

SPANISH TRACES



The Southern Utes Prior to 1848

by James M. Jefferson

We Utes are the oldest continuous residents of the mountain West. The Spaniards called us “Yutas.” We were known as the “Black People” by the Cheyenne, “Rabbit Skin Robes” by the Omaha and Ponca, and “Deer Hunting Men” by the Zuni. We were respected and feared by the tribes surrounding us. The first horsemen of the New World, we were the last American Indian tribe confined to reservation life.

The Ute Indians’ traditional territory included much of Utah, Colorado, and northern New Mexico. Historically and linguistically a division is made between the western Utes, who occupied lands in today’s central Utah, and the eastern Utes, who were mountain people centered in the ranges and valleys of eastern Utah, today’s Colorado (their home today), and New Mexico. In pre-Hispanic times, eastern Ute territory also included eastern Colorado from the state line to Denver, western Kansas, the Oklahoma Panhandle, western Texas, and northern New Mexico from Tukumcari to the San

Juan River in northwestern New Mexico. In the colonial period and in the 19th century, the Spanish authorities in New Mexico recognized the Ute nation as having territory with definite boundaries. In northeast New

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Utes crossing river. *courtesy James Jefferson*

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THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

The Old Spanish Trail (OST), one of America's long distance pioneer trade routes, is our country's fifteenth National Historic Trail. From 1829 to 1848, traders and pack mules took the OST on a six-week trek from northern New Mexico to Southern California, where woolen goods from New Mexico were swapped for horses and pack stock raised on California's ranchos. Many took the trail – traders, frontiersmen and trappers, a handful of hardy families moving west, military expeditions, and Indian guides.

The mission of the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA) is to study, preserve, protect, interpret, and promote appropriate use of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail (OSNHT). OSTA promotes public awareness of the OST and its multicultural heritage through publications, a website, and interpretive activities; by encouraging research; and by partnering with governments and private organizations. We encourage you to join OSTA, help in trail preservation, and help increase appreciation of the multicultural heritage of the American Southwest.

Visit the OSTA Website

<http://www.oldspanishtrail.org>

The OSTA website is the place to go for both general background and recent news on the OST and OSTA. The site contains maps; an overview history of the OST, including a bibliography; a listing of relevant books, with links to sites where they can be purchased; and a regularly updated news page, containing links to government reports, activities of the OSTA membership, and other news relevant to the trail. The web page also links to NPS and BLM webpages, which have further links to public documents and to maps of the OST. Copies of the DVD of the *Old Spanish Trail Suite*, a CD of back issues of *Spanish Traces*, and several books can all be purchased online from the site.

Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association, a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. *ST* welcomes submission of letters, articles, book reviews, and OST related news. The next deadline for submissions is April 15, 2009.

All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the Co-editors and Publishers:

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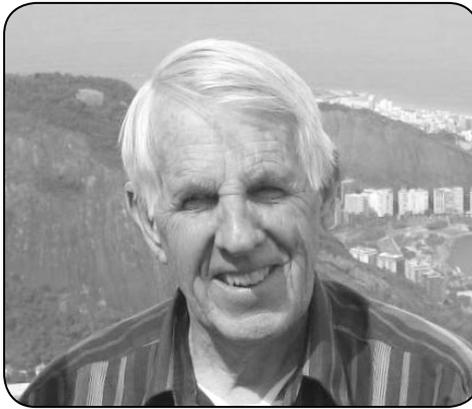
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President's Corner

From 1995 to the present, *Spanish Traces* has been blessed with the excellent editorial talents of Phil Carson, Judy Querfeld, Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter, and Deborah and Jon Lawrence. After four years of volunteer service, the Lawrences have submitted their resignation. We extend our thanks to them. I appeal to you for help in locating new editorial staff. The Lawrences have offered transition assistance to the editors who will replace them.

Election ballots for national officers and directors will arrive in your mail in about a month. If you wish to run for President, Secretary, Director from Colorado or New Mexico, Treasurer, or Vice President, send an e-mail to Wayne Hinton (hinton@suu.edu) to be listed as a nominee.

England beckons OSTA members. A tour of the Lake District with David Fallowfield is set for May 18-23, 2009. This was home to David and William Workman of OST fame, as well as the English Romantic poets Samuel Coleridge and William Wordsworth. We have

room for a few more travelers. Contact me at 719-873-5239 or douglasfir@gojade.org.

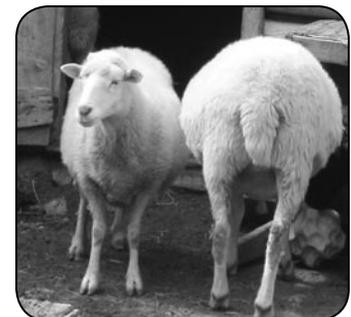
Ignacio, Colorado, will welcome OSTA's annual convention to the plush new Sky Ute Casino hotel on June 5-7. A registration packet is included with this issue of *Spanish Traces*.

For five Saturdays last November, the Taos Library featured talks about the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. A new series of lectures will be given in April and May. Consider asking your local library or museum whether they would be willing to offer a similar lecture series.

We need and appreciate your membership and participation. Volunteers continue to make progress in presenting our unique trail to the American public and foreign visitors.

I enjoy your letters, e-mails, and ideas. Keep them coming.

Douglas M. Knudson
OSTA President



Churro sheep at Las Golondrinas.
photo by Deborah Lawrence

From the Editors

Violence was endemic in the frontier West. No ethnic, cultural, or religious group can deny complicity in the violence that took place during the struggle for control of the West. Under these circumstances, we feel that it is best to present the history as accurately as possible and from multiple perspectives.

In this issue we present several articles from different viewpoints on the relations among Anglos, Indians, and Hispanics. James Jefferson, a Southern Ute, relates his people's history from pre-conquest to the end of the Mexican era. The article discusses the changing relations and conflicts among the Utes, the Spanish, and other Indian tribes. Next, we include a brief essay by the late Bruce Harley on the establishment of the first Indian mission in the San Bernardino area which indicates that while some of the Southern California Indians welcomed the mission, others led in its destruction. Marc Simmons relates the little-known story of the Valverde expedition, when the Spanish led a group of Pueblo Indians and Jicarilla Apaches against the Comanches and Utes in defense of the Jicarilla and Pueblo homelands. Finally, Leo Lyman writes of the change in attitude towards the Mojave Desert Indians from the era when the mountain men fought the Indians to a later era when more peaceful relations with the Paiutes were established.

One of the most exciting activities of the historic trails organizations is the determination of the actual locations of the old trails. In this issue, Bill Chenoweth returns to these pages with an article based on research he carried out with the late James Robb to locate the Salt Lake Wagon Road. The article includes a portion of the report by Henry Gannett on the Hayden expedition.

We include a review by Walter Drew Hill of Sacramento on Marc Simmons' recent book on Charles Lummis, a review by Santiago Cartwright of Santa Fe on the new book by Richard Flint on the Coronado expedition, John Robinson's review of Paul Spitzer's new book on the Workman and Temple families of Southern California, and our own review of the *Jamestown-Québec-Santa Fe* exhibit currently showing at the Albuquerque Museum.

After four years, we are turning over editorship of *Spanish Traces* to new editors, to whom we extend our best wishes. We thank OSTAns for the opportunity to have served as your editors. No publication is the product of a few people. The issues produced under our editorship have been bound up with the contributions of many others, and we thank all of you who have contributed to these pages. We especially want to thank Will Bagley, N. Scott Momaday, John Robinson, Marc Simmons, and David Weber.

We look back on the experience of editing *Spanish Traces* with gratitude for the new friendships it has brought us.

We would like to use the occasion to express an opinion about the organizations dedicated to the southwestern historic trails. In addition to OSTA, these include groups concerned with the Santa Fe Trail, the Camino Real from Santa Fe to Chihuahua, the Anza Trail, and the Southern Emigrant Trail to California; other important trails in the area are the Beale Wagon Road, the Butterfield Trail, and the Mormon Battalion Route. The membership in these groups is small, and the number of active participants is even smaller. This leads to problems in carrying out the organizations' missions to preserve, interpret, and educate the public about the historic trails. Indeed, it is difficult to even fill all the positions in these groups; for example, OSTA is currently seeking a president, vice president, treasurer, secretary, and two state directors. These problems are clearly exacerbated by the fact that the small membership is spread over several organizations. We feel that these groups should be working much more closely together, pooling manpower and financial resources, perhaps even combining, in pursuit of common goals. We expect that the need to do so will become even more apparent in the very near future.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

News from the Trail

OSTA 2009 Annual Conference:

The conference will be held at the Sky Ute Resort in Ignacio, CO, June 6-7, 2009. The schedule includes a meeting of the OSTA board on June 5, symposium speakers, the annual OSTA membership business meeting, and a banquet with entertainment on June 6, and field trips to local historic sites on June 7. OSTA's Colorado Director Pat Fluck is coordinating the event, with assistance from James Jefferson of the Southern Ute Nation. For updates, see the OSTA website at <http://www.oldspanishtrail.org/calendar.php>.

OSTA Tour of the Lake District, England:

The William Workman OSTA Chapter in Cumbria, England, carries on the legacy of William Workman, an emigrant from England to the U.S. in the early 1800's who followed the OST to California. From May 18 through 23, 2009, a group of OSTAns will visit the homeland of William Workman. David Fallowfield, a descendant of the Workman family, will guide the group to key points in the English Lakes District and in southern Scotland. Sites visited will include Bronze Age stone circles, Hadrian's Wall, Norman castles, old market towns, the home and grave of the Romantic poet William Wordsworth, and the Workman homestead. If you are interested in attending the tour, contact Doug Knudson at douglasfir@gojade.org. (719-873-5239).

Lecture Series on the OST in Taos, NM: In November 2008, five talks on the OST were given at the Taos Public Library. The Salida Del Sol Chapter has received a grant in the amount of \$5000.00 to be used for a series of ten speakers in the spring of 2009. The lecture series will be titled "Native American Origins of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail" and will be held in both Taos and Abiquíu, New Mexico, on ten Saturdays this March through May. The talks, which will be sponsored by the Taos Public Library, are being co-ordinated by Isabel Trujillo of Abiquíu and Lloyd Rivera of Taos. For further information, contact the library at (575) 758-3063.

OST exhibit at the Anasazi Heritage Center: The exhibit on the Old Spanish Trail, which was previously shown at Fort Lewis College and at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, will run through October 31, 2009, at the BLM's Anasazi Heritage Center in Dolores, Colorado. For information and directions, call (970) 882-5600 or visit the center's website at <http://www.blm.gov/co/st/en/fo/ahc.html>.

Armijo Chapter News: The Armijo Chapter is pleased to announce that John Crowther is the new Chapter Stewardship Officer. The duties of this new position will be to coordinate stewardship efforts through partnerships with local agency offices and to report on the Armijo Chapter's efforts to inventory and monitor activities related to the physical character of the

Old Spanish Trail. As outlined in OSTA's new Stewardship Program, each year an annual report will be produced that summarizes the chapter's stewardship activities. Crowther is a retired U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service fishery and research biologist living in Page, Arizona.

