

SPANISH TRACES



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Orchard Mesa submitted by Sonny Shelton

North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail: Community Efforts at Preservation near Grand Junction

by H. Shelton and Victoria Gipson

The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail is an integral part of the history of the Western Slope of Colorado. The trail was used by explorers, trappers, traders, and cattlemen from the 1700's through the 1860's. Since its origin in the 1840's, a section of the trail from Whitewater, CO, to Orchard Mesa, CO, near Grand Junction, has been in continuous use as a trade route and wagon road, and more recently as a recreational trail. In 1996, the North Branch chapter of the

Old Spanish Trail Association in cooperation with Mesa County, the City of Grand Junction, the Grand Junction Riverfront Commission, the Museum of Western Colorado, the BLM, and the Orchard Mesa Irrigation District, succeeded in establishing this section of the trail as the Gunnison Bluffs/Old Spanish Trail Loop. Since its formal designation for use by hikers, bicyclists, and horseback riders (with all motorized vehicles being excluded) the trail loop has

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THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

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

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

Visit the OSTA Website

<http://www.oldspanishtrail.org>

The OSTA website is the place to go for both general background and recent news on the OST and OSTA. The site contains a set of maps; an overview history of the OST, including a bibliography; a listing of relevant books, with links to sites where they can be purchased; and a regularly-updated news page, containing links to government reports, activities of the OSTA membership, and other news relevant to the trail. The web page also links to NPS and BLM webpages, which have further links to public documents (e.g. the OSNHT Feasibility Study, the Scoping Report, and the Comprehensive Management Plan) and to maps of the OST.

Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association, a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. *ST* welcomes submission of letters, articles, book reviews, and OST related news. The next deadline for submissions is August 15, 2008.

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From the Editors

In his article in this issue, historian **Marc Simmons** comments, "How odd that in the 19th century, New Mexicans colonized parts of California, while today a reverse flow of Californians is colonizing upper New Mexico." Your editors are joining that reverse flow; this June we are moving to Santa Fe. Please note the new mailing address, given on page 2 of this issue, for submissions to *Spanish Traces*. Our e-mail address will remain the same.

Simmons, who is widely regarded as the "historian laureate of New Mexico," writes a regular weekly column for the Santa Fe *New Mexican*, from which the article in this issue is taken. Simmons' article provides a good general background for the article by **Bruce Harley** on the Abiquiú-Agua Mansa connection. Harley, who is a retired archivist from the Diocese of San Bernardino, is a long time OSTA member and contributor to these pages. He is the leading expert on the Agua Mansa/Politana communities of emigrants who took the Old Spanish Trail.

Bill Chenoweth, another long-time OSTA member and a retired geologist from Grand Junction, Colorado, combines his expertise in geology with his interest in history in an article on the Book Cliffs.

We also present articles by two new contributors to *Spanish Traces*, **David Earle** and **Carolynne Merrell**. The articles are shortened versions of talks given at the National Spanish Trails Symposium in Cedar City, Utah, last October. Earle teaches anthropology at Antelope Valley College in Lancaster, California, and is interested in the ethno-history of Native Americans in the Mojave Desert, as well as other regions of the American West. Merrell is the owner of Archaeographics, Inc., of Moscow, Idaho, a non-profit company specializing in the documentation of pictographs, petroglyphs, and inscriptions using digital enhancement technology. We welcome them both to *Spanish Traces*.

John Fantz was our guide on a recent tour of the San Gabriel Mission. We have transcribed and edited the comments he made during the tour for this issue. Fantz is not only a fine guide, knowledgeable and melodramatic, but he has also played a role in revitalizing the Mission's museum.

Bill and Esther Gorman, of Treasure Island, Florida, were inspired by their recent visit to Fort Uncompaghe in Delta, Colorado, to submit a brief article on the fort. We welcome other readers to submit articles on interesting sites they visit associated with the Old





Bruce Harley: In Memorium

Dr. R. Bruce Harley was born on April 2, 1918, in Albert Lea, MN, and passed away on July 24, 2008, in Redlands, CA. He received his BA from William Penn College (Oskaloosa, IA) in 1940 and an MA from Haverford College (Haverford, PA) in 1941. He served in the U.S. Army from 1941 to 1945, participating in campaigns in North Africa and Italy. After earning a Ph.D. in 1948 from the University of Iowa, he was a Professor of History at Western Illinois University in Macomb. In 1959, he became a command historian for the U. S. Air Force and served at March Air Force Base near Riverside, CA. Retiring in 1983 after 24 years of federal service, he became the first archivist for the then new Catholic Diocese of San Bernardino, a position he held for 15 years until he again retired.

It was while researching church history for a 12-volume series, *Readings in Diocesan Heritage*, that he discovered that Agua Mansa, an abandoned settlement along the Santa Ana River near present day Colton, CA, was the first church and parish in today's diocesan territory, as well as the only settlement on the Old Spanish Trail between Abiquiu, NM, and Los Angeles, CA. Accordingly, he wrote numerous articles about the Agua Mansa community and its parish, ultimately using that background to produce articles about the relationship between Agua Mansa and the Old Spanish Trail. As a result of studying the sacramental records to trace the Agua Mansa pioneers, he also branched out into Hispanic genealogy.

Married 57 years, Harley is survived by his wife Clara of Redlands, CA; daughters Sue Harley of Ogden, UT; Peggy Harley of San Bernardino, CA; and Dorothy Harley of Playa del Rey, CA; son Robert Harley of Wisconsin Dells, WI; and four granddaughters: Catherine, Sarah, Brenna, and Amanda Harley of Wisconsin Dells.



Katherine Nelson: In Memorium

Katherine Nelson was born in Riverside, California, on January 21, 1923. A graduate of the University of Redlands, she married Jack Nelson in 1942, and was the mother of two children, Jon Morgan and Betsy Katherine. After the war, she became a schoolteacher, and later her interest in education led her to serve on the California State PTA Board and as president of the Riverside County School Board. Following retirement, the Nelsons moved to Colorado, where Katherine founded a local chapter of the League of Women Voters. As a direct descendant of Colonel Jacob Morgan, a veteran of the French and Indian War and the American Revolution, she became a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). She led in the effort to have the DAR support a statue commemorating Pioneer Women in Eagle Rim Park in Grand Junction. A charter member of OSTA, Katherine played a role in the North Branch chapter's efforts to commemorate the Old Spanish Trail in the Grand Junction area. She died May 15, 2008.

Captain José de Zuñiga: Early Spanish Trailblazer

by *Marc Simmons*

During the second half of the 18th century, the Spanish government tried to open new trade and communication routes between New Mexico and other provinces. In 1795, Capt. José de Zuñiga was ordered to lead a 150-man expedition from Tucson northward to Zuni Pueblo through trackless wilderness. At that time, the Tucson presidio was the northernmost outpost of the Sonora province, while Zuni lay on the western edge of New Mexico. Spanish officials believed that by connecting the two places with a newly-blazed trail or road, both provinces would profit from an increase in commerce.

New Mexico's governor Juan Bautista de Anza had tried to forge such a link by a different trade route in 1780. With 50 royal soldiers, he left Santa Fe and followed the much-travelled Camino Real to a point below Socorro. There he left the Rio Grande, skirted the lower end of the Black Range and rode through New Mexico's Boot Heel before crossing into Sonora. Arriving in the capital of Arizpe, Anza was tempted to claim success. But in reality, the route he had explored possessed neither the directness nor the water holes required for development of a wagon road.

Thus when Zuñiga set out from Sonora 15 years later, he hoped to complete the project left undone

by Anza. He had been lucky to enlist Apache scouts who served as guides through the rough country. The captain carried instructions to gather information on Apaches encountered along the way and determine their degree of hostility.

From Tucson, the expedition marched east to the Gila River and followed it in to New Mexico. Then ascending one of its tributaries, the San Francisco that ran north, the soldiers passed through a steep canyon bordered by mountains. Zuñiga sent out detachments with the scouts to find and mark the best route for the proposed "New Mexico Road," as he termed it. Much backtracking had to be done and an alternate route discovered whenever the way became blocked by natural impediments. Finally, a pass opened before the explorers, and they emerged onto a plain rimmed with scattered mesas. Zuñiga noted in his journal "a very beautiful saline" where camp was made for the night. That would have been the famous Zuni salt lake located not far northwest of modern Quemado.

Continuing almost due north for the next two days, the expedition approached Zuni Pueblo. Wisely, Zuñiga sent Lt. Antonio Narbona ahead with a small party "so as not to frighten the people of the pueblo." Then he followed with the rest of the troops. A surprised Franciscan missionary stationed at Zuni welcomed the unexpected arrivals from Sonora. He soon learned that the expedition planned to go no farther than this pueblo – from Zuni the road eastward by

way of Acoma to the Rio Grande and Santa Fe was well-used and easy to follow. While in Zuni, Zuñiga wrote a letter to the New Mexico governor, informing him of what had been accomplished. He also requested that official to provide him with two experienced New Mexicans who could accompany the expedition back to Tucson and learn the near route just marked. The pair could then serve as guides for New Mexico traders with pack-mule trains who might wish to visit Sonora. The missionary arranged for Indian runners to carry this letter to Santa Fe and promised to have a reply in six days, but six days passed with no word from the governor. Therefore, without waiting longer, the captain and his cavalcade started south. While homeward bound, they had Apache troubles on the Rio San Francisco, skirmishing and losing horses. The Tucson presidio was reached on May 29, ending the mission.

Sonora authorities were disappointed with the results. In spite of strenuous efforts to find a suitable wagon road, Zuñiga had only been able to blaze a trail for pack mules. It was also clear that parties of civilians would be in danger from apaches living in the mountains above the San Francisco river. Hence the project was abandoned. But at least the Spaniards gained valuable information about a little-known slice of western New Mexico.

(From *The New Mexican*, 26 July 2008, reprinted with permission of the author.)

Life and Death on the Old Spanish Trail: Group Gathers to Trade Tales of Ancestors' Adventures, Tragedies along Historic Trade Route

David Collins

OHKAY OWINGEH – One day late in 1843, 12-year-old Serafin Chacón decided to tag along for an unapproved trip from New Mexico to California. Told no, he couldn't accompany his father on the perilous journey to trade woven goods for horses and mules, young Serafin followed anyway, just out of sight of the traders. About a day into the trip, Santiago Chacón spotted his son trailing the party and escorted him at least part of the way home. The father then continued on his way to Los Angeles. He never returned. Serafin grew up an orphan in the hard-bitten Territorial culture of what is now Northern New Mexico. He lived to the age of 102, working as a blacksmith.

Details of Santiago Chacón's demise were mostly lost along the trail. The Chacón family's oral history preserved only the barest notion of what had happened. "We knew they had been on a trading trip to California and had been killed," Claudio P. Chacón, great-great-great-grandson of Serafin, said Saturday. The trail on which his ancestor died became known as the Old Spanish Trail, which rambled some 2,700 miles through six Western states.

Claudio Chacón shared stories about that trail at the annual gathering of the Old Spanish Trail Association, held at Ohkay Owingeh's new convention center north of Española. The nonprofit group was founded in 1994 to preserve the history of three branches of the 19th-century trade route. At least one associate member crossed the Atlantic for this weekend's gathering, travelling from England to join other heirs of families whose history came together long ago on a rugged trail across the Continental Divide. "An old humble path

can become a highway to healing," Donald Davidson, the association's full-time manager, told members of the group.

Today, Claudio Chacón, his three children and

the three grandchildren he is raising in northern Rio Arriba County, believe they know a detailed narrative of where and how their ancestor died, apparently at the hands of Paiute Indians. This rediscovered history has brought closure to an uncertain episode in his family's past, Claudio Chacón said. The knowledge gives his family a sense of pride in how their ancestors contributed to the history of the United States, he said, and how they suffered along the way.

