

SPANISH TRACES



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Spring 2001

No. 2

The Old Spanish Trail and the Peopling of Alta California

**Eighth Annual OSTA Conference,
June 9-10, 2001, San Bernardino
County Museum, Redlands,
California.**

Registration Forms are enclosed.

Saturday, June 9, will be filled with presentations following the conference theme of **The Old Spanish Trail and the Peopling of Alta California**. The Keynote Speaker is Dr. James Sandos, Professor of History, University of Redlands, who will discuss "Indian-White Relations in Alta California from 1769 - 1846." Other speakers include Clifford Walker, Paul Spitzzeri, Dr. Ann Deegan and Dr. Bruce Harley.

The business session of the annual membership meeting will be held before adjourning for the reception – light refreshments at the historic



The Workman Home, ca. 1980

This home is included in one of the Sunday tours.

Photograph by Julius Shulman, courtesy of the Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum

Asistencia including a self-guided tour of this Estancia (cattle station - chapel complex).

Sunday, June 10, will feature several field tour options. Tour details are given in the enclosed registration forms.

***PLEASE REGISTER EARLY,
SPACE IS LIMITED!!!***

Inside this Issue	
2001 Conference	1
Noticias	2
Vice President's Corner	3
Chapter Reports	4-5
Brutal Barter ... by Warren	6-19
Moccasins and Muleshoes by McCombs	20-23
Marking the Spanish Trail by Johnson	24-25
Book Reviews	26-27
Back Cover	28

Noticias

Dr. Harry Godshall, owner of Resting Springs Ranch, passed away in Las Vegas on March 12. Our sincere condolences to his wife, Jo, and to his family. The Old Spanish Trail has lost a dear friend.

Does the Southwest need an additional printing of *Hafen & Hafen's Old Spanish Trail*?

Bison Books would like to hear from you about your willingness to buy a copy of the *Hafen's Old Spanish Trail* for a price in the \$25 to \$30 range. Please send your thoughts to Daniel J.J. Ross, Director, University of Nebraska Press, 233 North 8th Street, Lincoln, NE 68588-0255, email: pressmail@unl.edu. Economics will drive the reissue decision.

ANZA WORLD CONFERENCE August 31-September 2, 2001

Pueblo, Colorado, USA

Fee: \$35

CALL FOR PAPERS: Submit presentation proposals by June 15, 2001. For details contact: Wilfred Martinez 113 Fordham Cr. Pueblo, CO 81005

The Heritage Trails Wagon Train has been delayed and will leave Provo, UT on Labor Day Weekend rather than the planned summer departure. The Wagon-master Bob Lowe plans to arrive at Glen Helen Regional Park on October 25; a trip of 850 miles over an eight week period. Lowe states the wagon train will follow the historic Spanish Trail when and where possible. For more information, consult the web site www.heritagetrails.net

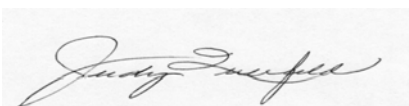
A Letter from the Editor:

This is my last issue as Editor of *ST*. In the Fall of 1998, my husband Charlie and I, without much advance notice or training time, published *Spanish Traces*, Vol.4, No.2. It had 16 pages. Since our first issue of *ST*, the issues have grown larger; and it became necessary to add one more issue per year. The source of this growth lies in you, the OSTA membership who submitted articles voluntarily and who also answered the call when asked for submissions on specific topics.

The NPS' reversal of its original negative decision to a positive one, a recommendation for designating the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail, is the single most exciting news I have placed in print as editor. It still thrills me; yet I know there is much work ahead to make this a reality.

I plan to continue working as a member of the Ad Hoc Committee for National Park Service Liaison as the NHT recommendation works its way through committees and Congress.

There are about 300 fellow OSTA members who will, I hope, read this letter. One of you needs to become the new *Spanish Traces* editor! If you are unable to do this task, think of someone who can, then contact Willard Lewis at 505-984-2978 or PO Box 6073 in Santa Fe, NM 87503 or weljr@uswest.net.



OSTA Caravan Site to be Dedicated May 19

The Goodsprings Historical Society and the Las Vegas chapter of the OSTA are sponsoring a celebration to mark the campsite, Armijo's "Ojito de la Tortuga" (Little Spring of the Tortoise), followed by a lunch at the Goodsprings Community Center with music provided by the Las Vegas Philharmonic Brass Quintet. Text for the marker reads:

"GOOD'S SPRING

The spring first discovered here by Anasazi and Paiute people sustained the first mule train to pioneer the pack route later known as the Old Spanish Trail... Antonio Armijo, 'Commander for the discovery of the route to California,' camped here with 60 men and 100 mules on January 11, 1830... The Spring, later used by cattleman/miner Joe Good in the 1860s, became known as Good's Spring."

OSTA's efforts will help preserve one of America's great long distance trade routes and increase appreciation of the West's multicultural heritage. Please join us!

Membership Dues:

Institution	\$25/year
Family/Individual	\$12/year
Student	\$ 5/year

Send your checks to:

Treasurer, OSTA, PO Box 7,
Marysville, WA 98270

On June 1, 2001 rates will increase to:

Regular (individual/family)	\$15/year
Student (w/valid school ID)	\$10/year
Institutional	\$25/year
Life, Individual	\$250
Corporate sponsorship, minimum	\$100/yr

All matters relating to **Spanish Traces** should be directed to:

**The Editor, c/o P.O. Box 7,
Marysville, WA 98270-0007**

Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association, a nonprofit organization incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. **ST** welcomes submission of letters, articles, and OSTA related news. The next deadline is August 15, 2001.

VICE PRESIDENT'S CORNER

Your association has been busy since my last report in the Winter 2001 issue.

First, an update on National Historic Trail designation. The National Park Service is busily revising its draft report, under the leadership of NPS historian Aaron Mahr-Yanez. A number of you have responded to his request for additional information supporting the Trade/Commerce theme under which the positive designation recommendation will proceed. It is anticipated that the designation recommendation will be forwarded to the National Historic Landmarks Committee in early May. When adopted by that group, the recommendation will go, in later May, to the National Park System Advisory Board. After final action by NPS, the recommendation will go to the federal Office of Management and Budget, and ultimately to Congress.

Your Ad Hoc Committee for National Park Service Liaison, composed of Bill Helmer, Judy Querfeld, Hal Steiner, Liz Warren, and me has had frequent contact with NPS. Steiner and Warren conducted a field trip for NPS in Nevada and California. Several of us met with Mahr-Yanez and John Conoboy in Tempe following that field trip. Jack Nelson and others of Grand Junction area provided additional North Branch material, and will host an NPS field trip shortly.

We are grateful for the open communication and cooperation that OSTA is receiving from the NPS.

Second, let me briefly note our annual symposium, scheduled for Redlands, California on June 9 & 10. Rick Whitaker and his Southern California Chapter cohorts will treat us to a wonderful program, reception and field trips. You will receive information about this event shortly. My great thanks to Rick and the chapter for arranging and hosting this event.

Third, a quick report on the January OSTA board meeting in Tempe. Our Secretary and Treasurer, Lorraine and Kenn Carpenter, and board members Richard Greene, Pat Richmond, Reba Grandrud, and Liz Warren, and I slogged through an agenda that occupied us from 10 am til nearly 9 pm. Others, including *Traces* editor Judy Querfeld, Charles Querfeld, Rick Whitaker, Rose Ann Tompkins, and Marie Greene joined us for all or parts of that marathon meeting. A broad range of policy issues and logistics were discussed. In the space allotted, I can't enumerate them all, but your state director, or any officer, can give you more detail. I do want to alert you to one action taken. OSTA dues will be increased nominally in June. Individual/family memberships will rise from \$12 to \$15, justified by the increased frequency of *Traces* and other membership communications, and the related printing and postage costs. New Life memberships will rise to \$250, Student memberships will be \$10. A new category of Corporate sponsorships will begin at \$100. We think that you will agree

that our membership dues remain a bargain, even at the new rates.

Finally, since this will probably be my last opportunity as principal executive officer to communicate with you in writing, I want to express my thanks to all of you for supporting the Old Spanish Trail through support of OSTA. The outpouring of responses to the NPS last Fall made an impact on its final recommendation for trail designation. All of the people specifically mentioned above are due a great vote of thanks from me and from you. Two directors who were unable to attend the January meeting, Ron Jewkes and John Robinson have also worked diligently to spread the word about the trail and OSTA. Chapter presidents Jack Nelson, Richard Greene, Charlotte McKee, John Sharpe, Rick Whitaker, and Nick Saines have helped maintain a local OSTA presence in the region and even abroad! Last, but by no means least, our gratitude and recognition to Editor Judy Querfeld for evolving *Spanish Traces* into the wonderful journal of Old Spanish Trail history. She has made a great sacrifice of time and effort (joined by husband Charles) to let the world know about OST and OSTA. To all of you, *mil gracias!!!*

**Willard Lewis,
Vice President**

Ballots for election of OSTA Officers and Directors are enclosed. Be sure to vote and return the ballot promptly so that it will be received by the OSTA Secretary no later than May 7, 2001.

Chapter Reports

North Branch

It's beginning to feel like Spring, hasn't snowed for an hour, typical springtime in the Rockies. (One year summer lasted almost all day on the Fourth of July).

We have been a busy little group since last report. We received a suggestion from the City Parks Department that it would be nice to place an historic plaque of some type on an overlook at the new city park. The site is on the south bluff of the Colorado River which has a view of about thirty miles of the North Branch, all the way to Utah. This spot is about one half mile downstream of the famous "Crossing of the Grand," and a few hundred feet from the statue of the Pioneer Woman. We've got our work cut out.

We have been getting the word out in the right places on the legislative process involved in getting national recognition for the Trail. We are tremendously encouraged by the cooperative effort being shown by our elected officials and the National Parks people. (We've come a long way, Baby!) The additional information we've submitted on the North Branch and the Salt Lake Wagon Road, along with detailed quadrangle maps, has been most graciously received. We are presently trying to coordinate a meeting that should be of great interest to all: stay tuned.

