. For protection from the elements they probably camped in one of the shallow gullies above the edge of the deep canyon.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Don Cecala and W. L. Rusho walked almost all of this day's route on May 3, 1975. They also photographed it from the air on May 5, 1975.

#### November 11

On the 11th, very early, the descent was explored, the lost trail was found, and we continued on our way. We went down into the canyon with little trouble because, even though there are some dangerous stretches and all of it is precipitous, the Indians have fixed it up with loose stones and sticks-- and in the last one they have a stairway of the same, more than three yards long and two wide. Here two little streams meet which run into the large one near El Paraje de San Carlos. We climbed up to the opposite side by a cliffy and craggy ridge-cut which lies between the two rivulets, making many turns and passing some rock shelves which are perilous, and improvable only by dint of bars. We finished the ascent today midday, having gone two leagues east-southeast in the descent and ascent.

Here there are two small bluffs northeast of the trail. From the smaller one we swung southeast and after going three leagues over good terrain we halted, even if without water, because there was good pasturage for the horse herds and plenty of firewood to ward off the severe cold we were experiencing--naming the place San Proto. Today five leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Near San Miguel only one possible point of descent exists--a relatively narrow, boulder-choked, dugway-type incline that leads about sixty vertical feet down to the more level slickrock. Little evidence of trail work can be detected. Navajo Canyon, in this instance, consists of a network of smaller steep-walled canyons feeding into the main branch. The trail winds through side gulches, around isolated mini-buttes, and across precipitous ledges. This complex erosion pattern, plus the fact that this section of trail has probably been abandoned for over one hundred years, makes following the trail extremely difficult. Even locating a feasible route by which to cross this area on foot is found to be only barely possible. At two points within this canyon complex small rock cairns are seen, while at another point a short stretch of cleared trail through some boulders is plainly visible.

Following the topography the 1776 trail left the deep slickrock canyon and entered a wide tributary valley sloping down from Weed Bench to the northeast. In this valley another small section of trail dugway and a cairn are located. In this valley the old, now-abandoned trail apparently merged with the trail still in use. This still-used trail goes from Weed Bench across this valley, then crosses southward over a long hill about 300 feet high.

The evolution of this trail is conjectural. It appears that the route through the slickrock canyon and past San Miguel was the main route to and from Crossing of the Fathers until that crossing was virtually replaced by use of the ferryboat at Lee's Ferry in the 1870s. At that time the trail was virtually abandoned. After moving into the area during the 1860s and 1870s, Navajos used this trail and the Crossing of the Fathers for only a few years. The Navajos did, however, wish to graze their stock on Weed Bench, to which an extension of the trail was built. Although used frequently until 1974, the trail may soon be almost completely abandoned due to the flooding of the trail ford at Navajo Creek by Lake Powell.

Across the long hill the trail approaches Navajo Creek through a narrow valley, over a small plateau, then down switchbacks cut into the sandstone. Finally it emerges on a low bench about fifty feet above Navajo Creek. At a point opposite the mouth of Kaibito Wash a rough dugway of rocks and logs aids the traveler in reaching the creek floor. This dugway is mentioned in the diary.

Navajo Creek, although perennial, is quite shallow, and could easily be forded in historic times.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Don Cecala and W. L. Rusho tried to follow the trail on the afternoon of May 3, 1975, but only traces of the upper part could be found. Although they were later found to be mistaken, they then believed that the trail went around, rather than over, the long sandstone hill extending east and west between San Miguel and Navajo Creek. Consequently, in looking for the trail, they found themselves in a labyrinth of sheer gorges and slickrock domes that almost defied passage. After being rimrocked several times they managed to tediously thread their way back to the east and down to the small valley where they intersected the trail. From there it was relatively simple to follow the now-distinct trail to the Bureau of Reclamation boat waiting for the researchers on the finger of Lake Powell extending into Navajo Creek.

By aerial reconnaissance on May 5, 1975, Don Cecala and W. L. Rusho could detect parts of the trail leading over, rather than around, the long hill that had given them so much difficulty.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION (continued)

C. Gregory Crampton

Having reached the floor of the canyon the padres found themselves at the confluence of Navajo and Kaibito creeks which today is flooded by the waters of Lake Powell when the level of the lake is above approximately 3,646 feet. As Escalante states, the explorers climbed out of the canyon over a steep, rocky route between the two streams. The trail, which has seen little use in recent times, goes up close to the canyon wall of Kaibito Creek. At a point about a quarter of a mile from the canyon floor a substantial amount of work has been done on the trail to get up and/or down through some flinty limestone ledges in order to pass under a cliff immediately above Kaibito Creek. One mile from the canyon floor the trail turns abruptly to the north-northeast and goes up a wide cleft for about half a mile and then swings abruptly south-southeast and ascends a very steep slickrock slope for about 150 yards. This is the steepest part of the trail, one which Escalante said could be made "improvable only by dint of crowbars." Since 1776, someone has picked out a series of steps in the rocks at this point. But even then the 1975 researchers noticed the skeleton of a horse on the rocks immediately below the trail at this point. At the steep section the animal probably bolted and fell to his death off the nearby ledge.

Once over the steep part, the trail continues south-southeast through an open slickrock area for half a mile, the last part of which passes over a moderately steep slope. An occasional rock cairn marks the route. The trail tops out at a point approximately 800 feet above and three trail miles from Navajo Creek; two upright slabs of rock mark the place, which is nearly surrounded by gnarled and picturesquely eroded rocks. A sherd of prehistoric pottery and a contemporary wine bottle found here would seem to document use of this trail for half a dozen centuries at least.

From the crest one may see Small Butte and Tsai Skizzi Rock, mentioned by Escalante as the two "small bluffs". They would have been seen prominently to their left as they traveled along open country across Cedar Tree Bench.

Once out of the canyon the Spanish party traveled about eight miles over "good terrain" across Cedar Tree Bench. They would necessarily have headed several deep washes that drop into Kaibito Creek (Chao Canyon).

Camp on November 11, San Proto, was nearly four miles south-southeast of Tsai Skizzi Rock, the most prominent formation in the immediate area.

The expedition's course brought them past the location of the present hogan homes of the Yazzie family who range sheep and cattle over Cedar Tree Bench. The Yazzie home is situated near Tsai Skizzi Rock and adjacent to a shallow, but straight-walled canyon that heads on the butte, cuts directly across the Escalante Trail, and flows into Kaibito Creek. A crossing point is found near the Yazzie home, but not above and probably at few points below. Since there is water in the wash (though Escalante does not mention it), this place has probably been an important stop on the Indian trail for a long time. It shows evidence of much use.

The Yazzie home may be reached by a good dirt road from Arizona Highway 98. About one mile before reaching the Yazzie hogans the road crests a high ridge immediately south of Tsai Skizzi Rock. At this point one may enjoy an excellent vista to the northwest whence the Spaniards traveled during the day. Small Butte, about four miles away, is on a direct line with the San Miguel campsite at the southern base of the great Tse Tonte rock about 12 airline miles in the distance.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The survey of the Tsai Skizzi Rock area was made by Harry Gilleland and C. Gregory Crampton on May 2, 1975, using automobile access. Since no roads cross the deep gully leading from Tsai Skizzi Rock to Kaibito Wash, they did not proceed farther. The probable trail route, however, could be visually ascertained for some miles to the northwest.

The trail leading from the mouth of Kaibito Wash to the point where it crests the ridge, a trail distance of about three miles, was surveyed on May 4, 1975, by W. L. Rusho, Don Cecala, Larry Sanderson, and C. Gregory Crampton. They did not hike beyond the crest but were able to visually ascertain the trail route past Small Butte and on to Tsai Skizzi Rock.

