

SPANISH TRACES



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Indigenous Borderlands

Spanish Exploration

Daniel Sexton

OSTA Conference

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OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

The Old Spanish Trail (OST), one of America's long-distance pioneer trade routes, is recognized by Congress as a National Historic Trail. From 1829 through 1848, traders and pack mules followed the OST on typically 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, trappers, families, 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 OSNHT 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 increase appreciation of the multicultural heritage of the American Southwest.

Visit our website: www.oldspanishtrail.org

The OSTA website is the place to go for both general and comprehensive background and recent news on the OSNHT and OSTA. The site contains maps, an overview history of the trail, and a bibliography of relevant books with links for purchases of books and other OSTA merchandise from the Association. There is also a regularly updated news page that contains links to government reports, activities of OSTA members, and other news related to the trail. The web page links to National Park Service (NPS) and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) sites, where public documents and maps related to the OSNHT can be found. Memberships (new or renewal) may be paid on the OSTA website, and donations, both general and for specific projects, can be made through the OSTA website as well.

Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. *Spanish Traces* welcomes submission of articles, book reviews, and OST-related news. OSTA assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions of contributors. *Spanish Traces* is copyrighted to OSTA in its entirety, but copyright to individual articles is retained by the author. The next deadline for submissions is **July 10, 2017**. All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the OSTA Editor.

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On the Cover:

Western Wallflowers in the San Luis Valley
near Saguache, Colorado

Photo: John Hiscock



Ashley J. Hall
OSTA President

The Old Spanish Trail represents one of the great western legacies of America's Southwest. Born out of necessity, organized out of simplicity, and operated for a capital purpose, the OST was forged to tie two colonial outposts together in blood and wealth.

I recently addressed the Friends of Gold Butte in Mesquite, Nevada, at their inaugural meeting following the designation of Gold Butte as a National Monument in late December. I was pleased to inform the group of about 125 members and friends that the Old Spanish Trail borders the Gold Butte National Monument on both the north and west, via the Virgin River that runs from the Arizona/Nevada border to the Colorado River. Making friends is a necessity in today's world.

There is no more rewarding, satisfying, and enjoyable experience

President's Corner

than driving, hiking, biking, or flying the various segments of the Trail. As Lorna and I traveled the Trail routes these past four years, we realized the true value contained in each segment of the Trail. We have taken the opportunity to drive, fly, or boat each segment of the Trail: Main Route, Armijo Route, North Branch, and the Mojave Route.

OSTA is making giant strides in identifying, interpreting, and preserving the Trail. We are grateful to the many talented, well-informed, and dedicated members who continue striving towards this goal: Alex King, Mark Henderson, Dr. Reba Wells Grandrud, Al Matheson, Vicki Felmlee, Paul Ostapuk, Stephanie Moulton, Dr. Liz Warren, Dr. J.J. Jefferson, Earl Fosdick, Nancy Melendez, Jim Wood, Pat Kuhlhoff, and many others.

I particularly want to acknowledge the outstanding efforts of John Hiscock, OSTA Manager, for his untiring efforts and focused energy to help OSTA get ahead and stay ahead of the power curve with all of the activities by the federal government and the private sector that impact the Trail.

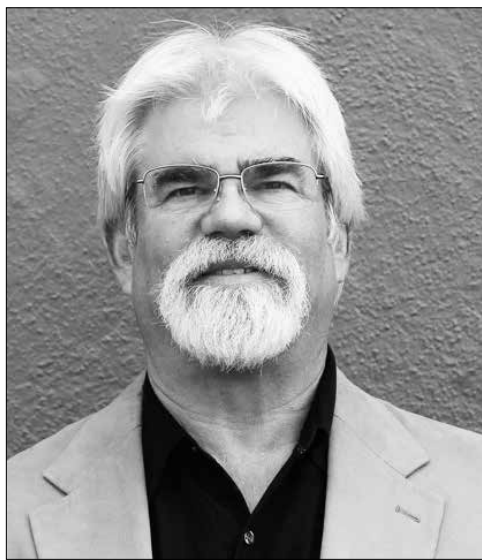
May we all be willing to rededicate ourselves towards this historical effort of identifying, protecting, and preserving the Trail by being active in a local chapter, and by providing our feedback and responses to those entities impacting the Trail.

May the Trail always be in your view, may you always have the betterment of the Trail in your minds, and may you have sweet dreams of those who have gone before us. ♦



Lorna Hall (left) and Nancy Melendez at San Bernardino Estancia ("Asistencia")

Trail Dispatches



John W. Hiscock
Association Manager

Work continues on the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and National Park Service (NPS) OSNHT Co-Administrator finalization of the Comprehensive Administrative Strategy (CAS) for the OSNHT. The Trail Co-Administrators, Rob Sweeten of the BLM and Aaron Mahr of the NPS, have informed me in recent meetings that their agencies continue to assess and individually respond to all comments received on the Draft CAS. They project issuance of the final, signed CAS in May of this year. We continue to track these efforts as closely as possible, as the ramifications of the CAS and its guidelines to administration of the OSNHT are critical.

The CAS and the current annual assistance agreement between OSTA and the NPS were the major topics of discussion in a meeting between me, NPS Superintendent Aaron Mahr, and Deputy Superintendent John Cannella in Page, Arizona, in December. (The NPS Agreement

provides the core fiscal resources that make the management and operations of OSTA possible.) We discussed numerous unresolved issues with the CAS, such as suggested Trail realignments, suggested high potential historic sites and segments, Trail study routes, certification of Trail partnership sites, Trail signage, Trail interpretation, and future processes for ongoing discussion of these issues. We also discussed and recommitted to the importance of OSTA and NPS adherence to pledges of cooperation in our Agreement.

A similar meeting took place with Rob Sweeten of the BLM in Salt Lake City, Utah, in January. As requested by me, and arranged by Mr. Sweeten, this general meeting also included an introductory meeting with the new BLM Utah State Director, Ed Roberson, and his Directorate. Director Roberson is specifically delegated BLM Trail-wide (CO, UT, NM, NV, CA, AZ) Co-Administration responsibilities by the Secretary of the Interior and Director of the BLM. This audience and meeting was particularly valuable, as it gave me the opportunity to provide Association perspectives on Department of the Interior co-administration of the Trail, our interpretations of the provisions of the National Trails System Act (NTSA), the current CAS process, and OSTA concerns related to numerous proposals on BLM lands crossed by the OSNHT. Director Roberson indicated his strong support for the OSNHT and OSTA involvement as the principal citizen organization focused on the OSNHT. Another

result of my visit with Mr. Sweeten was the acquisition of the summary report, *National Historic Trails Inventory Project*, produced under a BLM American Recovery and Reinvestment Act contract on NHTs compiled in 2012. Discussions continue with the BLM regarding acquisition of additional detailed information and data collected for this report.

Also in December, long-term OSTA Stewardship Committee Chair Mark Henderson and I attended a NPS training session in Santa Fe, New Mexico, focused on alternative approaches to protecting NHT lands and resources that are currently privately owned. Presentations were provided by Don Owen, Consultant, Lands, Trails, and Parks Consulting, LLC; Greg Hiner, Trust for Public Lands - New Mexico; and Sarah Noss, Director, and Melissa Houser, Land Program Manager, Santa Fe Conservation Trust. The training focused on alternative approaches to private land NHT protection, including acquisition of conservation easements, and outright fee title purchase. Of great interest to Mark and me and the NPS OSNHT Administrators was Ms. Noss and Ms. Houser's indication that the Santa Fe Conservation Trust has acquired protective conservation easements on certain private parcels along the OSNHT in the Abiquiú and Espanola, New Mexico, areas. The NPS is working on finding out more about these conservation easements and parcels.

Recreation and development plan-

ning strategies for the OSNHT led by the BLM both continue and have been recently initiated. A Recreation and Development Strategy for Emery County, Utah, continues to be developed by student interns in Rob Sweeten's office, the staff of the Price, Utah, BLM Field Office, Emery County representatives, the NPS, and OSTA. This Strategy will include signage and recreational development potential for that section of the Main Route of the OSNHT from Green River, Utah, to the Emery, Utah/Hwy 10 - I-70 junction area.

Also, Mr. Sweeten's office has initiated a Recreation and Development Strategy for Grand County and San Juan County, Utah, with a kick-off meeting in Moab, Utah, with staff of the Moab, Utah, BLM Field Office, Grand and San Juan County representatives, the NPS, and OSTA being held in late January. This Strategy will include signage and recreational development potential for that section of the Main Branch of the OSNHT from the Monticello area of Utah to Green River, Utah, and the North Branch of the OSNHT from the Colorado/Utah border to Green River.

Finally, a significant step in the implementation of the Iron County, Utah, Recreation and Development Strategy was accomplished over the winter with official federal OSNHT signage being installed from Highway 89 north of Panguitch, Utah, westward across Iron County to near Newcastle, Utah. This effort constitutes the longest stretch, approximately 80 miles, of the OSNHT yet to be formally signed.

Also in regard to signage, two new federal developments are currently in development or implementation stages. The Co-Administrators have announced a switch in signage nomenclature to relabel particular federal NHT signs formerly denoted as "Original Route" signs, to new wording as "Historic Route." This change will be immediate for signage efforts currently in planning stages, and existing signage will be changed as such signs are routinely replaced. In addition, in coordination with its National Landscape Conservation System signage plans, the BLM has announced graphic sign design alternatives for its recreational sites and facilities (such as campgrounds, picnic areas, and trailheads) along the OSNHT. OSTA is providing comments on these designs.

OSTA Vice-President Reba Grandrud and I attended the annual leadership meeting of the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) in Washington, D.C., in early February. The major areas of discussion were the PNTS Strategic Plan, briefings from federal agency NHT/National Scenic Trail administrators, and planning for the upcoming 50th anniversary of the NTSA in 2018. The PNTS, and the efforts of its constituent trail associations, remains a critical and vital advocate for all National Scenic and Historic Trails and related citizen associations in these exciting and uncertain times.

Internally, many items of OSTA administrative business continue to strengthen our organization. Detailed policies on chapter - OSTA national relations have been ap-

proved by the Board and will clarify many aspects of our non-profit standing and requirements. Nancy Melendez has been appointed by the Board to fill the remainder of Paul McClure's term (through summer of 2017) as California Director. Al Matheson has just announced his resignation as Utah Director, and Stephanie Moulton has been appointed to this position. Nominees for three elected Board positions have been sought and candidates announced (President - Vicki Felmlee, California Director - Nancy Melendez, Utah Director - Stephanie Moulton). The new Agua Mansa Chapter of OSTA, in the Riverside, California, area, has been approved by the Board and has elected its officers: Marisa Yeager, President; Brenda Flowers, Vice-President; Nancy Melendez, Secretary; and, Donna Oldenkamp, Secretary. Planning for the 2017 annual meeting and conference in Barstow, California, scheduled for October 5-8, is advancing.

In order to make OSTA the active, engaging, and advocate organization that it can continue to evolve to become, I ask each of you to participate to the greatest degree possible. I extend a personal plea to you to visit with friends and interested parties in the near future and encourage their membership in OSTA. ♦

**Cajon Pass, California
Old Spanish Trail Tour**
April 8, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Email OSTASoCal@gmail.com
putting "April Cajon Tour" in
the subject line if
you intend to participate

Old Spanish Trail Signs Installed in Iron County, Utah

Iron County, Utah, became home to the longest signed segment of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, 80 miles worth, when the last sign was posted on February 22 in the county seat of Parowan.

“Iron County has a special place in the history of the Old Spanish Trail, primarily because segments of the trail can still be identified and located by ground and aerial survey,” said Al Matheson, then Utah director of the Old Spanish Trail Association.

It took 12 partners two years to get the project to completion and three Eagle Scout projects to piece together and place the 85 signs that mark the 80 miles of trail in Iron County.

“We are excited to have the Old Spanish Trail identified and marked where the public can learn about an almost forgotten era in Iron County’s history,” said Iron County Natural Resource Management Specialist Mike Worthen.

“Hopefully, citizens of the county and visitors will take advantage of the information and landmarks of the trail and appreciate the great undertaking of moving goods across the west so long ago.”

The Bureau of Land Management and Iron County paid for the signs and posts respectively, with half of the funds coming through a Waypoint Grant from the state of Utah. The sign bases were installed by the Iron County Road Department and the signs were installed by Boy Scouts Barreck Perkins, Mason Paxton and Jayden Paxton, of Enoch, Utah.

“This project has brought the trail to life in Iron County and has brought it to the attention of the youth in the area, especially those who assisted in installing the trail signs. History can be fun especially when it’s in your backyard as it is for those who live in Iron County,” said Dave Jacobson, outdoor recreation planner for the BLM’s Cedar City Field Office.

Other partners include Sun Edison, Clenera Solar, Parowan City, Enoch City, the town of Paragonah, Utah Department of Transportation, the National Park Service, the U.S. Forest Service, and the Old Spanish Trail Association.

The initial effort to sign the trail and even earn the trail national recognition began in Iron County, said Matheson, noting the first formal recognition of the National Historic Old Spanish Trail occurred in the town of Cedar City (an Iron County community) with the formation of the Spanish Trail Association in 1949. S. Alva Matheson, Al Matheson’s father, along with Wilford Lawrence, constructed the monuments that were spearheaded by Howard Driggs and William R. Palmer both of what is now known as Southern Utah University, a public university in Cedar City.

“It is highly significant, and appropriate, that the first trail signing effort be initiated and completed in Iron County. I wanted to be a part of that accomplishment,” said Al Matheson. “The trail connects logical points that carry their own vignettes of history, like Iron Springs, Stevensville, Enoch, Parowan, Paragonah... Many of the known artifacts from the trail period were found in Iron County, including religious fetishes, a matchlock pistol, riding accoutrements, amulets.”

The enthusiasm for signing the



1940s Spanish Trail sign in Iron County, Utah

trail came from a comprehensive planning effort that took place two years ago in Iron County. All the interested partners came to the table to help decide how the trail could be brought to life. The first item on the list was marking the trail so people could follow it and begin to appreciate the history associated with it. The new signs have taken the line on the map and made it real, given it life and made it possible for anyone to travel with ease.

The route itself stayed close to the original corridor. While some of the posts are next to commercial developments in communities,

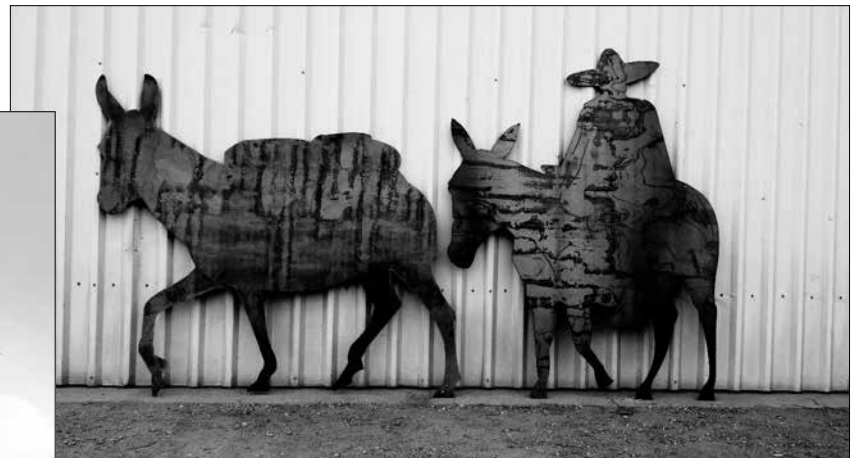
others are located in areas that still have cultural significance.

“Now everyone will have the opportunity to experience the history connected with the Old Spanish Trail,” said Jamie Palmer, Cedar City BLM Archeologist

While motorists are only beginning to see the opportunities to engage in their own historic trek in Iron County, the Old Spanish National Historic Trail reaped immediate benefits, with other municipalities and counties wanting to have their segments signed and brought to life.

“Through the efforts and contributions of hundreds of local citizens, signing and identification has enabled others to promote local history and protect the dwindling linear artifacts and locations associated with our local history,” said Matheson.