Katherine and I are looking forward to the meeting in June, especially to visiting the Agua Mansa Cemetery and the Asistencia. The area around the

conference site played a large role in the history of the Old Spanish Trail. Those traveling by car from the east should take special notice of the terrain and count your blessings for air conditioning. Those who have read the early history of the route should recognize many of the place names.

Jack Nelson, President
Grand Junction, Colorado

Salida del Sol

We kicked off the 2001 program with our first chapter meeting on St. Pat's Day at the Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fe. The meeting was actually sponsored by several organizations and a capacity crowd came to hear Andrew Hernández lecture on "The Indian Slave Trade In New Mexico." There was no doubt that Hernández had the crowd in the palm of his hand as he filled us in with the definition of slavery and how slavery was illegal, but became "justifiable" for lack of enforcement, high profits and economic necessity for Indian tribes, the Spanish, Mexicans and Americans. Also, there was the "justification" that slaves were assimilated into a civilized society and were "saved" from their wild ways.

Like some of the other chapters we will try to convert as many members to getting their newsletter via email. The time and cost of printing and mailing a newsletter makes it worthwhile to try this approach.

Richard Greene, President
Angel Fire, New Mexico

Las Vegas Chapter

In March Nick Saines resigned as chapter President and Hal Steiner was elected as the new President. Nick will continue as an active member of the chapter. The chapter is working with the BLM, and Clark County to try to preserve, as a park, an isolated ten-acre parcel of land within a developed area that contains a trace of the OST. Also, the Las Vegas BLM Field Office (Stan Rolfe), in cooperation with the Nevada State Historical Preservation Office (Terri McBride), has nominated the portion of the OST through Las Vegas to the National Register of Historic Places. This portion of the trail was used by Fremont in 1844, and the Mormon Battalion in 1847. The Mormons began taking wagons between California and Salt Lake City on the trail in 1848, hence it began to be called the Mormon Road. The name selected for the nomination is "John C. Fremont's Spanish Trail/Mormon Road," according to Liz Warren of OSTA, who was consulted by the BLM and SHPO.

In May the chapter will participate in the state-wide "Archaeological Awareness and Historic Preservation Week." We will have a booth at the fair to be held at Desert Demonstration Gardens on May 19. This effort is being led by Greg Seymour and Helen Mortenson. The same day we will also run a field trip from Las Vegas to Goodsprings, NV along the Armijo route of the OST. In Goodsprings we will participate in the dedication of an historic marker at the springs where Antonio Armijo camped in 1830. Liz Warren is

leading that effort.

Nick Saines, (Past) President
Las Vegas, Nevada

Southern California

On Sunday December 3, 2000, ten OSTA members and friends ventured to San Pasqual Battlefield State Park and witnessed the re-enactment of the battle. The tour was led by OSTA member, Rick Whitaker. The battle took place west of present day Escondido, CA. on Dec. 6, 1846 during the War with Mexico. In the real battle, 85 dragoons mounted on mules and horses engaged a like number of Californio Lancers. Almost every Dragoon was wounded. The re-enactment with about 20 horsemen on each side was faithfully recreated with cavalry charges, volleys of musket fire and cannon fire. There were hands-on exhibits of adobe brick making, candle making, and rifle ball making. The re-enactors also set up replicas of the Dragoon and Lancer encampments complete with tents, muskets, food, horses, and soldiers in uniform.

On Saturday, January 13, 2001, 12

members of the OSTA visited the William Workman, Temple, and John Rowland homes in the City of Industry. Paul Spitzzeri, historian, Museum Collections Manager, and OSTA member led this tour. Paul discussed the journey of the Workman / Rowland Party on the Old Spanish Trail, the members of the party, the purchase of Rancho La Puente, and the accomplishments of party members in California. The tour included not only the homes but also a viewing of rare books and other documents of the museum and a discussion of archiving techniques. After lunch we were then taken to the Rowland Home that is now off limits to the public. Cecilia Wictor, a descendant of John Rowland, led us through the home and an adjacent museum. An added joy was that other descendants of the Workman, Temple, and Rowland families were on the tour passing on personal memories of the families.

On Saturday, February 10, 2001, 7 members and guests toured Mission San Gabriel Arcangel in San Gabriel, CA. This tour was led by OSTA member, Rick Whitaker. Mission San Gabriel Arcangel was founded at the present site in 1776 with construction of the present buildings

beginning in 1796. The mission contains one of the finest collections of mission relics including the main altar from Mexico City (built in the 1790's), a 300 year old painting of "Our Lady of Sorrows", and a copper baptismal font and silver baptismal shell brought from Spain in 1771. The four foot thick walls of the chapel are original. Several of the founding Padres are buried beneath the chapel floor. The original entrance to the mission where mountain men, soldiers, and others like Kit Carson, Ewing Young, William Workman, General Kearney, the Pico brothers, is well preserved. The tour concluded with lunch at a nearby Mexican restaurant.

The chapter will host one near term field trip to El Pueblo de Los Angeles State Historical Monument on Saturday, March 24, 2001, at 10 AM. Jean Bruce Poole, recently retired as Historic Museum Director of El Pueblo, will lead the trip. The tour will visit historic buildings of El Pueblo including areas not usually accessible to the public. We will then drive to the Southwest Museum nearby to view exhibits of Native Americans of the Southwest.

Rick Whitaker
Redlands, California

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BRUTAL BARTER: Indian Slave Traffic in the Great Basin 1710-1880

By Elizabeth von Till Warren

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We ascended a muddy little stream six days from the Salt Lake. ... The natives were kind to us. ... Their great enemies were the Spaniards of Taos and California, who always ... robbed them of their women and children, leaving nothing but the men and the aged women. ... For these reasons they always fled from us. ... We also came upon three forsaken grass tents whose natives fled at our approach except two children, a boy and girl who had no mother, and their father being out hunting the others left them to their fate. The poor motherless things were much frightened and nearly choked from fear, but ... in a few days their woeful alarm wore off and they became playful. ... Our party sold ... the children they stole. ...

“An Indian Girl’s Story, 1841” [A]

The question is also discussed as to whether the infant children of ... infidels may be baptized against the will of their parents. To the general query, the answer is a decided negative, because such a baptism would violate the natural rights of the parents ... the answer is negative to the general question, because particular circumstances may require a different response. For it would undoubtedly be licit to impart such baptism if the children ... had been removed from the parental care and there was no likelihood of their returning to it. ...

The Catholic Encyclopedia [B]

En este Parroquia de Sto. Tomas Apostel de Abiquiu ... a los dias dies y ocho Febrero 1840 ... curaintenino Bautisma ... a un indio compreo del tribu yuta como de cinco anos edad y le puce por nombre Jose Anto. famulo de Tomas Chacon fueron padrinos Anto. Xaramillo y Nestora Chacon vs. todos de Abiquiu. ...

Eulogia Valdez, Presbtro. [C]

[In this Parish of Saint Thomas Apostle of Abiquiu ... on the 18th of February 1840 ... I administered Baptism ... to an Indian brought from the Ute tribe, about five years old, who will use the name Jose Antonio, servant of Thomas Chacon, godparents to be Antonio Jaramillo and Nestora Chacon, all residents of Abiquiu.]

Eulogia Valdez, Priest [C]

INTRODUCTION

The literature about the Spanish invasion of Mexico and the American Southwest is full of narratives of forced labor – slavery – upon which the invaders established a system of Indian exploitation that operated greatly to their benefit. Historians and ethnohistorians have recently

begun to turn their attention to the size of this traffic in human beings, and the impact on the groups that provided these laborers as well as on the colonial culture that received them.[1] This article will explore some of the background and ramifications of the southwestern slave trade on the Ute Indians, who lived

north of Spanish settlement, and on their Paiute neighbors.

When the first Spanish explorers arrived in northern New Mexico in the 16th century, native Americans were already there, supporting themselves by hunting and gathering, and in some areas, by irrigation

horticulture. Tribes were linked by networks of trade along which moved raw materials and native manufactures, but rarely people.[2] In the Southwest, the focus on humans as chattel was a consequence of Spanish pressure on native peoples,[3] but the generalized trade from which it grew was long established, and in the pre-contact Ute world, children were often given away to related families in accordance with ancient custom.[4] The voracious appetite of the Spanish and later the New Mexicans for the women and children of surrounding Indian tribes caused significant impact on the lives of the natives of the Great Plains, Rocky Mountains, Great Basin, Arizona, and New Mexico during the frontier colonial period.[5] The legacy of this traffic is still discernible in the Great Basin and Southwest, for it affected the number and location of Indian reservations established in the 1870s in Utah and Nevada, the politics of those living on each,[6] and the demographics of New Mexico.[7]

ABORIGINAL UTE LIFEWAY

In pre-contact times the Utes occupied a large territory extending from northern Utah and Colorado south to northern New Mexico, north of the San Juan River, and from the western flanks of the Wasatch Range to the eastern slopes of the Rockies and beyond, onto the plains of the Oklahoma panhandle and western Texas.[8] They had occupied these lands since at least the 14th century, when they apparently retreated from a still larger territory to the desert and mountain strongholds where they were found during the early historic period.[9] The Utes are one

of a large number of tribes that speak a Numic language of the great Uto-Aztecan family of Mexico and western United States. Numic speakers occupy a vast portion of interior, western North America, including all of the Great Basin, the Rocky Mountains, adjacent plains, and portions of New Mexico.[10] Linguistically and culturally, the Utes are related to the Paiutes, Shoshonis, Bannocks, Comanches, and Hopis. There are important similarities and also important differences between and among these different groups. In the pre-contact period, these traits represented adaptation to the varying environments found in their vast territory, and to neighboring peoples of different lifeways. Contact with the Spanish initiated processes that resulted in such significant change within the Ute social and economic organization that early travelers on the Plains and in the Rockies did not recognize the common origins of the horse-mounted Utes and Comanches with the "Diggers" (Paiutes, Shoshonis, and non-horse Utes) of the Great Basin.[11]

