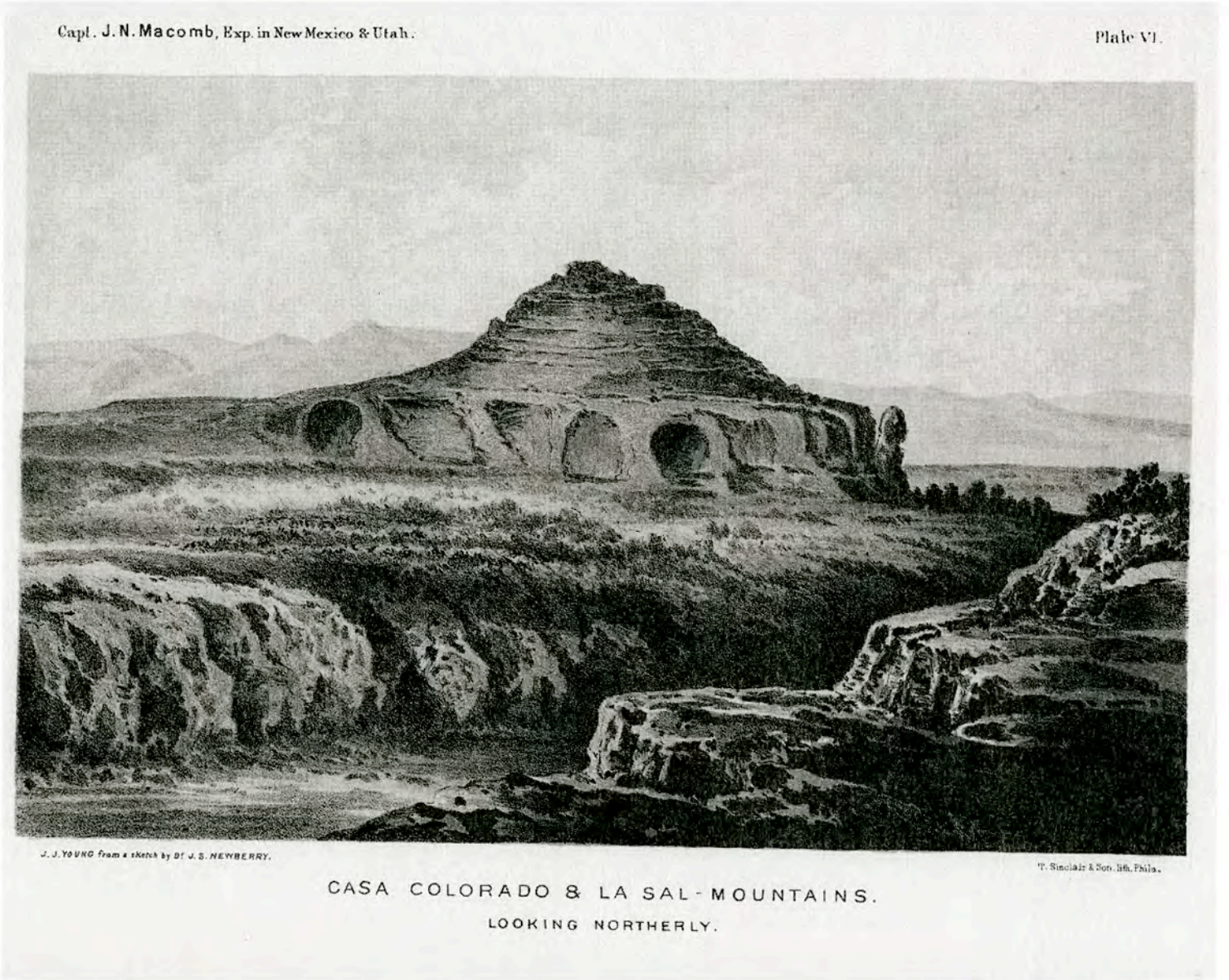
Ho For The Old Spanish Trail in Utah

2018 Utah Westerners Field Trip

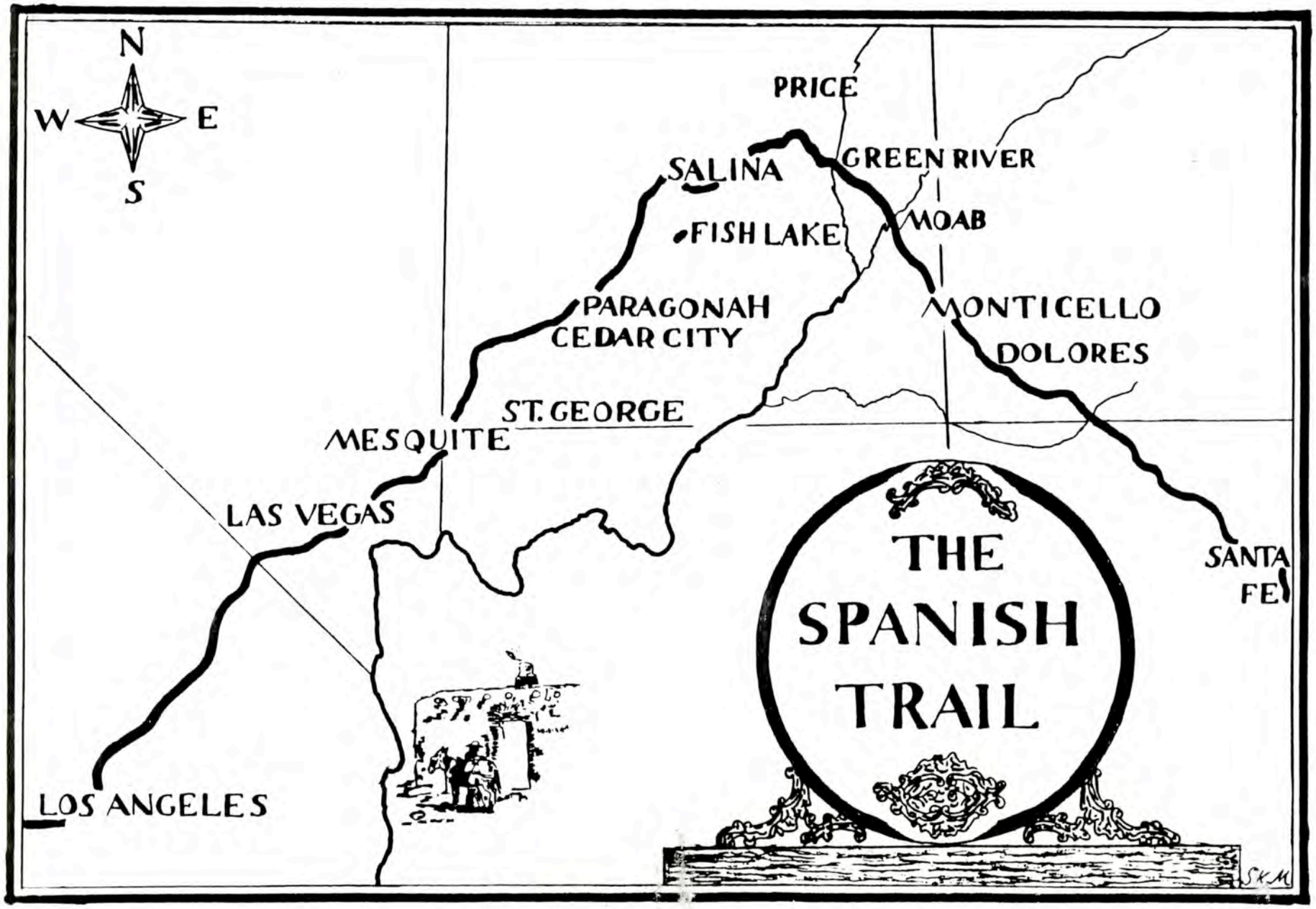
May 23rd to May 26th

"The Old Spanish Trail was the longest, crookedest, most arduous pack mule route in the history of America"
Leroy and Ann Hafen



Moab Utah, Kane Springs, Casa Colorado, Green River Crossing, San Rafael Swell, Salina Canyon, Richfield Utah, Fishlake Route, Circleville Massacre Marker, Bear Valley, Parowan Utah, Cedar City, Utah, Enoch Utah, Mountain Meadows

Although the Dominguez-Escalante expedition in 1776 made a wide swing through Utah, the route was little used by later travelers. The Spanish Trail, a caravan route from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, was a significant corridor in the opening of the West. In use from 1829 to 1848, it was the major thoroughfare across the Southwest. Most of the trail, some 500 miles, lies within the state of Utah. The trail and the trail side encapsulates the entire history of the broad region through which it passes from prehistoric times to the present.



2018 Utah Westerners Field Trip Guide
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2018 Utah Westerners Field Trip Itinerary
Wednesday May 23rd to Saturday May 26th

The 2018 Utah Westerners Field Trip departs Wednesday, May 23rd at 7:00 AM from the Masonic Temple, 650 East South Temple. We are traveling in rental vans. Your personal vehicles can be parked on the south side of the Masonic Temple Parking lot. The Field Trip ends at Mountain Meadows around 3 pm on Sunday May 26th. From Mountain Meadows the vans will head back to the Masonic Temple, hopefully arriving around 7:30 pm.

We will be traveling in Rental Vans. There will be 6 of these vehicles which will provide more than enough seating so you will not be crowded. Please pack a lightly as possible because the luggage space is somewhat limited.

Lodging:

Wednesday May 23rd
Redstone Inn,
535 S. Main Street
Moab, Utah. 435-259-3500.

There is not a continental breakfast at the Redstone Inn. There is a McDonald's across Main Street and a block down, there is the Moab Grill across the street and a Convenience store just to the south of the motel.

Thursday May 24th.
Days Inn
333 N. Main Street
Richfield, Utah. 435-896-6467
Breakfast Included.

Friday May 25th.
El Ray Inn and Suites
80 South Main Street
Cedar City, Utah. 435-581-6518
Breakfast Included.

Meals:

Breakfast in Moab is not available at the Redstone Inn.
Breakfast will be available at the Hotels in Richfield and Cedar City

- Lunches are provided for you all four days of the trip.
- Dinners are on your own.
- While traveling the vans will be stocked with snack food, water and coolers available for your personal refreshments.

Things to Bring Along:

- Bring sun block, insect spray, binoculars, and umbrellas, walking shoes, walking poles and clothing that will work in hot, cold, wet and dry conditions.

Schedule:

Wednesday May 23rd. Salt Lake City to Moab Utah with stops at Courthouse Springs, Mill Canyon Dinosaur Tracks, the OST in Moab, Kane Springs and Casa Colorado.
7:00 AM: Departure from the Masonic Temple.

Thursday May 24th. Depart Moab at 7:00 AM.
Moab, Utah to Richfield Utah. Green River Crossing of the OST, Explore the OST in Emory County and across the San Rafael Swell, See markers in Salina Canyon and Red Canyon. Our guide will be Wade Allinson and Lyman Forsythe.

Friday May 25th. Depart Richfield 8:00 AM.
Richfield, Utah to Cedar City, Utah. Interpretative Signs traveling from Richfield to Johnson Lake. Lunch at Fish Lake Lodge. Kingston Utah, Circleville Utah Massacre Monument, Bear Valley Turn off, William Knight Inscription, Parowan Historical Markers.

Saturday May 26th. Depart Cedar City at 7:30 AM.
Cedar City, Utah to Mountain Meadows Massacre Site. Stops in Enoch, Jefferson Hunt Marker, and tour of Mountain Meadows are with Everett Bassett. Return to Salt Lake City.

The Old Spanish Trail



SPANISH TRAIL
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by Steven K. Madsen

The Spanish Trail, an 1120-mile trade and emigration route, bridged the greater part of the American Southwest during the mid-nineteenth century and linked Santa Fe, New Mexico, with Los Angeles, California.

John C. Frémont was the first to use the term "Spanish Trail" to describe the trade route linking New Mexico and California. He recorded the name in his official report and on his famous map of the 1844 expedition. Other mapmakers lifted the trail from Frémont's map and added the word "Old." In post-trail years, government surveyors (including the 1859 Macomb military expedition) who followed the route also added the word "old" to the name. The trail has Spanish roots, but it was opened during the Mexican period (1821-1848) of the Southwest.

Its Spanish beginnings:
The concept of the trail arose during the Spanish colonial period of the American West. To defend the Spanish frontier from British, French, and Russian incursions, Spain sought to link its two most settled northern regions — the upper Rio Grande in New Mexico and the California coast.

Hostile tribes, however, blocked the straight path across Arizona that would tie together the northern frontier settlements. Arizona's long, waterless stretches and the cliffbound Colorado River presented other obstacles to direct east-west travel.

In 1776, Franciscan priests Dominguez and Escalante explored a route from New Mexico to the Great Basin. Another Spaniard, Francisco Garces, explored the area from the Colorado River to the California settlements. Exploration was needed, however, to connect the Dominguez-Escalante route with the Garces route. Later Spanish trading parties made forays into the Great Basin to trade with Indians living along Utah's Wasatch Front, but no Spanish trails from New Mexico's heartland reached the Pacific Coast. In 1821, Spanish dominion over the Southwest passed to the Republic of Mexico.

Opening the trail:
Hispanic traders revived attempts to reach the settlements of California only after learning of the travels of fur trapper Jedediah Smith. Smith made two overland treks (1826 and 1827) from the mountain wilderness to southern California, virtually connecting the routes of Garces and Dominguez-Escalante.

By 1829, Smith's routes of travel were generally known in New Mexico. That year, the New Mexican merchant, Antonio Armijo, launched the first trading venture to California from New Mexico, following the extreme eastern and western segments of the Spanish Trail. In 1830-1831 the American mountain men William Wolfskill and George C. Yount led a fur trading party over the general course of the trail, from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. (In the party were New Mexican merchants who acquired horses in California and drove them back to New Mexico the following spring.) By 1840, the Spanish Trail had been laid out along the present course as we know it.

Primary use:
Woolen goods and pack animals were the principal trade items on the Spanish Trail. New Mexico was sheep country — woolen textiles were its chief product of export. Raw wool and locally-woven fabrics were packed on mules and carried to the Spanish-built settlements of southern California. Merchants left the upper Rio Grande Valley in the early fall to avoid the winter conditions in the interior mountains. It took trail riders two and one-half months to complete the overland journey.

In California, woolen products were exchanged for horses and mules, which were driven back to New Mexico. The return trip was made in the spring to avoid the high water in the Green and Colorado rivers. The great livestock herds of southern California were in big demand in the interior West. Upwards of two thousand animals or more were driven over the trail. Pack animals were needed along the Santa Fe Trail to the Missouri frontier. (On reaching Santa Fe, many Spanish Trail horses and mules were herded up the Santa Fe Trail to the outfitting centers on the California, Oregon, and Mormon trails. These animals in turn conveyed many of the early pioneer settlers to the interior West.) Horse dealers also found a ready market among Native Americans and American fur trappers in the mountain wilderness.

En route, Ute Indians exacted tribute from trading parties on the trail. As accomplished riders, the Utes were always in the market for horses. They generally maintained friendly relations with the caravans and engaged in limited commerce with the Hispanic merchants.

The Southern Paiutes, occupying southwestern Utah and Nevada, were often victimized by passing trade caravans. Since they were not equestrians they were at a disadvantage in dealing with mounted traders who often enslaved their women and children. It became a sideline business of the yearly caravans. Slave traffickers sold their captives in the New Mexico and California settlements.

Although Hispanic traders were the primary users of the trail, several mountain men traveled it, including Miles Goodyear, Thomas L. "Peg-leg" Smith, Old Bill Williams, Antoine Robidoux, and Joseph Walker. Several trapping parties used the northern branch of the trail that originated at Taos, New Mexico, and ran north through the San Luis Valley of Colorado before reaching the main Spanish Trail near Green River, Utah.

In 1844, John C. Frémont's exploring party, guided by trappers Kit Carson and Thomas Fitzpatrick, followed the western section of the Spanish Trail and helped map its course.

Fur trappers, traders, and Indians often stole horses from California's ranchos and missions, using the Spanish Trail as their escape route. Horse stealing became a flourishing business, prompting government officials to inspect the annual caravans before they departed the Los Angeles basin.

Close of the trail:
From 1829 to 1848 the Spanish Trail passed through territory that belonged to the Republic of Mexico. In 1848, at the close of the Mexican War, Mexico deeded the Southwest to the United States. After the Mexican Cession, many overlanders chose more

direct routes to the north and south. Those who chose a southern path could follow trails that had been carved out across Arizona by U.S. soldiers during the war. Thus, caravan traffic over the Spanish Trail soon came to an end.

Post-trail use:
Mormon settlers developed the trail's western half for wagon traffic between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles. Known as the Southern Route, or Mormon Road, it became an important corridor to the Pacific.

Mormon guide Jefferson Hunt led Forty-Niners to the California gold fields over the western half of the Spanish Trail (part of the group followed a cutoff route that led into Death Valley, where some of them perished.)

Segments of the Spanish Trail were used by Texas cattlemen who herded their livestock to the mining districts of southwestern Colorado in the post Civil War era.

Route of the trail:
The Spanish Trail ran 1,120 miles from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. It looped northward through central Utah to avoid the deep river gorges of the Colorado River.

The trail began in the Santa Fe plaza. It followed up the Rio Grande Valley then veered in a northwesterly direction through northern New Mexico. It crossed the Continental Divide before reaching the San Juan River in Colorado.

The pack route continued across Colorado, passing near Mesa Verde, and entered Utah east of Monticello.

From the Utah border, the trail passed by today's Canyonlands and Arches national parks and crossed the Colorado and Green rivers. It then cut across the southern part of the Great Basin to Mountain Meadows. (A tragic massacre of overland emigrants occurred here in post-trail days.)

From the rim of the basin, the trail reentered the drainage of the Colorado River. It crossed the northwestern corner of Arizona then continued to the meadows of Las Vegas after a 55-mile waterless desert stretch.

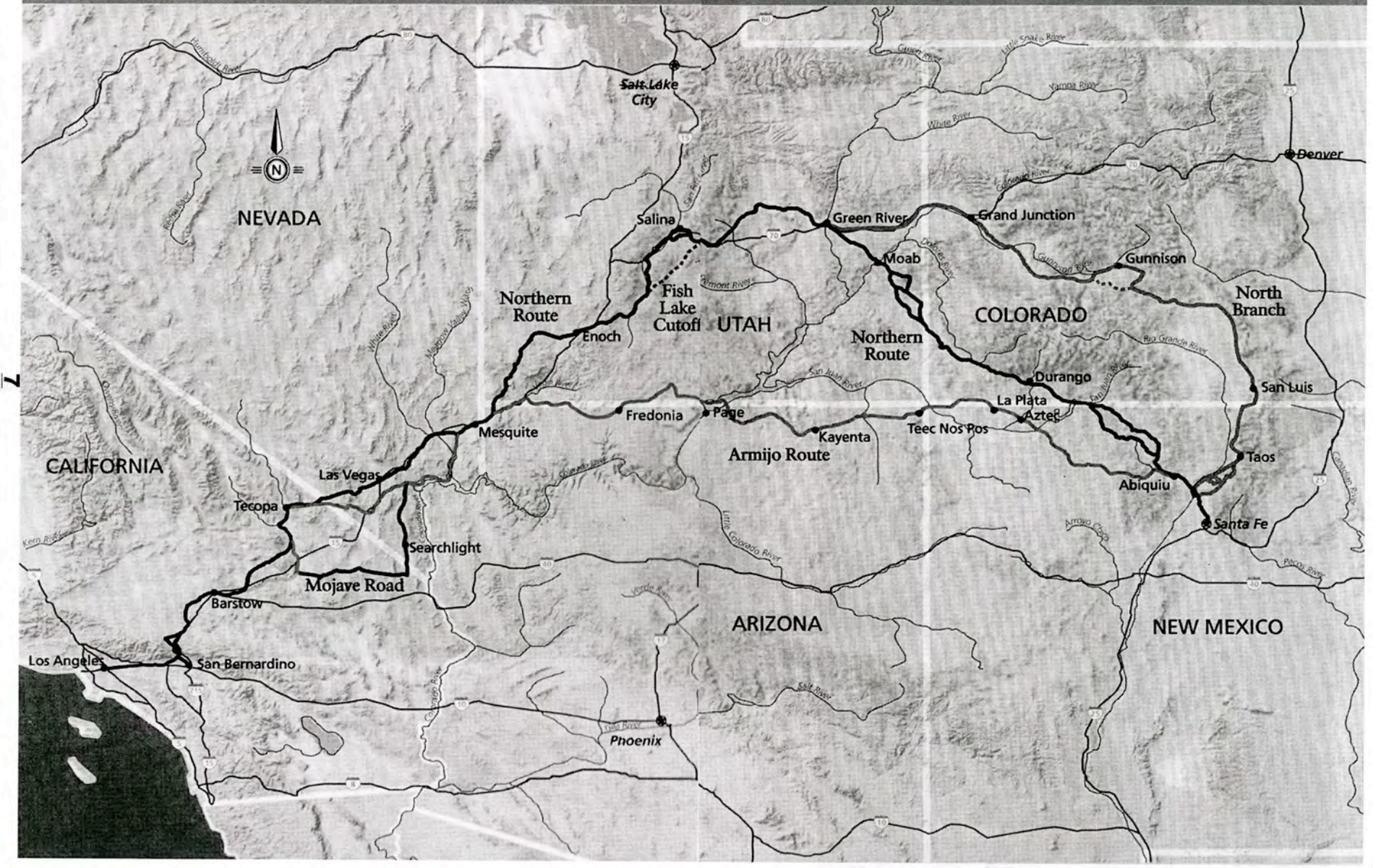
Beyond Las Vegas, the trail crossed the Mojave Desert to the California coast, by way of Cajon Pass. Mission San Gabriel, nine miles from Los Angeles, was a supply point for early travelers. The plaza in Los Angeles was the end of the trail for many of the California-bound trading parties.

Steven K. Madsen is author of *In Search of of the Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles, 1829-1848* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, Publisher, 1994 - available mailorder from the OCTA Bookstore). He delivered the 12th Annual Juanita Brooks Lecture, sponsored by Dixie College, in 1995. Madsen received his bachelor's degree from the University of Utah and his master's degree from Brigham Young University. He is the former historian of Washington, D.C.'s National Independence Day Festival & Parade. He is a high school history teacher in Salt Lake City (and listed in *Who's Who Among America's Teachers, 2nd ed.*). Madsen is also the author of "The Spanish Trail" in the automobile guide, *Trailing the Pioneers*. He has authored several articles for the publication, *Spanish Traces*. *Spanish Traces* is issued by the Old Spanish Trail Association, P.O. Box 510, Monte Vista, CO 81144.

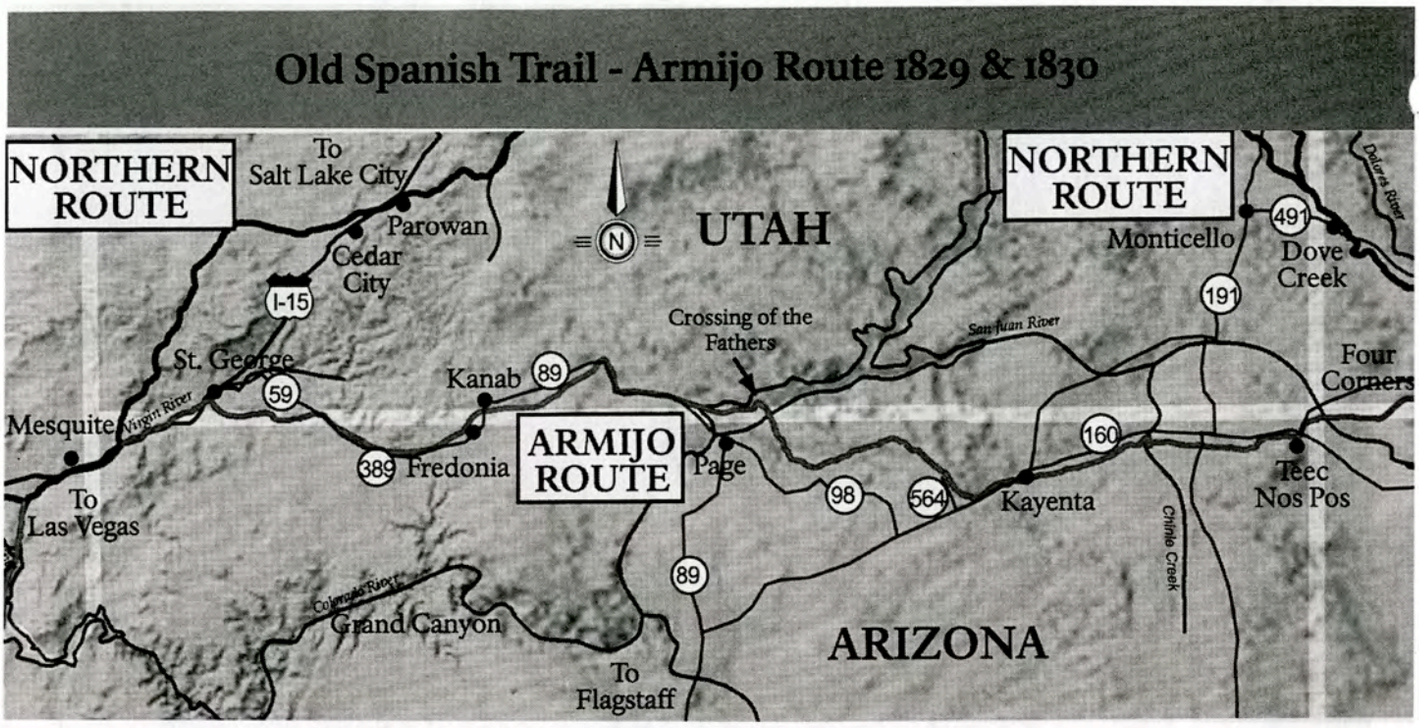
Maps


TERRITORY
AND
MILITARY DEPARTMENT
OF
UTAH.
compiled in the
BUREAU OF TOPOGRAPH! ENG.RS
of the War Depart t
chiefly for Military purposes.
UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF
HON. J. B. FLOYD, SEC. OF WAR.
1860.
Scale.
STATUTE MILES.
MOUNTAINOUS
ELK MOUNTAINS
SAGUACHE OR
UNCOMPAHGRE PEAKS
LA PLATA MOUNTAINS
SAN JUAN MOUNTS
GRAND RIVER
SIERRA LA SAL
SIERRA NACIMIENTO
Fort Wingate
Fort Massachusetts

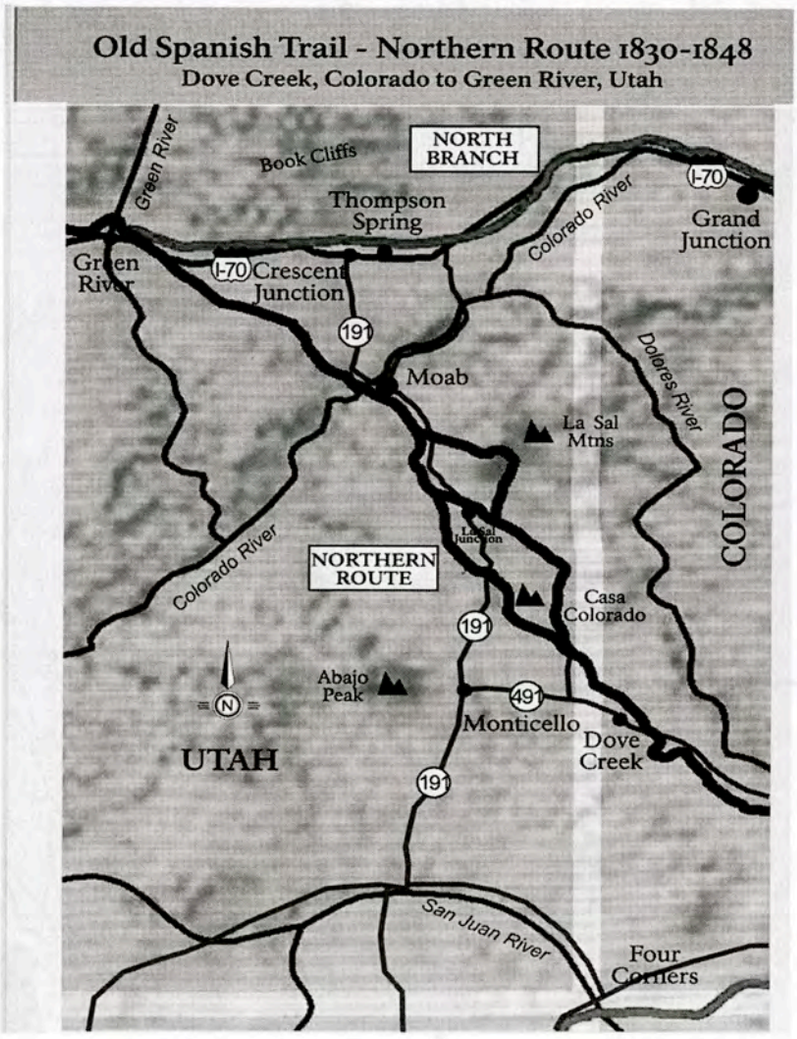
Old Spanish Trail - Santa Fe to Los Angeles (1829-1848



Maps from "Driving the Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona" by Ruth Friesen & Steven Heath With the Old Spanish Trail Association



Maps from "Driving the Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona" by Ruth Friesen & Steven Heath With the Old Spanish Trail Association

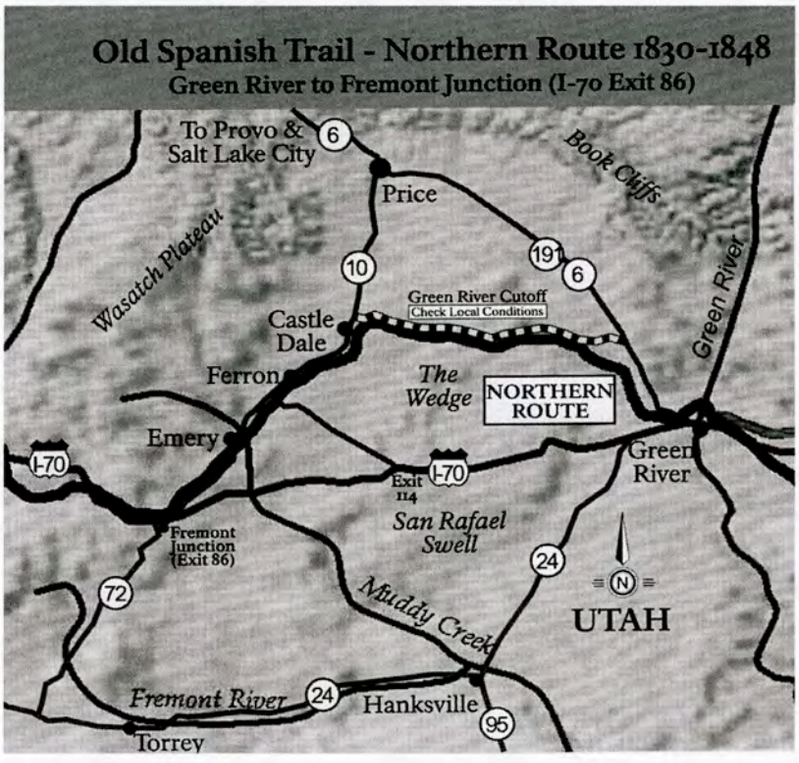


Maps from "Driving the Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona" by Ruth Friesen & Steven Heath With the Old Spanish Trail Association



I-70 from Colorado Border to Green River, Utah: North Branch Segment

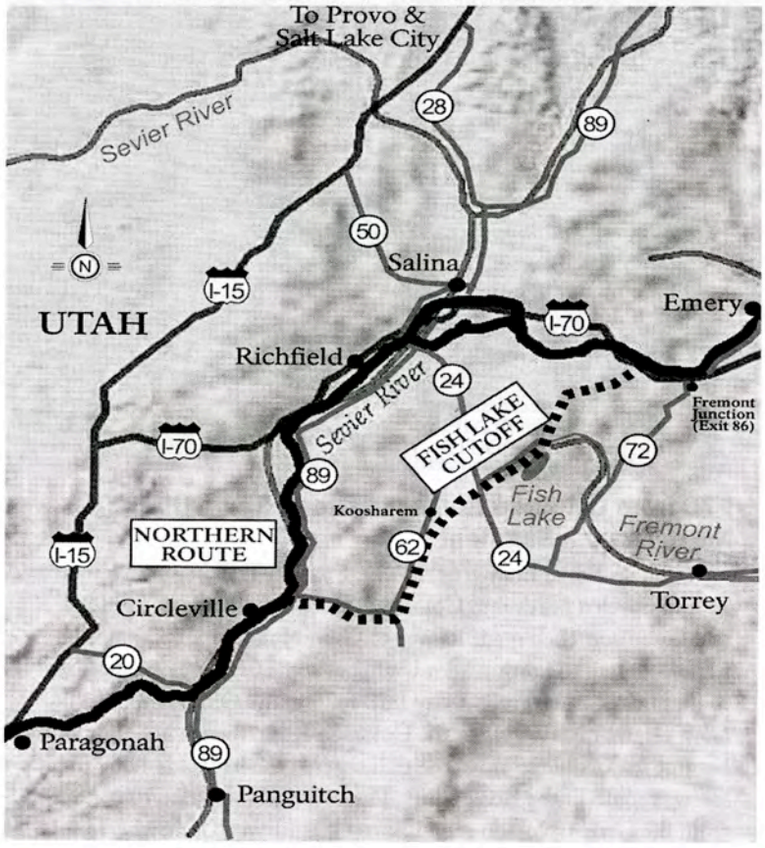
The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail began in Santa Fe and traveled north into Colorado through present-day San Luis and Gunnison, then made its way to Grand Junction. It was mostly a trappers trail to northeastern Utah, but some used it as an alternate route to California. Present-day I-70 follows the Old Spanish Trail from Grand Junction along the Colorado River, then, when the canyons became impossible to cross, the trail entered the badlands along today's freeway south of the Book Cliffs. The trail and Interstate 70 continue from the Utah-Colorado state line to Green River, Utah, where the North Branch joins the Northern Route of the Old Spanish Trail.



Maps from "Driving the Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona" by Ruth Friesen & Steven Heath With the Old Spanish Trail Association

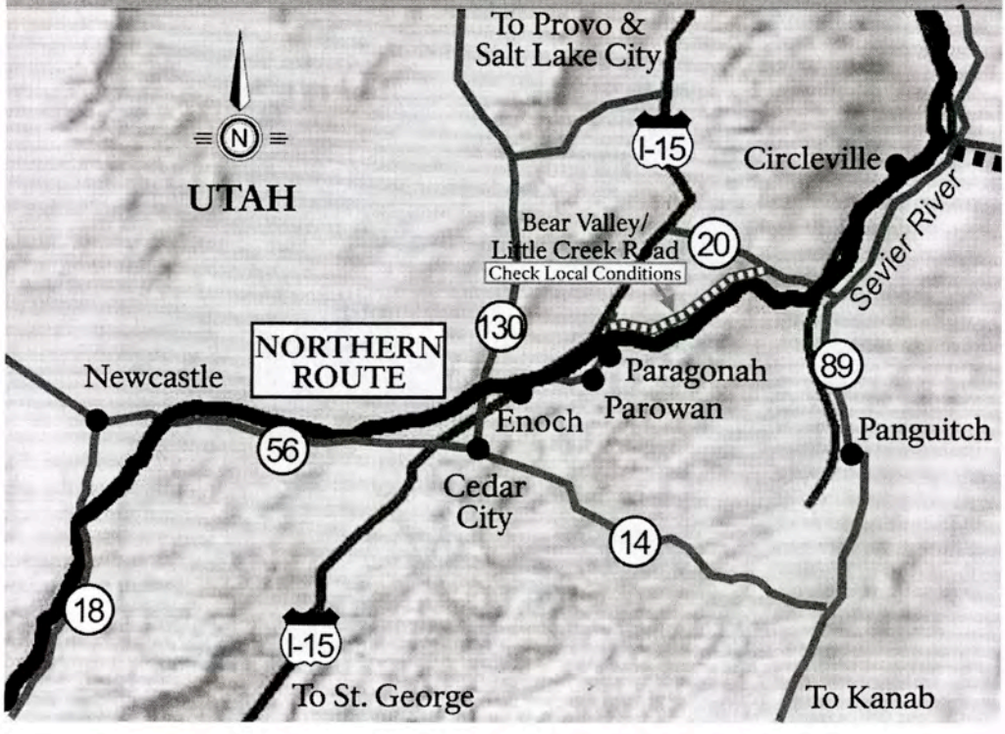
Old Spanish Trail - Northern Route & Fish Lake

Fremont Junction (I-70 Exit 86) to Circleville



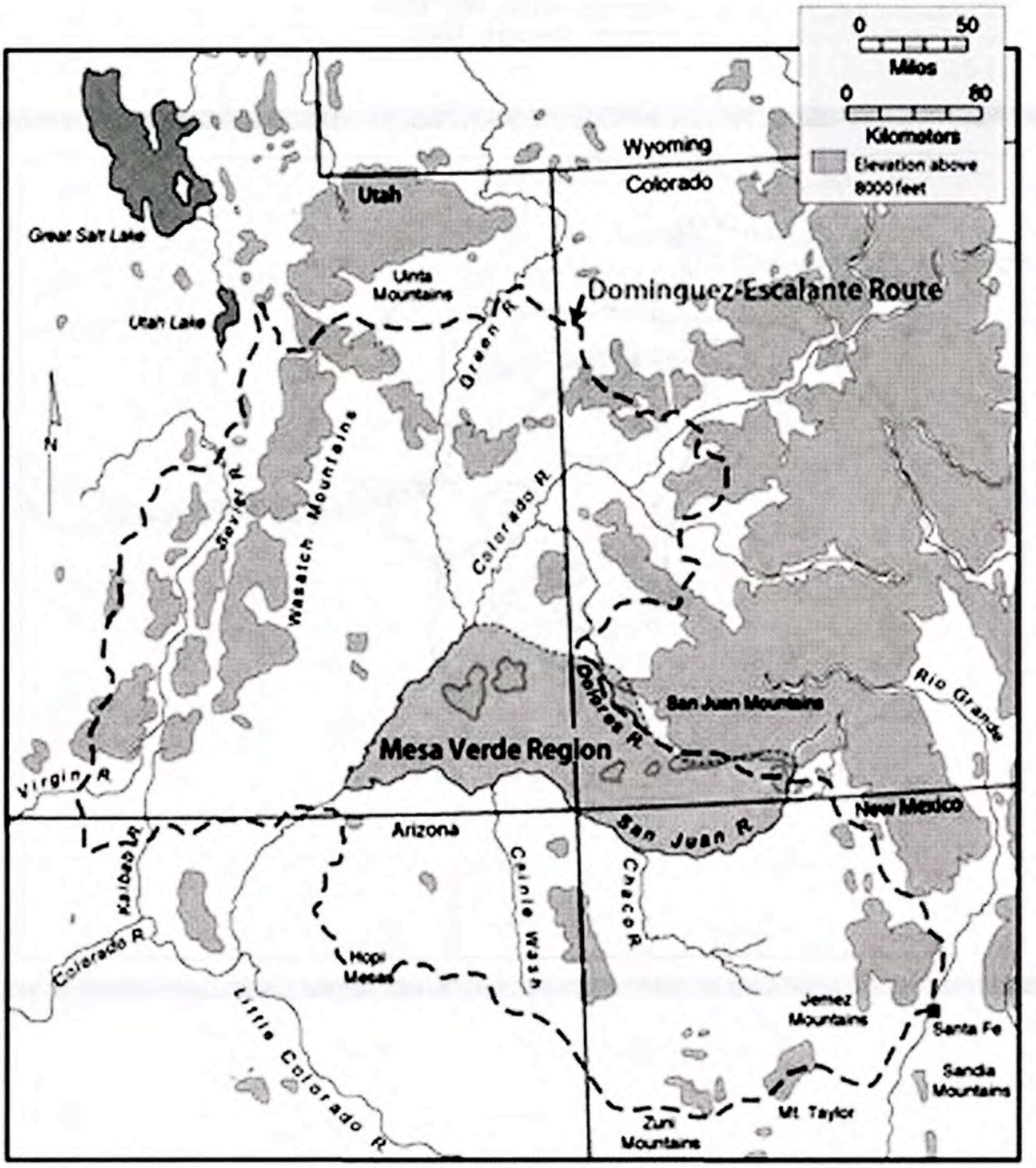
Old Spanish Trail - Northern Route 1830-1848