Growing up in Cebolla, Claudio Chacón's childhood imagery of historic encounters between Indians and non-Indians was informed more by media of the era than by family history. A book about Kit Carson provided the first clue that guided Claudio Chacón down the path that eventually led to the spot where he thinks his great-great-great-grandfather died in the Mojave Desert on Resting Springs ranch, about 60 miles west of Las Vegas, Nev. Carson had learned of the attack on the New Mexico traders by way of two survivors who had been herding horses at the time and escaped on their mounts. The survivors' tale made it into the records of a U.S. Army outfit that was scouting the trail in anticipation of the U.S. war with Mexico.

Members of the Old Spanish Trail Association keep alive knowledge of such obscure details. When Claudio Chacón contacted the association, after learning Carson had visited the scene in Nevada and buried the dead, members helped him fill in missing details. "I was finally able to tell my



Donald Davidson, right, manager of the Old Spanish Trail Association, hands his card to David Romero, who was attending the group's annual conference at Ohkay Owingeh.

courtesy the New Mexican



From left, Old Spanish Trail Association president Doug Knudson and members James Jefferson, Cliff Walker, and Mark Henderson discuss the trail at the Ohkay Owingeh Conference Center at the pueblo north of Española. *courtesy The New Mexican.*

father how his great-great-grandfather had been killed,” Chacón said. “They found my (great-great-great) grandpa, who had tried to take cover inside the little shelter they had made. He had several arrows in him.” He bears no animosity towards the attackers who apparently killed his ancestor, Claudio Chacón said. His family had been invaders and, as far as he knows, might have fought and killed Indians during what was a brutal era, he said.

Traders developed the trail around 1829 after Mexico took control of what was formerly Spanish territory, including what is now New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado, National Park Service planner Sharon Brown said. Early traders established tentative routes, then subsequent travelers found better ways across the rugged terrain. For about 20 years, pack trains carried woolen goods west and returned with horses and mules of the sturdy stock found in California, herding them back to be used in eastward journeys along

the Santa Fe Trail, Knudson said. When the United States prevailed over Mexican troops, Brown said, traders found more viable southern routes and largely abandoned the Old Spanish

trail’s circuitous route north of the Grand Canyon.

In 2002, the Park Service helped designate the route a national historic trail and is developing a management plan that will include interpretive displays in partnership with local volunteers.

From conflicts of the past, Davidson told association members at their annual session, “what can hold us together is the history we share.”

From *The New Mexican*, June 8, 2008. Reprinted with permission.

NewsBriefs

OST Exhibit to Move to Dolores, CO: The exhibit on the Old Spanish Trail developed at Fort Lewis College, which is currently on display at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, NM, through October 26, 2008, will move to the BLM’s Anasazi Heritage Center in Dolores, CO, where it will be on display from November 2008 through November 2009. For information, see the Heritage Center’s website at <http://www.blm.gov/co/st/en/fo/ahc.html>.

Spanish Trail Suite DVD: The *Spanish Trail Suite* composed by Marshall McDonald and Steven Sharp Nelson and performed by the Orchestra of Southern Utah, has been produced as a DVD by Video Ideas Production of Chattanooga, Tennessee. The DVD combines the music with a time-lapse video of storms unfolding, moon rises, sunsets and re-creations of trail scenes. A copy of the DVD of the *Old Spanish Trail Suite* can be ordered for \$24.95 from the OSTA website.

Spanish Traces CD: The complete set of *Spanish Traces* back issues (1995-2007) is now available on a CD through the Old Spanish Trail Association. To obtain your copy, send a \$30 check to Mark Franklin, OSTA Treasurer; *Spanish Traces* CD; 1911 Main Ave. Suite 236 B; Durango, CO 81301.

2009 OSTA Convention: The 2009 OSTA national convention will be held in early June at the Sky Ute Casino Resort in Ignacio, CO. Pat Fluck (patkfluck@remax.net) will serve as coordinator of the event.

been used by thousands of outdoor enthusiasts, educators, students, and historians.

In January 2008 it became clear that the integrity and possibly the very existence of this section of the North Branch trail is being threatened. Annexation and re-zoning of property to accommodate development may result in the obliteration of the historic trail. The following article chronicles the ongoing battle to save this unique connection to our past – the Whitewater to Orchard Mesa section of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail

Community members first learned of the plans for development at a neighborhood meeting held January 11, 2008. Pickett Engineering, the project manager for the developer, announced plans to request that the city of Grand Junction annex 166 Edlun Road, a property that abutted a portion of the trail. After the meeting many community members were concerned and felt their questions had been inadequately answered. Mrs. Ineke Hoops initiated thorough research that revealed that the developer (The Shores LLC) also owned an additional 366 acres, Orchard Mesa Estates, that joined the Edlun property and bisected the trail. She also learned that the developer was under investigation for questionable business practices. Ineke communicated this information, which was substantiated by multiple newspaper articles,¹ to her neighbors. They organized Orchard

Mesa Neighbors in Action, OMNIA, a coalition committed to preserving the trail and addressing other issues related to the Orchard Mesa community.

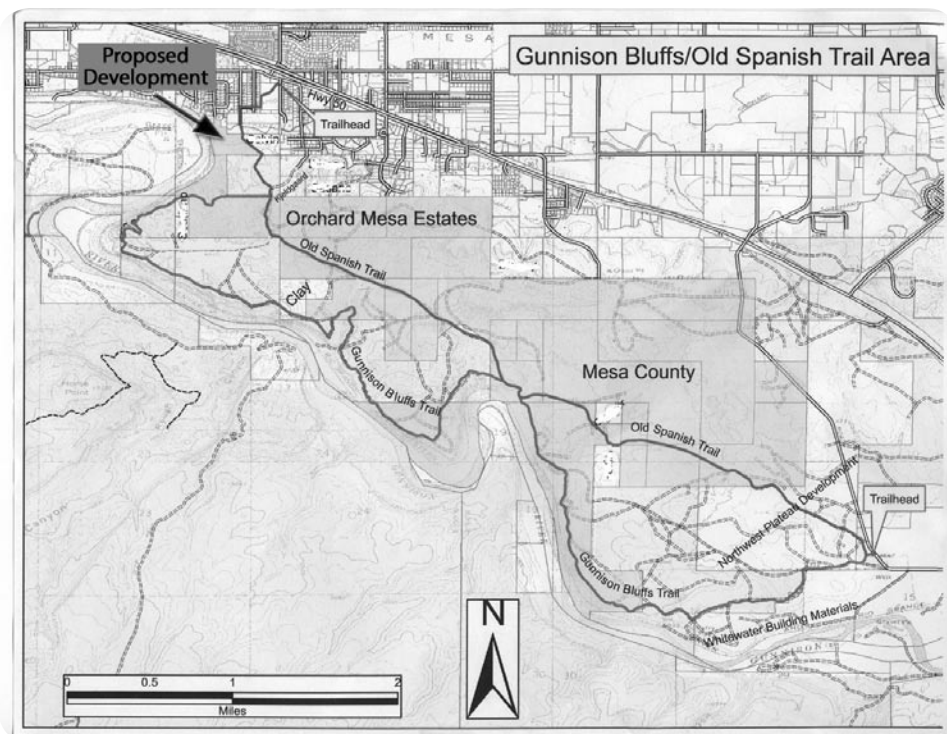
The group began to communicate the threat to the trail not only in the Grand Junction area but to the entire Western Slope and beyond. Sonny Shelton and Vicki Femlee contacted newspapers. Petitions requesting that the city postpone annexation were circulated. Over 200 signatures were collected in two days. Vicki organized interviews and OMNIA members were photographed on the trail.

OMNIA sponsored a “Rededication Tour” of the Orchard Mesa OST in May of 2008. This effort was successful in bringing the trail and its history to life for many who had never experienced it. OSTA president, Douglas Knudson, as well as Rich Baca and Trudy Kareus, representative staff members of U.S. Representative John Salazar and U.S. Senator Ken Salazar, were in attendance. Officials from the BLM, and Mesa County Commissioner Steve Acquafresca were also present. The tour included presentations from local botanist Susan Rose and archeologist Curtis Martin. The tour was a huge success, promoting partnership between local residents, trail enthusiasts, and governing agencies in this preservation effort.

Vicki Femlee developed an OMNIA website² that provides instant access to information with

links to city, county, state, and federal entities that are involved. The community responded vociferously with emails and letters to the city and county. Letters to the editors of the *Free Press* and the *Daily Sentinel* urged for protection of the trail. Earl Heusser, a long standing OSTA member, opened his *Spanish Traces* library to members. OMNIA members, including Victoria Gipson, Pamela McGuirk, AND Ineke Hoops, volunteered hundreds of hours researching public records for anything that would support preservation of the trail. A request to Colorado’s senator, Josh Penry, resulted in his response to objectively review the issues at hand. This review, performed with the assistance of Lynn Ensley (OMNIA), prompted ongoing efforts for obtaining conservation easements.

Pamela McGuirk located an easement granted to Mesa County that identified an “historic wagon track.” This document was accompanied by coordinates that were legally recorded in 1886 that detailed the route. OMNIA member Jay Krabacher aligned the coordinates on a present-day map and it matched nearly perfectly with what is recognized today as the Old Spanish Trail.³ After Jay had transcribed the coordinates, further research turned up a map dated February 2, 1886, that was located in the Mesa County clerk’s office.⁴ It detailed a road from the State Bridge on the Grand River (Colorado River) to the Whitewater Station. These three documents



Power Point presentation, including maps, data, documents and speakers. Letters of support for trail preservation from the County Commissioner Janet Rowland, the BLM, and Senator Josh Penry were submitted. The BLM indicated they had no plans to relinquish any easements for development. The City Council was attentive and although they did annex the property, they verbally and on record stated their commitment to make every effort to preserve the trail for public use, confirming it is a valuable historical resource and an integral part of the community and region.

clearly reflect what is currently recognized as the present day Old Spanish Trail in the Gunnison River Bluffs area.

Further documentation showed that on May 29, 1996, John and Patsy Johnson granted an “exclusive, perpetual trail easement” to the BLM on the 166 Edlun property. This easement replaced the true documented “historic wagon track” for public access.

In preparation for the Mesa County Planning commission public hearing for re-zoning of 166 Edlun Road, OMNIA and OSTA members continued to research and compile information. Many had serious concerns about the developer’s credibility and the impact of development on the environment and the community. OMNIA members and concerned citizens voiced their desire to assure the trail be preserved and

remain accessible to the public. As a result of this input, the Planning Commission recommended the zoning be reduced from four houses per acre to two houses per acre.

On May 6, 2008, it was announced in the *Daily Sentinel*⁵ that the land developer had been indicted on eleven counts of theft, eleven counts of fraud, and one count of racketeering related to his developments in Weld County on the eastern slope of Colorado. He later disappeared and is presently a fugitive from justice and on the FBI’s most wanted list. His photo and demographics can be seen on the *America’s Most Wanted* website.⁶

The next hurdle was the Grand Junction City Council public meeting held June 30, 2008, to confirm or deny annexation. OMNIA gave a comprehensive

At this time OMNIA and the OSTA North Branch chapter continue to proactively monitor the status of the trail. They are conducting research and seeking funds and support for trail preservation. OSTA and OMNIA will work closely together to champion preservation of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail.

Endnotes

1. *Greeley Tribune* 4 Mar. 2007; *Denver Post* 15 March 2007; *Greeley Tribune* 18 March 2007.
2. <http://www.omneighbors.com/index.html>.
3. <http://www.omneighbors.com/pdfs/ostmapcut.pdf>.
4. 1886 easement. Mesa County, CO, book 1922, pp 925-927. Reaffirmed 1992.
5. Mike Wiggins, *Daily Sentinel* May 2008.
6. <http://www.amw.com/>

Don Benito Wilson and the Church of Our Savior

As we left the San Gabriel Mission last April and made our way to the Huntington Library, we passed a historical sign for the Church of Our Saviour. According to the sign, the church was founded in 1867, so our curiosity was roused.