The aboriginal lifeway of the Utes was shaped by their desert and mountain homeland. Scarce rainfall in the desert and deep snows in the mountains affected plant cover, animal populations, and the humans who depended on them. Without large beasts of burden, the Utes were restricted to traveling on foot, and moving to exploit seasonal food sources. Large quantities of food were rarely available at one time, and so there were few opportunities for great numbers of Utes to live and work together. The people lived most of the year in small but strongly

bonded family groups of perhaps eight to ten or fewer members. Only in the spring and fall was there sufficient natural food production to permit coming together for brief periods. At those gatherings, families were reunited, prospective mates courted, ceremonies performed, objects bartered. Young Ute couples then sometimes gave their young children to older relatives, usually grandparents, who could provide for an extra mouth to feed. A well-established tradition, this custom allowed more certain survival among the younger Ute population, both infants and their parents. The population of Utes was small, probably never more than one thousand, in either the pre- or post-contact period. Peoples' lives focused on the very small world of the extended family; tribal or even band organization was absent.[12]

HISTORIC UTE-SPANISH RELATIONS

The annual cycle of food gathering and hunting in pre-contact times drew the Utes away from their mountain territory in winter when the snows were very deep and the antelope migrated south to the open plains. In following this game, the Utes encountered the Pueblo peoples, sedentary farmers, with whom they traded meat and hides for corn, beans, squash and other agricultural products. In the pre-Spanish period, Utes and other nomadic peoples harvested small numbers of bison by traveling to the plains, but this plentiful source of protein and hides was mostly out of the reach of these aboriginal groups because they lacked a strong beast of burden. The Spanish introduced the

horse into this void, and Native American problems of the chase and transport were solved. The horse quickly became a fiercely desired article of commerce and a stimulus to raiding and warfare. The social and cultural organization of the Utes changed rapidly and dramatically after encountering the Spanish horse in the early 17th century. Eager to obtain these marvelous animals, the Utes traded hides and meat, and, when pressed beyond their limited ability to fill the Spanish demands, offered their own children as well.[13] New Mexicans needed people to work their ranches, guard and tend their herds and flocks; young children could be absorbed easily into this life and young women would produce offspring who, born into the evolving frontier colonial culture of New Spain, knew no other life.

According to Ute tradition, the first direct contact between the Utes and the Spanish occurred at a trade fair in Santa Fe, although the Utes and Pueblo Indians had long gathered to exchange goods at the Indian pueblos in northern New Mexico. While a definite date for the beginning of the Ute-Spanish barter cannot be determined, by the 1630s pack trains were regularly heading north from the New Mexico settlements, bringing the trade to the Utes in their own territory.[14] Around 1640, the horse was sought by the Utes, but the steep price set by the Spanish severely strained the limited resources of the Indians. They then offered their children, and found a ready market. Although offering children in trade for horses may seem grotesque, the practice was not greatly different

from the ancient Ute custom of giving children to grandparents. This pre-horse tradition had permitted greater mobility and freedom to young adults of childbearing years; trading a horse for a child accomplished the same end. The child was cared for, and the parents retained or achieved a degree of mobility that was essential for their survival. Indeed, the record reveals that the Utes felt greatly threatened by other, nomadic, horse-mounted Indians such as the Apaches and Comanches, and cited this threat in explaining or rationalizing this bizarre behavior.[15] Given the deep affection of the Utes for their children, the elaborate cultural practices related to childbirth and child rearing, the loss of their children was undoubtedly painful. Nonetheless, it continued well into the 19th century. Ouray, a noted Uncompahgre Ute leader of the 1870s, was adopted by Mexican settlers and spent his youth herding sheep on a frontier New Mexican rancho. His sister was also a captive but managed to escape, while the very young son of Ouray himself was kidnapped by Arapahos. In 1873, when Ouray went to Washington to discuss the Brunot Treaty, he hoped to meet a boy thought to be the missing child, located by the federal authorities in return for Ouray's cooperation in signing the treaty. "Having been reared an Arapaho and taught to hate the Utes, the boy was unwilling to leave his adopted people," and refused to go to meet Ouray, who "returned to his mountain home disappointed."[16]

By the end of the 17th century, the Utes were sometimes in alliance

with the Spanish, and sometimes their staunch enemies. This complicated picture of Indian affairs punctuates the story of Spanish settlement on the New Mexican frontier: frequent episodes of violence interspersed with periodic efforts at peace. Then, and for nearly another two hundred years, the Utes contributed to unrest on the northern border of New Mexico, and the Spanish and Mexican governments retaliated.[17] During times of hostility, Ute encampments were raided in punitive strikes, and women and children carried into captivity. In peace time, friendly barter for women and children continued, but, increasingly, these hapless objects of trade were not Utes, or at least not horse-Utes. They were members of neighboring, non-mounted groups who could not defend themselves against the depredations of their more aggressive neighbors. Exactly when this switch occurred is not documented. When the Utes gleefully attacked Comanche, Apache, Kiowa, and Taoseno Indians to secure horses, records of the battles and response of frontier settlements often can be found in colonial New Mexico archives. The horse Utes, whose haunts in Colorado and northern Utah were farther from settled New Mexico, doubtless made similar raids on groups not controlled and hence not reported by the record-keeping Spanish. These encounters can be discovered mainly in the oral traditions of the neighboring peoples.[18]

Although by 1700, the horse was well established in Northern Ute territory, not all these Utes acquired horses at the same time.[19] Obvi-

ously, those with horses had a distinct advantage over those without. In 1678, when the Utes negotiated a peace treaty with New Mexico Governor Antonio de Otermin at Taos, the sources of captives for trade with the Spanish most likely included children and young women purchased or captured from weaker Great Basin groups: non-horse Utes, Southern Paiutes, possibly Western Shoshoni, as well as captive New Mexico Indians: Apaches, Navajos, and Comanches. Records of these transactions have not been discovered, but fear of the Ute raiders is a constant theme running through the early colonial history of northern New Mexico. Complaints from northern New Mexico were registered often with the government in Santa Fe, which alternately attempted to pacify or to subjugate the Utes. Participants in punitive expeditions usually were permitted to keep any captives, who could be kept or sold on open market.[20]

Following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the Reconquest in 1690s, as part of New Mexican colonial policy, settlers were sent north to the valley of the Chama River, a tributary of the Rio Grande. Unfortunately for these pioneers, their ranchos occupied traditional Ute wintering grounds. The first small settlement, Santa Rosa de Abiquiu, was attacked repeatedly. Comprised of scattered holdings and remote from military garrisons, this first settlement failed. The five Ute baptisms recorded in 1710 in the Catholic Church records of New Mexico, the first identified as Ute, may reflect the punitive expeditions sent to retaliate.[21]



The Ruins of Santa Rosa de Abiquiu

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld © 2000

The first “village” was abandoned, but in the late 1740s, Don Tomas Velez tried again to settle the area, sending hispanicized Comanche Indians from Santa Fe to a new site near the first mission. The second attempt, this time a small, defensible pueblo named Santo Tomas de Abiquiu, also failed, but a 1754 effort finally succeeded. The location of this pueblo and the nature of its population gave Abiquiu an important role in the developing story of Ute-Spanish (and later Ute-Anglo) relations on the New Mexico frontier. The town was for many years the northernmost outpost of New Mexican government and officials at Abiquiu supervised trade with the Utes. It was the jumping-off point for numerous recorded and unrecorded expeditions, including the Dominguez-Escalante exploration of 1776, and the trading caravans of the Old Spanish Trail. Its population, based on the original, relocated Comanches from the Santa Fe barrio, proved difficult to control, consistently violating governmental

policies regarding trade with Indians, including slave traffic.[22]

The Comanches sent to Abiquiu from Santa Fe were not originally from New Mexico. They were part of a population of captives acquired through various means: punitive military raids against hostile tribes, slave raids, purchase, or trade. In modern terms, they were displaced persons. These people, brought to New Mexico and sold at the trade fairs of Taos, Santa Fe, Jemez or elsewhere, entered into involuntary servitude as household servants, ranch workers, artisans — whatever kind of workers were needed. When old enough to marry, they could expect to be freed by their “adoptive” family, but because they were at the lowest level of New Mexican society, land was usually not available to them. Many were not permitted to marry or chose not to marry and stayed with the family that had “adopted” them, perforce continuing in their servitude for life.[23] The Spanish sought to give some of these

displaced Indians a stake in the society by providing groups of them with land enough for small pueblos and ranchos. At the same time, these pioneer communities served the needs of the crown by settling the very frontier of New Mexico.