Grand Junction Developer Indicted: In an article in the Fall 2008 issue of *Spanish Traces*, H. Shelton and Victoria Gipson described efforts in the Grand Junction area to prevent destruction of an extant section of the Old Spanish Trail. The Shores LLC, a company formed by Mark Strodtman, petitioned the Grand Junction City Council in June 2008 to annex 18 acres on Orchard Mesa for possible development near the Old Spanish Trail. Recently, Strodtman has been charged with 23 counts of theft and forgery, including felony racketeering, and is scheduled for trial in June 2009. Homeowners accuse Strodtman and his associates of tricking them into buying homes out of their price range by falsifying documentation to approve their loans. Strodtman has been extradited back to Colorado after staying in Mexico since his grand jury indictment for mortgage fraud. He is being held in the Weld County Jail on \$12 million bond. For more details, see the *Grand Junction Free Press*, January 8, 2009, online at http://www.gjfreepress.com/article/20090108/COMMUNITY_NEWS/901079965/.

Reviews

No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada

Richard Flint

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2008.

ISBN-13: 978-0826343628.

376 pages, maps, charts.

Hardcover, \$29.95.

Richard Flint's *No Settlement, No Conquest* examines the 1540-1542 expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. Establishing enduring patterns of relationships between Europeans and Indians, the enterprise was the first organized penetration by Europeans into the American Southwest. Flint, a research associate in history at the Center for Desert Archaeology in Tucson, Arizona, has been researching Coronado for over 27 years. In this study, he draws from documentary and archaeological sources to explain how Coronado's expedition was conducted and what effects it had on the expeditionaries and on the indigenous peoples they encountered as they made their way from the western Mexican coast to the Kansas plains by way of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma.

In 1535, Coronado, son of a noble Spanish family, arrived in Mexico City. Not long before, Cortes had vanquished the Aztecs and Pizarro the Incas. Consequently, in 1539, when Franciscan missionary Fray Marcos de Niza brought back his *relacion* of a place called Cibola – a kingdom to the north reputed to have seven cities of gold – the public cried out for an immediate expedition and the viceroy sent Coronado to

explore this promising *tierra nueva*. Most people today, Flint asserts, appreciate only the clichéd version of Coronado's expedition – a small group of armored Spaniards with plumed helmets sent out by the King to look for gold. Flint's book attempts to reshape our understanding by retelling the story as it is supported by the historical record and by exposing past misinformation.

According to Flint, over the last decade researchers have greatly advanced our understanding of Coronado's expedition. And this reviewer is especially impressed by the plethora of detail that historians now have regarding the events of an expedition that occurred 470 years ago. Flint is able to piece together the lives of not just some of the Spaniards in the expedition, but a few of the Indian expeditionaries as well. In contrast to what has been traditionally thought, the Coronado expedition included a huge contingency of subjugated indigenous warriors. These Indian men increased the expedition's ability to subdue indigenous communities. They were also used as guides, frequently traveling ahead of the expedition and serving as translators and emissaries.

Flint places Coronado's expedition in the context of 16th-century Spanish conquest, underscoring the large number of *entradas* undertaken in the Western Hemisphere under Spanish direction. The leading participants in the expeditions were attracted by the possibility of earning lucrative *encomiendas*. According

to Flint, at least 18 members of the Coronado expedition became *encomenderos*. In his book, Flint discusses what the expeditionaries viewed as satisfactory for possible colonization, or considered to be unsuitable both with regard to the indigenous people and the landscapes they saw. He also discusses the significance of what they did not see and what they simply overlooked.

Well written and informative, Richard Flint's *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* demands the attention of readers interested in the history of the American Southwest and northwestern Mexico.

Santiago Cartwright

The Workman and Temple Families of Southern California, 1830-1930

Paul Spitzzeri

Dallas: Seligson Publishing, 2008.

ISBN: 978-09660528-9-3.

277 pages, photographs, map.

Paperback, \$20.99.

The Workman and Temple Families of Southern California, 1830-1930

is a multi-biographical sketch of the two families' rich contributions to Southern California history and their personal successes and occasional failures. Collections Manager at the Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum in City of Industry, California, Paul Spitzzeri spent more than a decade researching the subject. He has produced what is undoubtedly the definitive work on the these early

California families. His scholarship is thorough. In all, Spitzzeri's volume is much more than a biography of the two families; it is a rich history of Southern California, spanning a century of change.

Jonathan Temple (1798-1866), a Massachusetts trader, arrived in Los Angeles via Hawaii in 1827. He quickly proved his business acumen by engaging in the hide and tallow trade and opening the first general store in the small pueblo. He became a Mexican citizen, married Rafaela Cota in 1830, and acquired ownership of Rancho Los Cerritos in 1845. In 1841, Jonathan's younger brother, Francis Pliny Fisk Temple (1822-1880) reached Los Angeles. F.P.F., as he became known, joined the elder Temple in a number of business ventures. He married Antonia Margarita Workman in 1845, and the couple made their home at Rancho La Merced in the San Gabriel Valley.

Englishman William Workman (1799-1876) and his partner John Rowland (1791?-1873) travelled to Los Angeles via the Old Spanish Trail in 1841. The Rowland-Workman party is believed to be the first group of Anglos to travel the trail with the intent of settling in Southern California. Workman and Rowland were jointly granted Rancho La Puente, where they made their home and ventured into agriculture and wine producing.

Spitzzeri does not conclude his book with the deaths of William

Workman and Jonathan and F.P.F. Temple; he also includes the history of the descendents such as Boyle Workman (1868-1942), Los Angeles City Council member and author of a history of the city, and Walter Temple (1869-1938), real estate developer in Los Angeles and the San Gabriel Valley.

The Workman and Temple families played a significant role in Southern California's development from an isolated Mexican frontier region into a bustling American metropolitan area, home to several million people. Although agriculture, business, real estate development, local politics, and banking brought them and their descendents abundant wealth, they also suffered economic hardship, such as the failure of the Temple and Workman bank in 1875.

For readers with an interest in Southern California's heritage, *The Workman and Temple Families of Southern California, 1830-1930* is a must. Aficionados of the Old Spanish Trail will also enjoy the book.

John W. Robinson

Charles F. Lummis: Author and Adventurer

Marc Simmons
Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2008.
ISBN: 9780865346369.
120 pages, photographs.
Paperback \$16.95.

In the first chapter of this little book about Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859 -1928), historian

Marc Simmons includes a reprint of the long unavailable story of the friendship between Lummis and Amado Chaves (first published as *Two Southwesterners, Charles Lummis and Amado Chaves*, San Marcos Press, 1968). After suffering a paralytic stroke brought on by overwork, Lummis went to New Mexico to recuperate. He lived for a time with the Chaves family in their hacienda near the village of San Mateo, New Mexico, and developed his friendship with Amado Chaves. Over the years, Lummis and Chaves kept up a correspondence, and Simmons uses these letters as his primary source for *Two Southwesterners*. Simmons' description of his own association with Chaves' daughter and the discovery of the Lummis-Chaves papers provides readers with a glimpse of the ways in which a skillful historian comes across his primary sources.

In addition to the story of the Lummis-Chaves friendship, the present book contains an essay on Lummis as a photographer. The article, entitled "Cameras & Controversy," appeared in *New Mexico Magazine* (vol. 79, October 2001). An avid photographer, Lummis documented his travels across the Southwest, the Andes, Mexico, and Central America. He shot five-by-eight glass dry-plate negatives on his travels, and then later used the cyanotype process, a printing process

based on the light sensitivity of iron salts, to produce prints for retail sale. Simmons' *Charles F. Lummis* concludes with an original Lummis letter, a tribute to his son who died at the age of six, and the notice of Lummis' death in 1928.

Between 1890 and 1900, Lummis published seven books about the Southwest: an autobiographical account, *A Tramp across the Continent* (1892); two tour books – *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (1892) and *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1893); and four books of folklore – *A New Mexico David and Other Stories and Sketches of the Southwest* (1891), *The Man Who Married the Moon and Other Pueblo Indian Folk-Stories* (1894), *The Enchanted Burro* (1897), and *The King of the Broncos and Other Stories of New Mexico* (1897). In addition to promoting the Southwest in general, he was a crusader for the Spanish heritage of California. He was editor of the *Daily Times*, chief librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library, editor of *Land of Sunshine* (later retitled *Out West*), and founder of the Southwest Museum. A flamboyant figure with an incredible amount of energy, Lummis continues to fascinate readers with an interest in the Southwest.

Written in a smooth-flowing style, Simmons' *Charles F. Lummis: Author and Adventurer* will appeal to students of southwestern culture.

Walter Drew Hill

Jamestown, Québec, Santa Fe: Three North American Beginnings

An exhibit at the Albuquerque Museum.

All too often American students are taught that our history begins with the isolated incident of the first permanent English settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. However, almost simultaneously with the settling of Jamestown, the French established Québec (1608) and the Spanish colonized Santa Fe (1609). And, in contrast to what many maintain, the settlement process was not simply a westward movement, but an expansion from many different directions. The current exhibition at the Albuquerque Museum, *Jamestown, Québec, Santa Fe: Three North American Beginnings*, illustrates the complexity and the diversity of our nation's origins. Co-organized by the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History and the Virginia Historical Society, this exhibition commemorates the 400th anniversary of the three settlements. Using more than 130 Native and European artifacts, maps, documents, and ceremonial objects, it encourages viewers to understand the alliances and conflicts between Europeans and Indians – especially the Powhatans, Algonquians, Huron, and Pueblos – living in three disparate regions of North America.

The exhibition's maps illustrate the French expansion south from the St. Lawrence Valley down the Mississippi to Louisiana, the settling of the English from Virginia north to New England and south to Carolina, and, following the settlement of New

Mexico, the ventures of the Spanish into Arizona and Texas. The artifacts establish significant commonalities and differences among the three European groups. These artifacts include a 1622 broadside which advises prospective settlers on what to pack for their trip to Virginia, a Huron wampum belt, a Spanish sword from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and a wood cup used by a voyageur or *coureur des bois*.

For those exhibition visitors who are interested in a more thorough study of these three permanent settlements, these reviewers strongly recommend the exhibition catalog of essays (*Jamestown, Québec, Santa Fe: Three North American Beginnings* by James Kelly and Barbara Clark Smith. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian, 2007). OSTAns will be interested to know that historian David Weber, the author of many publications, including *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, authored the book's essay on Santa Fe. Featuring numerous photographs of the artifacts from the exhibit, the book makes an excellent reference on the developments of the early settlement in the New World.

The traveling exhibition will be on display until March 29, 2009, at the Albuquerque Museum, 2000 Mountain Road NW, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87104 (www.cabq.gov/museum). After that, it will move to the Smithsonian International Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution, 1100 Jefferson Drive SW, Washington D.C. 20560 (www.smithsonian.edu).

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Mission San Gabriel's First Outpost at San Bernardino

by *Bruce Harley*

In 1932, the Arrowhead Daughters of the American Revolution placed a plaque commemorating the San Bernardino *asistencia*, which was the first mission outpost established with the San Bernardino name. This plaque was commissioned to satisfy the public's revived interest in the Mission Era and in San Bernardino's role in the early nineteenth century before the region became American territory.