On May 5, 1975, W. L. Rusho and Don Cecala made an aerial reconnaissance to confirm the trail as it is now plotted on the map.



November 12

On the 12th we set out from San Proto headed south-southeast traveling now on an open course and good terrain (3 leagues), and on the same course found a small spring of good water where all the men and the horse herd drank after the ice was broken. According to what the vestiges show, it is a stopping place for the Cosninas when they travel to the Payuchis. We continued south along the same course, feeling extremely cold, and after traveling four leagues of very good country, we left the direct route to Moqui, as it had been indicated by the Payuchis, and followed the one more traveled by the Cosninas toward the south-southwest; then, after going one league, we found several small dwellings or deserted camps, and indications that many herds of cattle and horses had been pastured hereabouts for some time. We kept on along the same course, and after we had gone a league and a half southwest, night came and we halted without water, naming the site San Jacinto. Today nine leagues and a half.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Save for the cold weather, this was a fairly easy day for the travelers who made good time on open trail that gradually approached Kaibito Wash. As they rode upstream to the south they crossed a few tributaries of Kaibito Wash but none posed any barrier. The small spring they located was found in one of these tributaries at a point about five miles northeast of Kaibito village.

It should be noted that the first distance indicated by Escalante, three leagues, was inadvertently left out of the Chavez translation. It does appear in the Newberry Library copy of the diary.

Leaving the spring the Spaniards headed south over fairly easy terrain, crossing Kaibito Wash about one mile north of Kaibito village. The trail at this point turned southwest around two substantial obstacles: the great bulk of White Mesa, which stretches ten miles across the landscape from southwest to northeast, and the canyon of Kaibito Wash, which drains the slopes to the north of White Mesa. From Kaibito the trail ascended low hills covered with scrub pinion and juniper forest. About two leagues south of Kaibito the trail crested the ridge and the travelers could see the junction where the trail split. The road to the Hopis headed south-southeast, passing east of Wildcat Peak, while the road to the Cosninas headed southwest toward Preston Mesa. The latter route, which the padres took, leads across a generally open valley vegetated with grass and small brush, but with occasional clumps of juniper trees. About three or four miles southwest of this junction the trail is now crossed by the Black Canyon and Lake Powell Railroad which carries coal from the strip mines at Black Mesa to the Navajo Powerplant near Page.

The campsite named San Jacinto was located on the north edge of a small butte near the center of this valley about four miles east of Preston Mesa. This campsite would probably be quite exposed to the wind and would be a poor place to camp in winter.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Portions of this day's travel were examined on a number of occasions. On May 2, 1975, C. Gregory Crampton and Harry Gilleland examined the most northern part of the area. On June 21, 1975, a small portion of the trail southwest of Kaibito was examined by W.L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Jane Rusho. On July 6, 1975, W.L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Don Cecala followed the trail, from San Jacinto site northeast to Kaibito.

Maps used: USGS AMS Marble Canyon; AHD Coconino County, Sheets 27, 28.

#### November 13

On the 13th we started out from San Jacinto toward the south-southwest along the course mentioned, and over good terrain of woods and abundant pasturages, and going two leagues we swung south a league and half, and among some big rocks we found sufficient water for the men and almost enough for all the horses. We continued to the southeast, and halted about a league beyond another waterhole with bad water which we found on the same route. We named the place El Espino because we caught a porcupine today, and here we tasted flesh of the richest flavor. Today six leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W.L. Rusho

From their cold camp of San Jacinto the travelers turned west of the butte against which they had camped and headed south-southwest so as to pass along the eastern foot of Preston Mesa. This is a fairly open valley and is a direct route to Moenkopi. Although frequent stretches of sand were encountered, it was no worse in this respect than much longer routes and would have been preferred by all travelers between Kaibito and Moenkopi. A possible route to the west of Preston Mesa--tentatively designated on all previous map interpretations of the trail--is out of the question. To this day there are no roads, not even of the primitive type, west of Preston Mesa.

Passing about six miles to the south of Preston Mesa the Spaniards entered a region marked "sand dunes" on today's maps but which in reality is a large region of sand dunes alternating with outcroppings of cross-bedded sandstone. The single road that crosses it today from north to south is alternately rocky or sandy and often requires a four-wheel drive

vehicle. A well, "Standing Rock Well," is located in a weirdly eroded cluster of sandstone rocks near the point where Escalante says they found water.

While unrelated to the Dominguez-Escalante expedition, a set of curious vehicle grooves was noted in several places where the road crossed bedrock. Each of the twin grooves was about a foot wide and one or two inches deep. The smooth surface of the grooves and the lack of lug marks tend to rule out a bulldozer. A large number of heavily loaded wagons could have cut the grooves, but a historical episode of such magnitude through this remote area is unknown to the present researchers.

To place their camp, El Espino, in a proper relationship to Pasture Canyon, which they reached the next day, it is necessary to locate the camp slightly west of a hypothetical point reached by Escalante's directions alone. Partly this could be due to magnetic compass declination. At any rate, El Espino was not near any distinctive topographic feature but was merely out in a large field of bedrock sandstone and sand dunes. It was on the present road about five miles directly north of Tuba City, Arizona.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

This day's travel was covered by four-wheel drive vehicle traveling north from Tuba City. Researchers were W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Don Cecala. Although only one road leads north from Tuba City, this road generally parallels the Escalante route. Near Preston Mesa, however, the road veers somewhat farther to the east than does the trail. A long distance overview of the trail and surrounding terrain was obtained from the crest of Preston Mesa.

Maps used: USGS AMS Marble Canyon; AHD, Coconino County, Sheets 27,28.

#### November 14

On the 14th we left El Espino headed south-southeast, and after going a little less than a league we found enroute a big waterhole of good water where the entire horse herd drank to satisfaction. We kept going southeast, and at three quarters of a league we entered a canyon where four springs of good water emerge. We traveled southeast through it for a half a league, and arrived at a small farm and camp of the Cosninas, all of it pretty and well arranged--the farmland is irrigated by means of the four springs mentioned and by two other copious ones which rise next to it; here this year the Cosninas planted maize, squash, watermelon, and muskmelon. By the time we arrived they had gathered their harvest and, judging from the refuse or scraps of everything we found, it had been an abundant one, and especially that of beans. For

if we had made camp here, we could have gleaned half a bushel of it. The farmland is surrounded by peach trees.

Besides the several huts made of boughs, there was a very well constructed little house of stone and mud. In it were the baskets, jars, and other utensils of these Indians. There judging from the tracks, had gone away some days before, perhaps to look for pinon nuts in the adjacent high sierra toward the south-southwest. Trails went off from the camp in different directions, and we did not know which one to take to go to Moqui, for we could no longer go farther afield looking for the Cosninas, as much from the lack of supplies as from the extreme severity with which winter was plaguing us.

We took a trail which went southeast, traveled for two leagues over altogether flat country, passing by some springs of good water, and we crossed a small river which flows from north to southwest and carries as much water as an adequate irrigation ditch. It has its small poplar grove and small meadows with very poor pasturage where we crossed it. Beyond the river we climbed a mesa where there was a small lake and several banked pools of rain water, and they serve as ponds and watering places for the Moqui cattle which we were already beginning to see in numerous herds. We traveled over the mesa for two and a half leagues to the east-southeast, went up a high hill, and because night was approaching and there was good pasturage for the horse herds, we halted--naming the place Cuesta de los Llanos because from here begin the spreading plains and countryside having no mesas, woods, or sierras, but very good pasturages which extend southeastward far beyond Moqui. Today six leagues and a quarter.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

From their camp at El Espino the Spaniards took a southeasterly course, traveling over patches of red sand interspersed with areas of bedrock. After going about four miles they reached the head of Pasture Canyon. They entered it easily over steep sand slopes and found four springs. Presently, four conspicuous large springs burst from aquifers at ground level or slightly above in alcoves on the east canyon wall. Other springs do occur in the vicinity, but they are much less obvious than the four mentioned. The combined waters of all these springs irrigate fields that are seen at intermittent intervals throughout the canyon from its head to Pasture Canyon Reservoir, a distance of about 2.75 miles. A constant flow of water reaches the reservoir which stores water for the irrigated fields of the Hopi village of Moenkopi two miles farther downstream and overlooking Moenkopi Wash.