Though the trail may be long and difficult at times, those who passed before us are being remembered through the efforts of signing the trail. The new signs breathe life into the history which connects us to our past while protecting the trail into the future. ♦



Left: Boy Scouts Barreck Perkins, Mason Paxton and Jayden Paxton, of Enoch, Utah, stand with Al Matheson at one of the newly-installed signs.

Above: Iron County OSTA members designed, engineered, and manufactured a series of steel life-size silhouette panels to increase the visibility of the Trail. The silhouettes are available to other interested parties along the Trail.

Chapter Reports

Tecopa Chapter

In 2007, the Tecopa chapter began work to locate and record, via an on-the-ground archaeological survey and GPS recording, the mule trace constituting the Old Spanish Trail in the Tecopa area. The goal was to record all segments of the mule trace from the Nevada/California state line westward as far as the canyon of the Amargosa River, a distance of roughly 30 miles. We have accompanied the fieldwork with intensive archival research.

Our careful recording carried out in dozens of field expeditions has resulted in a number of discoveries and subtleties not recorded in either the National Park Service's 2001 Feasibility Study or the subsequent official trail map. The discoveries include documentation of a number of variant branches, which resulted from the use of different springs in the state line area. In addition, we have carefully recorded portions of the later Mormon Road wagon trail, used between 1849 and the 1890s, which followed the general route of the OST, in some cases obliterating the earlier mule trace. In other places the mule trace and the wagon trail took separate routes.

To date we have GPS-recorded and annotated more than 40 miles of trace and wagon trail. Now, in 2017, there remain only a couple of unrecorded segments. We plan this year to finish the trace/trail recording portion of our work.

Our GPS tracks have been plotted onto standard USGS quad maps, with separate colors indicating the OST mule trace vs. the Mormon Road wagon track. The next step will be to convert the GPS mappings into GIS (Geographical Information System) shape files. This conversion will then allow, with careful compensation and mediation, the comparison of our recorded trail route with that shown on earlier maps and described in traveler's accounts. The conversion will also provide the basis for revision and refinement of the NPS' official trail route.

There will still remain recording and research to be done, including the continuation of the OST/Mormon Road southward toward the Mojave River. However, our original task, set a decade ago, is nearing completion. We expect the results, in the form of maps, presentations, and articles, to begin appearing in late 2017 and 2018. Stay tuned.

--Jack Prichett

William Workman Chapter

All members received and enjoyed the Winter 2016 issue of *Spanish Traces*. A few of us have visited (2010) the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in the Cockscomb area shown on the front and back covers of the recent issue. Chapter President Bill Ramsay and I liked the terrain so much that we returned for a second visit a few years (2014) after the first.

We are pleased to confirm that our chapter will definitely be represented at the annual OSTA conference in Barstow, California, in October. Front runners in the booking stakes are Bill Ramsay and Secretary David Fallowfield who have firm plans to attend. Furthermore, having discussed the Barstow conference with fellow directors John Thompson and Donald Harrison, they have both shown an interest, especially considering how they enjoyed the conference there 10 years ago in 2007 when six members attended from UK.

Members were very saddened to learn of the sudden death in January of Reba Grandrud's son Colin Benge, aged 56 years. Colin was one of the group who came to England with President Ashley Hall in 2014, and everyone he met was impressed with his sincerity and joy at being in our country. He was particularly helpful to me with the transport arrangements each day when we toured around, covering many miles. Bill Ramsay and I were fortunate in seeing him again with his lovely wife Pam when we had dinner, together with Reba, in Santa Fe in September 2015.

--David Fallowfield

OSTA 2017-2018 Board of Director Candidates



**Vicki Felmlee: OSTA President
(two year term)**

Vicki Felmlee is a Colorado native and a third-generation business owner. She has owned her own business since 1996 and has been a member of various national and international organizations concentrating on technological issues. Her articles and columns have been published locally and nationally, most recently in *Entrada* magazine and *CoBizMag.com*; she has received numerous awards and citations. Felmlee is active in researching local and area history and blogs on a national basis at americamoreorless.com. She has been OSTA's Colorado Director since 2015 and spearheaded the 2016 national conference in Grand Junction.



**Nancy Melendez: California State Director
(three year term)**

Nancy Melendez hails from Riverside, California, with deep roots in her community. Her family ties (Baca/Trujillo) stem from the original 10 families who founded La Placita de los Trujillos and Agua Mansa in the 1840s, before California was part of the United States. Nancy, and her cousins Darlene and Suzanne, created the Riverside Tamale Festival and founded the Spanish Town Heritage Foundation with the mission of saving the family adobe (The Trujillo Adobe) in Riverside and recreating La Placita de los Trujillos to share the stories of the first settlers in the Inland Empire. She is currently serving as president of the Spanish Town Heritage Foundation, and is the interim California Director of the Old Spanish Trail Association. Nancy has been recognized with the Dr. Carlos Cortes Championing Diversity award and the Riverside Human Relations Community Hero award. She also serves on many boards and commissions striving to make her community a better place for all to live, work, and play.

**Vote on the enclosed card and return
no later than August 31 to
Lorraine Carpenter, PO Box 1080,
Waxhaw, NC 28173.**



**Stephanie Moulton: Utah State Director
(three year term)**

Stephanie Kay Lewis Moulton was born and raised in Richfield, Sevier County, Utah. She attended LDS Business College in Salt Lake City but returned to her beloved Sevier Valley after working in the city. After a couple more years working as a secretary/bookkeeper in Richfield, Stephanie had the opportunity in 1984 to work at Fish Lake Lodge for the summer season. It was at Fish Lake that Stephanie met her husband, Gary, and they have lived full-time at Fish Lake since 1989 while raising their four daughters.

Stephanie grew up listening to her maternal grandmother, Olive Nebeker Gleave, tell stories about her memories of Utah's statehood celebration in 1896 when she was just four years old. Stephanie also knew the stories of her grandmother's own adventures riding horses and buckboards to Fish Lake for camping and fishing before the great lodge at the lake was built. Stephanie's mother, Geniel, also worked at Fish Lake at what was then known as Skougard's Lodge when she was in college. So Fish Lake is family heritage.

OSTA Treasurer
Write-in Candidate
(two year term)

It is while working and living at Fish Lake that Stephanie heard a new story, a different story about Utah, Sevier County, and Fish Lake that involved the Spanish Trail. And as her grandmother taught her, Stephanie is learning all that she can about this part of the story of our state and nation. And as family tradition requires, she passes the story along so that there is a link between now and all that came before.

Stephanie has filled in on the Board for former Utah Director, Al Matheson, during much of 2016, and has recently been appointed Utah State Director on the Board upon Al Matheson's resignation from that position.

Tangents, Twists, and Turns in Family History Research

by **Paul R. Spitzzeri**

Director, Workman and Temple Homestead Museum, reprinted by permission from Homestead Blog, <https://homestead-museum.wordpress.com/>

In my nearly thirty years of working with local history, I've been very fortunate to meet and work with many persons investigating their family and area histories. Each story is different and they are all intriguing. Invariably, these researchers are learning about aspects of their ancestry that they only recently discovered, and inevitably there are twists and turns in those stories that were entirely unexpected.

A couple of weeks ago, Tom Castro came to the Homestead because he'd learned not long ago that his great-grandfather, Daniel Sexton, had a connection to William Workman, who established the site in 1842. What was remarkable about meeting Tom is that his surname of "Castro" was an invention by his grandfather, Sexton's son, William.

The 1910 federal census listed "William J. Castewa" in Roseville, California, near Sacramento. William was actually William J. Sexton, but changed his name in the 1890s, allegedly due to a criminal incident that led him to abandon his given surname.

William was born in 1866 to Daniel and Pacifica Sexton, the latter a native Indian, and resided in San Gabriel and San Bernardino

during his early years. Yet, before 1900, William reinvented himself as William "Castewa," which Tom took to be pronounced, literally, as "Castaway." In other words, William had been "cast away" from his family because of what may have been a criminal matter. William used this surname in the 1900 and 1910 censuses, while living in Roseville, near Sacramento.

However, by the 1920 census, William refashioned his surname into "Castro," which remains the family name to this day. Tom, who was a longtime teacher and lives in northern California, discovered that his grandfather was born a Sexton and launched further investigations into his family history once that twist was revealed.

Tom was also surprised to learn what an interesting character his great-grandfather Daniel Sexton was and shared much information with me. What I already knew about Sexton was fairly limited. Born in Louisiana, Sexton wound up in New Mexico in 1841 just as John Rowland, William Workman, and other foreign residents of the Taos area were planning to leave for California.

In this letter (to the right) to the *Los Angeles Times* of July 2, 1891, Sexton claimed that a half-century earlier, his knocking down of an Indian in New Mexico led to the formation of the Rowland and Workman Expedition of 1841.

The party's creation is usually accounted to broader political issues there involving a planned invasion of Texans that transpired the following spring.

The so-called "Rowland and Workman Expedition [or Party]" left Santa Fe about the beginning of September, after some 25 or so New Mexicans, including one who served as the crucial guide for the group, joined at the town of Abiquiú, and took the 1,200-mile pack mule route called the Old Spanish Trail. The trail went northwest through a bit of modern Colorado and into central Utah. From there, it veered southwest into Nevada (with a little stop at a desolate watering hole called "Las Vegas") and through Mojave to Cajon Pass and down into the Los Angeles basin.

It was November 5, 1841, (a date that stood out to the British-born Workman, because that day is Guy Fawkes Day, an English holiday) that the expedition arrived at Mission San Gabriel. John Rowland presented a list of members of the party to local authorities and Sexton was noted as being a carpenter.

I knew that Sexton lived for many

Important If True.
COLTON, June the 30th.—Mr. Editor
—DEAR SIR: in the year 1841 about
the 25 of June on the other side of
Santafee new mexico i knocked a you-
tau indian down with my fist it caused
a indian fight which caused Roland
willson workman and Gorden to come
to California for theay was a feard to
stay in new mexico enny longe.
yours with respects,
DANIEL SEXTON.

years near the Mission San Gabriel, tinkered as an inventor, and raised protests against the claim that Workman and others had for the lands surrounding the mission during the 1850s and 1860s.

Schedule 1.—Free Individuals in		in the County of San Bernadino	
enumerated by me, on the 12th day of Aug. 1850.		Don't Miscalc.	
No.	Name	Color	Sex
1	Lucas	W	M
2	Pacifico	W	M
3	Pacifico	W	M
4	Indian	W	M
5	Indian	W	M
6	Indian	W	M
7	Indian	W	M
8	Indian	W	M
9	Indian	W	M
10	Indian	W	M
11	Indian	W	M
12	Indian	W	M
13	Indian	W	M
14	Indian	W	M
15	Indian	W	M
16	Indian	W	M
17	Indian	W	M
18	Indian	W	M
19	Indian	W	M
20	Indian	W	M
21	Indian	W	M
22	Indian	W	M
23	Indian	W	M
24	Indian	W	M
25	Indian	W	M
26	Indian	W	M
27	Indian	W	M
28	Indian	W	M
29	Indian	W	M
30	Indian	W	M
31	Indian	W	M
32	Indian	W	M
33	Indian	W	M
34	Indian	W	M
35	Indian	W	M
36	Indian	W	M
37	Indian	W	M
38	Indian	W	M
39	Indian	W	M
40	Indian	W	M
41	Indian	W	M
42	Indian	W	M
43	Indian	W	M
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45	Indian	W	M
46	Indian	W	M
47	Indian	W	M
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49	Indian	W	M
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51	Indian	W	M
52	Indian	W	M
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65	Indian	W	M
66	Indian	W	M
67	Indian	W	M
68	Indian	W	M
69	Indian	W	M
70	Indian	W	M
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76	Indian	W	M
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85	Indian	W	M
86	Indian	W	M
87	Indian	W	M
88	Indian	W	M
89	Indian	W	M
90	Indian	W	M
91	Indian	W	M
92	Indian	W	M
93	Indian	W	M
94	Indian	W	M
95	Indian	W	M
96	Indian	W	M
97	Indian	W	M
98	Indian	W	M
99	Indian	W	M
100	Indian	W	M

The listing of Sexton and three Indians, including his wife Pacifica, at San Gabriel in the 1850 federal census, taken on February 12, 1851.

Tom provided much more information about Sexton, including the fact that, soon after his arrival in the area in 1841, he went to work at the Rancho Santa Ana del Chino in present Chino and Chino Hills and did extensive lumbering in the San Bernardino Mountains. When American forces invaded California during the Mexican-American War, Sexton enlisted as a volunteer for the former. He participated in the Battle of San Pasqual near San Diego, in which Californios routed an ill-supplied and poorly positioned American force, worked to prevent the execution of Americans captured by Californios at the Chino ranch, and carried out dangerous missions as a messenger.

Notably, when John C. Fremont, one of the American commanders during the California campaign, ran for United States president in

1856 as the first candidate of the Republican Party, Sexton wrote a letter published in the *Los Angeles Star* lambasting the “Pathfinder” as cruel and cowardly, while praising Californios for their bravery and honor in defending their homeland.

The Conquest of California.
COLTON, August the 1th.—Mr. Editor
—DEAR SIR: in anser to mr. Blairs peace of July the 26 i will say if California was not taken by conquest then ther is no such a thing as conquest, when col Frémont left montaray in the year 1846 on his rode to Los angeles he started with a flaming torch in his hand and ranches that he come to and found no boddy at home he had them set on fier and burned up i Daniel Sexton was cent by com R F Stockton to hunt Frémont and i found him in deu time and i know somthing a bout him and his actes in California i spent 7 seven hundred Dollars of my oan monney in the conquest of California and don moar harde and dangers wirke than enney other one man and what did i git for it a Land grant moved 40 miles from its proper location to cover my Tin mines and i myself Driven from my home by fraud and the graves of my children plowed up, i do not think thear is as mutch honor in the supream court of thease United States as thear is in a Den of Battle snakes i remane yours with respect
DANIEL SEXTON.

Another letter by Sexton to the Times, August 3, 1891, concerning his role in the Mexican-American War.

Sexton became very friendly with native aboriginal Indians in the greater Los Angeles region. When he worked tin mines at Temescal near today’s Corona and Lake Elsinore, the Cahuilla Indian chief whose lands included these mines induced Sexton to marry his niece, Pacifica. The couple was married nearly a half-century and raised a large family, including Tom’s grandfather, William.

After living in San Gabriel and

San Bernardino, Sexton and his family settled in Colton, a railroad town near San Bernardino, where Pacifica died in 1894 and Sexton followed four years later, almost completely forgotten. Daniel and Pacifica are, in fact, buried in unmarked graves at the Hermosa Gardens Cemetery in Colton.

DANIEL SEXTON.
Death of a Veteran of the Mexican and Indian Wars.
 (Colton News): Uncle Daniel Sexton, one of the prominent characters in the early history of California, is no more. He died at his home in this city about noon yesterday. Uncle Daniel has been very feeble for many months, but has been able to get about town until a few days before his death, when he was compelled to take to his bed.
 Daniel Sexton was born in Louisiana more than 80 years ago. He came to California in 1841 and has resided in the State ever since. For more than 18 years he has resided in this vicinity.
 He fought all through the Mexican war and was one of the handful of men who survived the terrible slaughter at the battle of San Pasqual, where the Indians ambushed and massacred all but two or three of his command. He had more personal knowledge of the early history of Southern California than almost any other man in it, and it is unfortunate that his knowledge was not reduced to writing.
 The deceased leaves two sons and a daughter of his immediate family—Mrs. A. Palen and J. H. Sexton of this city and G. W. Sexton who is now in Arizona.
 The funeral will take place from the Presbyterian church at 2 o'clock tomorrow (Saturday) afternoon.

An obituary for Sexton, reprinted in the San Bernardino Sun from the Colton News, May 7, 1898.