The area covered by the new acquisition included what later became Colton, Loma Linda, San Bernardino, and Redlands, as well as other cities along today's I-10 corridor. There were two colonies of natives in this area – the Serrano north of the Santa Ana River and the Cahuilla to the south. Every two years or so, beginning about 1805, missionaries followed an old Indian trail east to the area in order to convert more Indians and to check on existing converts. After more than ten years of conversion activity, the Indians approached the padres and asked to be taught how to care for cattle and crops. The padres at Mission San Gabriel responded to their request by helping them establish stock-raising and agriculture at the Guachama Ranchería (California Registered Historical Landmark #95). This *ranchería*, which lay along what is now

Mission Road in Loma Linda, was re-named "San Bernardino" by Father Francisco Dumetz in 1819.

The first structure built at the San Bernardino Rancho was a large adobe building completed in 1821. It was located a mile and a half west of today's *asistencia*, on the north side of Mission Road. The building stood some 70 yards north of the 1932 plaque. It was used as a storehouse for foodstuffs harvested from what was grown under the padres' supervision. In addition, the building contained living quarters for the on-site manager (*mayordomo*). There were also accommodations for visiting priests and other passers-by, such as American explorer Jedediah Smith, who visited the rancho in January 1827.

No chapel was built in the storehouse. Rather, as at many other small mission outposts, an *enramada* was constructed of boughs as a cover for the altar. Worshippers would either stand or sit on blankets during services. At about the time the storehouse was completed, a framework of small stones was built. This improved *enramada* still stands today just north of the 1932 plaque. A *yanja*, which still exists in the Redlands area, was also constructed to convey water from the mountains for irrigation.

The ranching/farming enterprise did so well in the 1820's that two priests, Fathers Mariano Payeres and Jose Bernardo Sanchez, decided to undertake

construction of today's *asistencia*, at a location about one and a half miles to the east of the storehouse. Although construction was begun in 1830, it had not been completed in 1834 when the San Gabriel Mission outpost was abandoned after an attack by hostile Indians.

Meanwhile, farming continued at the site of the original headquarters under the supervision of Francisco Aivarada, who lived there from 1826 until late 1834. After that time, some of the Indians tried to ranch and farm as best they could, but they gave up when their cattle were stolen by renegades.

Eventually, the area was taken over by American farmers. The large storehouse structure that had been built in 1821 was torn down in 1875. Some time before 1900, the space was used to build a house which is still standing. The *asistencia* was restored in the 1930's, but all that commemorates the storehouse – which was the first mission site in the San Bernardino Valley – is the plaque that was erected in 1932. Recently, the farming land across Mission Road from the plaque was converted to a large housing tract. The new residents have the unique claim of living on the first land settled in San Bernardino Valley nearly two centuries ago. The plaque still stands as a reminder of the early 1800's activity in the valley.

A Portion of the North Branch Became the Salt Lake Wagon Road

by William L. Chenoweth

The Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories was one of the four great surveys the Federal Government established after the Civil War to explore the American West. This survey was commonly called “The Hayden Survey” after its director, Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden. Between 1872 and 1877, the men of the Hayden Survey mapped the geology and topography of most of the Colorado Territory and a small portion of the eastern Utah Territory.

During the 1875 field season in west central Colorado, Henry Gannett, topographer of the Grand River Division, described a Salt Lake wagon road that ran between Ouray, Colorado, and the crossing of the Green River in Utah. This description of watering spots, camping places, and sketches of the fords of the Gunnison, Grand (Colorado), and Green Rivers was published in 1877 in Hayden’s annual report to the Secretary of the Interior. Gannett mentioned that an additional 142 miles of the wagon road from the Green River to Salina, Utah, had been described by Alvin H. Thompson of the Powell Survey. At Salina, the wagon road joined another wagon road that connected Salt Lake City to Cedar City, Utah.

The purpose of the Salt Lake wagon road was to bring supplies to the Uncompahgre Indian Agency and to the mining camp at Ouray, thus avoiding a winter route through the Rocky Mountains. The route of the wagon road from Ouray to the western limit of Gannett’s mapping at longitude 109° 30’ is shown on a topographic base map, Sheet VII, in the Hayden Atlas, which was published in 1881.

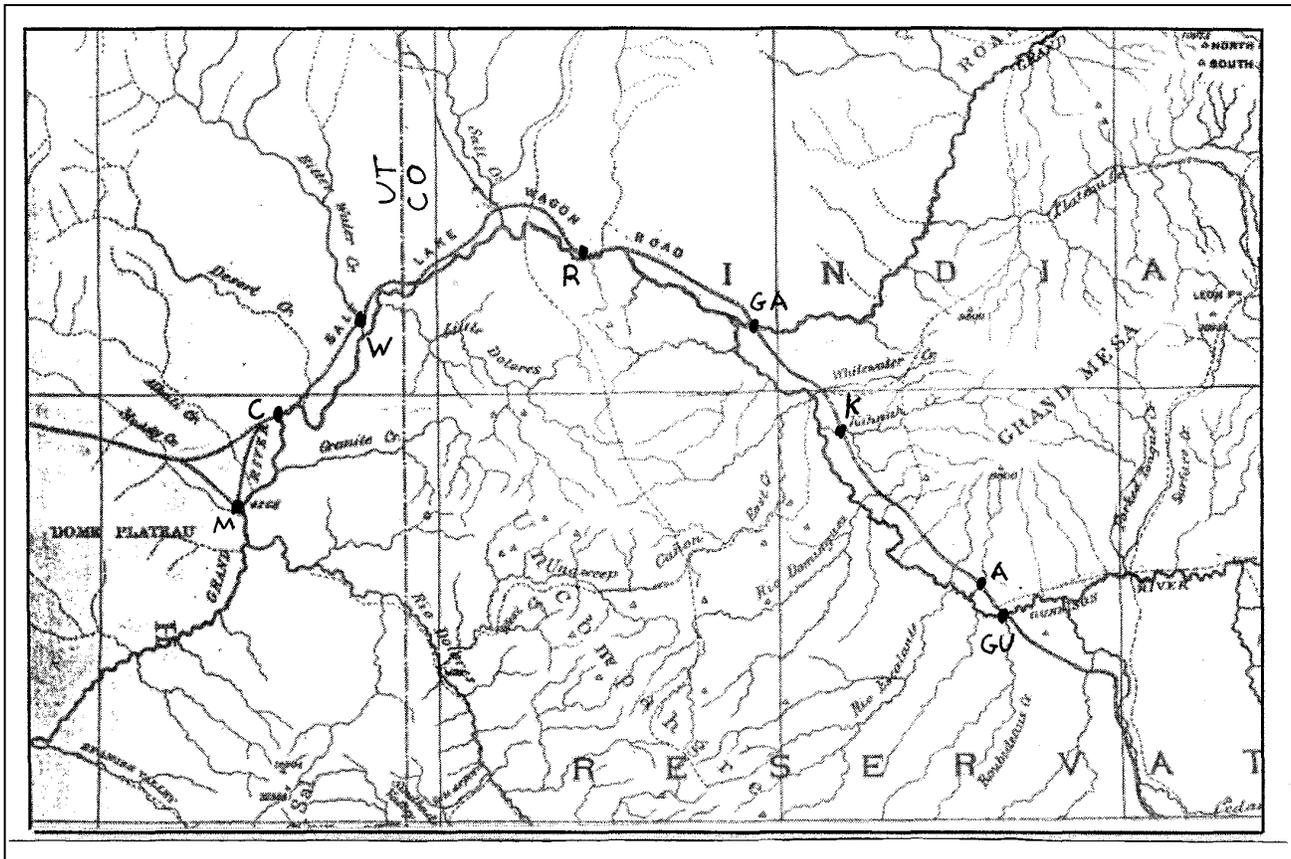
In 1878, U.S. Surveyor, Rollin J. Reeves, after traveling on the Old Spanish Trail in southeastern Utah, recorded in his field notes:

The only other road we encountered was what was known as the Old Salt Lake wagon-road. This in better condition, has been considerably traveled and worked. It was first built by U.S. Troops, many years ago, and has been much used since. This road is the main thoroughfare between Colorado and Utah.

After reviewing Gannett’s data, the author and the late James Robb applied for and received a mini grant from the Colorado Historical Fund to research historic trails in the Grand Junction area. We found that during 1880-1883, the area of Colorado between Mack and Delta was surveyed to establish a land grid. Township plats of these surveys showed the exact location of the Salt Lake wagon road. We then plotted the location of the road on U.S. Geological Survey topographic quadrangles. Where no plats showed the road, Gannett’s 1881 map was enlarged to the scale of the topographic maps. After

studying the reports and journals of the early expeditions, obtained via inter-library loans, we determined that most of the places Gannett had mentioned in his log had been used by other expeditions. Mileages mentioned between places in some reports matched Gannett’s mileages. In a report summarizing our research, the author concluded that the Salt Lake wagon road in Mesa and Delta Counties, Colorado, and in Grand County, Utah, was the route of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. The Colorado State Historian’s office agreed with this conclusion.

Today, from near the crossing of the Gunnison River westward to Whitewater, Colorado, the wagon road is paved over by U.S. Highway 50. From Whitewater a graveled road follows the route of the wagon road northward to the Orchard Mesa area. Within the city of Grand Junction, a historical marker at 2825 Unaweep Avenue is at the head of the arroyo leading to the ford of the Colorado River. Also within the city, beginning at the intersection of 25 Road with U.S. Highways 6 and 50, the latter route follows the route of the wagon road northwestward to Mack, Colorado. Southwest of Mack, the Kokopelli Mountain bike trail in the McInnis Canyons National Conservation Area was the route of the wagon road into Utah. According to Lloyd M. Pierson, Moab historian, the abandoned roadbed of Highways 6 and 50 was probably the route of the wagon road from Cisco, Utah, westward to the Green River.



Map of the Salt Lake Wagon Road. *courtesy Bill Chenoweth*

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DESCRIPTION OF THE SALT LAKE WAGON ROAD: OURAY, COLORADO, TO THE GREEN RIVER, UTAH

by Henry Gannett, Topographer, U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories

Source: Gannett, Henry. "Geography and Topography, Grand River Division." U.S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of the Territories, 9th Annual Report, Washington, D.C. (1877): 335-350.

[Italic type: Editorial additions by Bill Chenoweth.]