Circleville to Parowan, Utah



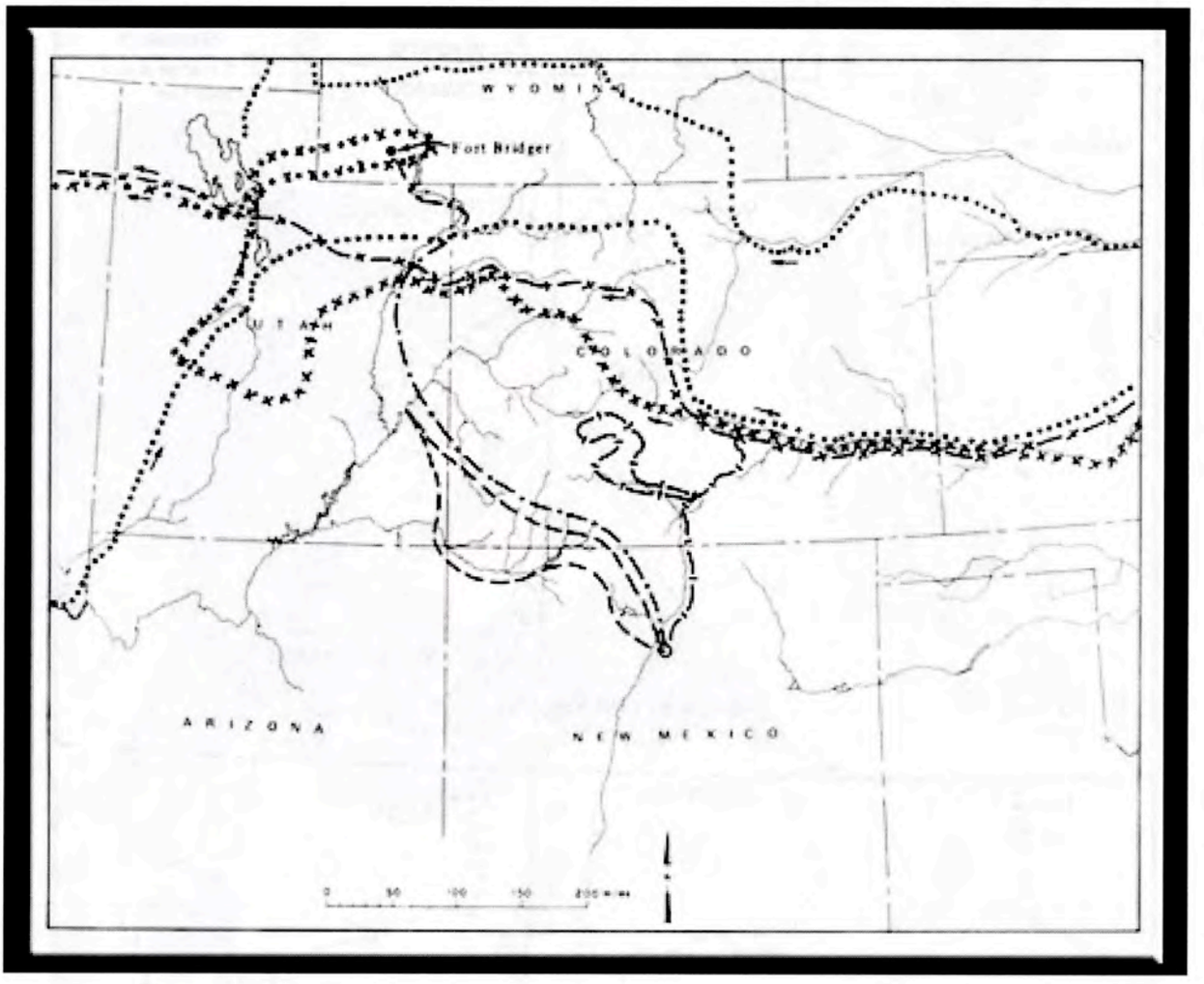
Maps from "Driving the Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona" by Ruth Friesen & Steven Heath With the Old Spanish Trail Association

Dominguez-Escalante Route of 1776



United States Government Expeditions 1843-1859

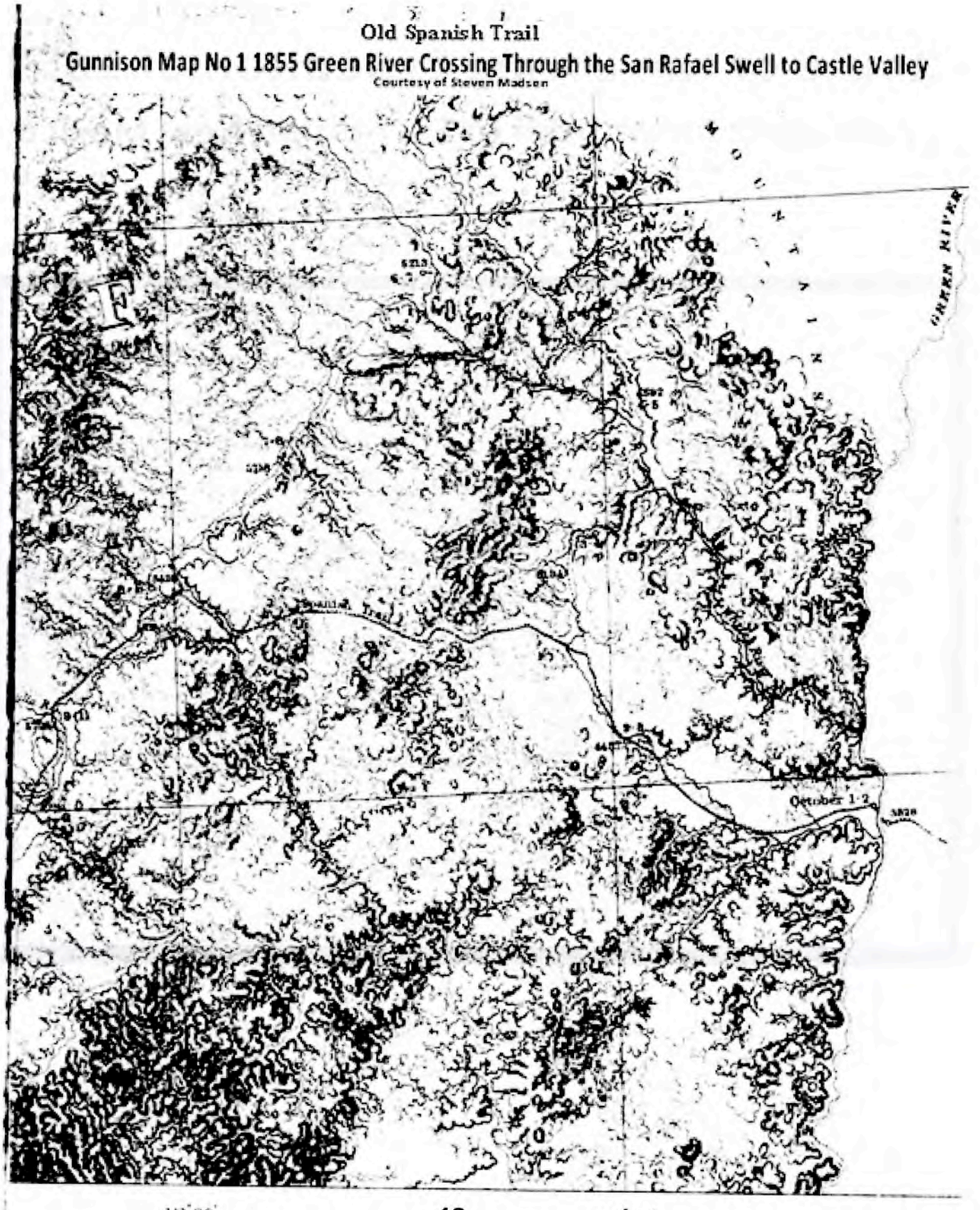
Fremont 1843-1844
Fremont 1845
Fremont 1848
Gunnison 1853
Beckwith 1853
Marcy 1857-1858
Macomb 1859



Old Spanish Trail

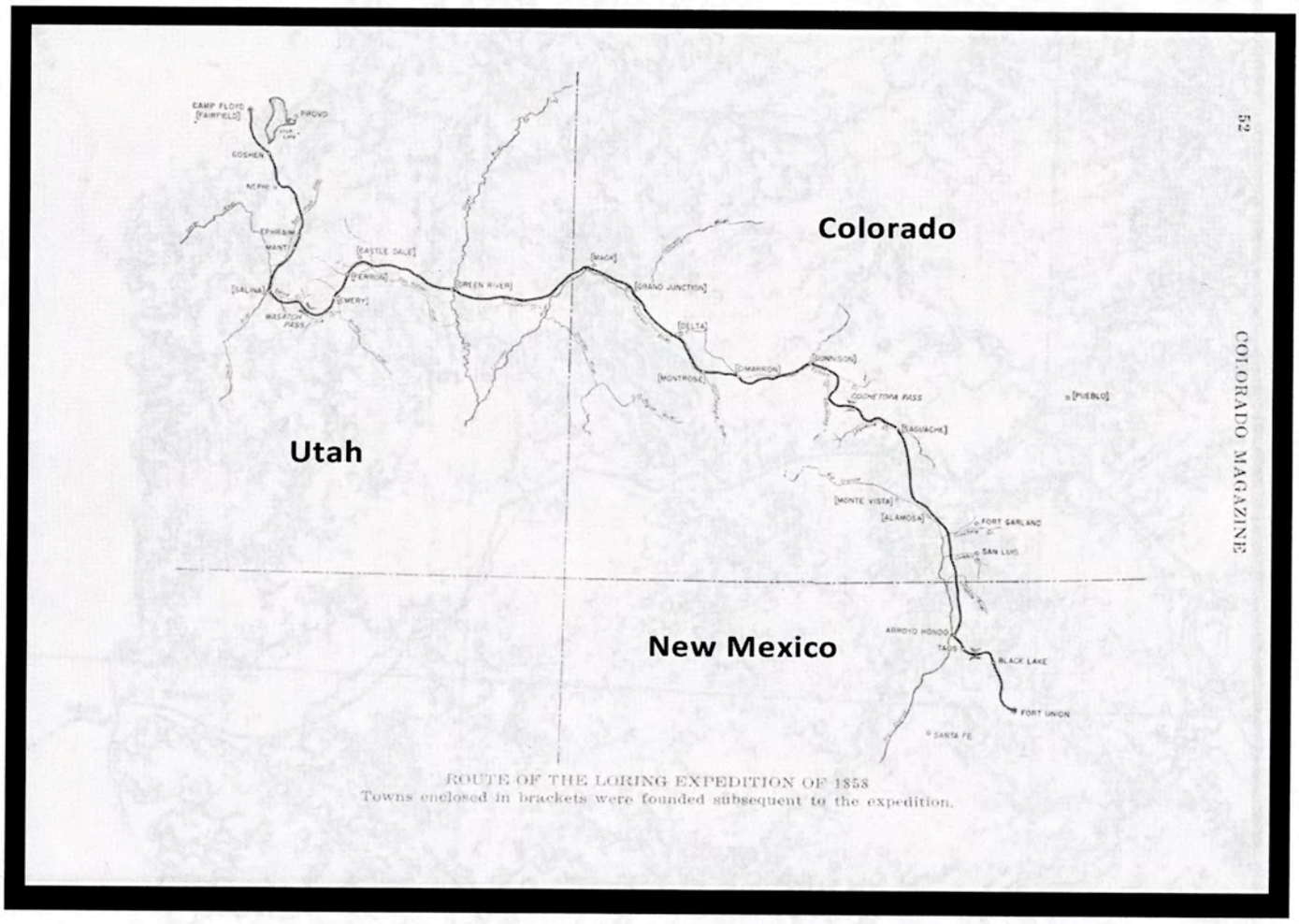
Gunnison Map No 1 1855 Green River Crossing Through the San Rafael Swell to Castle Valley

Courtesy of Steven Madsen



Route of the Loring Expediton of 1858

From Camp Floyd Utah to Fort Union New Mexico

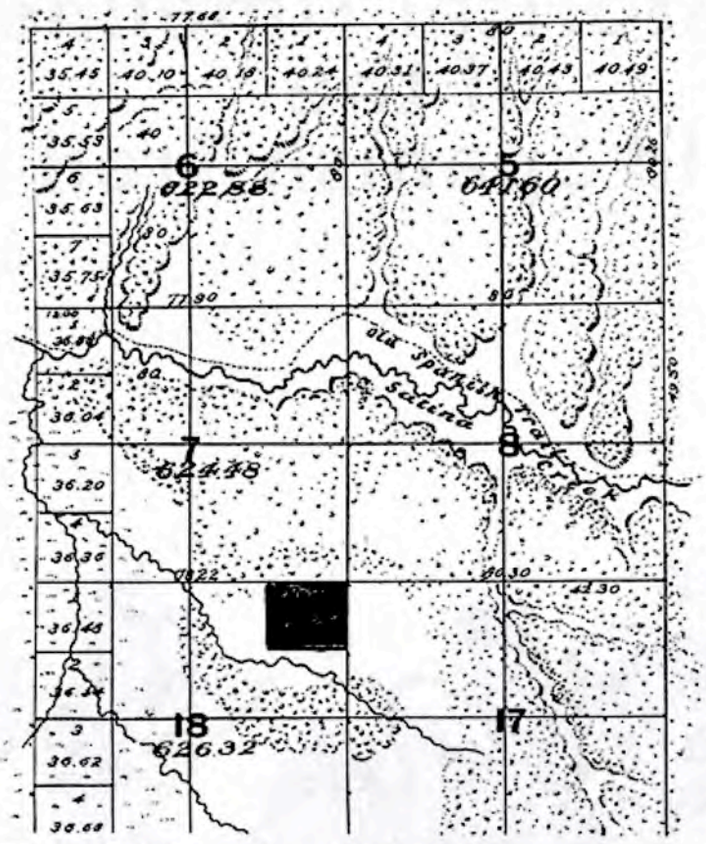


ROUTE OF THE LORING EXPEDITION OF 1858
Towns enclosed in brackets were founded subsequent to the expedition.

Plate Map January 1879, OST Through Salina Canyon

Main OST Emerges at Mouth of the Canyon

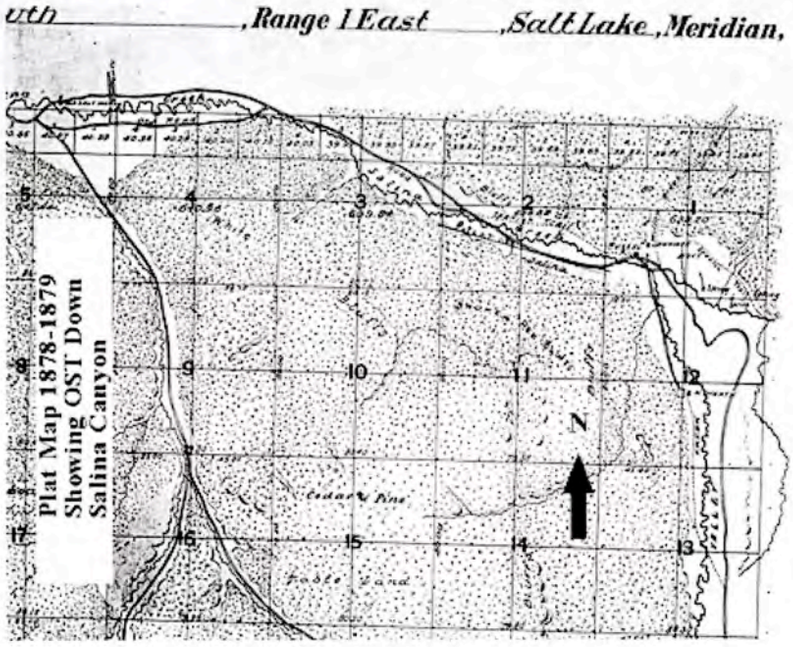
Township 22 South Range 2 East



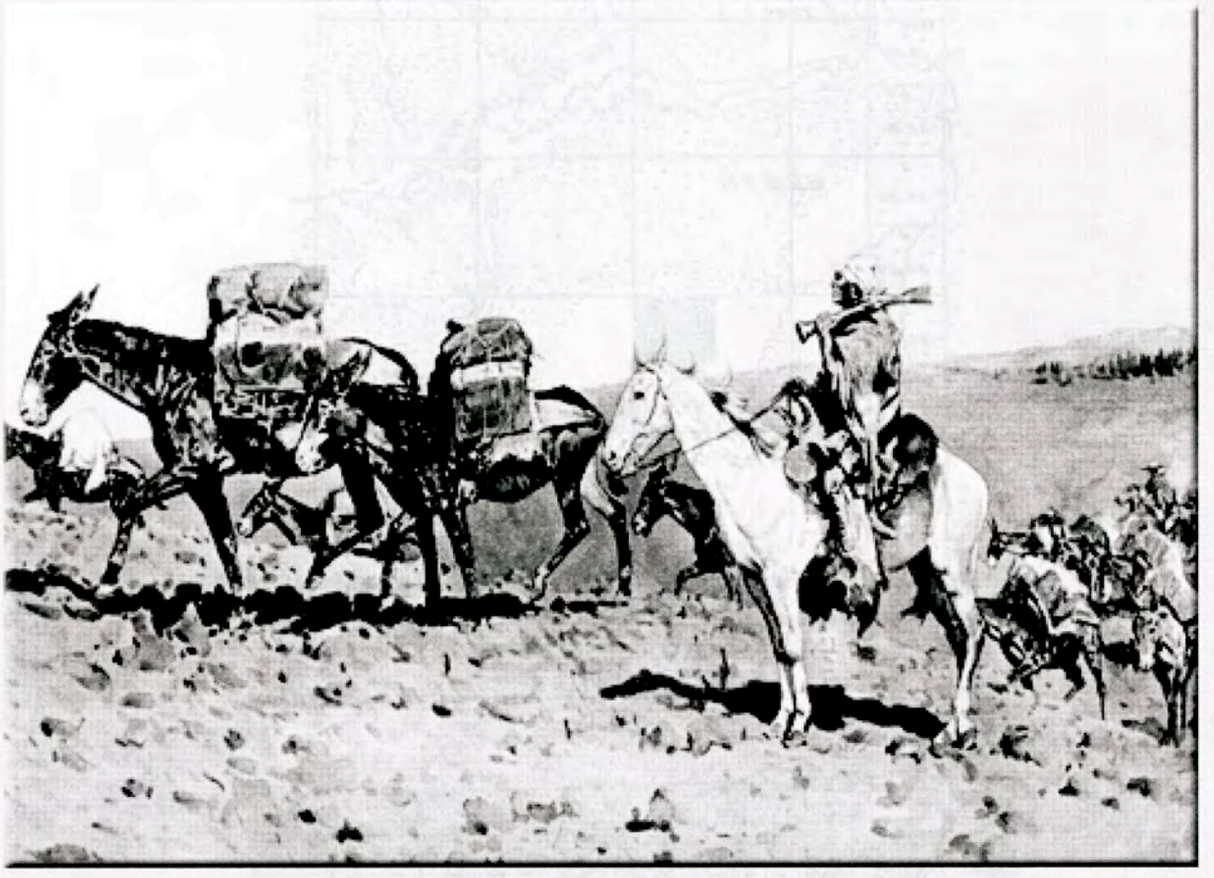
Steven Madsen Uses this 1879 Plate to show proof of the Main Route of the OST through Salina Canyon

The Old Spanish Trail Notation on these early maps establishes a early recognition of the main Route via Salina Canyon

Courtesy of Steven Madsen



Historical Timeline of the Old Spanish Trail



Expedition Chronology Between New Mexico And California

Source – 2001 NPS Feasibility Study Appendix B

Spanish Colonial Period

1540-1542-----Francisco de Coronado explores Alta Mexico for the Seven Cities of Cibola.

1765

June-July ----- Juan de Rivera's first Entrada into Colorado to Explore for the Colorado River Crossing. He did not succeed.

October-November------- Juan de Rivera's second Entrada into Utah to Explore for the Colorado River Crossing in Spanish Valley. He was led on a circuitous route by Ute Guides who did not want him to complete the goal.

1776

July----- Dominguez-Escalante Expedition. Two Franciscan priests led the expedition: Fathers Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante. Their six-month journey is known as the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition. They were trying to establish an overland route between Santa Fe (in present-day New Mexico) and Monterey, California. They explore through what is now the state of Utah and return without reaching their goal.

1805

Manual Mestas travels from Santa Fe to the Timpanogos Utes to recover stolen animals. Record is left in Spanish Documents

1813------Marcio Arze and Logos Garcia travel from Santa Fe to Timpanogos Utes for slave trading.

1827

Jedidiah Smith explores the future Route of the OST leaving Cache Valley and travels to California via the Sevier River, Clear Creek the Santa Clara, Virgin River, the Muddy River to the Colorado River and across the desert to California.

1829

November 6 — Antonio Armijo and 60 men leave from Abiquiú, New Mexico, for California and arrive there after 86 days of travel. They took trade blankets and serapes to trade for horses and mules and followed a route across Northern Arizona and Southern Utah, arriving at San Gabriel, California on January 30, 1830.

The **Armijo diary** of the outbound trip was sent to Mexico City from Santa Fe on May 14, 1830 and was published in Registro Oficial del Gobierno of June 19, 1830.

1830

April 25 — Antonio Armijo returns to New Mexico.

June 30 — Alberto Gilber of Belen buys horses in northern California to take back to New Mexico.

José Antonio Chávez de Vaca leads an expedition in 1830 to California but is denied entrance to Los Angeles by authorities.

Gregorio Montoya arrives in California from New Mexico in 1830.

Wolfskill and Yount and 20 trappers leave New Mexico in September 1830 and arrive in California in February 1831. They apparently followed portions of the route of Domínguez and Escalante on their way to California.

1831

March 31 — California official complains of horse thieves from New Mexico.

April 23 — Antonio Santi-Estevan and 30 men from New Mexico trade wool for livestock in California. The exact route of this trip is unclear.

May 6 — Franco de Fouri, Bautista Saint-German, Bautista Guerra, Zacarias Ham, Luís Burton, Samuel Shields, Zebedia Branch, and Juan Lober arrive in California. Hafen and Hafen list these individuals as being with Wolkskill and Yount.

1832

Friar Cabot of Mission San Miguel reports that New Mexicans traded wool for horses in California; he also claimed that Mission San Miguel had 108 horses and mules stolen and Rancho of Asunción reported four colts and a mule stolen.

August 13 — Santiago Martín goes to California from New Mexico with 15 men. Hippolito Espinosa (later a settler of Agua Mansa) is with the party. No documentation found for other caravans during this year.

1833

Juan de Jesus "Chino Pando" Villalpando leads an expedition from New Mexico to California by way of the Animas River route on the "Camino de Nuevo Mexico" or "Road to New Mexico."

Californio Antonio Avila and five men inspect returning New Mexicans' herds of sheep, horses, and mules bound for New Mexico.

February 2 — Felipe Lugo and 12 men try to catch up with New Mexicans who had stolen animals from California. They were traveling on the "*Camino de Nuevo Mexico*" or the "Road to New Mexico."

February 26 — Jesus Uzeta, Perfecto Archuleta, and Tomás Salazar from New Mexico steal 430 animals from California and were reported bound for New Mexico.

October 27 — José Avieta and 125 men with serapes leave New Mexico for California arriving in Los Angeles on December 24, 1833.

1834

Jacob Leese and nine men leave California with 450 horses and mules, lose all but 27 animals to Indians, and return to California. A few days earlier, a party of 19 traders encountered Indians while returning from California to New Mexico and five were killed.

January 21 — José Avieta and 124 men from New Mexico arrive in California and trade 1,654 serapes, 341 blankets, 171 bedspreads, and other items such as wool for horses in California. They refused to pay the *alcabala*, a tax on trade, manifesting a copy of the Decreto de 1830, which they claimed exempted them from the charge. Some of his men went as far north as San José, where they are thought to have been stealing horses.

1835-1836

A December 2, 1837, *Sandwich Islands Gazette* story refers to New Mexicans in California "for a number of years past." This may indicate that New Mexicans continued coming to California during 1835-1836.

1837

William Pope and Isaac Slover travel to California by way of the North Branch with wagons.

January 16 — Party of 30 men led by Jean Baptiste Chalifoux enters California from New Mexico arriving at San Gabriel. Chalifoux steals 1,400 to 1,500 California mules and horses and returns to New Mexico.

April — José María Chávez and his brother Julian Chávez with family members and several others escape New Mexico by way of Utah to California. They had been singled out for execution for siding with Governor Albino Perez who was slain in the New Mexico Rebellion of 1837.

A year later, on March 24, 1838, José María Chávez and his New Mexicans, known by the *Californios* as the "*Yegueros*," found themselves on the rebel side of a California rebellion at the Battle of San Buenaventura, an old mission site, and were captured by government forces under General José Castro. They were later released. José María returned to New Mexico and continued trading in the Yuta country into the 1850s; Julian remained in California settling Chavez Ravine in Los Angeles, site of the modern Dodger Stadium (see 1840).

October 17 to February 1838 — John Wolfskill and 33 people travel from New Mexico to California.

December 2 — The *Sandwich Islands Gazette* carries a story on New Mexican caravans in California and reports that they had come there "for a number of years past." The story deals

with how New Mexicans rendezvous in the Tulares and influence Indians to raid California for mules and horses so that they can trade them to New Mexicans.

1838

José Antonio Garcia leaves Abiquiú in 1838 for California. He later returned to New Mexico (see entry for 1842).

Thirty New Mexicans enter Los Angeles with John Wolfskill expedition.

February 6 — Caravan of traders from New Mexico is restricted in trading and doing any business south of San Fernando.

September 22 — Lorenzo Trujillo, José Antonio Garcia, Hipolito Espinosa, Diego Lobato, Antonio Lobato, Santiago Martínez and Manuelita Renaga (who gives birth to a son, Apolinario, at Resting Springs) leave New Mexico, bound for California. These eight individuals are the first settlers of the San Bernardino area.

1839

José Antonio Salazar and several New Mexicans and two Canadians travel in party of 75 men to California. José Antonio Salazar's expedition returns to New Mexico on April 14, 1839, with an estimated 2,500 animals. Some of Salazar's men desert the expedition and remain in California as settlers. Michael White was either with this party or on the return trip with Tomás Salazar in 1840.

White's party went to Taos.

Tomás Salazar is in California with an expedition from New Mexico (See 1840).

May 16 — Various New Mexicans petition Governor Manuel Armijo in Santa Fe for passports to go to California. Passports were granted. Many New Mexicans migrate to California.

July 11 — One New Mexican trader presents his passport in Santa Barbara, California— possibly this person was from the group of petitioners for passports in Santa Fe.

December 21 — 75 New Mexicans arrive in California and settle near Rancho de San José. This group was probably the one that petitioned for passports in Santa Fe.

1840

Manuel Martínez and Sismos petition to stay in California.

Julian Chávez, who had been in California, decides to remain in California as a citizen of Los Angeles. He later works for Abel Stearns as a right-hand man (see 1837).

February 21— *Californios* report that New Mexicans had stolen horses from California.

April 4 — *Californios* report that New Mexicans leaving Los Angeles had passed through Puerta del

Cajon on their way back to New Mexico.

April 4 — 75 men depart California for New Mexico.

April 14 — The Tomás Salazar expedition leaves California and returns to New Mexico with herds of horses and mules (see 1839 and 1843).

May 15 — *Chaguanosos* steal 1,000 animals from San Luis Obispo. The *Chaguanosos*, including Anglo and French trappers and Utes, were associated with New Mexican traders who stole or enticed other people to steal for them. That month this group stole some 3,000 horses.

1841

Rowland-Workman party, including immigrants, travel to California. Caravans were used for trade and immigration after 1841 (Lawrence 1930:30). Among the travelers is J. Manuel Vaca, who founded Vacaville, California. It is reported that a party of 200 New Mexicans and 60 or more North Americans arrived in Los Angeles in November.

February — Joseph Walker arrives in California from New Mexico with a party of 14 men, intending to stay two months and purchase horses.

February 10 — Californio officials report at least two and possibly more expeditions reaching California from New Mexico.

August 11 — John Rowland given safe conduct to go to California from New Mexico.

September 6 — Francisco Estevan Vigil and a party of traders and other travelers depart New Mexico and arrive in Los Angeles in November (see 1847).

September 6 — California detachment tracks New Mexican "thieves" to the Río San Pascual, possibly the Sevier River.

November — Commander of Santa Barbara Presidio reportedly braces for the arrival of New Mexico traders.

November 30 — A caravan from New Mexico arrives in California with 134 people on the expedition.

1842

The main colonizing party from Abiquiú, New Mexico for Agua Mansa arrives. Many of them settled at Politana, which earlier had been founded by Hipolito Espinoza.

Santiago Martínez leads 19 families to California. This group is associated with Francisco Esteban Quintana, who planned to settle in San Bernardino area. These families eventually settled San Luis Obispo.

José Antonio Garcia returns to California for trade in 1842 (See 1838).

John Rowland returns to New Mexico with 300 "stolen" animals. Rowland is in Santa Fe in July 1842.

Official California records indicated that the Rowland party was inspected and had three horses confiscated.

February 10 — Juan Bandini recovers stolen horses from New Mexican traders.

February 12 — Francisco Esteban Quintana returns to New Mexico to get his family. He returns with them and settles near San Luis Obispo.

April 16 — Francesco Estevan Vigil party leaves Los Angeles for New Mexico with 194 New Mexicans and purchases 4,150 animals. After being inspected by Californio officials, they depart Cajon on April 21 with 4,141 animals. Nine were confiscated.

June 3 — California officials inspect incoming caravan from New Mexico for woolen goods for trade for horses "as has been done on other occasions."

1843

James P. Beckwourth from Missouri leaves New Mexico with a caravan of 40 mules to California by way of Utah sometime in 1843. He arrives in California in January 1844. Beckwourth's exact route is not known. The next year Beckwourth will return from California with 1,800 horses.

January 15 -- John Rowland arrives from New Mexico with a considerable number of New Mexicans. Possibly 10 families from New Mexico arrive in California with this expedition. That same year, Rowland and B. D. Wilson leave California bound for New Mexico; they cross the Grand and Green rivers above their confluence.

March 6 — 24 people leave California for New Mexico with 252 animals.

November 30 — A company of men from California is given permission to leave California and trade in New Mexico.

December — Tomás Salazar and 170 men arrive in Los Angeles from New Mexico with woolen goods. The group is comprised of 165 men and 10 families from New Mexico. They brought serapes and woolen goods to trade and returned to New Mexico in April 1844 (see 1839 and 1840).

1844

Five families arrive in Agua Mansa from New Mexico.

La Placita, near Agua Mansa, is established by New Mexicans led by Lorenzo Trujillo. Original name of the site was La Placita de los Trujillos.

Jim Waters, Indian trader, uses the Old Spanish Trail to go to California and returns with pack mules and abalone shell.

January 2 — New Mexican caravan returns to New Mexico from California.

January 11 — *Californios* report that a New Mexican caravan, possibly Beckwourth's, arrives in California.

April 21 — John C. Frémont reports meeting New Mexicans, particularly Andres Fuentes and a small party, along the Mojave River on his return trip from California.

November 10 — Luís Robidoux is granted a passport to go to California with traders, and the caravan departs from the Luís Lopez settlement.

1845

October 21 –New Mexicans at Agua Mansa prepare to defend against Utes.

1846

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1846

Miles Goodyear takes pack train of hides from northern Utah south to Old Spanish Trail and then on to California. This likely occurred in late 1846 or early 1847. Goodyear learned about the trail from fellow mountain men/horse thieves such as Bill Williams and Joseph Walker.

March — California officials report that 1,000 head of horses have been stolen and taken through Cajon by "*los Yutas*" in the previous three months. Another report says that Utes travel among New Mexicans.

July 3 — *Californios* report on New Mexicans living in California.

1847

Kit Carson and Lieutenant George D. Brewerton carry messages about the United States – Mexico War using the Old Spanish Trail during this year and the next year.

November — Porter Rockwell goes south from Salt Lake City to Old Spanish Trail with directions from Miles Goodyear. Jefferson Hunt is a member. This shows direct influence of mountain men in beginning of Mormon Road.

December — Miles and Andrew Goodyear travel same route to California to trade for horses.

December — New Mexican caravan of 209-225 men led by Francisco Estevan Vigil arrive in Los Angeles (See 1841 and 1848). Juan Ignacio Martínez, Rowland's brother-in-law, was on the expedition. (John Hussey indicates that the expedition was comprised of 212 travelers, including 60 boys, and departed from New Mexico with 150 mules carrying blankets and other goods.) They return in April 1848.

1848

John C Fremont leads a privately funded exploration of 38th Parallel. He is snowed in on the Markagunt Plateau and saved by Mormons in Parawon.

February — Hunt and other Mormons return to Utah from California on Old Spanish Trail in an attempt to supply Salt Lake City.

March — Members of the Mormon battalion are led by Rockwell from California to Utah.

April — Miles Goodyear leaves California with horses. Note: Goodyear was inspected at Cajon Pass on April 23, 1848. He had 231 animals and four men. Probably meeting illegal traders beyond the Cajon inspection point, Goodyear acquired and drove an estimated 4,000 animals over the Old Spanish Trail to Utah. Eventually, Goodyear drove his horses all the way to Missouri—over Old Santa Fe Trail—but found that the end of the Mexican War had released many horses onto the market, increasing the supply and depressing prices. In addition, the war and increased Indian hostilities held down immigration and demand for stock during 1847 and 1848. In 1849, Goodyear drives the herd of horses to Sutter's Mill in California for trade to Gold Rush forty-niners. The Goodyear situation demonstrates the decline of the Old Spanish Trail trade.

April — The Frenchman named Le Tard leaves Cajon with 231 horses, going westward to New Mexico.

April — Francisco Estevan Vigil leaves California for New Mexico with 4,628 animals (see 1847).

July 4 — Choteau leaves California and arrives in Santa Fe on August 15. Pratt uses Choteau Route in reverse to get to California.

Fall------ William Manly travels from the Green River Crossing to the Sevier River. Manly joined other Forty-niners traveling to southern California under the direction of Mormon Battalion veteran Jefferson Hunt. Members of the party broke off with Hunt's party seeking a supposed short cut across Nevada. In December, these pioneers became lost in the Great Basin Desert, and entered Death Valley having followed an inaccurate map for three weeks. Their food supplies were almost exhausted, and the oxen pulling their wagons were dying of starvation. Manly, with his associate John Haney Rogers, trekked 250 miles on foot across the Mojave Desert to Rancho San Fernando near Los Angeles, California, to scout an evacuation route for the families trapped in Death Valley, and procure food and horses if a settlement could be located.

1849

John G. Nichols leaves U.S. over a "northern route," gets to Salt Lake City, travels down Mormon Road, picks up the "Santa Fe Road" to the Mojave, and gets to San Bernardino-Agua Mansa area and on to Los Angeles.

Parley Pratt leads and expedition of Mormons into Central Utah .

1850

September — Guide Tomás Chacón and 50 men leave Abiquiú for California.

William Angney bought 6,000 sheep in 1850 and took them to California via the Old Spanish Trail.

1852

California Census of 1852 records population of 224,435.

300 Mormons Travel the OST to establish San Bernadino.

Richens Lacy "Uncle Dick" Wootton took 9,000 sheep along the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail, on to Salt Lake City, and then west to Sacramento along a California Trail route.

1853

The E. F. Beale, who is appointed Indian Agent to California, travels the OST.

Captain John Gunnison Expedition to Utah. Artist Richard Kern sketches important scenes on the OST.

1854

Elk Mountain Mission established in Spanish Valley to convert Utes, trade with Utes and Navajo and intercept the slave trade on the OST.

WD Huntington travels the OST from Springville to the San Juan River.

1855

Mormons establish Mormon Corridor or Road and build a mission at the Las Vegas Wells.

1857

Mountain Meadows Massacre on the OST.

1857-1858

Captain Randolph Marcy took 40 Soldiers and 25 mountain men from Fort Bridger to New Mexico to Supply Albert Sidney Johnston.

1858

Colonel William Loring leads 300 men and 50 wagons from Camp Floyd to Fort Union. This is the first use of Wagons along the OST though Salina Canyon to the Green River.

1859-----John N. McComb expedition travels from Colorado through the OST south of Spanish Valley to establish a military road and find the confluence of the Green and Colorado's Rivers.

1860----- Major Edward Canby who stood high as an efficient and successful officer in the field, was directed by the War Department to proceed to Fort Garland, N. M., and on May 20 he, with the 5th infantry companies A, F and H, left Camp Floyd in route for that post, which was reached after a long and arduous march of more than 640 miles, extending over a period of two months. The route selected was by way of Summit Camp on Salt Creek, Utah, where the command arrived May 31, and the Blue River, on which it encamped from June 28 until July 6, 1860, finally arriving at its new station, Fort Garland, July 28.

1861---- Major Brevet James H Carleton leads the Bitter Springs Expedition.

old Spanish trail
mormon Road SLC to San Bernadino to LA

Establishing the OST
Exploration by the Spanish Empire and Mexico





The Search For a Southern Overland Route to California

Harlan Hague

Writing
Travel
Search

The first region known to Europeans in what is now the United States was not at the mouth of the James River nor was it on the western shore of the Bay of Cape Cod. The two-year residence in present-day New Mexico by the Spaniard, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, pre-dated Sir Walter Raleigh's attempted settlement of Roanoke Island in the 1580s by forty-five years and lasted longer.

A significant Spanish presence in New Mexico began in 1598, nine years before the founding of Jamestown. Long before English settlers began to leave their boats to cut paths beyond the fall line of the James River, trails in the Southwest between Spanish settlements in Mexico and New Mexico had been well-established and regularly used.

While settlement of New Mexico continued during the seventeenth century, the Spaniards also turned their attention westward, and eventually the lure of California attracted them, as it would Mexicans and Americans at a later date. Whether traveling from the United States, New Mexico, or Mexico, however, great expanses had to be crossed to reach the fabled land.

When the Spanish discovered that they could not adequately supply and populate their California settlements by a sea route from Mexico's western coast, they pioneered an overland route from Sonora to southern California. The year was 1774, two years before the signing of the American Declaration of Independence and fifty-two years before Jedediah Smith became the first American to enter California by an overland route. The first party of emigrants to enter California overland traveled the southern route in 1775, sixty-six years before the Bartleson-Bidwell party inaugurated the California Trail as an emigrant route.

In contrast to northern trails, the southern route was no single, well-defined path. With some exceptions, it was made up of a number of trails which generally converged at or near the Pima Indian villages on the Gila River in Arizona. From there, the trail followed the Gila downstream to its confluence with the Colorado, then westward across the southern desert to the coast.

Certainly, there was no "Gila Trail," as the term is popularly used today in western literature. The term is a misnomer, and a glance at maps that trace the paths followed by southwestern explorers reveals how little the routes touched the Gila River. California-bound travelers on the various branches of the

southern route did not refer to a "Gila Trail"; the term was invented much later by historians in need of a handy reference.

The selection of "Gila Trail" to fill that need was unfortunate, however, for use of the term has generated a myth that there was a single trail to California that ran alongside the Gila River. In reality, the southern route was more complex than the myth, and while the beginnings of the more northerly trails have been discussed and rediscussed, the origins of the southern route are here for the first time explored as an integrated topic. More thorough study is deserved.

The first leg of the first overland route to California was pioneered by the Jesuit missionary, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. Arriving in 1687 in the Pimería Alta--the name then applied to today's southern Arizona and northern Sonora--to minister to Indians on New Spain's northern frontier, Kino's spiritual devotion was matched by his zeal for discovery.

Of all the pioneers who trekked southwestern trails from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century, Kino is most deserving of the title of pathfinder. On his numerous trips throughout present-day northern Sonora and southern Arizona, he seldom had any military escort and generally traveled with only a few Indian companions who seem usually to have been servants rather than guides. It is obvious, however, that the padre often followed Indian trails and was assisted by local Indians during his journeys.

In the early years of his ministry, Kino devoted his energies to building missions and otherwise extending the influence of the church within the boundaries of present-day Sonora. But in the year 1699, while on an expedition to the Gila River, Kino was given some blue shells that changed all that. The shells were similar to some he had seen on the Pacific coast side of Baja California in 1685. He had never seen them elsewhere. Kino reasoned that the shells must have come overland from the coast. Though he never ceased his quest for souls, from that year the friar occupied himself most fervently in the search for a land route to California.

Kino saw good reason for opening a road between Sonora and California. The Manila Galleon--the trade ship which traveled annually from Mexico to the Philippine Islands and back--could be provisioned from the Pimería, and the upper frontier could participate in the trade with the Galleon. A newly-prosperous Pimería then would be able to expand its commerce with the interior of Mexico and open trade with New Mexico and perhaps even beyond to New France.

According to his own count, Kino made fourteen expeditions to prove that there was a land passage to California and, further, that Lower California was a peninsula rather than an island. Indeed, he crossed the Colorado River to the California side in the course of his explorations. Kino eventually wrote of his findings: "I discovered the land-passage . . . at the confluence of the Río Grande de Gila and the abundant waters of the Río Colorado." As to that land lying west of the Colorado River, Kino added: "I assign the name of Upper California." Kino's dream of an overland route to California lapsed with his death in 1711.

More than fifty years passed before the task was taken up by another missionary, Father Francisco Garcés, a Franciscan. Cast in Kino's mold and stationed at the southern Arizona mission of San Xavier del Bac, which Kino had founded, Garcés made five journeys during his short thirteen-year ministry in the Pimería that earned for him a reputation as one of the greatest explorers in the history of the American West.

Garcés's first two journeys were missionary ventures designed to strengthen the influence of the church as far as the Gila River, but the third expedition was more important as a step toward opening a trail to California. Convinced by the successes of his first two trips that the tribes he had visited were ready for conversion, Garcés set out in 1771 to select the best sites for new missions. He traveled from San Xavier to the Gila, then down that stream. Because the Gila was swollen by recent rains, he failed to recognize the confluence with the Colorado, so he continued downstream toward the gulf. Finally deciding that the Colorado lay westward, the padre crossed the river, still thinking he was on the Gila.

In search of the Colorado, Garcés, now on the California side of the river, made two treks into the desert. Both times, he started with Indian guides; both times, his guides deserted him. How far he penetrated on these solitary journeys is not known. On the second, he came in sight of a range of mountains and saw two passes through it, but he despaired of going on and turned back.

Though he was lost part of the time, Garcés unknowingly had pioneered a new trail from the Colorado toward the Spanish California coastal settlements. The principal significance of his third expedition was its effect on the fruition of another exploration from the Pimería Alta just three years later which would reach the California coast.

The idea for searching out an overland route to California had been a dream of Captain Juan Bautista de Anza for many years. From 1769, when he unsuccessfully sought permission to organize an expedition for that purpose, Anza tried to convince his superiors that a road could and should be opened. Garcés's reports of his expedition supported Anza's view. Eventually Father Junipéro Serra, "father" of the California mission system, spoke strongly in favor of the project. Serra's advice appears to have had considerable influence on the viceroy who shortly after gave his approval to Anza's plan.

Anza's expedition departed Sonora in January 1774. To the Gila, across the Colorado, and into the desert beyond, Garcés guided the column over trails known to him. From there to the California coast, the expedition was guided by Sebastián Tarabal. Tarabal was a "mission Indian" who had run away from the California mission of San Gabriel and made his way overland to Sonora where Anza persuaded him to join the expedition.

The worst stretch of the entire trip for the Spaniards was the crossing of the Colorado Desert where both Garcés and Tarabal had been lost during their previous journeys. As a result, the Spaniards wandered and suffered until Tarabal recognized landmarks and brought the expedition to San Gabriel mission in mid-March 1774.

The first overland route to California had been found. Kino had located the trail as far as the Colorado River. Garcés extended the path across the Colorado and into the desert beyond. Anza, with the help of Garcés and Tarabal, completed the route to the Pacific Ocean.