These de-tribalized Indians were termed “genizaros.” Spanish-speaking and familiar with Spanish customs and government, brought into Spanish society through baptism into the Catholic Church and observation of its rituals, the genizaro settlements were different from the Hopi, Zuni, or other pueblos with a single cultural identity. Abiquiu and other genizaro villages lacked a strong foundation of common cultural values. Their populations had a reputation for lawlessness and flagrant disregard for Spanish traditions which is reflected in official documents and Church records. Many citizens of Abiquiu were involved in the traffic in Indian slaves that so tormented the tribes of the Great Basin in the 18th and 19th centuries.[24]

Since some of the genizaros were themselves Utes, commercial exchange with the “wild” Indians beyond the New Mexican frontier was perhaps unusually successful. Certainly it is not just coincidence that trading with the Utes developed into such a strong focus of economic activity for the people of Abiquiu. The records clearly reflect the town’s role as the gateway to Ute territory, but there was also a trade fair at Abiquiu like the one developed earlier at Taos for the Plains Indians. Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez described this event in miscella-

neous notes recorded during his visit there in 1776:

Every year, between the end of October and the beginning of November, many heathens of the Ute nation come to the vicinity of this pueblo. They come very well laden with good deerskins, and they celebrate their fair with them. This is held for the sole purpose of buying horses. If one is much to the taste and satisfaction of an Indian (the trial is a good race), he gives fifteen to twenty good deerskins for the horse; and if not, there is no purchase. They also sell deer or buffalo meat for maize or corn flour. Sometimes there are little captive heathen Indians (male or females) as with the Comanches, whom they resemble in the manner of selling them. They usually sell deerskins for belduques (broad knife made of iron only), and they are given two of the latter for a good one of the former. With the exception of firearms and vessels, the Utes sell everything else as described with regard to the Comanches, but they are not so fond of trading as has been said of the latter.[25]

The Abiquiu citizens, and probably their Santa Fe relatives and patrons, [26] prospered from the traffic in horses, goods, and people. Undoubtedly, this barter was a significant source of foreign laborers for New Mexico. That the trade grew despite official attempts to control it, such as the Bando of September 13, 1778 forbidding settlers and Christianized Indians from visiting the Utes for



Santo Tomas de Abiquiu

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trade and barter, or the Spanish law of 1812 prohibiting Indian slavery, reflects the impossibility of banning such activity to a frontier people who had direct ties with the Indian populations outside Spanish jurisdiction.[27]

Since much of the trade was illegal, there are no records documenting the nature of the traffic, its size and frequency. A few sources provide a glimpse into the importance of traffic in people as part of the increasing economic significance of this activity. In 1813, the Arze-Garcia party of traders was prosecuted by Spanish authorities for illegally dealing with the Utes. The traders claimed they were unwilling accomplices, that the Utes forced their captives on the New Mexicans, who capitulated and acquired twelve slaves that they brought back to New Mexico to sell. This was not an isolated incident. Well into the late fur trapping and Spanish Trail period (1829-48), such slave transactions are reported in the literature.[28]

With the arrival of the Mormons in Salt Lake Valley In 1847, the number of recorded slave taking incidents increases. In 1851, the “Saints” attempted to end the trade, prosecuting one of three parties of New Mexican traders operating in Utah that year. The nine Paiute children, Pedro Leon said, were in his possession “reluctantly,” accepted in lieu of eighteen horses which the Paiutes had stolen and eaten. The traders were fined and expelled from Utah, escorted “on foot,” but the story did not end there. The Mormon action infuriated the Utes, who then insisted the Mormons must buy these captives or permit the traditional traffic to continue. After a number of horrifying encounters in which the Utes intimidated the Mormons into buying captives by killing them on the spot if the sale was refused, Brigham Young proposed to the Utah Legislature a novel approach to ending the problem. The legislature was asked to approve the purchase of captives “into freedom.” “It would, indeed, be far better to place these Indian children in Latter Day Saint homes, where they would receive love and education, than subject them to the inhuman treatment of New Mexican slave procurers.” The Utah Territorial Legislature concurred, and on January 31, 1852 legalized this practice by passing “An Act for the Relief of Indian Slaves and Prisoners.”[29]

Great Basin slave trafficking did not end then and there. In the 1867 “Report of the United States Joint Special Committee on Indian Affairs on the Condition of the Tribes,” accounts of slaving are still noted, and the negative impact of this

activity on the peace and security of the Territory of New Mexico are strongly stated. While most of the official attention focused on problems with the Apaches and Navajos, the “Yuta” peoples were also included as targets of slave raids. And, Catholic Church baptismal records continue to reflect the absorption of young Utes and Paiutes into Abiquiu society.[30] The relatively weak, non-horse Utes, Paiutes and Shoshonis long remembered their losses, although they were unable to fight back or convince others to assist in ransoming their stolen women and children. In the 1870s, when the U.S. government attempted to place the various Ute groups on one large reservation, the non-horse Utes and Paiutes of southern Utah and northern Arizona refused. Despite ancient common cultural heritage, these people found “no voice raised” in favor of going to the Uintah Reservation, “the Utes of Uintah had been their enemies from time immemorial; had stolen their women and children; had killed their grandfathers, their fathers, their brothers and sons, ... under no consideration would the Pai-Utes live with them.” The commission investigating the sentiments of the Paiutes consequently reported to Congress that it would be impossible, without using force, to induce the Paiutes to join the Utes. The alternative was to place these Indians on the Muddy River Reservation in southern Nevada, where they remain still.[31]

Obviously, these slave raids made a strong impression on their victims. While some of the sources already cited contain stories of the grief of

the captives, the hideous conditions which they endured while on the trail, and assertions of kindly paternal care on the part of their eventual owners, few eyewitness accounts of actual slaving practices have come to light. To understand the emotional impact on the individuals subjected to hostile slave raids, and to gain insight into the significant decrease in native population these raids must have caused, it is instructive to look at a narrative which appears in the reminiscent account of an early Anglo pioneer of California, Michael C. White. This raid occurred along the Old Spanish Trail through Utah, and was witnessed by White when he accompanied the 1839-1840 regular New Mexican trading caravan through Utah on its return from southern California. The party consisted of seventy-five “unruly” men led by one “respectable” Jose Antonio Salazar. White related the brutal treatment accorded some Paiutes encountered near Utah Lake, a territory shared with the Utes. Along the shores of the lake, living among the willows, was a family of Paiutes numbering some twelve to fifteen people, including old men and women, small children, and several able-bodied men. The traders decided to attack the group, capture the women and children, and take them home to New Mexico to sell. Appalled by the carnage but helpless to stop it, White watched while the men, mounted on horseback and armed with guns, surrounded the small camp, and charged. The ensuing slaughter sickened White; he told how he almost shot a particularly brutal man, Tomas Salazar, but thought better of it when he realized how

precarious was his own position in respect to the lawless men of this caravan. They killed all of the older Paiutes, including the old women and men, and the strong, adult males. Only girls, young women, and male children under the age of twelve were permitted to live; these were taken to New Mexico to be sold, “adopted” by new owners, and baptized, beginning their lifelong association with New Mexico, and the ultimate loss of their native cultural identity.[32]

The traffic in human chattel finally ended for the Great Basin and New Mexico after the release of the Doolittle Report and the strong negative public reaction to it in the East. In New Mexico, despite the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862 and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, concerted resistance developed. Even after the passage by Congress of Joint Resolution No. 65, authorizing the commanding general of the United States Army, Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, to use “the most efficient means at his disposal” to reclaim from bondage those held in captivity and return them to their respective reservations, New Mexicans refused to cooperate. The United States District Attorney subsequently was directed to open a grand jury investigation, to which three hundred witnesses were summoned from Taos, Santa Fe, and Rio Arriba counties. The hearings were “a fiasco – those witnesses owning Indian slaves declined to testify; the grand jurors themselves owned Indians and were not sympathetic to the proceedings. ...” The system was defended by the Santa Fe New

Mexican, which published a “humanitarian plea,” arguing that the New Mexican system bestowed the benefits of Christianity and civilization on “savage and barbarous people They are free – “[but] only “one in fifty” of the captives desires to leave. They prefer to “remain in homes where they have so long been domesticated. ...”

“It becomes then a serious question of humanity, whether those ... who are now voluntarily living among our people ... shall be forced back upon the savage life against their will ..., or whether, by voluntary action they shall remain as they are, the objects of care by the church and civil protection by the Territory.”[33]

When told by Congress to find a way to end this system of “peonage,” Sherman ordered Major General George W. Getty, commander of the District of New Mexico, to tell the Indians that the army intended to comply with the new legislation, “in justice to the women and children affected.” Further, the army should provide assistance to any one wished to search for relatives held in bondage, and see to it that any women and children who were returned reached their tribe in safety.[34]

Gradually, New Mexicans adapted to this new era. There were many more depredations by Indians, subjected to extremely great pressures by land- and mineral-hungry Americans. There were many deaths, many injustices on both sides. But Ute Indian slavery ended. In the 1870s, only one baptism of a Ute is re-

corded in Catholic Church records; there were twenty-six the previous decade, forty-three in the 1840s.[35] The American solution to the Indian Problem was to get them out of the way, not to absorb them into the general population. The 1870s would witness the end of free-roaming Indian bands, and their forced settlement on reservations. Slavery was ended, but captivity of another kind was only beginning.

The reservation system devised by the American government opened a new era in Ute and Great Basin Indian history, beyond the scope of this paper. A legacy of slave trafficking in the Great Basin which had important consequences for this new set of ideas is reflected in the size and location of reservations. Congress initially set aside vast areas of land, but within a few decades moved the reservation boundaries until the Indian wards of the government were restricted to quite small acreage insufficient to support their subsistence life styles. There was a direct relationship between the size of the reservation and the size of the population, affected as well by the government’s determination to transform these free roaming hunters into yeoman farmers. An example of a reservation significantly impacted by these policies is the Moapa Reservation of southern Nevada. In his original report to Congress, Powell recommended about one million acres, including both sides of the Muddy River for virtually its full length of twenty miles. His report was filed in 1873; Congress that year authorized an area in the upper Muddy that encompassed only one thousand acres.[36] The size of the

population figured into this equation, and in 1873, slave trafficking was barely ended. Given the nature of some of the raids and the consequent slaughter of many Indians in order to take a few captive, this brutal barter had an impact long past its official termination.

SOURCES AND DATA

Despite the voluminous references in the literature to slave traffic in New Mexico, it is very difficult to get hard facts about it. There are no ship manifests, slave auction house records, or similar sources to search for most of the period of greatest slaving activity. Three censuses from the Spanish/Mexican period are extant: 1790, 1823, and 1845. These are fragmentary but offer the promise of retrieving information about surviving captives, identified as "Indian," sometimes with further tribal designation, or as Genizaro. These records were not examined for this research, but can be found at the New Mexico Records Center in Albuquerque. An abstract of the data compiled for the New Mexico Genealogical Society provides an English language introduction to these materials.[37]

Ecclesiastical records are another source for information about individuals who were brought into the hispanic communities of New Mexico. The Catholic Church, partner with Spain in pioneering Latin America, had a strong presence in the day-to-day lives of all people. Missions and pueblos established under their authority were the focal points of community life. Catholic Church rules for living became the guideposts for Indians as they had

been for the Spanish and Mexicans. For the Church, baptism was essential to human salvation, and in the records of the frontier churches the extension of these concepts is manifested in thousands of entries of baptism, marriages and burials of Indians: Pueblos, Apaches, Navajos, Utes; the list is long and covers all tribes in the Southwest.