Cumulative Mileage	Ouray, Colorado Territory
0	<p>28 miles – The road follows the eastern bank of the Uncompahgre to a point two or three miles above the junction of the Dallas Fork, where it turns back from the river, and after winding among the hills for a few miles, returns to the river in the cañon. The rest of the distance it follows the river, crossing it three times. These fords, and especially the second one, are dangerous in times of high water, and to avoid these a branch has been prospected. This, leaving the main road above the mouth of the Dallas Fork, crosses the Uncompahgre and this stream, climbs the high cañon wall by terrific grades, and then keeps along the plateau, descending by easy grades to the agency.</p> <p>There are good camping places everywhere on each branch of the road as far as the agency, where grass and wood are scarce.</p>
28	<p>Uncompahgre Indian Agency</p> <p>11 miles – The road follows the river on the western bank.</p>
39	<p>Ford of Uncompahgre River where the road to the Los Pinos Indian Agency crosses. <i>[This would be the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail to the Gunnison Area.]</i></p> <p>28 miles – The road keeps along the western bank, or near it, to a point about half a dozen miles for the mouth of the Uncompahgre, where it leaves it and bears off northwestward to the Gunnison, which it crosses at the mouth of Roubideau's Creek.</p>
67	<p>Gunnison River – In spring and early summer this ford is too deep to be practicable. The bottom is of pebbles and is perfectly hard. There are plenty of cottonwoods on each shore for the construction of rafts. There are good camping places on each side of the river at this point; also all along the Uncompahgre. <i>[Forded by these expeditions: Lt. Beale 7/18/1853, Capt. Gunnison 9/17/1853, Col. Loring 8/20/1858, Capt. Marcy 11/8/1857, Lt. Humphrey 11/15/1878.]</i></p> <p>3 miles – <i>[Road heads northwesterly.]</i></p>
70	<p>Small stream with running water but no wood. <i>[On today's maps this drainage is named Alkaki Creek. Lt. Humphrey camped here 11/14/1878.]</i></p> <p>19 miles – The road follows the general course of the Gunnison, keeping from one-to-three miles from it on the east side.</p>

89	<p>Kannah Creek – A fine stream of excellent water, where there is good grass and wood. [<i>On today's maps this drainage is spelled "Kannah Creek." The Beale expedition camped here 7/18/1853, Gunnison 9/18/1853. Drainage was recorded as Leroux's Creek by Loring on 8/18/1858.</i>]</p> <p>13 miles – Between the Gunnison and the Grand are two or three steep hills. The course of the road in this section might be changed to advantage in several places, with a gain both in distance and grades.</p>
102	<p>Grand River is bordered on the south side for several miles above and below the ford by precipitous bluffs. The road follows down an arroyo, the only one for miles which cuts to the level of the river, and which reaches the river most opportunely at the end of a long riffle. The ford is on the head of this riffle. A sketch of it is given, showing the widths and depths in September. This ford can be used all the year, except, perhaps, during the spring freshets. The bottom is perfectly hard, being of pebbles. On the north bank, which is low, there is plenty of wood, but grass is scarce.</p> <p>[<i>Forded by Lt. Brewerton and Carson 6/5/1849, Capt. Marcy 11/5/1857, Col. Loring 8/17/1858, Lt. Humphrey 11/13/1878.</i>]</p> <p>20 miles – Road follows the Grand River pretty closely, along this portion of the route the river is in a broad bottom, where wood is plenty, water accessible; but, except in a few places, grass is scarce.</p>
122	<p>Grand River enters a low canyon. [<i>This is Horsethief Canyon. Reed Wash enters river at this point. Gunnison filled canteens here 9/21/1853. Loring camped here 8/16/1858.</i>]</p> <p>30 miles – Road winds among the hog-backs 2 or 3 miles back from it, and the river cannot be reached. [<i>Road is northeast of the river.</i>]</p>
152	<p>Grand River – There is plenty of wood, and a mile or thereabouts from it is good grass, but little or none at the river. [<i>This area was mapped as the Bitter Creek area by Gannett, now known as Westwater. The following expeditions camped here: Beal 7/22/1853, Gunnison 9/22 -25/1853, Loring 8/12-14/1858.</i>]</p> <p>15 miles – [<i>Road northwest of river.</i>]</p>
167	<p>Grand River – Wood and grass are scarce. [<i>This is the Cisco Landing area. Beale rested here 7/23/1858. Loring camped here 8/11/1858.</i>]</p> <p>65 miles – Main wagon road leaves the Grand striking off a course generally west toward the Green River. Between the Grand and Green River there is no permanent water along the route. Still, rain-water is found at several points in holes, where it remains for several days. Grass is, also, very scarce along the portion of the route.</p>
232	<p>Green River – At the ford there is plenty of wood and grass. Most of the year it is an easy ford, but a slight deviation from the route takes one into deep water. The deepest part is on the east of the sandbar, where, in November, its water nearly reaches the hubs of the wheels. The bottom is of pebbles and perfectly hard. [<i>Forded here: Brewerton and Carson 6/3/1848, Beale 7/25/1853, Gunnison 10/1/1853, Loring 8/7/1858.</i>]</p> <p>[<i>From the Cisco Landing area, Gannett recorded:</i>] A branch of the road, however, continues down the river 12 miles further, to a point where water is accessible and there is plenty of good grass and wood. Thence by a northerly course this branch rejoins the main road. [<i>This would be the McGraw Bottom. Col. Loring rested here 8/11/1858.</i>]</p>

United Against a Hostile Force: The Valverde Expedition of 1719

by *Marc Simmons*

To readers of colonial New Mexico history, the names of Coronado, Espejo, Oñate, Vargas, Escalante, and De Anza are quite familiar. Not so another name, that of Governor Antonio de Valverde (1717-1722) who led a grand expedition against the Comanches and the Utes in 1719.

At the beginning of the century, those two allied tribes migrated from the northwest into the southern Rockies. Their first hostilities against the Spanish and Pueblos occurred in the Taos area in 1704. A series of small raids followed. Then in July 1719, the Comanches struck hard at Taos and Cochiti pueblos, killing a number of residents. That awakened Valverde to the serious nature of this new threat. Fueling his concern also were reports that Comanches supported by Utes were invading the eastern buffalo plains, displacing the Jicarilla Apaches, nominal allies of the Spanish. Officers in the Santa Fe presidio warned the governor that an army should be sent against these enemies “to punish them for their grave robberies and atrocities.” Valverde agreed. Coinciding with preparations for launching a punitive expedition, he received a letter from the viceroy in Mexico City, instructing him to investigate rumors that Frenchmen were advancing towards New

Mexico from the Mississippi Valley. The governor was also told to give aid to the Jicarilla Apaches, suffering at the hands of Comanches.

Valverde detached 60 soldiers from the presidio and added 45 settlers who “offered voluntarily to serve His Majesty on this campaign.” Some 30 Pueblo Indians came in, fully armed, and also volunteered. The force then moved north to Taos where the final muster was held. A large number of Taos Indians and local Spanish citizens signed on, among them two men who spoke Apache and enlisted as interpreters.

In proper formation, the expedition threaded its way through the Sangre de Cristos and emerged upon the edge of the plain near today’s Cimarron. At once the army began to encounter Jicarilla Apaches scattered in adobe houses along the stream courses, some of the buildings terraced in multistories, pueblolike. The Indians were raising corn and beans and irrigating their crops, practices perhaps borrowed from the eastern-most pueblos of Taos, Picuris, and Pecos with whom the Apaches regularly traded. They welcomed the Spaniards and to them complained loudly of the Utes and Comanches who recently had killed 60 of their people and kidnapped numerous of their women and children. According to Valverde’s official diary, when he announced to the Apaches that the Spaniards were on their way to attack the raiders, there was

universal rejoicing among their people. The governor, as he would later inform the viceroy, was well pleased with his reception, which included a display of crosses by the Indians. Many took up their weapons and joined him on the march.

In 1978, I found archeologists James and Dolores Gunnerson excavating one of the Apache pueblo houses on the Vermejo River east of Cimarron. The foundations and pieces of the lower wall that remained were no doubt part of a structure seen by the 1719 expedition.

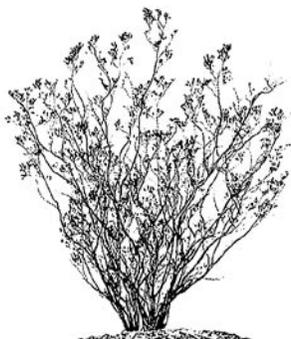
The fighting men continued on to Raton Pass where they crossed over into Colorado. Angling towards the northwest, they reached the Arkansas River, calling it by the Indian name Rio Napestle. Various other divisions of the Apaches that they met along the way cheered them heartily. Mindful of his instructions to win them over fully to the Spanish cause, the governor passed out gifts of tobacco, chocolate, and parched corn. As he would later write the viceroy, “I found the Jicarillas very close to embracing our holy faith. They only lack priests to teach and convert them. They work hard and have always maintained friendship with us.”

Descending the river, Valverde met a horde of Apaches numbering, he guessed, a thousand men, women, and children. From them, he learned that Frenchmen were indeed on the high plains and

had even established a couple of small settlements. On the other hand, during the hundreds of miles traversed from Santa Fe, not a single Comanche or Ute had been spotted. We can guess that those Indians had kept a careful watch over the enormous cavalcade and gave the Spaniards no opportunity for battle. Therefore, along the middle Arkansas near present-day La Junta, Valverde gave up on that, the most important part of his mission, and returned home.

Today, the significant aspect of the whole affair can be found in Valverde's campaign diary, buried in the archives until its discovery in 1935. The document contains valuable details on the economy and customs of the plains Apaches. It also shows a typical example of Indians attacking Indians, and Spaniards intervening in a bid to stop the aggression.

From *The New Mexican*, December 6, 2009, C1. Reprinted with permission of the author.



Relations Between Native Americans and Anglo-Americans on the Western Half of the Old Spanish Trail, 1825-1870: A Study in Contrasts

by Edward Leo Lyman

The Southern Paiutes and Chemehuevi tribesmen, who were close to each other in language and lifestyle, occupied virtually all of the lands along the western half of the Old Spanish Trail, along with the more distantly related neighboring Mohave Indians. These tribes usually had strained associations with Anglo-American mountain men, the fur trappers who were the first of their countrymen to traverse the area. This may have been partly a result of competition for the same fur-bearing animals. However, it was also due to the lack of respect the trappers held for most of the region's native inhabitants, and the trappers' disregard for proprietary claims the Indians attempted to assert against those traveling through what they rightly considered to be their domain. Many of the American emigrants who utilized the trail after 1848, when the U.S. government acquired the region from Mexico, continued to hold such negative attitudes towards the Indians. Others, including members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commenced a tradition of more fair and humane treatment of the Indian inhabitants along the same important travel route.

In 1826, Jedediah S. Smith, the great Anglo-American explorer-trapper, blazed a trail from central Utah to the lower Colorado River area around Needles, California. This effectively opened the middle third of the historic Old Spanish Trail. The western third of the route, which headed from the Mohave villages through the California desert toward the Pacific Ocean, had been explored earlier by Father Francisco Garcés. Initially, Smith's relations with the Native Americans were mainly cordial. The following year, when he brought another brigade of trappers along the same route, the Mohaves had become sufficiently hostile to perpetrate a surprise attack. They killed ten of Smith's force of eighteen; the others narrowly escaped, including some who were injured.¹

Smith's troubles probably stemmed from a visit to the Mohave villages by Ewing Young, James Ohio Pattie, and other trappers based in Taos, New Mexico, shortly after Smith's first visit to the area. The new animosity clearly was due to the Young-Pattie group's exploitation of fur resources that the Mohaves considered exclusively their own. When the Taos trappers arrived, an Indian – whom Pattie assumed to be a chief or headman – visited their camp and by sign language demanded a horse. When the mountain men refused, he pointed to the Colorado River and then to the packs on the horses and mules, indicating that because the beaver pelts had been trapped in the Mohave domain, compensation was needed.