The first practical use of the new road was made the following year. In 1775, a royal decree recognized the growing importance of Alta California and changed the seat of government from Loreto in Baja California to Monterey. Though the decree was not implemented until 1777, action was taken immediately to increase the Spanish population of Upper California. Anza was directed to lead an expedition of soldiers and colonists to establish a settlement at the Bay of San Francisco.

The expedition of 240 persons set out from Anza's frontier presidio at Tubac in October 1775. The route followed was essentially the same as the 1774 journey, except that it was straightened out in a number of places. Garcés accompanied Anza as far as the Colorado River but remained there to minister to Indians and to explore. Anza led the expedition into San Gabriel on January 4, 1776. The only death during the entire journey was a woman who died from the complications of childbirth. Indeed, the expedition's numbers had been increased by three babies born during the trip.

While Anza was proving the feasibility of travel between Sonora and California, others were attempting to directly link Spanish settlements in New Mexico and California. In early 1776, Father Garcés set out northward from the Yuma villages on the Colorado River on a journey that took him across the Mojave Desert to Mission San Gabriel, over the Tehachapi Mountains to the San Joaquin Valley, and thence back across the mountains and desert to the Colorado River. He had planned to travel directly between the Colorado and the San Luis Obispo mission on California's coast, but he had been thwarted on both the outward and return journeys.

From the Colorado, the padre satisfied a long-held desire to visit the Hopis in the plateau country of northeastern Arizona. For generations the Hopis had resisted Spanish overlordship, and they gave Garcés a cold, almost

threatening, reception. The padre had hoped to fulfill his ambition to travel directly from California to the Zuñi pueblo in New Mexico, but Hopi hostility reluctantly returned him to the Colorado.

Though Garcés failed to complete his intended journey, he nevertheless had proven the practicability, or at least the possibility, of travel between Santa Fé and the Northern California settlements. In California, he had reached a point only a few days' easy march from San Luis Obispo and Monterey. He had personally traveled from the California Central Valley all the way to Oraibi, the principal town of the Hopis. Spaniards had visited Oraibi from Zuñi, and Spanish movement between Zuñi and Santa Fé was commonplace.

Also in 1776, two New Mexico Franciscans tried to locate a northern route directly from Santa Fé to Monterey in California. Though the official head of the expedition was Father Atanasio Domínguez, the Superior of the New Mexico Franciscans, it appears that Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, the missionary at Zuñi, was instrumental in the genesis of the project. At least it was Escalante who kept the journal of the expedition, and, whether justified or not, it is the diarist that history usually remembers.

The Domínguez-Escalante expedition failed to find a trail to California. The party traveled from Santa Fé into western Colorado, then into Utah. At a camp in western Utah, Escalante and Domínguez decided to give up and return to New Mexico. It was early October, the weather had turned colder, and they already had experienced a heavy snowfall. The mountains all around them were covered with snow, and they had failed to find a pass through the rugged San Fran- cisco Mountains, a route which Escalante thought the best to Monterey. A number of the expedition's members nevertheless disagreed with their leaders' decision and wished to continue toward California.

At this point, the party might yet have earned the distinction of being the first to reach California by a direct route from New Mexico. Or it might have earned the questionable honor of being the first party of white people to die in the snows of the Sierra Nevada. To decide the issue, the two sides agreed to "inquire anew the will of God" by casting lots. The dissenters, noted Escalante, "with fervent devotion . . . said the third part of the Rosary and other petitions, while we said the penitential Psalms, and the litanies and other prayers which follow them." That done, the lots were cast, and the leaders won the toss. Escalante thanked God, the dissenters accepted the result, and the expedition returned to New Mexico.

For the remainder of the period of Spanish sovereignty in Mexico, no further advance was made in development of the trails to California. Two mission-pueblos were established on the Colorado River among the Yuma Indians, the purpose being both to minister to the Indians and to strengthen Spain's hold on this strategic point on the overland trail. Though the Yumas had long asked for missionaries to live among them, they had not asked for Spanish settlers or soldiers. The Yumas soon became exasperated at the offenses of the latter and revolted in 1781. In three days, the Spanish presence on the Colorado vanished, and the Sonora-California road was closed.

Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro Fages the same year led a somewhat successful punitive expedition against the Yumas, but it had no effect on re-opening the trail. Fages passed through Yuma lands again in 1782 en route to Califomia to deliver messages to the governor, but he made no attempt to re-establish Spain's hold on the region.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, Spanish control in the upper frontier was approaching an end. The Colorado- Gila region by this time had been abandoned. New Mexico continued to exist, but while the Mexican war for independence raged intermittently in the south, it existed more as an autonomous region than as a province of New Spain. As the Spanish military presence in the north declined, Indian depredations grew, and the towns of New Mexico became islands from which settlers rarely ventured far. For about 275 years, Spanish explorers had trekked the upper frontier; by the second decade of the nineteenth century, few of their trails were visible or safe.

Following the successful revolution against Spanish rule and the establishment of the Mexican state in 1821, attention was directed once again to the northern frontier regions. The security of California was seen by the new republic as

its most urgent problem. Russia increasingly appeared to pose a threat to California, and trappers of the English Hudson's Bay Company pushed southward ever deeper into Mexico's territory. When it was decided that California's future as a Mexican possession required strengthening their presence there, the immediate opening of an overland route between California and Mexico became necessary.

The first concrete step in re-establishing a California-Sonora road was motivated by a need for a mail route. In 1823, Father Feliz Caballero traveled from his missions in Baja California to Sonora via the region near the mouth of the Colorado and the Gila River. The same year, Captain José Romero, commandant of the Tucson presidio, returned to Baja California over roughly the same route, but not before being robbed by Indians near the mouth of the Colorado. His later investigations into the feasibility of a trail that would pass through San Bernardino and San Gorgonio Pass and strike the Colorado north of the junction with the Gila were no more encouraging.

When Romero returned to Sonora in late 1825, Romualdo Pacheco, an engineer, accompanied the expedition as far as the Colorado river, then marched back to the coast by way of the southern, or Yuma, route. This last, the San Diego-Yuma route via Warner's Pass, eventually was recognized as the official California segment of the California-Sonora road. Although the route was dangerous, it did in fact become a road of sorts as private persons began to use it in travelling from Sonora.

While the California-Sonora trail was becoming a road, the elusive direct route from new Mexico to California again was sought. Where Garcés and the Escalante-Domínguez party had pioneered paths, Antonio Armijo's journey from New Mexico to California in 1829-1830 on a trail that lay north of the Grand Canyon was the first significant step in the development of the route that later became known as the Old Spanish Trail. A larger portion of the credit for opening the trail must go to William Wolfskill, the American mountain man who led an expedition that included George C. Yount from New Mexico via the Great Basin to California in 1830-1831; the Old Spanish Trail would follow Wolfskill's route more closely than that of Armijo.

The Old Spanish Trail was more of a "central route" than a southern one, but until the opening of shorter routes from New Mexico to California in the early stages of the war between Mexico and the United States in the mid-1840s, the trail, used more for trade than emigration, was the most heavily traveled route between the two provinces. Its principal virtue was that it lay north of hostile Indian territory. But travel over the trail was slow, and it would lose out after 1848 to the more southerly routes because gold-seekers were willing to brave both deserts and hostile Indians to speed their journeys to California.

The remaining variations of the southern route to California were established by Americans. American mountain men who came to northern Mexico after the new republic opened its borders in 1821 spread throughout New Mexico, trapping and becoming familiar with virtually every stream.

Most of their expeditions were round-trips from Santa Fé or Taos. In the fall of 1826, two parties from Santa Fé, including such notables as James Ohio Pattie, Ewing Young, George C. Yount, Michel Robidoux, Milton Sublette, and Thomas "Peg-leg" Smith, traveled to the Gila River by way of the Santa Rita copper mines in southwestern New Mexico. Eventually merging, the combined party worked down the Gila to its confluence with the Colorado to become the first Americans to do so. Then they turned north and eventually returned to Santa Fé.

Some expeditions traveled all the way to California. The first group of trappers to reach California from New Mexico was led by Richard Campbell in 1827. Unfortunately, the party's route is not known. The same year, another expedition reached the Gila River via the Santa Rita mines. The Americans trapped down the Gila. Upon reaching the Colorado, they split into two groups. One party, under George C. Yount, returned to New Mexico. The other, in- cluding James 0. Pattie and his father, Sylvester, eventually reached California in 1828 after a near-fatal walk through the desert of northern Baja California.

The next year, 1829, Ewing Young led a party of some forty trappers from Taos, bound for the Colorado. Kit Carson was a member of the group. At the headwaters of the Río Verde in northern Arizona, Young divided his party. One group returned to Taos. The other, led by Young and including Carson, headed toward California. They traveled south of the Grand Canyon, crossed the Colorado, then probably followed the dry bed of the Mojave River and crossed the mountains at Cajón Pass to arrive at San Gabriel mission in early 1830. Later, Young returned to New Mexico via the Gila River and the Santa Rita mines, arriving there in early 1831.

Other California-bound expeditions were in the field during Young's journey. It seems that a party including Peg-leg Smith from the Great Basin arrived in Los Angeles early in 1830. The expeditions of Antonio Armijo and William Wolfskill, both of which were important in establishing the Old Spanish Trail, were also out at this time.

The partnership of David E. Jackson, David Waldo, and Ewing Young sent two expeditions to California in 1831. The first, a mule-buying venture under Jackson and including J. J. Warner, traveled via the copper mines to the abandoned mission of San Xavier del Bac and the presidio of Tucson, thence to the Gila at the Pima villages, and down that stream to the Colorado.

Crossing the Colorado just below the mouth of the Gila, the party traversed the desert and passed San Luis Rey mission on the road to San Diego. If, as it seems, they passed through the San José Valley, Warner got his first glimpse of the valley where he would later build his ranch, a mountain oasis on the trail between the Colorado and the ocean.

Meanwhile, the partnership's second expedition got underway in October, 1831. Under Ewing Young, the party of around thirty-seven men included Moses Carson (Kit's brother), Benjamin Day, Isaac Williams of Rancho del Chino fame, Sidney Cooper, and Job F. Dye. Traveling a different route from that of the first group, Young led his party to Zuñi, thence to the Salt River, the Gila, and the Colorado. There, for some unexplained reason, all of the expedition's members except thirteen under Young decided to return to New Mexico. Young led the smaller group into Los Angeles in March, 1832. Later that year, Jackson returned to New Mexico with a herd of mules and horses while Young remained in California, eventually to settle in Oregon.

The last significant expedition traveling from New Mexico to California before the opening of the Mexican War left Santa Fé in 1841. A group of Americans, including Benjamin David Wilson, John Rowland, and William Workman, had decided that it was no longer safe for them to remain in New Mexico. Governor Armijo, it seems, was trying to implicate certain Americans residing in Santa Fé with the unsuccessful conquest of New Mexico by an expedition from Texas.

Little is known of the route taken by the Americans on their journey to California, only that they arrived in Los Angeles in November 1841. The party narrowly missed the distinction of being the first party of American emigrants to enter California by an overland route. Just days before, in October, the Bartleson-Bidwell party had arrived over the more northerly California Trail.

The United States Army expeditions across New Mexico to California in the opening stages of the Mexican War are better known than the earlier journeys of Americans through the Southwest. After the bloodless subjugation of New Mexico, General Stephen Watts Kearny led an advance column of the Army of the West toward California to take part in the conquest of that long-coveted province.

Departing from Santa Fé in September 1846, the column marched down the Río Grande, turning west to pass the copper mines, thence to the Gila, down the Gila, and across the Colorado about ten miles below the junction of the two rivers. The army, in some distress by this time, crossed the desert, passed Warner's Ranch, and finally reached San Diego in December 1846, but not before being battered by the Californians at San Pascual.

Kearny had hoped to open a wagon road between New Mexico and California and had begun his march with wagons. When he was forced to abandon them

shortly after leaving the Río Grande, he assigned that task to Lieutenant-Colonel Philip St. George Cooke.

Cooke commanded the Mormon Battalion, a unit of the Army of the West, which was scheduled to follow Kearny's force. Cooke's Mormon volunteers marched out of Santa Fé In October 1846. Though Kearny had ordered him to follow the advance column's trail, Cooke was forced to leave the general's route at the point where Kearny had left the Río Grande.

Determined to take the wagons through, Cooke and the Mormon Battalion pioneered a road into southwestern New Mexico near the copper mines and across the continental divide in the vicinity of Guadalupe Pass. Striking the San Pedro River, the battalion turned northward along its course, left it to march westward to Tucson, thence northward again to the Gila. From that point, Cooke followed Kearny's trail to San Diego, arriving there in late January 1847.

Neither Kearny nor Cooke had plunged blindly into unknown southwestern wilds. General Kearny had recognized early in his plans for the conquest that American trappers could make an invaluable contribution to the struggle. Among a number of mountain men, some unnamed, who accompanied Kearny's force as guides and interpreters were Kit Carson, Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick, and Antoine Robidoux. Guiding the Mormon Battalion were Antoine Leroux, Pauline (Powell) Weaver, and Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. Most had trapped New Mexico streams.

Cooke's route was shortly improved. In 1848, following the end of the war with Mexico, Major Lawrence P. Graham led a battalion of United States Army dragoons from Chihuahua to California. Marching through Janos, Graham struck Cooke's road. Beyond the continental divide, however, Graham left Cooke's route at the San Pedro River and continued westward to the Santa Cruz river before turning north to rejoin Cooke's road to Tucson. In later years, argonauts and emigrants arrived at Janos from many directions, but most of them then followed Graham's route to California, that is, Cooke's road as modified by Graham's detour to the Santa Cruz river.

Cooke and Graham may share the credit for establishing the route, but it is worth noting that Father Garcés thought of it first. Graham's trail all the way from Chihuahua to the Colorado is precisely the route suggested by Garcés in I777 for the purpose of supplying proposed missions on the Gila and Colorado Rivers.

This story of the origins of the southern route is seriously incomplete without consideration of the role played by Native Americans in the discovery and pathfinding. Historians long ago stopped writing that Spanish, Mexican or American explorers were "first to see. . ." or "first to cross. . .," thereby acknowledging that a great number of Indians had seen first and crossed first. But because of the absence of written records, Indians have received little or no credit for feats of exploration or discovery.

Most white explorers in what is now the United States Southwest were not pathfinders. Ample evidence indicates that Indians traded rather extensively between New Mexico, the interior of Mexico, and California long before the appearance of Europeans in Mexico. Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans who ventured into these lands almost always found local Indians who were willing to point out trails that they knew and traveled often.

Most white explorers in the Southwest depended upon Indian guides. When they did not, their diaries show that they often got lost. Garcés, for example, one of the ablest of explorers, was a master at finding guides who would escort him through their own lands. On at least one occasion, when his native guides refused to go in a direction in which he insisted, Garcés relented and followed them along a path they knew. On two other occasions, when he refused to follow the advice of his guides, he got lost. Even mountain men sometimes found it expedient to employ Indian guides.

While the stories of attacks by Apaches on travelers in 1849 and after are well known, the literature of the Southwest also is full of evidence of friendly contacts between whites and Indians. From Kino through Cooke, the Pimas in their villages along the Gila River welcomed white explorers. Garcés and his

Mojave companions of the trail grieved at their last parting. Kino, Garcés, and Anza alike were impressed with the eagerness of the Yumas to associate with the Spanish. Surely no other people in history have ever sought so earnestly to adopt an alien culture as the Yumas sought to place themselves under the sovereignty of the Spanish crown and Church. The Yumas were not the only Indian people so inclined. Most tribes in the Pimería Alta sought to enter the Spanish fold in some fashion.

Even the Apaches, scourge of the Spaniards and Mexicans, were largely friendly to Americans in earliest contacts. Mountain men found that Apaches hated and preyed upon Mexicans but had respect, if not admiration, for Americans. Kearny and Cooke also benefited from this sentiment. They employed Apache guides and traded with them for mules and provisions. Cordiality vanished, however, when the United States declared its sovereignty over Apachería and tried to manage the Apaches of Arizona and New Mexico.

The development of the southern route to California--as if all had been in anticipation of the gold discovery in 1848-- extended over a period of over 150 years, if its origins are traced back only as far as Kino's day. Spanish use of the trail was never heavy. The population of New Spain's northern provinces was too sparse, the financial support by the crown too uncertain, and the Indian problems too complex. Though the Mexicans re-opened the Sonora-California trail that had been closed at the end of the Spanish era, traffic was never extensive until the discovery of gold. Sonorans were among the earliest arrivals at the California mines.

The Old Spanish Trail between new Mexico and California, on the other hand, was regularly used, primarily for commerce, until it lost out to the more southerly trails. In the exodus to California after 1848, the most heavily-traveled branch of the southern route was Cooke's wagon road, including Graham's detour.

Transportation improved rapidly in the Southwest as the rush to California accelerated and the newly-acquired southwestern region began to attract American settlers. Cooke's route was improved, and new roads were opened. Stagecoach travel was inaugurated, and railroads soon entered the Southwest. A rail line spanning the region finally brought the long haul by wagon over the old trails to an end. But the centuries-old lure of California remained, and travel over the southern route continued to expand.

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The author will be happy to respond to email queries. For more comment on his writing, including history, biography, fiction, screenplays and travel, click here.

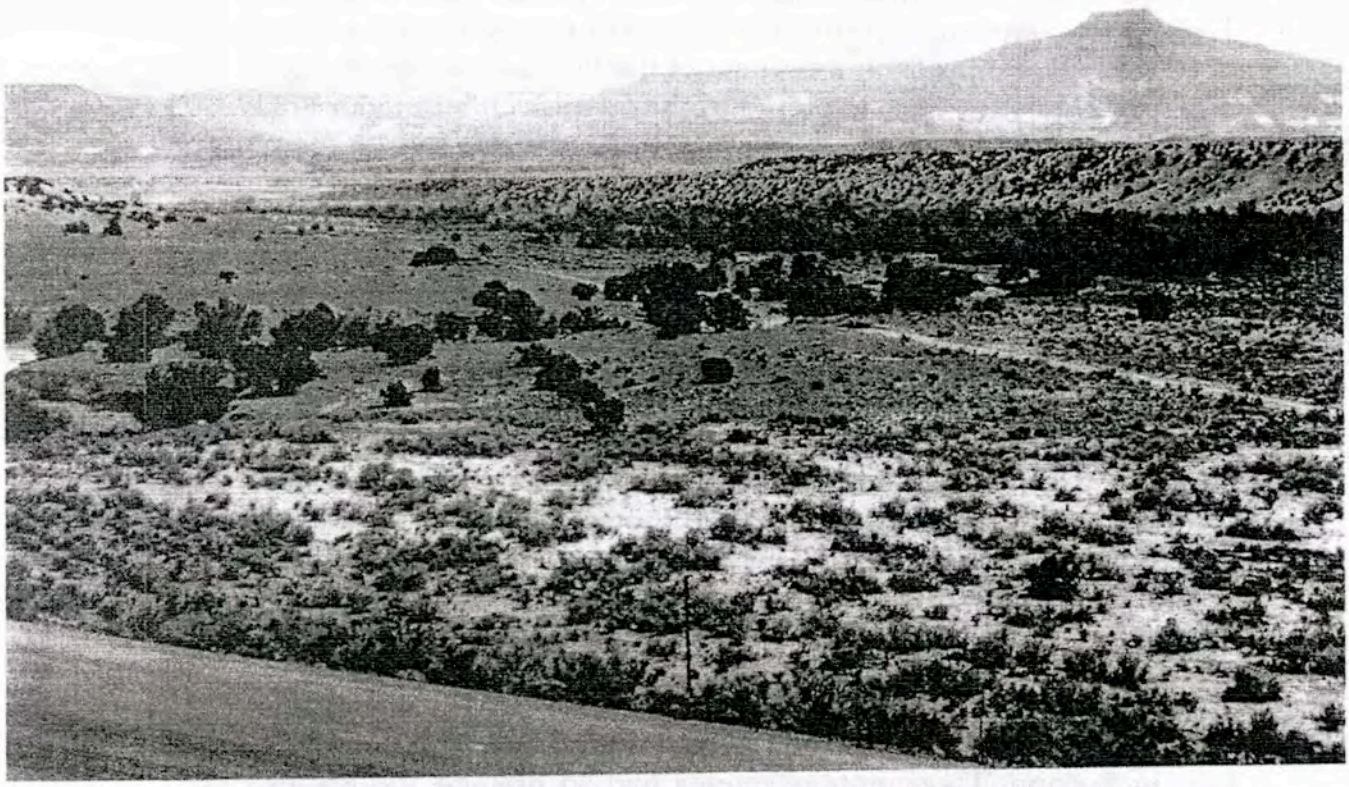
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Rivera 1738-? ✓

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UHQ 60/3 Summer 1992

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Valley of the Arroyo Seco, Rivera's first day out of Abiquiu, New Mexico. All photographs courtesy of author.

The Phantom Pathfinder: Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera and His Expedition

BY G. CLELL JACOBS

Mr. Jacobs, a retired scientist in the aerospace industry and a long-time historian, lives in Las Vegas.

Contraband Traders

AS MANY COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD CELEBRATE the quincentenary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of the Western Hemisphere, increased interest is being shown in explorations made by other intrepid men into uncharted areas. One such venture came in the year 1765 under command of Don Juan María Antonio de Rivera, a citizen of New Spain and probably a resident of the Province of New Mexico.

New Mexico was first explored by the Spanish conquistador Francisco Vásquez de Coronado in the years 1540 to 1542. During the remainder of the sixteenth century numerous expeditions were conducted throughout what is now New Mexico and Arizona until a permanent colony was established by Don Juan de Oñate in 1598. From then until 1760 Spanish officials launched several military missions to punish native groups that created trouble for the empire; yet little concrete information was obtained about the territory to the northwest of the capital, that of the Ute nations.

Expeditions to trade or explore beyond the frontiers required a license or a commission limited by a royal order that had existed since the early days of the New Spain era. Although that order prohibited travel to the country of the Ute nations, at least one group was known to have disregarded that decree and was known to have carried on contraband trade; it was from them that Rivera was able to obtain guides.

But the decade of the 1760s was a new time. Charles III ascended the throne in 1759 amid turmoil and confusion following decades of wars in Europe. Those entanglements had so drained the Spanish treasury that little financial support was available for overseas ventures, either military or civil. New Spain in particular was beset by rumors of corruption in the viceroyalty and the military.

Seeing the necessity for reform and redirection, the new king sent Don José de Gálves to New Spain to promote reforms in the government and the military. He also dispatched the Marqués de Rubí to inspect interior presidios and recommend improvements in the conduct of military affairs. Rubí and his constant companion Nicholás de Lafora, both members of the Royal Corps of Engineers, traveled to every sector of the viceroyalty of New Spain to learn more about that vast, generally unexplored frontier territory.[1]

The Royal Corps of Engineers played a sterling role in the devel-

[1] Janet R. Fireman, *The Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977), pp. 76–84.

opment and administration of the provinces. They constructed fortifications, designed and built roads and buildings, and assisted the military in planning expeditions and sorties. In addition to these duties they were entrusted with the responsibility of locating and developing mineral resources so badly needed in the overseas empire. It was from that group that Rivera seems to have been spawned.

Before the Rivera Journal was brought forth in 1975, historians had traditionally assumed that the purpose of the Rivera expedition was to search for silver deposits in the mountains north of Santa Fe.[2] However, since the journal has been available for examination and analysis, it is now evident that he had a commission to verify the existence of the Colorado River with its awesome canyons and chasms and map the trail to its only purported crossing.[3] The existence of that large river was revealed to the Spanish of New Mexico by the Pueblo people of Zuñi and Jemez and by visitors from the Ute nations.[4]

However, the canyons in the upper reaches of the river had been so elusive to the Spanish since their arrival in New Mexico that the very existence of the places mentioned was treated only as tales and rumors. Yet that information eventually demanded verification by exploration, particularly as other great European powers began encroachment on that territory.

During the interval since their arrival in New Mexico, Spanish officials had heard many Ute stories of silver deposits in the mountainous area north of Santa Fe, mountains known in early times as La Sierra de la Grulla but after Rivera's time as La Sierra de la Plata. Rivera recorded in his journal that a Ute from the Payuchi nation sold a lump of virgin silver ore to the blacksmith of Abiquiú who made a crucifix and two rosaries from it. He also recorded that a Mouachi Ute by the name of el Cuero de Lobo (Wolf Skin), whom he had met in Santa Fe, had agreed to meet him at his campground on the river

[2] The Rivera diary or journal came to light in 1975 when Donald C. Cutter of the University of New Mexico brought it forth and planned his discourse about that expedition before the Western History Association annual meeting in Denver in 1976. Professor Cutter encouraged the author to conduct field research for him to verify the document and map the trail the expedition followed.

[3] Although those reports imply only a single crossing or ford in that region, a more accurate implication would be that there was only one *feasible* crossing, since in low water conditions the river could have been forded in a number of places both above and below that famous crossing.

[4] The river was known in that time as the Great Tizón, a name derived by the Spanish when they saw natives carrying firebrands along the lower river in native rituals. The name Tizón was soon adopted by the native population when they communicated with the Spanish, although other names, in their own languages, were applied to various sectors of the river among the natives themselves, depending upon the predominant group in a particular area. This custom was followed until modern times; the Colorado River that empties into the Gulf of California was known above the junction with the San Juan as the Grand River until around 1920.

which Rivera later called the Animas to show him where silver could be found. Yet, a careful study of the journal suggests that a search for silver was only a pretext planned by the governor of the Province of New Mexico and Rivera to mask the real intent of a sorely needed military reconnaissance.[5]

The Rivera Expedition was executed at a critical time in the history of Spain's involvement in North America, when the success or failure of the Spanish American venture would be decided. It was accomplished without force of arms; in fact, Rivera had no armed escort. It succeeded, despite the odds, on the basis of its leader's great personal courage, determination, and diplomacy with the native groups.

The Rivera Expedition consisted of two entradas: the first in June and July of 1765 and the second in October and November of the same year. The objective of the first entrada was not stated in the incomplete documents brought forth in 1975; however, in the instructions issued by Governor Tomás Vélez de Cachupín for the conduct of the second entrada, reference was made to the first trip as having been one of discovery of silver and the location of the great river.

A careful reading of the authorization for the second entrada reveals the deeper intent of the expedition. Governor Cachupín directed Rivera and his companions to go disguised as traders and conceal the fact they were Spanish; to reconnoiter the land along the trail, at the crossing, and on the other side of the river; to determine the names of the nations they encountered; and to ascertain the languages of the native groups and their attitude toward the Spanish; and to make a journal account of the trip and map the trail to the crossing. That is consistent with objectives issued to people making a military reconnaissance. The instructions authorized the search for precious metals only on the return trip, clearly suggesting that the search for silver was to be a private quest or at most a secondary goal.

When one reads about old trails used by traders and explorers, it is natural to think of a single trail as with the Oregon Trail or the Spanish Trail, for example. However, one must keep in mind, there was seldom just a single path between certain points. On the contrary,

[5]The journal clearly shows that the Utes were genuinely sensitive to any appearance of a military reconnaissance and were willing to resist the intrusion. Their resentment, suspicions, and distrust of the Spanish were undoubtedly among the primary factors Rivera considered in planning and executing his mandate; that is, concealing the fact that his incursion into their territory was a military reconnaissance.

there was usually a network of trails which formed a virtual highway system; trails that met at certain key points, such as river crossings and mountain passes, but diverged again as terrain or water and grass conditions dictated. Those trails were generally natural folk trails perhaps first used by wild animals such as buffalo, elk, and, very anciently, the horse. Those animals foraged over large distances but required a lifeline of water sources. Having the ability to smell water at great distances, they followed the shortest path in the course of least resistance and over years left many well-defined trails. Old-time cattle people have told the author about the trails that were already defined when cattle were first introduced into areas of the West, many of which were used by the native inhabitants, and eventually became the highways and byways of commerce and trade. Just such a system of trails existed in the period in which this present drama was enacted. The people acquainted with these routes were the contraband traders and the native folk. It was from those groups that Rivera was able to obtain guides—people who knew the route and showed the way.

June 25, 1765

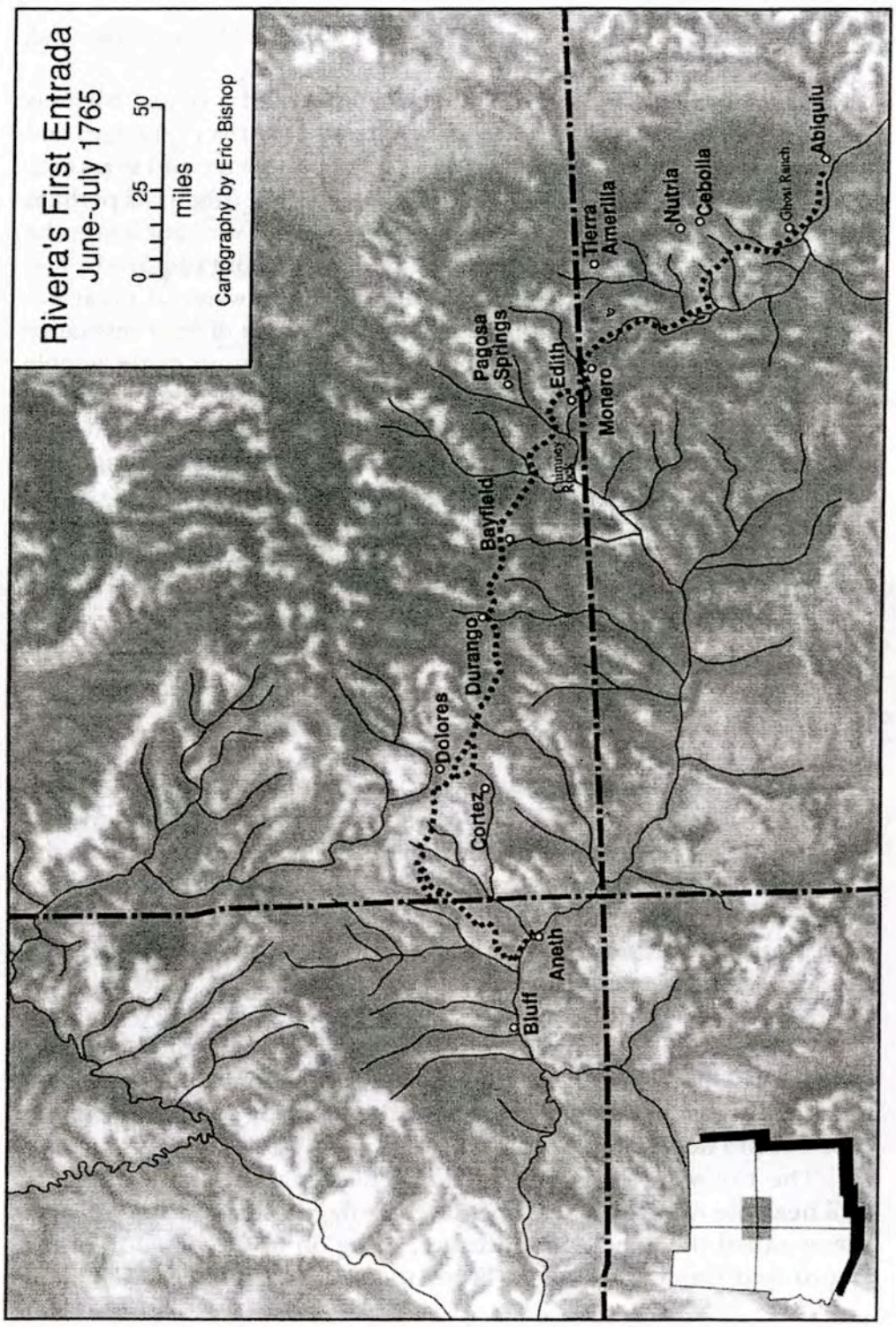
The First Entrada

On his first entrada Rivera left the Pueblo of Santa Rosa de Abiquiú in the Province of New Mexico on June 25, 1765, and traveled along the trail known to historians as the Navajo War Trail or the Ute Slave Trail which ran northwest from Abiquiú into the areas we now call Colorado and Utah. He followed that trail and proceeded northwest out of Abiquiú along the right bank of the Chama River to the place below the confluence with the Arroyo Seco, called el Vado de Juan de Dios on the old Juan de Dios Ranch. He crossed the river and followed along the valley of the Arroyo Seco near the place now called the Ghost Ranch, a church recreation area about fourteen miles northwest of Abiquiú. He spent the night by a small stream he called el Rio del Pueblo Colorado.

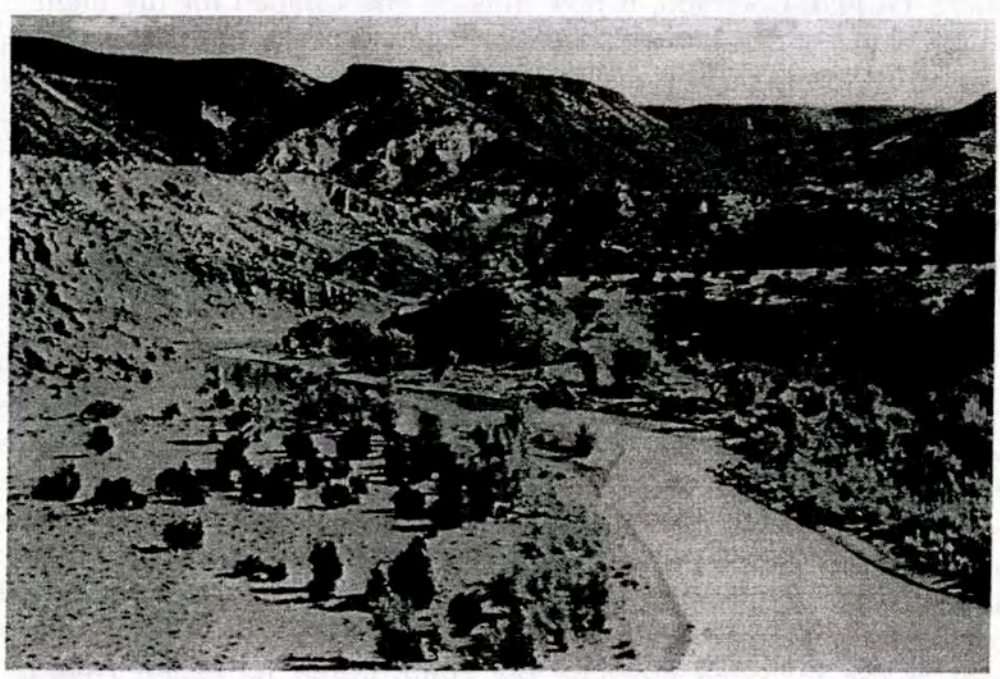
The following day, June 26, 1765, he departed along the same trail near the Arroyo Seco and entered a rugged canyon close to what is now called the Echo Amphitheater, going on to the junction of the arroyo and Canjillon Creek.[6] From the stopping place at Canjillon

[6] Early maps show that as Navajo Canyon, although recent USGS maps reserve that name to a branch canyon which debouches to the main canyon at Navajo Spring.

Abiquiu - Northern N.M.
~53 m. N. of Santa Fe


Rivera's First Entrada
June-July 1765
0 25 50
miles
Cartography by Eric Bishop
Bluff
Aneth
Cortez
Dolores
Durango
Bayfield
Pagosa Springs
Edith
Monero
Tierra Amerilla
Nutria
Cebolla
Ghost Ranch
Abiquiu

Creek, the group traveled north along the floor of the canyon two or three miles past Navajo Spring, where the trail emerged upon a vast plateau which extends northwest to el Vado de Chama.[7] At the summit of Navajo Canyon the trail turned northwest where it encountered two small hills.[8] On the descent from the two hills, the trail entered and traversed the valleys of Cebolla and Nutria creeks, crossing those streams ten to fifteen miles below the two towns now bearing those names. The travelers followed the trail and proceeded on to el Vado de Chama, where they crossed the river a second time, and rode on to what we now know as Horse Lake, which they called la Laguna de San Pedro.[9]



The Chama Narrows above Abiquiú.

[7] Navajo Spring is the same place where eleven years later the Dominguez-Escalante expedition turned west and departed from the trail that ran north.

[8] At the place where the trail turned west there is presently a windmill, from where one can see the two small hills or grades that Rivera encountered.

[9] El Vado [the ford] was assumed by Herbert Bolton and others to have been near Park View, New Mexico, which allows easy access by automobile. See Bolton, "Pageant in the Wilderness," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 18 (1950):19. However, all extant documents by travelers of that day show el Vado to have been downstream from Park View. J. N. Newberry of the Macomb Expedition of 1859 in his private journal pinpointed the location exactly. A copy of Newberry's journal is in possession of John Veenheisen, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

From la Laguna they followed the trail that was probably a variant of the Old Ute Slave Trail, known to those travelers as the trail to the Piedra Parada, a favored resort by early contraband traders. They entered a very narrow canyon known in early times as el Cañon del Belduque, which we know as Amargo Canyon, and stopped for the night at a site they called el Embudo (the funnel), its appearance being that of a funnel because of the narrowness of Amargo Canyon at its opening to the meadow near present-day Monero, New Mexico. The following morning—June 30, 1765—they followed the trail north from Amargo Canyon to the place now known as Edith, Colorado, where they crossed the Río Navajo.[10] They proceeded northwest from the Rio Navajo and crossed and named the San Juan River near the place where Trujillo, Colorado, is now situated and camped for the night on the banks of that beautiful stream. That was twelve to fifteen miles downstream from present-day Pagosa Springs, Colorado.

From the ford of the San Juan River they proceeded up Salt Canyon to the summit and descended the other side to a large meadow which the Utes called in their language el Lobo Amarillo (Yellow Wolf) near where the old town of Kern, Colorado, once stood. From there they took a northwest bearing and rode on to the Piedra River so called by the Utes in their language for the Piedra Parada or Standing Rock, a well-known chimney-like landmark of rock.

The following day, July 2, 1765, the expedition left the Piedra Parada via Fossett Gulch, in Rivera's words "a valley of good land without rock," and rode west toward the high ridge to the north of Paragon Mountain.[11] When they arrived at a small rincon on Little Squaw Creek, which the diary records was a place the Utes used for hunting, near the foot of the ridge, the guide informed them of the difficult trail to the summit and cautioned that because of the heat the horses and mules would tire and be abused. He added that in the cool of the following morning the climb would be easier; consequently, they spent the night at the rincon. The next day they climbed the high mountain ridge near Paragon Mountain.[12] They descended the other side of the ridge to the river the Utes called in their lan-

[10] Rivera called that place el Paraje de San Antonio de Navajo or "the stopping place San Antonio de Navajo."

[11] Fossett Gulch is the only valley in the area that is not predominantly rock.

[12] They crossed south of what we now see as a radar or communication facility and north of Paragon Mountain. That facility, on the summit of the ridge, is accessed from the main highway from Durango, Colorado, to Pagosa Springs near Yellow Jacket Summit.

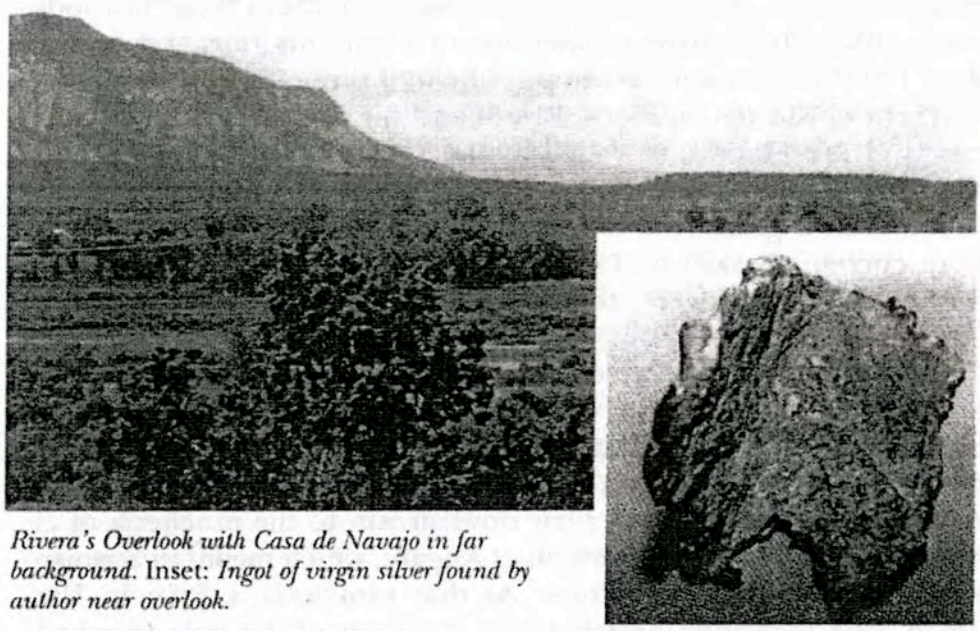
guage el Río de los Pinos, above the present town of Bayfield, Colorado. There they found ruins of an ancient civilization among which were signs of a smelter (como de cendrada) from which it appeared those ancients separated gold from the ore. At this juncture Rivera left a contingent of his party, under the direction of Andrés de Sandoval, to survey el Río de los Pinos for the presence of those precious metals, although he made no mention of it until his journal entry for July 8, 1765, when the main camp (el Real) was rejoined.

From el Río de los Pinos, Rivera and his company rode on and crossed el Río Florido, so called by the Utes in their language, and continued to the environs of today's Durango, Colorado, where he encountered a great river whose bank was so steep and rocky and whose current so swift and deep that he could not find a crossing until the following day. He then crossed the great river and named it el Rio de las Animas.[13]

At that place Rivera found the encampment of the Ute, el Capitán Grande, whom they called in their language el Coraque, and three lesser Capitanes. Because their friend, el Cuero de Lobo, was not present at that ranchería as had been planned, el Coraque took a small contingent of Rivera's party downstream to the ranchería of el Capitán Payuchi whom they called el Asigare, which meant in Spanish Caballo Rosillo or Roan Horse. At that ranchería a Payuchi Ute woman, who identified herself as the daughter of the man who had taken a lump of virgin silver ore to Abiquiú some years before, claimed to know of silver deposits. The instructions she gave directed the Rivera party back upstream along the Animas River.