One of Tom’s hopes is that his great-grandfather is not neglected when it comes to the history of greater Los Angeles in the 19th century. Sexton’s part in the Rowland and Workman Expedition, which arrived as eastern overland migration to California began, is significant. With the Mexican-American War, Sexton’s role at San Pasqual is a notable one. His

1856 letter in the *Star*, as well as another in the same paper three years later concerning J.J. Warner, a longtime resident of Los Angeles and Warner Springs in northern San Diego County, are rare personal recollections of a local resident of that period. His early lumber activities in the mountains and his mining of tin at Temescal are also of interest.

More details of some of the materials shared by Tom about Daniel Sexton will be posted in this blog in the future, as will more information about the Rowland and Workman Expedition. ♦

For more information, see <http://homesteadmuseum.org>. The Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum, 15415 East Don Julian Road, City of Industry, California.

Exhibit in Orange, CA

The documentary project "Moving Forward, Looking Back: Journeys Across the Old Spanish Trail" will be exhibited at Chapman University, One University Drive, Orange, California, through Sunday June 25, 2017.

For more information, see www.spainculture.us/city/los-angeles/moving-forward-looking-back-journeys-across-the-old-spanish-trail/

A Rare Old Spanish Trail-Related Document, 1843

Introductory Note by Paul R. Spitzzeri

Daniel Sexton (1818-1898) is not well-known in southern California history, though he was involved in some key events in the region. He was a member of the Rowland and Workman Expedition of 1841, which was the first large-scale party to use the Old Spanish Trail for emigration to Mexican California. He enlisted with American forces during the invasion of California in the Mexican-American War and fought at the Battle of San Pasqual, near San Diego, which was an important *Californio* victory in the defense of their homeland. He delivered by a long, difficult horseback ride a crucial message from Commodore Robert F. Stockton to John C. Fremont as the war drew to an end. He was among the first to extensively log the mountains east of Los Angeles and inaugurated the Temescal tin mines near present-day Riverside. A resident of the mission town of San Gabriel near Los Angeles, he relocated to Colton, outside of San Bernardino, and remained there for decades. An inveterate letter writer to local newspapers in which he often presented interesting, if not always accurate or corroborated, accounts of his role in regional history, Sexton died at age 79 and is buried in Colton.

One of his sons, William, was said by family lore to have been involved in a murder that led him

to flee southern California for the northern part of the state. Changing his name to Castewa (which appears to have been a variant of "castaway") and then Castro, William lived and died near Sacramento, and his descendants remained out of contact and awareness with their Sexton origins. Recently, however, Tom Castro, a retired middle school teacher, unearthed his family history and shared it with me and the Homestead Museum. A Homestead Museum blog post reprinted in this issue tells the general story, but this transcription of an 1843 application by Sexton's father, Daniel, Sr., for his namesake son, copies of which were provided by Tom Castro, is an interesting document with relevance to the Old Spanish Trail.

Completed about a year-and-a-half after Daniel, Jr. arrived in "Pueblo de Los Angeles," the application reflects the uncertain status of American migrants in Mexican territory and makes reference to the younger Sexton's intent to go, in Spring 1841, to California through Missouri, where the Bidwell-Bartleson Party left from a place near Independence in early May. Sexton, Jr. missed that group, but migrated down to New Mexico, probably with four other men, and found that John Rowland, William Workman, and others were preparing to leave for southern California.

About the first of September, the Rowland and Workman Expedition left Santa Fe on the Spanish Trail. In the town of Abiquiú, a contingent of some 25 New Mexicans joined, one of them providing invaluable guiding skills to the party. After traveling some 1,200 miles in two months, the group, which followed a trade caravan led by Esteban Vigil, arrived near Los Angeles. The members then dispersed, with some going to the north, others leaving the coast for other destinations, and many, including Sexton, remaining in southern California.

This transcription is another notable and interesting document relating to the use of the Old Spanish Trail by emigrants, and I thank Tom Castro for making it available to share in *Spanish Traces*.

★ ★ ★

Wellington, Desha County, Arkansas¹

June 28th 1843

To the Hon[ora]ble the Secretary of State
of the United States of America
And to all others whom this may concern

We the undersigned citizens of the State of Arkansas do each and all of us personally well know Daniel Sexton Junior, who, we are informed by his friends and relatives, is at present in the State of California in the Republic of Mexico at a town by the name of Pueblo de Los Angeles.² We are all of us near neighbors of his father

and often as might be expected under such circumstances, saw the young man either at our own residences or at that of his father up to the time of his leaving this country which to the best of our recollections was sometime in the spring of 1841 and at the time of his leaving we understand from himself and friends that it was his intention to go to California.³ The young man's father resides in Desha County Ark. and has resided there since 1830, is among its most respectable citizens, is engaged in cotton planting

[page two]

and each of the undersigned knows the father well and personally no one of us living more than fifteen miles from his residence and we are all now and have been for several years citizens of this part of the country, some of us for nearly fifteen years. We know that the father and son are both citizens of the United States of America. We have also examined the affidavit of the father made this day for the purpose of obtaining the proper papers for his son to enable him whilst absent from his native country (the United States) to prove his right to claim the protection to which American citizens are entitled in foreign countries when they properly deport themselves, and we believe that the conduct of young Sexton will be such at all times, as to entitle him to his country's protection, and we believe the contents of said affidavit to be strictly true and also from our recollections of the young man, we believe the description given

of him in that affidavit to be a very accurate one.

G.M.D. Ryan

Geo. B. Watson, Jr.

[affidavit page one]

State of Arkansas

County of Desha

Personally appeared before the undersigned an acting Justice of the Peace in and for the County aforesaid Daniel Sexton Senior to him personally well known and who is now and has been for several years past a citizen of Arkansas before the same was admitted into the Union as one of the states of the Confederacy of the United States and has been a citizen of Arkansas ever since said admission, and who being sworn according to law deposeth and saith upon oath, that he has a son whose name is Daniel, that said son was born in the State of Louisiana one of the States of the United States, on the 24th day of March A.D. 1818, that said son came with deponent to Arkansas in 1830 at which time deponent settled in that then Territory, that said son continued to reside with your deponent in Arkansas till some time in the spring of 1841 at which time he left for the purpose of joining a party which was collecting at some point in the Western part of Missouri; your deponent believes a town called Independence with the intention of going from that place

[page two]

to California one of the States or Provinces of the Republic of Mexi-

co.⁴ Letters have been received from his said son by persons in this State in which letters his son, among other things states that he is without any papers to show that he is a citizen of the United States of America and to protect him where he is in that capacity. He writes that he wishes to have from the proper authority a passport and all other necessary papers to protect him while he may remain without the limits and jurisdiction of the United States of America.

Your deponant further states that the following is to the best of his recollection a good and accurate description of his aforesaid son Daniel viz. He was twenty-five years of age on the 23rd day of March 1843, is about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches in highth, square built, broad shoulders of a large and powerful frame. Hair of a light brown color inclining to sandy. Eyes between blue and hazle. Nose straight and of ordinary size. Mouth large. Complexion Ruddy, light and sandy. A small scar on the left cheek bone and but a little distance under the Eye. This scar is easily perceived though not large it being of a deep

red colour. It was occasioned by a kick from a horse.

[page three]

after having thrown him—forehead broad and high. Chin neither long nor receding.

Your deponant's aforesaid son dates his letters at Pueblo de Los Angeles. This affidavit is made that the papers before and herein referred to may be obtained from the Secretary of State of the United States Government.

[signed] Daniel Sexton

Sworn to and subscribed to before me on this 28th day of June 1843

Geo B. Watson, Jr, JP

State of Arkansas
County of Desha

Sct William T. Berryhill of the Circuit Court in and for the County of Desha and State of Arkansas do hereby certify that Geo. B. Watson Jr., whose name is signed as Justice of the Peace to the above and foregoing instrument is now and at the time of signing the same

an acting Justice of the Peace duly commissioned and qualified in and for the County and State aforesaid and that full faith and credit is due and ought to be given to all his official acts as such in testimony whereof I have here on date set my hand and office.

Endnotes

1. Desha County is in the southeastern part of Arkansas along the Mississippi River.
2. Alta California was technically a "department" of the Mexican Republic.
3. Daniel Sexton Jr. traveled with the Rowland and Workman Expedition of about 65 Americans, Europeans, and New Mexicans over the Old Spanish Trail from September to November 1841, arriving in the Los Angeles area about the 5th of November.
4. When Sexton got to Independence is not yet known, but the Bidwell-Bartleson Party, the first wagon train of settlers to go overland to northern California, left that town in mid-May 1841. Several men who were too late to join the Bidwell-Bartleson Party, including Isaac Given, Albert Toomes, John McClure and Wade Hampton then took a caravan to Santa Fe, arriving in early July, and joined up with Rowland and Workman. Presumably, Sexton was with them. ♦



Old Spanish Trail signs await installation in Iron County, Utah.

Englishman George F. Ruxton Visits Santa Fe

by David Fallowfield

George Augustus Frederick Ruxton was born the same year that William Becknell inaugurated the Santa Fe Trail. He was born July 24, 1821, at Brenchley, Kent, England. From school he went to the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst but did not complete the course. However, he did pursue military action by becoming involved, at the age of 17, in the Spanish Civil War of the 1830s. As a lancer he showed gallantry at the battle for Belascoain and received a medal from Queen Isabella II of Spain. More important, for what he was later to achieve, he learned to speak Spanish.

He returned to England, enlisted in the Army and served in Ireland for a short time before being posted to Ontario, Canada. Bored with his duties, he sold his commission and spent some time trapping in the wilderness. After returning to England, he again departed the country, this time for central Africa at a time when there was much still to discover on that continent. He subsequently wrote a paper about the bushmen of the Kalahari desert and presented it in 1845 to the Ethnological Society in London.

In 1846 he set sail for Vera Cruz, Mexico, to observe the Mexican-American War. From Vera Cruz he went north and followed the Rio Grande to Santa Fe. Apparently, he was not impressed. Ruxton describes Santa Fe (Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles*): “The town is a wretched collection of mud houses, without a single building of stone, although it boasts a *palacio* – as the adobe residence of the Governor is called – a long low building, taking up a greater part of one side of the plaza or public square, round which runs a portal or colonnade supported by pillars of rough pine. The appearance of the town defies description, and I can compare it to nothing but a dilapidated brick kiln or a prairie-dog town. The inhabitants are worthy of their city, and a more miserable, vicious-looking population it would be impossible to imagine.” So, he was not too impressed with the townsfolk either. As to the town, what did he expect? Surely not something resembling the architectural wonder of the

City of Bath back home in England. This was the Wild West, for heaven’s sakes, Mr Ruxton. And the people? Well, you were a Southerner of genteel birth and not as used to life’s gruesome ruffians as us Northerners with our Border antecedents!

Whereas my visits to Santa Fe have been in modern times and Ruxton’s were mid-19th century, I cannot see how he found it such a depressing place. Surely it was representative of its time and cultural heritage. In my opinion, it has great charm and may indeed one day receive the accolade of World Heritage status, like our English city of Bath, on account of the important part it played in the history and development of the Southwest, mainly, of course, as the terminus of three important trails.

Nevertheless, Mr. Ruxton went on to visit the Taos Valley using the Old Spanish Trail. He narrowly avoided being caught up in the Taos Rebellion, and he visited Colorado and spent time with mountain men in the Rocky Mountains. Furthermore, before dying at the young age of 27 of dysentery (complicated by an injury) at St Louis, Missouri, in 1848, he wrote about his experiences in the West. His books, autobiographical and fictional, will be quoted until the end of time on the subjects he committed to paper. He certainly left a legacy in that regard.

Further reading

Hafen, Leroy R. & Ann W., *Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993 reprint edition).

Kessler, Ron, *Old Spanish Trail North Branch and Its Travelers* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2016).

Ruxton, G. Frederick Augustus, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London: John Murray, 1849). <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008731820>

Ruxton, G. Frederick Augustus, *Life in the far West* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1849) <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008653695>

Mapping the Four Corners, Narrating the Hayden Survey of 1875

McPherson, Robert S., and Susan Rhoades Neel. 2016. *Mapping the Four Corners, Narrating the Hayden Survey of 1875*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Series Name: American Exploration and Travel Series Volume: 83 eISBN: 9780806156804 ISBN: 9780806153858 Language: English, pp. 305

Reviewed by Mark Henderson

Why should a narrative of a single US Government-sponsored mapping and scientific data collection event that took place in the summer of 1875 be of interest to Old Spanish Trail Association members and fellow travelers? Before I opened the book, I was prepared to conclude that the answer would be “not much.” But by the time I had completed the easy-to-read introduction I was prepared to argue that it should be of as much interest to OSTA members as the singular narrative of the Antonio Armijo itinerary of the 85 days between November 7, 1829, and January 30, 1830.

Events given little fanfare or public notice, involving only a few dozen individuals and less than three months time, can rarely be contemplated in vibrant contextual detail. The 1875 Hayden Survey expedition and the Armijo expedition, though separated by 45 years, share several features: commercial interests, several dozen people

operating with common objectives, central government interest, private funding sources, travel through unfamiliar Colorado River landscapes, and dependence on pack mules for success of the enterprise. But what a difference do 45 years and a different colonial cultural milieu make: Nuevo Mejicano penny capitalist “empresarios,” versus a U.S. government public-private partnership that funded wage workers collecting data for future market capital investment.

The preface and introduction are essential for the reader to appreciate why one year, 1875, in the middle of the more than decade-long (1867-1879) U.S. Geological and Geographical Surveys of the Territories (aka Hayden Survey) is in itself of interest to the authors. The focus of the 1875 Hayden Survey was in the backyard of where the authors live and work (Utah State University-Eastern; McPherson at the Blanding Campus and Neel at the Price Campus). It is made clear in this section of the book that the Hayden Survey had an unanticipated role in the implementation of United States policy of reduction of aboriginal populations (in this case of the “Nuche” or “Mountain Ute”). It is another case study of a familiar story of successive treaties with recognized American Indian Tribes as Domestic Dependent Sovereign Nations.

For those who want a broader sketch of the place of the Hayden Survey among the Great Surveys and particularly operations in Colorado, there is a recent web publication that is a treasure in its own right: Thomas P. Huber, Maps drawn by Evan Menkhous and Scott Callahan 2016, *Hayden's Landscapes Revisited: The Drawings of the Great Colorado Survey* (University Press of Colorado, Boulder <http://haydenslandscapes.com/>).

Essential to following the book's narrative is the map on pages 2-3, centered on the Four Corners, which shows the location of the general routes and anchor points of the Hayden expedition “divisions” which are tracked through the remainder of the text as listed (page 32):

Gardner— Primary Triangulation Division
Gannett — Western-Grand River Division
Holmes — Southwestern-San Juan River
Jackson — Photographic Division

However, throughout the book it is difficult to place geography with the narratives. This is worsened by an initial text error in geography which states (page 28):

The Primary Triangulation Division had no work to do until it reached the Los Pinos Indian

Agency, nearly four hundred miles west of Denver.

The “old Los Pinos Ute Agency” [just west of Cochetopa Pass] illustrated on the map is 150 miles southwest of Denver and the “New Los Pinos Ute Agency” [south of Montrose] is 175 miles southwest of Denver. For field historians and historic sightseers who wish to visit specific places to obtain vicarious appreciation or re-tracement of historical routes, referral to primary documents (many fortunately now available through the miracle of the internet) is necessary. For example, the key Ninth Annual Report of the Hayden Survey for 1875, listed in the bibliography as “Hayden, F V. *Ninth Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories: Embracing Colorado and Parts of Adjacent Territories: Being a Report of Progress of the Exploration for the Year 1875*. Washington: Govt. Print. Off, 1877 can be obtained at <https://archive.org/details/ninthannualrepor00geol>.

Chapter 1 (June 7 to July 27, 1875) sets the stage for the expository method in the remainder of the book, using journal entries, letters, and newspaper accounts prepared by members of each Division of the expedition. These accounts, many sent as dispatches to eastern U.S. newspapers, provide insights well beyond those written in the “Annual Report.” An example is an excerpt from Cuthbert Mill's account published in the *New York*

Times on June 13, 1875, (page 41) as the Divisions prepared to leave their base camp on Clear Creek near Denver:

When all the herd [of mules] had been caught and apportioned off, the fitting of the aparejos commenced. An aparejo, as everybody knows, is simply two great leather cushions stuffed with hay which are slung across the mule and act as pads on which the load is packed...