Although the Anglo-Americans might have considered this to be a legitimate request for payment for the use of Mohave resources, it was rejected by the Young-Pattie group. The Native American reportedly turned and thrust his spear through one of the horses, whereupon the fur trappers shot him. Expecting that this action would provoke further retaliation, the Anglo-Americans constructed breastworks. When the Mohaves charged with a flurry of arrows, the trappers returned rifle fire and then counterattacked. Pattie reported 16 Indians dead. When the Mohaves retreated, the trappers escaped, leaving mounting animosity to be faced by the next of their countrymen to enter the area.² This turned out to be Jed Smith's previously mentioned second overland party.

This episode established the pattern of hostility that prevailed in the region between Native Americans and the predominantly Anglo-American fur trappers, including some who later led government explorers, soldiers, surveyors, and emigrants. Although a measure of distrust doubtless existed previously, the stubborn refusal of Ewing Young's group to respectfully consider the request for reimbursement for resources taken – beaver pelves – established the precedent for subsequent practices and conflict. In Contrast, Native Americans understood the general principle of payment for the privilege of use of resources and for goods received. And when willing payment was

not forthcoming, many adopted the practice of taking payment by stealing and wounding livestock as a means of collecting legitimate toll fees.

Accounts of these negative incidents and retaliations spread to other tribes. In particular, the Southern Paiutes, who inhabited a large area in proximity to the Old Spanish Trail, and who were in frequent contact with Mohave Indians, were definitely influenced by such news.

In the years after initial contact with Anglo-American mountain men, the Hispanic-dominated annual pack mule trade expeditions from Santa Fe to Los Angeles over the Old Spanish Trail led to the more contact and conflict with Native Americans in the region. Most unfortunate for relations with the Indians was the slave trade, primarily in Paiute women and children, conducted by Hispanics and other Indian groups, such as Utes, on both ends of the Old Spanish Trail. Indians, as well as renegade mountain men, participated in horse stealing raids on California ranchos, bringing the horses back to New Mexico over the Old Spanish Trail. Some of these raids were of huge proportions, one involving 5,000 head. On the other hand, there is little documentation of armed conflict between the pack trains and Indians, or of usage fees being paid for travel over the Indians' territories. It is known, however, that Ute Chief Wakara exacted tolls on annual caravans as they

entered his domain in south-central Utah.³ His dominance in that area also probably explains the lack of recorded negative incidents on that segment of the trail.

There is one perplexingly brief reference in the historical record to violence during the pack-train era that preceded the Mexican War. When the Henry G. Boyle company of the Mormon Battalion was returning from Rancho del Chino, California, they encountered the remains of a massacre of one of the last pack mule companies to travel over the historic trail. One of the Boyle group apparently recounted the experience to William B. Lorton, who was staying at Salt Lake City the subsequent season prior to traveling to California by the Southern Route. Lorton recorded that the Boyle company discovered the remains of a "pack company," doubtless Hispanic, which had presumably been killed by Native Americans since they had "throats cut with stone knives." The Mormons buried the remains of the undisclosed number of victims.⁴

Of all of the Anglo-American companies that travelled over the route during the era when Mexico still held nominal sway over the region, the best known and perhaps most influential for developing the Indians' negative view toward American citizens was the 1844 expedition of John C. Frémont. Guided by Kit Carson, this group followed almost the entire Old Spanish Trail as the group headed eastward that year.

Just as the company was about to leave the Mojave River near present-day Yermo, California, they encountered two mounted Mexicans, Andres Fuentes and Pablo Hernandez, who had survived an Indian attack. Hernandez was a mere boy; his parents had been killed in the attack near Resting Springs, some three days' travel farther east along the trail. The two escapees had successfully driven some of their horses away from the scene of death and had left them at Bitter Springs, just a day's ride from where they met Frémont.

Upon being apprised of the situation, Carson and a companion, Alex Godoy, volunteered to go in pursuit of the attackers. When they reached the Bitter Springs area, Carson and Godoy discovered that Indians had driven away the animals. The scouts concluded that these animals had been stolen. Carson and Godoy followed the tracks by moonlight into the rugged nearby mountains. As daylight approached, they neared an Indian encampment of four lodges. They eased themselves toward the sleeping Indians. When their approach was discovered, the former mountain men charged toward the camp and were met by a flight of arrows. They returned fire. After this initial onslaught, Godoy and Carson observed two warriors lying on the ground. Taking out their knives, they scalped the two fallen men. In the process, they discovered that one of the victims was not dead. The victim jumped to his feet and was promptly killed. When Carson

and Godoy returned to camp, Frémont congratulated them on the success of their raid.⁵ Not so the cartographer-artist, Charles Preuss, who would remember and regret the bloody business the rest of his life. Indeed, it was a ruthless, senseless slaughter, as even Frémont's biographers admit.⁶

Southern Paiutes occupied most of the lands surrounding the Old Spanish Trail from the vicinity of the incident all the way into present-day Utah. The victims' distant fellows got word of the incident, and when the opportunity arose, they retaliated in kind. At the Muddy River, near present Glendale, Nevada, Paiutes from the Moapa band actually came into Frémont's camp. They remained for some time, exhibiting hostile gestures, particularly towards Carson. Several days later, as Frémont's party struggled along the Virgin River to the point where Littlefield, Arizona, is now located, animal wrangler Baptiste Tabeau went back on the trail to retrieve a lame mule. When he did not return promptly, Carson sensed the worst. His apprehension was confirmed when he sighted smoke rising from a nearby cottonwood grove. Investigators found the dead mule and considerable blood, but never found the man's body. Nobody doubted Tabeau's fate. There was considerable talk of avenging the murder. This was ironic considering that it was highly likely that the Indians were themselves acting to avenge the earlier murder of the two Indians by Carson and Godoy.

Later, tracks of an Indian were discovered near the expedition's horses. When the alarm sounded, several of Frémont's men started in search of the man who had left the tracks. Finally sighting him in the distance, one of the search party took a desperate shot with a long rifle. Several companions attested he wounded the Native American, who kept on running. A decade later, somewhere along the Santa Clara River, Portuguese-Jewish traveler Solomon Carvalho encountered a Paiute with a limp. The Indian claimed that one of Frémont's men had shot him during the earlier 1844 expedition. The man demonstrated abundant hatred for the earlier American group.

In 1851, a huge Mormon emigration of 150 wagons, divided into subgroups of 10, headed over the western half of the Old Spanish Trail to Southern California, where they planted the San Bernardino colony. They, too, faced Native American pilfering. The Indians wounded livestock, which they then slaughtered after the emigrants abandoned the animals. However, when the Mormon leader, Amasa M. Lyman, learned at Las Vegas that one of his subgroups had retaliated and possibly killed several Native Americans, he gathered the group and chastised some for a "general spirit of recklessness." This appears to have initiated a more positive treatment of Indians, who in consequence began to differentiate between Mormons and "Mericats," accepting the former as consistent friends.⁷

Over the ensuing six years, Lyman traveled over the entire route almost yearly, each time interacting with the Native Americans that he encountered in a friendly way. He often engaged them to watch his livestock through the night. He felt that by doing this, he paid less than what many others lost when the Indians stole their animals. In 1858, as the church leader passed through the Virgin River vicinity, he attempted to elicit cooperation from the Paiute headman, Tosho, by leaving a store of grain for the chief to protect until his return. Lyman explained this was done not only for convenience but also “in order to prove Tosho and find out whether he can be trusted.” In addition, the Mormons paid some Paiutes a supply of biscuits to assist them in pulling their conveyances up the difficult Virgin Hill.⁸

In 1853, Edward F. Beale led a government reconnaissance party through the Great Basin. Although this was a time when many Utes were particularly hostile, the party encountered no problems. At one Paiute village, Beale’s cousin and scribe, G. H. Heap, discovered a naked little boy hiding under a large basket, with teeth chattering in terror. The boy had presumably heard of slave-taking all his young life. Revealingly, on this portion of the journey, one of Beale’s Hispanic employees suggested that the group kill the Native American men and take the women and children captive to sell in California. Although Beale’s group rejected this proposal, the incident shows that the slave-taking sentiment still persisted in some circles.⁹

In the same year, several groups, including some who were driving sheep to California, proved quite hostile to Native Americans in Utah and beyond. Thomas Hildreth exhibited consistent animosity and inflammatory language towards the Native Americans. His associates killed an old Pavant band Ute Chief, Toniff, who was in their camp simply to trade. Toniff’s sons and their friends later massacred the railroad surveyor Captain John W. Gunnison and six companions in retaliation for the murder of the chief. Farther down the trail, a larger party led by W. W. Hollister and an associated group led by Timothy Flint lost livestock to Native Americans. They commenced shooting any Indians who showed themselves on distant hillsides, thereby conveying the message that the Indians had better not approach closer.¹⁰

Five years later, Silas Cox, a Mormon freighter who resided at San Bernardino, California, noticed many Native Americans in the camp of other freighters on what has since been named Mormon Mesa. This mesa is some ten miles east of the Muddy River at present Glendale, Nevada. In discussing the situation with the company captains, Cox discovered that the travelers had tied up Tosho, a Virgin River area Paiute chief, to one of the wagons and were holding him under guard to ensure the good behavior of his tribesmen. Tosho later confirmed that the situation was entirely cordial and that his

primary purpose was to secure an abundance of food for his fellow tribesmen. Cox had other Paiutes herd his own teams through the night, which demonstrated cooperation and cordiality between the two disparate peoples.¹¹

In late November 1867, during a time of particular tension with some Native Americans, Brevt. Lt. Col. William R. Price extended and formalized the practice of holding tribesmen as voluntary hostages to assure the “good conduct of the band and the security of the whites in their neighborhood.” This practice was doubtless unique to the Mohave Desert region wagon routes. Six Paiute chiefs, who led bands comprising an estimated 500 persons scattered between what is now Las Vegas, Nevada, and Santa Clara, Utah, each offered one of their tribesmen as hostages. These men, who were held at Fort Mohave on the Colorado River, would be “responsible for depredations of any kind committed by any of his band.” American travelers were likewise required “not to make any unprovoked attack upon [the Paiutes] but to report [at Camp Mohave] any occurrence that may warrant the interference of the military authority.” The willing captives would be fed and “provided for” while at Camp Mojave, where the treaty was signed on November 22, 1867. Tosho, the chief of the Virgin River band who had previously participated in similar practices, appeared to act as spokesman for the Native Americans in this pact.

Price predicted confidently that, because relations were sufficiently cordial, “no case of disturbance” would arise on either side.¹²

In the spring of 1870, miners of the Yellow Pine District near Las Vegas, Nevada, demanded that a certain chief (who was called “Tecoha” by the newspapers but who might have been Tosho) apprehend the alleged murderer of a German prospector named Fritz. The latter had reportedly been killed some 15 miles north of the Vegas Springs. The chief delivered up “Piute Jack,” a “notorious scoundrel who had always been a main instigator, if not the actual murderer, of many white men.” At a subsequent hasty “miner’s trial,” the accused was condemned to be shot. The sentence was promptly carried out.¹³

There are doubtless other accounts of Indian-white friendship and cooperation from other areas of the West. However, the contrast between the earlier period of hostility and bloodshed (1826-1848) and the period after 1851, when a degree of cordiality and cooperation developed in the region northeast of Las Vegas, is quite remarkable.