Accompanied by el Asigare, they returned to the area of their main camp then turned west toward what we call the Plata River and went on to the present-day Mancos River which he called el Río de Lucero. The party trekked on, following instructions given by the Payuchi Ute woman, until they arrived at the upper reaches of what we call McElmo Creek several miles east of present-day Cortez, Colorado. There they climbed a small knoll from which they could see, in the gap between Mesa Verde and Sleeping Ute Mountain, what was called from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century by the Spanish,

[13] The word ánimas has been generally translated by many historians and writers as souls in purgatory, which is one meaning of that word. However, a more likely translation in this case is that which gives force or spirit, as modern accounts cited in the Newberry report show that to have been a very swift and difficult stream to cross. Charles H. Dimmock, the map maker for the Macomb Expedition, noted in his private journal that the river was 175 feet wide and 2 1/2 feet deep, very clear and abounding with fish.



Rivera's Overlook with Casa de Navajo in far background. Inset: *Ingot of virgin silver found by author near overlook.*

Casa de Navajo.[14] That was a landmark described by the Ute woman to determine the location of the silver. Upon failure to find silver, the party returned to join their main camp which was then located at the river they called el Río de Lucero near present-day Mancos, Colorado.[15]

After a short sojourn on July 11, 1765, Rivera was guided by his new acquaintance, el Capitán Asigare, from el Río de Lucero to what we know as the Dolores River at the Big Bend near where the present town of Dolores, Colorado, now stands. Here he named the Dolores River el Río de Nuestra Señora de Dolores, or the River of Our Lady of Sorrows, for María the Mother of our Savior.[16]

Dolores = Sorrows

[14] This was the region of the Navajo stronghold in the area of the Chuska Mountains, south of el Rio Grande de Navajo, a region never pacified by the Spanish. See Frank D. Reeve, "Early Navajo Geography," *New Mexico Historical Review* 31 (1956).

[15] El Capitán Asigare, contending the woman had lied, wanted to return and kill her. One day in 1977 while the author was photographing the area, a strange object having the appearance of an old sardine can was noted beneath the tripod. Upon close examination it proved to be a lump of virgin silver ore. Perhaps the Ute woman had not lied after all about the location of silver deposits.

[16] The naming of that river did not show up in the original document found by Professor Cutter, as the text was garbled by the scribe making the copy. A second document about the expedition, found in the archives of Mexico by Jose Mendosa of Mexico City, does not have that garbled text and tells of the naming of the river.

El Asigare persuaded Rivera to dispatch his associates, Gregorio de Sandoval, Antonio, and José Martín, along with their interpreter and a Ute guide from the Dolores River encampment, to find another Payuchi band located on what was called el Río Grande de Navajo near present-day Bluff, Utah. There el Cuero de Lobo, the Ute who had promised to show Rivera silver deposits, was reported to have been.[17] The main camp (el Real) remained stationary on the Dolores River awaiting news of Cuero de Lobo.

That search party departed from the main camp on July 13, 1765, and traveled the rest of that day and most of the night before they reached water, as the Utes had told them they would. Sandoval related that during the night it appeared to them they had traveled west, which would have taken them to present-day Cross Canyon where they intercepted an old Payuchi Ute trail south to el Río Grande via Montezuma Creek. As they approached the river they sighted at a distance ten small lodges of what they called wild Payuchis (Payuchis Cimarrones). When the Payuchis saw the company of Spaniards, one of them jumped into the river and waded out to the middle of the stream where he was met by one of Sandoval's men. Speaking by signs, they established communication, and the Payuchis became convinced of the travelers' peaceful intent.

After a three-day journey to the encampment of the Payuchis, the party returned to the main camp on the Dolores River with el Capitán of that band of Utes, who was called Chino by his people. Rivera was advised by el Capitán Chino that Cuero de Lobo had been with them but that he had returned to his ranchería which was then located on the Plata River. Chino also advised Rivera of the dangers of the trip to the crossing of the great river in July, due to the lack of water and grass for the animals and because of the extreme heat along the trail. However, because his people used the area south of the Dolores River and west to the Colorado for their hunting grounds, they knew the way to the crossing and would show the Spanish the way if they would return to the Dolores River when the aspen leaves were falling.

Subsequent to that, Rivera retraced his outward journey to the river he called San Joaquín, where he found his friend Cuero de Lobo.[18] The following day Cuero de Lobo took a contingent of his

[17] That was near the region known anciently as Casa de Navajo. Today we call that river the San Juan.

[18] This is today's Plata River near the site where the old town of Parrot City was once situated.

party to the headwaters of the Plata River to search for silver. But because they had brought no tools with which they could excavate the ore, only knives, they could not take samples back to Santa Fe for verification. Rivera wrote, "After we had searched as much as we could of that sierra, we found a hill which they call Tumichi, on top of which we saw a town that is so large that it exceeded the population of Santa Cruz de la Cañada [of 1319 inhabitants], in which there are many burned metals and the same signs as in the previous pueblos along the route. The vestiges of some ancient towers [torreones] are seen, which still have some parts of their walls [standing]."

Rivera and his men left the area on July 23 and spent the next seven days en route to the Villa de Santa Fe, traveling at the speed of laden mules. "Because the road is already well known as well as the watering places, etc., I do not go into detail," he recorded, "and to attest to the truth, because it is a thing that can be inspected again by other people, I sign this today."

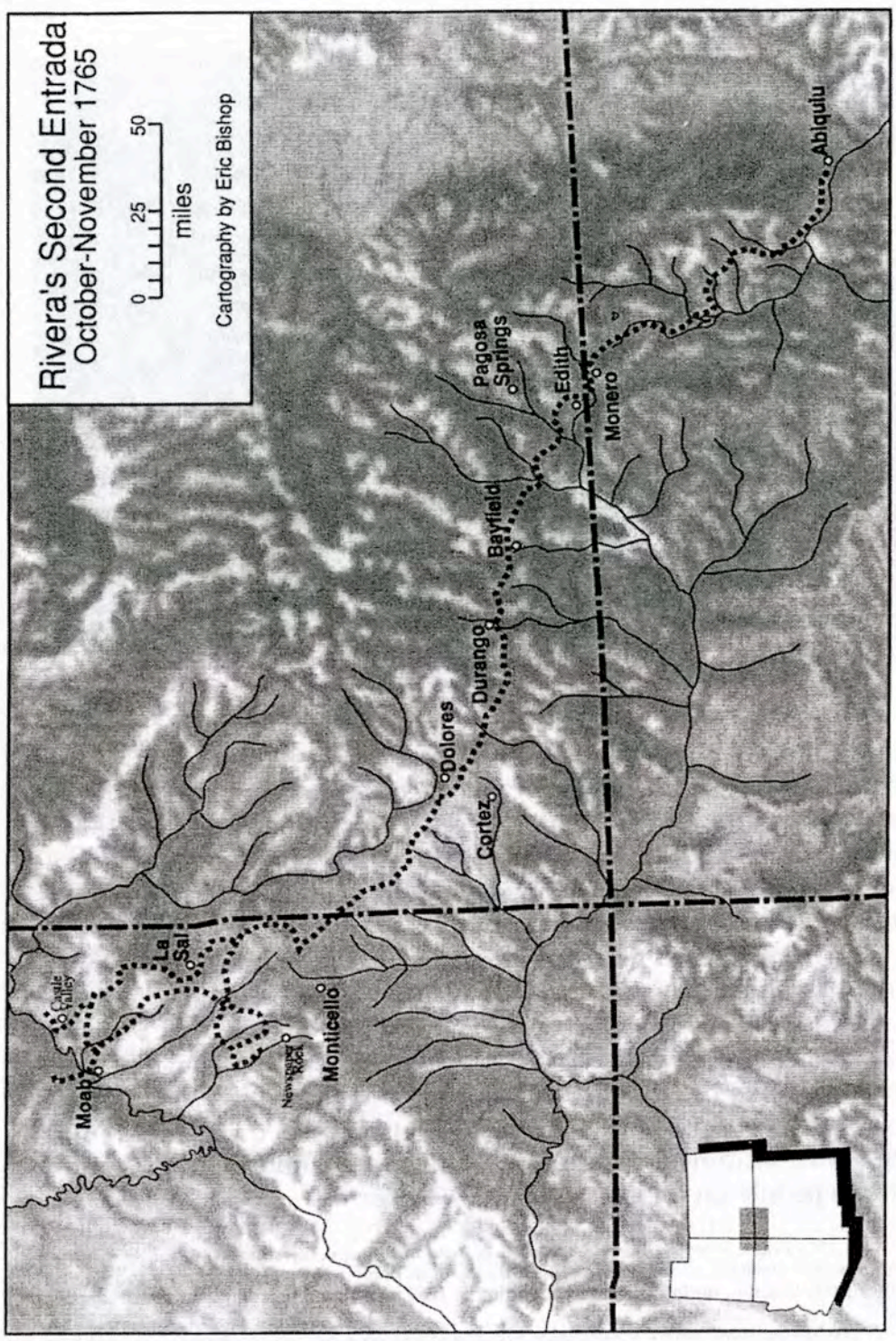
Rivera reported to the governor and made preparations for his return trip in the fall of that year.

The Second Entrada

Early in October 1765, Rivera and his companions returned to the Plata River and met their newly acquired friends at their combined rancherías, el Capitán Asigare, who had guided them on the first entrada, and a Mouachi, el Cabezón. After a two-day pow-wow they received a guide, a Payuchi Ute who was a grandson of el Capitán Chino (un nieto de el Capitán Chino Payuchi), to take them to the crossing of the Colorado River.[19]

At their campground of the first day out from the Dolores River, October 6, Rivera met el Capitán Chino who was waiting for him at a place Rivera called la Soledad. He greeted Rivera and said that they were friends, that Rivera had kept his word by returning as agreed. He said his grandson would guide them to the crossing, that he knew the trail.

[19] Because Rivera had a Payuchi Ute guide who knew the trails and watering places, he undoubtedly followed a Ute trail—the old Ute Slave Trail which was the most direct course. That trail later became known as the Ute Trail from the Dolores River to the Ute Crossing of el Río Grande and was later dubbed the Spanish Trail. Rivera made some detours from what we now know as the traditional Spanish Trail for reasons relating to the supply of water and grass for the animals.


Rivera's Second Entrada
October-November 1765
0 25 50
miles
Cartography by Eric Bishop
Moab
Castle Valley
La Sal
Monticello
Newspaper Rock
Dolores
Cortez
Durango
Bayfield
Pagosa Springs
Edith
Monero
Abiquiu



El Puerto de San Francisco—Ojo del Cuervo—upstream.

At the stopping place of the second day, October 7, the place Rivera called el Puerto de San Francisco, later called by the Spanish Ojo del Cuervo, or Raven Spring, he encountered a group of Utes he again referred to as Wild Payuchis (Payuchis Cimarrones).[20] Here a new Payuchi Ute guide, the brother of el Asigare, intercepted the travelers and said his brother had assigned him to guide them from there to the river, that he knew all of the trails.[21]

In retrospect we now see the starting of a detour. It is obvious throughout the diary that the Utes resisted all attempts by the Spanish to find the route to the crossing of el Rio Grande and to make contact with the people on the other side. It is apparent the Utes wanted to make the trip so difficult and dangerous that Rivera would become discouraged and disheartened, give up his quest, and return to Santa Fe without finding the crossing and without making contact with the people on the other side of the river.

[20] In 1934 Frank Silvey showed R. A. Morris of Columbia University and the author that spring, giving its positive location and confirming both the Spanish name and its English translation. Morris was conducting research on the Macomb Expedition of 1859 which used Ojo del Cuervo as a stopping place.

[21] The campground where guides were exchanged was on a branch of what we now call East Canyon in southeastern Utah, about fifteen miles northeast of Monticello, on the brink of Summit Point.

The mandate from Governor Cachupín to Rivera and his companions was that they should go disguised as traders and conceal the fact that they were Spaniards. They should reconnoiter the land and observe the quality of it along the trail, at the crossing, and on the other side. They should also determine the names of the various nations they may encounter and ascertain their attitude toward the Spanish. At his October 5 meeting with the Utes on the Plata River, Rivera asked his Ute friends to help him carry out the governor's mandate. A Mouachi Capitán, el Cabezón, was present at the meeting, but he rebelled at the thought of a Spanish intrusion of their land. He called his followers to pow-wow to reject the Spanish request, notwithstanding the Payuchi approval. He argued that the Spanish should not be allowed to proceed further, that they would spoil Mouachi trade with the people across the river. A scuffle then ensued between a Payuchi defending the Spanish and a Mouachi against them. El Asigare arrived at the scene and settled the matter; he prevailed and gave Rivera the guide, a grandson of el Capitán Chino. That was the group whose people used the territory south of the Dolores River and west to the Colorado as their hunting grounds. They asserted they knew the route to the river to what they called its only crossing.

However, with the exchange of guides two days later at el Puerto de San Francisco, there is a high probability that a new pow-wow had been held between the two Ute groups subsequent to Rivera's departure from their ranchería on the Plata River, wherein the Mouachi prevailed upon the Payuchi's reasoning to recognize the real intent of the Spanish and proposed a plan to prevent or limit their intrusion. There is good reason to suspect they jointly dispatched the new guide, the brother of el Asigare, a man of considerable influence and persuasion, with new instructions not to take the Spanish on the direct route to the crossing, which was then only a two-day journey away. Instead he was to take them on a circuitous and difficult route to the encampment of the Tabejuache Ute el Capitán Tonampechi, a man who might be able to dissuade the Spanish from completing their journey and return to Santa Fe. That Tabejuache camp was located on Indian Creek in what we now call Canyonlands, southwest of Moab, Utah. Either guide could have taken Rivera down East Canyon instead and across Dry Valley, a two-day trip. Inasmuch as it was Payuchi land, there could be no question of their knowledge of the nearness of the crossing.

When the travelers left that campsite, San Francisco, the guide took them to the east about five miles, then turned north and descended a difficult grade known to modern cattle people as Bull Pen Canyon. That trail took them into Lower Lisbon Valley near the head of McIntyre Creek, then turned to the northwest to where that valley joins with Lisbon Valley. At that junction the guide took them off the trail to the west through Big Indian Wash and into Dry Valley near the large, red-sandstone monolith known as Casa Colorado, about thirty miles south of present-day Moab. Somewhere near Rone Bailey Mesa, Rivera encountered three ranchitos of the Mouache Utes where they inquired about the location of water. Because of the scarcity of water along the route, they decided to spend the night near that encampment.

The next day, October 10, they continued to the west around the mesa and past Wind Whistle Rock, apparently following a Tabejuache foot path, and descended from their upper level into a very rugged canyon.[22] They followed that canyon into Harts Draw and proceeded on to the summit of Harts Point by a steep and very difficult trail. On the summit of Harts Point they encountered a Tabejuache hunter who told them their camp was nearby. From the summit they descended the cliffs to Indian Creek, in Rivera's words, by a "not too difficult trail."[23]

Following a three-day journey Rivera arrived at the Tabejuache camp, probably near the present rock art monument known as Newspaper Rock. At that encampment they met a young Tabejuache referred to only as el Mozetón, a term used by the Spanish to describe a drifter or a lackey, who had been in Santa Fe and had a conversation with the governor. He apparently had told Rivera in Santa Fe that he knew the trail to the crossing, and he appeared outwardly happy to see the party.

After four days of contention and argumentation between el Capitán Tonampechi and Rivera, where everything short of attacking

[22] Rivera described the path to the canyon floor as being three musket shots long. We know that canyon today as the lower end of Bobby's Hole.

[23] The trail was known to early cattle people at the Dug-out Ranch on Indian Creek as Trail Canyon. Although the present owner of the Dug-out Ranch, Bobby Redd, does not know that trail, previous owners, John and Jim Scorup, who lived there from the late 1800s to about 1935, have given the author great detail about it—how their people used it for years when they went to and from Moab. Additional information concerning that route across Harts Point was given to the author by the late Kenneth Summers, the late Cecil Jones, and Cosme Chacone, all of Monticello, Utah. These were people who had used that route for many years.



Aerial view of Rivera's route through Harts Draw.

the Spanish was attempted, the Utes failed to dissuade the explorer from his determination to carry out his commission. Rivera quickly perceived that their protestations of not having anyone who knew the route and their exaggerated tales of dangers they would encounter along the way were only pretexts to keep them from proceeding on. He expressed those views to el Capitán and also recorded them in his journal.

When the Utes failed to dissuade Rivera from completing his objective, the Payuchi guide, the brother of el Asigare, broke his contract and returned to his ranchería on the Plata River. That adds further evidence that his assignment was not to take the Spanish to the river but to deter them and prompt their return to Santa Fe. At that time Tonampechi assigned a new guide, friendly el Mozetón. Rivera agreed to this arrangement, feeling that el Mozetón would not deceive him.

After Rivera and his group departed from the Tabejuache camp and had traveled about six miles on their way to the river, their friend and guide el Mozetón stopped them and told Rivera the route described by el Capitán Tonampechi was not the best way to go to the

river, as that route was very long and difficult, without water and grass. He told him, "When we go to the crossing, we go by the way of the sierra." Rivera and his companions acquiesced to the guide's suggestion and were taken on a different trail. That route reversed their travel of the previous four days back up Trail Canyon to the summit of Harts Point but they avoided the treacherous path through Bobby's Hole by going along the summit of Harts Point.

Toward the end of the first day of travel they arrived at a small spring at the upper end of Harts Point, which was the sierra referred to by the guide, near the Abajo Mountains. During the night they experienced a ferocious storm of wind and rain which caused them much discomfort. For that reason they called that place el Purgatorio.[24]

The route from their stopping place, el Purgatorio, to the crossing was well defined by Rivera. He wrote that they traveled north about twelve to fifteen miles without following a trail until they climbed a very lofty and lengthy grade. That indicated they did not follow the traditional Dry Valley route over Blue Hill into Spanish Valley but rather took the high trail along the western slopes of the La Sal Mountains. They descended to and entered a monstrous valley with neither grass nor shelter so they could not rest until they arrived at a small spring not far from the great river.[25] Because the Colorado River then as today had no high tree line to indicate the presence of the river from a distance, and because of the low hills separating Moab and Spanish valleys, Rivera apparently did not see the river or the riverine meadow until they reached the watering place.

When Rivera arrived at the river crossing after a two-day journey from the Tabejuache camp, he sent two Tabejuache youths who had accompanied the guide as messengers to locate the people on the other side of the river and invite them to come and trade. Then he and Gregorio de Sandoval crossed the river to inspect the other side.[26]

Before long, the messengers returned with five warriors (gand-

[24] That was probably near the place shown on local maps as The Gap, near the road now used by travelers going to Canyonlands National Park.

[25] This describes a route from the high La Sal Mountains by way of Amasa back into Spanish Valley. That valley, which starts at the Colorado River and extends twenty or so miles to the La Sal Mountains, is actually two valleys separated by a series of low hills and called by two names, Moab and Spanish valleys.

[26] He described the meadow and the river in such detail and with such exactness that anyone who knows the area would recognize it as Moab, Utah.



Moab Valley near river with Spanish Valley in left background.

ules) of the Sabuagana Utes who gave him some interesting information. They said that some of their people were hiding from the Spanish because they were afraid. Years before they had killed some Spanish and were afraid of reprisal. Three additional Sabuaganas arrived at Rivera's camp and said they were from the ranchería of their Capitán, whom they called Cuchara, upstream about eight or ten miles. They said their Capitán was a friend of the governor of New Mexico and wanted Rivera to visit him.

When Rivera left the crossing to go to the Sabuagana camp, he found it impossible to go directly upstream; the river ran through a channel walled in by lofty precipices of gleaming red rock and cliffs that extended down to the water's edge. It was necessary to proceed over the ridge east of Moab Valley toward the east, then turn south toward the La Sal Mountains. Near the La Sals they were able to negotiate what we call Porcupine Ridge and enter Castle Valley. They fol-



La Sal Meadows and the East Coyote route of the Spanish Trail.

lowed Castle Creek back to the northwest toward the river, which at that location was traditionally called by the native population Río de las Sabuaganas. On Castle Creek about one-half mile above the late Tommy White's ranch, they found a beautiful marsh where they spent the night. The next day they traveled upstream to the camp of the Sabuaganas. There near Professor Valley Rivera met the Sabuagana, el Capitán Cuchara, and cemented relations for future cooperation between him and the Spanish.

Rivera asserted in the journal that from the Sabuagana ranchería he returned to Santa Fe by the shortest route at the speed of laden mules. That route probably took them back to the La Sal Mountains by way of Castle Valley where the trail branched. One branch would have taken them by the way of Geyser Pass and into East Coyote Draw at present day La Sal, Utah. The second branch would have taken them around the west side of the mountain by way of the La Sal Meadows to East Coyote Draw. From that junction the trail went along East Coyote Draw past Bull Horn Spring, known to the Spanish as Ojo del

Cuerno de Toro, and into Lisbon Valley at Lisbon Gap where it joined their outward trail.[27]

Epilogue

While Rivera was at that place near the crossing, he listened with great interest as his Ute friends informed him of the trail they used when they visited the Spanish on the Lower Colorado River.[28] This would be welcome news for the planners of the Empire, the Royal Corps of Engineers, who, being aware of the resistance offered by the Hopi and Apache nations to the passage of commerce through their territories to the regions of the Lower Colorado River, sought a route to that area through the territory of the then friendly Ute nations. Perhaps the groundwork was laid at that early date for what developed into the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition in 1776.

In a relatively short period that followed the Rivera Expedition many important events took place. The Domínguez-Escalante Expedition was consummated, and other expeditions, many of which were not recorded, were made into the heartland of the Utes in what is now central Utah. Trails were blazed from the Ute Crossing of the Colorado River to the Green River Crossing and to the Wasatch Mountains that the great Ute Chief Wasatch called his domain. Here the true Spanish Trail developed.[29]

Although documentary evidence is lacking about early travel over the trails into what we know as Colorado and central Utah, the Pueblo of Taos was a huge trading center long before Don Juan de

[27] East Coyote Branch was a favored section of the Spanish Trail during the heyday of the large caravans from Los Angeles to Santa Fe during the 1830s and 1840s because of the abundance of water and grass for the large herds and because that branch was not a "heavy trail" as compared to the trail through Dry Valley. A trail through sand and soft earth, on undulating ground, can increase the loads of burden on pack animals, pound their hooves, and shorten their lives as useful animals. All accomplished packers try to avoid trails of that type.

[28] That could have been the beginning of the knowledge the Spaniards obtained of the trail which sixty-five years later developed into the Spanish Trail to California. The Utes also informed Rivera of the People of the Rock, los Timpanogos, near present-day Provo, Utah. Eleven years later the Domínguez-Escalante expedition visited those people and referred to them as the Laguna Utes because of their habitation near what he called la Laguna de los Timpanogos, or Utah Lake. Yet Escalante knew definitely of that group before his departure from Santa Fe and had intended to reach them via the Ute Crossing of the Colorado River—that which was shown to Rivera at present-day Moab—for Rivera's Ute friends informed him that the trip to Timpanogos took only seven days.

[29] The route to California, dubbed by explorers John C. Fremont and Kit Carson in the 1840s the "Great Spanish Trail" or "Old Spanish Trail," was in reality a Mexican Trail because it was developed after the Spanish influence fell to Mexico.

Many expeditions not recorded

Oñate established his first settlement in 1598 at the confluence of the Chama and the Río Grande. Utes from as far away as central and northern Utah as well as from east of the Rocky Mountains were known to gather for annual trade fairs to trade with the Pueblo nations and other Great Plains tribes. After the arrival of the Spanish, the Utes developed a tremendous desire for horses and guns. The most valuable commodity they possessed for trade was slaves. Young native women and boys were in great demand among the Spanish, as they could be trained for household tasks and for working in the fields. The stronger Ute tribes, whose domain extended from east of the Rocky Mountains west beyond the Wasatch Range, would prey on the weaker Paiute tribes of what is now southern Utah and Nevada. They traveled over a system of trails across the Wasatch Mountains to the Green River Crossing and the Ute Crossing of the Grand River (Colorado), then southeast along the same trail Rivera followed to the crossing, to bring their booty to the Spanish markets. That system of trails has become known to historians as the Ute Slave Trail. Later, when the Spanish went into these areas after Rivera's time to trade with the friendly Utes, the route they followed was that of the Ute Slave Trail, which soon acquired the name of the Spanish Trail.[30]

Granted that considerable trail definition and refinement were required by later travelers to make this a practical avenue of commerce, there can be no doubt that the essential details about these trails were first made known to the Spanish officials by Rivera and his companions.

The Domínguez-Escalante Journal mentions for example, the common practice of Spaniards going among the Sabuagana Ute Nation to stay for long periods of time and trade for pelts and other items. It also reflects common knowledge of the country as far east as the San Luis Valley and the Arkansas River and west to the Colorado River. Inasmuch as there were no other known explorers into that region except Rivera and his companions, we can deduce that he was

[30] According to Joseph J. Hill, "By the time of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition (1776) the region east of the Colorado and as far north as the Gunnison seems to have been fairly well known to the Spaniards of New Mexico. This is clear from the fact that most of the more important physical features of the country were referred to in the diary of Escalante by names that are still on the map, and in a way that would lead one to think that those names were in more or less common use at that time. It was also definitely stated by Nicolas de la Fora who accompanied the Marques de Rubi on his tour of inspection through the northern provinces in 1766–67 that the country to the north along the **Cordillera de las Grullas** was at that time known to the Spaniards for a hundred leagues above New Mexico." See "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765–1853," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 3 (1930): 262.

the source of that knowledge. We can also deduce that he made other incursions after his famous entradas because of the exactness and completeness of the information he provided, information that could not have been obtained by a single incursion.

In consideration of these historical facts, there is an ironic twist of fate and a touch of injustice in that the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition failed to find the Ute Crossing of the Colorado that was shown to Rivera. For although Escalante tried to follow Rivera's Trail, as he had either a copy of the journal or else intimate knowledge about it, he did not have a Payuchi Ute guide and therefore missed Rivera's campground of the first day out of the Dolores River stopping place. Rivera's stopping place for that first day, October 6, 1765, was in Cross Canyon west of present day Cahone, Colorado, near what later became known as Tierra Blanca of Spanish Trail days and was also known to early settlers of the 1870s as the Cross Canyon Spring. Had Escalante found that place, the rest of the trail to the campground of the second day, el Puerto de San Francisco, would have been easy. That would have put him at Ojo del Cuervo at the head of what we now call East Canyon fifteen miles northeast of Monticello, Utah, and would have led him down East Canyon, through Dry Valley and to the Ute Crossing at Moab, an easy two-day journey. Escalante knew that Rivera went to the east about six miles from his campground el Puerto de San Francisco, then turned north through a steep canyon. When he tried to follow those directions, not knowing the exact location of the stopping place, he estimated where that canyon might have been and turned north. He was one mile too far east. Upon descending Summit Canyon to the Dolores, he became lost. That cost him the total success of his undertaking in proceeding on to Monterey, California, as he lost many precious weeks in his detour through the Colorado mountains.

There is also a touch of irony in the history of Rivera as a pathfinder, for the trail he found to the crossing of the Colorado River was a signal event in the development of ties and commerce between Santa Fe and Upper California; yet to this day he has not been given proper recognition. The trail he found provided the beginning of a viable avenue of travel well into the American era when wagon roads were substituted for those old trails. Rivera was also a phantom of the borderlands for he appeared on the scene of history in 1765 and seems to have vanished by the end of 1766. Records have been searched in New Mexican archives, Spanish archives, and in Mexico

for some indication of his family roots, but nothing has been found. Only three primary sources of information have been found to testify of his existence: his journal, a notation in the Domínguez-Escalante Journal about him, and the papers he prepared for the submission to the Council of the Indies with the Marqués de Rubí reports.[31]

Another irony lies in the assertion by the Dominguez-Escalante guide and interpreter, Andrés Muñiz, who claimed to have been with Rivera on his entrada and affirmed that Rivera went over the Uncompahgre Mountains to the confluence of the Gunnison and Uncompahgre rivers instead of the Great Tizon. He stated that although he was with Rivera, he did not accompany him to the river; he stayed behind for the distance of a three-day march. However, that appears to be contrary to fact because Andrés Muñiz was not listed in the Rivera diary, so if he had traveled with Rivera on his expeditions, it would have had to have been on a follow-up trip after 1765. From the events recorded in the diary it is evident that he could not have stayed behind for three days. His statement to Escalante probably was made to increase his prestige among the padres and his peers. Yet it caused historians to be led afield for many years. They treated Muñiz's statement as fact and never gave Rivera credit for finding the Ute Crossing of the Colorado River.

It is appropriate that here in the year of the quincentenary of the discovery of the Western Hemisphere by Christopher Columbus that we should remove from the closets of history, among the dust and cobwebs of time, the name of Don Juan María Antonio de Rivera and recognize the events he placed in motion. He was a man of courage and determination who deserves attention and honor not only during this great anniversary but for all time.

[31] A report of over four hundred pages submitted to the Council of the Indies contained a copy of Rivera's journal on pages 140 to 170, which indicates it was considered to be a part of the official report. In that same document were three other citations given by Rivera. See Servico Historico Militar, Ponencia de Ultramar, Madrid, Spain.

The Domínguez and Escalante Expedition

The most ambitious exploring expedition seeking to penetrate the great unknown area to the north and west of New Mexico was carried out in 1776 by a small group under the leadership of Franciscan Fathers Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. Father Domínguez, the senior Franciscan, had at that date recently arrived in the frontier province of New Mexico as commissary visitor of the Franciscan missions there. Among his many instructions was that of discovering a direct route from Santa Fe, capital of New Mexico, to the recently occupied northern province along the Pacific Coast, that of California founded some seven years earlier by the major effort placed in motion by José de Gálvez. Information concerning the little known expanse of mostly arid land that lay between the two frontier provinces was minimal. The previously mentioned exploration made earlier that same year by Father Garcés was of some guidance and probably determined the explorers' choice of a more northerly course than otherwise would have been expected. Escalante had received a letter from Garcés in late July 1776 that had been sent to the Franciscan priest at Zuni, reporting Garcés's difficult trek across Arizona and his failure to reach New Mexico. They also had access to the journals kept by Juan María Antonio Rivera, which they used during the first portion of their travels.

The 1776 explorers had decade-old knowledge concerning the upper waters of the Colorado River, or Río del Tizón, as the area had been first visited by Rivera and possibly by others since him. Diarist of the 1776 journal, the original of which seems to have been lost, was Father Vélez de Escalante. (Modern usage usually refers to him as Father Escalante.) Father Angelico Chávez, who was responsible for the most recent transcription and translation of the journal in a bilingual edition indicates that although Escalante was the scribe and author of the journal, his superior also contributed significantly to the final product. Although the original is missing, many contemporary copies exist, differing only slightly one from the other, and probably from that signed by both priests at journey's end. As is the case with many journals of exploration, Vélez de Escalante's account often reveals as much about the author and about Spaniards of that day as it does concerning geography of the area explored or about the nature of the people that inhabited the vast area.

Members of the Expedition

Escalante's knowledge of the area was greater than that of Domínguez, though the latter had gathered much general information for a study that was later translated and published as *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776.* Domínguez was 36 years old, born in Mexico City in 1740. He had become a Franciscan in 1757 and was a member of the Mexican Franciscan college of the Santo Evangelio in the viceregal capital. His younger companion, Escalante, a 26-year-old native of Treceño, near the Cantabrian coast in the Spanish province of Santander, had taken the habit of St. Francis in 1767 in Mexico City. He arrived in New Mexico in 1774, stationed first at Laguna and then transferred westward to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuni until he was called by Domínguez for exploratory duty. He had some idea of the frontier in the direction of California, but probably only vague secondhand notions of the itinerary that was later chosen.

Accompanying the Franciscans were Juan Pedro Cisneros, alcalde mayor of the Pueblo of Zuni, and a group of citizens, all of whom apparently went as volunteers. Most important of those who joined the expedition was the retired militia captain Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, a most noteworthy contemporary. Miera was multitalented—engineer, merchant, Indian fighter, government agent, rancher, artist, and historically most significant, cartographer. Born in the Valle de Carreido in Spain's Montañas de Burgos, he had come in 1743 to El Paso, and subsequently to Santa Fe about 1755. He prepared a detailed map in 1778, doubtless based on previous notes and rudimentary maps. Of the expedition members, he was the person most frequently at odds with the priests over decisions made or routes proposed.

Other members of the expedition, which was entrusted to the patronage of the Virgin Mary and San José, were Joaquín Lain of Santa Fe; Lorenzo Olivares of El Paso; Andrés Muñiz of Bernalillo who "knew the language" (probably of the Utes) and served as interpreter; Andrés's brother Lucrecio from Embudo; Juan de Aguilar; and Simón Lucero. The latter four were either mestizos or detribalized Indians living in Spanish society. Uncharacteristically and curiously, none of those were listed as being soldiers or even of having earlier served in any military component save for Miera, and none later achieved any distinction in New Mexico society.

Purpose of the Expedition

Many times before departing from Santa Fe, the two Franciscan leaders reminded everyone of the exclusively religious character of the expedition. When they finally left the capital on July 29, 1776, they traveled twenty miles northwest to the Indian Pueblo of Santa Clara and from there to the town of Santo Tomás de Abiquiu on the Chama River, nestled just before the sandstone cliffs that lay beyond. This frontier town was the last outpost of Spanish civilization, a town comprising mostly detribalized Indians of non-Pueblo origin. Here was the point of final preparation for the long journey ahead that they hoped might carry them to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

Geographical knowledge of the target area ahead was based on Indian information and on estimates of distance as calculated by priests, cartographers, and military engineers. It was fervently desired that the area involved would be peopled by groups of aborigines receptive to the gospel of Catholic Christianity and that the pleasant valleys

that might be discovered would awaken royal interest and open a whole new field to conversion. But above all they hoped to discover the existence to the north of that fabled Strait of Anián leading through the North American continent from the North Sea (the Atlantic) to the South Sea (the Pacific). Recall that belief in the strait had led Juan de Oñate in the founding period to carry with him shipbuilding equipment with which to construct vessels once having encountered the desired waterway. Such an idea which today seems so fanciful, particularly in view of the fact that the explorers were on the flanks of the Rocky Mountains at an elevation of over 5,000 feet, was not finally eliminated from European thinking until the 1790s. But even if a great waterway admitting oceangoing vessels was not truly possible, discovery of a substantial river might at least permit facile transportation westward to some place like San Francisco, a bay that promised at least a gateway to the Pacific.

Although it was already August and several months too late for the project to have any reasonable hope of fruition, the landscape of higher elevations was still more like springtime with wild flowers and abundant pasturage as the small party moved on up the Chama River. The group was following about the same outbound march as had Rivera a decade earlier and apparently had one or more veterans of such early contacts with them as guides, interpreters, and companions. Passing by water holes and small streams, the party noted one area which was called Río de las Nutrias, a swampy area that had water all year long in banked ponds, or beaver dams, where those rodents were said to breed. In this regard, and because the word *nutria* is often repeated in the place-name geography and in Hispanic period documentation, it is of note that the New Mexicans used that word for beaver instead of the more appropriate *castor.* Nutria is elsewhere normally used for sea otter, a much larger animal, and at times for land otter. (New Mexican nutria became a source of great later interest to Rocky Mountain traders and trappers most of whom were either of French of Anglo-American background.)

Apparently the Domínguez-Escalante party had with it some measuring device, probably a sextant, more than likely employed for observations by former topographic engineer Bernardo de Miera. The sun's meridian transits, which were observed from the very beginning, regularly gave a calculated latitude some 36 minutes too high, possibly as a result of not compensating for the elevation from which observations were taken.

Crossing Colorado

The guides from time to time lost the trail, but in the area of the Navajo and later the San Juan Rivers, it was not hard to regain proper direction. Up to that point they had been following fairly closely the route taken by earlier visitors, since local place-names were already established. During the expedition special care was taken to determine potential sites for future Spanish occupation, with particular regard for agricultural potential and capacity to sustain population concentration. En route they crossed the Río de los Pinos, the Río Flórido, and the Río de las Animas, all three still so called. The group was especially interested in the abundant water of the Animas as it rushed down from the Sierra de la Plata. Where it was crossed by Domínguez and Escalante, near modern Durango, Colorado, it was noted as having greater flow and much more rapid current than the Río Grande. Pasturage in the region seemed quite abundant, particularly given the lateness of

the year. Commenting on the name of the Sierra de la Plata it was said that "although years ago certain individuals [the Rivera party] from New Mexico came to inspect" the veins and outcroppings of metallic ore by order of Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín and carried back metal-bearing rocks, "it was not determined for sure what kind of metal they consisted of. The opinion which some formed previously from the accounts of various Indians and from some citizens of the kingdom, that they are silver ore, furnished the sierra with this name." (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776,* p. 12)

Among the early places the group visited was a site along the banks of El Río de los Dolores where it was noted; "Here there is everything that a good settlement needs for its establishment and maintenance as regards irrigable lands, pasturage, timber and firewood." It was also a place that had the vestiges of what in ancient times was "a small settlement of the same type as those of the Indians of New Mexico, as the ruins that we purposely inspected show." (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776,* p. 14) Only a brief occasional reference was made to evidences of Anasazi ruins, even though they had traveled near many significant sites that in the twentieth century have become archaeological treasures and have been set aside as national and state parks. This site, now called Escalante Ruin, is the only place noted of Anasazi remains, which the journalist equated with the New Mexico Pueblo Indians.

At this time the Domínguez-Escalante party was overtaken by two Indians, Felipe and Domingo (a *coyote* and a *genízaro*), who had run off from New Mexico without permission, either to wander on the frontier or to overtake the missionaries. Even though they had no need for extra personnel, the priests took them on as companions to forestall the mischief, either motivated by ignorance or malice, that the two might do by wandering any further among the Utes. On August 16 half the horses were missing, having strayed off seeking water rather than passing the night at a dry camp. Shortly thereafter water was found at Agua Escondida, to meet the pressing need of the *remuda,* the accompanying horse herd.

Lacking confidence in their own knowledge of water sources, the priests tried to make contact with some nearby Utes who, by the evidence of some quite recent tracks, were known to be present but not visible. Following the Indian trail as far as the Río de las Paralíticas, the explorers came to the end of Tabeguachi Ute territory and to the beginning of the lands of the Muhuachi group of the same tribe. The trail became more difficult and the guides less adept, wasting time in steep ascents and descents. The party soon experienced the ill effects of such a late start in the season—a growing scarcity of grass and the dryness of the country.

The explorers then chanced upon a Tabeguachi Ute and, after some early unwillingness to communicate, he said that the Sabaguanas were all in their own country and that the Spaniards would soon meet them. His own people were scattered, wandering about the mountains. It was finally arranged for him to serve as a guide, for which purpose he would return the next day, the 24th. Apparently the Tabehuachi Ute thought that the Spanish party had come to trade and he came with his family and some other Indians bringing cured deerskins and other items to barter, including some manzanita

berries thought by the visitors to be quite good. The Indians could not believe that the expedition was not there for commercial purposes, giving rise to the supposition that since Rivera's time there had been repeated trade contacts. Local fears about the purpose of the priestly visit were lessened by questions concerning Father Garcés and of his whereabouts. The Indians had no information, but they did become more friendly and seemed concerned about the priest. Following a good meal, an exchange was made of flour for jerked deer meat and manzanita berries. The original Indian, whom the Spaniards decided to call Atanasio, was hired as a guide for the price of two large knives (*belduques*) and sixteen strings of white-glass beads. These he gave to his wife who went off with all the other Indians except Atanasio, each to their own camp.

The party owed a considerable debt to friendly local Indians they hired as guides along the way. Since they knew the trail well, their intervention prevented the padres from making misjudgments about routes to be followed. With the new guide, travel became easier and the first night brought the travelers to a copious spring, abundant pasturage, and much firewood. The party experienced a heavy downpour, a frequent occurrence in the Rocky Mountains in August. The explorers were then on the Plain of Ancapagari, which in Ute means "Red Lake," and which has a modern spelling of "Uncompahgre." The nearby river was given the name San Agustín, after which they visited the San Xavier (today called the Gunnison). According to Escalante, it was also called the San Francisco Xavier. He asserted that it was at this point that Juan María de Rivera, after crossing the Sierra de los Tabehuchis, had carved a cross on a poplar tree, the letters spelling his name and the expedition's year. Andrés Muñiz, who went as interpreter, said that he had been in that same area in the preceding year, 1775, but had been a three-days' march behind his companions Pedro Mora and Gregorio Sandoval. The latter two had been with Don Juan María during his entire expedition of 1765. They had at that early date reached the great Río del Tizón and had been sent across it by Rivera to look for Utes on the side opposite the meadow where they had all stopped, and from which point they had returned. Journalist Escalante felt that this site on the Gunnison was what Rivera had been convinced was the Tizón, the Colorado. A difficulty then and now is that the upper tributaries of the Colorado are quite similar in size, making it difficult to determine precisely which is the main stream.

After a brief while, somewhat to the north, the travelers met some Sabaguana Utes who warned the Spaniards that if they continued in that direction they would run into Comanches who would kill them. But in order to get to their immediate destination of the Timpanogas Utes, it was necessary to go through Comanche country. Finally, a Laguna (Timpanogas) Indian, when regaled substantially, agreed to lead the Spaniards to the Indians who resided near a big lake. Domínguez tried through an interpreter to explain to the natives about Christianity and the customs associated with the Spanish faith. He was elated when all the natives "listened with pleasure," especially several Lagunas. As soon as the padre began instructing them, the new guide interrupted so as to predispose the Sabuaganas as well as his own fellow tribesmen "to believe whatever the padre was telling them because it was all true." (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal; Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, p. 30)

By early September the explorers were still in Colorado, headed just slightly west of due north and traveling in extremely high altitude. Again the Spaniards were warned of the dire consequences they would suffer if they continued on their current course, with the Indians threatening not to trade sound horses for trail weary ones that the Spaniards wanted to replace farther along the trail. Even this was to no avail, with the Spaniards insisting that they could not give up without knowing the fate of Father Garcés who might be lost and wandering about.