In the 1960s, in an effort to document their historic territory, the Navajo Tribe authorized an extensive search of Catholic Church records of New Mexico. These data were used to support their brief in the Indian Land Claim cases then on the dockets of federal courts. Over 6000 records, approximately 70 per cent of all recorded baptism and burials, were examined; marriages were not researched. Subsequently, the results of this enormous endeavor were compiled, analyzed and published by David M. Brugge, one of the two anthropologists who collected the primary data. This work is invaluable for research into the impact of slave taking on the recipient Hispanic population, and by inference, on the victimized Indian peoples. For the first time, there are some significant statistical data compiled, including geographical and tribal distribution of the captives. Using this material, it is finally possible to place some numbers in support of the extent of slaving in New Mexico, and to begin to document the sources of the people who were thus involuntarily hispanicized.[38]

The frontispiece graph prepared by Brugge, and Table 2 [here included as Table 1] in his book, show the

relative proportion of captives from four major groups of Indians between 1694 and 1875. The careful check of records made by Brugge and his partner, J. Lee Correll, noted the presence of persons from tribes not controlled by the Spanish government. Brugge and Correll assumed that, for the most part, these baptisms were not voluntary. Further, the padres did not distinguish between and among the various Shoshonean tribes; the frequent use of the term "Yuta" or some variant of it was sufficient for their purposes.[39]

While there are many problems with these Church records, they do offer some trace of the Ute and Paiute women and children who were wrenched so dramatically from their native camps. A search of the baptisms at Santo Tomas Apostel de Abiquiu, the Catholic Church in the genizaro settlement so important in colonial New Mexico, reveals some interesting facts, and raises some interesting questions as well. For instance, the Church generally includes in a baptismal record the names of the parents and grandparents of the person receiving the sacrament, and requires at least one godparent but prefers two, a man and a woman. They must be Catholics in good standing. Obviously, this ideal situation does not apply to people brought to New Mexico from "wild" Indian tribes. Church records reflect the peculiar position of a child or young adult who has come to the Church involuntarily, often in a situation little better than outright slavery, but interpretation of the phrases used, of the presence or absence of categories of information,

Tribes	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	1750s	1760s	1770s	1780s	1790s	1800s	1810s	1820s	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	Totals
Apache - General	0	47	26	97	136	313	166	22	22	12	29	31	13	10	12	2	20	11	1	970
Apaches (East of Rio Grande)	0	0	0	0	7	6	2	1	0	2	6	8	6	2	1	2	3	0	2	48
Jumanos	0	3	2	0	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Pawnees	0	3	4	9	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	25
Aas	0	0	0	0	0	8	17	4	2	18	24	10	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	93
Kiowas	0	0	0	0	12	5	2	3	2	7	4	12	11	3	5	1	0	0	0	67
Comanches - General	0	0	0	3	2	6	8	32	48	57	30	15	9	6	2	1	1	0	0	220
Cuampe	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Ute - General	0	0	5	0	1	5	8	9	9	23	14	162	112	49	71	157	43	26	1	695
Capote	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Chahuahuna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Pavant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
Saguano	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
Sogochi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Paiute	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	7	44	18	15	1	88
Timpanago	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	6	10	2	0	0	0	25
Navajo	0	19	3	0	11	178	32	8	77	7	0	10	4	259	43	106	29	790	47	1623
Apache (West of Rio Grande)	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	11
Hopis	0	2	0	0	0	226	19	1	0	74	4	7	3	15	1	2	0	6	3	363
Upland Yumans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	11
River Yumans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	1	6	4	1	0	0	0	23
Flatheads and Nations of the West	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	1	1	0	8
Shoshones and Nations of the East	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	6	5	0	0	16
Totals	0	74	40	109	180	752	260	81	163	200	119	269	181	363	166	337	123	849	55	4321

Table 1. [Brugge [39] Table 2] Baptisms by Decade

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1832 Yuta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4
1832 Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1833 Yuta	0	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	11
1833 Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	7
1834 Yuta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1834 Indian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	3
1835 Yuta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1835 Indian	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total Yuta	0	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	3	0	3	1	15
Total Indian	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	5	1	11

Of the 597 entries from May 1832 to April 1835, Yutas and Indians totaled 26.

Ages at baptism: 6 days; years: 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 No adults Sex: Females - 21, Males - 5

Ethnic identification: either Indian, Yuta, for Indians brought in to the community.
No Paiute designation found. Individuals from local area identified as residents.

Baptism entries begin May, 1832 (Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Sto. Tomas Apostel de Abiquiu, Baptisms, 1832-1861. Microfilm. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Historical Library, Salt Lake City. Microfilm No. 1299210.)

Table 2. Indian Baptisms, Church of Saint Thomas Apostle, Abiquiu, New Mexico

often makes understanding the record quite challenging. As pointed out by Brugge and certainly supported in the segments of the baptismal data examined for this paper, the Church obscured behavior of which it disapproved. At Santo Tomas Apostel de Abiquiu, a succession of priests agreeably acquiesced in certain fictions. The 1832 baptism consulted for this article cited “padre no conocido” (father unknown) for many babies, while the mother is carefully identified, along with her parents. In 1833 and 1834, numerous entries claim that no one knows the parents of a newborn baby, who is listed nevertheless as under the “jurisdiction” of the pueblo. Such children are given names at the baptismal ceremony, but it is not clear what surname is used. The term

“esclava” (slave) never appears; captives are identified as “criada” (brought up or raised) by a sponsor, or simply “traido,” brought from “las Naciones” or from “el tribu Uuta.” There is no clear statement about the age at which the Church records the baptism as child or adult; Brugge used seven years in one article, but admits that this determination was based on inductive reasoning from the ages of children baptized in the records he examined. At Abiquiu, children up to the age of ten were identified as “parvulo” (very small).[40]

Despite the problems, the Church records do provide a source of information about captives who otherwise vanish into the broad stream of New Mexican population.

Table 2 shows that, in the sequence of three years examined for this paper (May 1832-April 1835), there were 597 baptisms, of which 26 were Indian. All were children, ranging in age from six days to ten years. Only five were males. 1832-1833 and 1833-1834 were the years of greatest importation (ten and twelve, respectively). Interestingly, the Church records in the sequence examined began in May; holding to a twelve-month pattern, the first full year ended in April 1833. In comparing this record with Old Spanish Trail caravan accounts, such a year works well. Caravans for California left Abiquiu in the fall of a given year and returned the following spring. Summers were too hot to risk crossing the Mojave Desert, and late spring was avoided because the

Colorado River in flood would threaten the pack trains used for transport. The commercial caravan route that connected Santa Fe with Los Angeles through the Great Basin only opened up in 1829-1830.

Comparison of baptismal data with the operation of this traders' trail may provide still additional facts to support the anecdotal evidence of slaving along the route. Such a project will require many more hours of research to complete, but a few tentative observations can be made even now.

The baptism ratio of Indian females to males is 21 to 5, supporting the stories that mainly young girls (and women) were taken into captivity. Few baptisms occurred in the summer months; November and September are the months of most frequent entry: eight in November, four in September, in the three-year period. May is the least popular month, with zero entries all three years, while June, July, and August have only one entry each for all thirty-six months. The correlation of these data with trading caravans has yet to be made, but they may provide clues as to the nature of trade (or raid) conducted. Similar information may be discovered in Catholic Church records of Southern California missions. Official Spanish and Mexican documents of early California contain references to slave traffic operated by the New Mexican caravan leaders.[41] A search of mission records may well reveal additional insights into the number of Great Basin Indians carried into captivity in California. Mormon Church records may identify Ute and Paiute Indians taken into their

communities under the 1852 Act previously discussed. Finally, the United States Census of 1870 asked for identification of Indians, and may contain pertinent data.

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[A] "An Indian Girl's Story, 1841," in Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays, Clyde A. Milner, ed. (Lexington, MA and Toronto: D. C. Heath and Company, 1989), 172-175.

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[15] For date of Ute acquisition of the horse, see Francis Haines, *Horses in America* (New York: Thomas Y Crowell Company, 1971), chap. 4, and Opler, "Southern Ute of Colorado," in Linton, *Acculturation*, 171. For threats to non-mounted Utes, see Opler, *Ibid.*, 159.

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[17] Johns, *Storms Brewed*, chaps. 3, 6, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21.

[18] For detailed discussion of the relationships among the Shoshonean peoples of the region, see David Agee Horr, comp. and ed., *A Garland Series, American Indian Ethnohistory, California and Basin-Plateau Indians, Ute Indians I, II and Paiute Indians I, II* (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974). The reports published in these volumes were prepared for use in federal land claims cases and include excerpts from virtually all published accounts of travelers, government officials, traders, fur trappers, and

Mormon settlers that refer to Ute, Paiute, and Shoshoni interaction.

[19] Steward, *Aboriginal and Historical Groups*, 40-44 (series pagination).

[20] For example, see Johns, *Storms Brewed*, p. 585.

[21] Opler, "Southern Utes of Colorado," in Linton, ed., *Acculturation* 171-172; Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records*, 22.

[22] Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez provided an account of the history of Abiquiu in the record of his visit there in 1776, in *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with Other Contemporary Documents translated and annotated by Eleanor B. Adams & Fray Angelico Chavez*. Published for the Cultural Properties Review Committee in Cooperation with the State Planning Office (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 120-128. For importance of Abiquiu, see Robert W. Delaney, *The Southern Ute People*, published by Indian Tribal Series, Henry F. Dobyns Scientific Ed., General Ed., John I. Griffin (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1974), 21-22.

[23] Lynn R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966); Ramon A. Gutierrez, "Honor and Marriage in New Mexico," in *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, Clyde A. Milner II, ed. (Lexington, Massachusetts and Toronto: D. C. Heath and Company, 1966), 106; Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 273-274.