With its cornfields, cottonwood trees, and hundred-foot-high red sandstone walls, Pasture Canyon is as delightful today as it must have been in 1776. The canyon, a five-mile-long oasis in the desert, is the only water-

course of its kind in the area and it fits nicely Escalante's description. Although Indian farmers are the main tillers of the canyon fields today, Lot Smith, pioneer Mormon settler in the Moenkopi-Tuba City area in the 1870s, operated a farm just south of the middle section of the canyon. We saw only one resident in the canyon, a Hopi Indian who lived in a stone house and who was tending a corn patch just below the former location of the Lot Smith farm.

After traveling for about a mile and a half and finding no one, Dominquez and Escalante left Pasture Canyon and headed southeast across the open desert. They may have continued to the vicinity of the present reservoir before leaving the canyon but it seems clear that they did not reach the present site of Moenkopi. Although there was prehistoric occupancy of the Moenkopi area, the present village, an offshoot of the Hopi town of Oraibi, was not established until the mid-1870s.

From Pasture Canyon the padres followed a visible trail that carried them in a southeasterly direction to the top of Coal Mine Mesa on the Moenkopi Plateau. Their course was a mile or two to the east of Arizona Highway 264. Escalante writes that the party traveled two leagues over "flat country," crossing en route Moenkopi Wash then running a good stream of water. As two leagues from Pasture Canyon would put the party only at the foot of Coal Mine Mesa--not the crest--it appears Escalante neglected to include in his total of leagues traveled for the day one and a half leagues (about four miles) required for the climb to the top of Coal Mine Mesa. Probably the party reached the top of the mesa near the point where a radio tower is indicated on USGS Moenkopi quad. They may have reached the mesa at a point a mile or two to the east and north of the route suggested, but in either place the climb from the bed of Moenkopi Wash to the top of the mesa would have been 1,000 feet.

Once on top the Spaniards had easier travel for two and a half leagues in an east-southeasterly direction, passing several pools of rainwater. Such pools are shown on the USGS Tuba City SE quad. Their camp for the night--Cuesta de los Llanos--was near the head of the spectacular Coal Mine Canyon and very close to Arizona Route 264.

We believe the Spaniards traveled almost eight leagues on this day, not six and a quarter leagues.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Jeep reconnaissance was possible over much of this day's route. On July 5, 1975, we negotiated the rough bedrock and sandy road north from Tuba City to the El Espino campsite (and beyond), a distance of about 5.5 miles. On July 6 we went by jeep to within a half mile of the head of Pasture Canyon. Much of the Spaniards' route from Pasture Canyon to Cuesta de los Llanos was visually surveyed from good view points along highways U. S. 160 and Arizona 264.

Participants in the survey of this day's route were W. L. Rusho, Don Cecala, and C. Gregory Crampton.



Maps consulted: AMS Marble Canyon, Flagstaff; USGS Tuba City, Moenkopi, Tuba City SE quads; AHD, Coconino County, sheets 26, 28.

#### November 15

On the 15th we left La Cuesta de los Llanos headed east-southeast, traveled over the plains for nine leagues without finding water during the whole day's march, so as not to go astray looking for it. We found it in a narrow valley where there was a great deal of sagebrush of the kind they call chico. We halted in it, naming it La Canada de los Chicos. Today nine leagues to the southwest.

We no longer had a thing for eating supper tonight because the horsemeat on hand was not enough for all. There were large cattleherds hereabouts, and all the companions wanted to kill a cow or a heifer. They kept impatiently insisting that we should let them relieve the need from which we all were suffering by this means. Realizing that we were already near El Pueblo de Oraibi, that this would cause some trouble between us and the Moqui people, and defeat our purpose--which was to exert anew our efforts in behalf of the Light, and meekness of the gospel, as against their willful blindness and inveterate obstinacy--we ordered another horse to be killed, and that no one was to approach those herds even if, as they assured us, they were runaways or public property.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

On this day the Spaniards made good time across open country free of any natural barriers. From their camp at Cuesta de los Llanos they traveled practically in a beeline east-southeast and camped, quite probably, at or near the right bank of Dinnebito Wash--Canada de los Chizos. The distance covered, however, was under seven leagues, about 18 miles, not nine leagues, a difference of about six miles. Our location of the camps of Cuesta de los Llanos and Canada de los Chizos we believe to be accurate. The trail distance between the two as measured with a map wheel, is approximately 20 miles. Possibly Escalante was recording the distance that he had inexplicably failed to record the previous day (See November 14). Many dirt roads, used by Navajo herdsman today, crisscross the padres' route for this day.

We place the Canada de los Chizos camp in the vicinity of sections 4 and 8, T28N, R14E G and SR Meridian. The Spaniards probably found Dinnebito Wash pleasant enough. At present, however, it is a deeply entrenched, straight-walled arroyo about 50 feet deep with few approach roads on either side. It is one of the most glaring examples of gully erosion in the entire Southwest.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The trail for this day was visually surveyed on July 6, 1975, from the

high southwestern rim of Howell Mesa (reached from Arizona Route 264). The trail passed south of and about a mile from the base of the mesa which towers about 600 feet above the route. Thus it was possible to survey almost the entire route the padres traveled on this day. From other viewpoints along Route 264 in the Dinnebito Valley and on Oraibi Mesa the remainder of the route could be seen. On July 7 from New Oraibi we made a reconnaissance of the left bank of Dinnebito Wash in the vicinity of the Canada de los Chizos camp. W. L. Rusho, Don Cecala, and C. Gregory Crampton participated in this day's survey.

Maps consulted: AMS Marble Canyon, Flagstaff; USGS quads Tuba City SE, Appaloosa Ridge, Coal Mine Mesa, Dinnebito Spring, Padilla Mesa, Howell Mesa; AHD, Coconino County, sheets 26, 25.

#### November 16

On the 16th we set out from La Canada de los Chicos toward the east-southeast, went three leagues, and near a high mesa turned east-northeast for a quarter of a league. Here we found a well-beaten trail and concluded that it went to one of the Moqui pueblos. We followed it and, after going three leagues northeast over good and altogether flat country, and a little less than two north, we arrived at the mesa of El Pueblo de Oraibi. We ordered the companions to halt at the mesa's foot, that none except those going up with us should approach the pueblo until we gave the word.

We went up without incident. As we started to enter the pueblo a large number of Indians, big and small, surrounded us. We kept asking for the ritual headman and war captains in a language they did not know, and as we tried to go over to the ritual headman's house they stopped us, and one of them told us in Navajo not to enter the pueblo. Don Juan Pedro Cisneros then asked him spiritedly in the same language whether or not they were friends of ours. This quieted them down, and a very old man led us to his home and lodged us in it, offering us a room in which to spend the night, and their customary victuals. Today seven leagues.