Chapter 2, “Grand and Beautiful Scenery,” (June 7-July 27, 1875) contrasts the initial perspectives of William Henry Jackson's Photographic Division, William Henry Holmes's San Juan Division, and Robert Aldrich's resupply wagons which made it to a central supply depot for the Survey based at Parrott City (west of Durango on the upper La Plata River). While Jackson and Holmes approach the hardship of the work as scientists and illustrators in magnificent and exotic landscapes, Aldrich describes the drudgery and challenges of threatening landscape and people. Jackson describes the effort and delicacy of getting a single photographic image as a worthwhile task, whereas Aldrich sees little of current attraction in his detailed descriptions of recently established communities at Sauguache and Conejos, Colorado (where Major Lafayette Head established his business enterprises), and Ojo Calliente, El Rito, and Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, and in establishing the resupply depot in the “incipient” (page 83) mining boomtown of Parrott City (estab-

lished by Captain John Moss). Aldrich's “boosterism” (page 83) has relevancy today in the promotion of real estate speculators and extractive industrialists who admit no end to the boomtimes in a region where limited water supply constrains the agricultural base to support an ever-growing population.

At the beginning of Chapter 3 (July 27 to August 8, 1875) we are again presented with geographic confusion. This time Aztec Springs, west of Ute Mountain between the Mancos and McElmo (modern Yucca House National Monument, www.nps.gov/yuho/learn/historyculture/upload/yuhositebulletin.pdf) is misidentified as the location of Aztec Ruins National Monument on the Animas (page 89).

Chapter 4, “Making Stations,” (July 3-August 14) returns to the progress of the Gannett and Gardner Western-Grand River Division which was assigned to map the Gunnison River country from a resupply point at what later was to be known as Grand Junction. But because of “high water” on the Grand River (page 122) the re-supply camp was established on the Dolores River (in the vicinity of Gateway, Colorado). Tracking the Division is again problematic as “Map 2” (page 124) has an inset that is annotated “See Map 2” which on Map 3 (page 181) has the same inset that is annotated also “See Map 2.” Following “Map 3” on pages 182 and 183 are two

Continued on page 23

24th Annual National Conference

October 5-8, 2017

Quality Inn

1520 E Main Street, Barstow, California 92311

Theme: Pathways From the Past Lead to the Future

The Conference will explore links from the historic period of the Spanish Trail to the present. For the western portion of the Old Spanish Trail, west of Parowan, Utah, the physical links include the Salt Lake Road, Arrowhead Highway, U.S. 91, and Interstate 15. The people that traveled the Old Spanish Trail settled and established numerous communities in California.

Costs: Preregistration fees are only \$75 for OSTA members, which includes all presentations, Friday buffet lunch, field trips, reception, and refreshments. See the registration form for additional information.

Accommodations: The Quality Inn, 1520 E. Main Street, Barstow, California 92311, is hosting the conference. Reservations at the Quality Inn are available at a discount rate of \$75 per night for occupancy by 1-2 persons (includes free cooked-to-order hot breakfast). Please call Quality Inn at (760) 256-6891 to make reservations individually. Make sure to mention you are with the Old Spanish Trail Association to receive the discount rate.

There are a variety of other hotels in Barstow and nearby Lenwood (location of the Barstow Outlet Center) ranging from \$40 to \$135 per night.

Conference Tracks: This year's conference will have two tracks of presenters providing 14 or more presentations sharing different aspects of the Old Spanish Trail and the people that traveled it. Presentations will be in adjoining meeting rooms so that Conference participants will be able to easily shift between meeting rooms to hear the presentations of their choice.

Presentations: Some of the presentations already confirmed are briefly described below. Please watch the Old Spanish Trail website for further information and updates regarding the conference.

- **Nelson Miller** - will present information regarding the precise alignment of the Old Spanish Trail from maps prepared by the Surveyor General's Office which laid out the townships and ranges across California. This effort commenced in 1855 and the "Old Trail" or "Salt Lake Road" are virtually the only roads or trails shown on these survey maps across the Mojave Desert.
- **Tom Sutak** – author of *Into the Jaws of Hell*, will relate how Jefferson Hunt traveled the Old Spanish Trail in 1847–48 with a pack train to obtain supplies for Salt Lake City and then in 1849 led a wagon train of settlers along the trail and helped establish the colony of San Bernardino.
- **Leo Lyman** – well-known author of numerous books and articles about the Old Spanish Trail will describe links between the trail and the Arrowhead Highway. This highway was one of the significant automobile routes in the early 1900s.
- **Al Matheson** – will describe celestial navigation techniques that were in use during the historic period and share some of his collection of antique navigation instruments of the period. Col. Matheson is a Master Navigator and Senior Space Operations Officer with a decorated career in the Air Force. He is a noted speaker and lecturer on national historic trails, aviation archeology, and was recently the Utah Director of the Old Spanish Trail Association.

- **Richard Waller** – will share his experiences from his Old Spanish Trail trek, riding mules and horses along the trail from the Cajon Pass in California to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 2014-15. Richard is the past President of the Back-country Horsemen of California.
- **Walter Feller** – will present photographs portraying the landscape of the Old Spanish Trail. He is a noted photographer and author of www.digital-desert.com.
- **Nancy Melendez** – the new interim California State Director of OSTA, will share the story of Lorenzo Trujillo who brought a party of colonists from New Mexico to California in the early 1840s and established the earliest settlement in Riverside County.
- **Jack Pritchett** – will present mapping the mule trace and the wagon road in the Emigrant Pass area between Amargosa River and the Nevada border.

Other presentations are anticipated, including:

- National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management regarding the Comprehensive Administrative Strategy for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail
- Historic pathways in the Cajon Pass
- Genealogy of the Lorenzo Trujillo family
- Native Americans and the Old Spanish Trail
- Economics of the Old Spanish Trail

Field Trips. A variety of optional field trips will be provided on Thursday, October 5, and Sunday, October 8. In addition, conference participants will be able to celebrate the fifth annual California Old Spanish Trail Day at the Desert Discovery Center on Saturday, October 7. The anticipated field trips include:

- Trujillo Adobe and Agua Mansa Cemetery – Thursday afternoon. Earliest settlement in Riverside County.
- Town of Daggett – Thursday afternoon. Terminus of 20-mule teams, blacksmith shop, stone hotel and museum.
- Forks in the Road - Thursday afternoon and Sunday morning. Where two major branches of the Old Spanish Trail split
- Bitter Springs – To be determined. Since the Springs are located on Fort Irwin, we are working with the U.S. Army to allow access to this stop along the Old Spanish Trail
- Harvey House and Main Street Murals - Thursday afternoon and Sunday morning.
- Inbound and Outbound Self-Guiding tours of significant locations along the Old Spanish Trail - Thursday afternoon and Sunday morning.
- Fifth annual California Old Spanish Trail Day at the Desert Discovery Center - Saturday morning

Barstow Area Attractions: For those significant others who are interested in additional activities, there are several free museums in Barstow: Mojave River Valley Museum (which also has the best bookstore anywhere in the Mojave Desert), Route 66 Mother Road Museum at the Harvey House, and the Western American Railroad Museum also at the Harvey House. Barstow is the location of the largest railyard west of the Mississippi River. Calico Ghost Town, ten miles east of Barstow, is the renovated mining town restored by Walter Knott, who then recreated many of the attractions at the original Knott's Berry Farm in Buena Park. Rainbow Basin Natural Area is a beautiful area of multi-colored rock formations and scenic canyons. Barstow Outlet Center was one of the first outlet centers in California and is a frequent stop for Las Vegas-bound travelers.

Camping: For those interested in camping, there is a variety of nearby RV and primitive camping opportunities available. Both Calico Ghost Town and Barstow/Calico KOA have full and partial hookups and tent camping. There is also dry camping at Rainbow Basin (Owl Canyon - \$6/night) and Sawtooth Canyon (Free) BLM campgrounds. For more information, contact Nelson Miller, Conference Chair.

Other Information: Please watch the Old Spanish Trail website for further information and updates regarding the conference. If you have questions, or need more information, please contact Nelson Miller, 2017 Conference Chair, at nemiller47@yahoo.com.



24th Annual National Conference, October 5-8, 2017

Quality Inn, 1520 E Main Street, Barstow, California 92311

Register Online at www.OldSpanishTrail.org

Or complete this form and mail to: Pat Schoffstall, 1030 Flora Street, Barstow, CA 92311

Name(s) _____

Address _____

Daytime Phone _____

Email _____

Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA) Member ____ Yes ____ No

(See special membership/conference fees below)

Conference Fees include conference registration, speakers on Friday and Saturday, refreshments, Friday buffet lunch, Friday evening reception, and field trips (unless otherwise noted). Self-driving directions will be provided to field trip locations.

OSTA members registration (before September 1, 2017)

* ____ per person @ \$75 each

New members SPECIAL. Join OSTA and save! (before September 1, 2017)

____ per person @ \$95 each

Your one year, individual OSTA membership (normally \$25) included with registration (at a \$5 discount). **

Non OSTA members registration (before September 1, 2017)

____ per person @ \$85 each

Registration after September 1, 2017 Additional

* **per person @ \$12 each**

Special full-time Student registration

____ per person @ \$40 each

Friday one day only registration – OSTA member

____ per person @ \$64 each

Non-member

____ per person @ \$69 each

Full-time student

____ per person @ \$32 each

Saturday one day only registration - OSTA member

____ per person @ \$24 each

Non-member

____ per person @ \$29 each

Full-time student

____ per person @ \$12 each

Thursday Dinner option - Idle Spurs Steakhouse (____ persons)

* ____ Indiv. paid at the time

Saturday banquet ____ New York steak, ____ salmon, ____ vegetarian

* ____ per person @ \$25 each

(Please check your preference (s))

TOTAL – Please make checks payable to: Old Spanish Trail Association

\$ _____

Hotel Reservations: Reservations at the Quality Inn are available for \$75 (includes free cooked-to-order hot breakfast) per night for occupancy by 1-2 persons. Please call Quality Inn at 760.256.6891 to make reservations individually. Make sure to mention you are with the Old Spanish Trail Association to receive the discount rate.

Individual OSTA membership is \$25 per year. Membership includes three issues of Spanish Traces, OSTA's periodical of technical papers, news, book reviews, local chapter information, **and updates, advocacy, education, leadership, and management opportunities.

Hayden Survey, cont. from p. 9

more maps which are un-numbered and appear to be the inset details referred to in the insets on Maps 2 and 3. All this leads to confusion to the set-up of Chapter 5 which details the “skirmish with the Utes” which is the central focus of the book.

There is a theme in the book explicating the complex trade partnerships and family alliances between Utes, Paiutes and Navajos as Cuthbert Mills writes (page 125):

It will be easily seen that such a region [as seen from the Sierra La Sal and the Sierra Abajo] presents nothing which is ever likely to attract any other inhabitants to it than it has now; but to these it offers all they most need. Being on the boundary lines of the ranges of three tribes, the Utes, the Paiutes, and the Navajos, the most desperate rascals from each congregate there for mutual protection and plunder when they dare not openly appear anywhere else. They acknowledge no authority but that of their own chiefs – murderers and robbers every one. The several bands number respectively from seven to twenty and are probably about as poor and desperate a set as mountain brigands usually are. There is not much doubt, however, that some of them occasionally come into the agencies and under cover draw rations and trade there, for of the band which paid their attentions to us, two at least, were recognized as

having been at the Cochetopa Agency [Old Los Pinos Agency] some weeks before. Their regular trading is done with the Navajo tribe south from whom they obtain arms, ammunition, and horses [and blankets as stated elsewhere] in exchange for the proceeds of their hunting expeditions – either of game or men.

Chapter 5, “Vestiges of Bygone Ages,” (August 3-29) deals entirely with Jackson’s Photographic Division excursion to obtain photos of the Moqui (Hopi) Indian villages which consumed almost the entire month of August for his Division. This account provides both photographic and narrative contrast between Hopi and Ute lifeways. Jackson and his party seem quite taken with the hospitality of the Hopi with clear descriptions of the preparation and almost ritual mealtime consumption of the staple “piki” wafer bread and pumpkin stew. Jackson’s mule train traversed Navajo Country both going to and departing the Hopi Villages.

Jackson notes the similarity of dress of Hopi and Navajo men (contrasted with earlier descriptions of Ute men with feathers appended to the headgear) with a characteristic red bandana about the head and white cotton pants that extended below the knee. However, authors McPherson and Neel in one of the section summaries provide the often repeated and greatly oversimplified and earlier contradictory assessment that

(page 131) “The San Juan River also served as the general boundary line between Ute and Navajo.”

Chapter 6, “Something Serious Had Occurred,” (August 15-19), covers the “main event” of the book: the ambush of the Gannett-Gardner Division near “Church Rock” (about 6 miles north of the current town of Monticello, Utah, on the eastern flank of the Sierra Abajo (Miera y Pacheco’s “Sierra Azul” of the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition of 1776) by natives (presumed to be Utes). By accounts sent by dispatch to eastern newspapers, the fact that only four mules of the 32 were killed (page 32) and none of the 13 expedition members were injured probably lessened the significance of the situation to those not directly involved. The only references to the event in Hayden’s official “Annual Report” are these terse single sentences in about 30 pages of text:

The party left Denver on June 7, and on July 3 commenced work. They worked uninterruptedly until August 15, when the work was brought to a sudden close by the Indians [Hayden 1877:8]. The party under Mr. Gardner had made but four stations when it was prevented from further prosecution of that duty by Indians [Hayden 1877:12].

Likewise Henry Gannett, Topographer for the Grand River Division, says only this (Hayden 1877:335-6)

Thence our course of travel was southward toward the Sierra Abajo or Blue Mountains. On

our way we were attacked by Indians, and our season's work summarily ended. As the public has been treated to numberless accounts of this affair, all more or less highly colored, it is unnecessary to do more than mention it here.

For those that wish to locate and retrace historic trails, the condition of the Macomb wagon road as the Gannett Division encountered it 15 years after it was established is of considerable interest (page 184):

At noon on the fourth day we struck Macomb's wagon tracks, which we knew led to the Mancos River, our destination. The boys gave a shout at this sign of an inhabited region, heartily joined in by those whose courage had not been up to the average point. Their joy was somewhat lessened by the lugubrious remark of Judge Porter, the colored cook – "I've seen dead men on fresher tracks than them 'ere.

Chapter 7 (August 21-September 5) deals with three topics: impressions of the Gannett-Gardner Division after arriving back at Parrott City (upper La Plata), "rescue" of the two-person supply depot on the Dolores River east of the La Sal Mountains, and Jackson's (Photo-

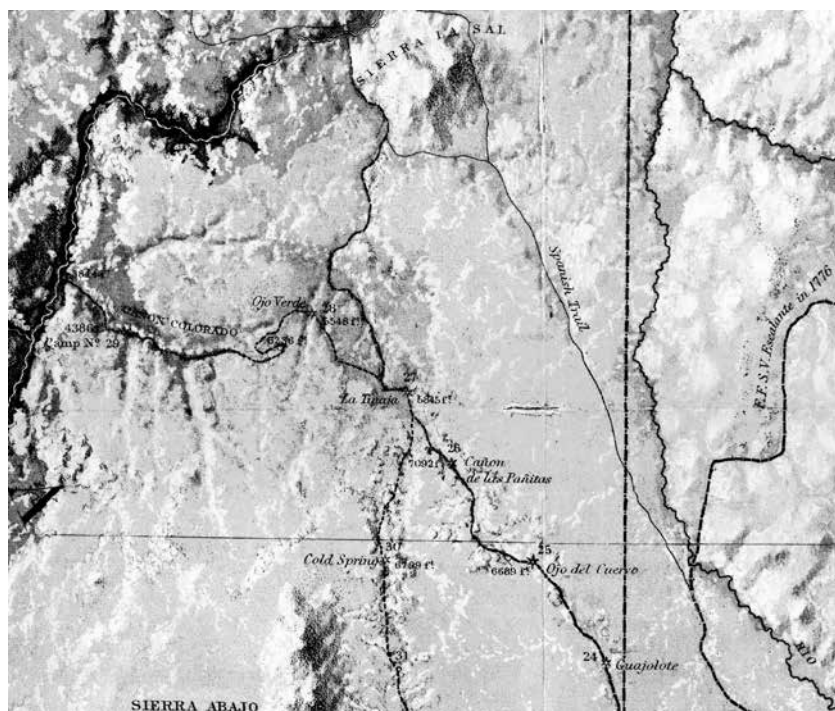
graphic Division) return from the Hopi Mesas via the Abajo Mountains. As mentioned earlier in this review, the ambiguity of the maps for those readers (like myself) who want to identify specific historic places is frustrating. There are assertions for each of the Divisions that finding and following aboriginal foot trails even with lightly loaded pack mules is at times problematic. When the rescue party headed by Gardner reaches the Dolores supply depot finding the "quartermaster" (Holman) and his young assistant (Dallas) safe and sound, the decision is made to destroy the supplies because the rescue party was travelling with only one extra mule as a replacement if one of the already exhausted mules faltered.