We learned that the Church of Our Saviour was the first Protestant church in the San Gabriel Valley. In the early 1850's Episcopalians began to hold meetings in one another's homes. During this same time period, Frances Jones Vinton, in Rhode Island, was making plans to build three churches across the United States—on the east coast and the west coast, and in the Midwest. Each church would be called “the Church of the Saviour.” One of the founding members of the Church of Our Saviour in California was Benjamin Wilson. He donated the grounds for the church and associated cemetery from a section of the land of his Rancho San Pascual, which encompassed today's communities of Pasadena, Altadena, South Pasadena, Alhambra, San Marino, and San Gabriel. It became the Wilson family church as well as the church of Wilson's daughter Ruth and son-in-law, George Patton, Sr. and of his grandson General George Patton, Jr.

An American trapper from Tennessee, Wilson (1811-1878) came to California over the Old Spanish Trail with the Rowland-Workman Party in 1841 and soon settled in the San Bernardino

area. He purchased the Rancho Jurupa (which encompassed the site of today's Riverside County) from Juan Bandini in 1843. The following year he married Ramona Yorba, the daughter of a prominent Spanish land owner. He was made Justice of the Peace for the Inland Territory and entrusted with the care of Indian affairs. From 1851 to 1852, he served as mayor of Los Angeles. In addition, he was the sub-agent for Indian Affairs for Southern California and he served three terms as a State Senator. Many landmarks in the Pasadena area are named for Wilson, including Mount Wilson in the San Gabriel Range. His history is recounted in the book *Don Benito Wilson* by Nat B. Read, reviewed in this issue.

The historic stained glass windows of the Church of Our Saviour alone warrant a visit to the Church of Our Saviour. The windows commemorate the history of the church, and include two that memorialize General Patton and his father, respectively. The Ruth Window, whose central figure is Ruth the Gleaner, commemorates Wilson's daughter Ruth (1861-1928); it includes images of Wilson as a pioneer, Ruth ministering to the Indians, and Ruth's son George Patton, Jr. in his Army Officer's uniform. The border of the window is made up of animals of California entwined among clusters of the



The Wislon family plot in the cemetery at the Church of Our Savior, San Gabriel, CA.

photo by Deborah Lawrence

grapes grown on his family home, Lake Vineyard.

Next door to the church is the San Gabriel Cemetery. The Wilson/Patton family plot includes the graves of Benjamin Wilson, Ruth Wilson Patton and George Patton Sr. A life-sized bronze statue of George Patton Jr. as Commander of the U.S. 15th Army stands in the church courtyard; the general was buried in Luxembourg. Reflecting San Gabriel's rich history, other gravestones bear such names as Laura Scudder, of potato-chip fame; Henry Mather Greene, the famous Southern California architect; and Alfred Beck Chapman, an 1850's emigrant to California who helped develop Orange County.

The church and cemetery are located at 535 West Roses Road in San Gabriel California.

Book Reviews

Don Benito Wilson: From Mountain Man to Mayor, Los Angeles, 1841-1878.

by Nat B. Read

Santa Monica: Angel City Press, 2008.

ISBN-10: 1-88318-83-1

271 pages. Hardcover, \$25.00.

While Nat B. Read should be commended for a consuming passion for the story of Benjamin D. Wilson, it is unfortunate that his book *Don Benito Wilson* does not do justice to its subject. This is a shame because Wilson is a notable figure in the history of Southern California specifically and western America generally.

There are several fundamental problems with the book. First, the structure lacks cohesion. In a 246-page work, there are 31 chapters that, in most cases, seem to have little or no sequence. As an example, a chapter on early Los Angeles government moves directly to a brief one on Wilson's transfer of his Los Angeles property to the Catholic order, the Sisters of Charity, and then to a chapter on the state senate. Many of the chapters are only a few pages long; these could have been incorporated into longer, broader and more contextually-organized chapters. Several chapters, such as one on the mountain men and another on Los Angeles' alleged status as the all-time crime capital of the United States, appear to be on topics that are of great personal interest to Read, but are tangential to the core narrative, and hence are diversions.

Second, Read often stumbles in his use of language, and there are numerous problems with syntax, sentence structure, misspellings, and grammar. Furthermore, the style is rife with odd metaphors. In describing how Mexican California Governor Pio Pico assigned Wilson to track down marauding Indians, Read writes that "in doing so, Pico imitated the Hollywood stereotype of a frustrated chief of police who calls in Superman when his own forces fall short" (44). As to Wilson's alleged alliance with the Know-Nothings in California, Read offers that the secretive politicians were "like a large group of teenagers who deny vehemently any use of illicit drugs, only to admit them smilingly in their more portly middle-age years much later" (119). Among the more puzzling uses of language are the following: "Non-Indians in New Mexico were congealed into compact communities for protection from hostile natives" (67); "adobe dwellings vibrated out from the pueblo. . ." (85) in Spanish-era Los Angeles; and, in a description of a man corresponding with Mrs. Wilson, Read states that "for four pages he purveyed [persisted?], but Margaret wasn't buying" (227).

A related concern is that Read's admiration for Wilson leads him to treat his subject in the heroic terms of popular culture, rather than in an academically sound fashion. We learn, for example, that "the mountain man was an Army Ranger, Hell's Angel, Viking and pirate wrapped into one cultural

mutant" (15). In discussing Wilson's famous grandson, World War II general George S. Patton, Jr., Read offers that "many of the famous traits of the Rambo mountain man were repeated in his grandson" (234). In another passage, detailing Wilson's battle with an Indian chief, Read writes:

There followed a moment worthy of the most dramatic Hollywood western. In super-slow motion, we can see Joaquin's smile turn to alarm and, instinctively, the Indian, in one fluid motion, reaches over his shoulder for an arrow which he brings to the string of his bow, pulling the arrow in one interrupted motion . . . In this Hollywood cliché Wilson has no time to bring his pistol to shoulder height for a proper shot and must fire from his hip the instant he can turn his gun. The two antagonists fire at precisely the same moment, and arrow passes bullet half-way between the two heroic figures. . . (45).

Read's habit of repeating or contradicting himself, often within the same sentence or paragraph, is pervasive. For example, Los Angeles' Indians are described in the same paragraph as both slaves and indentured. Another instance has Read stating that the pre-European Indian population was 133,000, but a few chapters later the figure is 300,000.

Another fundamental flaw with the book is the number of factual errors and misrepresentations. While a certain number of mistakes of this type can be

expected in virtually any work of history, *Don Benito Wilson* just simply has too many of them. Regarding the Rowland and Workman Party of 1841, a significant part of the history of the Old Spanish Trail, he cites a 1930 source that incorrectly lumped two other sources together to state that 134 persons were on the expedition (33), although several recent sources have explained that the number, though not exactly known, was significantly less. The Old Spanish Trail, according to Read, was “forged by Anglo traders in the late 1820s” (32) rather than by Antonio Armijo and, further, the encampment “las Vegas” was at a crossroads. There are many other examples of obvious factual errors, but a few of the notable ones include the following: James Marshall’s gold discovery is said to have been at Sutter’s Fort (60); the famous Southern California droughts of 1862-64 are said to have started in the late 1850’s and he states that, as a consequence of the droughts, banks failed (177), although there were no banks in Los Angeles at that time; and the firing at Fort Sumter precipitating the Civil War is said to have happened in 1860 (137).

Footnoting is done poorly or inconsistently. The text of Chapter 20 has twenty-three citations, but the footnote list at the end of the chapter shows twenty-six. Moreover, in several of the chapters there is no correspondence between the text being cited and the footnote on the list.

It is clear that the author has succumbed to a common malady among biographers: he has fallen in love with his subject. Particularly problematic is an assertion proffered as one of Wilson’s most important legacies, namely that as the first Los Angeles County Clerk he was charged “with the responsibility of forming American government. In that sense, Wilson is the man who invented Los Angeles” (65). Yet, a few chapters later, Read also states that “in fact, he did not perform the work of the office but hired Dr. Wilson W. Jones to do the real job” (102). More importantly, county clerks are what the name implies: they issue notices for and record minutes of meetings, keep the archives, and complete other important administrative functions, but to say that this constitutes “inventing” Los Angeles is a thorough misunderstanding. In addition, Read’s “sizing up” claims that “Don Benito Wilson is worthy of our memory and *reverence* [my italics] because of his incredible span of distinctions. He is a one-man *Who’s Who* across the board in the early history of the American West and Los Angeles in particular. He, in one incredible life, represents a bridge between post-Revolutionary America to the dawn of the modern city” (244). As if this were not enough, his “final word” gives this paean: “Southern California will perhaps never again see a person who made such a mark on so many different fields as Don Benito Wilson . . .” (257).

Part of what Read wrote in this rapturous conclusion about Wilson is true: we should remember Wilson and his multi-faceted life in the American West, specifically in Los Angeles. The sad truth, however, is that a reliable, well-written, engaging, and meaningful biography of Benjamin D. Wilson remains to be written. Nat Read’s *Don Benito Wilson* is a missed opportunity.

Paul Spitzzeri

Talking to the Ground: One Family's Journey on Horseback Across the Sacred Land of the Navajo

by Douglas J. Preston

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

ISBN-13: 978-0826317407

284 pages. Paperback, \$19.95.

In 1992, author Douglas J. Preston, his new wife and ten-year-old stepdaughter rode horseback 400 miles through a desert in Navajo land. They were following a trail that few non-Navajo have taken. The trip had been envisioned in Preston's mind as he researched the land and the genesis stories of the Navajos. According to Navajo lore, Monster Slayer had at one time travelled this same route in a quest to restore balance to the Earth. Each geologic formation found in this rugged land corresponds to an event in Navajo mythology: Huerfano Peak (the sacred center), lava flows, flat rocks, mounds, and mountains are all sites significant in the Navajo creation story.

Having charted the trail and packed adequate provisions for sustenance and emergencies for the month-long trip, Preston and his family began their journey at Navajo Mountain near the Arizona-Utah border and traveled east toward Ship Rock, Arizona. Readers of *Talking the Ground* are given physical anchor in the rugged surroundings as the family confronts frightening storms, suffers from lack of water, gawks at overwhelming beauty, sees ancient

ruins, and ponders Navajo lore. They enter into the world of the Navajo and their history.

A Research Associate at the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, Preston weaves the details of his journey together with the Navajo story as told through the eyes of kind Navajos who assisted the family. In Monument Valley the author and his family meet a colorful storyteller, James Fatt, who had returned to the reservation as a tour guide after spending time working and living in a big city. Late at night by the light of the fire, James Fatt gives this prediction:

"A long time ago, before the white men came, they said that a new people would soon come around, asking the Navajos questions about all the Anasazi ruins. And that happened. The white people came, and all these archeologists came around asking questions. Then the story goes like this, that someday the white people are going to disappear in the same way as the Anasazi, and leave their ruins behind. And nobody's going to know why or how. And then there's going to be new life that's going to form here, a new world. And they're going to be going around, asking the Navajos again, 'Ahh, look at this! Look at all these ruins! What do they mean?'"

"You mean the white man's ruins?" I asked.

"Yes, the white man's ruins.

But I don't know, maybe it'll be our ruins too. Personally, I kind of think we're all in this together."

My family and I lived for two years on the reservation in the Navajo area. Consequently, prior to reading Preston's book I had an appreciation for the people and their land. However, *Talking to the Ground* took me to a new level of understanding and respect for the Navajos and the depth of the spiritual and historical foundations that tie them to the land. If you want to take a momentous trip through Navajo history, land, and culture, then *Talking to the Ground* is the book to read.