Tonight the ritual headman with two very old men came to visit us, and, after having let us know that they were our friends, offered to sell us the provisions we might need. We let them know that we much appreciated it.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

From their camp on Dinnebito Wash the Spaniards headed east-southeast toward a divide between Oraibi Mesa on the north and Padilla Mesa on the south. Passing to the south of No Trail Mesa, an isolated mesa a mile and a half long and some 500 feet high, they went on for two miles, then turned east-northeast for better than half a mile and found a well-defined trail. This

trail was found about eight miles from their last camp and very nearly on the divide between the above-mentioned mesas. Following the well-used trail (very closely-paralleled at present by a graded dirt road) the party traveled northeast and then north over open country to reach the base of Oraibi Mesa, also known as Third Mesa. From there they could see the principal Hopi village of Old Oraibi crowning the mesa 300 feet above them. Camp for the night was made at the base of the trail leading to the village, less than half a mile from modern Oraibi, founded at the base of the mesa in 1906.

It will be noted that Escalante's total mileage for the day is given as seven leagues. Although the several distances listed add up to about eight leagues, seven leagues is the more accurate figure.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The entire route of this day's travel was covered easily by jeep over existing roads. The study was made on July 7, 1975, by W. L. Rusho, Don Cecala, and C. Gregory Crampton.

We did not visit Old Oraibi since the village has been closed to non-Indians. A sign posted at the entrance read: "Warning. No outside white visitors allowed. Because of your failure to obey the laws of our tribe as well as the laws of your own, this village is hereby closed."

The officials of the Hopi tribal government, with offices in the new village of Oraibi, were very helpful in supplying information, assistance and permits. We are pleased to acknowledge vice-chairman Alvin Dashee, Raymond J. Coin, and Ronald Moore in Public Relations. Ron Moore and two Hopis with knowledge of the old trails, Thomas Balenquah and Roland Hanahni, accompanied us in Mr. Moore's pickup over the trail from Oraibi to No Trail Mesa. The information supplied by these men helped clarify the padres' route through this area.

At Old Oraibi Escalante was on familiar ground. During June and July of 1775 the padre had traveled from Zuni to the Hopi villages to obtain geographical information and to learn about the Hopis and their customs as a means of propagating the faith. Escalante's diary of that trip, which contains many more details about the Hopis than we find in his 1776 account, has been edited by Eleanor B. Adams under the title "Fray Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi," New Mexico Historical Review, 38 (April 1963): 97-138. The editor provides a full introduction, but she does not identify place names mentioned by Escalante along the routes going and coming.

Maps consulted: AMS, Flagstaff; USGS quads Padilla Mesa, Oraibi; AHD, Coconino County, sheet 25, Navajo County, sheets 11-12.

Since Old Oraibi and the Hopi villages generally were of such prominent importance to the Spaniards on this expedition, some form of interpretation, the Hopis willing, might be suggested. An excellent interpretive site would be Second Mesa where the Hopis have their cultural center and where there is a good motel and craft house.

November 17

On the 17th, quite early, they brought us at our lodging some baskets or trays of flour, beef tallow, maize paperbread, and other kinds of food supplies. We promptly purchased what we could, since of what we most needed they brought the least. For lack of an interpreter, we were unable to discuss their civil submission as it was opportune and as we desired it. We made them understand some things, especially the ritual headman and our host and benefactor; they listened attentively, but let us know little else than that they wished to preserve their friendship with the Spaniards. The ritual headman told us that he had already notified the rest of the pueblos to give us shelter and to sell us the provisions necessary for reaching Zuni.

We let them know that we were very grateful for this favor and the other ones we had received from them, and after midday we left Oraibi for El Pueblo de Shongopavi; and, after going nearly two leagues and a quarter southeast, we arrived when the sun had already set, and they welcomed us attentively, promptly giving us lodging. Today two leagues and a quarter southeast.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

Their business with the Hopis at Old Oraibi completed, Dominguez and Escalante took up the trail to Shongopovi (several variant spellings) located on the southern tip of Second Mesa. Their route was very close to the present Arizona Highway 264. The distance by highway, about six miles, tallies closely with Escalante's two and a quarter leagues (5.92 miles). Hopi informants stated that, although there are other trails between the two villages, the one indicated above was the one most often used in times past. Escalante's write-up of this day's travel illustrates nicely a common feature of his diary. The actual direction of travel was first nearly east and then nearly south, but the destination at Shongopovi is southeast of Oraibi. Thus, his "two leagues and a quarter southeast" is quite accurate.

RESEARCH METHODS

This short section of the Spaniards' trail was examined on July 6 by W. L. Rusho, Don Cecala, and C. Gregory Crampton, traveling by jeep on paved highway. The village of Mishongovi is reached by graded road .7 mile from Highway 264.

Map consulted: USGS quad Oraibi

November 18

On the 18th, when the Indian councilmen of this pueblo

had assembled, along with those of the adjacent ones, Shipaulovi and Moshongnovi, after we had tendered them our thanks-- partly by signs and partly in Navajo--for the courtesies and good reception they had given us, we preached to them; and they replied that they could not parley with us for their being unable to understand Castilian, or ourselves the Moqui language; that we should go over to Walpi where there were some who knew the Castilian tongue; and that there, by talking all that we wanted with the ritual headmen and war captains, we would learn about what they all desired.

In the afternoon we left for Walpi and, after going east two leagues and more than a quarter, we arrived when it was already dark. Our small party remained at the foot of the cliff, and we went up with some of them. The Tanos and Walpis very joyfully received us, and they lodged us in the home of the Tanos' ritual headman where we spent the night. Today two leagues and a quarter.

After we had rested a short while, a backslider Indian named Pedro from El Pueblo de Galisteo in New Mexico, already very old and enjoying much authority in this one of the Tanos in Moqui, informed us that they were currently engaged in a cruel war with the Navajo Apaches, and that these had killed and captured many of their people. For this reason, he added, they were wishing for the arrival of some Padres and Spaniards, through whom they might beg the Lord Governor for some aid or defense against these foes. And so they had been particularly delighted when they learned that we had come to visit them, because they hoped that we would bring them support and relief.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

After a conference with Indians from the neighboring pueblos of Shipolovi and Mishongnovi (several variant spellings), the padres left Second Mesa in the afternoon for Walpi. They probably descended Second Mesa by a steep trail just north of the pueblo of Shongopovi. From a point where Arizona Highway 264 starts down from the mesa, an old built-up trail may be seen on the slopes below. Once down on the flat area the Spaniards, traveling in an east-southeasterly direction, reached the foot of First Mesa. Their route was very close to the present Arizona Highway 264. Escalante's distance for this day's travel, two and a quarter leagues, or about six miles is accurate.

The three celebrated Hopi villages of Walpi, Sichomovi, and Hano are perched on the knife-narrow First Mesa. The padres climbed to the five-hundred-foot-high mesa by the old trail, the base of which is south of Walpi and one and a half miles from the base of the modern road at Polacca leading to the villages. The padres spent two days in Hano where they held conferences and discussions with their hosts. They did not travel on November 19.

## RESEARCH METHODS

W. L. Rusho, Don Cecala, and C. Gregory Crampton carried out the study



for this day on July 7, 1975. Travel was by jeep on paved highway. We visited the three mesa-top pueblos but signs warned against taking photographs. Hopi informants in Oraibi told us the location of the trail leading up the mesa.

Maps consulted: USGS quads Oraibi, Polacca.