There is a mention by Jackson (page 205) of crossing the "Old Spanish Trail" as it was defined by Macomb in 1859:

With two light packs, we struck out across country [from the Abajo Mountain Camp] to pick up the Old Spanish Trail to an upper crossing of the Colorado which Harry said was in this neighborhood. Dropping into a draw or shallow canyon, we came to a copious and remarkably cold spring ["Cold Spring" on Macomb Map]. As we followed down the gradually broadening canyon, we came on the old trail [likely Macomb's wagon road and not what Macomb depicted as the "Spanish Trail"] near a peculiar rock formation known as La Tinaja [see Macomb Map]. We were now in a broad, valley-like-expansion of the gorges leading into the Colorado Canyon, where there was very little grass and no water.

I have attached a section of the Macomb expedition (1859) map

Figure 1. Section of Macomb's 1859 map depicting the Spanish Trail in relation to Sierra La Sal and Sierra Abajo. www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/f6n86p



which provides some detail of landmarks and place names of the region which the Hayden Survey personnel appear to be referring to, which interestingly don't appear on the Hayden Survey topographic map of the same region prepared based on their own expedition based on 1875 fieldwork.

Chapter 7 (August 26 to October 20, 1875) deals with the 'after action consequences' and fixing blame of what in the postscript is called (page 257) the "Dry Valley" incident. It may be that this label is not applied until the end of the text as an intentional literary device. If so, this allows the reader to feel more of a sense of place travelling through untrammelled landscapes and therefore gaining a greater appreciation of the 'integrity of

feeling' (National Register of Historic Places) or 'vicarious understanding' (terminology of National Trails System Act 'high potential trail segment') of a contemporary newspaper reader or even one of the 13 employees of the Hayden Expedition who were on the scene. It would be a useful addition for those interested in a standard documentary understanding of the events which depend so heavily on newspaper accounts, if at least one of the full newspaper excerpts was included in the book as a facsimile.

"Professor Gardner's" analysis transcribed in the text (pages 215-219) as published in the *Rocky Mountain News* (22 September 1875) provides an important insight in differences in assessment of responsibility for the incident.

In the excerpt which follows, Gardner attributes the attack to a renegade "Pah Ute" Band instead of a Ute Band under the influence of Ute leader Ouray (image of original can be viewed on-line in Holmes 1932:30 "scrapbook" <https://archive.org/details/Randomrecordsli2Holm>) and also exposes a difference of assignment of responsibility for the situation by Hayden to Gardner.

The Old Man of the Mountains.
History of the Ebony Complected Ute and His Band of Assassins who Attacked the Hayden Explorers—An Indian Ishmaelite whose Hand is Against Every Man.

The following official document supplementing the account of the attack on Prof. Gardner's party, and describing the renegade Ute who has instituted a "reign of terror" in the Sierra La Sal, has been forwarded to Dr. Hayden:

Denver, September 18, 1875.—
Sir : Having had until now no access to the newspapers for many weeks, I am surprised to learn from the New York Herald's Washington correspondent of September 6th that the acting secretary of the interior, in a conversation with the correspondent, seemed to understand me as placing upon the Ute tribe the responsibility of the attack on our party, and he very justly says that a powerful people like them, familiar with every foot of the country, could certainly have killed every one

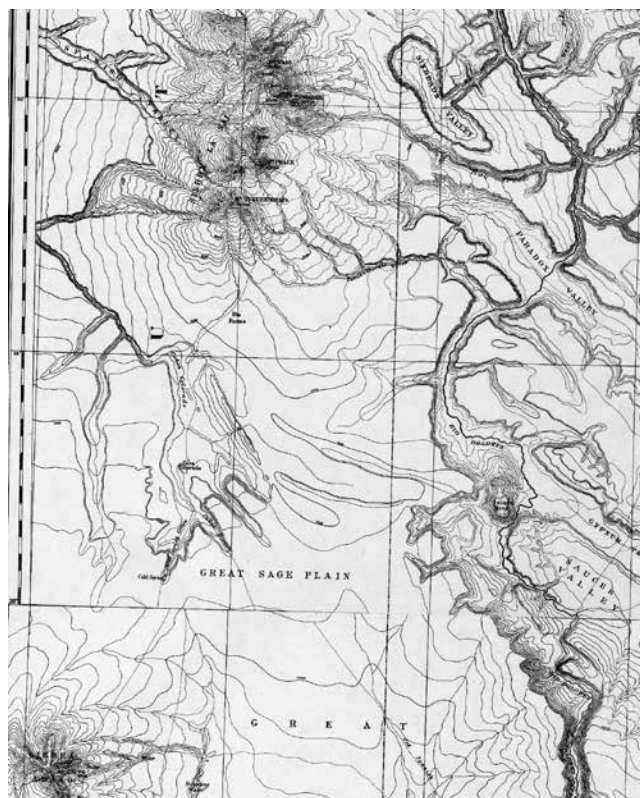


Figure 2. Portion of Hayden Survey composite map (1877) showing the area between the La Sal and Abajo Mountains
www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/s/n80ka6

of our little band of explorers had they intended to. It was not my intention to make the Utes, as a tribe, responsible for the outrages; nor do I consider them so, except in the same sense that the community of Washington would be responsible for a band of highwaymen infesting the road to Arlington Heights. For the past thirteen years I have been conducting geological and geographical explorations among the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Sioux, Shoshones, Pah Utes, Apaches and Utes, often trusting to the rifle alone for security, and often shot at by Indians simply to frighten. The difference between an attack to kill and any attempt to intimidate become very obvious after a varied experience with these tribes. During the past few years our work has been among the Utes, requiring us to traverse every part of the reservation. Though the explorations have been objected to by the more ignorant part of the nation, yet we have had the constant support and protection of the most powerful chiefs, Ouray and Douglass, and consequently, in general, good treatment at the hands of their followers. Our intercourse with these chiefs has led me to think highly of their wisdom, and to regard them as true friends of the whites and of peace. That it may be clearly understood to whom we are indebted for the warm reception we received at the Sierra La Sal, I will give, in a condensed form, such information as I have been

able to gather about them.

In 1873 I learned from some source not now remembered, that a small but high group of mountains standing in the eastern edge of Utah, about latitude 39°, and called the Sierra La Sal, was not inhabited by Utes, but by a band of Pah Utes, who had never made peace with the whites, but were in the habit of committing small depredations over in Utah, and then retreating across the Colorado river cañons to their mountain home. This must have come but as a vague rumor through the Indians, for no government expedition had ever entered the range, nor prospector, nor hunter that I have met. Knowing Prof. Powell to be more familiar with the Pah Utes than anyone else, I applied to him for further information. He confirmed the report that the range was inhabited by a band of renegade Pah Utes, but I do not recall what he said about their depredations. He did not consider it unsafe for me to go among them with [to]the site of the infamous labor-management dispute known as the Ludlow Massacre party of seven armed men. A party of renegades is, as you know, a band made up of the worst elements, who bid defiance to all peaceful treaties of their tribes, and unite under some chosen chief to live by, plunder, fighting as guerillas.

This difference in contemporary assessment of culpability and recommended resolution for the

Dry Valley incident is revealed in the “Conclusion” chapter (pages 243-256) to be at least part of the reason Hayden did not continue Gardner’s employment with the “Survey.”

As a study in government bureaucracy and public-private partnerships, it is of note that Hayden also was suspicious (or jealous?) of Gardner’s apparently unauthorized travel time on assessment of coal resources for private corporate interests (William Jackson Palmer) in the coalfields near Pueblo, Colorado. Allegations that civil servants would use their government position for personal gain is relevant today, despite legal rejection of the “spoils system” in the form of the “Civil Service Reform Acts” [of 1883 and 1978]. Gardner’s personal gain from field research in 1875 while on government duty and later valuation, publication, investment, and promotion of industrial development of natural resources benefited Palmer’s business ventures. It may be an extreme view to consider this related to the 1914 infamous labor-management dispute known as the Ludlow Massacre, which took place in the same coal and iron mining region which Garner assessed and from which Palmer and other late 19th-century and early 20th-century venture capitalists benefitted.

The ability to establish and maintain trade and commercial networks are intrinsically related to cultural and physical geographic knowledge. The ability to

Chasing the Dream: The Role of Myth in Spanish Exploration of the American West

By David P. Bailey

Spanish colonial historians often emphasize the importance of Spanish exploration in opening the American West and Southwest to trade and eventual settlement. What is often overlooked, however, is an explanation of the motivation for these explorers to travel into the unknown and dangerous region north of the conquered Aztec Empire.

The Distant Treasures in the Mist exhibition at the Museums of Western Colorado in Grand Junction tells the story of what motivated these explorations and presents the information they obtained on their journeys to the northern frontier.

In Search of the Seven Cities of Gold

The New World's first conqueror was Hernan Cortés. In a long letter written by Cortés to the Emperor Charles V of Spain, he tells of his first conversation with the Aztec ruler Montecuhzoma on November 8, 1519, on the eve of the destruction of the Aztec Empire.

Montecuhzoma confided, "We have

known for a long time, from the chronicles of our forefathers, that neither I, nor those who inhabit this country, are descendants from the aborigines of it, but from strangers who came to it from very distant parts; and we also hold, that our race was brought to this parts by a lord, whose vassals they all were, and who returned to his native country."

Cortés wondered if it were possible to locate the original Aztec kingdom known as Aztlán. He assumed it would be just as wealthy as the newly-discovered Aztec kingdom.

The Spanish conquistadors had a legend from their own country, the story of the magnificent Seven Cities of Gold. In 711 A.D., the Moorish army invaded Spain and Portugal, but per the legend, seven bishops and their followers sailed west to avoid the invaders. The bishops then founded the Seven Cities of Gold on an island in the Atlantic Ocean. By 1508, maps began to appear in Europe that relocated the Seven Cities of Gold to North America.

The Spanish conquistadors were told by Aztec priests, as part of their creation story, of their emergence from

seven caves. It was not long before the Spanish put the seven cities and seven caves stories together and believed the Aztecs were originally from the Seven Cities of Gold.

Hernan Cortés was determined to be the first to find the rich Aztec homeland. He dispatched his lieutenants to search for any possible rich mining regions or a water passage to the South Sea (Pacific Ocean) in an unexplored area west of Tenochtitlán, present-day Mexico City.

The Strait of Anián Said to Bisect North America

The Spaniards founded a port at Zacatula (Bahía Petacalco), on the west coast of Nueva Galicia(Mexico). Cortés built four small ships to explore the coastline of the South Sea.

He also believed strongly in another myth, the Strait of Anián, a large waterway that supposedly bisected North America from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean. On the banks of that waterway would be rich kingdoms and possibly the Seven Cities of Gold.

On May 15, 1535, Cortés wrote a letter shortly after his discovery of Santa

Hayden Survey, cont.

effectively read the landscape and disseminate knowledge is not only key to the success of any economic venture, but mis-reading the physical or cultural landscape can have devastating consequences for the investors. *Mapping the Four Corners* provides an intriguing snapshot of how different

culturally-based ways of reading the landscape have a bearing, not only on short-term individual welfare, but also on survival and adaptation of ethnic groups to a changing milieu. While much of this review has been critical of some of the details of geographic relationships in the presentation, this book provides a wonderful

anchor point to delve into precursor and successor events in a landscape with extraordinary landforms, vibrant colors, and often scarce undependable water supply. ♦

Mark Henderson chairs the Stewardship Committee of the Old Spanish Trail Association.

Cruz, located in the Baja California Peninsula, about his treasure expeditions. However, the section of his letter explaining his discoveries and secrets was mysteriously removed after it was received. Spanish colonial treasure hunters were extremely secretive about the information they gathered from explorations, and it is not surprising that a section is missing. The surviving section of the letter does mention pearls and one can sense Cortés's anxiousness to find other riches.

When Cortés got back to Nueva Galicia (Mexico), he claimed to have discussed his findings with Friar Marcos de Niza. In 1538, the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, had sent de Niza on an overland mission to explore the country east of the Sea of Cortés (Gulf of California). De Niza came back with news of the existence of the Seven Cities of Cibola. The news would send explorer Francisco Vázquez de Coronado on a disastrous quest in 1540 to find the mysterious cities.

Rumors of the Lost Spaniards

Coronado traveled for two years looking for riches and was told of another great city, Quivira, which turned out to be just as unattainable. Coronado returned to Mexico bankrupt and disgraced. The attention de Niza was getting for his "discoveries" greatly upset Hernan Cortés. From 1521 to 1539, Cortés financed numerous land and sea expeditions in search of rich cities and kingdoms, their locations based on legends and stories from native peoples. The expeditions found no great cities or treasure on the banks of the mythical Strait of Aníán, only more stories of great riches from native groups they encountered. In 1541, Hernan Cortés left Mexico for

Spain to settle legal issues with the King of Spain, and never returned.

Cortés eventually gave up his treasure quest and one of his veteran soldiers, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, carried on the search for the treasure cities on the Strait of Aníán by sailing up the present-day California coast in 1542. Cabrillo had fought the Aztecs with Cortés and had become a favorite of the Spanish government. The Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, asked him to lead an expedition to the South Sea to look for the Strait of Aníán. On June 27, 1542, Cabrillo set out with three ships and headed north toward the coastline of the South Sea, the California coast. The trip was uneventful until August 25, when Cabrillo and his men encountered five natives who indicated through sign language they saw other men like them with beards, dogs, crossbows, and swords.

The native men had decorated themselves with white paint that mimicked coats, trousers, and ornamental sashes. They indicated the Spaniards were five days' travel from them. On October 8, 1542, an Indian elder told them again that there were other Spaniards traveling on the mainland. Native villages all along the coast told the same tale of mysterious bearded men wearing similar Spanish style clothing.

This was the beginning of a new myth about lost Spaniards living inland that would last for centuries and take its place alongside the legends of the Seven Cities of Gold and the Strait of Aníán. The Cabrillo expedition would return to Mexico after a nine-and-a-half-month trip without their leader, who died from a fall during the trip. Although the Cabrillo expedition found no riches, they did add valuable

information on the geography and native groups of the California coast.

Early Maps Show Golden Cities in Present-day Colorado

The Spanish colonial government kept excellent records in the form of maps, diaries, and ledgers to enlighten the King of Spain on his newly-conquered lands. The full story of the Spanish pursuit of legends and myths began to unfold with the discovery of an early map of the Western Hemisphere.

One of the most interesting of the early mapmakers was Juan Martines. From 1550 to 1591 he produced over thirty charts and atlases.

Curiously, Martines's map and many other New World maps marked the area of present-day west central Colorado at the intersection of 39 degrees north latitude and the source of a large unknown river. This river, apparently, the Colorado River of today, emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and was the site of the Seven Cities of Gold.