[24] Gutierrez, "Honor and Marriage," in Milner, *Major Problems*, 108-110; J. J. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Explorations and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1863" in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 3 (1930), 3-23.

[25] For an example of genizaro interpreter to Utes, see story of Manuel Mestas in Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 263; for trade fairs, see Dominguez, *Missions of New Mexico*,

252-253 and "Bishop Tamaron Visits New Mexico, 1760," in Milner, ed., *Major Problems*, 94.

[26] The leader of the first trading caravan that succeeded in linking Santa Fe with Los Angeles, thus blazing the "Old Spanish Trail," was Antonio Armijo of Santa Fe. He departed for California from Abiquiu with sixty men and one hundred mules in November 1829 and returned to Jemez Pueblo in New Mexico the following spring. See Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 156-157; Elizabeth von Till Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited: A New Interpretation of the Impact of the Antonio Armijo Route of 1829-1830 on the Development of the Old Spanish Trail," Donald E. Schmiedel, *Spanish trans. Master's thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas*, n.d. (1974).

[27] For Spanish Trail, see Gloria Griffen Cline, *Exploring the Great Basin*, repr. *Vintage West Series*, Robert E. Blesse, ed. (Reno & Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1988), chap. 8; Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, for illegal trade, see Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 262-264 and J. J. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Explorations," 3-23.

[28] See "An Indian Girl's Story, 1841," in Milner, *Major Problems* 172-175; Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade*, 144-145; Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail* 264-267; Warren, "Armijo's Trace," chap. 4.

[29] Good summaries of these remarkable stories are found in Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade*, Section 3 and Appendix; Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 259-283.

[30] For a close analysis of the "Special Report on the Conditions of the Tribes," usually called the "Doolittle Report," see Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade* 175-188 and Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 14; for two late examples of Ute baptisms, see Archdiocese of Santa Fe, "Abiquiu Baptisms 1861," Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Historical Library, Salt Lake

City, Microfilm: 4 (February 19, 1862), 16 (May 11, 1862).

[31] Powell and Ingalls, *Report*, 8.

[32] For description of the Salazar party of 1839-40, see Eleanor Lawrence, "Mexican Trade Between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, 1830-1848," *California Historical Quarterly*, X, March 1931, 32; for eyewitness account of slave raid, see Michael C. White, *California All The Way Back to 1828*, written by Thomas Savage for the Bancroft Library, 1877 (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1956), 44.

[33] Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade*, 185-187.

[34] Eugene H. Berwanger, *The West and Reconstruction* (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 28-30.

[35] Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records*, 22-23.

[36] Powell and Ingalls, *Report*.

[37] Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses of New Mexico: 1790, 1823, 1845, Virginia L. Olmsted, trans. and comp. (Albuquerque: New Mexico Genealogical Society Inc., 1975).

[38] Brugge, David M., "Some Plains Indians in the Church Records of New Mexico," *Plains Anthropologist, Journal of the Plains Conference* 10, no. 29 (August 1965), 181-189; Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records*.

[39] Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records*, xii, 31-32.

[40] For statistical analysis of non-Pueblo Indians in New Mexico Catholic Church records, see Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records*; for interpretation of baptismal entries, Brugge to Warren, April 18, 1991.

[41] See Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, and Warren, "Armijo's Trace."

Moccasins and Muleshoes

By Lou McCombs

Daydreaming is as natural a part of bicycle touring as putting on your tights in the morning. And on my last ride on this section of the trail, I was dreaming of moccasins and muleshoes as I rode up through Little Creek Canyon just northeast of Paragonah, Utah. I was wondering what the land was like when people first laid eyes on it? Before cars and super highways? In my mind, I'm sure it was an interesting time full of adventure, trials and tribulations, with long periods of boredom coupled to short periods of action, excitement and utter fear. Must have been a lot like riding a bicycle on today's roads.

In a distant past, native people made their home in these canyons and valleys. First were the Fremont, cousins to the Anasazi who lived farther south. Later, Paiute and Ute bands moved in. But while untold generations of moccasined feet first put their stamp on this trail, during historic times it was used by Spanish prospectors, American mountain men, the muleshoes of New Mexican traders, American army explorers and Mormon pioneers.

Little Creek Canyon is one of several passes through the Hurricane Cliffs scouted and used by Native Americans. It's also generally ac-

cepted as the route of the New Mexican mule caravans. It was and is a tough place. Exploring for the army in 1848, Lt. Orville C. Pratt described the pass as "... a very hilly and rocky country - Sometimes up the steepest hills, then down places which it would seem almost impos-

Just as I was getting ready to ride on, a couple of guys in trucks full of cows they were bringing down off the mountain stopped to ask if I was OK or needed anything. They were dressed in boots, hats, bandanas and Levis. One had a pistol strapped to his waist. Minus the trucks, they could have both stepped out of an historical timewarp. I told them everything was all right and continued up the mountain.

The mule trail went north from Cedar City parallel to I-15. Near Little Salt Lake west of Paragonah, it angled northeast through the Hurricane Cliffs by way of Bear Creek



The Spanish Trail Sign at Bear Creek Pass

Photograph courtesy of the author

sible to descend. again in deep and precipitous canyons [sic]." I was having these thoughts as I rested and ate a snack next to a large juniper on the shoulder of the dirt road leading to Bear Creek Pass. The road follows the wagon route built by Mormon settlers.

Pass. Following down the Bear Creek meadows, it intersected the Sevier River 8 miles north of Panguitch. Going north along the Sevier, it intersected the Fish Lake branch of the trail near Junction. Continuing north, at Marysville, the trail turned slightly east to bypass

the rugged – then impassible – Sevier River Narrows above the confluence with Clear Creek.

From a pass north of Marysvale, it reached the head of Long Valley. Here the trail forked. The usual route turned west down Long Valley and crossed the Sevier River just above Joseph. Through desert scrub, it stayed to the west side of the valley to Rocky Ford just north of Sigurd. The alternate route went in a more direct line north past the current town of Monroe, keeping to the narrower and dryer stretch of land at the base of the hills on the river's east bank.

From Rocky Ford, the trail continued a short distance north, then turned east into Salina Canyon. The mule trail passed through the canyon and over Immigrant Pass to Ivie Creek and Oak Spring (now paved over by I-70). It then followed Ivie Creek out of the canyon onto the wide open land of Walker Flat, about 2 miles north of the I-70/SR 10 interchange. Keeping to the open land between the San Rafael Swell on the east and eroded bluffs to the west, it reached Ferron Creek about .5 mile east of Molen, then passed just east of Castle Dale.

To resume our tour, head north out of Cedar City. This whole region is laced by ancient trails. One of the more interesting routes passes through the Parowan Gap Petroglyph Site. This site preserves one of the state's most extensive clusters of Native American and pioneer rock art. So, rather than following up the freeway as the mule trail went, I suggest you take this alternate route

with me. It adds only 7 miles of travel. Access is by an all weather gravel road. If it's raining, of course, you may pick up a little mud.

To get there, take SR 130 for 11.7 miles to the Parowan Gap turn-off. It's then another 2.4 miles to the petroglyphs, and another 3 miles back to pavement. Follow Gap Road



Parowan Gap

Photograph courtesy of the author

(2200 North) another 10.7 miles into Parowan. This brings you out at the north end of town near the Sportsman RV Park, CG and restaurant. Just around the corner is the new Best Western motel. I suggest the cyclist stay overnight in Parowan. There's much to see, including Heap Spring Park and several historic monuments and buildings. The spring was used by everyone on the trail.

Continuing north, take US 91 to Paragonah. Less than a mile out of town is Little Creek Canyon Road.

At the base of the mountain is a green water tank. Follow the road past this tank and into the canyon. Once in the canyon, signs along the way designate the route as part of the Old Spanish Trail.

Near the top of the canyon, about mile 37, the road forks. Bear to the left to Bear Creek Pass at 8100 feet.

The view from here is absolutely spectacular and there's an OST sign. From here to the intersection with SR 20 are springs and creeks that'll draw your attention. When you get to the intersection with US 89, turn left to Circleville. The highway goes through a wonderfully eroded canyon of the Sevier River. Look for traces of the old wagon road along the sides of the hills to your left. Just south of Circleville is the Butch Cassidy homestead. A couple of buildings remain standing and are maintained by the county historical society. There's a contribution box.

Circleville has motels, mini-marts and a private campground.

The next town north is Junction, at the Intersection of US 89 and SR 62. Junction is the county seat and site of the old Paiute County Courthouse, a registered Utah Historic Landmark built in 1903. A few miles north is Paiute Lake State Park, mile 85.7. There is camping, but no drinking water, and the only toilets are in the parking area near the dam.

Next is Marysvale, established in the 1860's when reports of old Spanish diggings and traces of gold were found along the creek in Bullion Canyon west of the current town. The reports brought a rush of prospectors and miners to the area. Eventually a couple of large mines were developed here and at Kimberley in the mountains farther west. Until 1940, Marysvale was the southern terminus for a spur of the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroad that served all of the communities south of Salina. It was here the Spanish Trail swerved to the east to bypass the Sevier River Narrows through which US 89 now runs. In fact, there was no way through the Narrows until the D&RGW built its spur in 1903 and a wagon road was constructed. The remains of several old mining operations can be seen from the highway as you pass through Sevier River Canyon. Stop and check out Big Rock Candy mountain.

At mile 106.5 is the intersection of US 89 and SR 4 and the turn to Fremont Indian State Park. The park protects the second largest concentration of Native American rock art

found in Utah. It was established in 1986 after the site of an ancient Fremont Indian village was uncovered during the construction of I-70 through Clear Creek Canyon. Archeologists found pit houses, pottery, and other artifacts that indicated that the site was over a thousand years old. This, coupled with the extensive petroglyph and pictograph panels found on the canyon's volcanic walls, led them to believe people had

road now crosses mostly developed farmland occupying the flood plain of the Sevier River. There are several small communities representative of the rural Mormon towns found throughout the state. Just outside Elsinore, at the intersection of US 89 and SR 118, continue straight ahead to Central. This is a former alignment of US 89 and will eventually lead you back to the new highway. There's an interesting Traders and



Sign at the Red Creek Canyon Entrance

Photograph courtesy of the author

been living in the area for several thousand years. There's a modern visitor center and museum, brochures, self-guided walking and driving tours and a fifteen-minute slide show. The visitor center is 5 miles from the turn. If you plan to stay overnight, arrangements for the CG may be made at the visitor center. The CG is at mile 113.7.