November 19 (No travel)

November 20

On the 20th in the afternoon we set out from the pueblos of Walpi and, after going four leagues east by south-east, stopped to spend the night at the water source called El Ojo Del Canutillo, or Ojo de Moqui. Today four leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Failing in their efforts to win converts among the Hopis, the padres and their party set out on their return to Zuni and Santa Fe. From approximately the present site of Polacca, at the base of First Mesa, they rode east by southeast for four leagues. Actually, their trail lay almost directly up Keams Canyon Wash to the east, generally paralleling Arizona Highway 264, then slightly southeast to the present site of Keams Canyon village. That Keams Canyon is indeed the Spaniards' "Ojo del Canutillo" is based on substantial evidence. The location of the spring fits as a matter of distance and direction. Keams Canyon contains the most abundant springs in the area and would correspond with Escalante's description, in 1775, of Ojo del Canutillo as "good and sufficient for many people and horses." Some speculation has been aired that the spring visited was Talahogan Spring or perhaps Awatobi Spring, both located about the right distance southeast of Polacca. These latter two springs, however, are small water seeps located high on the sides of mesas. Further proof is shown by Escalante's 1775 diary entry to the effect that he returned to Zuni from the Hopi villages by a different route, which led him not to Ojo del Canutillo but to Awatobi Spring.

The Keams Canyon quadrangle map shows five springs near the village of the same name. One of these springs, however, located about two miles east of the village on the floor of the shallow canyon, is reportedly larger than the others. Where their camp was, however, and what they considered Ojo del Canutillo to be, depend more on the stated distance from First Mesa, which was four leagues. This would put their camp just below the present trading post, or about one league downstream from the big spring. Possibly the water from all the springs collected into a pond at this point. Since 1776 most of the water has been developed for use by the community. Gully erosion has also greatly altered the appearance of the canyon floor.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Seriously hampering the researchers in this area was the lack of high-quality, small-scale topographic maps. Absence of good maps, combined with

Escalante's failure to describe the topography, forced the researchers into a time-consuming check of alternatives. To examine the Awatobi Spring alternative, the researchers, W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Don Cecala, traveled by dirt road to the old ruin of Awatobi Pueblo, located on the crest of a high mesa. From that point a view could be obtained of Talahogan Canyon, Awatobi Spring, and Jadito Wash Valley.

Clarence Hamilton, a security inspector for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "apprehended" the researchers at the Awatobi ruin, obviously believing at first that he had caught some pot hunters. When he was shown the permit signed by the vice-chairman of the Hopi Tribe, however, Mr. Hamilton allowed the researchers to continue on their way.

Although Keams Canyon was visited on July 7 and 8, the researchers did not realize until later that the Spaniard's "Ojo del Canutillo" was actually in that shallow gorge. On September 2, 1975, C. Gregory Crampton, W. L. Rusho, and Melvin T. Smith again visited Keams Canyon and at that time examined the springs and the various possible campsites. They also consulted Loren and Bruce McGee, proprietors of the store and trading post at Keams Canyon Village.

On September 4, 1975, Rusho and Crampton made an aerial reconnaissance over the route from Polacca to Keams Canyon and beyond.

Maps used: USGS AMS Flagstaff; USGS Quadrangles Polacca and Keams Canyon; AHD Navajo County Sheets 10 and 11.

#### November 21

On the 21st we left El Ojo del Canutillo toward the northeast and, after going three leagues, two southeast, then going another two a little more to the east, we halted more than a half a league this side of the little water source called El Estiladero, or Ojito del Penasco. Today seven leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

From their Keams Canyon campsite the Spaniards followed the natural trail up the canyon to the northeast, passing the future (1863) Kit Carson inscription and the large spring where Thomas Keam established his first trading post in 1875. At a point near the present Twin Dams they left the canyon to the east, then turned again to the northeast to head the three branches of Jadito Wash. At a point about three miles from the canyon they turned east and continued in this direction for another four miles. Upon heading the wash they turned southeast, then south-southeast for a total of five miles. Camp was made on or near Beshbito Wash about a mile and a half north of the present Arizona Highway 264. It should be noted that Escalante's directions, southeast then east to camp, are given in reverse order. To have followed the diary directions explicitly would have placed their route directly

across the rugged upper canyons of Jadito Wash. Since their earlier travel to the northeast was obviously made to avoid Jadito Wash, it must be concluded that the directions actually traveled were east, then south-southeast to camp.

The small water source identified by Escalante as El Estiladero could not be identified in the field.

## RESEARCH METHODS

An attempt was made to follow this day's route on July 8, 1975, by C. Gregory Crampton, W. L. Rusho, and Don Cecala. The researchers were proceeding on the supposition (later found to be erroneous) that the Spaniards had traveled southeast from Polacca to Jadito Wash and had then proceeded in an easterly direction up the wash and over the mesa. After Keams Canyon was identified as the site for Ojo del Canutillo, the route plotted earlier in the field for the next day, November 21, 1776, was also found to be erroneous. On September 2, 1975, Rusho and Crampton, accompanied by Melvin T. Smith, examined the route leading out of Keams Canyon to the northeast. They reached Twin Dams, but the road became so bad that it could not be followed any farther. The researchers then drove to Beshbito Wash on Arizona Highway 264 and turned northwest for a few miles until this road also became too rough to travel.

On September 4, 1975, Crampton and Rusho made an aerial reconnaissance over the entire route for this particular day.

Maps used: USGS AMS Flagstaff and Gallup; USGS Quadrangle Keams Canyon; AHD Navajo County Sheet 10, Apache County Sheet 11.

### November 22

On the 22nd we left the companions with what was left of the horse herds, which by now were more worn out, so that they might follow little by little up to Zuni; and we ourselves, along with three of them, took off with dispatch. Then, after having gone nine leagues east by southeast, we arrived at the place called Cumaa. Here we rested a bit and continued east for two more leagues. The mounts gave out on us and we had to stop. Today eleven leagues.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

On this day the padres left their camp on Beshbito Wash and headed generally in a southeasterly direction toward Zuni. A series of low hills and numerous gullies forced them to make many twists and turns in their forward progress. First, they traveled east-southeast about seven miles to Steamboat Wash, where they turned south for another three miles. Rounding a high steep hill on their left they then turned southeast for another eleven miles to Cumaa, shown on today's

map as Sunrise Springs. This important watering point is located in Pueblo Colorado Wash.

In their haste they pushed on up the next mesa to the east, although they were still heading in a southeasterly direction. Two more leagues found them again in the pinion-juniper forest when their mounts gave out and camp was made.

Their route for this day may be traced almost exactly by secondary, unnumbered dirt roads. From the mesa just west of Pueblo Colorado Wash an old, but much-used, trail winds down to the floor of the wash and on south about a mile to Sunrise Springs.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

On their first attempt to research this day's travel, made July 8, 1975, by C. Gregory Crampton, W. L. Rusho, and Don Cecala, the route as described was missed completely. This was due to lack of topographic details in the diary and to the difficulty of matching old Spanish names for springs with modern equivalents. On September 2, 1975, W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Melvin T. Smith visited the beginning and the ending portions of the day's travel. They drove down Steamboat Wash for about six miles, or until the road became too difficult. They then drove around by paved highways to Sunrise Springs. The trail off the mesa just north of the springs was traversed on foot by Dr. Smith. The researchers did not travel the two leagues from the spring to the site of the camp for the night.

Maps used: USGS AMS Gallup; AHD Apache County Sheet 11.

#### November 23

On the 23rd we kept on going, although it snowed all day in most troublesome blizzards, and after traveling on the gallop for twelve leagues, we halted at the place called Kianaituna, or Ojo del Senor San Jose. Tonight we suffered extreme cold. Today twelve leagues, almost all to the east.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

A day's gallop of twelve leagues would have been most difficult, for the route lay over hill country covered with pinion-juniper forest and dissected by numerous ravines and gullies that cut directly across the trail. The most substantial of these gullies is Wide Ruin Wash, which the expedition reached at Klagetoh, about ten miles east-southeast of their last camp. From Klagetoh the trail went down Wide Ruin Wash about three miles, then headed up a hill to the east for another three miles. From there it was twelve more miles southeast to Pine Springs, the modern name for Ojo del Senor San Jose, or Kianaituna.