Judith Miller

Spanish Culture and Pack Transportation in the Southwestern United States

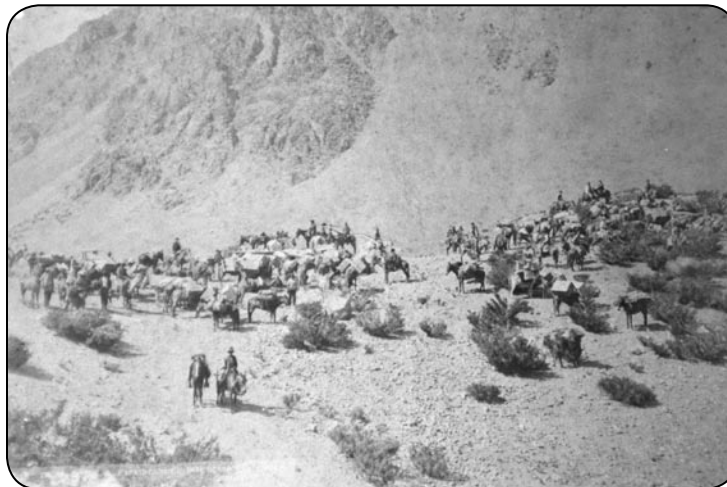
Susan Calafate Boyle

From New Mexico to California, the Old Spanish Trail routes crossed rugged terrain that made the transportation of people and merchandise difficult. Appropriate strategies for carrying goods and equipment became necessary and evolved as a result of the interaction between the Hispanic culture and environmental factors, such as the nature of the topography and scarcity of food and water.

The Spanish and Portuguese brought to the New World a distinctive system of land-based transport, whereby goods were carried on the backs of mules, donkeys, and horses. In a mountainous environment or where travel by water was impossible, packing by donkeys, horses, and mules became the principal form of transport and continued to be significant even during the railway era. Not until the coming of bush aviation and all-terrain vehicles was packing abandoned.

In its organization and methods, packing was standard across the western hemisphere from 40 degrees south (modern Argentina) to 60 degrees north (British Columbia). Packing was the main form of transport in what are

now Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, north central Argentina, and central and southern Brazil. Supplies for the silver mines of Zacatecas and Potosi were brought in by mule trains which took out the processed silver. Mules were similarly used in Brazil to transport the gold of Minas Gerais and the coffee of the Paraiba Valley. Striking similarities also exist in the development of colonial and post-colonial commercial routes between the city of Buenos Aires and the Alto Peru mining district in Bolivia.



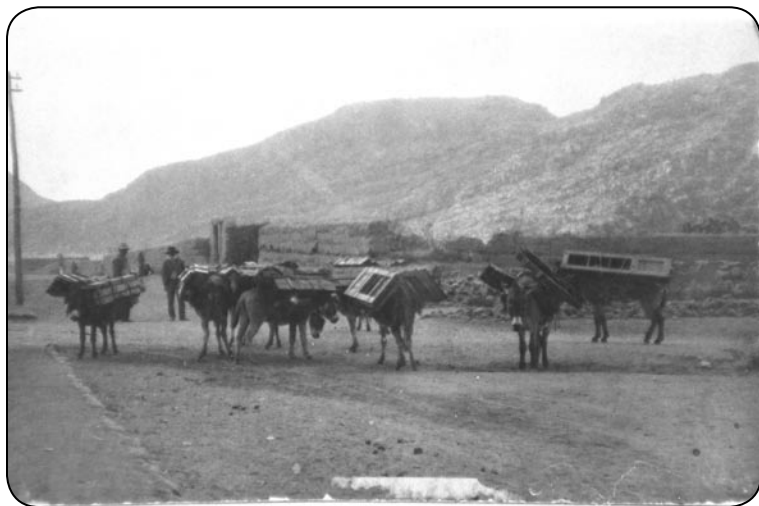
Mules and burros were relied upon almost exclusively to make this long trek along the high, arid Andes which included the crossing of the *puna*, a high altitude desert in the general area where Chile, Argentina, and Bolivia come together. Large caravans were the norm, and from the 1580's until the development of the railroad in the 1920's, mules and donkeys became essential components of the system (Figures 1 and 2).

Packing was not part of the material culture of the Northern

European settlers in the New World. In what is now the United States, as well as in eastern and central Canada, the layout of rivers and streams facilitated the carriage of goods by sailing ship and canoe, while the density of the forest discouraged the use of horses, donkeys and mules. But while the westward advance of the French and British in North America depended upon established forms of transport, when the Spanish moved into what are now the states of New Mexico, Arizona, and California, they found that packing ideally suited the area's mountains and deserts.

In the Southwest, strong animals, good packing equipment, capable crew and suitable cargo were the prerequisites of a successful pack train. Donkeys were the preferred beast of burden for the poor. They were less expensive and more patient than either the horse or the mule. They totally dominated local transportation as they were able to carry loads that were heavier than themselves (Figure 3).

Many would share Max Moorhead's observation that the Spanish mule has been indeed the "unsung hero of transportation in the Southwest."¹ The Spanish mule was developed for service in the semiarid Spanish highlands. It was relatively small in stature, seldom weighed more than 700 or 800 pounds, and stood 11 to



wary of precarious trails and impossible tasks.⁴

However, a drawback of mules was their proverbial

mules and burros to carry supplies and munitions of war for her army during the conquest of Granada. In the retinue of many noblemen, the pack mules had housings similar to those of the cavalry, made of brocade, or of rich cloth embroidered with gold. The halters were of silk, and the bridles, headpieces, and all the harnessings glittered with silver.⁷

13 hands high (Figure 4). These animals could carry half of their own weight or more on their back and fitted well into the pattern of life in the borderlands. The borderlands was a region where “great distances, rough country and a scarcity of water made a durable and dependable beast of burden a prime necessity, and mules fulfilled these demands admirably.”² Sources indicate that a few mules in Idaho were noted for their ability to carry even heavier loads, hauling over 600 pounds for more than 100 miles.³

Mules had incredible strength and endurance; they fared better than horses where water was scarce and forage poor; and they recovered more rapidly after periods of hardship. Their hard, small hoofs were better than those of oxen on the prairie grass, and withstood the shock and abrasion of rocky, boulder-strewn terrain. They were invaluable during the fall and winter months when rain and snow made trails next to impossible. Moreover, mules possessed a native caninness – a combination of instinct, stubborn caution and intelligence – which made them

stubbornness and uncertain temper. “Every member of the crew carried a blind, mostly used on mules. It is not generally known but a mule won’t do anything right for you unless blinded.”⁵ Despite this, even in modern times mules are unrivalled for carrying heavy loads in rugged terrains.

While the Mexican mule was the heart of the transportation system, the packing equipment played an equally significant role (Figure 5). The equipment Mexicans used was well suited for carrying heavy loads. The central piece of gear of the packing equipment was the *aparejo* (packsaddle). It was described by an expert packer from the Hudson’s Bay Company as “nearer to what I consider perfection in a pack saddle, than any other form of pack saddle yet invented.”⁶

The Moors introduced the *aparejo* into Spain in the 8th century. The Spaniards carried it into South America and Mexico. Documents indicate that Queen Isabella of Spain organized, equipped, and maintained a pack train of 14,000

The superiority of the *aparejo* stemmed from its capacity to carry heavy, odd-sized items safely over long distances without injuring the animal. It consisted of two leather bags stuffed with dried grass. Joined at the top to form an arch or gable, the *aparejo* was designed to resist condensation and distribute the weight over the mule’s rib cage and away from its back. Mexicans were known to carefully custom-fit each mule with its own *aparejo*. Once done, pack saddles were not switched between animals for fear of injuring a loaded mule’s back, or its front or rear quarters. To identify each *aparejo*, packers embroidered a telltale sign on the *corona* (blanket used with the saddle). Often the *grupera* (leather band attached to the rear of the *aparejo* that prevented the load from shifting forward) was also distinctively sewn or inlaid with cut Mexican silver coins.

The use of this equipment continued at least through the end of the 19th century, as can be seen from U.S. Army documents. These records indicate that the *arrieros* would spend many hours of loving toil upon the *grupera* and

corona, working the representation of some animal, bird, insignia or legend with silken thread of various colors. The whole was beautifully stamped or engraved by hand, and was trimmed with beaten Mexican silver dollars, cut and chased in various designs to suit the *arriero*. The bridle was treated in a similar manner with bit and spurs chased and inlaid with silver and gold, the spurs having a bunch of tiny spangles which were made to tinkle in the strut of the packer, “who would thus affect the garb of his Spanish brothers, wearing high-heeled boots with silken *banda* (sash) wrapped two or three times around the waist, embroidered shirt front, and conical sombrero with silver snake around the crown, the underside of the brim being trimmed with silver braid.”⁸ Interestingly, the attire as so-described bears little resemblance to that seen in surviving engravings of 19th-century *arrieros*.

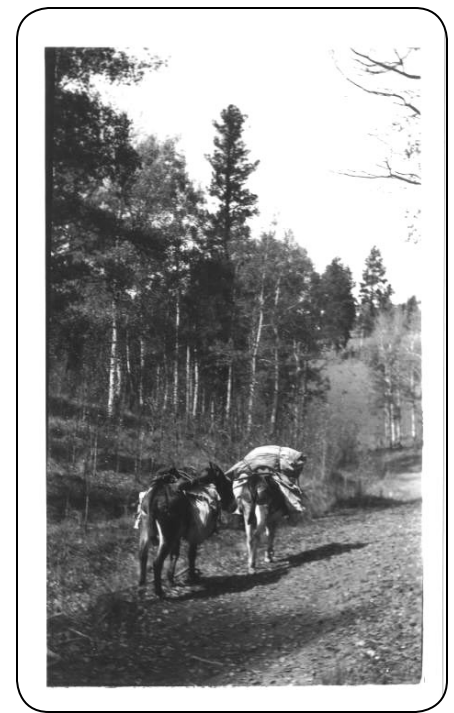
After 1825, when trade between United States and Mexico expanded dramatically, Americans readily recognized the adaptability of the pack mule for carrying merchandise along trade routes and adopted them almost exclusively. Mules played an important role in hauling thousands of tons of merchandise on the Santa Fe Trail, across the prairies and into Mexican territory.

Most Americans who wrote about their experiences in the Mexican territory during the first decades of the 19th century displayed

strong ethnocentrism and seldom offered anything but pejorative remarks about the local population. Charles Bent, the well-known trader and first governor of New Mexico, concluded that “the Mexican character is made up of stupidity, obstinacy, ignorance, duplicity and vanity.”⁹ Recording the perceptions of American troops, John P. Bloom included comments from a Mormon youth who admitted that he was quite prejudiced against Mexicans having heard since infancy that “they were a very savage and unprincipled people, his mother having particularly cautioned him against them when he enlisted.”¹⁰ However, all observers were in agreement that Mexicans had a well-deserved reputation as excellent horsemen and muleteers. American eyewitnesses, such as Santa Fe trader Josiah Gregg, marveled at the dexterity and skill with which they harnessed and adjusted packs of merchandise, “half a dozen men usually suffice for 40 or 50 mules. Two men are always engaged at a time in the dispatch of each animal, and rarely occupy five minutes in the complete adjustment of his *aparejo* and *carga*.”¹¹ After watching two Mexicans lance two buffaloes to death, Philip St. George Cooke reluctantly admitted that they were fine riders and “would be formidable as lancers.”¹² Experienced travelers suggested that Mexicans be always used as teamsters for they “can catch up and roll up in half the time the average person does.”

By the 1850’s the majority of packers in most of the western United States were Mexicans. They were always in demand, as packing required a variety of skills. They had to secure loads with intricate knots, splices and hitches. They acted as veterinarians and blacksmiths. They had to estimate the safe carrying capacity of a mule, identify and treat an animal suffering from an improperly balanced load without detaining others, and govern the length of the day’s trip so as to stop at some meadow or creek bottom that would provide good grass for animals. Packers also had to be able to lift heavy loads, be good farriers, and “accomplish marvels with the axe and screw key and a young sapling for a lever.”¹³

Mules provided the essential



means of transport in the California Gold Rush of 1848. The

Gold Rush transformed the entire west coast of North America, first drawing in newcomers by the thousand and then, as the original mining strikes ran out, inspiring a search for fresh goldfields. Throughout the 1850's miners moved relentlessly north from California. Mules were used in carrying supplies into the mining camps in California and the Pacific Northwest, areas not accessible by wagons. In the second half of the 19th century, the mule and *aparejo* were in constant demand, and the employment of pack trains became widespread. In the early 1850's and 1860's on the Pacific Northwest trails from The Dalles to Umatilla Landing, Walla Walla, Lewiston, Kootenay, Salmon River, and the Frazer River, the tinkle of the pack train "bell horse" could be heard from hill to hill. The "bell" was ordinarily a sheep bell attached by a strap to the neck of the horse.¹⁴

By 1857, gold deposits long known to the aboriginal population were found in the bars of the Thompson and Fraser Rivers that lay to the north of the 49th parallel. Both the ensuing gold rush into what in November 1858 became the colony of British Columbia, and the demarcation of the Canadian/U.S. boundary fixed by the 1846 treaty together introduced the system of packing already used in the western United States. Charged with the task of tracing the new border along the 49th parallel, the British boundary commission, in conjunction with a similar U.S. commission, sent



one of its members down to California to acquire mule trains and their crews.