The geographical information of these early maps was based partially on the Spanish conquistadors' and European explorers' limited nautical and inland explorations. However, the early mapmakers based most of their information on legends, myths, and cultural stories from the native peoples. The mapmakers went even one step further by placing the locations of these mythical cities on their maps.

Mysterious Spaniards Said to be Shipwrecked

Spanish adventurer Sebastián Vizcaíno sailed up the California coast in 1602 and encountered more strange tales of lost Spaniards. On November 10, 1602, Father Ascensión, who accompanied Vizcaíno, related that

after their arrival at San Diego harbor they encountered native men carrying silver ore. The men indicated other bearded Spaniards wearing collars and breeches were living inland and had the same ore.

When the Vizcaíno expedition arrived at present-day Santa Catalina Island, his diary entry, dated November 30, 1602, states an elderly native woman brought two pieces of Chinese silk with figures on them to the attention of the crew. The woman explained that men dressed like them were shipwrecked on the coast long ago. Father Ascensión was so concerned with these native sightings of European-like strangers that he asked the King of Spain to send an expedition to locate them.

At that time the Spanish Empire was worried that other European nations were trying to encroach on their territory. Although the King never acted on the recommendations, the Cabrillo and Vizcaíno expeditions had engrained in the Spanish psyche the notion of lost Spaniards and mysterious cities in the wilds of North America.

Kingdom of Quivira Rich in Precious Metals

The numerous stories of mysterious Spaniards and settlements reported by the maritime explorers were strengthened by the reports of Spanish priests, who interviewed native people during their travels in the present-day southwestern United States. Of interest was Father Alonso de Benavides's Royal Report of 1630. He traveled to many areas in the Southwest and recorded the lives and customs of different tribal groups, as well as the mineral resources and legendary places.

Benavides's report gave coordinates for finding the legendary kingdom of

Quivira. Benavides indicated that the Quivira Indians adorned themselves with gold earrings and necklaces and that precious metal was commonplace in their kingdom. The report was presented by Father Benavides to the Spanish royal court in hopes of receiving more priests and money to continue religious work in New Spain. Benavides's narrative of the Seven Cities of Cibola described that one of the seven cities, Cibola (Cibola), consisted of a thousand beautiful three-to-four-story timber and stone houses.

Fifty-six years later a second geographical description of New Spain was published. Alonso de Posada's Royal Report of 1686 mentioned the important kingdom and provinces of Teguayo. Posada gave directions to this new kingdom. If travelers left Santa Fe, located at thirty-seven degrees north latitude, proceeded northwest and crossed a large river (Colorado River), they would enter the country of the Utes. Approximately 70 leagues (a Spanish league is equivalent to 2.6 miles) from this country, travelers would cross into Teguayo, also called Copala, the ancient homeland of the Mexicans. The report stated that all people of Central and South America originally came from this region. Here again the legend of the Aztec homeland resurfaced and rekindled interest in finding the rich cities and treasure.

This report also reinforced the Spanish belief of unknown kingdoms not far from a great river and above thirty-seven degrees north latitude. The Royal Reports of Benavides and Posada were largely based on information from many sources, including soldiers, traders and native peoples.

Two Expeditions into Ute Country

Nearly 80 years after the Benavides and Posada reports, another explorer, Juan Maria Antonio Rivera, would attempt to solve the mysteries of the northern frontier. By 1765 the Spanish government had become worried about the uneasy northern alliances with the Comanche and Ute Nations. New Mexican Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín sent an expedition to the unexplored northern frontier to investigate the situation.

Rivera was chosen to lead two expeditions to Ute country. He kept detailed diaries of each of his trips. In June of 1765, Rivera and a group of experienced trappers and traders left for "the northern mystery," a Spanish term for the uncharted area north of New Mexico, which includes present-day Colorado and Utah.

Rivera was also told by the governor to investigate where a Ute warrior had found a piece of silver ore traded to a New Mexican blacksmith. They traveled uneventfully to Ute country, present-day Colorado, and investigated possible locations of silver deposits with no success.

The Utes told Rivera that on the other side of the Río del Tizón (Colorado River) were bearded white men that dressed in armor and wore metal hats.

Rivera must have been intrigued by this revelation, because many of the maps of his day located the southernmost metropolis of the Seven Cities of Gold at thirty-nine degrees north latitude.

Juan Rivera Ventured to Present-day Delta

Many historians believe Rivera reached as far west as present-day Delta, Colorado. This would put Rivera's expedition about 15 Span-

ish leagues south of the first of the seven fabled cities that were listed on the Dieder Robert de Vougondy map published in 1772.

The Utes convinced the Spanish it was too dangerous to travel any further north because of hostile tribes, and Rivera and his men returned to New Mexico. In October of 1765, Rivera was sent on a second mission by Governor Cachupín to find the Río del Tizón and look for bearded men living in towns or nations along its banks. The Utes were again hesitant to take Rivera to the river because of the danger. In his diary, Rivera said he finally was guided to the Río del Tizón, but at the wrong place. The Utes finally told Rivera the lost Spaniards they were looking for were killed in a battle. Rivera, disillusioned by his lack of success, returned to New Mexico.

Escalante Seeks Overland Route

In 1775, Father Silvestre Vélez Escalante sent numerous letters and plans to the governor of New Mexico and the provincial minister of the Franciscans, asking for permission to find an overland route from New Mexico to the Spanish mission in Monterey, California. By 1776, Escalante's plan was approved, and he traveled to Santa Fe to get supplies and find capable men to go on the expedition.

Father Escalante was born in Trenceño, Spain, in 1750. At 17 he joined the Franciscan Order and traveled to Mexico. Escalante was transferred to New Mexico to conduct missionary work and taught Christian doctrine at the Zuñi mission. Escalante traveled extensively across the northern frontier.

The Spanish frontier missions had

small libraries, and he reviewed the limited history on northern exploration. In a letter dated April 30, 1776, he mentioned receiving valuable information while smoking cigars with a Havasupai man. The man used charcoal to draw a detailed map of the area on a saddle blanket.

During their conversation, the man explained the terrain and the different tribal groups in the area. Escalante was acquiring information from many sources and was interested in an overland expedition from New Mexico to Spanish settlements near Monterey, California. If a land route were established, it would increase their ability to communicate and coordinate mission work in the west.

Lost Spanish Colony Rumor is Persistent

Escalante also was interested in solving the mystery of a colony of lost Spaniards living on the northern frontier. Both the Spaniards living in California and the Ute Indians told stories of this lost Spanish colony. In a letter dated October 28, 1775, to Governor Don Pedro Fermín de Mendinua, Escalante wrote:

"It must be forty years since reports of the said Spaniards were first had. It was printed in the diary of the journey of the year of [17]51 which Father Fernando Consag made through California. Because the settlement of Monterey is much more modern, it is inferred evidently that the Spaniards who have been seen on the other side of the great river of Tison [present day Colorado River] cannot be from there. In circumstances wherein two nations so different as are the Californians and the Utes find themselves in accord, I myself, not having received further reports for so long a time, suppose that some shipwreck or other

contingency threw upon the coasts of Monterey some European people and that they, having penetrated inland, established themselves on the banks of the said river and that finally their descendants are those whom the Utes and the rest, perhaps because of the color and dress, call Spaniards. Their discovery would be very useful to religions and the crown both to prevent any attack upon this kingdom, if they are foreigners, and to incorporate them with ourselves if they are, as they say, Spaniards."

Bearded Natives may be "Spaniards"

In 1775 Escalante was joined on his journey by Father Francisco Atanasio Domínguez. Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, a well-known surveyor and mapmaker, and seven experienced traders and townsmen also joined the group. After several delays, the men left Santa Fe on July 29, 1776. Their journey took them through the present-day areas of northern New Mexico, western Colorado, Utah, and back down through Arizona.

The early winter weather stopped them from reaching Monterey. Escalante kept a detailed diary of their trip and reported on flora, fauna, native groups, and terrain. On September 30, 1776, his diary entry describes 20 bearded native men resembling Spaniards who came into their camp south of present-day Utah Lake, Utah.

Escalante speculated since they crossed Tizón earlier on their trip, perhaps these were the "lost Spaniards" on the other side of the river the Utes had talked about. The expedition arrived back in Santa Fe on January 2, 1777, having failed in their mission, but having gained valuable new knowledge of the northern frontier. On April 2, 1778, Escalante wrote

Father Juan Agustín Morfi a letter that reiterated his theory that the “Spaniards” living across the Río del Tizón were the bearded natives he met on his expedition in 1776. Father Velez Escalante’s new theory did not stop the centuries-old search for the lost Spaniards and their colony.

Last Expedition Blocked by River

There would be one last Spanish expedition to find their “lost” countrymen, by Don José Rafael Sarraceno, a prominent citizen of Santa Fe. In 1811, while serving as the Postmaster of New Mexico, he decided to make a trip to the northern frontier.

Sarraceno wanted to find the Spanish settlement the Utes said was beyond their border. He traveled for three months searching for the settlement and stopped at a large river, which

may have been the Colorado, where natives told him they traded for items with people who lived on the other side of the river. Sarraceno failed to find a river crossing to the north and west and returned home to Santa Fe.

Failed Treasure Seekers Opened Lands for Settlers

Why did the Spanish spend centuries searching for the Seven Cities of Gold, lost treasures, and mysterious Spanish colonies based on stories and myth without more concrete evidence?

The story of the Seven Cities of Gold had traveled with the conquistadors from Spain. The Strait of Anián was an old nautical tale from Spanish and English mariners. Perhaps the lost Spanish Colony myth was based on native encounters with Spanish Colo-

nial Army deserters or actual sailors from the many Spanish ships that sank off the California coast. The Seven Cities of Gold, Strait of Anián, and lost Spanish Colony myths brought frustration and failure to the early Spanish explorers. However, their new knowledge of geography and native cultures would open up these lands to those who followed for trade and settlement. ♦

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Indigenous Borderlands: Livestock, Captivity, and Power in the Far West

by Natale Zappia

Excerpt from "Indigenous Borderlands: Livestock, Captivity, and Power in the Far West" by Natale A. Zappia in Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 81, no. 2, May 2012, pp. 193-220 (c) 2012 by the Regents of the University of California. Published by the University of California Press.

Indigenous raiders acted as a third force forging the Far West.¹ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans created dynamic economies based on livestock, furs, and agriculture. Simultaneously, though, Natives in the borderlands between New Mexico and California expanded their economic and military power even as *Californios* and *Nuevo Mexicanos*

became the dominant ruling classes. Through the formation and expansion of an indigenous captive-livestock raiding economy, Natives forged an “interior world” that connected local economies and shaped the larger designs of state power.

The interior world stretched across Alta and Baja California, Arizona, northern Sonora, and western New Mexico. This region included the Mojave and Colorado Deserts, Lower Colorado and Gila Rivers, and Lower Great Basin. While occupying mostly inhospitable desert country, Native traders and raiders forged a raiding economy that facilitated (or obstructed) the movement of goods, animals, and people across the Far West. At

the same time raiding also expressed indigenous economic and cultural power through kin and gender-based networks.

Even as Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, indigenous raiding swept across a vast stretch of the Far West and Southwest borderlands, shaping local and interregional economies including those of New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Chihuahua, Sonora, and the Californias. Within these overlapping borderlands, powerful indigenous equestrian societies like the Apaches, Utes, Navajos, Comanches, Kiowas, Mojaves, and Yokuts seized mules, sheep, cattle, horses, and slaves from their more sedentary neighbors.

Highlighting one focal point of exchange during this period, the Old Spanish Trail offers a prism reflecting the many ways that the interior world affected regional economies.² By 1829 the Old Spanish Trail linked New Mexico and California. The trail cut through the heart of the interior world, where Natives had preceded these travelers and traded on the multi-braided trail since the sixteenth century.³ Between the 1830s - 1850s, competing raiding societies from the Ute, *Apacheria*, and the Dinétah borderlands utilized the Old Spanish Trail to raid Euro-American settlements.⁴

While many Native communities from the interior world played a role in this rapidly emerging economy (including the Yokuts, Chemehuevis, Yavapais, and Cahuillas), this article focuses on two of the most powerful groups who dominated horse raiding on the Old Spanish Trail: the Mojaves from the Mojave Desert and the Utes from the lower Great Basin. Of course, the history of trading and raiding across the interior world reaches far beyond horse raiding along the Old Spanish Trail and the scope of this article. Violence also permeated Indian country through war, kidnapping, and slavery. The disruptive and even horrific nature of captivity in this region deserves careful treatment and extensive analysis, but also suggests further exploration into the larger history of captivity, trade, and warfare within the interior world.⁵

Traffic on the Old Spanish Trail

Since the seventeenth century, Spanish explorers viewed the interior between New Mexico, Sonora, and Alta California as a strategic priority. Missionaries and explorers like Francisco Garcés and Juan Bautista

de Anza agreed that settling along the Lower Colorado River (which flowed roughly halfway between Sonora and California) was a vital objective.⁶ During the 1770s, Quechans, Mojaves, and Cocopahs who lived there initially welcomed colonists, but in 1781 completely destroyed the new settlements and *Mission La Purísima Concepción*, martyring Garcés with it.⁷ For the Spanish, the Quechan expulsion served as a humiliating blow closing the road from Sonora to Alta California.⁸

For decades after the revolt, Spanish colonial officials scrambled to restructure their fiscal military policies in the northern frontier. New Mexican merchants began to view a more northerly route to California as an enticing alternative. The “Ute route,” as it was called, would ultimately become the Old Spanish Trail. The Utes who lived in this area and traveled along these trails had already emerged as important economic partners with many New Mexicans by the time of the Quechan revolt. Comprised of several bands located over a wide territory, Utes held varying strategic interests. Some engaged in buffalo hunting, while others took part in slave raiding and horse stealing. During the eighteenth century, Ute raiders dramatically shaped the New Mexican borderlands, providing a steady supply of slaves (usually kidnapped Southern Paiute women and children) for colonial New Mexican *obrajes* [textile factories employing forced labor] in exchange for horses. Some colonists valued this lucrative relationship and sought to maintain trading partnerships.⁹ They also provided a buffer against Comanche and Apache attacks occurring in every direction around Santa Fe.

Many Spaniards encouraged the slave

trade, while other colonial officials attempted to ban it in 1778. Despite the *bando*, the slave trade flourished as Utes continued raiding.¹⁰ Many of those Spaniards who defied the *bando* also searched for ways to penetrate other markets. Ute traders guided them on trails that moved northwest (and out of the reach of the Quechans) from Santa Fe before cutting southwest, following the course of the Colorado River and through present-day Utah, Arizona, and Nevada. As many Spaniards observed, Utes used these trails to kidnap Southern Paiute slaves for markets in New Mexico. In the coming decades, they would also work these trails to steal horses in California.¹¹ Ironically, Spanish and Mexican desires to avoid powerful Quechan antagonists unwittingly enabled Ute raiders to disrupt efforts to forge economic links between colonies.

Despite early attempts to utilize Native trails for commerce, it was not until Mexican independence that foreign travelers crisscrossed the interior and revived hopes for interregional trade. Proponents of the Old Spanish Trail envisioned a lucrative exchange of sheep, processed wool, and blankets (from New Mexico) for mules and horses (raised in California). Connecting Los Angeles with Santa Fe further linked maturing colonial production centers. At the same time, it provided New Mexico with access to international trade through the coastal economy. By 1800 the Pacific Rim already bustled with economic activity and exploration. For example, fueled in part by Chinese demand for pelts, the otter fur trade allowed Russian expansion into northern California, British sailors into the Pacific Northwest and Hawaii, and Americans to Mexican ports from Boston and overland from New Mexico.

During this time, the hide-and-tallow trade also increased in importance. Californio ranchers met demand by seizing mission herds. Native vaqueros shaped the trade by raising, tanning, and manufacturing hides for export.¹² Since the 1780s, cattle and horse herds had expanded steadily so that on the eve of Mexican independence, more than 200,000 head of cattle and 50,000 horses grazed on mission and Indian land.¹³ Although several scholars associate Mexican independence with the emergence of the hide-and-tallow economy, livestock populations actually reached a critical mass in the decades before the defeat of Spain 1821 and the secularization of the missions in 1834.¹⁴ At the same time, the Indian slave trade expanded in New Mexico, Sonora, and Alta California. New Spain's failure against the Quechans at the Colorado River further weakened the grip on the economic activity of Alta California. By the time of independence in 1821, immense herds of mission livestock already facilitated trade.