Although Pine Springs could not be identified from the 1776 diary, Escalante gave a more complete description of the spring in the diary for his

visit in 1775. His description, together with the statement that the spring is located three and a half leagues west-northwest of the Rio Puerco, makes Pine Springs a certainty.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Researchers W. L. Rusho, C. Gregory Crampton, and Don Cecala made a reconnaissance of the terrain covered by this day's journey on July 8, 1975, but no conclusions could be made at that time. On July 11, 1975, Pine Springs was visited by W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton and was at that time determined to be Ojo del Senor San Jose. The small portion of the trail in Wide Ruin Wash was covered by driving along nearby Arizona Route 63. Also driven was Navajo Route 28, which runs about three or four miles south of the November 22 campsite but intersects the trail at Klagetoh.

John Rieffer, Indian trader at Wide Ruin Trading Post, explained the terrain between Klagetoh and Pine Springs and suggested the probable route of the Escalante expedition. He also described the difficult country south of Navajo Route 28, which would have made a trail through there improbable.

Maps used: USGS AMS Gallup; AHD Apache County Sheets 9, 10, and 11.

#### November 24

On the 24th, as soon as it was daylight, we set out from El Ojo del Senor San Jose toward the southeast, and after going two leagues we stopped a while to build a fire to warm ourselves, for it was so cold that we feared we could end up frozen in the narrow valley. We continued southeast for more than three leagues, and after going two more east by northeast we stopped to change mounts at a water source which the Zunis call Okiappa. We kept on and, having gone three leagues southeast, we arrived extremely exhausted when it was already dark at the pueblo and mission of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Zuni. Today twelve leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W.L. Rusho

On this day--the last before the padres reached the warmth and security of the Zuni Mission--they hurried to traverse the long day's ride between Pine Springs and the mission. The direction and route of their trail was almost entirely southeast with but one deviation. Distances given by Escalante are generally too short, however, including the total for the day. Actually, the airline distance is slightly over 12 leagues, while the trail distance was almost 15 leagues.

Two leagues southeast of Pine Springs would indeed have put the expedition in a narrow, if shallow, valley about three miles north of the Rio Puerco. The next distance listed, three leagues, should probably be five leagues, since this longer amount was necessary to reach the crest of a long sand hill west of Whitewater Arroyo. They crossed the Rio Puerco (and the present Interstate 40), about one mile east of Houck, Arizona.



After reaching the top of the brush and juniper-covered sand hill they descended into a wide, shallow valley running southwest to northeast. While still about three miles west of the New Mexico border they made their turn to the east-northeast, up this valley, to reach the spring of Okiappa. Considering the direction and distance indicated, Okiappa must have been located on the south rim of Whitewater Arroyo, perhaps in a tributary about two or three miles east of the Arizona-New Mexico border and about the same distance north of the present Zuni Reservation.

From this stated location of Okiappa the distance to Zuni, by way of Bosson Wash, is six leagues. It should be noted that whereas the Chavez translation says three leagues, the Bolton translation says five. A check of the Newberry Library diary shows the figure to be unclear. It looks more like a two than any other figure, but the ink has run. Perhaps it could be a three or a five.

Regardless of the confusion over the distance, the party did travel southeast, down the wash just west of the prominent Zuni Buttes. The last two miles of the trip would have been almost due east into the Pueblo of Zuni.

This interpretation of the travel for November 24, although based on several hours of field work, map measuring, and document analysis, could benefit from additional research. Of particular value would be interviews, document review, or both, that would positively identify water sources or springs named by Escalante with modern names. One wonders also why Escalante, usually so accurate in estimating distances traveled, should, on November 24, make an estimate that is three leagues too short, an error of 20 percent. It should be noted that in his diary of the 1775 trip, Escalante also says the distance from Zuni to Ojo del San Jose is 12 leagues, rather than 15. Could Escalante have merely copied a faulty 1775 estimate into his 1776 diary--without bothering to make a new estimate?

#### RESEARCH METHODS

This day's route was investigated by W. L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton on July 11, 1975. It was examined in reverse direction to that of the expedition --that is, starting at Zuni and ending at Pine Springs. An inquiry in Zuni disclosed that the gate through the fence along the north border of the Zuni Reservation is padlocked by an adjoining rancher. Since Okiappa lies north of this fence, the spring could not be visited. Instead, the researchers left Bosson Wash and traveled over a seldom-used road designated Zuni Route 3. Their retracing rejoined the Escalante trail at the point where the padres turned east-northeast toward Okiappa, about three miles west of the New Mexico border. The trail was then closely paralleled to Houck and on to Pine Springs.

Although the route the 1776 expedition took from Houck to Zuni is much shorter than today's roundabout highway distance, it is evident that no highway has been built across this route because of the extensive hills of sand. Had the ground not been considerably wet from recent rains, the researchers probably would not have been able to negotiate this sandy road, even with a four-wheel drive vehicle.

Dr. Caroline Davis, director of the Zuni Archeological Team, stated that the area between Zuni and Houck has been severely "duned" over by sand during the past 700 years. None of her archeologists had been into the area.

Also contacted in Zuni were the following: Gordon Peywa, Fish and Game, Pueblo of Zuni; Dr. Ralph Casebolt, director, Division of Education, Pueblo of Zuni; and John Gray, officer-in-charge, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Maps used: USGS AMS Gallup; AHD Apache County Sheet 9; New Mexico Highway Department Quadrangle 37, U.S. Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Land Operations, Zuni Pueblo Map Atlas, Soil and Range Inventory of the Zuni Indian Reservation (1970), Sheets 2, 2A, 6-8.

November 25 through December 12 (No travel)

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

W. L. Rusho

Although it has been conjectured that Dominguez and Escalante remained in Zuni for over two weeks primarily to rest and to put finishing touches on their diary, it is more probable that they were waiting for the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which took place on December 12. As Our Lady of Guadalupe is the patron saint of the Zuni Mission, this feast was probably the biggest event of the year. Escalante, still technically assigned to this mission as one of two ministers (the other was Fray Jose Mariano Rosete y Peralta) would have been expected to assist with preparations.

Dominguez also had duties in Zuni. As official "canonical visitor," he was required to inspect and to report on all of the New Mexican missions. In his report he wrote that his visitation of the Zuni Mission was made on December 9, 1776.

Built in 1629, the old mission church still stands in the center of the Zuni Pueblo. Abandoned in 1821, the building fell into ruins. But by action of the Zuni Tribe, the Catholic Diocese of Gallup, and the National Park Service, the church was completely restored in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The convent where the padres lived, which had been attached to the south side of the church, was not restored.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Meldon Hickey, O.F.M., of St. Anthony Mission in Zuni, conducted researchers C. Gregory Crampton, Don Cecala, and W. L. Rusho through the old Zuni Church on July 8, 1975.

Reference was made to the report by Dominguez, published as The Missions of New Mexico, 1776, A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, translated and annotated by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), and to Old Zuni Mission (Zuni: Franciscan Fathers of the St. Anthony's Mission), a magazine containing a brief history of the church and its restoration.

RESEARCH REPORT J

THE DOMINGUEZ-ESCALANTE TRAIL  
FROM ZUNI PUEBLO TO SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO  
DECEMBER 13, 1776-JANUARY 3, 1777

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

BY

W.L. RUSHO, RESEARCHER

DR. C. GREGORY CRAMPTON, ASSOCIATE

## RESEARCH REPORT J

### THE C. GREGORY CRAMPTON REPORT

December 13-16

Because of various events we stayed in this mission until the 13th of December, when we left for La Villa de Santa Fe. And after having traveled thirty leagues, we arrived at the mission of San Esteban de Acoma on the 16th day of the same December.