The U.S. Army used mules and Mexican packers through the end of the 19th century. The Army's admiration for the Mexican packing system is evident through the adoption of the Spanish words themselves. The Army regulations for pack transportation refer to the *aparejo* (pack-saddle), *cincha* (cinch), *grupera* (crupper), *corona* (saddle pad), *mantas*, *sobre-jalma* (aparejo cover). Recognizing the skills required in the appropriate preparations and handling of the packing equipment, an Army manual on pack transportation, providing more than 100 pages of detailed instructions, was published in 1907. The manual included sections on the assembly and care of the *aparejo*, how to sling the load, how to lash the load, how to load a pack train, etc. It even described how to build *aparejos*, *sobre-jalmas*, *cinchas*, etc. The manual concludes with the statement that "the pack mule

has borne its part, and now may be regarded as thoroughly identified with our Army as an essential means of transportation."¹⁵

While the manual testifies to the importance of the animals and the equipment, it fails to acknowledge that the animals and equipment are of little value without men skilled in their use. For centuries the success of any commercial enterprise along any surface trade route depended to a large extent on the skills and abilities of those who packed and drove the animals that carried the merchandise. The Hispanic people of the borderlands made significant contributions in the culture of transportation, but they have not received the credit they deserve. Indeed, while the U. S. Army gave credit to the mule and the equipment, it never mentioned the word "Mexican." It always referred to the individuals as Spanish – even though when the manual was published, we had just fought a war with Spain. There was little recognition a century ago of the human contribution to

the success of the system of pack transportation. Even today we think of a "cowboy culture," and not the Mexican culture, as being the most important element in the persistence of the Mexican mule pack system.

End Notes

1. Moorhead 108-109.
2. Ewing 315-326.
3. Delgado 9.
4. Ewing 316.
5. Cited in Barman.
6. John Keast Lord, cited in Gamboa.
7. Daly 16.
8. Daly 17.
9. Quoted in Reeve.
10. Bloom 182.
11. Gregg 87.
12. Quoted in Cooke.
13. Gregg 19.
14. See Barman.
15. See Daly.

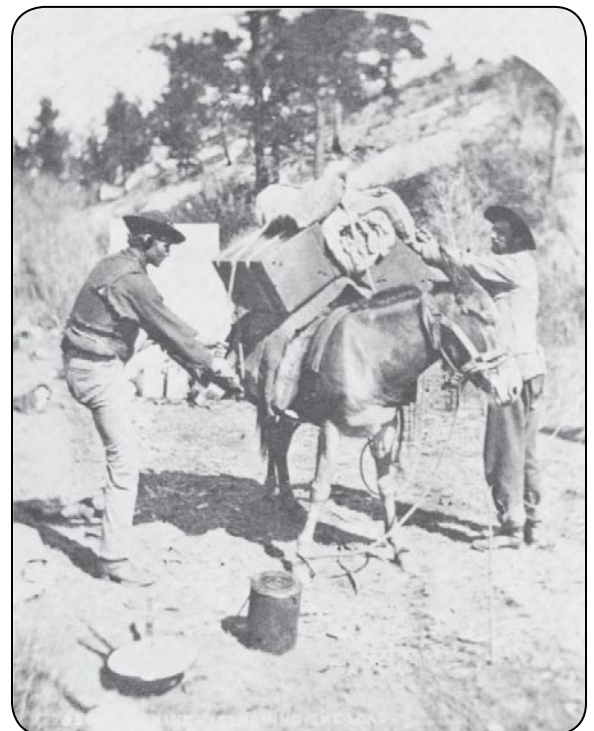
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Interview with M. Scott Momaday



conducted by **Deborah and Jon Lawrence**

N. Scott Momaday is a painter, poet, playwright, novelist, essayist and storyteller – a “man made of words.” He is a member of the Kiowa Gourd Dance Society, and his book *The Way to Rainy Mountain* as well as his memoir *The Names* tell of the legends and history of the Kiowa as well as recollections of his family and his experiences among the Kiowa of Oklahoma and the Jemez of New Mexico. These legends, history and experiences form the background of his novels, *House Made of Dawn* – which won the Pulitzer Prize – and *Ancient Child*. His poetry, including *The Gourd Dancer*, *Angle of Geese*, and *In the Presence of the Sun*, has merited the Academy of American Poets Prize. His essays, included in *The Man Made of Words*, articulate a unique perspective on the history, legend, environment, and sacred landscapes of the American West, informed by both his Native

American ancestry and his deep background in imaginative literature and art. A Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he has retired from his position as Regent’s Professor of English at the University of Arizona and is currently a senior scholar at the School for Advanced Research (SAR) in Santa Fe. We interviewed him in his

office at the SAR on Wednesday, June 27, 2007. We were joined by his wife, Barbara Glenn Momaday.

DJL (Deborah and Jon Lawrence) In your essay “New Mexico: Passage into Legend,” you write, “The Wild West signifies a geography and a time in our experience that defines the American imagination.”¹ Would you expand on this? And what reading has informed your imagination?

NSM (N. Scott Momaday) I’ve said before, in print and otherwise, that the American West is an imagined entity as well as a geographical entity. It is very important to Americans because it is of the essence of their imagination. We wouldn’t be America if we didn’t have the West, the Wild West and its history and its legends. And it is a wonderful thing. It’s that looking west and encountering something commensurate with the capacity

for wonder, as Fitzgerald said.²

I have fed my imagination of the West by reading many books about the West, even dime novels. And, of course, by living in the West and hearing the stories that crop up around us here.

DJL Recently we visited Fort Sill,³ Carnegie and the museum there,⁴ and Rainy Mountain⁵ in an effort to better understand the background to your work. Your work is rich in the evocation of place. Can you speak to the connection between place, memory, imagination, and legend?

NSM Yes. A friend of mine, who wrote a book⁶ about *House Made of Dawn*, said, if I remember correctly, that where words touch the earth, there is the sacred. So I think she put her finger on something important. The connection between place and the imagination, place and names, is extremely important. And it fortifies what I’m saying about the West in the American imagination.

The West is full of names, place names, Indian names. It’s a good thing because we couldn’t imagine it otherwise. We couldn’t imagine it well without those names and places. So I have been to many sacred places in the West: Devil’s Tower,⁷ Medicine Wheel,⁸ Chaco Canyon.⁹ They are just all over. New Mexico is rich in places, historical and imaginary. There is a close connection between place and the function of the imagination. Can I say more than

that? Probably not.

DJL Myth plays a crucial role in your work, and the legends given in *The Way to Rainy Mountain* re-emerge in your novels, your memoir, and your poems. Would you discuss the importance of myth, both for our self-understanding and our understanding of history? We also are very interested in your belief in racial memory; would you elaborate on this as well?

NSM Myth has been important for every people at every time. There is something in the human composition that requires story, mythology, legend. I'm very fond of *Beowulf*, and I teach it. I love to think about mythologies of that kind. They are all over the place, the Arthurian legends. In the West we have stories about actual people like Crazy Horse and Custer and Billy the Kid, of course. These are people who have passed into legend. They have become occupants of a mythology. And that's exciting to me because I write and I'm interested in literary things. There's a lot to be said about that. But it's important. It's important.

As far as blood memory or racial memory or genetic memory is concerned, it's a real thing. I've encountered it in talking to old Kiowa people, for example. They talk about things they have never seen or been through, but in their collective memory, they can talk about these things. That seems to be one of the miracles of language

and the imagination. Mythology is important and memory is important, whether it be actual or blood memory.

I teach oral tradition, and one of the things I emphasize is the importance of memory and language, speaking responsibly and listening carefully, memory above all.

DJL And *hearing* is important. A few years ago, we heard you read from your book *In the Bear's House*. Afterward, we bought a tape of you reading your poetry. "The Great Fillmore Street Buffalo Drive": just hearing it read aloud makes such a difference. Especially when the author reads, because a lot of meaning is conveyed in inflection.

NSM That's true. It should be read aloud.

DJL In *The Names*, you include a notarized document that records your blood quantum. You juxtapose this with a story of being taken to Devil's Tower when you were six months old: "Here are stories within stories; I want to imagine a day in the life of a man, Pohd-lohk, who gave me a name"(42). These are two culturally divergent ways of establishing identity. What makes a "real" Indian? What does being a "real" Indian have to do with blood quantum?

NSM It's a good question and one that's very controversial right now. I wrote somewhere that an

Indian is someone who thinks of himself as an Indian. And I believe that to be true, although it is more easily said than done. One has to be entitled to think of himself as an Indian. Who knows what that means, what that includes? Peter Nabokov¹⁰ is a great friend of mine, and he's not an Indian, but he might as well be because he writes so well about Indian things and has immersed himself in the Indian world. He lived on the Crow reservation for a time. He knows more about Indians than most people do. So I have no difficulty in calling him an Indian, but he's technically not.

Blood quantum is a very tricky thing. I don't know what to think of that. I'm seventy-seven eighths Kiowa. That's certainly not true. I'm about half. But it's arbitrary. And people who are caught in that business of having to prove their Indian-ness by blood quantum, I feel sorry for them. I think that they are in a treacherous situation. I don't believe much in blood quanta...

DJL All the raiding tribes, whether Kiowa, Comanche, or Apache, brought fresh blood into their groups through their captives, Mexicans and whites.

NSM My great-great grandmother was a Mexican captive. I'm proud of that.

DJL In a number of your works, you express your identification with the bear-boy, whom the protagonist in *The Ancient Child*

reincarnates. Would you tell us about your bear identity? Who or what has assisted you in the realization of your bear power?

NSM The short answer is that I am a bear because my name is associated with the story of Devil's Tower, and so I identify quite naturally with the boy who turned into a bear. We don't know anything about him except that he did turn into a bear. And so I identify with him. I think that I'm the reincarnation of that boy. And I do have a bear power. I feel the sense of a bear power. I'm attracted to bears. I like to see them, see pictures of them, see films of them, see them in the brush. They mean something to me because of my name. So that's basically the identification.

And then I went on a vision quest at one time and saw the totem of a bear. So it's very meaningful to me.

DJL One of the stories that were recorded in the 1930's by Alice Marriott¹¹ speaks of a time when a group of Kiowas joined some Comanches on a raid. The Comanches killed and ate a bear. This frightened most of the the Kiowas, who then left. Only a few remained, saying, "Oh, we aren't afraid." But all of the latter died in the raid. Messing with a bear was not a good thing to do.

NSM Yes, that's right. The Kiowas think that eating the flesh of a bear is cannibalism. I'll tell you a funny story. I was in Siberia

at a writers' meeting. There was a banquet and a lot of the writers were assembled. The man who was sponsoring the thing said, "I want the men to come up to my office now. The women are not allowed. But the men, please come." We went upstairs to his office and there on his desk was a burning pot, and a fire was under a burner. He gave us skewers. He said, "I want you to eat of this and then tell me what you are eating." So we all had some. And it turned out to be the heart of a bear. And I was greatly concerned for a time about that because of the Kiowa belief. I thought, this is breaking a taboo of some kind. But then I rationalized it, and I said, "Well, I didn't know, and besides, the heart of a bear, it will surely strengthen me." [laughs] So it turned out well.