Endnotes

1. Dale L. Morgan. *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964): 236, 239-240.
2. Richard Batson. *James Pattie’s West: The Dream and the Reality*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984): 175-177.

3. George Douglas Brewerton. *Overland with Kit Carson: A Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48*. (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930): 97-101.
4. William B. Lorton Journal, August 20, 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; Edward Leo Lyman. *The Overland Journey from Utah to California: Wagon Travel from the City of Saints to the City of Angels*. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004): 42.
5. John W. Robinson. “Alex Godey: Indian Friend or Indian Killer?” *The California Territorial Quarterly* 66 (2006): 4-17.
6. Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence. *The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont. 2* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970): 675-76.
7. Lyman, *Overland Journey*, 85.
8. Amasa M. Lyman Diary, January 18, 1858, L.D.S. Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah; see also Lyman, *Overland Journey*, 150.
9. Stephen Bonsal. *Edward Fitzgerald Beale: A Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822-1903*. (New York: Putnam’s 1912):150-153, 156, 158-159.
10. Lyman, *Overland Journey*, 96.
11. Lyman, *Overland Journey*, 172.
12. Brvt. Lt. Col. William R. Price to Maj. J. P. Sherbornem A. A. G. [Assistant Adjutant General] Dept. Of California, copy at Mojave Desert Archives, Goffs Schoolhouse, Essex, California. Cited in Dennis G. Casebier, *Camp Rock Springs, California*. (Norco, California: Tales of the Mojave Road Publishing, 1973): 64.
13. San Bernardino *Guardian*, April 23, May 14, 1870, cited in Lyman, *Overland Journey*, 218. The chief could also have been the Indian named Tecopa from the later Shoshone area near Death Valley, California.

Upcoming Meetings

Anza Society
14th Annual Conference
March 12-15, 2009
Hotel Tucson City Center
Tucson, Arizona
www.anzasociety.org

Fort Robinson
7th History Conference
April 23-25, 2009
Fort Robinson Museum
Crawford, Nebraska
www.nebraskahistory.org

Historical Society of New Mexico
150th Anniversary Conference
May 1-2, 2009
Community Convention Center
Santa Fe, New Mexico
www.hsnm.org

Old Spanish Trail Association
16th Annual Convention
June 5-7, 2009
Sky Ute Resort
Ignacio, Colorado
www.oldspanishtrail.org

Oregon-California Trail
Association
27th Annual Convention
August 18-22, 2009
Larimer County Events Complex
Loveland, Colorado
www.octa-trails.org

Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
Trail Association
Annual Meeting
September 18-20
Farm and Ranch Heritage
Museum
Las Cruces, New Mexico
www.caminorealcarta.org

Mexico the boundary was today's Red River, north of Taos, and in the northwest it was the San Juan River.

The United States government later divided the Ute bands into two groups which they called southern Utes and northern Utes.

The southern Utes consisted of three bands, the Muache, the Capote (called "Caputa" by the Spanish), and the Weeminuche (called "Weenuche" by the Utes today). The northern Utes also consisted of three bands. The Tabeguache, initially occupying the

San Luis Valley, were moved north during the reservation period and called "Uncompahgre." The Yampa and the Grand River bands came under the early reservation name of White River. Unlike the other five bands, the Uintah, who were the third northern band, were western Utes. The White River and Uintah bands most likely are descended from the most northerly group encountered by the Spanish explorers in the 18th century whom they called "Sabuaganas."

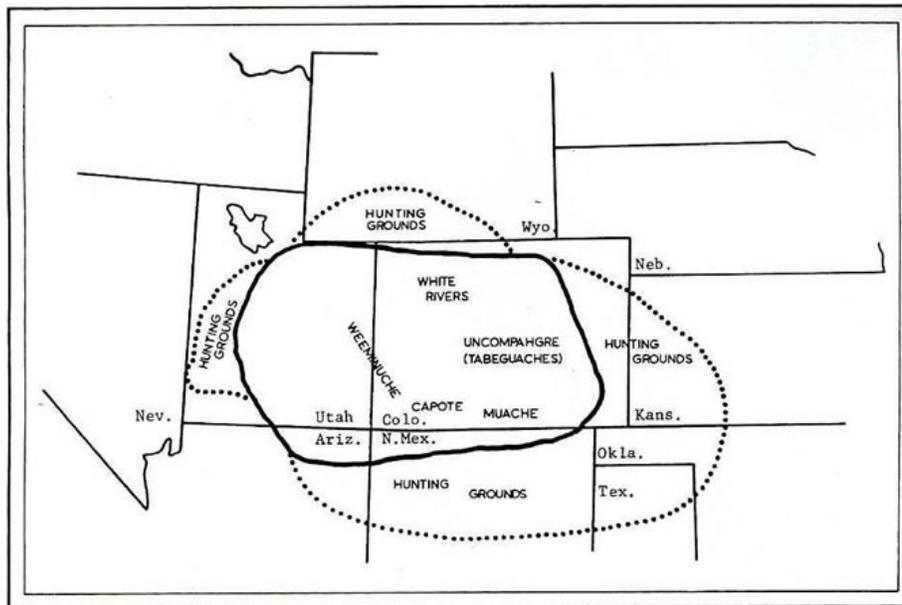
The eastern Utes developed a distinctive culture based upon

their adaptation to the mountain environment in which they lived and their geographical location situated between Plains tribes to the east, Shoshonean tribes to the north and west, and Pueblos, Navajos, and Apaches to the south. They made summer homes in the Rocky Mountains and wintered in foothills and on the prairie's edge. They were not, as many

and Navajos nor the pastoral life style of the Spaniards with cattle and sheep. Southern Utes lived thinly scattered in little family camps in sheltered mountain valleys, dispersed so that each family could gather enough food to survive in that sparse environment.

There were many small groups or bands within the Ute Nation,

each having its own name. Some of these names remain on peaks, valleys, cities, streams, and states, while others have been lost in time. It was largely geography that delimited the bands; for example, massive mountain barriers separated the southern Utes from the northern



Courtesy of Southern Ute Tribal Council

scholars have claimed, a nomadic group. They wore countless trails between their seasonal homes and those of other Ute bands. Today these ancient paths underlie many modern trails, roads, and highways of the Mountain West. The Utes had their own names for these trails. The Spanish and Europeans changed the original naming of the landscape to fit their languages, or gave new names to places and routes, such as "The Old Spanish Trail."

Utes imitated neither the agricultural example of the Pueblo

Utes. A band convened only once a year, for the bear dance in spring; meetings had to be brief, so quickly did a band gathering deplete food in an area. Since it was impracticable to camp or move as a band, responsibility for defense was a local matter.

Though a Ute's highest allegiance was to his band, he recognized that other Utes spoke the same language and shared his fundamental views of life. The bands shared religious, social, and ethical beliefs, and they joined for visits, intermarried, and aided

each other. Yet because they lived in different geographical areas, their customs, clothing, even the food eaten and the methods for obtaining and preparing it were quite different. While no common authority linked the bands, they respected each other's bounds. Mouache and Capote warriors sometimes cooperated to defend their territories against enemy Indians from the plains, and occasional intermarriages helped to perpetuate some sense of oneness as a people among the three southern Ute bands.

The real roots of Ute life lay in the camp of the extended family, where the elders were the leaders. No higher authority existed. Directed by the elders, the family moved as the seasons required, camping within the territory recognized as their own for hunting and gathering. Life revolved around three paramount concerns: food, health, and rapport with the supernatural forces of the universe. So few were the Utes, so difficult was their environment, and so dangerous were their enemies that each year's survival was a fresh triumph for them.

In spring, families moved to the mountain ranges, camping beside the springs and rivers of sheltered valleys. Through summer those well-hidden camps were the safest retreat from Indian intruders from the plains. When snows began, the Utes moved southward to the level plateaus, following the antelope herds that were their winter meat. All winter, Ute families roved,

foraging for food. Sometimes they ventured south to trade for corn and beans at northern pueblos, particularly Taos, Picuris, and San Juan. Such trading was not always done, however, because the Utes lacked a dependable surplus; often the hunters could not produce enough meat and hides for their families' own use. Yet, despite their very real needs, Utes rarely raided pueblos in the old days. Nor did they depend very much on buffalo meat from the nearby plains. A hunting trip to the plains on foot was unduly hazardous and strenuous for the men of small family groups, and the difficulties of killing and transporting the meat and hides back home dwarfed possible gains from the venture.

The first approaches by the white man to the Ute Nation of the inter-mountain West came from the south. In 1540 Coronado reached the Zuni and Hopi villages and the Rio Grande pueblos; before the end of the century, Oñate had planted the first Spanish settlements in New Mexico. Spain never established any permanent settlements beyond the banks of the Rio Grande, but her cultural impact was great on the peripheral tribes. The earliest historical documents for the region are Spanish and date to the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Many of these documents are military in nature, although in some cases they include important observations on the location, identity, and material condition of native peoples.

The catalyst of change in Ute life was the horse. The Utes' early acquisition of the horse was made possible by their proximity – or at least the proximity of the southern Muache and Capote bands of Utes – to the Spanish settlements near Santa Fe. Introduction of the horse began peacefully, for early Spanish colonization did not intrude upon the southernmost limits of the Utes' winter range and thus spared the Utes any territorial confrontation.

By the 1630's both Spanish and pueblo traders were leading pack trains north to Ute camps, purchasing as many pelts as Ute hunters could glean in their home territories. Utes began to learn the valuable use of the horse. The first recorded conflict between the Spanish and the Utes was in 1637 when the Spaniards under Luis de Rosas, governor of New Mexico from 1637 to 1641, captured about 80 Utacas and forced them into labor workshops in Santa Fe. In 1640 some of these captives escaped from Santa Fe and took some horses with them. This may have been the first time the Utes actually obtained horses.

In this early period, the Utes also obtained horses through the process of trading their children to the Spanish. As background, we note that the beginning of trade with Spanish colonists was very hard on Ute families. As they traveled, they found that they could not survive, especially in the winter months, and so they began to trade some of their



Ute chief with horse. *courtesy James Jefferson*

Spanish households perhaps furthered communication and understanding between those two unlike peoples. In any case, when the children grew up, some of them began to feel homesick for their homeland. When they returned back to their original families, they brought back horses and livestock. They also brought home knowledge of how to ride and train the horses. So began the life of Utes with the horse.

The band's social life, once confined to fleeting excitement at the spring bear dance, changed dramatically. Suddenly it became possible and even necessary for bands to live together in large camps. Formerly isolated family camps now sprawled together for as much as half a mile along a stream. From that base, groups of women scoured the countryside for plant foods, while men formed large hunting or raiding parties to bring meat and hides from the plains for the whole band. The concentrated population consumed a considerable amount of meat, and horses facilitated the hunting, raiding, and warfare on which Ute lives now turned.

The greatest war leaders headed the bands' camps, exercising a level of authority that had been nonexistent among Utes in previous years. War focused more on plunder than on prestige, but leaders won their reputation by outstanding service in war and by generosity in distributing their loot at camp. A leader's authority lasted only so long as his camp believed he served wisely and well, so that political pressures demanded a high level of activity in band camps. To maintain his popularity, a leader needed to initiate many hunts and war parties.