Then there fell a snow heavy enough to keep us from hurrying ahead as we had wished.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

Having spent nearly three weeks at the Zuni Pueblo, Dominguez and Escalante on the thirteenth headed for Santa Fe. Since the road they traveled had been used by Spaniards for over 200 years, the diarist provided few precise details about the route. In traveling the 30 leagues from Zuni to Acoma Pueblo campsites are not listed. We do know that from Coronado's time (1540) travel eastward from Zuni was along the Rio Pescadeo, the southern branch of the Zuni River, to El Morro, or Inscription Rock, 33 miles from the pueblo. The old trail is very close to New Mexico Highway 53 which modern travelers follow to reach El Morro, a national monument and one of the brighter jewels in the national park system.

The striking and massive El Morro rock, rising some 200 feet above the valley floor, with its large natural basin of rainwater, and ample pasturage nearby, was a natural camping place. From the time of Juan de Onate (1605) to the mid-nineteenth century literally hundreds of travelers lingered long enough to carve their names in the soft sandstone surface of the great rock. If Dominguez and Escalante camped at El Morro they left no record in stone. Ernest W. Ortega, park ranger (historian) at El Morro, told us that a check of the padres' names, and of all of those on the expedition, was made against the official inventory of names kept in the monument files, but the results were negative.

From El Morro, the old trail, very close to New Mexico Highway 53, crossed the continental divide (about 7,800 feet) and then skirted around the southeastern base of the Zuni Mountains, at the same time avoiding a great lava flow--the "Malpais"--that deflected the trail north toward the present town of Grants on Interstate 40. New Mexico Highway 53, swinging north, terminates at Grants.

It is quite likely that one of the padres' camps during the trek to Acoma was made at Ojo de Gallo, or El Gallo Spring, 37 miles from El Morro,

a watering place not mentioned in the diary but shown on Miera's map. Furthermore the spring is described by Dominguez in his report on The Missions of New Mexico, 1776, pp. 195-96. He says of "El Gallo": It "is a spring of delicious and very abundant water, so much so that its overflow forms a brook which runs through the middle of the canada to the south..."

While he was in New Mexico in 1776, Father Dominguez compiled the data incorporated in his report of an inspection of The Missions of New Mexico, 1776, A Description, translated and annotated by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1956, and recently reprinted). The three missions of Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna were inspected by Dominguez as the padres made their way to Santa Fe from Zuni in December 1776. The Missions report contains some information on routes of travel and serves to augment the meager account found in Escalante's diary for December.

Since Dominguez could only have seen the spring during this time, we must conclude that the padres visited the spring and probably camped there on December 15, 1766.

Ojo de Gallo, today little more than a seep, according to local informants once delivered enough water to irrigate several acres. The spring, still shown on detailed modern maps (USGS quadrangles, Cibola National Forest, Gallup Ranger District; New Mexico Highway Department, Quadrangle Map 39), is located beside New Mexico Highway 53 half a mile north of the little village of San Rafael, which dates from the 1870s when it was known as Don Rafael. Somewhere near San Rafael, probably to the south of it, the old trail crossed the north-south trending lava flow which is exceedingly rough and from three to four miles wide. The Whipple Railroad Survey in 1853 negotiated the Malpais with wagons. Baldwin Mollhausen, who published an account of the survey, wrote that "men and cattle had been crossing this bed of lava for centuries, yet the irregularities of the surface were as sharp and rugged as ever, so that even the sure-footed mules were continually slipping and stumbling over them." Atlas Sheet 77 published by the Wheeler Survey about 1879, shows a road across the Malpais, probably the one described by Whipple.

Traveling in an easterly direction across the lava beds, Dominguez and Escalante would have reached the Rio San Jose, Interstate 40 and the Santa Fe Railroad at a point about five miles above McCartys, located on the northwestern corner of the Acoma Indian Reservation. Less than a mile below McCartys, the Spaniards swung south-southeast following closely the modern graded road and highway which, after 14 miles, took them directly to Acoma.

If we compute the mileage from Zuni via El Morro New Mexico Highway 53 to a point south of San Rafael, where they crossed the Malpais, and thence to the pueblo over the route indicated, we arrive at a figure of 80 miles, one mile more than Escalante's 30 leagues!

Stopped by snow, the Spaniards stayed at Acoma through December 19.



## RESEARCH METHODS

The trail from Zuni to San Rafael was easily studied since it is very close to New Mexico Highway 53. Ernest W. Ortego and other officials at El Morro National Monument were helpful in checking their register for the names of the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition. Local inquiry at San Rafael provided information about El Ojo de Gallo. Some of our informants were located in an establishment known as the "Dominguez Bar" whose proprietor seemed unaware that another by his name had passed that way 199 years ago.

Inquiry at San Rafael and Grants failed to reveal any accurate information about old trail crossings of the Malpais. Leandro Garcia of Grants, and the Chamber of Commerce there as well as the district office of the Cibola National Forest, supplied useful information. A modern edition of the Whipple Survey has been edited by Grant Foreman, Pathfinder in the Southwest, the Itinerary of Lieutenant E. W. Whipple During His Explorations for a Railroad Route...1853 and 1854 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941). See his diary entry for November 16, 1853 (Some 77 years after Escalante) for his crossing of the "lava stream." Baldwin Mollhausen, Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific...(London, 1858. Reprinted by Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York and London, 1969) has a fuller account. See his Chapter 4. The atlas sheets of the Wheeler Survey, formally known as the U.S. Geographical Surveys West of the 100th Meridian, are invaluable for a study of old trails and roads.

The Malpais area has been completely mapped by the U.S. Geological Survey. One unimproved road is shown crossing the lava directly east of San Rafael. Another along a telephone line partially crosses the lava about five miles south of San Rafael. We would surmise that the old trail crossing would have been somewhere between these two, a position that would agree with the route shown on the Wheeler map.

The route from Zuni to San Rafael, Grants, and McCartys was studied by W.L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton on July 10, 1975.

The route from McCartys to Acoma was examined by W.L. Rusho and David E. Miller on April 27, 1974.

Maps consulted: AMS, Gallup, Albuquerque, Socorro; USGS quads Grants, San Rafael, Los Pilaes, Grants SE, McCartys, Crow Point, Acoma Pueblo; Quadrangle maps published by the New Mexico State Highway Department (hereinafter cited NMHD, followed by the sheet number) sheets 37, 38, 39, 52.

December 17-19 (No travel)

December 20

On the 20th we left Acoma for the mission of El Senor San Jose de la Laguna, where we arrived after traveling four leagues north. Today four leagues.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

From Acoma the Spaniards traveled north-northeast to the Pueblo of Laguna taking a route closely parallel to the present New Mexico Highway 23, which follows Acoma Creek through Acoma Valley. This route, "a long canada with mesas on either side" fits the description given by Dominguez in his Missions of New Mexico (p. 188. See full reference under Research Methods for Dec. 13-16, 1776). Interstate 40 intersects the old trail before it reaches the Rio San Jose. Turning down the Rio, the Spaniards in about four miles reached Laguna perched on a hill on the left bank of the Rio San Jose. Today's travelers on I-40 may enjoy a spectacular view of Laguna from a rest stop across the river from the pueblo.

Escalante appears to be in error in his mileage for the day. The distance between the two pueblos is about 16 miles, closer to six leagues than to four. Dominguez in his report on the Missions (Adams and Chavez, 1956) makes the same mistake.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This day's route was studied by W.L. Rusho and David E. Miller on April 27, 1974.

Maps consulted: AMS Albuquerque, Socorro; NMHD quadrangles 40, 51, 52; USGS quads Acoma Pueblo, South Butte, Laguna.