DJL Although both of your novels have in common a base in myth and legend, a deep spirituality, and a highly poetic prose, *The Ancient Child* is a very different work from *House Made of Dawn*. The latter is closer to realism, and Abel descends into a darkness from which he doesn't recover. The former is closer to fantasy, and Seth emerges from his dark descent into a more vigorous humanity. Have you mellowed as you have aged?

NSM Have I mellowed? [laughs] I suppose. I suppose I have. Just by growing older I've come more to terms with things, as older people do. But that's an interesting question. You know, *House Made of Dawn* was my first

novel, and it was written quite a long time ago. I was fresh from having lived in Jemez Pueblo¹² and seeing these young men come back from the war, and I saw all the terrible things that happened to them. So that was the grist for the mill of *House Made of Dawn*. Then when it came to writing *The Ancient Child* I had another idea about the novel in mind. I still think that *The Ancient Child* is an interesting combination of things, including the dime novel and the fantasies of Grey. It was fun to write that. I don't think many people understand what I was up to in that book. I play tricks on near-sighted readers in that book. One of the things that is happening in it – most people, I think, are not aware of all that's happening in it – is that it is sort of a re tracing of the story of American literature, from origin myth to the dime novel. And great fun to write.

DJL It is also a spiritual journey novel too.

NSM Absolutely. Absolutely. The transformation at the end is big stuff, serious matter. I was having a communion with nature when I wrote that part of it.

DJL In *Ancient Child*, Grey takes pleasure in the written word, and Set is a painter. Together they combine your artistic endeavors. It's such a pleasure to see your artwork here in your office today.

NSM This piece here is called *Ghost Soldier*, which I did with black and white acrylic. I like the

way it turned out.

To return to your question whether I have mellowed. Barbara has pointed out that in my recent works, the plays, I have done things that I have not done before in my writing. She was talking about being angry. There is anger in the plays, but there is also a kind transcending of anger. And there is even the element of forgiveness. So you need to read the plays because they bring you up to date on my mellowing.

DJL In *The Ancient Child*, a key point is when Perfecto Atole at Dulce hits Set with a bear claw and puts him in to a rage. That anger is an important aspect of Set's emergence. And, in *House Made of Dawn*, Abel has the anger that allows him to fight with the Albino.

NSM Yes, there is a lot of gratuitous anger, I think, in *House Made of Dawn* and some in *The Ancient Child*, of course. The circumcision, the rape and so on are violent, and there is violence in the plays, but it comes to a resolution.

BGM (Barbara Glenn Momaday) I think the difference is that there is anger in the earlier works, but it really is more violence than anger if you define *anger* as having an object rather than being displaced. So, your questions really anticipate what he is doing in the plays – moving from violence in *House Made of Dawn* to anger in *The Ancient*

Child and then in the plays to resolution.

DJL When will the plays be published?

NSM October.

DJL Could you discuss your fascination with Billy the Kid? And how has your attitude toward Billy changed over the years that you have been writing about him? What books about Billy the Kid have you read?

NSM I fell in love with Billy the Kid when I was a little boy because Billy the Kid is something that belongs to New Mexico particularly. And, I think, a boy, at least in my generation, could not grow up in New Mexico without knowing Billy the Kid. So I began imagining him and eventually writing about him. Of course, I'd read a lot about him. Walter Noble Burns' *The Saga of Billy the Kid*¹³ was something I cut my teeth on. There have been a number of books and movies. I think there has been something like 48 movies about him. Frederick Nolan's book on the Lincoln County War¹⁴ is wonderful. I studied that book. And I read just here and there. .

DJL You have said that Billy the Kid was the only man you have ever known in whose eyes there was no expression whatsoever. You wrote: "Billy stood so still that he seemed in a trance. He did not blink, and he held his eyes, in which there was no expression, upon Olinger's" (*Ancient Child*

81). What is the significance of this expressionlessness?

NSM It fascinates me – the idea that in someone's eyes there is no expression what so ever. It suggests that this person transcends understanding. His mind is so impenetrable that you can not understand him. He's like a shark, a force of nature. The expressionlessness places him outside the human camp. Something of that matter. I like the idea that Billy has no expression.

One instance that I particularly like is the one in which the drunk at the bar steps between Billy and me and I can see Billy across the shoulder of the drunk who is making a fool of himself. And Billy looks at him in such a way and without expression that the drunk simply moves away. He can not stand in the force of that, whatever it is, the doom that is about to be set upon him.

BGM You wrote about that again in your review of *Blood and Thunder* in the *New York Times*,¹⁵ about men who kill easily and yet are warm and likeable.

DJL Like Kit Carson?

NSM Like Kit Carson. Kit Carson and Billy the Kid are alike in that sense.

BGM These men then would probably both have eyes that were expressionless at the time when they were the killer. That's what was happening with Olinger.

Killing is not something that men do without revulsion usually.

DJL We are curious about what you have to say regarding Kit Carson.

NSM I didn't know a lot about Kit Carson. Most of my knowledge comes from *Blood and Thunder*. Hampton Sides did a wonderful job of research on that book. But I conclude that Kit Carson was an extremely gifted man in so many ways. He was a mountain man par excellence. He was a survivor. He knew exactly how to get out of scrapes. He was ruthless, and he had no problems about killing a man in cold blood, which he did many times. He was extremely loyal to his commanders, as Billy was extremely loyal to certain people. The fascinating thing to me is that we think of Kit Carson in connection to Canyon de Chelly¹⁶ but he never entered the canyon. That is just amazing to me! I did not imagine that. I think he must have been superstitious. He was so good at getting himself out of difficult places, but there was something that would not let him go into Canyon de Chelly. I find that interesting and I like it. I like the fact that he did not. I think he was aware, as he should have been, of the spirits there in that maze of rock. So he's an interesting man.

DJL When we went to Lincoln last summer we sat on the chairs in front of the Wortley Hotel where you had Grey sitting after she left the gun for Billy in the outhouse (83). One of the most important

tasks of the trail organizations that we represent is to preserve historic sites associated with the trail era. Of what importance is the preservation of places, like the town of Lincoln, to help us imagine our past? What, in your view, are some of the Kiowa, Jemez, and Navajo sites that best need interpretation and preservation?

NSM I think there is nothing really more important than preserving historic sites like Lincoln. The courthouse, for example, I'm surprised that it's still standing, but I'm awfully glad that it is. I think it should be preserved. There are places like that all over the West. At Jemez there is the old church. It's wonderful to have it there. It should be declared a historic site. I think it has been. Chaco Canyon, of course. Fort Sumner. All kinds of places like that.

As for the Kiowa sites, you can go back to Tsoai, Devil's Tower. That's probably the earliest site that we know of that is sacred. There were probably sacred sites before that. When the Kiowa completed their migration down on the southern plains, there are interesting places like Rainy Mountain, Bote's store, the site of the last Sun Dance – we know where that is, by the way. There's nothing there, although I'd love to go in there with a metal detector. The site of the last Ghost Dance, we know where that is too. Do you know about the Rainy Mountain Boarding School? A book came

out just in the last ten years, I think. My grandmother was a student of the school at one time.

DJL When we were there recently, we didn't see any remnant of the school. Is the ruin of the school still there?

NSM If you took the dirt road that goes down to the base of the mountain on the east side, the ruins are there. A couple of the ruins are maybe ten feet high. There is a fence with a gate.

DJL We thought we shouldn't go past the gate. Who owns the land?

NSM It's owned by the three tribes: the Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche tribes, so it's federal land actually. Farther on the east side and about a mile away is the ruin of Bote's store. That was an old trading post. My father remembers having gone there with his father in a wagon. All the Kiowa's went there to get grass money. So they camped there at Bote's store.

DJL Grass money?

NSM It was an annual payment or a periodic payment for grazing land, I think. They got money and that's where they went. They got the money and went into Bote's store and bought what they wanted. It was a typical trading post with all kinds of barrels with crackers and stuff. That's still standing, but it's a ruin. It's an empty shell, but it's a very interesting place to see.

BGM Tell them about going up in the Wichitas in the spring and seeing the baby buffaloes, and tell them the old Kiowa story about the buffalo in the Wichitas.

NSM Medicine Park, just this side of Lawton and at the base of Mount Scott, is a huge game preserve and there are buffaloes and long horns. All kinds of wild life! In the spring you see the buffalo babies. And they are wonderful, orangey-red.

A good Kiowa story about Mount Scott is that that's where the buffalo went when they disappeared. They had befriended the people forever and then the people turned against them, the white people especially, and decimated the herds. One morning an old Kiowa woman went outside the teepee and she saw a herd of buffalo. They were very scarce at the time so she was very surprised to see this remnant of the herd going to Mount Scott. As they approached, the mountain opened up. The buffalo went inside. So maybe they are there. It's a good story. I think it's told in the PBS series *The West*,¹⁷ a beautiful rendition of the story.

By the way, speaking of trails, I'm interested in marking a trail from Quartz Mountain, near Lone Wolf, Oklahoma, through Rainy Mountain into Mountain View and the site of the Ghost Dance and the Sun Dance and ending up at Fort Sill. I think that would be a wonderful trail. And to document

it on a tape and talk about it and have people travel over it. It would be good for the state of Oklahoma. Trails are wonderful!

BGM You might discuss the distinction between historical sites and sacred sites. We have talked so far about historical sites mostly, but it is terribly important to preserve the sacred sites. And to do that, we should defer to the people to whom they are sacred. Such sites really need to be in the hands of people who understand their importance.

NSM The difference between historical and sacred, what would be an example? The Medicine Wheel. We have very little historical data on the Medicine Wheel. I think I once read that it is said to date from the seventeenth century. It's not very old. But that's all we know about it historically. We don't know who made it. Kiowas say, "Well, it's a pretty good replica of the Kiowa Sun Dance circle." It may be. Kiowas could have done it, but we are not sure. There are several candidates, you know, in that part of the world. There were a lot of Indians passing through. So that's the sacred aspect of it. It's there and it is important and it must be preserved. Historically, it's a little bit beyond our reach right now. So there is that distinction. And of the two, I would say the sacred is the more important.

DJL Speaking of the sacred, in *The Names* you write about how as a boy you had played in

Mammedaty's barn and in the barn were the bones of a horse (75). One day the box of horse bones were stolen, and you continue to carry the loss of the bones today.

NSM It was a significant thing. And I think it was significant to Kiowa people. I think I wrote somewhere: "How is it that a man can preserve the bones of a horse?" What does that mean? "And how is it that another man can think them valuable enough to steal?" What is behind that? It has to be some kind of spiritual thing. There has to be a belief in the sacred aspect of those bones. So that fascinates me. And, of course, there are a lot of things like that.

DJL We heard Sherman Alexie¹⁸ talk the other day. He is not only articulate—but he is a stand-up comedian. Can you comment on the work of what we might call your literary descendants – Silko,¹⁹ Erdrich,²⁰ Owens,²¹ Alexie, and others – and how such work affects our understanding of Native American culture?

NSM What I can say about that is very general and simple. I think that they are doing good work by in large. I know some of these people personally. And I admire certain works of theirs. I think that *Winter in the Blood* is a well written book, and I knew Jim²² very well. Sherman Alexie I know slightly. I have been on the same platform with him a couple of times, and you're right, he is funny. He's a kind of reactionary, but I think he is valuable. I like

what he says as much as I like what he writes. Louise Erdrich I don't know that well. But she is well respected and she is probably a very good writer. Leslie's work I know. Luci Tapahonso,²³ I like her poetry very much. To condense the answer, I think that there is important matter coming out from younger Indian writers. We have heard from a number of them. We will hear from many more as time goes on. They are overcoming a very important barrier, the language barrier. Some of them, the best of them, I think, are working out of a traditional world expression. They are making use of their native fund of knowledge and story telling. And that's a very articulate thing. That's what really distinguishes their work. Luci Tapahonso writes English on one side of the page and Navajo on the other. Nobody can read the Navajo, but I'm glad that she's doing both things. It's important. So good things are happening.

DJL How valuable, in your opinion, is the work gathered by early anthropologists, artists, photographers and ethnologists to understanding and appreciating Kiowa history and culture? What books and authors do you recommend for readers who want to immerse themselves in Kiowa history?