Circumstances easily turned many hunting parties on the plains into raiding or war parties, so that the men sometimes brought back horses and other captured goods, as well as meat and hides. Scouts rode ahead to notify the camp of

children to Spanish families in exchange for food. Also, given the acquisition of horses by enemy tribes, parents could no longer protect their children without horses on which to escape when invaders struck their camp. Since the amount of meat and hides that the Spaniards charged for horses was initially prohibitive, some of the Utes who were still hunting on foot in the mountains bartered their children for horses. The Spaniards wanted Ute youngsters to herd their livestock. The young Ute herdsmen shared the rough lives of Spanish frontier settlers, and by the standards of both the Spanish frontier and the Ute camps, they did not fare badly. The willing presence of Utes in

The horse transformed the Utes' economy and social organization, as well as their relationship with people on every side of their homelands. With horses, they could go to the plains for buffalo. Initially used simply to improve subsistence, the horse became a necessity for survival when Apache and Navajo warriors also acquired the animal. With the horse, the Utes could escape enemy Indians from the plains who came into their territory. But although Utes lived in careful harmony with nature as they understood it, they could not foresee the destructive impact of expanding flocks of horses upon the land they claimed.

a successful party's return, and the people turned out to praise the warriors and claim a share of the loot. As long as anyone in camp was in need, a prosperous man could honorably keep only the scalp he had taken. The more horses he gave away, the better the chance that someday his band would call him chief.

The Utes did not actually expand their ranges. With the newly acquired mobility, they were happy with their territory and they made much better use of plains' resources. In the fall the band hastened to complete its antelope drives in the foothills, cached as much meat as possible, and then forged on to the plains to hunt buffalo. While the men were gone, scouts guarded the band's camp, where women, children, and old people were much safer than they had ever been in the small family camps when the warriors were away. When their men were off to raid in enemy country, women packed up camp and stood poised to

flee in case of a retaliatory raid. Whenever possible, Utes avoided a standing fight in their own territory, but when one occurred, the older women donned headdresses, picked up weapons to join the fray, and afterward scalped and stripped the fallen enemies. Loot was distributed through the camp; a scalp was sewn upon the shirt of the man credited with the kill.

By the beginning of the 18th century, the once poor Utes had plenty of hides and meat to market to the Spanish and others. They had become a mounted people, ranging on horseback across the central Rockies from the Great Plains to the Wasatch. They even had enough horses to trade the animals to their distant Comanche kinsmen in the more northerly ranges of the Rocky Mountains. With better land and hunting grounds, and ideas and technology borrowed from the Spanish and the Pueblo Indians, the Utes culturally distanced their Gosiute and Paiute relatives who,

being more conservative, adhered to their old ways. For example, when these latter bands acquired horses, the animals were more often used for food than mounts.

During the late 17th century, some southern Utes concluded that a peaceful trading relationship with the Spaniards, even if erratic, was preferable to war. The two sides were perhaps helped to that decision by their mutual conflicts with the Navajo and Apache, who raided both groups for horses and captives. The need for goods that could be acquired only through mutual exchange encouraged frontier coexistence between Spaniards and Indians that lasted for several centuries. In the 1670's, the Spanish and Utes formalized this relation with an agreement that maintained peace and assured the Utes unrestricted access to annual trade fairs in Taos, Abiquíu, and Santa Fe. In return, the Utes guaranteed safe passage to *entradas*, sanctioned by the crown, into their ancestral homeland. At the time of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Utes had kept their agreement faithfully. Rumors that they were involved in Popé's conspiracy were never substantiated. On the contrary, the historical record suggests that the Utes, unlike other *barbaros*, were sorely inconvenienced by the Spaniards' expulsion. The chaotic years of rebellion found the Utes at war with Pueblos, as well as with the Navajos and Jicarilla Apaches. They cheerfully welcomed the Spaniards' return in 1693.

The Utes also practiced a form of frontier diplomacy with neighboring tribes. An alliance between the Utes and the Comanches lasted intermittently



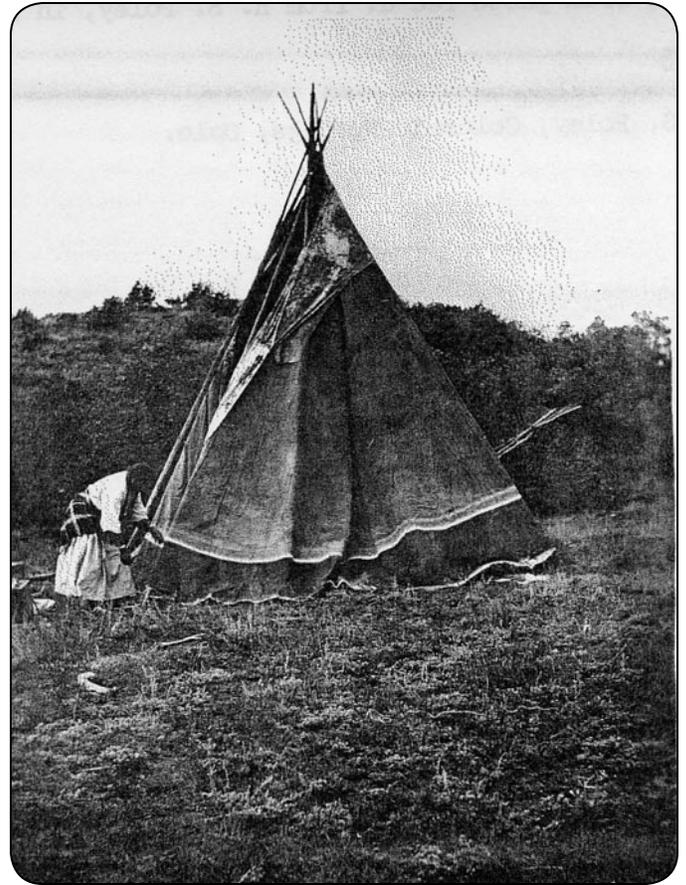
Utes with horses. *courtesy James Jefferson*

from 1700 to 1746; it was formed to help apply pressure against the encroaching Apaches. Relations between the Apaches and the Spanish shifted from warfare to alliance and back again. By 1748, the Apaches had been driven out of northeastern New Mexico into an area south and west of the Ute lands and the Comanches had become strong enough to both turn on their Ute allies and cause problems for the Spanish as well. To end this problem, the governor of New Mexico, Joachin de Coadallos y Rabal, marched on both the Utes and Comanches and defeated them in a battle above Abiquíu, New Mexico. The Utes and Spanish fought intermittently for another two years until the Utes came to Taos to sue for peace. The Utes were finding it too difficult to fight both the Spanish and the Comanches, and they also needed the trade in horses that the Spanish could provide.

Peace between the Utes and the Spanish was negotiated in 1750. After that, the Utes generally maintained good relationships with the Spanish authorities in New Mexico, both because of the benefits of trade and because they shared a common enemy in the Comanches. Starting about 1750, the Utes had a falling out with the Comanches. This tribe and other Plains tribes – the Arapaho, Sioux, and Cheyenne – had also acquired horses, and began invading Ute hunting territory in the mountain valleys. This was a reversal of the earlier situation where the Utes had ventured into the Plains Indians' territories.

After 1770, when the new capital of California had been established at Monterey, the Spanish began looking for a land route to the Pacific Ocean. A plan for locating a shorter route from Santa Fe to the missions in California was first conceived by Father Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante in 1776. Rather than risk encounters with the unfriendly Navajos, the expedition chose a route that passed through the area of today's Southern Ute reservation

in the San Juan Basin. The route was well known to the Spanish, and guides were available who knew the Utes, their language, and their country. Although the Domínguez-Escalante expedition failed to reach California, the expedition was important for exploring country unknown to the Spanish and for locating Indian groups that lived in the present-day states of Colorado and Utah. Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, the cartographer for the exploring party, drew a topographical map in colors on which he indicated the areas occupied by the Utes (Yutas), Paiutes (Payuchis), Navajos (Navajoo), and other groups, thus



Ute tipi. *courtesy James Jefferson*

documenting the location of the intermountain tribes. Many of the names of the rivers and valleys documented at that time, such as Rio Florida (River of Flowers), Rio de Las Piedras (River of the Stone), Rio de Los Pinos (River of St. John), and Rio de San Juan (River of the Pines) were derived from his maps and are still in use today.

The Domínguez-Escalante expedition's penetration into Ute land marked the beginning of a new era for the Utes. In later years, people journeyed from Santa Fe far into the interior of the Ute domain to trade and early

explorers and settlers of the San Juan Basin region took advantage of the expedition's efforts to find a route of travel on trails that had been originally used by the Utes long ago.

The Spanish felt a stronger tie to the Utes after Escalante's expedition and continued to cultivate their friendship and alliance. Periodic warfare between the Utes and the Comanches continued, and the latter tribe continued raiding the settlements of New Mexico. In 1779, Governor Juan Bautista de Anza, reinforced by at least 200 Mouache Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, and Pueblos, defeated the Comanches under the leadership of Cuerno Verde in today's southern Colorado, thus effectively ending the Comanche threat. Peace between the groups was not established until 1786 when the Utes, the Comanches, and the Spanish met at Pecos. This alliance and past experience caused the Spanish to look to the Utes for assistance when the Navajos raided the Spanish settlements. In order to assure this alliance against the Navajos, a second peace treaty between the Utes and the Spanish was signed in 1789.

For 70 years after 1776 only a few white men penetrated the territory of the mountain and basin tribes. After 1821, when Spanish sovereignty over the

region was transferred to Mexico, the American fur men from bases in New Mexico and the upper Missouri combed the central Rockies for beaver. During the Mexican period, the government in New Mexico did not have enough



Utes on the trail. *courtesy James Jefferson*

troops to control the frontier tribes, so to encourage peace the Mexican government began in the 1820's to distribute gifts to the Utes. This policy apparently paid off for in 1829 the 1500-mile Old Spanish Trail was inaugurated between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and San Gabriel, California. Mule trains would depart from Abiquíú, move up the Chama River, cross over to the San Juan and then continue on westward in Utah and Arizona.

A northern branch of the trail was later developed which passed through Cochetopa Pass. There were many variations to the Old Spanish Trail." Sometimes the route went as far north in Utah as Utah Lake. In any case, a

large part of the trail went through the country of the Utes and Paiutes. Utes who lived along the route became accustomed to trading their products to the traders in the mule trains. A dominant figure was Ute Chief Wakara (often spelled "Walker") who traded stolen horses and slaves captured from other Indian groups.

By 1848, the geographic location of the three southern Ute bands had changed little from the time when the first Spaniard had entered their domain. During the Mexican period, the bands moved closer together, and their use of the plains as a hunting ground was restricted.

These changes were mainly due to pressure put on the Utes by the Comanches and Apaches and not from the Spanish, Mexicans, or Americans in the region.

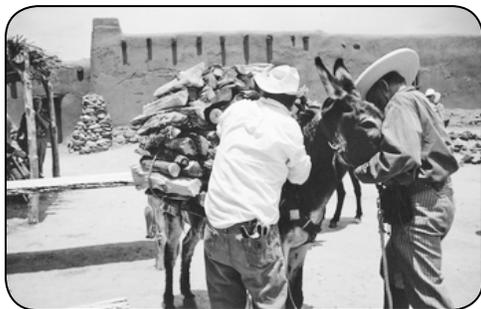
Up to 1850, the Ute's hunting-raiding life was relatively little affected by Anglo expansion. The Ute territory had been spared from wide-scale settlement since pioneers generally had gone right past the inhospitable mountains and alkaline-bleached Great Basin,

not stopping until they reached Oregon, Washington, or California.