December 21 (No travel)

December 22

On the 22nd we left La Laguna, and after going six leagues east we halted at the site called El Alamo. Today six leagues.

## RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

After two days at Laguna, Dominguez and Escalante continued their journey, traveling six leagues for the day, nearly 16 miles, and camping at a place named El Alamo. This spot coincides with Whipple's El Alamo which he states is also known as Sheep Springs, a watering place mentioned by other travelers (See Foreman, ed., 1941, 120). Neither El Alamo nor Sheep Springs were found on any modern map, but Sheep Springs does appear on Wheeler's Atlas Sheet No. 77, published about 1879. The location, as given by Wheeler, would be approximately at the intersection of Interstate 40 and New Mexico Highway 6, which is 16 miles east-southeast (not east-northeast) from Laguna.

The single listed direction, east-northeast, has prompted a few previous

researchers into believing that the padres ascended Mesa Gigante, a 1,000 foot-high mesa that lies in that direction from Laguna Pueblo. Actually, the route only began in an east-northeast direction from Laguna; after a two-league circuit around a low hill, the trail turned east-southeast.

To reach El Alamo from Laguna the travelers would have followed the Santa Fe Railroad tracks down to the point where they intersect Interstate 40, then they would have followed the present freeway to the campsite.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

Participants in this day's study were W.L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton who, on July 10, 1975, traveled the entire distance by jeep on Interstate 40.

For references to Whipple's book and Wheeler's map, see Research and Interpretation notes attached to days December 13-16.

Maps consulted: AMS, Albuquerque, Socorro: NMHD quadrangles 40, 52; USGS quads Laguna, Mesita, Mesa Gigante, Dough Mountain, South Garcia.

#### December 23

On the 23rd we set out from here, and after going five leagues east, and four east-southeast, we arrived at the mission of San Agustin de la Isleta. Today nine leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

Part of a line in the Bolton translation has been omitted. The Chavez translation is complete. In describing the day's travel between El Alamo and the pueblo of Isleta, Escalante states that the party traveled five leagues east and four east-southeast.

Traveling five leagues eastward the padres would have stayed on a parallel course, but south of Interstate 15 until they reached the Puerco River, which is about 13-14 miles, or five leagues, from El Alamo, or Sheep Springs. At the Puerco they turned east-southeast and traveled about 14 miles, five and a quarter leagues, not four leagues.

The time allotted for study of this section of the Dominguez-Escalante Trail did not permit us to examine this day's route beyond short segments at either end. However, the Wheeler Atlas Sheet No. 77, published about 1879, shows a route that was probably very close to the trail followed by the Spaniards. This route can be superimposed on modern maps only in the most general terms. From the Rio Puerco, south of the Rio Puerco Trading Post (on Interstate 40), there are some unimproved roads that follow an east-southeast course to Isleta. The old trail would have crossed the long 500-foot-high mesa separating the Rio Puerco from the Rio Grande and it would

have stayed north of the lavacapped Wind Mesa west of Isleta.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

For want of time to make a detailed study in the field, the route was plotted after study of maps. Dominguez in his Missions of New Mexico 1776 is no help here. The Wheeler map shows a route but the scale is small. Consideration was given to the idea that the Spaniards may have followed down the Rio San Jose and thence down the Puerco, taking a route parallel to New Mexico Highway 6. But Escalante's directions and distances argue against this route.

This day's survey was made by W.L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton on July 10, 1975.

Maps consulted: USGS quads South Garcia, South Garcia (NE 1/4), Canoncito School, La Mesita Negra, La Mesita Negra SE, Dalies NW, Wind Mesa, Isleta; AMS Albuquerque, Socorro; NMHD quads 41, 52, 53.

December 24-27 (No travel)

December 28

On the 28th we left El Pueblo de la Isleta, and after going four leagues we arrived at the mission of San Francisco Xavier de Albuquerque. Today four leagues.

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

After spending Christmastide at Isleta the Spaniards journeyed to Albuquerque where they remained through December 29. In his Missions of New Mexico, 1776 (Adams and Chavez, 1956, p. 202) Dominguez tells us that the accustomed route was to follow the west bank of the Rio Grande, fording the river at Albuquerque, and we may assume that the padres on December 28 chose this way. Their route, probably very close to U.S. Highway 85, passes through ten miles of heavily populated area including Las Padillas, Parjarito, Armijo, and Atrisco.

The Albuquerque of Dominguez and Escalante was centered about a plaza now designated as "Old Town" which was much closer to the Rio Grande than the heart of the modern city to the east.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The ten miles of the trail was easily surveyed by jeep on paved highway

by W.L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton on July 10, 1975.

Maps consulted: NMHD quadrangles 41, 53.

December 29 (No Travel)

December 30

On the 30th we set out from here, and after going another four leagues we came to the mission of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores de Sandia. Today four leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

From Albuquerque to Santa Fe, Dominguez and Escalante, following well-used trails between the pueblos, stayed on the eastern side of the Rio Grande.

The Pueblo of Sandia, about 13 miles, closer to five than four leagues, was reached by a route closely parallel to New Mexico Highway 192 and U.S. Highway 85.

The church in Sandia is dedicated to San Antonio de Padua rather than Nuestra Senora de los Dolores. We learned that at one time both names were used, San Antonio applying to the mission for Indians and Dolores to the same mission as used by white settlers. About 150 years ago the mission Our Lady of Sorrows was transferred to nearby Bernalillo.

RESEARCH METHODS

W.L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton surveyed this section of the trail on July 9, 1975.

The Pueblo of Sandia was closed to photography and none was taken.

Maps consulted: NMHD quadrangel 41.

December 31

On the 31st we kept on going, and after traveling seven leagues we arrived at the mission of Nuestra Padre Santo Domingo. Today seven leagues.

RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

Continuing northward from Sandia, the padres stayed close to the tracks



of the Santa Fe Railroad and reached the Pueblo of Santo Domingo after traveling some 18 miles or seven leagues. Here they spent the last day of 1776 and the first of the new year.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

Santo Domingo may be reached by highway, five miles from U.S. Highway 85, and by an eight-mile graded road, which is probably very close to the Spaniards' trail, leaving U.S. Highway 85 about two miles above Angostura.

Survey of this day's journey was carried out by W.L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton on July 10, 1975.

The Pueblo of Santo Domingo is closed to photography without permission of the governor. No photographs were taken.

Maps consulted: NMHD quads 39, 41, 42.

January 1, 1777 (No travel)

January 2 and 3

On the 2nd of January of this year of '77 we reached La Villa de Santa Fe, after having set out from the mission just mentioned.

On the 3rd of January we presented this Diary, the painted token of the Lagunas which received mention therein, and the Laguna Indian. And because everything contained in this Diary is true and faithful to what occurred and was observed during our journey we do sign it on this same 3rd day of January of the year 1777.

Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez

Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante

#### RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

C. Gregory Crampton

On this day Dominguez and Escalante traveled about 25 miles from Santo Domingo to reach their home base at Santa Fe. Their route passed westward of U.S. Highway 85 and Canada de Santa Fe, ascending La Bajada Mesa. The ascent began--very steep for the first mile--at a point where La Bajada, a small trading community, was later founded. The trail turned eastnortheast north of present-day Santa Fe Airport and came into town on a close parallel with U.S. Highway 85.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The routing for this day was studied by W.L. Rusho and C. Gregory Crampton on July 10, 1975.

Walter Briggs of Santa Fe generously shared his knowledge of the Dominguez-Escalante Trail and divided reference materials. Fray Angelico Chavez shared valuable insights into the diary which he had recently translated.

Maps consulted: NMHD quads 30, 31: AMS Albuquerque, Santa Fe.



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