Entering Utah

Satisfactory arrangements finally made, the party continued northward and finally hit the Colorado River on its upper course, hardly considering it to be that great stream and giving it the name San Rafael, though the Utes called it the Red River. The party did not recognize it as the Tizón of which so much had been said; however, it was noted as carrying more water than the Río Grande. From that point the party continued in a generally westward direction determined by topography, the relative competence of several guides, and the desire to make progress toward their still distant anticipated destination of Monterey in California. This portion of their itinerary took the Spaniards from the Colorado River drainage to the Great Basin, where there is no external drainage to the sea, and all of the considerable number of steams end in sinks, or large lakes such as Utah Lake and the Great Salt Lake.

As the party headed generally westward, on September 14 they checked their position while along the Green River, and were still getting regularly high latitude calculations. These were made with a quadrant and despite considerable effort the results continued to be poor. At that point, in commemoration of his participation in the expedition, Joaquín Laín found an appropriate tree trunk upon the northwest side of which he "dug out a small piece with an adze in the shape of a rectangular window and with a chisel carved on it the following inscription: 'Year of 1776,' and lower down in a different hand 'Laín' with two crosses at the sides, the larger one above the inscription and the other one beneath it." (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, p. 44)

Smoke signals, appropriate for such climatic conditions and extensively used by Indians in the Southwest, at times indicated surveillance and later announced arrival of the exploring party in the area of central Utah. The Spaniards feared that their coming as strangers might be viewed with hostility. From an elevated point along their route the Spaniards caught sight of a large lake (Utah Lake) amid the spreading valley which they called Nuestra Señora de la Merced de los Timpanogotzis, the latter being an Indian name meaning fish eaters and one still used as a place-name in that area as Timpanogas. Following Spanish Fork (called by them the Vega del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús), they noted:

> *Through where we came we found the meadow's pastures recently burnt and other adjacent ones still burning. From this we inferred that these Indians had taken us for Comanches or other hostile people and, perhaps having seen that we brought horses, had tried to burn the pastures along*

the way so that the lack of them would make us leave the bottomland sooner. But since this is so large and extensive, they could not do it in such a short time, even though they had started fires in many places. This is why, while our small party stayed here, Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio set out for the first camps as soon as we halted, together with the guide Silvestre, his partner Joaquín and Andrés Muñiz the interpreter. Then, after racing the horses as much as they could, even to the point of exhaustion, so as to get there this afternoon, and for six and a half leagues north-northwest, they got to them.

Some men came out to meet them with weapons in hand to defend their homes and families, but as soon as Silvestre spoke to them the show of war was changed into the finest and fondest expressions of peace and affection. They very joyfully conducted them to their little humble abodes, and after he had embraced every single one and let them know that we came in peace, and that we loved them as our greatest friends, the padre allowed them time to talk at length with our guide Silvestre, who gave them an account so much in our favor of what he had observed and witnessed ever since he had become one of us, and about our purpose in coming, that we could not have wished for anything better. (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, p. 54)

Silvestre, the guide, went on at length about the trip thus far and how despite having gone through Comanche country they had not been attacked as God had been with them. Once the ice was broken, Father Domínguez explained to the Timpanogas Utes that the Spaniards' greater purpose was the salvation of their souls. The priest indicated that if they would submit to Spanish control, Carlos III would send missionaries and other Spaniards to come and live among them and teach them how to farm and raise livestock.

A second purpose was indicated in the search for their Franciscan brother, Francisco Garcés, as well as the need for guides to help the expedition. The following day at a site where Provo River enters Utah Lake a large meeting was celebrated with the head chiefs and all the Spaniards present. The party told of the advantages of Christianity and the Indians offered all the land necessary for the Spaniards to build their homes whenever they wished. The local Indians would continually be on the lookout for Comanche intruders and would warn the Spaniards, with whom they would go out and punish such invaders.

There was no doubt that everyone there expected the Spaniards to return in the near future to carry out occupation of Utah Valley and that the local Indians were most anxious to receive the promised benefits, both temporal and spiritual, that would soon accrue. As the result of an earlier suggestion that the Timpanogas Utes give a visual token of their desire to have the Spaniards, a present was arranged that could be taken to the great chief of the Spaniards. It consisted of four male figures crudely painted with earth pigments and with red ochre on a deerskin. The figure representing the head

chief had the most red ochre (blood), because he had received the most wounds in battles with the Comanches. Two other figures had less blood, and the final one, representing an important person who was not a war captain, had no ochre. The token was accepted and it was planned to bring it back when they came to settle as a reminder of the promises given and reciprocated. (Later this token was given to the governor of New Mexico by the Franciscans.) Once these formalities were completed, a new guide, José María as he was immediately called, took the place of Silvestre who had been guide for many leagues of travel. The parting of the old guide and priests was poignant.



Map 10.1. Domínguez and Escalante route. Courtesy Ted J. Warner, Provo, Utah.

It was at this point in late September that the priestly entourage was the closest to the road that seventy-five years later would carry the greatest number of immigrants to California, the same destination that was hoped for by Domínguez and Escalante. In 1849 and 1850 gold seekers would pass through the Great Basin in search of riches in the Sierra Nevada of California, but at this point the priests were still over 750 miles short of their goal, even if it were a straight, easy, and well-watered route, which it was not.

Escalante paused to make a geographical summary of Utah Valley and its lake, the sizes of which he overestimated. He also indicated that the area consisted of very good potential farm land for all kinds of crops. There was plenty of land for towns and Indian villages, more so than along the Río Grande. He waxed eloquently on the many advantages, the wildlife and fish, and even the temperate climate. Though it was not seen, the Great Salt Lake, fifty miles northward via the Jordan River, is mentioned in the account. That immense lake was and continues to be of extremely high mineral content, the opposite of Utah Lake, which is of fresh water. The nature of the larger lake's water made it a less desirable place, inhabited at that time by the Puaguanpe nation, who spoke a Comanche-related language, but who maintained generally friendly relations with the Lagunas (Timpanogas).

Their route took the explorers to Juab Valley and then to the Sevier River (Río de Santa Isabel). Indians they met at that point on September 30 were more fully bearded and spoke a Timpanogas language. These Indians may have accounted for an earlier report of Spaniards said to live on the other side (northwest) of the Río del Tizón. It was noted that "in their features they more resemble the Spaniards than they do all the other Indians known in America up to now." (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, p. 64) They were the "Barbudos" or "Bearded Utes," probably the Paiutes, some of whom were so full-bearded that they looked like Capuchin priests or Bethlehemites. The bearded ones were given some rudimentary, preliminary Catholic instruction with the assurance that the Spaniards would soon be returning. The depar-

ture was accompanied by a tearful farewell when all natives cried copiously, evoking great sympathy from the priests who said that "even when we were quite a distance away we kept hearing the tender laments of these unfortunate little sheep of Christ, lost along the way simply for not having the light. They touched our hearts so much that some of our companions could not hold back the tears." (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, p. 67)

Decision to Turn Back

On October 5, after only about ten days of service, guide José María deserted to return home and left the party without knowledge of the land. He was motivated in part by a fight that erupted between Juan Pedro Cisneros and his servant Simón Lucero over the latter's laziness and lack of piety for having refused to pray with his master. Ideas of heading westward seemed impossible as a result of the poor terrain in that direction. Furthermore, the last heat of fall had given way to cold winds and an early snowfall on that same day. Continued bad weather kept the party at a standstill for over two days. By October 8 the Franciscans finally recognized that they were not going to reach Monterey. This realization stemmed from "not having found among all these latter peoples any reports about the Spaniards and the padres" of California. (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, p. 70) Furthermore, progress had been slowed by continued cold while their estimated longitude indicated that the party had only gone thirteen leagues (about 365 miles) west and certainly not yet half way. They were afraid of becoming snowbound in a wilderness, for everywhere around them there were mountains covered with snow and provisions were growing short. They calculated that even if they did arrive in Monterey that winter, they would not be able to get back to Santa Fe until June of 1777. They also expressed that the delay incurred by going all the way to California would bring postponement of the promised conversion of the Lagunas, and those Indians might become frustrated in their hopes, or might conclude that the priests had purposely deceived them.

The explorers then hoped to discover a shorter and better route to Utah Lake and to the bearded Indians than that via the Sabaguanas. Clearly, almost any route they might take would seemingly be better than the slow, steep, meandering itinerary that they had taken when their animals were fresh and their provisions plentiful. Little did they reckon with the great difficulty that lay ahead in trying to cross the immense chasm of the Río del Tizón (Colorado), or in negotiating other alternate routes in the unknown canyon lands. Apparently, prominent members of the party—Miera, Joaquín Laín, and interpreter Andrés Muñiz—were opposed to abandonment of the effort to reach Monterey. Miera thought that there would be great honor and profit in reaching the California capital, so much so that he tried to convince the others in the matter. Opposition was so great that rather than argue endlessly and fruitlessly, on October 11 it was decided to cast lots to see if their destination was to be southward to the Cosnina (Havasupai) villages or westward to Monterey. Monterey lost, and the party became unified in their immediate objective of heading south toward the Havasupai villages.

Many days were spent headed generally southward seeking the Colorado River. Water became scarcer, food provisions exhausted, and it became necessary to trade for food with the local Paiute Indians who had almost no meat. On October 23, still seeking the Colorado, the lack of meat forced the travelers for the first time to kill a horse for food.

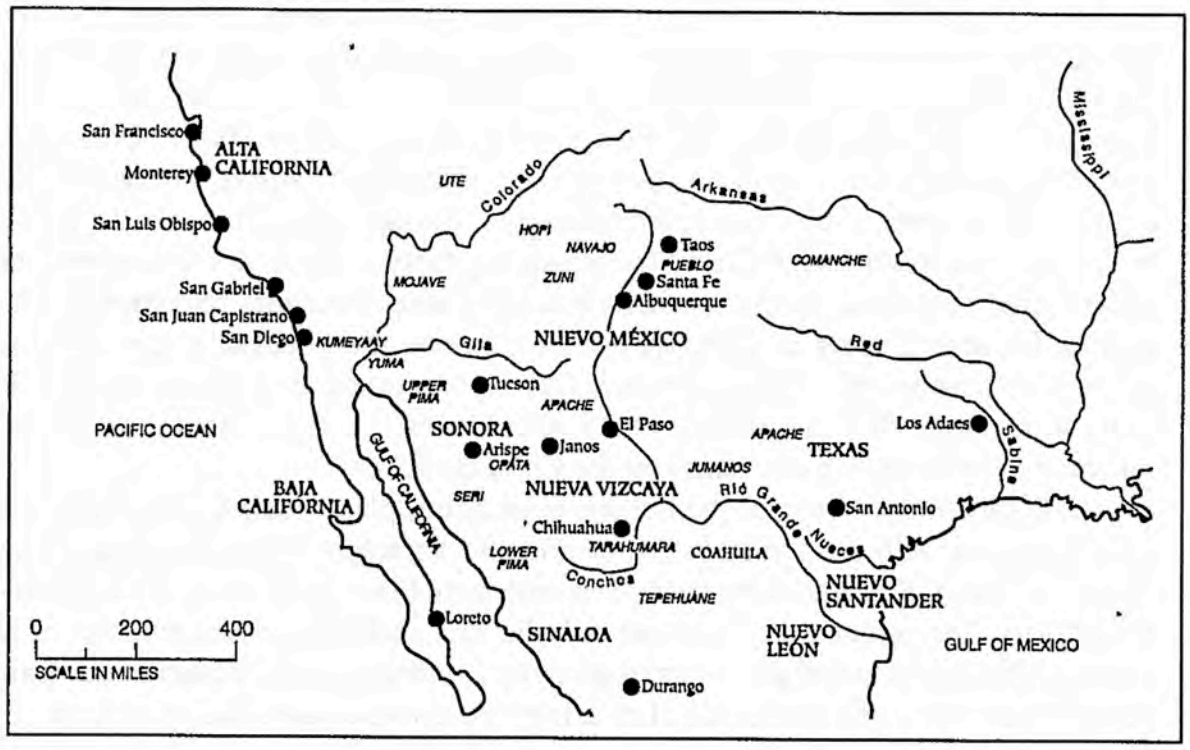
Heading for Arizona

Headed southward near what is today Cedar City, the party encountered a large marsh and met some local Ute women who said that the big river was not far off. Even though it was in fact quite distant, the travelers were animated and continued with only moderate difficulty. By October 15 the explorers hit the small Virgin River near what is today the Utah-Arizona border. Here they learned of the immensity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and were forced to make a great detour from the route thus far projected. In the midst of the Canyonlands the Spaniards were dismayed by the stark barrenness found everywhere. The party finally reached the Río Grande de Cosninas (the Colorado) just below what would later be called Lee's Ferry, after a most troublesome descent into the deep canyon through which the mighty river passes. In their frustration, they named the site San Benito Salsipuedes (Get Out if You Can). Men sent in advance to swim across the river found it very difficult and hardly had strength enough to explore and return, losing their clothing in the effort.

They spent nearly two weeks trying to find the best place where both men and animals might cross in safety. By then it was very cold and rations were again low, requiring slaughter of a second horse for food. Travel difficulties were extreme since the group had to go up and down sheer cliffs. Rain, hail, flash flooding, and unexpected delays beset them. They finally crossed at a place where the river was its widest and gave some footing on intervening sandbars. The passage was made successfully at a point that is now 550 feet deep under the waters of Lake Powell several miles east of where the Glen Canyon Dam was constructed two centuries later. The priests ascribed a great deal of the difficulty to the fact that there was no guide, but all joined in praising God and firing off the muskets once the "Crossing of the Fathers" was behind them. Some space in the expedition journal was dedicated to what should have been done and would need to be done in the future. They deemed the area around the crossing unsuitable for any sort of settlement.

Hopi Villages

From that point on, it was a matter of following a trail in the direction of the Hopi (Moqui) villages with the first stop being at Oraibi (which, along with Acoma, has the distinction of being one of the oldest continually occupied towns in the United States). The Hopi natives were friendly, since their leaders had ordered them to give the Spaniards a good reception, sell them provisions, and cultivate their friendship. Nevertheless, they were not to have anything to do with efforts that the visitors might make to preach to the natives. As discussed, during the entire colonial period the Hopi were considered to be obstinate as a result of their total refusal to accept Christianity. Domínguez and Escalante had hoped by good example to "exert anew our efforts on behalf of the light and meekness of the gospel, as against the willful blindness and



Map 10.2. Spanish settlement, circa 1776, Map by Stephanie Gould.

inveterate obstinacy" of those Indians. (Chávez and Warner, trans. and ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, pp. 108–9) The outcome was a long parley during which the Hopi asked for aid against the inroads of the neighboring Navajo and a possible alliance with the Spaniards. Because the priests insisted that Christianity was a prerequisite for any help, assistance was denied. The Hopi answered that they desired only Spanish friendship, but by no means wanted to become Christians as the ancient ones had counseled them never to subject themselves to the Spaniards. This failure by the Franciscans to convince the Hopi was a final disappointment.

Return to Santa Fe

From the Hopi villages onward was familiar territory to the group, particularly to Escalante, and thus it was not long before they were at the Zuni villages where Escalante had been serving prior to inception of the expedition. A stay of about three weeks at Zuni gave the explorers time for recuperation and performance of clerical chores, following which they made their way to Santa Fe and reported officially to Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta. It had been a long and arduous trip of 159 days during which the party had traveled over 1,700 miles, a distance which if better directed could have taken them as far as Monterey with much distance to spare. The expected follow-up to extend Spanish religious and governmental control into Utah and the Great Basin never materialized, though on the map of North America the area was considered part of Spain's colonial empire until 1821.

In summary, although the 1776 expedition has become well known historically, it was in great measure important for its negative result. The explorers had learned that

any route to California would be not only long, but filled with difficulty. The Utah Valley, though promising and within seventy-five years destined to be the site of thriving white settlements, was not sufficiently attractive to overcome contemporary drawbacks of distance and of geography. When the expedition was over, Father Domínguez was recalled to Mexico City from his canonical visitation to answer charges leveled against him by some of his disgruntled colleagues, though none of them had anything to do with his exploration. He spent the remaining thirty years of his life in missionary assignments elsewhere on the northern frontier. Father Escalante remained in New Mexico for several years of missionary service among the Pueblos, but in 1780 requested permission to return to Mexico City for treatment of a severe ailment. En route, at Parral, he died in that same year. Father Garcés, the object of some search, had returned to work among the Yumas on the Colorado River.

As a permanent legacy of the notable expedition, place-name donors have been more generous with the junior priest, creating an Escalante Desert, Escalante River, Escalante Forest, Escalante Mountain, Escalante State Park, and a town of Escalante—all in Utah. The senior priest has had only limited and belated conservation of his surname. But of the actual place-names given by Domínguez and Escalante, no vestige survives nor was much note made of its achievements until some 200 years later.

Map of Miera y Pacheco

Some years after completion of the notable expedition, and based on his notes or his memory of the terrain traversed, and on other sources of information, Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco drew a map. It was not a conventional map since it had illustrations and did not preserve proportion. It did, however, depict the area covered and clarified certain points. On it appears the Río de Buenaventura, clearly the Green River, one of the principal tributaries of the Colorado. Its existence in cartography, journals, and oral tradition later gave rise to a mythical river of the west, one which flowed instead to the Pacific Ocean. This may have resulted in confusion of oral information concerning the Bear River, the Snake River, the Great Salt Lake, and the Humboldt River, all combining some characteristics to create a river later sought by Hudson's Bay Company trappers and by U.S. Topographical Exploring Expedition officer John C. Frémont as late as mid-nineteenth century.

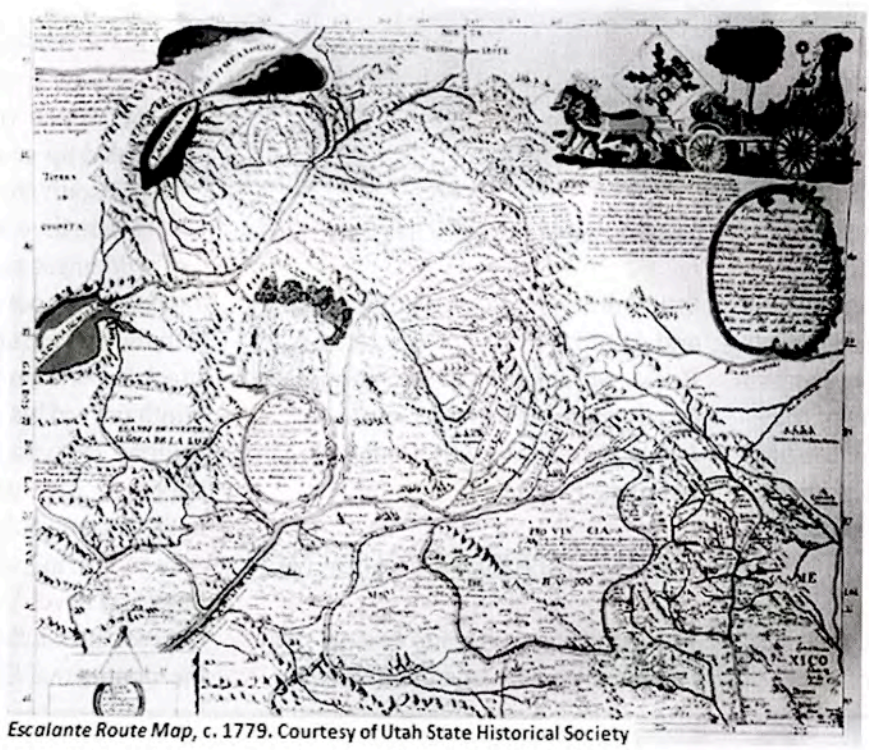
Although the results of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition to the Great Basin were for them very disappointing and none of their hopes for a short route to California or Franciscan missionary work were realized, 1776 did not mark the end of Spanish interest. As was seemingly the case before and after the Rivera expeditions of 1765, so too there were unrecorded and unofficial visits throughout the rest of the colonial period. The archival record offers little about these visitors, their motives, and their results, which is perhaps sketchy in proportion to the illegality of such activity.

San Agustín del Tucson Is Founded

During the next few years, problems on the northern Sonoran frontier occupied Spain's attention. Arizona was of growing interest, particularly with reference to its more realistic connection to the newly founded frontier province of Alta California. In



Map Showing the OST and the Dominguez-Escalante Route



Escalante Route Map, c. 1779. Courtesy of Utah State Historical Society

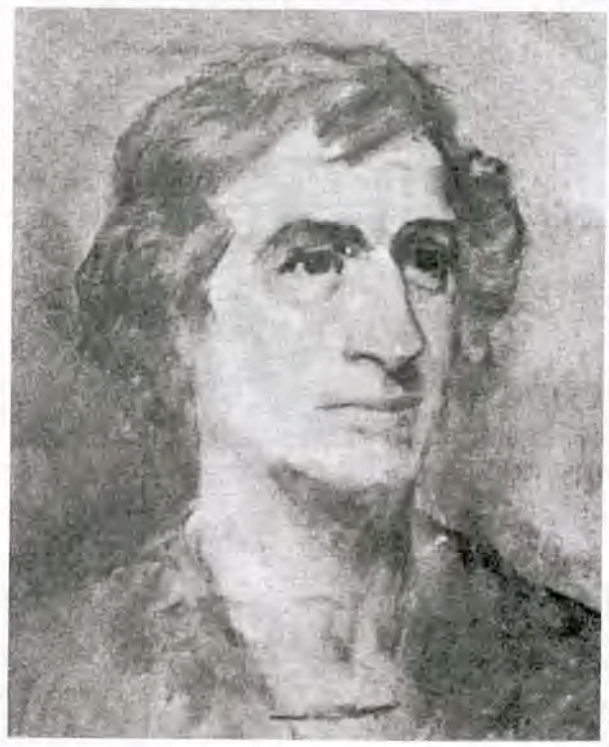
Jedediah Smith Overland to California

by John W. Robinson

The era of the fur trade bolted across the American West like a fiery meteor, rising from the eastern sky shortly after 1800, flaring into dazzling brilliance during the 1820s and early '30s, and fading to obscurity by 1840. Lewis and Clark, in their epic 1804-06 journey up the Missouri River, over the Rockies, and down the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean and return, made known this fabulous wilderness where beaver and other forms of fur-coated wildlife were abundant. Close on the footsteps of the Corps of Discovery came a breed of hardy, fearless, self-reliant men seeking to exploit these seemingly inexhaustible animal resources. These were the mountain men who reached into the far corners of the Rockies and beyond, contesting for the land with Indians, grizzlies, and rival trappers from the Hudson's Bay Company, in a frantic search for beaver-rich streams. This was a time when beaverskin hats, coats, muffs, collars, and linings were fashionable in the eastern United States and Europe. Top dollar was paid for the best pelts, and demand constantly exceeded supply while the fad lasted. When beaverskin went out of fashion, the time of the mountain man was over, and the little fur-coated mammal that once plied the mountain streams in abundance was close to extinction.

The legacy of the mountain men was the opening of the West for travel and settlement. In their adventurous journeys they learned the lay of the land and prepared the way for the great western migrations that were soon to follow. Their exploits became the stuff of legends.

St. Louis, Missouri, was the "home port" and outfitting center for much of the fur trade. Enterprising young men gathered by the dozens to sign on for trapping expeditions up the Missouri River into the heart of the little-known Rockies. William Ashley and Andrew Henry, proprietors of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, placed an advertisement in the *Gazette and Public Advertiser* of St. Louis, Mo., in February 13, 1822:



Jedediah Smith, as painted by George Mathis

TO ENTERPRISING YOUNG MEN

The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred men to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two or three years. For particulars enquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the Lead Mines, in the County of Washington, (who will ascend with, and command the party) or to the subscriber at St. Louis.

Wm. H. Ashley [1]

Among those who read Ashley's advertisement was a 23-year-old man fresh from doing odd jobs in Ohio and Illinois named Jedediah Strong Smith. The young man hurried to Ashley's office and signed on to the venture. By early May he was on a keelboat making its way up the Missouri. Born in Barnbridge, New York, in 1799, Jedediah Smith was no ordinary man. In contrast to the typical "mountain man," he was a literate, self educated, ambitious, and deeply religious person, a born leader who was soon admired and respected by most with whom he came in contact.

In the winter of 1822-23, Major Andrew Henry and his party of trappers (including Smith) holed up near the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, where they learned the rudiments of wilderness survival, hunting and trapping. No sooner did spring arrive than they were subjected to a ferocious attack by Arikara Indians, during which Smith proved his mettle and leadership abilities. He was given command of a trapping party that scouted for beaver in the region south of the Yellowstone. After wintering with the Crow tribe in the Wind River Valley, Smith and his men set out southwestward and crossed the Continental Divide via South

Pass in February 1824. South Pass, ıe easiest way across the northern Rockies, was Jedediah Smith's first major geographical discovery (actually rediscovery; the Astorians of the American Fur Company had used it in 1812, but it had been forgotten). South Pass later became the route through the Rockies for both the Oregon and California trails.

Over the next year and a half, Smith and his small party explored and trapped in what is now western Wyoming and Idaho. They reached as far north as the Hudson's Bay Company's Flathead Post on Clark's Fork of the Columbia River. The British trappers were suspicious of Smith's motives for entering territory claimed by them, but there was no overt hostility. Smith's group wintered along the Snake River with . Hudson's Bay Company trapping party led by Peter Skene Ogden.

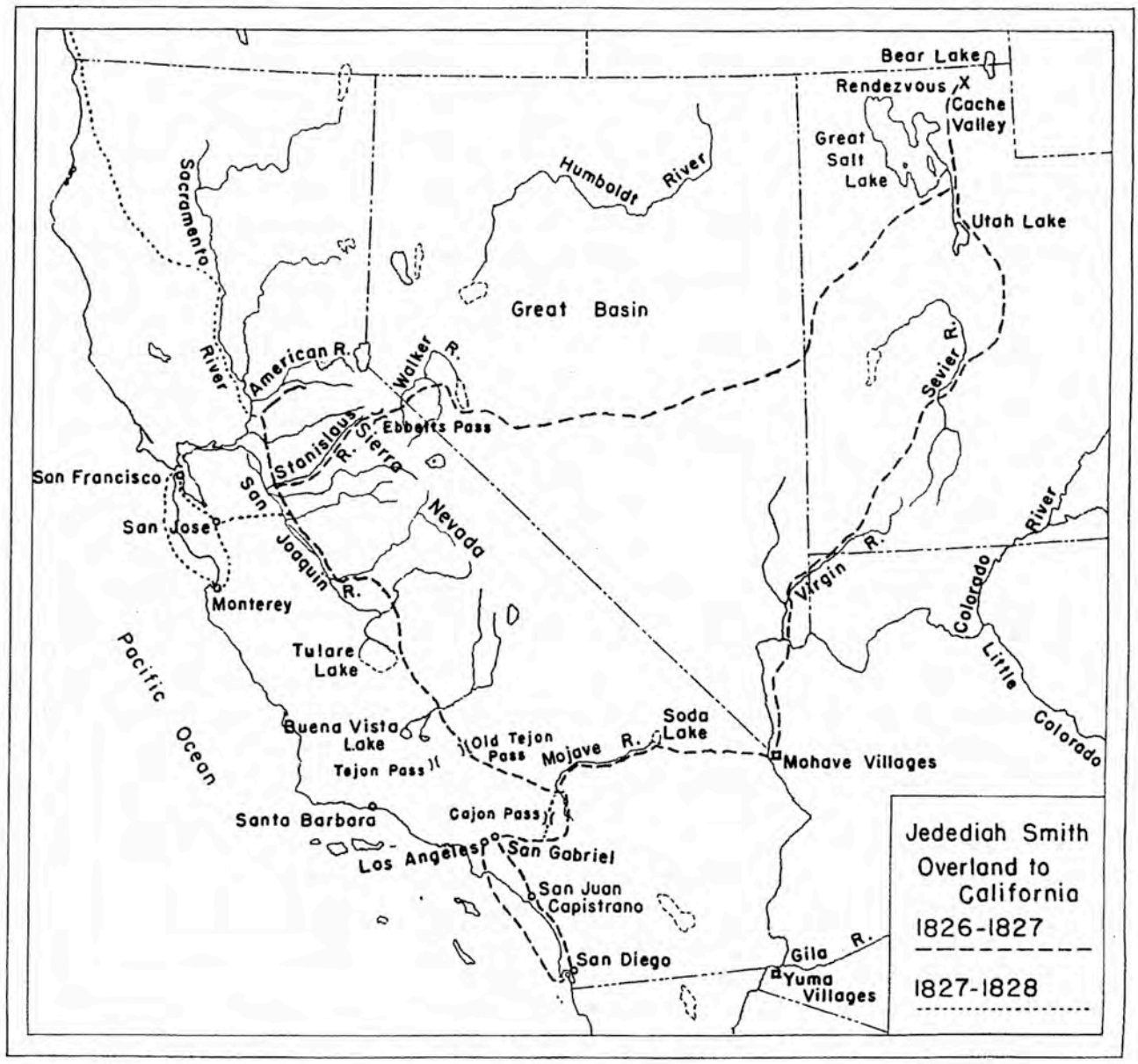
In July 1825, Smith met William Ashley, who had come from St. Louis with a caravan of trade goods for the first of the annual fur trade rendezvous. It was at this meeting on Henry's Fork of the Green River in southwestern Wyoming that Jedediah Smith became a full partner with Ashley. Ashley and Smith returned to St. Louis together, the latter after an absence of three years. Less than a month later, Smith again headed west with a trapping party. After wintering among the Pawnees, Smith was joined by Ashley and together they proceeded up the North Platte River, through South Pass, and on to the Green River on the route that became the Oregon Trail.
At the second annual fur trade rendezvous, held in Cache Valley, near the eastern end of the present Idaho-Utah border, in the summer of 1826, Ashley decided to give up his active participation in the trapping business. He made arrangements to sell out to Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and William Sublette. The partnership of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette was formed, with Ashley agreeing to supply provisions to the new partners and to them alone.

Following the summer rendezvous, the new partners headed out in different directions. Jackson and Sublette went north for the fall hunt, while Smith with seventeen men set out southward to ascertain whether there was good beaver country to the south and west of the Great Salt Lake.

This trapping expedition took Jedediah Smith and his men to California. Was it Smith's initial intention to enter the Mexican coastal province? Historians remain divided on this. Smith himself later claimed that he started south and then southwest simply to hunt beaver, and not until he reached the Mojave villages on the Colorado River near today's Needles did he, out of necessity because his men were desperately short of provisions, decide to cross the desert to the California settlements. In view of Smith's later dishonest dealings with Mexican authorities in California, his claim is questionable, to say the least.[2]

Whatever his motive, Smith led his men south from Cache Valley on or about August 15,1826. For a month and a half, stopping on several occasions to rest and trade with Indians, the trappers worked their way south through Utah and into southern Nevada. Descending the Virgin River, they arrived at the Colorado River on or about October 3. The great stream of churning, brownish water, called by Smith the *Seed-skeeder,* was crossed the next day. They made their painful way down the eastern side of the Colorado, forced to climb high above the river to get around the deep gorge of Black Canyon, and reached the Mojave villages around October 25.

By the time they arrived among the Mojave, Smith wrote, he "had lost so many horses that we were all on foot--my men and the remainder of my horses were worn out with fatigue & hardships & emaciated with hunger."[3] Smith and his men remained at the Mojave villages for fifteen days. The Mojaves--called *Amuchabas* by Smith--were an impressive looking people. The men were tall, well proportioned, and powerfully built, most of them wearing nothing but a loincloth. The women were generally short, some plump, others gracefully proportioned, and wore a short skirt fashioned from strips of bark. They lived on both sides of the river over a distance of about thirty miles, and had fashioned an oasis of agriculture that turned the river valley green. Smith and his men noted abundant fields of corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelon, and small patches of cotton and wheat. To the south, just beyond most of the Mojave villages, the distinctive landmark of the Needles, a series of slender rock pinnacles, stabbed several hundred feet into the sky.



Smith questioned the Mojaves about the surrounding country. To the south were barren lands as far as the junction of the Gila. He learned that ten days travel westward across the desert were the California missions. "Believing it impossible to return to the deposit [rendezvous] at this season and in my present situation I determined to prepare myself as well as possible and push forward to California where I supposed I might procure such supplies as would enable me to move on north. In that direction I expected to find beaver and in all probability some considerable river heading up in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake."[4] This passage in Smith's journal appears to support his later assertion that he had not originally intended to go all the way to California, but decided to do so when he found his party short of horses and provisions at the Mojave villages. It also indicates that he hoped to return to Salt Lake via the mythical Buenaventura River that was said to flow between the great inland body of water and the Pacific. He was about to learn the true geography of the Southwest the hard way.

Early in November 1826, Smith and his men set out on the last stage of their overland journey to the Pacific, fervently hoping to find a route across

the desert. "I made a raft and crossed he river and for the first day traveled nearly west passing through rocky hills by a deep ravine which brought me through to the plain, then a little north of west 15 miles to another range of hills where I found water and cane grass and encamped."[5]

Using a modern topographical map and visiting the scene, it is relatively easy to follow Smith's route. He left the Colorado at a point opposite what later became Fort Mojave, about fifteen miles north of present-day Needles, led by Indian guides along the north branch of the ancient Mojave Indian Trail. The "rocky hills" are the Dead Mountains, which he and his men crossed via the "deep ravine." The party made camp at Piute Spring, at the foot of the barren Piute Range. During the night the ndian guides departed taking with them one of the trappers' horses. Smith and his men crossed the Piute Range into the Lanfair Valley, where they were obliged to camp without finding water. "The idea came forcibly to-mind that it was the policy of the Indians to send me into the desert to perish," wrote Smith.[6] The party retraced their route back to the Colorado, where they found that the Mojaves living in the vicinity had all disappeared. They encountered an ex-mission neophyte named Francisco, who told them that the Mojaves had run off for fear they would be punished for stealing the horse. Francisco persuaded the runaways to come back, and one of the chiefs promised Smith that the horse would be returned. The chief told Smith the grass was better across the river and .arther south. Trusting the Mojaves, the party recrossed the Colorado and moved about ten miles south, not far from present-day 1-40, in the heart of the Mojave settlements.

Smith and his men remained several more days with the Mojaves, during which time the missing horse was returned and he was able to secure the service of two ex-mission Indians to guide him across the desert. They recrossed the river and on November 10,1826, started west once again. The first day they retraced their original route to Piute Spring, assured by their guides that this was the correct trail. The next day they crossed the Piute Range and followed the southern edge of the broad Lanfair Valley to a small spring at the foot of "a hill of rocks." This was probably today's Vontrigger Spring, and the Smith party camped there the night of November 11. Day three saw Smith and his men head "W N W crossing some ridges and passing some hills on our left. Just before night at the foot of a small hill we found a little spring or rather hole of water furnishing a verry [sic] inadequate supply for after taking out some to cook with I let the horses to it and they drank it all."[7] They spent the night at a small spring somewhere in the northern Providence Mountains. Many small springs and seeps grace this high desert mountain range, and it is impossible to determine which one was used by Smith and his men. Day four from the Colorado was a short one; they crossed the Providence Mountains, possibly via Macedonia Canyon, and struck northwest across Kelso Wash to a "little ravine" with grass and water, where they made camp in the early afternoon. They were almost certainly at Marl Spring, one of the dependable water sources on the Mojave Desert, long used by travelers, Indian and white. The next morning, November 14, Smith and his men traveled west south west, around the southern flank of Old Dad Mountain, and across a salt plain, today called the Devil's Playground, to a brackish spring surrounded by some grass, where they encamped. "The Salt Plain I had passed during the day was about 15 miles long and from four to six miles wide, entirely level and destitute of vegetation," wrote Smith.[8] They may have camped near the same spot that Francisco Garcés had fifty years earlier, the Franciscan father's *Pozo de San Juan de Dios.* They were at the southern edge of today's Soda Dry Lake, which is the sink of the Mojave River.

On day six Smith and his party headed west across the dry lake bed and entered "the dry Bed of a River on each side high hills. Pursuing my course along the valley of this river 8 or 9 miles I encamped. In the channel of the river I occasionally found water. It runs from west to east, alternately running on the surface and disappearing entirely in the sands of its bed," wrote Smith.[9] He named this strange watercourse the Inconstant River. It was the Mojave. For two days they followed the alternately wet and dry riverbed upstream. With their food supply dwindling to nothing, they came upon some strange bread cakes weighing eight to ten pounds, so hard that "an axe was required to break it and in taste it resembled Sugar Candy."[10] They later discovered that it was made from cane grass growing along the river banks. On their third day along the riverbed, Smith and his men saw horse tracks and other signs

that humans had passed this way a short time before. Their Indian guides told them that they belonged to the *wanyumas* tribe and that their villages were near. "After a long days travel I arrived late at a *wan yu ma* lodge," Smith wrote. "Close by were 2 or three families of the same tribe. Here I remained the following day and in the mean time was well treated by these indians. They gave us such food as they had consisting of a kind of mush made from acorns and pine nut bread made of a small berry This bread in appearance was like corn bread but in taste much sweeter. As there were in the neighborhood a plenty of hares the Indians said they must give us a feast."[11] The Indians went out with a large net and bagged two or three dozen of the wild rabbits. To suppliment the feast Smith and Harrison Rogers, clerk of the expedition, went out and killed two antelope.

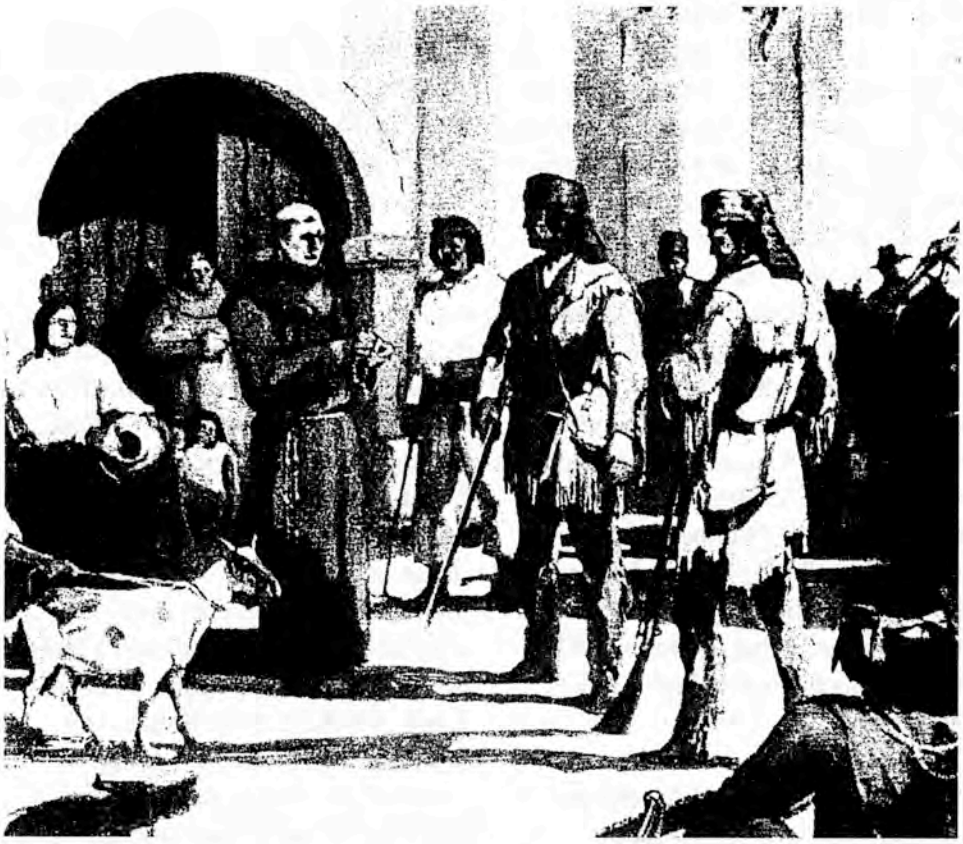
These friendly native peoples who Smith called *wanyumas* were *Vanyumes,* the same people Garcés visited fifty years before and called *Béneméé.* Smith's description is not detailed enough to identify just which Vanyume village he visited. A strong possibility would be *Atongai,* located just upstream from the Victorville Narrows, in today's Hesperia. "On the following day after making the indians some presents I moved on, keeping a right hand fork my course nearly S W, passing out at the head of this creek and over a ridge I entered a ravin [sic] running S W. I proceeded down it nearly to where it entered some high hills which were apparently covered with pine. At this place I encamped."[12] Smith and his men had continued up the Mojave River to its Forks at the northern foot of the San Bernardino Mountains, turned up the West Fork and crossed a low ridge into Summit Valley, near the site of today's Silverwood Reservoir. The next day they followed the old Mojave Indian Trail south into Sawpit Canyon, their route across the San Bernardinos, some eight miles east of Cajon Pass. They were "obliged to travel in the bed of the creek as the hills on both sides which were thick covered with cedar came in close and rugged."[13] They struggled up Sawpit Canyon to the crest of the mountains near present-day Monument Peak, and then descended the long ridge between Devil and Cable canyons into lower Cajon Creek and the northwestern edge of the San Bernardino Valley, just as Garcés had done a half century earlier. The country was now lush and green, with herds of cattle grazing here and there. It was November 26,1826, sixteen days from the Colorado, and these first mountain men to reach California overland felt they were in paradise. The verdant, well-watered land was in contrast to the desert over which they had so long journeyed.

Turning west, they followed the plain along the foot of the San Gabriel Mountains, fording the abundant waters of Lytle and San Antonio creeks, and camped near the latter. They encountered Indian *vaqueros* tending the large mission herds. One old Indian, who spoke good Spanish and appeared to be their leader, invited them to his quarters at La Puente, the largest stock rancho of Mission San Gabriel. Harrison Rogers, Smith's second in command who kept a day book of the expedition, described the ranch headquarters as "2 rows of large and lengthy buildings, after the Spanish mode, they reminded me of the British barracks." They were invited to dinner and, Rogers wrote, "There was great feasting among the men as they were pretty hungry not having had any good meat for some time."[14]

The old Indian suggested that Smith write a note to the fathers of Mission San Gabriel, some five miles west. Jedediah scribbled a few lines telling how his party reached California and their reason for being here. An Indian took the message to the mission, and a few hours later a corporal and a soldier came riding to La Puente with a message from the padre in charge written in Latin. Smith was unable to read it, but surmised that he was being invited to the mission. Leaving Rogers in charge of his men at La Puente, Jedediah, accompanied by the corporal and the soldier, rode on to Mission San Gabriel.