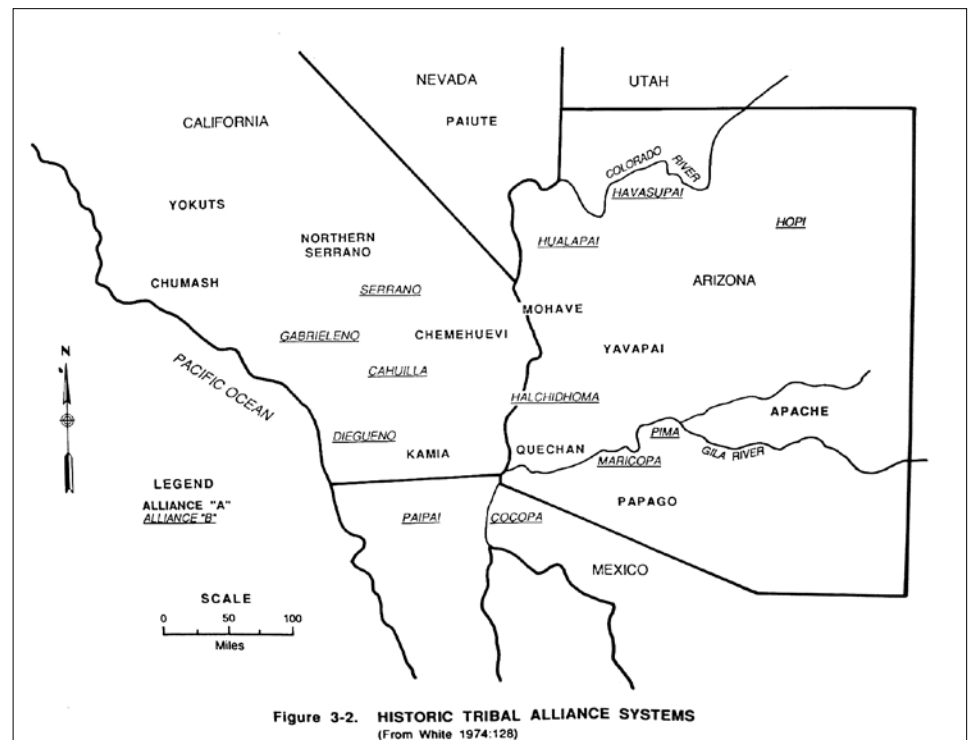
All of these developments motivated New Mexicans and Californios to connect via the Old Spanish Trail. Thousands of livestock crisscrossed the trading corridor by the 1840s.¹⁵ This economic activity also allowed Native interregional raiding to move west into California. Using the Old Spanish Trail, Ute and Mojave raiders entered California and stole mostly horses and mules. Horse populations escaping from ranchos also supplied raiders with steady transportation and food. Raiding quickly engulfed the Far West borderlands, expanding Native slavery and the commodification of women and children. This greatly disrupted some communities while forging ethnic links among others. Some, like the Southern Paiutes, bore increasing hardship, becoming the frequent victims of slave raids. Violence and ethnic tension increased alongside multiethnic raids.

As herds reached their peak between the 1830s and 1840s, Utes also undertook the largest thefts of horses,

sometimes amassing thousands in a single sweep.¹⁶ With their great prowess on horseback, Utes easily outmaneuvered ranchers and vaqueros across southern California. Located near the Cajon Pass, San Bernardino and San Gabriel Valley settlements (but also those within the Los Angeles basin) bore the brunt of Ute raids. Appendix I highlights a sample of these raids that occurred between 1816-1856. Exact figures on the number of horses stolen during this period remain unclear, but the archival material that does exist speaks to the prevalence of Ute raids in Southern California. Perhaps blamed for attacks in which they never participated, Ute raiding (real or imagined) became an ingrained part of the Far West.¹⁷

Many sources discuss a daily fear of attacks from Indian country. Indigenous raiders got lumped together by observers reporting the damage. These raids increasingly took on multiethnic dimensions. Mojaves, Southern Yokuts (who were themselves

Quechan and Maricopa alliances. "Alliance A" is the Quechan alliance and "Alliance B" is the Maricopa alliance. While these alliances were much more fluid than the map indicates, they did exist in some form for at least four centuries and facilitated trading and raiding. The Utes were located north of the Colorado River and did not play a role in either alliance. Source: Connie L. Stone, *The Linear Oasis: Managing Cultural Resources along the Lower Colorado River vol. 1, Cultural Resource Series Number 6* (Bureau of Land Management, Arizona. 1991), 38.



powerful raiders from the Central Valley of California), and even some Mexicans and Americans took part. Among the leaders of these raids, the most famous was Walkara, a Ute leader who rose to prominence in the 1830s. His multiethnic raiding bands disrupted much of the traffic between New Mexico and California. This included one of the largest horse thefts in California history. In 1840 Walkara and 150 of his raiders (including the famous trapper Thomas “Peg-Leg” Smith) headed west over the Cajon and Tehachapi passes. The raiders stole more than 3,000 horses from San Luis Obispo, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel. Using Mojave and Yokuts trails, watering holes, and hiding spots, these raiders stealthily evaded pursuing ranchers. Many of these horses were then traded to Santa Fe merchants. This multi-leveled operation served as one illustrative example of the many raids originating from the indigenous borderlands.¹⁸

Between the 1840s and 1850s, Utes also attacked numerous New Mexican settlements. Kit Carson sent an urgent letter from the Utah Agency on April 28, 1855, that reveals the scope of the raids, in which more than 625 sheep (valued at \$3 each) were stolen.¹⁹ In a similar raid in 1854, Utes stole 73 cattle and 12 horses. During these raids, much of the stolen property then moved from Ute to Apache or Navajo hands at Abiquiú. One such meeting included over 500 traders and raiders who exchanged \$3,000 worth of merchandise.²⁰

Utes also sold captives to Navajos during this period, as observed by New Mexican judge José María Chaves in a dispute over the ownership of a child captive Antonio Domingo Salazar in 1854: “the said Baca claims said boy as his property by

right of purchase of the Navajo Indians. The said Navajo Indians, having purchased the said boy of the Utaw Indians, who captured him, about three years since.”²¹ While relatively small (most raids averaged several dozen livestock or less), frequent theft over many decades kept both New Mexicans and Californios perpetually on the defensive throughout the nineteenth century.²²

Like the Utes, Mojaves capitalized on their strategic position along the Old Spanish Trail in the Mojave Desert. Mojaves grew proficient at a “hit-and-run” strategy, allowing unsuspecting travelers into their territory. With their superior knowledge of criss-crossing trade routes, warriors easily overtook and captured horses, goods, and slaves. Reported thefts by raiders along the trail occurred as early as 1833.²³ Even before the Old Spanish Trail became a familiar trading route, Mojaves clashed with encroaching fur trappers venturing from the north and the east for beaver pelts. Like other fur trappers of the Far West, Jedediah Smith took part in the horse trade with Great Basin Natives from present-day Nevada and Oregon but journeyed farther south and encountered the Mojaves in 1826.²⁴ In addition to Smith, several fur traders, including James Pattie (1826), George C. Yount (1828, 1831), Ewing Young (1829), and William Wolfskill (1830) experienced attacks while they squatted in Mojave territory. These trappers not only denuded beaver populations, but also occasionally raided livestock or served as middlemen between New Mexico and California along the Old Spanish Trail.²⁵ Whether through direct confrontation or by allowing safe passage for a fee, Mojaves preserved their autonomy throughout much of the nineteenth century.²⁶

At times Mojaves found traders like Jedediah Smith useful. Smith offered horses and other goods in exchange for slaves and safe passage along their roads. For the most part, though, they found themselves at odds with American fur trappers. In 1827 Smith attempted to retrace Father Garcés’s 1776 route through Mojave territory and was attacked by Mojave raiders. Although Smith narrowly escaped, ten of his party died. The ambush also came in the wake of another skirmish (which may have precipitated the Smith attack) between Mojaves and Pattie’s fur-trading party. Pattie’s account further illustrates the increasingly violent nature of exchanges between Mojaves and foreigners.²⁷

Adept Mojave raiders not only kept potential squatters out of their territory but also expanded their economic reach. Mojaves funneled through the Cajon Pass to organize raids into the Los Angeles basin from the 1820s through 1840s. On the eve of the Mexican-American War, both Californios and Americans credited Mojaves and Utes for almost every raid that took place. In 1845 B.D. Wilson recalled how “Mojave and other Indians were constantly raiding upon the ranches in this part of the country.” George Yount also commented on the perceived Mojave power along the Old Spanish Trail, claiming that “the Mohaves [sic] are said to number 5,000 warriors and they hold the neighboring tribes in perpetual fear and dread.”²⁸ Ranchos from as far as Santa Barbara, San Gabriel, and San Diego all found themselves feeling the brunt of Mojave attacks. These raids intensified during and after the Mexican-American War. In an 1847 letter from San Diego to the Military Governor of California S.W. Kearny, H.D. Fitch reported the effects of these raids: “it is my unpleasant duty

to communicate to you that...these people will very soon lose every head of cattle and every horse which they possess.”²⁹

In 1850 Maj. Gen. J.H. Bean of the California Militia received a petition from Los Angeles County requesting protection from what rancheros perceived as a multiethnic and multiregional front, speculating that that “the Indians of the Tulare valley seem determined to wage [war] against the settlements; while the Yotahs [sic], encouraged and excited as their several bands must be by the news of their late success, can and will descend upon our plains.” The petition viewed the Tejon and Cajon passes as the gateway for raiders. In response, Governor John MacDougal quickly authorized Bean to raise a militia force.³⁰ Despite the militia reinforcements, raiding continued. One militiaman stationed at Cajon Pass observed the persistent dominance of raiders: “They have become very bold; entering the valleys at night; they collect and drive off large herds of horses before a sufficient force can be assembled to overtake them. The Eutaws and the ‘Piutes’ are the two principal tribes engaged in these plunders.”³¹

Bean failed to raise adequate supplies or support from McDougal primarily because of fiscal crises and other Native offensives at Mariposa in northern California. The petitions reflected the palpable economic impact of the interior world in the nineteenth century. While indigenous raiders could not defeat Americans, they threatened the steady flow of commerce that tenuously maintained settlements. Raiding strategy thrived on hit-and-run tactics rather than all-out confrontation. If raiders destroyed settlements and removed the American presence,

they would have no target populations to steal from.

Horse raiding added another dimension to earlier networks of exchange across the interior world. Dried fish and elk meat (as well as buffalo and deer hides) had moved among indigenous traders within the interior for centuries. Yet, horses and other livestock represented an unprecedented package of economic, environmental, and even biological impacts. Trails formerly suited for foot traffic and goods carried by hand now became conduits for animal traffic.

Slavery and Captivity in the Far West

Another aspect of the raiding economy, slave kidnapping, also expanded during this period. Slave raiding served as a violent and brutal practice that greatly altered households, local communities, and labor regimes across the interior. Women played a vital role in the production and trade in the interregional economy that emerged in the sixteenth century. Their role as household producers of pottery, shell beads, baskets, and textiles facilitated the dynamic exchange throughout the interior.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost 200 years of exposure to disease had undermined all of this. Consensus among recent scholars points to denser population centers in the interior world during the early colonial period, with some estimates surpassing 50,000 in the sixteenth century.³² As early as the 1600s, though, outbreaks of disease occurred at least every five years, including a major smallpox epidemic between 1645 and 1653. In a longer devastating trend, 75 percent of the population of the Akimel O’odhams succumbed to disease between 1650-1750.³³ Fur-

ther complicating this picture, major migrations usually followed epidemics and repopulated many towns.³⁴ As a result, the roles shared by men, women, and children dramatically changed. Women and children became commodified alongside horses and cattle.³⁵ Demand for slaves allowed Mojaves and Ute raiders to increase their kidnapping. Rancho populations sometimes became the victims of raids. Raiders moved captives east along raiding trails to slave markets in Sonora and New Mexico, although some captives also arrived in Los Angeles for sale.³⁶

Many women and children captives labored in Southern California, tanning cattle hides both on the ranches and among the raiding communities. Crucially, they also replaced local populations decimated by disease and war. In California, children in particular bore the brunt of kidnapping and trade among ranchers, who preferred to use them as servants and couriers. The practice became so pervasive that the legislature enacted the “Act for the Government and Protection of Indians” (1850) to clarify the legality of (although not entirely eliminate) Indian kidnapping. Ranchers found loopholes to “apprentice” children and release them after they turned fifteen. Others could “rent” the children from their parents.³⁷ At the same time, Section 17 of the Act punished Natives who engaged in raiding horses and other livestock with lashings and/or a fine up to \$200. In stark contrast, Section 4 stated that any white settler caught abusing Indian children would be fined only \$10. This clearly reflected the paradoxes and pervasiveness of raiding and Indian slavery in early California. On the one hand, lawmakers were determined to stop raiding and eventually to eliminate captivity. On the other hand, they relied on

Indian slaves, who shaped daily life in California.³⁸

Native communities like the Southern Paiutes (who lived northeast of Los Angeles along the Old Spanish Trail), however, bore the biggest brunt of raiding and slavery. The Southern Paiutes had had very little contact with foreigners until the 1850s. Indirectly, they had long felt the painful consequences of the Spanish/Mexican/Ute demand for slaves. When the priest Silvestre Velez de Escalante led one of the first Spanish expeditions into Ute country via the interior in 1776, the Spanish-Ute slave connection had already preceded him. It took “a thousand gestures” to convince five young Paiutes to come down from a tree where they fled upon seeing the Spanish entourage. By the nineteenth century this trepidation pervaded all Southern Paiute territory. Edward Beale made a similar observation more than fifty years later in the Mojave Desert. He commented that “so common is it [slave kidnapping] to make a raid for this purpose, that it is considered as no more objectionable than to go on a buffalo or a mustang hunt.”³⁹ Upon approaching many settlements, women hid their children.

This Southern Paiute fear, especially toward their Ute neighbors, intensified during the mid-nineteenth century. Ute raiders traded Southern Paiutes both to the east and west, so the latter found themselves as slaves in both New Mexico and Alta California.⁴⁰ Southern Paiute women sold for as much as \$150 in Santa Fe (boys for \$100 and girls for \$200) and for somewhat less in Los Angeles.⁴¹ Without direct access to horses, Southern Paiutes failed to withstand the onslaught of raiders. Increasingly, Utes referred to them in gendered terms as the “women” of the interior

world. By the 1830s Walkara assumed that he had total control over Southern Paiutes and their territories. As Martha Knack has argued in her study on Southern Paiutes, “Utes not only threatened Paiutes bodily but also claimed the right to move freely over Paiute territory.”⁴²

To the Utes, Southern Paiutes became an exploitable commodity. T.J. Farnham, a fur trader trapping in Utah in 1839, commented that Utes viewed their captives as economic investments: “These poor creatures are hunted in the spring of the year, when weak and helpless, by a certain class of men, and when taken are fattened, carried to Santa Fe and sold as slaves during their minority.”⁴³ Another Mormon observer, Anson Call, remarked on the relative ease through which slaves were bought and sold in Utah in 1853: “We were surrounded in every direction by different tribes who annoyed us much by a constant begging...occasionally small bodies of Spaniards were passing who were buying up Indian children for the purpose of making slaves of them.”⁴⁴ The treatment of Southern Paiutes changed in the 1850s. The creation of Fort Yuma in 1849 and Fort Mojave in 1859 initiated the decline of Ute and Mojave raiding. Instead of raiders, migrants on wagons now disrupted their territory, destroying crops with large livestock herds. Southern Paiutes initially welcomed the cessation of Ute raiding, but they quickly grew weary of Mormon redeeming Paiute children from Utes.⁴⁵ In response, Southern Paiutes either sporadically attacked herds, forts, and settlements, or joined their Mojave and Chemehuevi neighbors along the Colorado River to the south.⁴⁶

While women and children suffered most from the violent exchanges un-

folding during the nineteenth century, they continued to shape the raiding economy. Even as captives, they continued to produce textiles, baskets, and pottery, many times introducing and influencing local traditions. Multilingual women captives conversant with neighboring practices served as negotiators between friendly or antagonistic communities. With the exception of the well-documented story of Olive Oatman (who was traded for horses to Mojaves and lived among them as a captive between 1851 - 1857), only sporadic archival material about specific women has surfaced that illustrates similar roles that women played in the borderlands of the Far West.⁴⁷ But looking at the ratio of men-to-women in the region shows that women helped shape the landscape of the raiding economy.⁴⁸

Thus, along the Old Spanish Trail and other overland migration routes, Mojave and Ute raiding presented a formidable economic and military challenge to the burgeoning trade linking California with the interior.