NSM I think that the writings of ethnographers is extremely important. And the artists, Catlin,²⁴ his work is indispensable if you are interested in not only Kiowas, but other tribes on the plains.

By far the most valuable work is James Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowas*.²⁵ That's where everybody who is interested in the Kiowas has to go. That's where they should go first. It's a wonderful, wonderful monograph.

Alice Marriott's *The Ten Grandmothers* I think is a wonderful introduction to the Kiowa culture.

Mildred Mayhall's *The Kiowas* is less valuable to me, but I think it's also a standard book. There are some early books written by the missionaries to the Kiowas.²⁶ You can find those I'm sure. The Fort Sill library probably has them.

DJL We are curious whether the stories in *In the Presence of the Sun: A Gathering of Shields*²⁷ are traditional or imaginative.

NSM Both. That was an interesting thing for me to do because I meant to compile a series of these for meditation, investing them with the intrinsic power of the shield. There are sixteen of them. So my idea is that one should read them one a day for sixteen days and meditate upon them.

DJL We have interviewed several historians about massacres – small-scale ones, like the Oatman Massacre²⁸ and the McComas Massacre,²⁹ and large-scale ones like the Mountain Meadows Massacre.³⁰ The Kiowa were involved in several massacres, both as victims and as perpetrators: the Cut Throat Massacre,³¹ the

massacre of a party of Cheyenne in the late 1830's,³² and the Warren Wagon Train Massacre that led to Set-angya's arrest.³³ In pursuing the historical evidence, the researcher is at a disadvantage because the historical record was written almost exclusively by whites and the Indian side of the story has largely been lost. Can you discuss this?

NSM Certainly the Kiowas were involved in massacres. When you think of massacres you think of Fetterman,³⁴ for example, and Chivington.³⁵ And then the Kiowas perpetrated some of the massacres too. You are absolutely right that you don't have the Indian side of these stories. An exception is Satanta, who was the chief involved in the attack on the Warren Wagon Train in Texas. When they came to question him about his part in it, they expected him to deny it. But instead he said, "Oh, yes. That was my doing. Other may tell you that they did it, but no. It was I! I did it!" So that was wonderful. That says something about his spirit and his pride and the Indian way of looking at things. It was boasting. Boasting is important to an Indian, especially boasting about, you know, fights.

BGM Can you tell the story about the Kiowa raiding party that ran into a group of soldiers from Fort Sill?

NSM There is a story about Kiowas off on a raiding party. They encountered a group of

soldiers and they parleyed. The Kiowas said, “We are going off to fight the Osages. Come on! Do you want to come? This will be fun!” Of course, the soldiers discretely refused to go along. I like that story.

DJL Benjamin Grierson,³⁶ the officer in charge of Fort Sill when Satanta and Set-Angya were arrested and sent in chains to Texas, strikes us as a nineteenth-century liberal Army officer, like General Crook and Lieutenant Charles Gatewood, men who had a great deal of appreciation of the native cultures, but who were caught up in the contradiction of being some of the most effective at bringing those cultures to an end. Is it possible to see something new in the appreciation they had for the Native Americans, and in their failed efforts towards a more just peace, in the same sense that Thomas Jefferson, a slave holder, was instrumental in creating the political conditions that brought an end to slavery?

NSM Yes, I think so. That’s an interesting question. There were certainly military leaders in the western campaigns who befriended Indians, who wanted them to survive and who wanted them to live as they had for generations on their own land. And then you have the other side, the people like Custer and Chivington, who were not friends, who were deadly enemies. Sheridan. Ranald Mackenzie³⁷ who led the fight in Palo Duro Canyon. Carrington,³⁸ who was the general

who commanded Fetterman, was essentially a good man, but Fetterman was a villain, a villain. “Give me eighty men and I can march through the whole Sioux nation.”

I think probably one of the great examples of this is the man who founded the Carlisle School, Richard Henry Pratt.³⁹ He meant well. An enormous number of Indian kids went through it during its lifetime, and certainly some of them benefited from their experience. And he wanted them to. He was a friend of the Indians, even though his motto was “kill the Indian and save the man.” A misguided man, but well intentioned. So he’s an enigma, you know. How do you evaluate him? And you can apply that question to a good many people on the frontier.

BGM Pratt and the school are the subjects of your play.

NSM Yes, the third play, a screenplay actually.

DJL What’s the title of it?

NSM *The Moon in Two Windows*. That comes from a boy who got on the train from Rosebud to Carlisle. He’d never been on a train before, and, of course, he was scared stiff. All of those children at first thought they were being taken to their death. He said that he looked out the train window and there was the moon, and just a few minutes later he looked out the opposite window and there was the

moon. And he thought this was a terrible omen: the moon had gone crazy in the sky.

BGM The bringing of the children together created the beginning of the pan-Indian movement – Indians working across tribal lines and knowing each other across these lines. An inadvertent thing that Pratt did, but powerful beyond belief.

NSM Yes, I think the end result of that was the beginning of the pan-Indian movement. Indian tribes came together and became not the members of their individual tribes but Indians together, with different languages and different customs, but they traded. Like a powwow movement at a much earlier time where people gathered together and traded songs and language and dance steps and so on.

DJL In her memoirs Zitkala-Sa⁴⁰ offers an account of the hardships she and other Native Americans endured when they were removed from their reservation life and put into boarding schools that were designed to “civilize” the Indian children.

NSM What a traumatic experience it was for those little children.

BGM In your play, you see this movement from violence to anger that we discussed earlier, and then rising above even that to a resolution of some kind.

NSM One of the principle characters in the play is Luther

Standing Bear,⁴¹ who was at Carlisle. His relationship with Pratt was interesting. Luther was very much a Lakota man, but in the end he and Pratt became close. So there was a kind of resolution. The play brings that circle out, beginning with terror. The children were taken away from their homes. And they didn't know where they were going. They assumed they were going to be killed. What a terrifying ride across the county on the train. And then the school, which brought them together and forced them to become a camp within a camp and brought all these disparate elements together. And then the movement, as Barbara says, towards resolution, and forgiveness in a way too. One of the characters, who is a ghost in the play, actually died on the train on the way to Carlisle. In the play, however, she confronts Pratt. That's something I haven't done before.

Plenty Horses⁴² in the play is full of anger, but even he is subdued in the end. He disappears into oblivion. But his trial is one of the interesting things in the history of the West. It's not in the play, but he was acquitted of murder. He shot an officer in the back, and he was acquitted. You couldn't imagine that.

DJL Why was he acquitted?

NSM Everything about Plenty Horses' trial hinged upon whether he acted in a state of war or he didn't. And everybody was inclined to think that he was

guilty of murder, that the war had nothing to do with it. But in order to clarify the issue, they sent a man to Chicago where Nelson Miles' headquarters was. Miles, who was the head of the campaign in the West and who had amassed the greatest number of soldiers since the Civil War, was asked the question: "Was this man acting in a state of war?" And Miles replied, "You don't think that I sent all those soldiers there for a dress parade, do you? Of course we were in a state of war!" When that word got back, Plenty Horses was acquitted.

DJL. In *Ancient Child*, Grandmother Kope'mah has little respect for Worcester, who is "sensible enough to live at peace" and admires her other sons and the spirit of Set-angya, in whom "bravery was a madness." Billy the Kid is compared to Set-angya (although Billy denies he is the Kiowa's equal) and Grey says, "We cowboys, we Indians, we roughriders of the world, we are lovers of violence." It is deeply human to respect Set-angya's boldness and bravery in the face of danger and death. Can you speak to the question of how we keep this spirit alive in the 21st century when violence has become so incredibly dangerous to the whole planet, and when we desperately need to be sensible enough to live in peace?

NSM The 21st century is a different time. And I think we have gone too far. You could have heroism in Set-angya's day,

but violence in our own time is so pronounced that it is not the same thing as heroism. With all the violence that is taking place in the world today, it's become commonplace as it were. It's all messed up. Everything is so confused in this bloodbath. It's hard to know who is acting bravely and who is not.

End Notes

1. "New Mexico: Passage into Legend," *The Man Made of Words: Essays, Stories, Passages* (154).
2. At the end of *The Great Gatsby*, F. Scott Fitzgerald writes: "For a transitory, enchanted moment, man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent . . . face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder" (189).
3. Near Lawton, Oklahoma, Fort Sill is a United States Army post. The site of the fort was staked out on January 8, 1869, by Major General Philip H. Sheridan who led a campaign into Indian Territory to stop tribes from raiding border settlements in Texas and Kansas. There are various cemeteries on Fort Sill, where many Indians are buried, including Geronimo, Kiowa Chief Satanta, and Comanche Chief Quanah Parker.
4. Carnegie is the home of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, which has tribal offices and a museum located on the west edge of town.
5. A prominent landmark for the Plains Indians on the southern plains, Rainy Mountain is a rounded hill standing northwest apart from the main Wichita Mountains in Kiowa County,

- Oklahoma. Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain* is about the legends of and the history of the journey of his Kiowa ancestors from their ancient beginnings in the Montana area to their final war and surrender at Fort Sill and resettlement near Rainy Mountain.
6. The book referred to is Susan Scarberry-Garcia's *Landmarks of Healing*.
 7. A sacred site for many American Indians, Devils Tower rises 1267 feet above the Belle Fourche River in northeastern Wyoming. The Kiowas have a legend of a boy who became a bear and chased his seven sisters up a tree. The tree transformed into a rock tower, Tsoai (Devil's Tower); the bear lunged against it, scratching cracks into its sides, and the sisters were carried into the heavens to become seven stars in the Big Dipper. To read Momaday's telling of the story, see *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (8).
 8. Medicine Wheel is located in the Bighorn Mountains in Wyoming. It measures 80 feet across, and consists of 28 rock spokes that radiate from the center. There are 6 cairns that are scattered on the outside of the wheel's rim. No one knows the true origin or purpose of the Medicine Wheel.
 9. Chaco Canyon was an important Anasazi cultural center from about 900 through 1130 AD. Located in northwestern New Mexico, between Albuquerque and Farmington in a relatively inaccessible valley cut by the Chaco Wash, it contains the most sweeping collection of ancient ruins north of Mexico.
 10. Peter Nabokov is a professor of American Indian Studies and World Arts and Cultures at UCLA. His books include *A Forest of Time*, *Native American Testimony*, *Indian Running*, *Two Leggings: The Making of a Crow Warriors*, and *Where the Lightning Strikes: The Lives of American Indian Sacred Places*.
 11. Alice Lee Marriott (1910-1992) was the first woman to ever receive a degree in the anthropological field at the University of Oklahoma. Her writings include *American Epic: the story of American Indian*, *American Indian Mythology*, *The First Comers: Indians of America's Dawn*, *Maria: the Potter of San Ildefonso*, *Plains Indian Mythology*, *Saynday's People: The Kiowa Indians and the Stories They Told*, and *The Ten Grandmothers*. The story referred to here is in the chapter entitled "The Bear" in *The Ten Grandmothers* (3-14).
 12. Located approximately 55 miles northwest of Albuquerque, the pueblo of Jemez is one of 19 Native American pueblos in New Mexico. Momaday spent his adolescent years there.
 13. Walter Noble Burns (1872-1932), was a journalist and historian in Chicago. His 1926 biography, *The Saga of Billy the Kid*, was a bestseller.
 14. Frederick William Nolan (1931-) is a British editor and writer. Considered to be one of Great Britain's leading authorities on the American West, he has spent almost fifty years researching Billy the Kid and the Lincoln County War. His books *The Lincoln County War: A Documentary History* and *The West of Billy the Kid* are classics in the field.
 15. Momaday's review of Hampton Sides' *Blood and Thunder: an Epic of the American West* (2006) was published in the *New York Times* on October 29, 2006.
 16. Located on the Colorado plateau in northeast Arizona, Canyon de Chelly has been inhabited almost continuously since 300. The earliest inhabitants, the Anasazi, were drawn to the available streams and underground springs for water for their crops. A prolonged drought forced the abandonment of these dwellings in the late 1200's. In the 1700's, the Navajo moved into the Canyon de Chelly area. In 1864, Colonel Kit Carson rounded up a large number of Navajo in the canyon and marched them to Bosque Redondo on the infamous "Long Walk."
 17. *The West* is an eight-part documentary series which premiered on PBS stations in September 1996.
 18. Sherman Alexie (1966-) is a Spokane/Coeur d'Alene Indian. He grew up on the Spokane Indian Reservation in Wellpinit, Washington, about 50 miles northwest of Spokane. Alexie has written many books of poetry, including *Old Shirts & New Skins*, *One Stick Song*, *I Would Steal Horses*, and *The Business of Fancydancing*. He has also written novels and short stories, such as *Reservation Blues*, *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*, *Ten Little Indians* and *Indian Killer*. The movie *Smoke Signals*, based on one of the stories from *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*, won the Audience Award and the Filmmakers Trophy at the Sundance Film Festival in 1998.
 19. Leslie Silko (1948-) grew up on the Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico. Her books of poetry include *Storyteller* and *Laguna Women Poems*. She is also a writer of short stories and