Father Jose Bernardo Sanchez gave Jedediah Smith a warm and kindly greeting. Jedediah found the priest charming in disposition with a lively manner, and exceedingly generous in sharing meals and providing comfortable living quarters. Smith hardly expected such a delightful reception.

Father Sanchez invited Smith to bring the rest of his company to the mission. Harrison Rogers and thirteen ragged-looking trappers arrived on the evening of November 28. Although the corporal took their firearms for safekeeping, all were treated with respect and generosity, and given all the food they could eat. Rogers, writing in his day book, was most impressed: "I was introduced to the



Jedediah Smith meets father Jose Sanchez at the San Gabriel mission on November 28, 1826. From a painting by Carl Oscar Borg.

2 priests over a glass of good old whiskey and found them to be very jovial friendly gentlemen. The supper consisted of a number of different dishes, served different from any table I ever was at. Plenty of good wine during supper, before the cloth was removed sigars [sic] was introduced.... They all appear friendly and treat us well, although they are Catholicks [sic] by profession, they allow us the liberty of conscience, and treat us as they do their own country men, or brethren."[15]

Smith and his men saw Mission San Gabriel at the height of its prosperity. Two padres, their assistants, and a dozen or so soldiers presided benevolently, if autocratically, over the daily lives of several thousand Indian neophytes who lived at the mission, on the mission ranches, or in small villages scattered over the vast mission lands. Rogers vividly described the mission activities: "The mansion, or mission, consist of 4 rows of houses forming a complete square, where there is all kinds of macanicks [sic] at work; the church faces the east and the guard house the west; the N. and S. line comprises the work shops. They have large vineyards, apple and peach orchards, and some orange and some fig trees. They manufacture blankets, and sundry other articles; they distill whiskey and grind their own grain, having a water mill... . They have upwards of 1,000 persons employed, men, women, and children, Inds. of different nations. The situation is very handsome, pretty streams of water running through from all quarters, some thousands of acres of rich and fertile land as level as a die in view, and a part under cultivation, surrounded on the N. with a high and lofty mou., handsomely timbered with pine and cedar, and on the S. with low mou., covered with grass. Cattle --the mission has upwards of 30,000 head of cattle, and horses, sheep, hogs, etc. in proportion.... They slaughter at this place from 2 to 3,000 head of cattle at a time; the mission lives on the profits."[16]

Shortly after his arrival at San Gabriel, Smith wrote to the Governor of California, José María Echeandía, who was at the time residing in San Diego. He described how and why he came to the Mexican Province, what he needed for the return journey, and requested permission to pass through California to the Bay of San Francisco, which he believed was the outlet of the elusive (and mythical, although Smith did not realize this) Buenaventura River. From there, he proposed to ascend the phantom watercourse eastward, through the mountains and across the desert, to its head near the Great Salt Lake.

It was two weeks before Echeandía answered, and Smith grew restive. He and his men enjoyed the idyllic comforts of the mission and became better acquainted with the padres, winemakers, and skilled workers. Jedediah wrote letters, sampled the mission wines, and strolled about the gardens and orchards, while Rogers filled his day book with descriptions of mission activities. Rogers was particularly impressed with Father Sanchez: "I must say he is a very fine man and a very much of a gentleman,"

and later, "Old Father Sanchus [sic] has been the greatest friend that I ever met with in all my travels, he is worthy of being called a Christian, as he possesses charity in the highest degree--and a friend to the poor and distressed, I ever shall hold him a man of God, taking us when in distress, feeding and clothing us--and may god prosper him and all such men."[17] Smith felt equal sentiment toward the priest, and when Sanchez complained about bears raiding the mission orchards, Jedediah built him a beartrap.

Smith befriended an old gentleman visiting the mission from *El Pueblo de Los Angeles.* When the old man, Francisco Avila, invited Smith to visit him in Los Angeles, he readily accepted. Avila dispatched his son with horses, and Jedediah with one of his men rode the dusty path ten miles to the pueblo. Smith gave us one of the earliest descriptions of Los Angeles by an American: "The Angel village in which my friend resided contained 70 or 80 houses, the walls of mud or unburnt brick and the roofs of thatch or tile. They were generally small and few of them cleaner than they should be.... the inhabitants cultivate but little ground depending on their cattle for subsistence. They are generally poor but a few families are rich in cattle, horses and mules and among these Senor Francisco Abela [sic] and his brother Don Ignatio are perhaps the richest."[18]

While waiting at the mission Jedediah Smith met Joseph Chapman, the first American to settle in Los Angeles. He had led an adventurous life. Chapman was a member of the Frenchman Hippolyte de Bouchard's sea raiders who sacked the California coast in 1818 and was captured by the Californios when he came ashore west of Santa Barbara. Chapman was taken to Mission Santa Barbara, then to San Gabriel, where the padres discovered that the prisoner had woodworking skills they very much needed to utilize. In 1821 he built a grist mill for Mission San Gabriel and became a favorite of Father Sanchez. Upon being given his freedom, Chapman settled in Los Angeles and proved his worth to the Californians by felling trees and hewing lumber, building a schooner, splinting broken bones, and performing a host of other services. He proved of value to Smith and his men by his fluency in both English and Spanish.

Smith also met several American seamen who were in Southern California on trading voyages. By the 1820s a lively trade had developed between Boston merchants and the Californios. Yankee ships would bring New England goods around Cape Horn to California ports--San Diego, San Pedro, and occasionally San Juan Capistrano in the southern part of the province--and return with hides and tallow, products of the vast mission herds. Captain William Henderson and his supercargo, James Scott of the brig *Olive Branch,* and Captain William Cunningham of the *Courier* appeared at San Gabriel during the overland trappers' two-week stay.

Smith and Rogers both commented on the darker side of mission life. The two young Indian guides who had led them from the Mojave villages to San Gabriel, described by Smith as "fine honest and well disposed boys" about sixteen years of age, were imprisoned. One was sentenced to death but was later pardoned through the intercession of a priest; the other died in prison. Smith was shocked by a flogging he witnessed. He wrote, "Indian inhabitants ... are kept in the strictest order, being punished severly [sic] for the most trifling offence or neglect. They are whipped like slaves, the whip being used by an indian, a soldier standing by with a sword to see that it is faithfully done."[19] Rogers commented, "They are kept in great fear; for the least offense they are corrected; they are compleat [sic] slaves in every sense of the word."[20] The severe punishments were supposedly administered with a feeling of benevolence; Father Estaban Tapis, president of the California missions, was quoted as saying, "Such are the chastisements which we inflict on the Indians in keeping with the judgment with which parents punish their own beloved children.[21] One wonders if the soldiers, who administered the beatings, felt the same "benevolence" as the padres.

Finally, on December 8, a message was received from Governor Echeandía requiring Smith's presence in San Diego. Next morning Jedediah, accompanied by Captain Cunningham and a soldier, mounted horses and headed south along *El Camino Real.* After spending nights at Missions San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Key, the party reached the Presidio of San Diego on December ll.

Echeandía received the trapper with formal courtesy. Smith described the governor as "much of a gentleman but very suspicious."[22] While Jedediah portrayed himself as an innocent victim of circumstances, Echeandía

suspected the intruder was a spy. If not a spy, the American trapper was at least an impudent trespasser who had disdained the formality of obtaining a passport or a license to trap in Mexican territory. The governor found it hard to believe that Smith and his men would undertake so difficult a journey merely to hunt for beaver pelts. Furthermore, why did Smith draw detailed maps of Mexican territory if not for a future military purpose?

Governor Echeandía decided to delay a decision until he had consulted with his military council and notified the government in Mexico City. To Smith's chagrin, he was told that he might be sent to Mexico City. Meanwhile, Jedediah was ordered to remain in San Diego, although the governor did allow him to reside on the brig *Courier* in San Diego Bay.

Smith, anxious to get on with his journey, came up with a solution acceptable to Echeandía. From the American sea captains whose ships were anchored in the bay, Jedediah obtained a certificate vouching for his character and the purity of his motives. Drawn up and signed by Captains William Cunningham, William Dana, Theodore Robbins, and several other ships' officers, the certificate was presented to Echeandía on December 20. The governor trusted these captains and valued their trade, an important source of income for Mexican California. Hence, the officers' declaration eased his suspicions regarding Smith. Governor Echiandía gave Smith and his men permission to leave California and to purchase horses and supplies. But the trappers would have to return via the same route they had used to enter the province; they were denied permission to travel north. And Smith was specifically forbidden to draw any maps of Mexican territory.

Documents recently discovered in Mexican archives suggest that Smith was more devious in his discussions with Governor Echeandía and the padres at Mission San Gabriel than many historians have supposed.[23] Jedediah, as we shall see, ignored the governor's orders upon reaching the Mojave Desert and turned north to trap in the San Joaquin Valley. Many historians, supposing the pious Smith could not have been deceitful, have written that he must have thought that once he left the coastal settlements he was out of California and "had complied with the Governor's orders."[24] But two newly discovered letters of Smith make it clear that he was fully aware that he was disobeying Echeandía 's directive. When the governor later learned that Smith was in the Central Valley and ordered his arrest, Smith invented the excuse that snow on the mountains had forced him to go north.[25] Jedediah's own diary, along with the day book of Harrison Rogers, reveal that snow was no obstacle until later, when they tried to cross the Sierra Nevada.

Perhaps there were other reasons why Jedediah Smith came to California and wandered all over the Far West. In his journals, he seems to betray a fundamental restlessness, an absorbing curiosity about what lies beyond the river, over the mountain, across the desert. And Manifest Destiny, the belief common to many Americans that their nation had a God-given mission to extend from ocean to ocean, may have been a factor in his decision to ignore Mexican sovereignty and flout the governor's orders.

But we are ahead of our story. With Echeandía's permission to leave California in hand, Jedediah sailed from San Diego Bay aboard Captain Cunningham's brig *Courier* on January 5,1827, and, after a short stop at Catalina Island, went ashore at San Pedro three days later. "Several cannon were fired as a signal to a farmer that lived 8 or 10 miles off who usually made it his business to come with horses to take people up to the Pueblo or to St. Gabriel," wrote Smith. "As the expected horses



Mission San Gabriel

did not come we started on foot and continued until we procured horses to take us to the Pueblo los Angelos or the Angels Village. We remained all night at the village and in the morning 1 called on my friend Senor Abella [Avila] and made arrangements for the purchase of horses and then to the Mission of St. Gabriel where I found my party all well."

The next eight days were spent preparing for the return journey. The mission blacksmith shop was used for making horseshoes, saddles were rigged, and provisions were secured. Jedediah went back to Los Angeles to procure horses and more supplies. Finally, on the morning of January 18,1827, they were ready to leave.

Down to fourteen men--one hid himself at San Gabriel and two had deserted before reaching the Colorado--the trapping party headed east on the well-worn mission trail. After spending a night at Rancho La Puente, they continued eastward to Rancho Jumuba which adjoins San Bernardino on the west. "I arrived at St. Bernardino [Jumuba] where I remained several days drying beef and breaking my young horses as well as looking for some that had strayed away," wrote Smith. "On leaving [San Gabriel] father Sanches he directed me to kill beef and as much as I could dry and to take meal peas corn wheat or any thing I wanted and such quantities as I chose,... evincing the most benevolent regard for my welfare."[27]

Smith and his men departed San Bernardino on February 1 and headed north across the mountains to the desert. Some historians have written that Jedediah, on his return trip, went through Cajon Pass, but a careful reading of his diary indicates that this is not so: "I left Bernardino accompanied by 2 or three Indians and moved on to the place where I had passed through the Mt and first came in sight of Cattle as I came in to the beautiful valley of St Gabriel and there I encamped. . . During the night it snowed and in the morning I again moved on nearly north crossing my old track and on the 3rd day from Bernardino I had got on the E [north] side of the Mt where there was no snow."[28] It appears that Jedediah Smith used the old Mojave Indian Trail over the top of the San Bernardino Mountains, some eight miles east of Cajon Pass, the same way he entered the coastal lowlands the previous November.

Once across the mountains, away from the eyes of Mexican authorities, Smith disobeyed Governor Echeandía's instructions and turned northwest, following the northern foot of the San Gabriel Mountains, into the Antelope Valley. After a delay of three days to recapture some of his horses which had strayed away, Smith continued his journey. He wrote, "I resumed my N W course for two short days travel, the low Mt still on my left and barren plains on my right, when I fell in with some indians who I suppose were runaways from some mission as they had some horses. I ascertained by enquiry of them that there were some streams and lakes ahead. I engaged a guide to conduct me to them and after two days travel still continuing my N W direction I arrived at a Lake called by Spaniards Too Larree or flag Lake."[29] Smith's account is not detailed enough to ascertain his exact route over the Tehachapi Mountains that separate the Mojave Desert and Antelope Valley from the great San Joaquin Valley. Some historians have written that he went over "Old" Tehachapi Pass, called Oak Creek Pass today, but this is unlikely. To cross by this pass at the eastern end of the Tehachapis, Smith would have had to travel north across the widest section of Antelope Valley, whereas he clearly states that he continued in a northwest direction. It appears almost certain that he crossed the mountains via either Cottonwood and Tejon creeks, the original or "Old" Tejon Pass, or via the present Tejon Pass and Grapevine Canyon, the route of present-day 1-5. The lake near the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley was undoubtedly Buena Vista and/or Kern Lake, which in times of high runoff were sometimes joined as one body of water. Smith was in the vicinity of present-day Bakersfield. Jedediah Smith and his party then headed north along the eastern edge of the San Joaquin Valley, fording numerous creeks that emit from the great Sierra Nevada to the east. The terrain was mostly barren at first, but as he continued north the country became more fertile. Beaver were found in the creeks, and elk, deer, and antelope roamed the foothills. By the end of April 1827, Jedediah had worked his way as far north as the American River in the Sacramento Valley, and his horses were packing some 1,500 pounds of beaver pelts. But getting all these pelts to the summer rendezvous north of the Great Salt Lake became a problem, as he could find no "Buenaventura River" that pierced the wall of the Sierra Nevada. Smith's first attempt

to cross the range, which he called 'Mount Joseph" in honor of Father José Sanchez, was via the canyon of the American River. Heavy snows blocked his way, and he was forced to return to the Central Valley. Word reached Governor Echeandía, now in Monterey, that Smith had violated their agreement. The angry governor ordered the trapper's arrest. Jedediah, meanwhile, had set up a secure camp along the Stanislaus River, east of present-day Stockton. He realized that he would be unable to reach the annual rendezvous, set to begin July 1, with his load of pelts.

Jedediah left Harrison Rogers and ten of his men with the furs and most of the horses in the Stanislaus camp, and with two men, seven horses, and two mules, set off to cross the now-packed Sierra on May 20. He apparently made his way up the North Fork of the Stanislaus to Ebbetts Pass, and down the eastern slope to the East Carson River--the earliest known crossing of the great barrier of the Sierra Nevada by a non-Indian. From the East Carson, Smith's small party headed east to Walker Lake, then struck out across the Great Basin of Nevada. Their route was through central Nevada, slightly north of today's Highway 6, then northeast to the Great Salt Lake. It was a difficult journey and they were obliged to kill several of their horses for food. On July 3,1827, they reached the trappers' rendezvous at Bear Lake in northeastern Utah.

The 1827 rendezvous lasted until uly 13, an orgy of drinking and womanizing in which Smith did not participate. He had more important things on his mind. He planned to return to California to rejoin the eleven men he had left along the Stanislaus, then trap his way north to the Columbia River.

Jedediah, reoutfitted with eighteen men and provisions for two years, set out once again on July 13, 1827. He would not return via the "Great Sandy Plain," as he called the Great Basin, nor would he try to follow the Buenaventura River which he now realized did not exist. He would take the roundabout route he knew from his first journey to California--south, then southwest to the Colorado River, west across the Mojave Desert, then north to relieve his men on the Stanislaus. Then his united party would trap their way north through northern California and Oregon. "I of course expected to find beaver which with us hunters is a primary object but I was led on by the love of novelty common to all which is much increased by the pursuit of its gratification."[30] In brief, the grand adventure would be enhanced by profit.

Smith and his men reached the Mojave villages in mid-August 1827. The Mojaves appeared to be friendly, as before. Here the trappers remained for three days, resting their horses and trading a few articles for beans, corn, pumpkins, and melons. All seemed to be well.

It was around August 18--Smith's journal does not give the date--when the trappers set out to cross the Colorado. Leaving the horses and ten men on the east bank, Smith and eight of his trappers embarked on cane rafts to cross the river. The Mojaves had waited for this moment. Without warning they pounced on the ten men left behind and within seconds killed them. Two Indian women accompanying the party were made captives. The horses and most of the provisions were seized. It appeared likely that Jedediah and his eight men on the rafts would suffer a similar fate when they reached the shoreline. Scattered some distance back from the west bank were several hundred Mojaves making menacing sounds. Fortunately Smith and his surviving men, with only five guns between them, were able to land, pack what few supplies they could carry, and start across the desert on foot. They had moved only a short distance when the Mojaves began to close on them. Jedediah directed his men back to the shoreline where, with the river guarding their rear, they had the best chance at survival, or at least could sell their lives as dearly as possible. They took up a "last stand" position in a thicket of small cottonwoods.

"With our knives we lopped down the small trees in such a manner as to clear a place in which to stand while the fallen poles formed a slight breast work," wrote Smith afterwards. "We then fastened our butcher knives with cords to the end of light poles so as to form a tolerable lance, and thus poorly prepared we waited the approach of our unmerciful enemies.... It was a fearful time, eight [nine] men with but five guns were awaiting behind a defence made of brush the charge of four or five hundred indians whose hands were yet stained with the blood of their companions.... I directed that

not more than three guns should be fired at a time and those only when the shot would be certain of killing. Gradually the enemy was drawing near but kept themselves covered from our fire. Seeing a few indians who ventured out from their covering within long shot I directed two good marksmen to fire. They did so and two indians fell and another was wounded. Upon this the indians ran off like frightened sheep and we were released from the apprehension of immediate death."[31]

What caused the Mojaves, so friendly on Smith's first visit, to turn to treachery? They might have been angry because another trapping party, this one from New Mexico and led by Ewing Young, had descended the Gila and moved north along the Colorado into Mojave territory, killing several Indians, since Smith's first visit.[32] We may never know for certain.

There were no further attacks and the Mojaves appeared to retreat out of sight. Just before nightfall the nine survivors struck out westward. They traveled all night, putting as much distance as possible between themselves and the Mojaves. Early the next morning they reached the first waterhole, probably Piute Spring that Smith had visited on his first journey. Here they remained all day to avoid traveling in the scorching August heat of the desert. As evening approached, the trappers continued their westward walk. Without an Indian guide, they depended on Jedediah's memory. But in the dark, landmarks are difficult to see, and Jedediah became lost. As dawn approached he climbed a low hill but recognized nothing. Smith and one of his men went on to a higher hill in search of water and the trail he had followed nine months before. Below the hill they found a small spring and Jedediah sent his companion back to fetch the men who had stayed behind. With the party reunited, Smith climbed another high hill and finally saw terrain he recognized. They were about five miles north of the trail and a good water source. Jedediah rejoiced, and the party headed south to the abundant spring he remembered, reaching it at ten o'clock the next morning. This was most likely Marl Spring. "We then remained during the remainder of the day and the following night, and in the morning early we started but instead of following the old trail I turned to the left and struck directly for the Salt Plain [Soda Lake]," Smith wrote. "The day was extremely warm and consequently we suffered much from thirst, my men more than myself for they had not been accustomed to doing without water as much as I had."[33] Jedediah and six of his party reached a small water seepage on the edge of the salt plain; water was taken back to the two men who had faltered and the whole party was reunited by nightfall. After dark they crossed the plain to waterholes Smith had dug on his previous trip.

Next day they reached the canyon mouth of Smith's "Inconstant River," the Mojave. Jedediah found it drier than the year before. Eight miles up the sandy riverbed, they came upon a small Paiute party with two horses. With some cloth, knives, and beads he had carried from the Colorado, Jedediah traded for the horses. Water became more plentiful as they ascended the Mojave. Near present-day Hesperia they came upon a Vanyume village, undoubtedly *Atongai,* where they received a friendly greeting--Jedediah had been there the previous November--and were able to purchase two more horses.

Smith had now decided, after his disaster at the Colorado, to return to the California settlements to replenish his supplies and buy more horses, risking the wrath of Governor Echeandía. "I concluded to again try the hospitality of the Californians," he wrote. "I had left with my party on the Appelamminy [Stanislaus] a quantity of beaver furs, and if the Governor would permit me to trade, and I could find any person acquainted with the value of furs, I might procure such supplies as would enable me to continue my journey to the North."

From the Vanyume village Smith now took a different route to the California coastal plains. He wrote, "Instead of traveling south east around the bend of the stream [Victorville Narrows] I struck directly across the Plain nearly S S W to the Gape [sic] of the mountain [East Cajon Creek]."[35] Thus Jedediah Smith became the first American to cross Cajon Pass, although Spaniards had traversed it on several occasions--Pedro Fages in 1772, Father Zalvidea in 1806, and the Nuez-Moraga party in 1819.

On reaching the San Bernardino Valley, probably on August 28, the trappers encamped and set about killing several cattle and drying the meat, enough to support the party "through the barren country between Bernardino and the Appelamminy." Smith sent word to the Rancho San Bernardino *estancia,* on the southern edge of the broad valley, about what

his men were doing. The *majordomo* ode out and invited Jedediah to the rancho headquarters. Smith was treated as an honored guest and was able to buy a few horses.

The party remained at San Bernardino five days, recuperating and replenishing their provisions. During the stay, Jedediah wrote to Father Sanchez, explaining the situation, but did not visit Mission San Gabriel. Two of the trappers decided to remain at San Bernardino--Thomas Virgin, who had not yet recovered from his wounds, and Isaac Galbraith, a "free trapper" who preferred to stay in this verdant, sunny land.

On or about September 2, Smith and his six remaining trappers set out for the Stanislaus River. Jedediah traveled north via the same route he had previously used, crossing into the great Central Valley of California by one of the Tejon passes, and reached the camp on the Stanislaus on September 18. (Smith's journal now becomes precise on dates, although he wrote August 18 instead of the correct September 18 in this particular entry.) Harrison Rogers and the ten trappers left there the previous May appeared well but somewhat anxious in anticipation of Smith's arrival. They had passed a pleasant summer hunting deer, elk, and antelope and had gotten along well with the Indians. A Mexican unit had visited their camp and appeared satisfied with Rogers' explanation of why they were there.

Jedediah stayed two days at the Stanislaus camp, making arrangements for the fall beaver hunt, then set out with three men for Mission San Jose, seventy miles west, "to try once more the hospitality of the Californians." He and his men arrived on September 23. Fathers Narciso Durán of Mission San Jose and José Viader of Mission Santa Clara appeared shaken by Smith's sudden appearance and "did not appear disposed to hear me, and told me I could go no further and soon showed me the way to the guardhouse. My horses were [taken] away and for two days I could get no satisfaction whatever."[36] Jedediah was visited by an American living in San Jose by the name of William Welch. He asked Welch to intercede with Father Durán and gain him an interview. But all the priest would tell him was that an officer from the Presidio of San Francisco would soon arrive to determine his fate.

When Lieutenant Ignacio Martínez finally arrived from San Francisco, Jedediah was informed that he was to be tried as an intruder and for claiming land in the San Joaquin Valley. Smith remained in detention in San Jose awaiting trial. On October 26 he wrote to Governor Echeandía in Monterey in an effort to explain his presence, to obtain provisions and to get authorization to leave California. Echeandía ordered Smith brought to him in Monterey under armed guard.

The governor was not satisfied with Jedediah's explanations and again threatened to send him to Mexico City. Why had the trapper not left California by the way he came as he had agreed to do after his first intrusion into Mexican territory? Why had he returned without authorization? Fortunately for Smith, there were people in Monterey who agreed to vouch for his conduct (although none of them had known him before). William Hartnell, an Englishman who had resided in the then California capital for several years and was on friendly terms with Echeandía, was most helpful. Hartnell came up with a plan that, after protracted negotiations, resulted in Jedediah's release. Captain John Rogers Cooper of the American trading schooner *Franklin,* along with the captains of three other vessels anchored in Monterey Bay, agreed to post bond and guarantee Smith's final departure from California. Jedediah was able to sell enough furs to the cargo master of the *Franklin* to reoutfit his party and buy some horses. On November 15, 1827, Smith received his passport and boarded the *Franklin,* bound for San Francisco. He had instructed Harrison Rogers and the rest of his trapping party to meet him there.

Upon reaching San Francisco, Smith called on Luis Argüello, *comandante* of the presidio and port. Argüello insisted that Smith and his men follow Echeandía's instructions to the letter--skirt the southern shore of San Francisco Bay, then proceed north to Mission San Francisco Solano, northernmost California mission, in today's Sonoma. A military escort would accompany the trappers to that point, and "from there the Americans may continue toward the north until leaving our territory." Argüello did give Smith permission to spend a few days at San José to prepare for his journey. Before leaving San Francisco, Jedediah sold the remainder of his furs to the master of the *Franklin,* which allowed him to purchase much needed supplies and 250 horses at ten dollars apiece, which he planned to drive to the next annual trappers' rendezvous and sell at a considerable profit.

Jedediah's reunited party moved south to the "farm," as he called it, near Mission San Jose. Here they would pasture the horses and prepare for their long journey. Tensions between Smith and Mexican authorities mounted again when Argüello insisted that the trappers obey the governor's instructions to go north under military escort and Smith demurred. Jedediah used the excuse that he could not find a boat to cross Carquinez Strait of the Sacramento River at the northeastern end of San Francisco Bay, which he still called the "Buenaventura River" even though he now knew that it did not flow from Salt Lake. But his true reason, obvious from his later journal entries, was his desire to revisit the beaver-rich streams to the east, emitting from "Mount Joseph" [The Sierra Nevada] .

In the face of Argüello's intransigence, Jedediah decided on a course of deception. "I apparently acquiesced but left him [Argüello] with a determination fixed to take my own course."[38] When his party was finally ready to leave, Smith lied to Father Durán, telling the priest that they were heading a short distance east "under the pretense of moving to better grass."[39]

On December 30,1827, Jedediah and his trappers slipped away from San Jose in the rain. In the next few days they moved east, then northeast, and crossed the "Buenaventura" River (in this case the San Joaquin) to trap the abundant streams that flowed down from the great Sierra. "Having been so long absent from the business of trapping and so much perplexed and harassed by the folly of men in power, I returned again to the woods, the river, the prairie, the camp & the Game with a feeling somewhat like that of a prisoner escaped from his dungeon and his chains."[40] Jedediah was overjoyed to be freed from the constraints of Mexican authorities and to be back in the wilderness.

Comandante Argüello, on the other hand, was furious upon learning of Smith's illegal departure. In a letter to Governor Echeandía, he called the American trapper devious, ungrateful, and lawless.

Jedediah Smith never returned to Southern California. A brief summary of the three adventure-filled years left to him will suffice. During the early months of 1828, Jedediah and his men, twenty in all, moved north through the Sacramento Valley, trapping and hunting. Near the northern end of the great valley, they veered northwest through difficult mountain country--today called the Klamath Knot--and reached the ocean on May 19. They left Mexican territory and traveled north along the Oregon coast, passing the Rogue River and turning up the Umpqua to its northern tributary later known as the Smith River, in Jedediah's honor. Along the way they had several unfriendly encounters with Kelawatset Indians. On July 14,1828, Smith and two of his men set out to find the best route through the mountains to the Willamette Valley. Jedediah instructed Harrison Rogers not to allow any Indians into camp, but for some unknown reason Rogers allowed a large party of around a hundred Kelawatsets to enter. The Indians, in revenge for recent incidents that caused them humiliation, suddenly fell upon the trappers and butchered all but one man, Arthur Black, who managed to escape into the woods. When Smith and his two companions returned, they were fired upon by the Indians but managed to escape. The Umpqua Massacre, as it came to be called, took the lives of Harrison Rogers and fourteen trappers.

Arthur Black, believing he was the only survivor, made his way north to the Columbia River, reaching the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver on August 8. Two days later, Jedediah and his two companions came in. Dr. John McLoughlin, the Hudson's Bay Company's factor at the post, sent an expedition to punish the Kelawatsets and recover as much of Smith's goods and as many of his stolen horses as they could. Jedediah accompanied the party. In a three-month search, about half of the furs were recovered and a few of the horses.

Jedediah sold most of the recovered furs and horses to the Hudson's Bay Company. In March 1829, accompanied by Arthur Black (the other two surviving trappers remained in Oregon), Smith journeyed up the Columbia River and over the northern Rockies to Flathead Post, in what is now Montana. In the fall, winter, and spring of 1829-1830, Jedediah, part of the time accompanied by another well-known mountain man named Jim Bridger, trapped the mountain streams from western Montana into Wyoming. At the 1830 rendezvous on the Wind River, Smith and his partners, David Jackson and William Sublette, sold their fur business. Jedediah returned to St. Louis and became involved with the Santa Fe trade. He left St. Louis with a large trade caravan in April 1831. On a dry stretch of the

Santa Fe Trail between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, Smith left the caravan and went looking for water. He was surprised at a waterhole by a party of Comanches and killed on May 27,1831. He was not yet thirty-three years of age.

During his short life, Jedediah Smith became arguably the greatest of the Western mountain men. He made the effective discovery of South Pass through the Rockies, was the first white man to reach California overland from the American frontier, was first to cross the Sierra Nevada, first to travel the length and width of the Great Basin, and first to go by land from California to Oregon. True, he was no saint; he flouted Mexican sovereignty, broke the rules, and lied to officials and priests like during his two sojourns in California. But his leadership qualities, his persistence in the face of hardship, his fearlessness, and, most of all, his adventurous spirit, placed him in the front ranks of Western explorers. And he pioneered the way for what first became a trickle, then a stream, and finally a flood of Americans into California.

This article appeared originally in the Dogtown Territorial Quarterly.



End Notes

1. Dale Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of theWest* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1953), pp. 19-20. Morgan's definitive biography replaced Maurice S. Sullivan, *Jedediah Smith: Trader and Trailbreaker* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1936), an excellent first biography of the trailblazing trapper.
2. Morgan, p. 193.
3. Ibid., p. 199.
4. George R. Brooks (ed.), *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977), pp. 77-78.
5. Brooks, p. 78.
6. Ibid., p. 79.
7. Ibid., p. 87.
8. Ibid., p. 89.
9. Ibid., p. 89.
10. Ibid., p. 90.
11. Ibid., pp. 91-92.
12. Ibid., p. 92.
13. Ibid., p. 93.
14. Harrison Clifford Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1941), p. 194.
15. Dale, p. 195.
16. Ibid., p. 196.
17. Ibid., p. 222.
18. Brooks, pp. 109-110. Francisco and Antonio Ignacio Avila were two of the children of Cornelio Avila, who settled in Los Angeles in 1783 (Bancroft, *Pioneer Register, p.* 45.)
19. Brooks, pp. 108-109.
20. Dale, pp. 201-202.
21. Quoted in Richard F. Pourade, *Time of the Bells* (San Diego: Union Tribune Publishing Co., 1961), p. 110.
22. Morgan, p. 205.
23. David J. Weber, *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827: A New Cache of Documents* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1990), pp. 14-15,19.
24. Morgan, p. 207.
25. Weber, p. 19.
26. Brooks, p. 126.
27. Ibid., p. 131.
28. Ibid., pp. 131-132.
29. Ibid., p. 133.
30. Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline Including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder* (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1934), p. 26.
31. Ibid., pp. 30-31.
32. Morgan, pp. 238-239.
33. Sullivan, *Travels,* p. 32.
34. Ibid., p. 30.
35. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
36. Ibid., p. 36.
37. Weber, p. 50.
38. Sullivan, *Travels,* p. 50.
39. Ibid., p. 53.
40. Ibid., p. 54.

Review the BLM National Scenic and Historic Trails Plan

Of the twenty-three National Scenic and Historic Trails, twelve cross public lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). For the first time, the BLM is taking a closer look at how it will manage these trails by developing a National Scenic and Historic Trails Strategy and Work Plan. In the spirit of citizen participation embodied in the National Trails System Act, the agency is making the draft plan available for comment until July 1, 2005. This is an opportunity for the public to assist the BLM in setting the stage for managing this program now and in the future. Individuals interested in reviewing the plan can request an electronic or printed copy by calling (202) 208-3516.

12th Annual OSTA Conference
Community Connections for the National Trails System

Mark your calendars for the 12th Annual OSTA Conference on June 17-19, 2005 in Las Vegas, Nevada. The Conference will be held jointly with the Partnership for the National Trails System's 10th Annual Conference on National Scenic and Historic Trails. *Community Connections for the National Trails System* is the joint conference theme.

An educational line-up of speakers has been arranged for Friday's symposium, which will be chaired by Paul Ostapuk. Symposium presenters will be Eva Jenson who will give us some insight on "Southern Nevada's 'Lost City,' Prehistory along the Old Spanish Trail"; Greg Seymour who will discuss "The Las Vegas Springs, A Crossroads in the Mojave Desert"; and John Robinson and Liz Warren who will share their research on Antonio Maria Armijo.

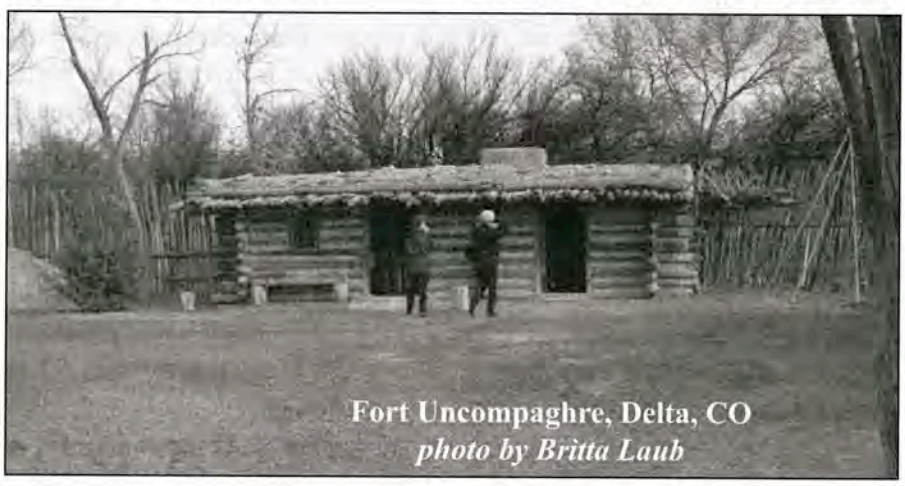
On Saturday, after the chapter reports and presentations, the Keynote Address will be delivered by Steve Elkinton, the Program Leader of the National Trails System Program, National Park Service. The General Membership Meeting and the Meeting of the New Board will follow. On Saturday afternoon, conference goers will be able to attend the PNTS Capacity-Building Workshop (Part 1) or spend the afternoon on their own. Dinner will be at the Embassy Suites Hotel; our after-dinner speaker will be Dr. Michael Green, author, editor, and professor of history at the Community College of Southern Nevada. Dr. Green's talk is entitled "Las Vegas: What Happens Here Could Happen Anywhere?"

On Sunday, June 19, conference goers will have a choice of attending the morning Capacity-Building Workshop (Part 2) and selecting between the two afternoon field trips *or* taking one of the two full-day field trips, one east and the other west of Las Vegas. The two all-day trips, one south and the other north of Las Vegas will be conducted by motorcoach with Old Spanish Trail tour guides on board. Hal Steiner will lead the day trip south to Amargosa Valley and China Ranch. Char Cruze will lead the tour north to Muddy River/California Crossing. This event will provide OSTA conference attendees with the opportunity to socialize with our fellow trail representatives from some 30 different scenic and historic trails, and federal agencies. On Sunday evening there will be a barbecue at Spring Mountain Ranch.

From Monday, June 20 through Wednesday, June 22, OSTA members are encouraged to attend the plenary and workshop sessions of the PNTS Conference on Scenic and Historic Trails.

For continuing updates, visit the conference website at http://oldspanishtrail.org/assn/conference.shtml.

Conference Hotel:
Embassy Suites
4315 Swenson Street, Las Vegas
Telephone: (702) 795-2800
or 1-800- EMBASSY
www.embassysuites.com



Fort Uncompaghre, Delta, CO
photo by Britta Laub

OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

P.O. Box 7
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ANTONIO ARMIJO TRAIL
(1829-1830 Expedition)

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Antonio Armijo was a Spanish Mexican explorer and merchant who in 1829 and 1830 led an expedition to find a trade route between New Mexico and Los Angeles. This was the first trading expedition between New Mexico and Los Angeles. It was so successful that annual expeditions were made thereafter until 1848.

ROUTE



- **November 7, 1829:** Left Abiquiu New Mexico
- West down Largo Canyon
- **November 15, 1829:** San Juan River
- **November 19, 1829:** Left the main branch of the Old Spanish Trail
- **November 21, 1829:** Junction of the San Juan and Mancos Rivers
- **November 25, 1829:** Chinle Creek
- **November 27, 1829:** Church Rock
- **November 29, 1829:** Boiling Springs = Navajo National Monument
- **November 30, 1829:** Upper Crossing Spring = Paiute Canyon
- **December 2, 1829:** Junction of the Navajo and Kaibito Creeks
- **December 6, 1829:** Crossing of the Fathers = Colorado River
- **December 9, 1829:** Wahweap Creek, White [Blanco] Canyon
- **December 10, 1829:** Settlement of Payuches, Red Ridge [artenejál of Ceja Colorado]
- **December 11, 1829:** Creek of Ridge [Ceja] Canyon
- **December 12, 1829:** Crossed Cockcomb and the north end of Kaibab Mountain, Top of the tree-covered ridge
- **December 13, 1829:** Colorado Pueblo
- **December 14, 1829:** Reached Ram [Carnero] Creek = Kanab Creek
- **December 15, 1829:** At Water of the Old Woman [Agua de la Vieja] = Pipe Spring
- **December 16, 1829:** Coyoto Plains
- **December 17, 1829:** Limestone [Caloso] Canyon - Hurricane Cliffs
- **December 18, 1829:** Stopped: Reconnaissance party went out and returned with nothing to report
- **December 19, 1829:** Stinking Water Canyon
- **December 20, 1829:** Junction of the Pearce Wash and Severe [Severo] = Virgin River
- **December 21, 1829:** Stopped: Reconnaissance party went out
- **December 22, 1829:** Followed the Virgin River to the Cornfield [Milpas] = Santa Clara River; Reconnaissance party rendezvoused without mishap
- **December 23, 1829:** Headed up the Santa Clara River to Little Wild Squash [Calabacillas] Arroyo
- **December 24, 1829:** Below the Santa Clara River, Crossed over Utah Hill
- **December 25, 1829:** Hit the Virgin River again at Littlefield from where a reconnaissance party went out
- **December 26, 1829:** Down the Virgin River
- **December 27, 1829:** Indian settlement (natives had rings in their noses and were non-hostile
- **December 28, 1829:** Down the Virgin River
- **December 29, 1829:** At the slough of the Virgin River
- **December 30, 1829:** Along the Virgin River
- **December 31, 1829:** Along the Virgin River, the reconnaissance party rendezvoused (missing Rivera)
- **January 1, 1830:** Junction of the Virgin and Colorado [Rio Grande] Rivers
- **January 2, 1830:** Rugged trail along the Colorado River
- **January 3, 1830:** Rugged trail along the Colorado River
- **January 4, 1830:** Stopped: Reconnaissance party went in search of Rivera
- **January 5, 1830:** Stopped: Reconnaissance party returned without Rivera
- **January 31, 1830:** Arrived at the San Gabriel Mission

HISTORY

The party of 60 men and a pack string of 100 mules left Abiquiu New Mexico on November 7, 1829.

Expedition members included:
Antonio Armijo
Salvador Maes
??? Rivera
???

They passed through Washington County during the later half of December 16 and 24, 1829.

They arrived at the San Gabriel Mission near Los Angeles on January 31, 1830.

Armijo and his men traded wool to the Californios for horses and mules.

The Armijo party left Los Angeles to return to New Mexico on March 1, 1830.

They arrived back at Abiquiu on April 25, 1830.

The horses a mules they acquired in California were sold for a substantional profit.

PHOTOS

TBD

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From the San Juan to the Virgin – **Armijo's 1829 Journey along the 37th Parallel**

by Steve Heath
President, Old Spanish Trail Association



photo by Ron Archibald

Prof. Steve Heath, SUU

Antonio Armijo's pioneering trek from Abiquiu, New Mexico to Los Angeles, California in 1829–30 was the first of numerous trading expeditions between the two isolated regions of northern Mexico. His success resulted in annual expeditions until 1848 along what later became known as the Old Spanish Trail between Santa Fe and the "City of Angels." Armijo's journey was unique not only because it was the first successful trading venture, but also because he followed a path that was not used again by Spanish Trail travelers, a path that paralleled the rugged country along today's Arizona-Utah border.

The knowledge of Armijo's trip was not brought to the attention of historians of the southwest until Leroy and Ann Hafen published his journal in their classic book, *Old Spanish Trail - Santa Fe to Los Angeles* in 1954 (Hafen & Hafen, 1954; 155–170). Though Armijo's journal entries are cryptic, a careful reading of them and a familiarity with the topography of the region they traveled make it possible to retrace the route of this historic undertaking. The Hafens' commentary on the diary gave us the first general description of their path. In essence, they claimed that Armijo's party of 31 men (another report says 60 men) headed west from Abiquiu, down Largo Canyon, crossed the San Juan, Animas, and La Plata Rivers (in New Mexico) and reached the Mancos River (in Colorado) south of what is now Mesa Verde National Park. After descending the Mancos River Canyon and crossing the San Juan River for a second time, they traversed Navajo Indian country to the Colorado River with the aid of a Navajo guide. They crossed the Colorado at one of its most famous places, known today as the "Crossing of the Fathers." The historic crossing was named for the Spanish Fathers Domínguez and Escalante after their November 1776 crossing of the river.