From the campground, return to the intersection of SR 4 and US 89. The

Explorers historic monument in Central, originally put in place when the town was on the main road. Continue on to Richfield. Richfield is the largest town in the region with well-developed tourist services, motels, fast food franchises, a K-Mart, a KOA and interesting historic sites.

Continue north on 89/118 to Salina. Turn right at the junction with US 50. If you're looking to camp, the

Butch Cassidy Camp and RV Park is on Main Street near the south end of town at mile 158.7.

From Salina take I-70 to Gooseberry Road and exit onto Frontage Road. Generally speaking, this is the old bed of the D&RGW railroad, which, ironically, was never used by trains. From here, the road has a pretty good gravel surface and a couple of tunnels, but it should not be attempted in wet weather. The alternative is simply to stay on I-70. In Salina Creek Canyon are a number of historical artifacts including abandoned coal mines and flood control channels constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) during the 1930's. At Exit 71, Convulsion Canyon, on the road to a working coal mine, watch out for large trucks. To continue on Frontage Road, cross under the freeway. In about .75 mile there's a green Convulsion Canyon sign. Frontage Road intersects from the right.

After crossing Immigrant Pass, 7860 feet, it's downhill to Red Creek and the conjunction with the Fish Lake Trail. A little farther on, just before the second roadside rest sign on the freeway, stop and look across the road. In a small alcove high up on the brown sandstone cliffs is a spectacular pictograph panel. There are red, human-like figures and a large red and white shield. These can be seen with the naked eye, but binoculars are better. At the intersection with SR 10, mile 196.6, turn left. SR 10 is a narrow two-lane road with little or no

shoulder. There's generally not a lot of traffic, but it is a main route for coal trucks going to and coming from the power plant at Castle Dale.

In Emery is a nice rest area with water and toilets. It also has a kiosk with a lot of information about what to see and do in Carbon County. It's a good place to take a break. Just north is the turn-off to Moore, a small community very close to the route of the mule trail. East of



The Old Church School, Emery, Utah

Photograph courtesy of the author

Moore, on the Moore to I-70 road, is another interesting petroglyph site. To get there, go east from Moore through Sand Wash Draw about 3 miles. The site is on the left amidst a jumble of large boulders at the base of sheer sandstone cliffs near where the road makes a bend and starts down into a small valley. The site also includes inscriptions left by men of the CCC. The centerpiece is a fascinating rendition of a rattlesnake over 9 feet long. This is public land and you may camp near the site if you so desire. Be sure to bring

water. Return to Moore and turn right on the first paved road to get back on the main route.

At Main Street (SR 10) and Molen Road in Ferron, mile 224.2, the Castle Country Motel, 435-384-2311, is on the corner. Millsite State Park is 4 miles west on Molen Rd. It has a modern campground, water, flush toilets and good tent sites. It's also next to a beautiful golf course. The BLM office is on the way, about two blocks west of the highway. Open Mon-Fri, 8:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m., it's a good place to get information about the San Rafael Swell.

Just west of Main Street and 100 East in Castle Dale, mile 234.8, is the Museum of the San Rafael, and around the corner, the Emery County Pioneer Museum. Both have excellent cultural and natural history displays. At the first, pick up a copy of the BLM's brochure on that describes a self-guided driving tour of the San Rafael. It's small, but

has a lot of good information about the geology and human history of the desert. There's no CG in town, but there is the Village Inn Motel, 435-381-2309.

On-the-Trail miles from L.A. plaza: 829.8

MAPS: AAA Guide to Indian Country
Utah Travel Council: Northeastern and Southeastern Utah

CONTACT: Utah Travel Council: <http://www.utah.com/>

This is the fourth in a series of seven articles written by McCombs on his OST adventures.

Next: Anasazi Land

Marking the Spanish Trail

By Lamont Johnson

This press release was issued in 1950 by the then Spanish Trail Association. Our Utah Director, Ron Jewkes, provided this item. Future issues will reprint STA history from the Southern Utah University Palmer Collection.

Soon — on Friday, September 29 — there is a bright day coming for one of the greatest trade routes of the frontier West. On that day, over its long, circuitous course of more than a thousand miles from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, official markers will be erected to commemorate the Spanish Trail as the first great traffic route across the Rockies to the Pacific Coast.

Counties, towns, schools and civic groups have been notified. All preparations are near completion to make this an epochal event. On that designated day, the signs will be erected to lift the old trail out of oblivion and restore it to a new career of historical attraction proportionate to the adventurous course it followed.

Measuring 30 by 22 inches, these signs are of heavy metal with a luminous coating that will reflect under motor lights at night. No highway in America has such eye-catching markers. They picture a dramatic sketch of Spanish traders, horseback, driving Indian slaves as one of the major activities of that caravan route. The signs also carry this inscription: THE SPANISH TRAIL, 1800 to 1850, ERECTED BY THE SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION, 1950. The latter date represents the 100th anniversary since the heaviest traffic began to taper off over this long packtrain road. [See the ghost on page 25.]

It had direct connections throughout the Southwest, including Kansas City. A hundred years ago, before and after, Westport Landing was in the heyday of its thriving trade as a supply point for

traffic all over the western frontier. General John C. Fremont outfitted there in 1853 for his fifth and last great transcontinental exploration. Countless other heroic figures glorified those adventurous days in Westport Landing.

Under this name, too, the booming river town was a major diversion point for the boisterous, blustering, nation building traffic over the Santa Fe Trail. For the first few years after William Becknell opened that route from St. Louis in 1822, Santa Fe was the end of the road, except for what traffic continued on to Mexico.

With Becknell went another William—William Wolfskill. Neither of them realized it then, but it was Wolfskill's destiny to lay out a frontier trade course as famous and adventurous as the one Becknell fathered. It was also longer, covered a wilder mountain and desert country through an uninhabited wilderness that was to prove rich in resources, legends and historic development.

This wealth of frontier folklore, like an old lost mine rediscovered, will be opened up now by the marking of the Spanish Trail. The move is sponsored by the Spanish Trail Association, headed by William R. Palmer of Cedar City, Utah, a well known authority on Utah Indian life and pioneer events. Supporting the project is its parent group, the American Pioneer Trails & Landmarks Association, which has in recent years promoted the restoration of many old pioneer trails and frontier outposts.

Wolfskill opened the Spanish Trail for regular traffic in the fall of 1830. In that year he became the first known trader to cover the full length of this caravan road. He led a group of fur traders and explorers up from Santa Fe and on to California with a packtrain load of serapes and other New Mexican goods. These were traded among the Spanish missions around San Gabriel for large-size mules and superb horses which the native Californios raised by countless thousands. Some of the party brought these animals back over the trail the following year, in 1831. They received such high profits on the Santa Fe freighting market that from then on for almost 20 years, annual caravans carved out the Spanish Trail as the main caravan route across the Rockies, in reality an extension of the Santa Fe Trail.

Wolfskill, with several others of his party, remained in California. There he became a landed esquire who used his native intelligence and ability to start orange and lemon groves as the beginning of the great commercial citrus fruit industry of the Golden Gate state.

While this pioneer Kentuckian launched the first regular trade over the entire Spanish Trail, opening it as an unbroken traffic route from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, the eastern and western ends of it had been traveled earlier. Therein lies one of the great ironies of western America; a development which undoubtedly changed the course of history.

After Santa Fe had been established by Spanish priests as a long prong of settlement to the northeast out of Mexico and Father Junipero Serra had extended similar missions up northwest into southern California, the Spanish padres saw the need for connecting these two far-northern branches of their missionary activities.

It was that objective which sent Dominguez and Escalante on their historic exploration journey north from Santa Fe on July 29, 1776, to seek a short-cut route to Monterey.

Dramatically for its effect on history, the two adventurous padres literally "got lost." Along the Dolores river in western Colorado, within 60 miles of a natural crossing of the Grand river, the priests turned directly off their north-west course and went 50 miles east. No reason is known for that diversion unless they were looking for guides among the Lagunas Indians. From there they traveled far to the north, crossed the Green river east of Vernal, Utah, thence explored westward across the Wasatch range to Utah lake and back south through western Utah. As it was then fall, and the first snow covered the mountains, they abandoned their journey to California and returned to Santa Fe to report their mission a failure, as they had found no good crossing of the Grand and the Green rivers on a direct course. They never knew that they had traveled far beyond one.

Had they continued straight on northwest from the Dolores, they would have soon found the excellent crossing of the Green river where Green River, Utah, now stands, and had abundant time to go on to California that season. It was the nearest and best crossing above the impassable canyons of the Green and the Grand rivers.

Destiny decreed otherwise.

William Wolfskill's trading party found the Green river crossing 54 years later and launched the annual trade which made the Spanish Trail famous. Sporadic Indian and Spanish trading had used this route as early as 1800 from Santa Fe northward to the Ute Indian tribes in Utah. Therefore the official Spanish Trail markers

recognize that beginning date by giving 1800 to 1850 as the period during which the main trade flourished over the Spanish Trail.

With the passing years, that trade became steadily more contraband and nefarious, consisting of Indian slaves and horse stealing. Freebooters of every breed carried out sensational and wholesale raids on the California missions. Swooping down in organized bands, they frequently cleaned out entire valleys, stampeding hundreds if not thousands of valuable Spanish horses which were driven eastward over the Spanish Trail.

That the earliest travelers over this route were Spaniards is shown by the string of Hispanic names which define landmarks all along the way. These names, supplementing local explorations, have aided in finding traces of the old trail through rocky ridges, to show the course it followed.