- fiction. Her novels include *Ceremony*, *Gardens in the Dunes*, and *Almanac of the Dead*.
20. An enrolled member of the Anishinaabe nation, Karen Louise Erdrich (1954-) is an author of fiction and poetry. Her novels include *Love Medicine*, *The Beet Queen*, *Tracks*, *Tales of Burning Love*, and *The Antelope Wife*.
 21. Of Choctaw, Cherokee and Irish American descent, Louis Owens (1948-2002) was a novelist and a scholar of Steinbeck and Native American literature. He is the author of five novels (one of which, *Nightland*, won the American Book Award in 1997), four books of literary criticism, and a collection of essays, *I Hear the Train*.
 22. James Welch (1940- 2003) was Blackfeet/Gros Ventre. He has written a book of poems (*Riding the Earthboy* 40) and five novels (*Winter in the Blood*, *The Death of Jim Loney*, *Fools Crow*, *The Indian Lawyer*, and *The Heartsong of Charging Elk*). He is also the author of *Killing Custer*, which tells the story of the Battle of the Little Bighorn from a Native American perspective.
 23. Born on the Navajo reservation, Luci Tapahonso (1953-) writes her poems and stories in both English and Diná. She is the author of several books of poetry, including *Sáanii Dahataa/The Women Are Singing: Poems and Stories* and *Blue Horses Rush In*.
 24. Best known as a painter of the American Indians, George Catlin (1796-1872) journeyed west five times in the 1830s to paint the Plains Indians and their way of life.
 25. James Mooney (1861-1921) was an early ethnographer of American Indians, especially those of the southeastern United States. His investigations of the history, heraldry, and culture of the Cherokee and Kiowa included the deciphering of the Kiowa calendar.
 26. Trained as a historian, Mildred Mary Pickle Mayhall (1902-1987) was the author of two studies of Indians, *The Kiowas* and *Indian Wars of Texas*. She also served as a consultant for Time-Life Books for *The Great Chiefs* in the series *The Old West*. “*The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians*,” by Thomas C. Battey, is quoted extensively in Mayhall’s *The Kiowas*.
 27. *In the Presence of the Sun* contains four main sections: “Selected Poems,” “New Poems,” “The Strange and True Story of My Life with Billy the Kid,” and “In the Presence of the Sun: A Gathering of Shields.” The latter is a collection of sixteen short prose pieces, each relating the story of a different shield. Momaday’s illustrations of the shields are included.
 28. Believing a prophecy that they would find the fertile “Land of Bashan” at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, Roys Oatman traveled west with his family of nine and a few other families from their homes in Illinois. On February 18, 1851, a band of southwestern Indians attacked the family on a cliff overlooking the Gila River in present-day Arizona. All but three members of the family were killed. For more information on the Oatman Massacre, see Brian McGinty’s *The Oatman Massacre: A Tale of Desert Captivity and Survival*.
 29. In the spring of 1883 Apache raiders massacred Judge McComas and his wife and kidnapped their six-year-old son, Charley, as the family traveled on a desolate road in southwestern New Mexico Territory. For more information on the McComas tragedy, see Marc Simmons’ *Massacre on the Lordsburg Road: A Tragedy of the Apache Wars*.
 30. The Mountain Meadows Massacre of the Baker-Fancher party of emigrants on September 11, 1857, in southwestern Utah Territory was the most violent attack on a wagon train in the thirty-year history of the Oregon and California trails. The massacre was carried out by a militia led by Mormon leaders. For more information on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, see Will Bagley’s *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*.
 31. The Cutthroat Gap Massacre occurred in the Wichita Mountains in the spring of 1833. Osage Indians attacked a Kiowa village while most of the warriors were away. The Osage killed the few remaining men and more than 150 Kiowa women and children. For more information on the Cutthroat Massacre, see Stan Hoig’s *The Kiowas and the Legend of Kicking Bird*.
 32. For information on the Kiowa massacre of the Cheyenne in the late 1830s, see Wilbur Sturtevant Nye’s *Bad Medicine and Good* (x-xi) and Mayhall’s *The Kiowas* (171).
 33. The Warren Wagon Train Massacre occurred on May 18, 1871, near Fort Richardson, Texas. Henry Warren was contracted to haul supplies to forts in west Texas. Traveling down the

- Jacksboro-Belknap road, his group of wagoners encountered General William Tecumseh Sherman. Less than an hour later, they spotted a large number of Indians, probably Kiowa and perhaps Comanche. The warriors captured all of the supplies and killed seven of the wagoners. Five men managed to escape. Returning to the Kiowa Comanche Agency near Fort Sill in southwestern Oklahoma, Satanta bragged about the raid and the killings to Agent Lawrie Tatum and incriminated several other chiefs as well. Upon hearing of the boasts, General Sherman arrested Satanta and Set-angya (Satank) and ordered them, together with Big Tree, to Texas for trial. For more information on the raid, see Charles Robinson's *The Indian Trial: The Complete Story of the Warren Wagon Train Massacre and the Fall of the Kiowa Nation*. See also, Mayhall's *The Kiowas* (265-269).
34. William Judd Fetterman (1833?-1866) was an officer in the United States Army during the Civil War and the subsequent Red Cloud's War (1866-1868) on the Great Plains. In 1866, Fetterman and an army column of 80 men were involved in protecting a team taking wood to Fort Phil Kearny. Ignoring Carrington's orders not to venture beyond Lodge Trail Ridge, Fetterman led his troops into an ambush where he and his command were all killed by Sioux warriors.
 35. John Milton Chivington (1821-1892) was a United States officer noted for his role in the New Mexico Campaign of the Civil War. Although he was celebrated as the hero of the 1862 Battle of Glorietta Pass, his role in the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre made him infamous.
 36. As a cavalry officer in the Civil War, Benjamin Grierson led Grierson's Raid, a highly successful diversionary thrust during General Grant's Vicksburg campaign. Following the war, he served at forts in Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. He organized the 10th Cavalry (the Afro-American Buffalo Soldiers), which assignment made him unpopular with other army personnel. He fought in the Victorio campaign. As commander of Fort Sill, he supported the peace policy towards the Comanche and Kiowa, which angered local residents of the Texas frontier. He saved General Sherman's life during the confrontation at Fort Sill with the Kiowa leaders over the Warren Wagon Train Massacre.
 37. Ranald Slidell Mackenzie (1840-1889) was famous for his service in both the Civil War and the Indian Wars. In 1874, Mackenzie was sent to Palo Duro Canyon to transport the Comanches and their allies who lived there to Oklahoma. Early on the morning of September 28, Colonel Mackenzie and the 4th Cavalry made a surprise attack on a large encampment of Comanches, Kiowas, and Cheyennes, killing all their horses and forcing them to return to their reservations in Indian Territory.
 38. Henry Beebee Carrington (1824-1912) was an officer in the United States Army during the Civil War and later during Red Cloud's War. An engineer, he constructed a series of forts to protect the Bozeman Trail. When the army was cutting wood in order to build Fort Kearny, Red Cloud's men drove off the army horses and attacked the supply trains. Most of the wagons sent on wood cutting details were fired on. On December 21, 1866, the wood train came under attack again. Captain William J. Fetterman, with 78 cavalry and infantry and two civilians, rode to the rescue. Carrington's last orders to Fetterman were the following: "Whatever you do, do not go beyond Lodge Trail Ridge" (see endnote 34).
 39. Richard Henry Pratt (1840-1924) was the founder and superintendent of Carlisle Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. His military career included participation in conflicts with the Indians of the southern plains, including the Washita campaign of 1868-1875 and the Red River War of 1874-1875.
 40. Zitkala-Sa (1876-1938), or Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, was born on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota where she was raised as a traditional Sioux. She went to a Quaker missionary school in Indiana and later she attended Earlham College, also in Indiana. She taught at Carlisle Indian Industrial School. A writer of short stories and autobiographical vignettes, she was secretary-treasurer of the Society of American Indian, also editing their journal, *American Indian Magazine*. In 1921 she founded her own political organization, the National Council of American Indians.
 41. Luther Standing Bear (1868-1939) was born on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota where he was raised as a traditional Sioux. He was one of the first students to attend the Carlisle Indian School. In 1898 he toured with the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show, which led him to California and acting. He starred in early Western films such as *White Oak* (Artcraft, 1921), *Cyclone of the Saddle* (Weiss/Superior, 1935) and

- Union Pacific* (Paramount, 1939). In the 1920's and 1930's he fought to improve conditions for Indians on the reservations, writing several books about Indian life and government policy.
42. At the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation on January 7, 1891, Lieutenant Edward Casey was slain by Lakota warrior Plenty Horses when Casey attempted to enter a hostile encampment to talk peace. Four days later Lakota hunters were ambushed by rancher Pete Culbertson and his brothers in retaliation. According to the frontier justice of the time, Plenty Horses should have been hanged and the Culbertsons never brought to trial. However, public opinion was inflamed by the massacre at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890, and led to Plenty Horses and the Culbertsons being tried in civilian courts. For a discussion of the killing of Casey by Plenty Horses and the subsequent trial, see Momaday's essay "The American West and the Burden of Belief" in *The Man Made of Words* (98-105). See also Roger L. Di Silvestro's *In The Shadow of Wounded Knee: The Untold Final Story of the Indian Wars*. Walker Publishing Company, 2005.
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Bibliography of R. Bruce Harley, Ph. D. (1918-2008)

prepared by Suzanne M. Harley

This bibliography is divided into the following broad subject categories: Agua Mansa, La Placita, and San Salvador de Jurupa Parish; Old Spanish Trail; Hispanic Genealogy and New Mexico History; History of the Catholic Church in Southern California; March Air Force Base; and Other. Because of the nature of many of the subjects, some material fits in multiple categories but will be listed only in one category. Many of the articles published in periodicals and newspapers were drawn from the *Readings in Diocesan Heritage* series, particularly those on Agua Mansa and the history of the Catholic Church in Southern California. Unless author names are given, Dr. Harley is the sole

author of the listed work.

Agua Mansa, La Placita, and San Salvador de Jurupa Parish

Agua Mansa was the first settlement on the 1,200-mile Old Spanish Trail, and it was also the first village east of Mission San Gabriel, CA. The original settlers were from Abiquiú, NM. However, Agua Mansa soon had a twin community, La Placita; the two were located on opposite banks of the Santa Ana River near present day Colton, CA. They

were served by the parish of San Salvador de Jurupa. In researching the sacramental records of San Salvador, Dr. Harley found an Agua Mansa connection to one of the largest land claim frauds of the 1890's. The four articles marked with double asterisks deal with James Addison Reavis's fraudulent claim to nearly 13,000,000 acres of land that stretched from approximately Phoenix, AZ, to Silver City, NM. Part of Reavis's elaborate scheme to buttress his claim involved falsifying the sacramental records of San Salvador.

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Some Relevant Museums along the Old Spanish Trail

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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