Traveling further west, the group reached the Virgin River near St. George, Utah. After ascending the Santa Clara River, they re-joined the Virgin at Littlefield, Arizona and followed it to its junction with the Colorado River. From that point they traveled down the Colorado to Vegas Wash east of Henderson, Nevada. Exiting to the west, the Hafens credit Armijo with the establishment of the southern route of the Old Spanish Trail across the Mojave Desert from Las Vegas to Los Angeles.

The Hafens' interpretation went unchallenged until 1974 when Elizabeth Warren presented us with a different view of Armijo's trace in the Las Vegas region (Warren, 1974). Liz, past-president of OSTA, is one of a few responsible for convincing the National Park Service that the Old Spanish Trail was worthy of national trail designation and that the southern route needed to be included (Lewis, 2003; 10). This paper today concentrates on Armijo's trace between the party's departure from the San Juan River on November 21st to their arrival at the Virgin River on December 20th.

From the San Juan to the Colorado:

Fortunately for us Yale University geologist, Herbert E. Gregory, undertook detailed studies of the water resources in the Navajo Indian Reservation between 1909 and 1913 for the United States Government and the Navajo Tribe. His United States Geological Survey Water-Supply Paper #380 was published in 1916. This comprehensive study identifies all the reservation's springs and rivers (Gregory, 1916; 93–94, 149–158). In addition, the maps accompanying this important study indicate the location of the major trails on the reservation before the impact of modern routes and roads. Gregory's study and Armijo's journal make it clear that, after leaving the San Juan River, they traveled a

path near our Four Corners Monument for a camp at "the springs of Navajo Mountain" (Mission Spring on the north side of the Carrizo Mountains). At the springs the group traded eleven mares for a Navajo guide. The guide, who is not named, probably stayed with Armijo until December 2nd where he left them at a point near the Colorado River.

From the Carrizo Mountains they traveled west to "Escondido Spring" (Hogansaani Spring) on the Walker River. The next day they obtained water in the bottom of "Chelli Creek" (Chinle Wash). From Chinle Wash they moved further west until they reached the perennial water of Laguna Creek. The route paralleled present-day Arizona Highway 160. Population growth at Kayenta, Arizona and the recent drought in the southwest has dried the stream. On November 26th Armijo wrote: "At the rock artenesales". This is almost certainly the intrusive volcanic neck of Church Rock, which is just west of Kayenta, but might also be Baby Rock a little further east. The traders then ascended the narrow canyon to the southwest to "mountain pass of Las Lemitas" (Marsh's Pass and middle Laguna Creek). In 1829 there was a meadow here. At Marsh's Pass the old Navajo trail turned to the northwest through the heart of present-day Navajo National Monument. Armijo's group did not mention the spectacular ruins at Betatakin and Keet Seel, most likely because the ruins were in side canyons away from the main trail. The goal for the party was "the water hole of El Cuervo" (Boiling Spring) in Segi Canyon. Gregory described the perennial spring, which produced two gallons of water a minute, as "excellent" (Gregory, 1916; 157).

From Boiling Springs, Armijo's party exited Segi Canyon to the north and crossed the upper part of Piute Canyon to another spring, which Armijo referred to as the "waterhole of the Payuches" (Upper Crossing Spring). At this spring the party encountered three Paiute Indians, who gave their group no problem. The guide then led Armijo west on the plateau south of Navajo Mountain. John Wetherill, Kayenta Trading Post owner, used the same path to take early nineteenth century visitors to Rainbow Bridge, except he took the trail to the north around Navajo Mountain (Hassell, 1999; 66-67). After crossing to a point on the westward extension of the 10,000 foot laccolith, Armijo's group turned south and crossed the upper Navajo Creek. After crossing the canyon, they came to a temporary lake, which Armijo referred to as "Las Milpitas". Gregory explains: "Dune areas, both shifting and stationary Y over the western portion of the reservation, have completely masked normal drainage and in many places hold short lived pools of water in hollows between wind-formed mounds" (Gregory, 1916; 100).

The guide left the group somewhere north of present-day Kaibito, Arizona on December 2nd. With only general directions, Armijo and one of his men, Salvador Maes, "went out on reconnaissance" to locate the "trail of the padres." The journal makes it clear that Armijo seems perfectly familiar with the Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776 and their crossing of the Colorado, even though it occurred fifty-three years before. On December 3rd the group re-crossed Navajo Creek as it neared the Colorado with considerable difficulty and complaint, then they headed north into what we now call the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Another two days of reconnaissance and travel brought them to a massive cliff overlooking the Colorado River.

At Crossing of the Fathers:
Armijo's party crossed the Colorado River on December 5th and 6th. The diary indicates that they repaired the rock steps "the padres" had carved to get their horses to the river over fifty-three years before. Fortunately for historians, Dr. Gregory C. Crampton and cohorts collected documents and photographed the site before it was buried under the waters of Lake Powell (Crampton, 1959).



photo by KnL Carpenter

Glen Canyon Dam

Lake Powell behind the dam has buried the Crossing of the Fathers. Top of the dam is 583 feet above the original river channel.

An excellent trace of the route, with pictures, was published by Crampton in 1988 (Crampton, 1988; 30–32). Perhaps the single best description of the historic site was made by Major John Wesley Powell >>>

after his 1869 and 1871 trips down he Colorado River. He writes:

> In the year 1776, Father Escalante, Spanish Priest, made an expedition from Santa Fe to the northwest, crossing the Grand and Green, and then passing down along the Wasatch Mountains and the southern plateaus until he reached the Rio Virgin. His intention was to cross to the Mission of Monterey; but, from information received from the Indians, he decided that the route was impracticable. Not wishing to return to Santa Fe over the circuitous route by which he had just traveled, he attempted to go by one more direct, which led him across the Colorado at a point known as El Vado de los Padres. From the description which we have read, we are enabled to determine the place. A little stream comes down this that he came, and our boats are lying at a point where the ford crosses. A well-beaten Indian trail is seen here yet. Between the cliff and the river there is a little meadow. The ashes of many camp fires are seen, and the bones of numbers of cattle are bleaching on the grass. For several years the Navajos have raided on the Mormons that dwell in the valleys to the west, and doubtless cross frequently at this ford with their stolen cattle. (Powell, 1890; 2)

Powell was not aware of the Armijo expedition when he studied the area.

Colorado to the Virgin:

Crampton's reconstruction of the Dominguez trail of 1776 makes it clear that Armijo had to follow in the ;ootsteps of the fathers in the opposite direction. After crossing beneath Romana Mesa, the traders followed an old Indian trail through lower Warm Creek and on south into lower Wahweap Creek near Big Water, Utah (Crampton, 1960; 1–5). On December 9th the group ascended Blanco Canyon (White Canyon). They had entered Utah's newest national monument, the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. It is this portion of the journey I know best because I have had the fortunate opportunity to work on several projects in the monument. A half day's journey west from Big Water brought them to the "Creek of Ceja Canyon" (Paria River) and a settlement of Paiutes. Just beyond the river they encountered a major obstacle – The Cockscomb. On December 11th Armijo wrote "At the Creek of Ceja Canyon," which probably means they followed the path northward through what we call "The Box." On the west side of the Cockscomb, the traders crossed a "tree-covered ridge" (the north end of the Kaibab Mountain). After crossing the juniper-covered ridge, they entered the dry plains in the region east of present-day Fredonia, Arizona. Since there were no streams from the canyons on the north, as they expected, they had to melt snow for water. On December 14th, they reached "Ram Creek" (Kanab Creek). It was the first stream of water since they left the Paria over forty miles to the east. Continuing on their westward route along the base of the Vermillion Cliffs, they came to "Agua de la Vieja," or "Water of the Old Woman" at present-day Pipe Spring National Monument. Apparently, all the Paiutes who lived by the spring were gone, or had deserted an old Paiute woman as the large party of white men neared the spring.

West of this historic spring, Armijo and his men crossed "the Coyote Plains" and entered another long waterless stretch. This time they found water in the limestone cavities along the top of the Hurricane Cliffs. After another reconnaissance, they found the Indian trail off the 1000-foot natural barrier. In 1858, Jacob Hamblin, the Mormon scout, rediscovered this pass, and on the same trip he also found the Crossing of the Fathers on his mission to preach Mormonism to the Hopi Indians in northern Arizona. Armijo's route from Fredonia to St. George has became the western part of the famous "Honeymoon Trail," which was used to transport Arizona and eastern Utah couples in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the St. George Temple for their sacred marriage rites. The honeymoon came as these newly married couples traveled back to their homes.

At the base of the cliffs, the trading party traveled down "Stinking Water Canyon" (Pearces Wash). In 1866, Mormon militia built a fort overlooking the springs in Pearces Wash to keep Indian raiders from stealing livestock in the area. On December 20th, the party reached the "Severo" River (the Virgin River). A few hundred yards downstream they came to the "Milpas River" (Santa Clara River). The group rested here while they decided which direction they should go next. Just three years before, American fur trapper Jedediah Smith had stopped at the same place. Smith chose to go down river through the rugged and dangerous Virgin River Gorge. On his second trip to California, the very next year, Smith and his trapper brigade went up the Santa Clara. Armijo's group also went up

the Santa Clara and then over Utah Hill and back to the Virgin near Littlefield, Arizona.

Liz Warren's thesis provides the details for the rest of Armijo's pioneering journey to California (Warren, 1973). Hopefully our Old Spanish Trail friends and historians will provide us with the trace of Armijo's party from Abiquiu to Four Corners, since Armijo may not have descended the Mancos as the Hafens have suggested. A journey from Page to follow the southern route of the Old Spanish Trail east towards the San Juan River and west to Pipe Springs helps us to better understand the incredible journey Armijo and his men undertook nearly 175 years ago.

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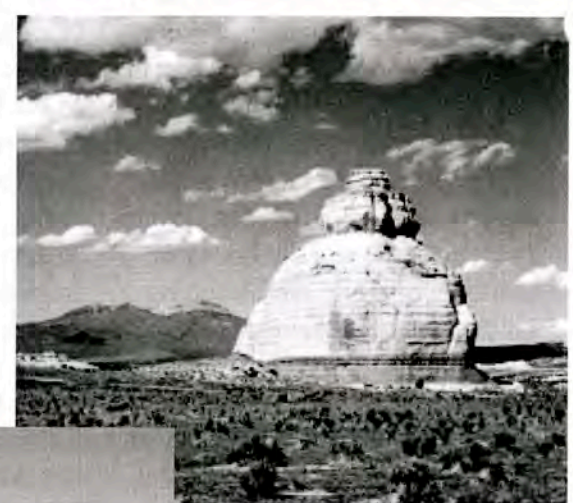
photo by KnL Carpenter

Wall panel at the Marriott in Page

The Two Church Rocks

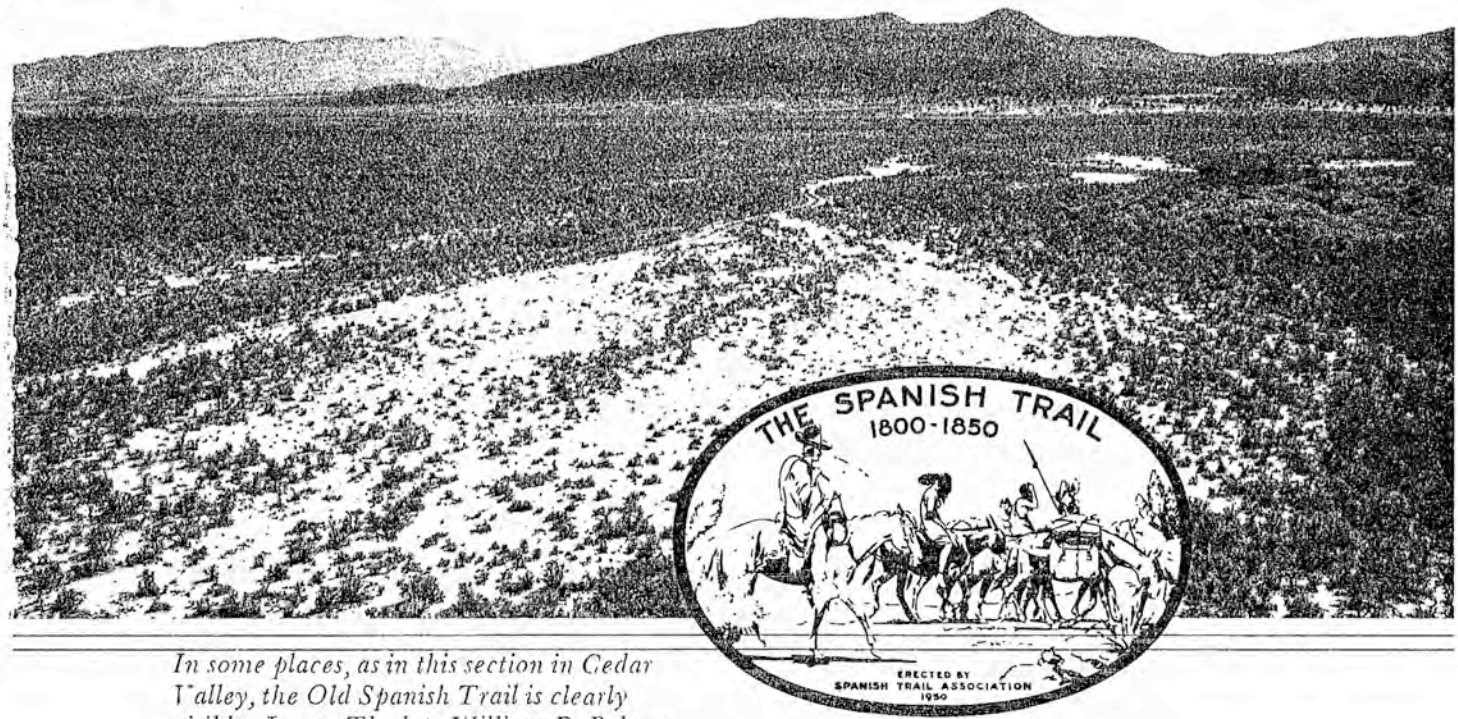
by KnL Carpenter

Church Rock, at the right, is 30 miles north of Montecello, Utah, on the east side of US-191. As the northern route of the OST came down and exited East Canyon, the Trail passed about 2 miles east of the Rock. The La Sal Mountains are in the distant left.





Church Rock, at the left, is 7 miles east of Kayenta, Arizona, on the north side of US-160. The Armijo (southern) route probably passed just north of the Rock as it followed Laguna Creek.



In some places, as in this section in Cedar Valley, the Old Spanish Trail is clearly visible. Inset: *The late William R. Palmer of Cedar City organized the Spanish Trail Association to publicize the trail's route, indicated by these markers found on public buildings and in other prominent places. All photographs are courtesy of the author.*

Utah's Spanish Trail

BY C. GREGORY CRAMPTON

THE SPANISH TRAIL, OFTEN CALLED THE Old Spanish Trail, ran between Santa Fe and Los Angeles over a long 1,200-mile northward-looping great circle course traversing six states, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California. Traveled by traders, trappers, horse dealers, Indians, and slavers, the trail was in use from 1829 to 1848 when it was the main corridor (hostile Indians blocked a more direct route farther south) through the Southwest. It was the first and most exten-

Dr. Crampton is professor emeritus of history, University of Utah. This article was the foundation for the inaugural David E. Miller Lecture on Utah and the West delivered at the university on April 18, 1979. The lecture was sponsored jointly by the Utah State Historical Society and the Department of History, University of Utah.

sively used commercial route to cross the region now within the boundaries of Utah. The trail was a trail; it was not used by wheeled vehicles until after 1848 when the early Mormons developed the western sections for wagon travel between Salt Lake City and southern California.

In their fine background book, *Old Spanish Trail,* LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen have cast the subject in broad historical perpective, but an on-the-ground, detailed retracing of the trail itself all the way from Santa Fe to Los Angeles has been put off too long. The challenge appealed to me. What follows here is my own interpretation of the actual route of the trail through the Utah sector, the longest that can be claimed by any of the trail states. These findings come from the documents and books, and from many glorious days spent with good companions exploring the old trail, and from informed and knowledgeable persons met along the way.[1]

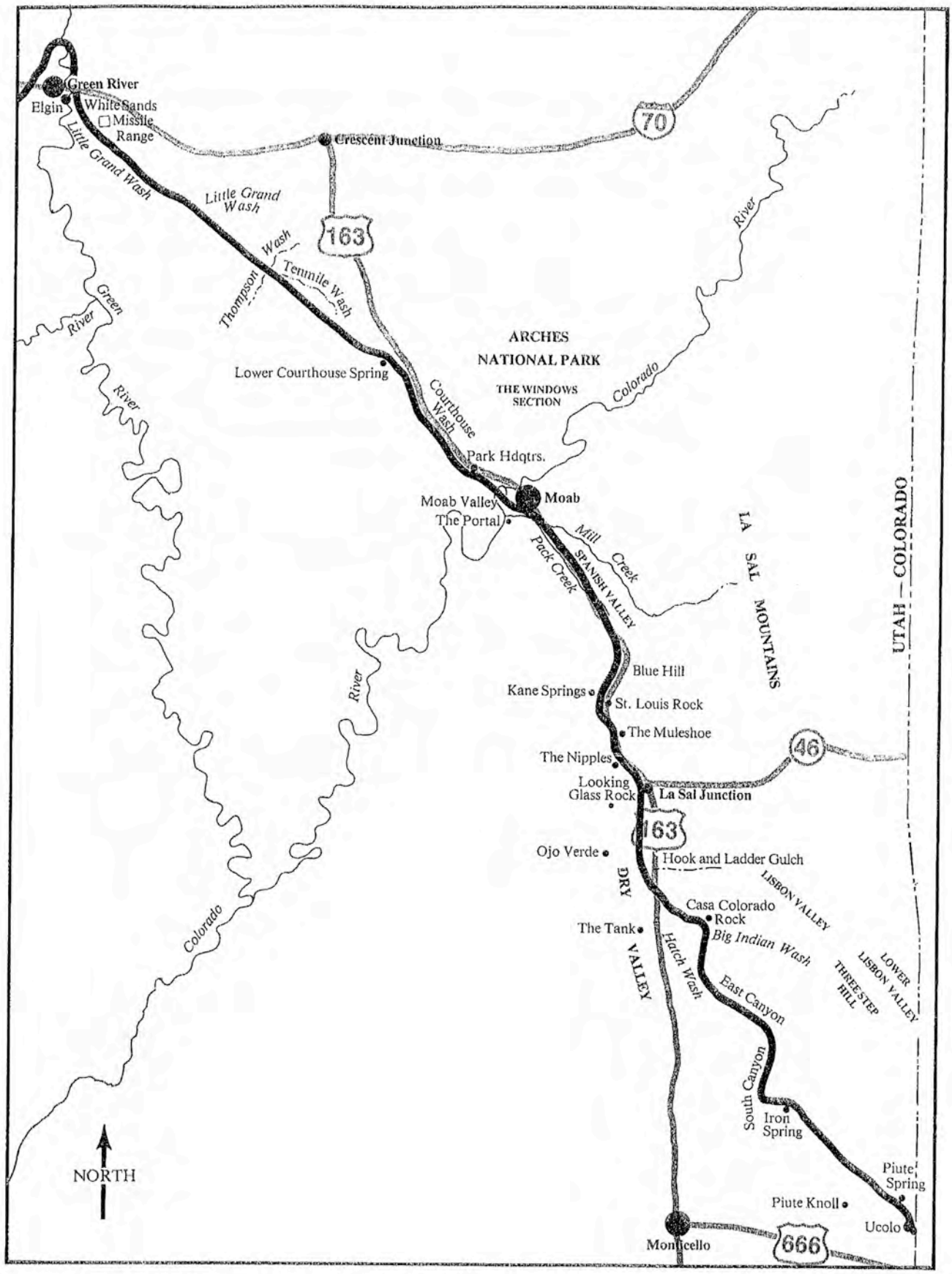
To the Green River Crossing

Crossing the Great Sage Plain, a lofty, open, undulating, southward-tilting plateau stretching from Mesa Verde and the Dolores River to the Abajo Mountains, the Spanish Trail entered Utah in section 35 T42N R20W, New Mexico Principal Meridian, near the site of the first settlement of Ucolo, located on Piute Creek about two miles below Piute Spring. Then, following a course north and west, the trail continued across the plateau for about twelve miles before dropping down into the spectacular red-rock country drained by Hatch Wash.

Caravans crossing the Great Sage Plain in Utah found the going easy but monotonous. Covered with sagebrush, pinyon, and juniper, the landscape was unrelieved save for the great laccolithic mass of the Abajo, or Blue, Mountains standing high on the western skyline some fifteen miles

[1] Assistance in support of research was received from the University of Utah Research Fund. Much of the success of the field research was owing to the contributions made by Steven K. Madsen, W. L. Rusho, Don Cecala, and Henry J. Webb. I would appreciate hearing from anyone having additional information about sections of the Spanish Trail.

The word *Spanish* is something of a misnomer since the trail was in use only during the time when the region it traversed was part of Mexico. The term comes down to us through the works of American explorers who, traveling along sections of the trail, mistakenly concluded that it was opened by Spain and thus in their diaries and maps it appears as the "Spanish Trail." John C. Frémont was an early user of the name, but after 1848, when sovereignty over the region passed to the United States, American travelers in some numbers mentioned and described the Spanish Trail, and their writings provide clues for anyone seeking its location. During the course of his second expedition, Frémont in 1844 followed and described a long section of the Spanish Trail through California, Nevada, and Utah. His report, edited by Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, under the title *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont, I, Travels from 1838 to 1844,* and accompanying *Map Portfolio* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), was widely used and copied by later explorers, reference to whose works will appear in later notes.



The Spanish Trail from Ucolo to Green River.

away. Today the plain is checkered with dry farms of beans and wheat, and many segments of the Spanish Trail have been ploughed under the deep, red soil. Still other segments have been destroyed by the trampling feet of range cattle first brought into the region in the late 1870s.

Trail research in areas like this is difficult, but here we are helped along by a body of records and reports produced by the military exploring expedition commanded by Capt. John N. Macomb of the War Department's Corps of Topographical Engineers. In 1857–58, when conflict between the United States and the Mormons seemed possible, the army found itself with no reliable information about the southeastern approaches to Utah Territory. In April 1859 Macomb was ordered to fill in the blanks on the map and to locate the best and most direct route between the Rio Grande and Utah's southern settlements. To that end, among other assignments, he was to examine the region traversed by the Spanish Trail.

Leaving Santa Fe, the expedition was in the field until the end of September 1859. Aside from one notable detour from New Mexico into Colorado, Macomb followed the Spanish Trail from Abiquiu, New Mexico, to Ojo Verde in Hatch Wash, Utah.

With the records of the Macomb expedition at hand one may trace the explorers' route—and the Spanish Trail.[2] The party made two camps on the Great Sage Plain (which the explorers named) in Utah, one at Guajalotes, where a large pool of bad surface water was found in a natural reservoir of rocks, and the second at Ojo de la Cueva (Cave Spring), a sulfurous spring. These names do not appear on modern maps, but data in the Macomb records indicate that the former must have been Piute Creek near the first site of Ucolo, about two miles below Piute Spring. According to Herman U. Butt of Monticello, Utah, the spring was an important watering place on the Spanish Trail. He filed on a homestead around the spring in 1913 and lived there until 1942.

[2] John N. Macomb, *Report of an Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, in 1859, with Geological Report by Prof. J. S. Newberry* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876), is the basic published document; Macomb contributed eight pages, Newberry, 140. The map accompanying the report was drawn by F. W. Egloffstein, who issued the map separately under his own name in 1864. However, an engraved map of the *Territory and Military Department of Utah Compiled in the Bureau of Topographical Engineers of the War Department, Chiefly for Military Purposes,* dated 1860, but probably not issued until 1862, incorporated the Macomb data. William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803–1863* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959), casts the army's important mapping in broad national perspective.

A highly useful book covering the exploratory history of southeastern Utah is Charles S. Peterson, *Look to the Mountains: Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest* (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University Press, 1975).



Herman U. Butt of Monticello lived for many years at Piute Spring on the Spanish Trail.

Herman Butt knows the regional history well; he has lived through much of it. His knowledge of the Spanish Trail extends all the way across the Sage Plain from Dolores, Colorado. When taken to the field he pointed out the trail's course from old Ucolo to Piute Spring and on to the Summit area, the extreme northwestern part of the Sage Plain plateau, drained in the main by the headstreams of East Canyon. Although it has not been located precisely, the Macomb camp at Ojo de la Cueva was probably located on East Canyon Wash.[3]

From the Summit area the Spanish Trail dropped down a thousand feet to the nearly level floor of East Canyon, a nine-mile-long gash in the northwestern corner of the Sage Plain plateau. These were the "longest & steepest mountains yet over," wrote Orville Pratt on September 13, 1848.[4] The Macomb party camped on the canyon floor, and geologist Newberry, who had a fine eye for scenic as well as geological landscape, found delights in the brilliant coloring of the canyon walls,

[3] Possibly within the area enclosed by sections 25, 26, 35, 36 T32S R25E, Salt Lake Meridian.

According to Herman Butt, Piute Spring (SE¼ of sec. 21 T33S R26E Salt Lake Meridian) on the Spanish Trail, with a steady flow of good water, was a most important watering place and crossroads point as frontier expansion enveloped the area after 1876. See Cornelia Adams Perkins, Marian Gardner Nielson, and Leonora Butt Jones, *Saga of San Juan* (Salt Lake City: San Juan County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1957) for regional history and mention of the Spanish Trail.

[4] Orville C. Pratt's journal, reproduced in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail with Extracts from Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1954), pp. 341–59, is the only diary yet found of a trip over the trail all the way from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. The drop into East Canyon—a thousand feet in about one mile—indeed was the longest, steepest section anywhere on the trail. When interviewed, Kenneth Summers of Monticello, who has lived in the area since 1930, and who owns a ranch in East Canyon, stated that South Canyon was a natural route from the Summit area to the floor of East Canyon, now followed by a stock trail about a mile long.

"the lower half composed of strata which are bright red, green, yellow or white." The brilliant coloring suggested the name Cañon Pintado (Painted Canyon), a name which, unhappily, never got beyond the pages of Newberry's "Geological Report."[5]

From the mouth of East Canyon, or Cañon Pintado, the Spanish Trail crossed open Dry Valley, a drab name for a great basin hollowed out of predominantly red rock. Drained by Hatch Wash and stretching away north and west toward the Colorado River, it has been a winter range since the early 1880s when the big cattle outfits first came into southeastern Utah. About seven miles from its camp in Cañon Pintado the Macomb party reached La Tinaja (The Tank), probably located near the base of Casa Colorado (Red House). This prominent landmark, a striking red sandstone rock rising two hundred feet above an elevated base, was so-named because its several sculptured caves and alcoves resembled the windows of a giant house.

Newberry found La Tinaja to be a "deep excavation in red sandstone, which retains so large a quantity of surface water and for so long a time, as to become an important watering place on the Spanish Trail." In a region typified by Dry Valley, where one seldom finds living, running water, these natural rock reservoirs, taking the forms of tanks, potholes, basins, and cavities, were a boon to desert travelers, providing them water for drinking and even bathing.[6]

From La Tinaja the Spanish Trail followed down Hatch Wash to the vicinity of the mouth of Hook and Ladder Gulch where it turned

[5] After Macomb the name Cañon Pintado was used but once. It was included in a splendid panorama drawn in 1876 by W. H. Holmes and published in the *Tenth Annual Report* of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories (better known as the Hayden Survey) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), p. 190, along with his "Report on the Geology of the Sierra Abajo and West San Miguel Mountains," pp. 189–95. On geological reconnaissance for Hayden, Holmes had climbed Abajo Peak (11,360 ft.), the highest in the Abajo Mountains, where in plain view he could see 20,000 square miles of mountains, canyons, plateaus and deserts, a good third of which he brought into his panorama. His art was so good that we can identify his Cañon Pintado with East Canyon as it appears on the modern topographic map (USGS Hatch Rock and Lisbon Valley quadrangles).

The Geological and Geographical Atlas of Colorado and Portions of Adjacent Territory, published by the Hayden Survey in 1877, does show Cañon Pintado (Sheet VIII) as well as the "Old Spanish Trail" throughout its course in Colorado. Hayden's *Atlas,* Sheet VIII, also shows the Spanish Trail passing through the highest peaks of the La Sal Mountains, a fiction copied from the Egloffstein map of the Macomb expedition, or, probably, from the Gunnison map where it first appeared (see note 13).

[6] Newberry in Macomb's *Report,* pp. 92–93, describes La Tinaja, or La Tenejal, and Casa Colorado, the subject of one of eleven colored plates in the work. After a rain in desert country natural catch basins fill with water but most of them soon dry up. Basins containing permanent water are few; in Dry Valley their number would probably be less than four. The Tank (secs. 21–22 T30S R23E SLM), on Tank Draw, a tributary of Hatch Wash, is one in regular use. A series of tanks at the immediate base of Casa Colorado, may have been La Tinaja of the expedition.



One of the deep potholes—La Tinaja—at Casa Colorado.

north. The Macomb expedition continued on down the wash about three miles to Ojo Verde where camp was set up as a base for further explorations.[7]

From Hatch Wash to the crossing of the Colorado River, the Spanish Trail followed a course closely parallel to U.S. Highway 163, one dictated by the topography and shape of the land.[8] From the mouth of Hook and Ladder Gulch the trail stayed to the west of the highway and passed to the east of Looking Glass Rock, a lone monument over a hundred feet high, perforated by a natural window which (the namer must have thought) resembled a mirror. Two miles north of Looking Glass the trail reached West Coyote Creek near La Sal Junction. Here, service stations

The name Casa Colorado has been preserved and appears on some modern maps (USGS Hatch Rock quadrangle) as Casa Colorado Rock. Of course, the name should read Casa Colorada if correct Spanish grammar is used. Local stockmen refer to it as Red Rock.

[7] Ojo Verde is in the NW¼ sec. 31 T39S R22E SLM. From his base camp here Macomb went on to explore, via Indian Creek, the rugged canyon country to the west in the expectation of finding the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers. The explorations of the Macomb expedition beyond Ojo Verde are described by C. Gregory Crampton, *Standing Up Country, the Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), pp. 59–64. Ojo Verde, which may have been visited by travelers on the Spanish Trail, a delightful green oasis, enclosed by hundred-foot-high red cliffs, bears no name today but it is an important watering place much used by local stockmen.

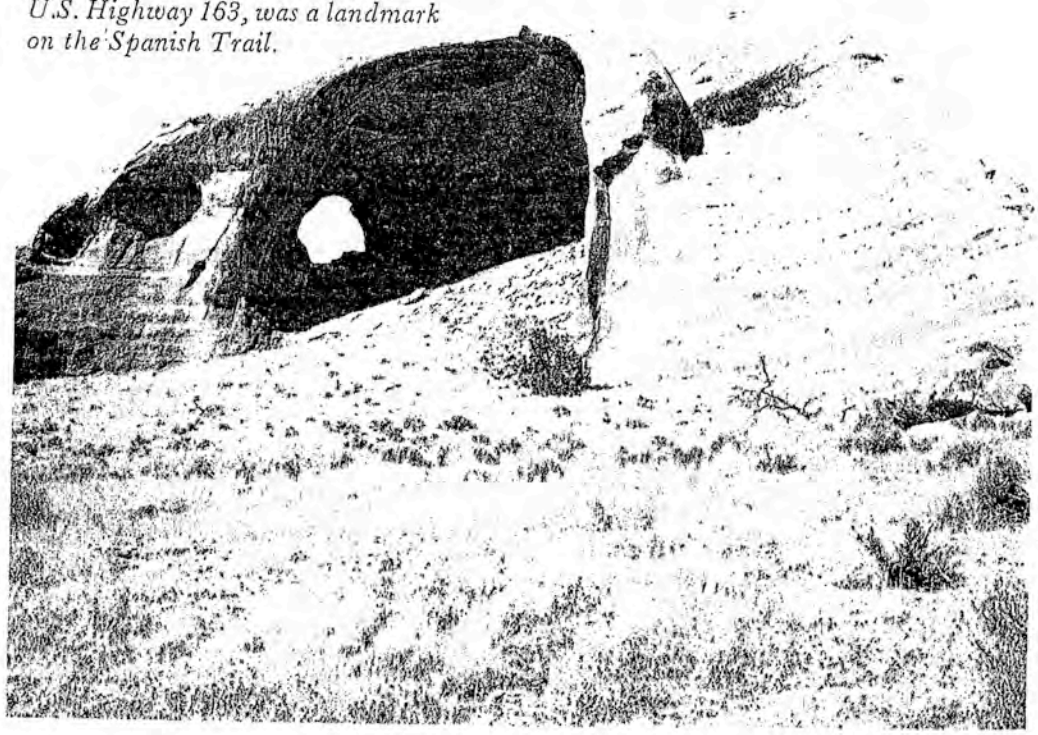
[8] It is apparent from the maps based on the Macomb reconnaissance that the Spanish Trail left Hatch Wash about three miles upstream from Ojo Verde, practically at the mouth of Hook and Ladder Gulch, to continue northward to the Colorado River, about thirty-two miles. *Territory and Military Department of Utah* (1862), and Egloffstein's maps. Refer to note 2.

and cafes on U.S. 163 mark a crossroads important to the region since the first settlers arrived in the late 1870s.

From the junction the old trail closely followed the present highway past (at 1.8 miles) a huge mass of rocks on the east, four hundred feet high, surmounted by rocks in rounded shapes which early travelers named the Nipples. At four miles the highway bridges a sharp-edged canyon about fifty feet deep. Here the Spanish Trail looped sharply upstream half a mile to a place where the canyon walls were low enough to permit a crossing, and then the trail looped sharply downstream. The first wagon road and the first highway followed the same course, the shape of which suggested a muleshoe, and someone gave that name to the crossing and the canyon it crossed. Three miles from the Muleshoe the trail reached Kane Springs in Kane Springs Canyon, a major stopping place on the Spanish Trail where the bountiful springs have served travelers ever since. The state of Utah maintains a highway rest stop there. The dark green of trees and lawn stand out in pleasant contrast to the red rock of a massive promontory towering 1,300 feet above the historic site.

Leaving the springs behind, travelers on the trail faced a rough haul of three miles. A steep, narrow trail carried them out of Kane Springs

Looking Glass Rock, visible from U.S. Highway 163, was a landmark on the Spanish Trail.



Canyon to the top of Blue Hill, and a long, rocky descent brought them to the head of Spanish Valley. This stretch has been something of a challenge to modern road builders. One may count three different highway alignments in Kane Springs Canyon. A long section of the Spanish Trail, which was later widened to make the first wagon road, may still be seen just to the east of the present highway.

In fourteen miles the trail passed through Spanish and Moab valleys (actually one continuous valley) to reach the Colorado River northwest of the city of Moab. This is one of the most scenic places along the trail. A steep wall of red rock 1,500 feet high flanks the valley on the southwest, but the opposite wall is much lower, permitting views of the laccolithic peaks of the La Sal Mountains towering over 12,000 feet on the southeastern skyline some fifteen miles distant.

The level valley floor, about two miles wide, was easy going and the early travelers on the trail found good grass and pure water in Pack Creek and Mill Creek which head in the La Sals and flow through the valley (confluent below Moab) to the Colorado River. During the trail days Pack Creek was called Salt Creek, or Little Salt Creek, a name derived from La Sal (Salt) Mountains, not from its salty taste.

Right on the Spanish Trail, a county seat, a bustling trade center and tourist capital, Moab was founded in 1855 as the Elk Mountain Mission by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In that same year, when Ute Indians killed three of the missionaries, the Mormons pulled out. Permanent settlers did not return until the 1870s.[9] Thereafter,

[9] Shortly before the Elk Mountain (the Mormon name for the La Sal Mountains) Mission was abandoned, a five-man exploring party examined the region south to the Navajo country on the San Juan River. Given the topography, the most natural route open to the explorers was the Spanish Trail which they followed to Hatch Wash in Dry Valley. The diaries of two members of the party, Ethan Pettit (Film P–F348, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley) and Alfred N. Billings (copy in Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City) give us details of the actual trail through this section. See diary (both documents are nearly identical) entries August 29–September 1, 1855.

On their way south the Mormon party left the trail to "Santa Fee" a short distance before reaching Hatch Wash and then continued on a route closely parallel to U.S. 163 which carried them to the Sage Plain plateau by way of Peters Canyon. Looking Glass Rock—the "big rock with hole through it"—was to the west of the trail which crossed West Coyote Creek a mile southeast of La Sal Junction. At Kane (Cane on the older maps) Springs the diarists refer to the high rock promontory, now housing Hole N' The Rock, a commercial establishment, as "St. Louis Rock" a name possibly dating from the Spanish Trail period. Pratt and Choteau in 1848 refer to the flow of water at Kane Springs as the Corisite, or Horasito (Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail,* pp. 348, 369).

The slight remains of the Mormon Elk Mountain Mission fort may still be seen on the northeastern outskirts of Moab. Faun McConkie Tanner, *The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1976), and Phyllis Cortes, comp., *Grand Memories* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1972), describe the early history of Moab, Spanish Valley, and environs.



The modes of travel across the Green River provide a mini-history. First came the Spanish Trail, a ford. Later, a ferry was operated there. Then the D&RG Railroad, and later the highway, bridged the stream, all near Green River City.

Moab became a supply point for much of southeastern Utah and adjoining sections of Colorado. Traffic through the region passed over sections of the Spanish Trail, a fact known to early settlers who gave it the name Spanish Valley.[10]

C. S. Cecil Thomson of Moab, long a prominent figure in the history of regional transportation, can locate sections of the trail from Dry Valley to points across the Colorado north of Moab. He related that, according to local tradition, the trail passed directly through the city to the crossing of the Colorado River. Probable location? About half a mile downstream from the highway bridge on U.S. 163. There the river is about two hundred fifty yards wide, but an island appears at low water and the bottom is firm. Fording may have been possible at lowest water; however, most travelers, like Orville Pratt in 1848, found it necessary to swim the men and animals across the river and raft the goods and equipment. The right bank approach to the crossing lay somewhere between the storage yard of the ore reduction mill operated by the Atlas Corporation and the mouth of Courthouse Wash.[11]

[10] The name Spanish Valley appears as early as 1884 on the U.S. General Land Office map of the *Territory of Utah, 1884* (New York: Julius Bien, n.d.).

[11] Pratt crossed the Colorado, then known as the Grand, River on September 16, 1848 (Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail,* pp. 348–49) when the stream may have been high

From the Colorado to the Green River, about fifty-five miles, the Spanish Trail, following a northwesterly course, crossed a wide, open desert country, a land of sparse vegetation and little water. For twelve miles beyond the Colorado River travelers on the trail with an eye for beautiful landscape could have enjoyed the exposures of deep red rock cliffs on the west, eroded and sculptured into castellated formations so characteristic of the canyon country of southeastern Utah. These same sensitive travelers might have noticed the arches and windows in the Windows Section of Arches National Park visible off to the east nine miles away.

At twelve miles the trail crossed Courthouse Wash at the point where Lower Courthouse Spring provided a "small, run of living water" according to Pratt.[12] Now on the northwest beeline course the trail passed through open, barren country. Pools in the bedrock of Thompson Wash, or in Ten Mile Wash, a tributary, provided a limited water supply. Three miles beyond the water holes in Thompson the trail reached a low divide between Thompson Wash and Little Grand Wash.

Here the trail research is helped along by the report of John W. Gunnison, captain in the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, who had been commissioned by the War Department to undertake a railroad survey across the West along the 38th and 39th parallels of latitude. Antoine Leroux, the old mountain man who guided the surveyors through the Colorado Rockies, told them that near the Green River they would reach the Spanish Trail which "is broad, well-marked and easy to follow." The Gunnison train, which included eighteen supply wagons, reached the trail just beyond Thompson Wash on September 29, 1853; and for the next three weeks, with some detours, the explorers followed it all the way to the Sevier River. With the Gunnison report and maps in hand one can, with tolerable accuracy, follow the Spanish Trail across the Green River, the San Rafael Swell, and the Wasatch Plateau.[13]

from summer rains. He writes that the crossing was but 600 yards above "a deep canion" (the Portal), which would indicate a crossing a mile or so downstream from the one indicated above, where another island appears at low water as indicated in sec. 34 T25S R21E SLM. In fact, a crossing is indicated in that section on the plat for that township surveyed in 1878.

[12] Orville Pratt, September 18, 1848, in Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, p. 349. U.S. Highway 163 from the Colorado River to this point very closely follows the Spanish Trail. Today's highway traveler, near the turnoff to Dead Horse Point and Canyonlands National Park may see the distant arches and windows of Arches National Park. During the early years of this century a stage station and rest stop were in operation at Lower Court House Springs, then, simply, Court House Springs. Upper Court House Springs, a mile away, has a better flow of water and is currently a stock-watering place, but this water was probably not used by the early trail travelers.

[13] On the lower Sevier River, Gunnison and several of his party were killed in an Indian attack. The official report was prepared by Capt. E. G. Beckwith, "Report for a Route for a Pacific Railroad, by Capt. J. W. Gunnison, Topographical Engineers, near the 38th and 39th Parallels of North Latitude, from the Mouth of the Kansas River, Mo. to the Sevier Lake, in

After reaching the Spanish Trail the Gunnison party traveled twenty miles west and north to the Green River crossing. The trail followed down Little Grand Wash for about three miles before striking off across lots. Passing through the army's Green River missile test complex of the White Sands Missile Range, the trail crossed the tracks of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad about one mile east of Elgin. Then it turned north for three miles to the crossing area which must have been in section 32 T20S R16E Salt Lake Meridian, two and a half miles north of the city of Green River, where an island divides the river before it makes a swing to the southeast.[14]

Located near the old trail, Green River's history can be told mainly in terms of its crossroads location. The coming of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad brought it to life in 1881, and it is nourished by one of the nation's major freeways, Interstate 70.