The Demise of Indigenous Raiding

The varying raiding strategies that shifted along the Old Spanish Trail ultimately undermined any pan-Indian grand alliance. Raiding provided increased power for some Natives but stirred up tension and animosity among the more sedentary Indian farmers and *vaqueros* who relied on ranching for employment. After the secularization of the missions in 1834, some Indians even owned their own ranches and viewed raiders as enemies. For many communities, investments in ranching overcame any allegiance to a pan-regional Native front against Americans.⁴⁹

Large multiethnic attacks on ranchos largely ceased. The end resulted from massive demographic shifts following the Gold Rush, sustained droughts that depleted cattle populations, waves of epidemics affecting both American and Native communities, the establishment of Forts Tejon and Mojave, and the gradual shift away from cattle production and toward agriculture.

The flood and droughts of the early 1860s that destroyed the Californio ranching economy also undermined the mule-for-livestock trade between New Mexico and California. Raiding along the Old Spanish Trail largely ended as the volume of goods declined to a trickle.

As Native communities shifted their strategies for survival and cultural continuity by withdrawing from interregional interaction, European-Americans overlooked the integral role that they had played in shaping the economies of California and the Far West. In many ways, this process of forgetting had been enacted throughout early U.S. history and across the continent.⁵⁰ Forced to the margins, Native history became a romanticized narrative of confrontation, colonization, and commemoration. Native interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail (and others like the Lewis and Clark Trail), historic sites like Little Bighorn National Monument, and stewardship over national parks like Glacier and Yosemite National Parks share complex intersections between Native communities, scholars of American Indian history, and the general public.⁵¹

Looked at from the perspective of missions, Californio ranchos, or American expansionists, the history of the Far West does indeed appear

linear. Yet, as much as any other historical actors, the indigenous raiders of the interior borderlands shaped the history of the early American Far West. The interior world persisted for centuries due to the region's flexibility and incorporation of foreign agents as well as relying on effective transportation corridors that confounded colonial interactions. Indeed, long after its demise, former Indian raiding trails continue to link the interior world of Southern California with Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Sonora, and Baja California.

Endnotes

1. Early scholarship on the fur trade used the term the "Far West" to locate the movement of trappers and exchanges with Native communities within the Great Basin, northern California, and Oregon. See LeRoy Hafen, ed., *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West: Eighteen Biographical Sketches* (Lincoln, Neb., 1982). More recent work has expanded the borders of the Far West to include Gold Rush California. See David Igler, *Industrial Cowboys: Miller & Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850 - 1920* (Berkeley, 2005). In Earl Pomeroy's view, the Far West included California, Nevada and the coastal Pacific regions of Oregon, Washington British Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii. See Earl Pomeroy, *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 2009). My study adopts a view of the Far West that includes the indigenous borderlands of southeastern California, southern Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Sonora, Mexico.

2. See Ann and Leroy Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles* (Glendale, Calif., 1954), and Joseph Sanchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678 - 1850* (Salt Lake City, 1997).

3. As early as 1788, Spanish officials became wary of transporting animals overland between settlements due to raiding near the Colorado River. See Clodomiro Soberanos to Antonio Bexar, 1/8/1788, MS C-B 98, Documentos Para La Historia de California,

Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

4. For *Apacheria*, see David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*, (Yale University, 2006) esp. pp.148 - 150; Elizabeth John and John Wheat, ed., and trans., *Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain by José Cortés, Lieutenant in the Royal Corps of Engineers, 1799* (Norman, Okla., 1989). *Dinetah* refers to the territory (still) controlled by Navajo herders, ranchers, traders, and raiders that covered most of the four corners region (New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah). See James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2002)

5. For Indian Slavery, see Leland Donald, *Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America* (Berkeley, 1997); Allan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670 - 1717* (New Haven, 2002); Brett Rushforth, "'A little Flesh We Offer You': The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 60, 4 (2003), 777 - 780; Carl Ekberg, *Stealing Indian Women: Native Slavery in the Illinois Country* (Urbana, Ill., 2007); and Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010).

6. The Colorado River also served as a strategic region for Natives before and during Spanish exploration. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, indigenous warfare shaped political-economic alliances. Jack Forbes's *Warriors of the Colorado: The Quechans and Their Neighbors* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965) is still the definitive history of Natives living along the Colorado River. Also see Clifton B. Kroeber, *Massacre on the Gila: An Account of the Last Major Battle Between American Indians, with Reflections on the Origin of War* (Tucson, 1986); and Timothy Braatz, *Surviving Conquest: A History of the Yavapai Peoples* (Lincoln, Nebr., 2003).

7. Mark Santiago has produced the most comprehensive accounts of the revolt. *Massacre at the Yuma Crossing: Spanish Relations With the Quechans, 1779 - 1782* (Tucson, 1998).

8. Folder 30, Documentos relativos a las misiones de Californias 1768 - 1802, Bancroft Library; John and Wheat, *Views from the Apache Frontier*, 102 - 106.
9. *Obrajes* were textile factories employing forced labor throughout colonial Mexico. See Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 116. For colonial policies and the Utes, see Blackhawk, "The Displacement of Violence: Ute Diplomacy and the Making of New Mexico's Eighteenth-Century Northern Borderlands," *Ethnohistory*, 54 (2007), 723 - 755; Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 70 - 87; John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*, 557 - 592.
10. Sanchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, chap. 8.
11. The Bourbon Reforms, implemented in northern New Spain by Visitador General José de Gálvez, influenced Alta California's production of horses and cattle. Some scholars argue that the shift did not occur until 1805, while others point to the changes ushered in by Galvez in the 1770s. See Robert Jackson, "The Changing Economic Structure of the Alta California Missions: A Reinterpretation," *Pacific Historical Review*, 61 (1992), 387 - 415 and Scott Mensing and Roger Byrne, "Pre-Mission Invasion of *Erodium Cicutarium* in California," *Journal of Biogeography*, 25 (1998), 757 - 762.
12. Calloway's *One Vast Winter Count*, 293 - 300, provides an innovative look at the development of export markets from the Native perspective.
13. 64 - 65, MS C-C 63A, California Mission Manuscripts, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. In 1831 Alexander Forbes estimated more than 216,000 cattle grazing among the former missions. See Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California From their First Discovery to the Present Time* (New York, 1973), 266.
14. Jackson, "The Changing Economic Structure of the Alta California Missions," 387 - 415.
15. S. Houck to Alvarez, February 25, 1853, folder 25, box 2, Manuel Alvarez Papers, MS, New Mexico State Records and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
16. The most infamous raid by the Ute leader Walkara is discussed below.
17. Southern Yokuts also undertook major raids. Located in the Central Valley just north of Tejon Pass, the Yokuts were successful California raiders. See Frank Latta Folder, box 11B, Ralph Arnold Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Brooke S. Arkush, "Yokuts Trade Networks and Native Culture Change in Central and Eastern California," *Ethnohistory*, 40 (1993), 619 - 640.
18. Some estimates reach as high as 5,000. For the raid, see Leonard B. Waitman, "The Watch Dogs of San Bernardino Valley: Chief Juan Antonio and Lorenzo Tujillo," *San Bernardino County Museum Association Quarterly*, 18 (1970), 30.
19. Kit Carson, "Utah Agency Letters-Outgoing Letters," P-E 64, Kit Carson Papers, MS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
20. See Executive Record Book No. 1, November 14, 1852, frame 70, reel 21, frame 70, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, New Mexico State Records and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
21. Ibid., April 1, 1854, frame 98, reel 21.
22. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, p. 302. See also Knack, *Boundaries Between*, 4 - 62.
23. "Notas Californianas por Juan Avila," 9 - 10, reel 8, MS C-D 31- 41, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
24. For northern Great Basin Trade, see Thomas Layton, "Traders and Raiders: Aspects of Trans-Basin and California Plateau Commerce, 1800 - 1830," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, 3 (1981), 127 - 37.
25. See John Phillip Reid, "Principles of Vengeance: Fur Trappers, Indians, and Retaliation for Homicide in the Transboundary North American West," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 24 (1993), 21 - 43.
26. For Mojave raids on the Old Spanish Trail, see "Diary from 8/16/1849," Whiting Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
27. See William H. Goetzmann, ed., *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie. The 1831 Edition, Unabridged* (Lincoln, Neb., 1984), 148.
28. MS HEH 10422, Benjamin D. Wilson Papers, 1877, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; and MS FAC 1061, George C. Yount Diary, Huntington Library, San Marino. For increased traffic on the Old Spanish Trail in the 1830s - 1840s, see Edward L. Lyman, *The Overland Journey from Utah to California: Wagon Travels from the City of Saints to the City of Angels* (Reno and Las Vegas, 2004), esp. chap. 2. Also see Gerald Smith, *The Indian Slave Trade Along the Mojave Trail* (San Bernardino, 1965).
29. H.D. Fitch to S. W. Kearny, April 19, 1847, MS C-B 81 - 82, Documentos Para la Historia de California, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
30. Gov. McDougal to J.H. Bean, March 1, 1851, 124, MS F3753, Indian War Papers, California State Archives, Sacramento.
31. James Schurman to his sister, March 31, 1851, MS 84/73c, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
32. For disease at the southern California missions, see Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, esp. chap. 1; Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*; Sandos, *Converting California*, esp. chap. 8; Hackel, *Children of Coyote*.
33. See William Preston, "Serpent in Eden: Dispersal of Foreign Diseases into Pre-Mission California," *Journal of Great Basin Anthropology* 18 (1996), 2 - 37 (esp. 12 - 13).
34. Connie Stone argues that the population equilibrium existing in southeastern California between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was a result of major migrations from the south and east fleeing from slave raiders, missions, and mining centers. See Connie L. Stone, *Deceptive Desolation: Prehistory of the Sonoran Desert in West Central Arizona* (Bureau of Land Management, Ariz., 1986), 47.
35. Ned Blackhawk discusses similar changes across the Great Basin. See Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, 133 - 144.
36. See MS 742, De Valle Family Papers, 1818 - 1920, Los Angeles County Natural History Museum, California. Five Navajo slaves identified as "Navajas/Cajon Navajas" were listed on a list of merchandise

purchased by Manuel Gutierrez and Juan Ygnacio Mancisidor (Avila) from Carilo C. Lebnicoff in 1828.

37. For “renting” children among ranchers, see letter from Cave Coutts, April 20, 1855, MS CT 193, Cave J. Coutts Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. For the “Act for the Government and Protection of Indians” and reported instances of Indian kidnapping, see Robert F. Heizer, *The Destruction of the California Indians* (Lincoln, Neb., 1993), 219 - 241.

38. Ibid. Also see George Phillip, *Vineyards and Vaqueros*.

39. Ted J. Warner, ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776* (Provo, Utah, 1976), 84 - 86. For Beale quote, see Stephen Bonsal, *Edward Fitzgerald Beale: A Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822 - 1903* (New York, 1912), 150.

40. See “Journal of 1849,” 22, MS HM 1747, Benjamin Butler Harris Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Maricopas and O’odhams also filtered slaves from the Great Basin into Sonora at annual trading fairs that also acted as slave markets. This continued into the 1840s. See Henry Dobyns, “Thematic Changes in Yuman Warfare,” in *Proceedings of the 1957 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society* (Seattle, 1957), 150.

41. See correspondence from Lafayette Head, April 30, 1852, MS RI 2150, box 7, Ritch Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, for a statement of set policies regarding the buying and selling of Southern Paiute children. No clear economic data has emerged on the prices of Native slaves sold in Los Angeles. Gerald Smith argues that secularization in 1834 undercut the need for slaves. However, slavery increased during the mid-1800s. This period of rampant kidnapping and massacres in California may have made purchasing slaves unnecessary. Los Angeles Plaza Church records indicate the presence of Southern Paiute and Ute slaves: 1831 (Maria Yuta, Indian child); 1843 (Dolores Palluche, of the Colorado River); 1845 (Santiago, Indian child of Maria de la Luz, Indian from New Mexico); 1846 (Maria Conception, Indian adult “de nacion Palluche” and “Hija politica” of Don Ignacio Coronel); 1848 (Maria de Jesus, Palluche, adult). Smith,

Indian Slave Trade, 13 - 14.

42. Knack, *Boundaries Between*, 54.

43. As quoted in Carling and A. Arline Malouf, “The Effects of Spanish Slavery on the Indians of the Intermountain West,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1 (1945), 381. Original in T.J. Farnham, “Travels in the Great Western Prairies, Part I,” in R.G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748 - 1846*, 28 (1906), 249.

44. “The Life Record of Ansen Call,” 45, MS 67/56, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

45. During the 1850s, Mormons purchased captives from Utes in order to free them from bondage while adopting them and attempting to convert them. Many Southern Paiutes complained that redemption actually meant re-enslavement by Mormon captors. See Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-Day Saints* (Champagne, Ill., 2006), 150 - 156.

46. See letter from Brigham Young to Hamblin, August 4, 1857, MS FAC 1317, Jacob Hamblin collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, for efforts to sustain Mormon alliances with Southern Paiutes. For Mormon-Ute interactions, see Ronald W. Walker, “Walkara Meets the Mormons, 1848 - 52: A Case Study in Native American Accommodation,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 70 (2002), 215 - 238. Also see Stephen P. Van Hoak, “Waccara’s Utes: Native American Equestrian Adaptations in the Eastern Great Basin, 1776 - 1876,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 67 (1999), 309 - 30.

47. For an account of Oatman’s experiences with Mojaves, see Susan Thompson Parrish Account, MS HM 16760, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and E.J. Pettid Papers, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson. Also see Brian McGinty, *The Oatman Massacre: A Tale of Desert Captivity and Survival* (Norman, Okla, 2005).

48. Although not directly related to the slave trade, the Toypurina Revolt serves as a good example of how women could shape the political dynamic of southern California. See Steve Hackel, “Sources of Rebellion: Indian Testimony and the Mission San Gabriel Uprising of 1785,” *Ethnohistory*, 50 (2003), 643 - 669; Marie Beebe and Robert

M. Senkewicz, eds., *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815 - 1848* (Berkeley, 2006); Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Berkeley, 1999); Virginia Marie Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of CA: 1542-1840: Codes of Silence*, (Tucson, 2001), 116 - 141; and Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest*. For gender and the Gold Rush, Susan Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York, 2000), especially 92 - 94 on the role of Miwok women leaders. Also see Stephen W. Stillman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California, 192-198*, for Native women and their assertion of identity through production and labor.

49. For Cota’s rejection of Garra, see Richard Carrico, *Strangers in a Stolen Land* (Sunbelt Publications, 2008), 46.

50. Borderlands scholars have explored the ways Americans attempted to homogenize Indian histories immediately after colonizing Native societies. See Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, 469 - 523; Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land*, (Epilogue); Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 304 - 367; and Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 165 - 209.

51. Several studies have explored the tensions between Native history and public memory. See Robert H. Keller, Jr. and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians and National Parks* (Tucson, 1998); and Hard W. Stoffle and Maria Nieves Zedeño, “Historical Memory and Ethnographic Perspectives on the Southern Paiute Homeland,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, 23 (2001), 227-246. ♦

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