As with other Indian groups in the United States, familiarity of non-Indians with the Ute Territory resulted in a desire to own parts of that territory. Mexicans travelling the “Old Spanish Trail” found beautiful valleys in the Ute domain that were perfect for ranching and farming. The Mexican government began to make grants of land to Mexican citizens. This resulted in the lessening of the land base of the Utes and a rising tide of anger by those Indians. This was the beginning of a process that culminated in the years after 1848, when the United States government was eventually successful in confining the Utes to their current reservation.

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Cinching the load.
photo by Marc Simmons

The *Aparejo* System

by *Bob Larison*

The *aparejo* was a leather pack saddle especially constructed and packed with hay or grass to fit the contour of an individual mule’s back. The word *aparejo* also refers to a system of packing that was used not just in the Southwest, but throughout the western United States and Canada. A military pack train often consisted of up to 50 pack mules, 14 riding mules, and a bell mare. The men in the train included the packmaster, his assistant (the *cargador*), 10 packers, one cook, and one blacksmith. With this many animals, a packing system was needed that was foolproof, that could be rapidly secured in place or removed from the mule, and that would hold loads securely. This was the *aparejo* system of packing.

The *aparejo* system consists of various pieces of gear. First, blinders were used to cover the mule’s eyes. This kept the animal quiet while loading. The blinders were often decorated with leather work or embroidery. On the back of the animal was first laid the *corona*, or saddle blanket. This was either a sheepskin, a buffalo hide, or a woolen blanket. The *aparejo* proper came on top of this. Over the *aparejo* came the hammer cloth, or *sobre jalma*. This was a covering of a heavy material, with horizontal boards that protected the animal’s sides. A cinch rope was tightened to hold this on the animal. Together, these pieces comprised the *aparejo* system. The load was packed on top of the system in two or three evenly weighted packs.

Many visitors to the Southwest commented on the skill of the *arrieros* and the speed with which the loading was accomplished. Some said it could be done in five to ten minutes. The Hispanic *arriero* was a skilled and respected person whose pride was reflected in the traditional phrase used on parting: “*Arrieros somos y algo día en el camino nos encontramos.*” (“Mule drivers are we, and some day on the trail we will meet again.”)

Some packing terms:

- Petate*: Woven mat cover over the load.
Carga: Load, covered with the *manta*.
Tercio: One half of a *carga*.
Sobrejalma: *aparejo* cover.
Jalma, enjalma, albarda: Pack saddle.
Jerga: Blanket.
Salea: Sheep skin.
Corona : Pad under *aparejo*.
Fuste: Crosstree or sawbuck pack saddle.
Jáquima: Hackamore.
Lazo: Noose, rope.
La Reata (Lariat): catch rope.
Darle vuelta (Dally): half hitch on the saddle horn.
Látigo: Stock whip.
Cuarta: Quirt.
Morral: Nose bag.
Grupera: Crupper.
Alforja: Pannier.
Cincha: Cinch.
Bestias de carga: Pack animals.
Mulo: Male mule.
Macho: male mule, generic for “male.”
Yegua: Mare.
Recua, conducta, convoy, caravana, catajo: Pack caravan.
Mayordomo: Owner, or man in charge.
Cargador: Master packer.

(From a talk given at the 2008 OSTA Convention.)

Some Relevant Museums along the Old Spanish Trail

Palace of the Governors Originally constructed in the early 17th century as Spain's seat of government, the Palace of the Governors chronicles the history of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the Southwest. Free docent tours available daily. \$18 for a Museum Pass good for 4 days and 5 museums. 105 W. Palace Ave, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501. (505) 476-5100.

Ghost Ranch Piedra Lumbre Education and Visitor Center The Center provides exhibits on the geology, paleontology and archaeology of the region, as well as exhibits on northern New Mexico culture, history, and tradition. Open April 1 through Labor Day: Tuesday through Saturday, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., Sunday, 1 to 5 p.m. U.S. Highway 84 between mile markers 225 and 226, just north of the main Ghost Ranch entrance. Box 11, Abiquiu, New Mexico 87510. (505) 685-4333.

The Center of Southwest Studies Museum The Center serves as a museum and a research facility for the history, archeology, and culture of the Southwest. Fort Lewis College, 1000 Rim Drive, Durango, Colorado 81301. (970) 247-7010.

Anasazi Heritage Center This BLM museum introduces visitors to Four Corners prehistory. Open daily 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. from March to October and 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. from November through February. Closed Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year's Day. Located at 27501 Hwy 184, three miles from Dolores, CO. (970) 882-5600.

Iron Mission State Park and Museum Displays show the development of Iron County and include a collection of horse-drawn vehicles used from 1870 to 1930 and Indian relics. The hours are 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and admission is \$3. 635 N. Main Street, Cedar City, Utah 84720. (435) 586-9290.

Nevada State Museum in Las Vegas The museum has exhibits on the history of Nevada, with an emphasis on southern Nevada and its relationship with surrounding areas. 700 Twin Lakes Drive, Las Vegas, Nevada 89107. (702) 486-5205.

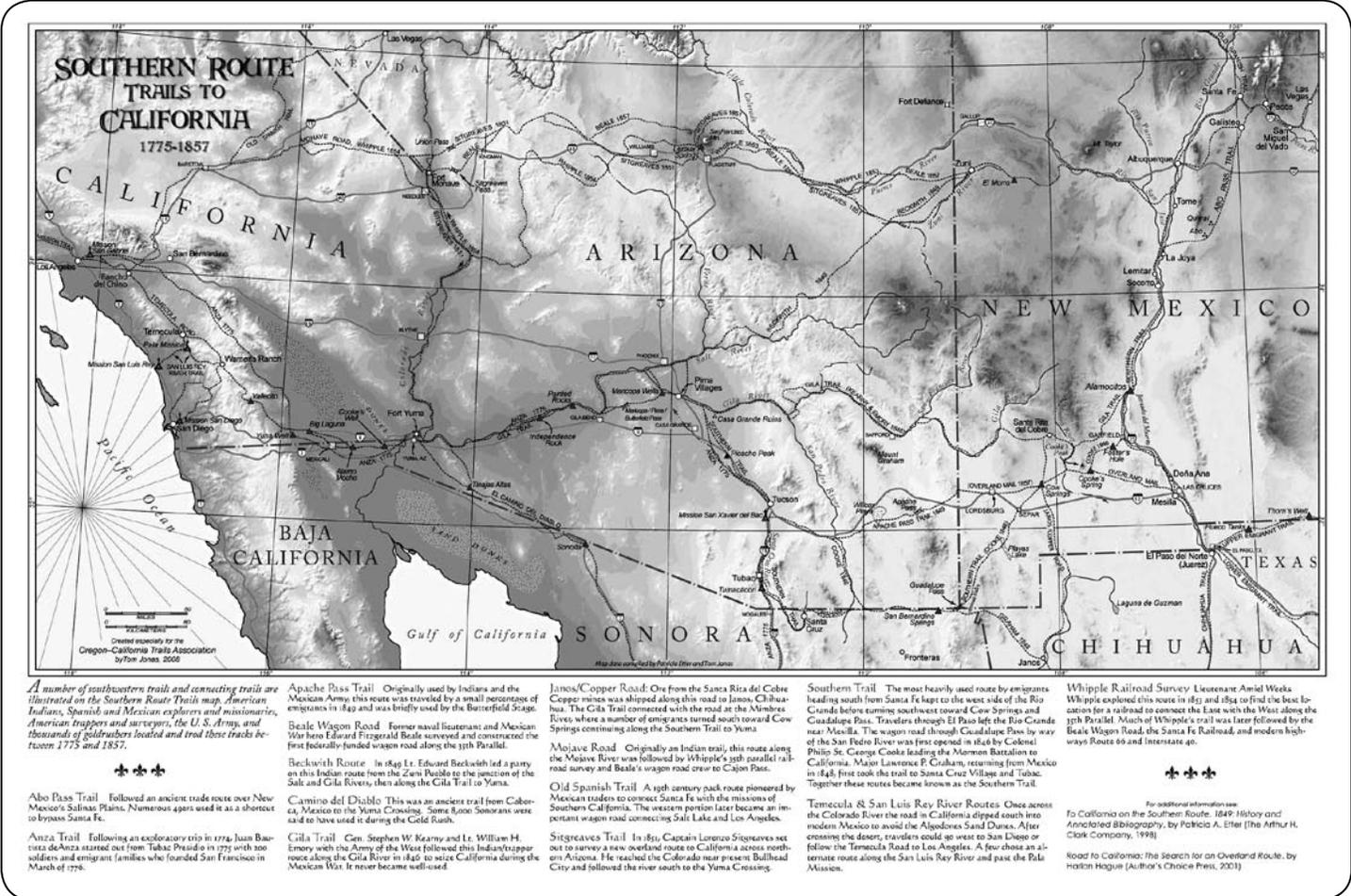
Mojave River Valley Museum The museum houses a series of displays and exhibits that portray the history of the Mojave River Valley from the arrival of Father Garcés in 1776 on through pathfinders, pioneers, miners, railroads and the present space program. Open every day except Christmas from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Admission is free. 270 Virginia Way, Barstow, California 92312. (760) 256-5452.

San Bernardino County Museum The museum houses exhibits and collections in cultural and natural history. Open Tuesdays through Sundays, 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. 2024 Orange Tree Lane, Redlands, California 92374. (909) 307-2669.

Workman Temple Family Homestead Museum The Homestead Museum features the Workman House, an 1870's home constructed around an 1840's adobe built by William Workman; La Casa Nueva, a 1920's Spanish Colonial Revival mansion, built by the Workmans' grandson Walter Temple and his wife, Laura; and El Campo Santo, one of the region's oldest private cemeteries, containing the remains of Pío Pico, the last governor of Mexican California. Free guided tours are offered Wednesday-Sunday at 1 p.m., 2 p.m., 3 p.m., and 4 p.m. 15415 East Don Julian Road, City of Industry, California 91745. (626) 968-8492.

San Gabriel Mission Constructed in 1812, the museum was originally used as sleeping quarters for the mission fathers and for storing books, some dating back to the early 1500's. The exhibits preserve the history and traditions of early California. 427 S. Junipero Serra Dr., San Gabriel, California 91776. (626) 457-3048.

El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument The pueblo is a forty-four acre park consisting of numerous historic buildings, museums, two beautiful outdoor plazas, and a Mexican marketplace on Olvera Street. 200 North Main Street, Los Angeles, California 90012. (213) 485-6855.



A large, color version of this map by Tom Jonas of the Southern Route Trails to California, 1775-1857, was unveiled and presented to the city of Yuma during the *Roads to Yuma* Historical Trails Symposium, January 16, 2009. A color version is available for sale in the near future on the website www.octa-trails.org; look for item # 1821 under Trail Maps in the OCTA Bookstore section. Other maps by Jonas can be viewed on his website www.tomjonas.com/swex.