From Santa Fe it went northwest through the old mission towns of Santa Clara and Abiquiu on the Rio Chama, thence more directly northward into Archuleta county, Colorado, south of Pagosa Springs. It then turned west, paralleling the Colorado-New Mexico border for about 60 miles, thence more northwest across/northern branches of the San Juan river, past Durango in southwestern Colorado, and on west of the Dolores river.

Crossing from there into Utah, it crossed the Grand river where Moab, Utah, stands, thence 40 miles farther to the elusive but vastly important crossing of the Green river -- the objective of its long sweep northward. From there the trail was forced another 40 miles northwest to get around impassable rock mountains and gulches of the San Rafael desert.

Its crossing of Huntington creek, the

northern tributary of the San Rafael river, was a historic landmark. That was the northernmost point reached by the Spanish Trail. From there it turned back southwest through Castle Valley, thence through the vital Wasatch Pass over the Wasatch mountains into the Great Salt Lake Basin. From there it continued southwest along the Sevier, Santa Clara and Virgin rivers through southwestern Utah; past Las Vegas, Nevada, and over a terrible "jornada" of 60 to 80 miles of searing desert wastes to the Mojave river. From that desert stream in southern California, it turned west through Cajon Pass into San Bernardino Valley and on west to the old San Gabriel mission.

On that long-winding course of sandy valleys, timbered mountains, rock-bound hills, rivers, deserts and passes, the Spanish Trail laid a travel route as vibrant and colorful as any in America. Famous names and obscure characters used it. It carried fur business, exploration parties, military survey parties, traders and slaves, U. S. mail, emigrants, horse thieves and adventurers of sundry breeds and diverse purposes.

It produced a frontier history in keeping with the chaotic and motley character of its trade, brim full of adventure, lusty with the sweat and toll and profanity of its rough and bearded travelers. Over the Spanish Trail these Bedouins of America flogged their weary packtrains through a land as rugged and picturesque as the raw, tough men who traveled it.

Marking this glamorous trail will identify and preserve the historical and geographical accuracy of the route. It will become a source of rejuvenated adventure for modern travelers who prefer motor cars to plodding packhorses in the zestful American pastime of seeking out the historic spots and "seeing America first."

Book Reviews

Tom Tobin: *Frontiersman*. By James E. Perkins. (Pueblo West: Herodotus Press, 1999, 313 pp., photos, maps, genealogical charts, bibliography, \$30.00)

Tom Tobin: Frontiersman portrays the tenuous dramas of everyday Western frontier life, while taking the reader through an intimate, and often compassionate, relationship with a tough little man who could cry like a child, face down a savage adversary, whether human or beast, or exchange witty banter with equally rugged comrades. Although one brief episode of Tom Tobin's long life has been told and retold, quite commonly with exaggeration, James E. Perkins provides the first fully comprehensive biographical examination of an interesting and enigmatic frontiersman. Not only does Perkins flesh out Tobin's many faceted career and broad span of experiences in the San Luis Valley of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, but his research also expands to Tobin's St. Louis roots, his half-brother Charles Autobees, and numerous northern New Mexican pioneers as well as people, places and events that filled the palette of Western history.

Tracing the story of Thomas Tate Tobin is not an easy task due to the variety of aliases acquired throughout his life. Tobin confused the record himself by using his half-brother's last name as often as his own. Since Tobin was illiterate and depended upon others to write his name by his mark, variations in spelling resulted according to the

writer's linguistic ear. Tobin came too late to the West to fall into that genre commonly known as Mountain Man, but Perkins' book fully displays the wide range of Tobin's career—trader, scout, hunter, farmer, benefactor. Simultaneously Perkins exposes special qualities that defined Tobin's unique character.

Of particular interest to Old Spanish Trail enthusiasts is Tobin's association with Lt. Edward F. Beale's expedition of 1853. In surveying a central railroad route to the Pacific, Beale's party crossed the Cochetopa and then followed the Gunnison River to its junction with the Colorado. When a canoe tipped over mid-stream, the expedition lost their provisions and firearms. Gwinn Harris Heap, Beale's cousin, backtracked along the North Branch through the San Luis Valley to procure fresh supplies at Taos. There Beale met and hired Tobin to accompany the expedition: "he having a reputation almost equal to Kit Carson's for bravery, dexterity with his rifle and skill in mountain life." (Heap)

Perkins provides no evidence that Tobin had traveled the Old Spanish Trail previously although Charles Autobees had passed between Green River and Abiquiu as a trader during the 1830s. Jose Gallegos, another Taoseño who was experienced with the trail, guided Beale's expedition from Green River toward the vegas of Santa Clara and on to Las Vegas. Perkins describes how the miserable desert crossing between Resting Springs and the Mojave River prompted Heap, who had lived in Turkey, to suggest that camels could pass the desert effectively while

transporting heavier loads than was customary with mules. Beale's subsequent "camel experiment" ended prematurely with the onset of the Civil War.

Using Tobin as the weft, passing back and forth among strands of Manifest Destiny, international commerce, political intrigues, cultural conflicts, national and regional crises including murderous revolts and wars, Perkins unfolds a true saga. One could not find a better character for an epic western novel than Tom Tobin. The names of contemporaries who entered Tobin's life roll like a roster of the "most-famous" of 19th century America.

Perkins provides ample and detailed coverage of Tobin's most notorious mission. Felipe Espinosa's vendetta included 32 murders with subsequent panic among Colorado settlements from Fairplay to Conejos. Numerous maps and photos enhance careful documentation of events leading to Espinosa's violent demise after being tracked down by Tobin. By coincidence, not uncommon in isolated communities, Espinosa was a distant relative of Tobin's wife, Marie Pascuala Bernal. As with many mountaineers, who settled in Santa Fe or Taos, Tobin had become a Mexican citizen and adopted local cultural mores. Having killed Espinosa, Tobin assumed a personal responsibility toward helping to provide for Espinosa's destitute widow and children.

Perkins' work aptly demonstrates the importance of western trails in determining the course of the lives of young 19th century men, such as Tobin, and thereby, the course of

history. Without opportunity to travel to the West, Tobin might have been consigned to the routine life of an ordinary laborer or farmer. Instead he became an international figure famous for his expertise in many fields: tracker, trader, marksman, scout, translator. One cannot find a better subject for exploring the evolution of the western frontier than Thomas Tate Tobin.

Reviewed by Patricia Joy Richmond
Marvel, Colorado

The Santa Fe Trail: Its History, Legends, and Lore. By David Dary, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000, 368 pp., photos, maps, drawings, \$30.00)

This book is an interesting case study of the difference between journalism and history. Mr. Dary was a journalist and a professor of journalism. A historian is interested in sources and accuracy. A journalist is interested in telling a story and in the subtitle of the book, "Legends and Lore" Mr. Dary discloses his primary interest – telling stories. Unfortunately not all of the stories are true, nor backed up by scholarship.

The essence of Dary's book is described in the Washington Post review of the book by Jennifer Veech as, "the experiences of these merchant travelers – (the book) is rich with fascinating detail about how travelers made their way across those nearly 900 miles, what they packed, what animals they used, how much the freight weighed and what it was worth, and who those travelers were. At times the detail becomes a bit overwhelming: too many

trees and not enough forest."

The review by Harry Myers in Wagon Tracks, the newsletter of the Santa Fe Trail Association, tells a different story. Dary says, "I would rather be known as a journalist than a scholar historian." Meyers comments, "If being a journalist means pedestrian writing, questionable facts on almost every page, and writing of a history that would not have been current 20 years ago, then he succeeds as a journalist." Meyers agrees with Veech that the book gives "no understanding of why the trail came about and the forces in Mexico and the United States that at first did not allow the trail to exist and then the changes that allowed it to flourish."

Both Meyers and Leo Oliva, who wrote a review for Patrice Press, list dozens of serious errors in the book. Personally, I was surprised that on page 140 Dary places Bent's Old Fort at "Big Timbers, about 25 miles east of where the Purgatoire River flows into the Arkansas." This was the site of Bent's New Fort, not the Old Fort. Bent's Old Fort was at the mouth of the Purgatoire. Later on page 229, Dary correctly places the new fort at Big Timbers. That is really sloppy writing by Dary and editing by Knopf.

The book does have some redeeming features. The pictures and drawings are excellent, but Dary lists the sources of many as his private collection rather than the original source. The book does tell the stories of many caravans in the first person from journals and letters of the travelers. Toward the end, the book concentrates on the growth of

Santa Fe as a tourist destination and the promotion of the old trail as a marketing device in the early automobile age. I enjoyed the several sections detailing the early development of the town of Council Grove, Kansas. The Hays House Restaurant there is billed as the oldest restaurant west of the Mississippi River. The town today makes a nice stopping place on the route west and has more than a dozen important historical sites. Just south, on the edge of the lovely Flint Hills of Kansas is the brand new Tall Grass Prairie National Park.

From the standpoint of the Old Spanish Trail Association there is a direct connection between the two trails. One ended in Santa Fe while the other started in Santa Fe, both only a few years apart, Becknell in 1821-1822 and Armijo in 1829. The Santa Fe Trail was basically a wagon route while the OST was a pack trail. However some goods traveled on both trails, especially beaver fur returning to St. Louis or mules and horses from California.

For those who might want to retrace the Santa Fe Trail, I recommend the Marc Simmon's book, *Following the Santa Fe Trail*, Ancient City Press, Santa Fe. For the entire length of the trail, the book has maps and descriptions of how to find the exact sites on the trail. In several places wagon ruts are still visible. The Santa Fe Trail Association's address is RR 3, Larned, Kansas, 67550 near Ft. Larned, one of the U. S. Army Forts built to protect travelers on the trail from Indian raids.

Reviewed by Bob Youker
Bethesda, Maryland



The Workman Home, ca. 1870

Photograph by William M. Godfrey, courtesy of the Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum

Old Spanish Trail Association
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