To Junction on the Sevier River

From the Green River crossing the Spanish Trail swung away from the river on a southwestern course to Saleratus, or Cottonwood, Wash; and then, generally following the wash, it turned northwestward to Trail Spring, known as Green River Spring in the trail days, about fourteen

the Great Basin," in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. . . .* II (Washington, D.C.: Beverly Tucker, 1855), pp. 9–118. The maps drawn by F. W. Egloffstein, appeared in Volume XI (Washington, D.C.: George W. Bowman, 1861). The Spanish Trail and Gunnison's route are indicated on the maps but the scale (12 miles to the inch) makes possible only general locations. Egloffstein shows the Spanish Trail passing through the high peaks of the La Sal Mountains, a fiction included on his later maps and copied by others (see note 5). See Forbes Parkhill, *The Blazed Trail of Antoine Leroux* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1965) for the mountain man's part in the Gunnison expedition.

[14] This position agrees well with Gunnison's distance of 20 miles from the point where he first reached the Spanish Trail. See "Table of Distances" in Beckwith, "Pacific Railroad," p. 117. It also agrees well with the diarists of J. W. Powell's 1871 river voyage. On August 27, from their camp number 50, on the left bank of the Green at the mouth of a wash (center sec. 3 T20S R16E SLM), A. H. Thompson and J. F. Steward walked five miles down to the "Spanish Crossing," to the "old Spanish trail, or Gunnison's Crossing," which is the actual distance between the camp and the crossing. See H. E. Gregory, ed., "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 7 (January, April, and July 1939): 3–140, and W. C. Darrah, ed., "Journal of John F. Steward," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 16–17 (1948–49): 175–251. Further confirmation of the site comes from Col. W. W. Loring who crossed with a military detachment on August 5, 1858, and observed that the course of the river at the ford is southeast. See LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., "Colonel Loring's Expedition across Colorado in 1858," *Colorado Magazine* 23 (March 1946): 49–76. This position appears to agree with the findings of the late Bert J. Silliman of Green River, an industrious student of the Spanish Trail. See Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail,* p. 306. Henry Gannett, "Topographical Report on the Grand River District," *Ninth Annual Report* of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), pp. 337–50, includes a sketch of the ford but no relative position is indicated. It should be noted in passing that the Gunnison map locates the crossing at under 39° north latitude when its actual location is approximately 39°2′. Changes in the river's channel and heavy use by man on both banks may well have effaced the trail's approaches to the crossing.

miles from the river.[15] Now within the rugged San Rafael Swell, the trail went due north up an unnamed wash about four miles where it veered off to the northwest to enter Lost Spring Wash. At that point Gunnison left the trail to carry his railroad survey around the northern end of the Swell. He returned to it again in Castle Valley.

For about nine rough miles the Spanish Trail was confined by low canyon walls to the bed and banks of Lost Spring Wash. Then, crossing open country for a short distance, it headed up Big Hole Wash to Cement Crossing on the original line of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad, a line surveyed and graded but over which tracks were never laid.[16] The Big Holes, in Packsaddle Gulch, about three and a half miles from Cement Crossing, was one of the best and most reliable watering



In desert country the trail followed water sources. Green River Spring —now Trail Spring—became a stock-watering pond.

[15] Called Akanaquint Spring by the Ute Indians, according to Gunnison (Beckwith, "Pacific Railroad," October 2) who puts it down as 16.76 miles from the Green. The spring, in the SW¼ of sec. 34 T20S R14E SLM, is now used as a stock watering hole. Orville Pratt in 1848, as well as some later travelers, called it Green River Spring. See Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail,* p. 350. G. H. Heap described the spring as he saw it on July 26, 1853. See LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Central Route to the Pacific by Gwinn Harris Heap . . .* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1957), p. 213.

[16] During the years 1880–83 the company graded a road all the way across the northern part of the San Rafael Swell and then abandoned the route in favor of its present line running between Green River and Price, Utah. In other areas the grade very closely paralleled the old trail. See note 18.

The Portion of the Trail
From Green River to Junction





Big Holes, in the San Rafael Swell country, was a highly reliable water source.

places along the way. Water flowing over bedrock has created a series of natural tanks much used today by local stockmen.[17]

From Big Holes the trail crossed open country for twenty miles to Red Seep. Halfway, and under the thousand-foot-high cliffs of Cedar Mountain, it reached Little Holes where water was to be found in natural rock reservoirs, a source, however, far less reliable than that at Big Holes.[18] From Red Seep the trail wound through the low Black Hills and then dropped down to Huntington Creek in Castle Valley. Here Gunnison returned to it after his detour around the San Rafael Swell. In the Black Hills the trail reached its northernmost point at approximately 39° 12′ north latitude.

Castle Valley, watered by streams (the upper tributaries of the San Rafael River) falling from the high Wasatch Plateau immediately to the west, was settled in the 1870s by Mormon pioneers from central Utah who followed Gunnison's wagon tracks—and therefore the Spanish

[17] Evidence locating Big Holes on the Spanish Trail must rest on the accounts of later travelers, among them Oliver B. Huntington, official diarist of the 1855 Mormon Elk Mountain Mission. See his entry for May 31 in Andrew Jenson, "The Elk Mountain Mission," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 4 (1913): 191–92.

[18] See Huntington's account, May 31, 1855, in Jenson, "Elk Mountain Mission," pp. 191–92. For about three miles before reaching Little Holes the old trail and the D&RGW railroad grade were practically conterminous.

Trail—across Wasatch, or Emigrant, Pass to their new homes. Public land surveys followed settlement, and one must be especially grateful to those government surveyors, Augustus D. Ferron among them, who very carefully laid down "Gunnison's Road" on their township plats, further identified in their notes as the "old Spanish Trail."[19]

That Gunnison had little difficulty in following the Spanish Trail is evident from reading what he wrote about one section in Castle Valley: "The Spanish Trail though seldom used of late years, is still very distinct where the soil washes but slightly. On some such spaces today we counted from fourteen to twenty parallel trails, of the ordinary size of Indian trails or horse paths, on a way barely fifty feet in width." Although most vestiges in Castle Valley have disappeared, John L. Jorgensen, long a resident of Castle Dale, teacher and student of history, knows the course of the old trace through the valley. He generously pointed out sections in the Black Hills, at the site of old Wilsonville on Cottonwood Creek, near the Paradise Ranch, on Ferron Creek, and elsewhere.[20]

Beyond Castle Valley the Spanish Trail crossed Muddy Creek and its upper tributaries, and by way of Oak Spring Ranch ascended one of them, Ivie Creek, to the summit of the Wasatch Plateau. The Ivie Creek way is now taken up by two parallel slabs of concrete, Interstate 70.

Going up Ivie Creek (to which he gave the Indian name Akanaquint) Gunnison came to a fork in the trail at the mouth of Red Creek. The "southern branch" split off here.[21] Going by way of Fish Lake and the East Fork of the Sevier River, this was the shortest route, but it reached elevations in excess of 9,000 feet, and it probably saw less use than the longer "northern branch" (Gunnison's route) which crossed Wasatch, or Emigrant, Pass on the divide between the Great Basin and the waters of the Colorado River at an elevation of approximately 7,880 feet. Both tracks joined again at the confluence of the Sevier River and its East Fork.[22]

[19] See original township plats and survey notes, 1873–80, in offices of the Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City, copies in Recorder's Office, Emery County Courthouse, Castle Dale. The Mormon settlers bound for the Elk Mountain Mission at Moab in 1855 were the first after Gunnison to use his "road." The early township survey plats have provided important information at a number of points along the trail.

[20] See E. G. Beckwith, "Pacific Railroad," p. 65, for Gunnison's comment on the multiple trails in Castle Valley. John L. Jorgensen wrote "A History of Castle Valley to 1890" (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1955) which reflects his interest in early exploration and settlement.

[21] See E. G. Beckwith, "Pacific Railroad," for Gunnison's entry for October 13, 1853.

[22] Choteau recommended the Fish Lake route but Orville Pratt missed the turnoff and continued on over Wasatch Pass. Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail,* pp. 351, 366. Traveling eastward over the trail in 1848, Brewerton took the Fish Lake route. See Stallo Vinton, ed.,

Crossing the open pass Gunnison headed down Salt Creek (now Meadow Creek), the natural route—the Salina Canyon route now followed by Interstate 70. Gunnison's Ute guide, Tewip Narrienta, said this was the direct route to the Sevier but that a narrow, rocky canyon below would stop wagons if not animals. There was a horse trail through it, he said, and this may have been the main line of the Spanish Trail.[23]

To avoid the narrow reaches of Salina Canyon, Gunnison turned west at a point five miles below Wasatch Pass to detour around it. To make matters more complex, he identified this route with the Spanish Trail. This alternate trail carried the explorers across Yogo (Gunnison's Swambah) Creek, up Niotche Creek, across a divide (a thousand feet higher than Wasatch Pass) to Gooseberry (Gunnison's Un-got-tah-li-kin) Creek, and then over a low divide to Soldier Canyon which they followed to its mouth at Salina Creek. At a point six miles before reaching the mouth of Soldier Canyon, Gunnison noted that the Spanish Trail turned off to the west to reach the Sevier River some distance above the mouth of Salina Canyon.[24]

After the rough country behind them, westbound travelers found good going for about thirty miles up the valley of the Sevier River (the Rio Severo of the trail days). There was plenty of water and grass, if little wood, along the meandering stream. Orville Pratt was mightily impressed with the valley's ambience in late September when he wrote that "it was

Overland with Kit Carson, a Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48, by George Douglas Brewerton (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930), pp. 109–12. Brewerton named it Trout Lake after enjoying a bountiful harvest of fish from the lake.

Although the Fish Lake route was the longest of these, one must recognize that there were branches, alternate routes, cutoffs, and short cuts at several places along the Spanish Trail. In this paper I have attempted to identify the main trail throughout, leaving the alternate routes for further study. As a tentative conclusion I am inclined to favor Wasatch Pass and Salina Canyon as the route of the main trail.

[23] This would have been the easiest, if longest, way. The Sawtooth Narrows in Salina Canyon, about seven miles above the mouth of Gooseberry Creek, where two tunnels were dug on a spur line of the D&RG railroad, would have been the roughest place, a bar to wagons but not to horses. Supporting evidence for this route comes from the township (T22S R1 and 2E SLM) plats, surveyed in 1878, which show the "Old Spanish Trail" running through lower Salina Canyon for a distance of five miles.

[24] The distance directly down Salina Canyon from Gunnison's turnoff to the mouth of Soldier Creek was about 22 miles; the detour was not much more than two miles farther. From this turnoff in Soldier Canyon the Spanish Trail, following a rather crooked route, would have crossed Lost Creek and passed down Brine Creek to reach the Sevier just above Sigurd. Altogether this route, together with Gunnison's route, was about six miles shorter than the route down Salina Canyon to the same point on the Sevier. See E. G. Beckwith, "Pacific Railroad," for Gunnison's account, October 13–17, 1853. Gunnison's map shows his route from Wasatch Pass and the Spanish Trail to the Sevier River as indicated above. The same rendering appears on the map accompanying the *Report* (1876) of the J. N. Macomb expedition of 1859.

For the Mormon settlers moving to the Moab area in 1855, and to Castle Valley in the 1870s, Gunnison's wagon road was rough but ready made, and they used it then and for many years thereafter until a road through Salina Canyon was finally completed.

truly the loveliest spot, all things considered, my eyes have ever looked upon."[24]

From the Salina area the trail probably kept to the west of the river paralleling U.S. Highway 89. The alternate route branching from the Gunnison trail in Soldier Canyon would have come in to the main trail just above Sigurd. Passing through Richfield and Elsinore the trail left the river above Joseph to detour to the east around narrow, rocky Marysvale Canyon. The trail returned to the Sevier near Marysvale after crossing the Antelope Range at a point over a thousand feet above the river, but the way was open and presented few obstacles to passage.[26] Again in an open valley, the trail continued up the Sevier about eighteen miles to its confluence with the East Fork, about a mile east of the town of Junction, near the point where the Fish Lake branch joined the main Spanish Trail.[27]

To the Utah-Arizona Boundary

During the Spanish Trail days the Sevier above the East Fork was known as the Rio San Pascual. The trail followed it for about twenty-three miles through Circle Valley and Circleville Canyon, where there was no obstacle to passage, to Bear Valley Junction where it turned abruptly to the west. The way thence was across the northern end of the Markagunt Plateau by a natural route following up Bear Creek through Lower and Upper Bear Valley. Crossing a divide the trail then headed down Little Creek, a rough and rocky route which passed through the upthrust Hurricane Cliffs before dramatically breaking out in the open near the town of Paragonah in Parowan Valley.[28]

Passing near to the eastern shore of Little Salt Lake, travelers had an easy time of it for twenty miles as they crossed the open valley to the

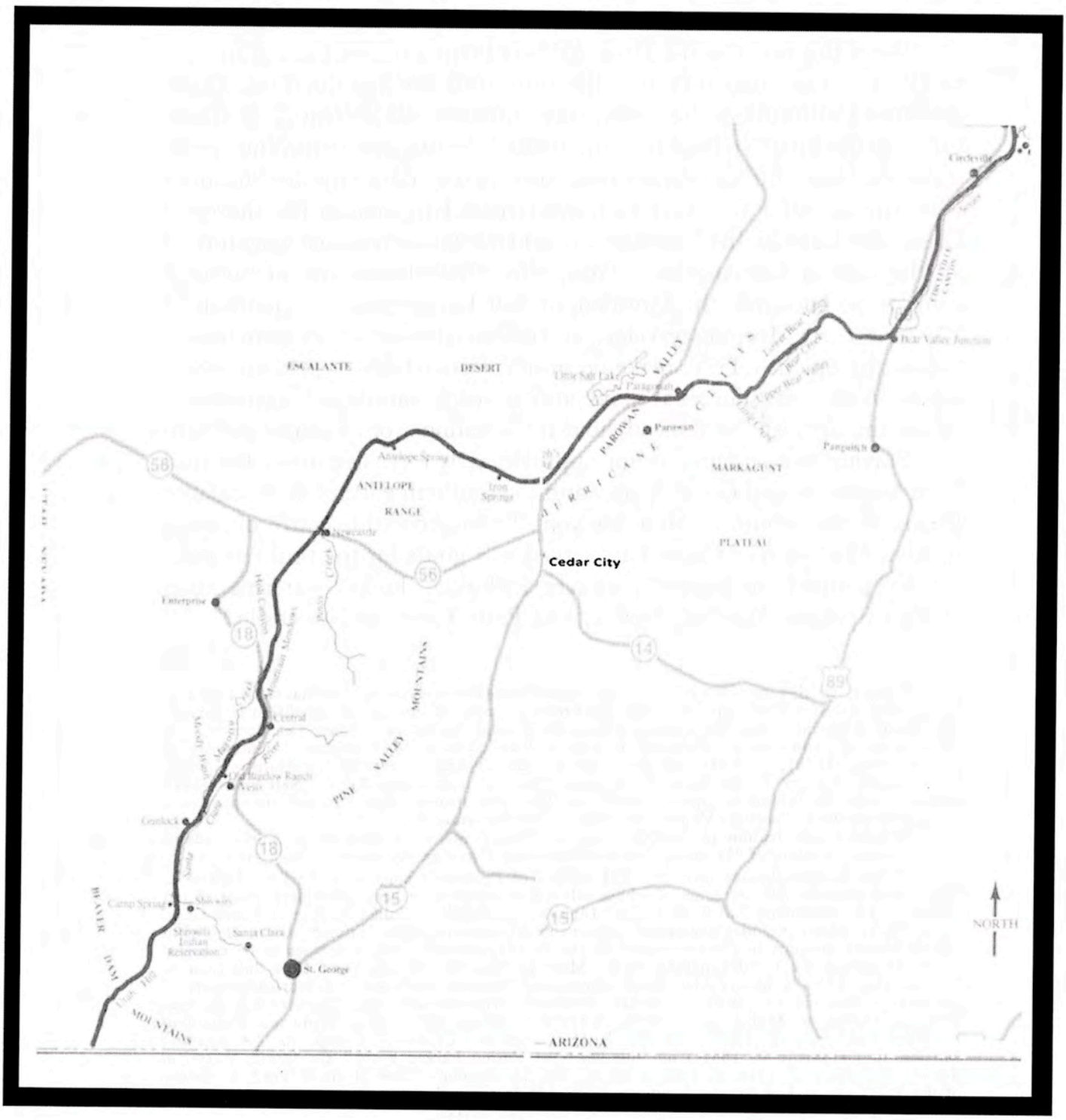
[25] Pratt, writing on September 26–27, 1848, in Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail,* pp. 351–52. Gwinn Harris Heap, passing through the valley in late July 1853, wrote that it "surpassed in beauty and fertility anything we had yet seen." See Hafen and Hafen, eds., *Central Route to the Pacific,* p. 219.

[26] Pratt, September 28, 1848 (Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*), scarcely mentions the detour. The G. W. Heap party on July 31, 1853, attempted to go through the canyon. Failing in this it took the detour, "passed over a steep hill" and returned to the Sevier in the vicinity of Marysvale. See Hafen and Hafen, eds., *Central Route to the Pacific,* pp. 218–19.

[27] The branch passed directly through the town of Kingston and connected with the main trail possibly three or four miles above the confluence. G. W. Heap, at this point on August 1, 1853, mentions striking what he supposed was the "old trail from Abiquiu to California . . . so long disused that it is now almost obliterated." See Hafen and Hafen, eds., *Central Route to the Pacific,* pp. 219–20. The Hafens argue that the Fish Lake branch was the main route of the Spanish Trail.

[28] Orville Pratt graphically describes the rough going through this section (Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail,* p. 353).

Spanish Trail from Junction Utah to the Arizona Boarder



Ojo de San Jose, or San Jose Spring, "one of the finest fountains and streams of water on the entire route," wrote Orville Pratt. This watering place is identical with the once-bountiful springs bursting from the ground near the town of Enoch, first known as Elkhorn Springs.[29]

From this point to the Utah-Arizona boundary and beyond there is much more documentation to assist in locating the Spanish Trail. Coming from California on his second expedition in 1844, John C. Frémont followed the Spanish Trail to Saint Joseph's Spring before turning northward. His diary and map of the route provided guidance for the Mormons who, shortly after founding their wilderness kingdom on the shores of Great Salt Lake in 1847, turned the old trail into a passable wagon road all the way to Los Angeles.[30] Thus, after 1848 this section of the trail came to be known as the Mormon, or Salt Lake, Trail. The journals of Frémont, early Mormon travelers, and others who knew they were traveling on the Spanish Trail, make up an impressive body of primary documents. With these sources at hand one can, with considerable confidence, follow the Spanish Trail throughout the remainder of its course in Utah.

Staying in open country for approximately forty-five miles, the trail from Enoch crossed Cedar Valley and the southern edge of the Escalante Desert to the mouth of Holt Canyon. Throughout this entire distance, S. Alva Matheson of Cedar City served as a guide for the trail researchers. He pointed out important places, including the key watering holes at Iron Springs, Antelope Spring, and Pinto Creek at Newcastle.[31]

[29] Pratt, writing on October 2, 1848, used Choteau's spelling of the name. Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail,* pp. 353, 368. On Frémont's map of his second expedition it appears "St. Joseph's Spring." See the modern edition by Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont, I, Travels from 1838 to 1844* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), p. 694, and map no. 3. Enoch's history appears in Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), p. 230. The spring's flow has diminished now, a result of pumping in Parowan Valley, according to local informants.

Mormon colonization in the Parowan and Cedar valleys is detailed by Luella Adams Dalton, comp., *History of the Iron County Mission and Parowan the Mother Town* (n.p., n.d.).

[30] The Jackson-Spence (see note 29) edition of Frémont's journals is the best. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, some of whose other fine works have been cited here, have edited *Journals of Forty-niners, Salt Lake to Los Angeles . . .* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), which includes over twenty journals and accounts. The Hafens' edition of Gwinn Harris Heap's account in *Central Route to the Pacific,* already cited, continues to be a useful guide. Some additional titles may be cited: Mary E. Foy, ed., "By Ox Team from Salt Lake to Los Angeles, 1850, a Memoir by David Cheesman," *Annual Publications Historical Society of Southern California* 14 (1930): 270–337; Waldemar Westergaard, ed., "Diary of Dr. Thomas Flint, California to Maine and Return, 1851–55," *Annual Publications Historical Society of Southern California* 12 (1923): 53–127; R. H. Stanley and Charles L. Camp, eds., "A Mormon Mission to California in 1851 from the Diary of Parley Parker Pratt," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 14 (March, 1935): 59–79. Ray M. Reeder's "The Mormon Trail, a History of the Salt Lake to Los Angeles Route to 1869" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1966), is a lengthy account containing references to the essential sources.

[31] The Escalante Desert commemorates the name of Silvestre Velez de Escalante of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776, whose track crossed the Spanish Trail in Cedar Valley.

Riding southward up Holt Canyon for six miles, the early travelers came to Mountain Meadow, a cool (elevation about 5,900 feet) open area of abundant grass and water four or five miles long on the divide between the Great Basin and the Colorado River drainage. This was a favorite resting and recruiting place especially for those eastbound parties pulling up out of the desert country below.[32]

Leaving Mountain Meadow the trail generally paralleled Utah Highway 18 to Central where it turned southwest down a tributary to Magotsu (pronounced locally, Magotsie) Creek, then down that stream to Moody Wash, then down that stream to the Santa Clara River, a major tributary of the Virgin River. For about eight miles, the trail followed along the bed and banks of the Santa Clara, the home of many Paiute Indians who were frequently victimized by slave traders, and who, in turn, attacked passing caravans. Today, the village of Gunlock, founded in 1857, is a reminder of early Mormon settlement in southwestern Utah. Downstream, the Shivwits Indian Reservation serves as a reminder of the region's first inhabitants.

In order to start the climb over the Beaver Dam Mountains, the trail left the Santa Clara River, pulled up to Camp Spring, a favorite stopping place, and then followed a course practically identical with that of old U.S. Highway 91. Crossing a pass at an elevation of about 4,800 feet, it started down the long "Utah Hill," best known in the early highway days as the place on the upgrade where radiators always boiled.

The Spanish Trail left Utah in section 31 T43S R18W Salt Lake Meridian. Then it cut across the northwest corner of Arizona, traversed southern Nevada, where the good springs at Las Vegas stopped every caravan, and crossed the Mohave Desert to southern California. Threading Cajon Pass, caravans reached San Gabriel and, finally, Los Angeles, at the end of the 1,200-mile-long Spanish Trail. The distance in Utah totalled approximately 476 miles.[33]

Near Holt Canyon a large party of California-bound forty-niners decided to take a short cut to the gold fields and left the established Spanish Trail at this point. It was they who soon found themselves in Death Valley and whose misfortunes in escaping it gave the valley its name. See Hafen and Hafen, eds., *Journals of Forty-Niners*, for details of departure from the wagon train of Jefferson Hunt who was guiding the party. A monument on the Spanish Trail (NW¼ sec. 2 T37S R16W SLM), about a mile eastward of the mouth of Holt Canyon, marks this fateful parting of the ways in 1849.

[32] One supposes that the history of the place will always be associated with the infamous 1857 Mountain Meadow Massacre. A monument marking the spot is just off the Spanish Trail in SE¼ sec. 16 T38S R16W SLM. See Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1963), for a balanced treatment of the tragedy.

[33] Some years ago the late William R. Palmer of Cedar City, Utah, organized the Spanish Trail Association to mark the old trail. Many of the markers placed may still be seen on public buildings and other places in and near cities and towns along the way.

People and Tales of the Trail



Spanish Trail help

Steven K. Madsen <unionfort@wmconnect.com> Thu, Jan 25, 2018 at 11:25 AM
To: sgallensont52@gmail.com

Hi Steve,

Here's a list of many of the travelers and traders who followed the Old Spanish Trail route. The majority of them traveled segments of the route, not the entire trail.

Travelers & traders on the Old Spanish Trail

(Source: *Old Spanish Trail National Feasibility Study*, 2001)*

In 1829, Mexican trader **Antonio Armijo** departed from Abiquiu in command of a commercial caravan of 60 men. Armijo successfully established a route to Los Angeles, where he traded serapes and other New Mexican goods for horses and mules.

William Wolfskill and **George C. Yount** first established the Northern Route of the Old Spanish Trail as they passed through central Utah in 1831. With a party of approximately 20 men, Wolfskill and Yount departed Abiquiu in the winter of 1830, and went to California by a route that Wolfskill would later describe as being "farther north than that adopted by the Spaniards in traveling between California and New Mexico."

Trapper **Antoine Leroux** identified the North Branch as an alternate route to California from Taos.

Some of the documented trading parties include: **Antonio Santiesteban** and 30 men in 1831; **Jose Avieta** and 124 men in 1833-1834**; Jose Antonio Salazar** and 75 men in 1839-1840; **Francisco Estevan Vigil** and 35 men and others (possibly about 134 people) in 1841; **Tomas Salazar** and 170 men in 1843; and Francisco Estevan Vigil and 209-225 men in 1847. Little or no information seems to be available as to the size of the caravans in 1838, 1840, and 1845. There are no annual trade caravans identified for 1834-1835, 1835-1836, or 1846. There were other travelers, such as **Santiago Martin**, who went to California with 15 men in 1832 for personal reasons rather than trade.

The 1841 Vigil group was reported by a Frenchman, Duflot du Mofras, as consisting of 200 New Mexicans and 60 or more North Americans.

There was considerable legal trade in horses and mules between California and New Mexico. Caravan size and the numbers of livestock brought back varied from year to year. Some of the known groups include Armijo, with 100 animals in 1830; Jose Antonio Salazar, with an estimated 2,500 animals in 1839; Francisco Estevan Vigil, with 4,141 animals in 1842; **John Rowland**, with 300 animals in 1842; a group, with 252 animals in 1843; a Frenchman called **Le Tard** with 231 animals in 1848; and Francisco Estevan Vigil, again, with 4.628 animals in 1848.

In 1838, **Lorenzo Trujillo** and six other New Mexicans left New Mexico for California. En route, **Manuelita Renaga** gave birth at Resting Springs on the Old Spanish Trail. These eight individuals became the first settlers in the San Bernardino area. In 1839, 75 New Mexicans arrived in California and settled near Rancho de San Jose. Several groups arrived in 1842, including a party of 40 from Abiquiu, New Mexico, who settled at Agua Mansa and Politana, and a group of 19 families who eventually settled in San Luis Obispo. In 1843, 10 families accompanied the regular caravan; another 10 families possibly accompanied a group under John Rowland; and five families arrived at Agua Mansa in 1844.

Kit Carson carried military dispatches on several trips, some of them along the Old Spanish Trail. In late 1847, he carried dispatches west along the Old Spanish Trail. In 1848, Carson again traveled with dispatches east from Los Angeles along the Old Spanish Trail to Santa Fe and on to Washington, D.C.

POST-TRAIL DAYS

Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale led a group along the North Branch and then down the main Old Spanish Trail to California in 1853.

In 1853, **Captain John Williams Gunnison** led an expedition to explore a possible 38th parallel railroad route across Cochetopa Pass. After entering the San Luis Valley in Colorado, the group followed the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail into western Colorado. In Utah, the group followed parts of the Old Spanish Trail. On October 26, after leaving the Old Spanish Trail, a group from the expedition was attacked, reportedly by Paiute Indians; Gunnison and others were killed, leaving only four survivors. **First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith** wrote the report of the Gunnison expedition.

A survey party led by **John C. Fremont** followed Gunnison's tracks on the North Branch and continued into Utah, following parts of the Old Spanish Trail. Entering the Rocky Mountains in December 1853, the group encountered difficulties, forcing them to first walk while the animals carried their supplies, and then to cache all but their most important baggage in order to ride. Eventually, as the animals gave out, they were eaten and their riders had to walk.

From November 1857 to January 1858, **Captain Randolph B. Marcy's party** of 40 soldiers and 25 mountain men traveled a portion of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail en route from Fort Bridger to New Mexico to procure supplies for Army troops.

In the summer of 1858, **Colonel William W. Loring** and 300 men with 50 wagons used part of the Old Spanish Trail and the North Branch to return from Camp Floyd in Utah to Fort Union.

Captain John N. Macomb led an exploration into southeastern Utah in 1859. The expedition was looking for a military road and seeking the confluence of the Green and Grand Rivers. They followed a section of the Old Spanish Trail and then deviated from that route, rejoining it farther along.

In 1860, several civilians were killed, and the Paiute Indians were blamed for the deaths, although the identity of the killers and their tribes was actually unknown. **Brevet Major James H. Carleton** was put in command of a military unit sent forth to punish the Paiute. The troops reached the Mojave River on April 19, and scouted for Indians in the area and along parts of the Old Spanish Trail until July 3.

Mountain men such as **James Beckwourth**, **Pegleg Smith**, and others, and New Mexican traders, used the trail for horse trading.

Sheep and wool trade was a major economic industry in New Mexico. **William Angney** bought 6,000 sheep in 1850 and took them to California via the Old Spanish Trail. In 1852, **Richens Lacy "Uncle Dick" Wootton** took 9,000 sheep along the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail, on to Salt Lake City, and then west to Sacramento along a California Trail route.

Other travelers, who followed segments of the route, include:
Orville Pratt (1848); **William Huntington** (1855); **David Cheesman** (1850). Also, **Joseph R. Walker**, **Miles Goodyear**, etc. An interesting note: **Henry W. Bigler**, a member of the 1849 **Jefferson Hunt** wagon train, carved his initials in the White Cliffs near the head of Beaver Dam Creek.

Travelers who used the North Branch Routes through Colorado's San Luis Valley include: John W. Gunnison and James Schiel (1853); Gwinn Harris Heap and E. F. Beale (1853); **George Frederick Ruxton** (1847); **William Pope**, **Isaac Slover**, and John Wolfskill (1837); and John C. Fremont (1853-1854).

An additional variant, the Fishlake Cutoff, was a shortcut between Ivie Creek and Junction, Utah.
Brewerton and Carson popularized this route in 1847-1848, but it was not regularly used until after 1848.
Solomon Carvalho (1854) intersected the Fishlake Cutoff after leaving the Northern Route east of the Green River. Jefferson Hunt (1849) and Parley Pratt (1851) joined the routes taken by Fremont (1844) and later by Wheeler (1866), on the recombined Northern Route as it ran southward from Utah into present-day Arizona

Variants of the Northern Route(s) were used by George M. Wheeler (1873), Addison Pratt (1849), William Chandless (1856), and Dalton (1857).

The first successful New Mexico trade caravan in 1829, led by Antonio Armijo, created a complete route between New Mexico and the Los Angeles area. The last known regular New Mexican trade caravan arrived in California in 1847 and returned in 1848. After 1848, the use of the section of trail from New Mexico to Utah fell into limited, often local, use, and the more northern and more southern trails to California became the primary routes of travel.

- **The Old Spanish Trail routes - level of scrutiny.**

For purposes of this study (see *Old Spanish Trail National Feasibility Study*, 2001), the route descriptions provided in this document generally follow the trail routes defined by Crampton and Madsen (1994), Sanchez (1997), Walker (1986), Warren (1974), Steiner (1999), and Kessler (1995). It should be noted that some route researchers, such as Crampton, Madsen, Kessler, and Steiner, field tested possible routes on the ground and rejected or accepted a particular route section based on correspondence with written materials, or in some cases based on terrain features deemed too difficult or as likely obstacles to travel.

I hope the above information proves helpful. It's important to note that Native Americans helped blaze the various Old Spanish Trail routes. Also Fathers **Dominguez** and **Escalante**, **Francisco Garces**, and **Jedediah Smith** had a big impact on the trail routes. And there are many others, too numerous to enumerate, who either followed or blazed sections of the trail.

Best regards,

Steve Madsen
[Quoted text hidden]

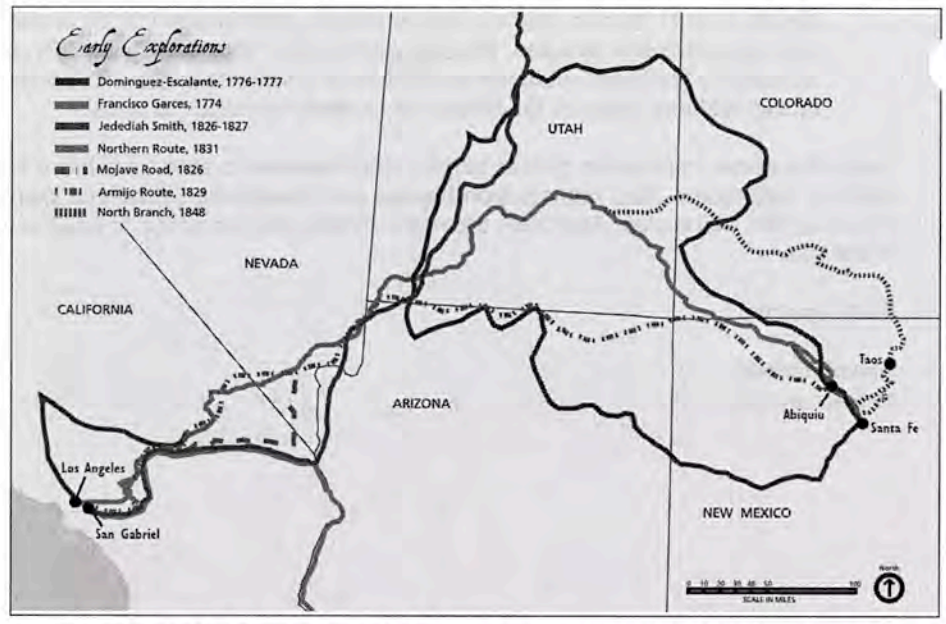
Biographies of important Old Spanish Trail figures:

Antonio Armijo

1804–1850

Antonio Mariano Armijo was a Mexican explorer and merchant who is famous for leading the first commercial caravan party between Abiquiú, Nuevo México and San Gabriel Mission, Alta California in 1829–1830. His route, the southernmost and most direct, is known as the Armijo Route of the Old Spanish Trail.

Abiquiú was the starting point and eastern terminus of the original route of the Old Spanish Trail. Though segments of an overland route between the Spanish colonies of Nuevo México and Alta California had been blazed decades earlier, Armijo was the first to pioneer a complete route that traveled the entire length. Armijo traveled with sixty mounted men and a caravan of pack animals carrying blankets and other trade goods to barter for mules in California. The caravan left Abiquiú on November 7, 1829 and made the journey to the San Gabriel Mission in what is now San Gabriel, California in 86 days, arriving on Jan. 31, 1830. He returned by the same route in 56 days, leaving March 1 and arriving on April 25, 1830. Unlike the other routes of the Old Spanish Trail, Armijo's route was documented day by day, although in a very brief report listing dates and stopping places, with few other details and no distances recorded. The report was submitted to the governor of Nuevo México, José Antonio Cháves, and published by the Mexican government on June 19, 1830.



Brigadier General Edward Fitzgerald Beale

1822-1893

Edward Fitzgerald Beale was born Feb. 4, 1822 in the District of Columbia. His father George, a paymaster in the Navy, had earned a Congressional Medal for Valor in the War of 1812. His mother, Emily, was the daughter of Commodore Thomas Truxtun. Ned was a student at Georgetown College when, at the solicitation of his widowed mother, President Andrew Jackson appointed him to the Naval School. Beale graduated in 1842. After a promotion to acting sailing master, he sailed for California in October 1845 on the frigate "Congress" under Commodore Robert Stockton. But 20 days later Stockton sent Beale back to Washington with important dispatches. After a long and roundabout voyage, he reached Washington in March 1846. Promoted to the grade of master, he sailed for Panama and then overtook the "Congress" at Callo, Peru, in May 1846. Hostilities with Mexico had already begun when the vessel reached Monterrey on July 20. After reaching San Diego, Stockton dispatched Beale to serve with the land forces. He and a small body of men under Lt. Archibald Gillespie joined Gen. Stephen Kearney's column just before the disastrous battle of San Pasqual (Dec. 6, 1846).



Heroic actions

After the Mexican Army surrounded the small American force and threatened to destroy it, Beale and two other men (his Delaware Indian servant and Kit Carson) crept through the Mexican lines and made their way to San Diego for reinforcements. Their actions saved Kearney's soldiers. Two months later (Feb. 9, 1847), although Beale still suffered from the effects his adventure, Stockton again sent him east with dispatches. Beale reached Washington about June 1. In October he appeared as a defense witness for John Fremont at the "Pathfinder's" court martial. Within the next two years, Beale made six more journeys across the country. On the second of these (July-September 1848), he crossed Mexico in disguise to bring the federal government proof of California's gold. After the fourth journey he married Pennsylvania Representative Samuel Edwards' daughter, Mary, on June 27, 1849. After making lieutenant on Aug. 3, 1850, Beale resigned from the Navy in May 1851. He returned to California as a manager for W.H. Aspinwall and Commodore Stockton, who had acquired large properties in America's newest territory. On March 3, 1853, President Millard Fillmore appointed Beale Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California and Nevada. Congress appropriated $250,000 to improve native conditions in Beale's district. With a party of 13 others he left Washington for California on May 6, 1853. Beale's party crossed southern Colorado and southern Utah assessing the feasibility of the route for a transcontinental railroad. He reached Los Angeles on Aug. 22. Beale retained his position as superintendent until 1856. California Governor John Bigler also appointed him brigadier general in the California Militia to give him additional authority to negotiate peace treaties between the Native Americans and the U.S. Army.

President's appointment

In 1857, President James Buchanan appointed Beale to survey a wagon road from Fort Defiance, New Mexico to theColorado River, on the border between Arizona and California. The survey also incorporated an experiment first proposed by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis four years earlier. To satisfy part of his transportation needs, Beale took 25 camels, imported from Tunis, as pack animals dur-

ing this expedition and on another in 1858 through 1859. Beale felt the camels performed well. But they scared horses and mules, so the Army declined to continue the experiment. After Abraham Lincoln's inauguration in 1861, the president appointed Beale Surveyor General of California and Nevada. Beale asked Lincoln for a Union Army command, but the president convinced him he could better serve the country by remaining as surveyor general and helping keep California in the Union. After the Civil War, Beale retired to Rancho Tejon, part of 270,000 acres he had acquired near present-day Bakersfield, California. In 1870 he bought the Decatur House in Washington, D.C. After that he divided his time between his two homes. In 1876 President Ulysses Grant appointed Beale as Minister to Austria-Hungary, a post he held for a year. Grant also suggested Beale as Navy Secretary during President Chester Arthur's administration, but Arthur preferred someone else. Beale died at Decatur House on April 22, 1893. During World War II, Camp Beale (now Beale Air Force Base) was name in his honor.

John Charles Fremont

1813-1890

John Charles Frémont was born in Savannah, Georgia in 1813. Though poor, through the efforts of a family friend, John Charles was prepared for and entered Charleston College at the age of 16. In one year he had advanced to the Junior Class, and though he showed great promise in languages, science, and mathematics, a few weeks before graduating he was expelled for non-attendance.



He early worked as a schoolteacher, teacher of mathematics, and surveyor. Attracting the attention of Joel Poinsett (former Senator, Ambassador to Mexico, and later Secretary of War) Frémont was commissioned as Professor of Mathematics in the Navy. The appointment convinced Charleston College to then confer upon him the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. He was assigned to the Frigate Independence, where he taught mathematics to midshipmen--there not yet being a Naval Academy at that time.

In 1837, at the age of 24, he was appointed a civil engineer in the Army Topographical Corps

of Engineers by President Jackson. A number of government and railroad surveys followed. In 1838 was commissioned as Second Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers.

In 1838 and 1839 he was assigned to a survey of the area between the upper Missouri and Mississippi Rivers under Joseph Nicolas Nicholet, an eminent French astronomer and mathematician. He had also become attracted to the 15 year old daughter of the powerful Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton. The attraction was mutual, but Jessie Benton's age, and Frémont's birth and Army career, made him unsuitable as a suitor. The Nicholet survey, and an 1841 survey of the Des Moines River, kept Frémont conveniently apart from Jesse. But on his return the two became secretly married.

Other successful expeditions

Senator Benton was furious over the marriage, but soon became reconciled to the union, and thereafter used his influence at every opportunity to promote Frémont's career. This came soon, in 1842. Because of ill health, Nicholet was unable to conduct a mapping expedition of the Oregon Trail to the Rockies through the South Pass. The command fell to Frémont. Now known as Frémont's Frst Expedition, the results were a great success, and the report written in a narrative form by Frémont with the assistance of Jessie, was published by Congress in 1843 and appeared in all major newspapers. The Report made Frémont known and also introduced Christopher "Kit Carson" to the American public.

Frémont's Second Expedition was an even greater success. It included many men from his First Expedition, including cartographer Charles Preuss, and Kit Carson. Dividing his men, he sent most of the expedition along his previous route under mountain man and trapper Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick. Frémont traveled a new route to include the first mapping and exploration of the Great Salt Lake. Reuniting the party at Fort Hall, he then continued on to Fort Vancouver, tying his survey in to the recently completed Wilkes Coastal Survey.

The Expedition then moved south through what is now central Oregon and western Nevada arriving a what Frémont named Pyramid Lake. It was mid winter, and being low on supplies, he decided to cross the Sierra Nevada to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River. This turned into a monumental effort, but was ultimately accomplished. Every detail of this mountain crossing is covered in The Crossing described on this site.

Traveling south through the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys, the Expedition joined the Old Spanish Trail, from which it later turned north and returned to Missouri. The Report of this expedition, after an initial printing of 20,000 copies by the Senate and the House of Representatives, was published world wide. The map of 1845 produced and published with the report was the first accurate map of the region west of the Rocky Mountains, and was the basis of later maps of the area for many years. Frémont was now a national hero, as was Kit Carson.

Second Lieutenant John Charles Frémont, now popularly known as "The Pathfinder", was awarded a double brevet in rank.

The next year, Captain John Charles Frémont left Missouri on his Third Expedition. The goal of this expedition is less clear. The United States was on the verge of war with Mexico over the annexation of Texas. It was feared that in the event of war, California, removed from Mexico and beyond Mexico's ability to protect, might fall under the protection of England or France.

Mexico owed England a large war debt from their own war of independence. That and the unsettled joint occupation of the Oregon Territory by the United States and England seemed to require a military presence in California.

Organizes militia

The first California Volunteer Militia was organized by, the man historical writings refer to as "The Pathfinder." This same individual later became one of the State's first Senators and was appointed a Major General in the Union Army during the Civil War.

He was, of course, Captain John Charles Fremont, U.S. Army topographer, explorer, and trail blazer. Captain Fremont, the man noted for his treks westward into United States trerritory and beyond in 1842. It was during his third expedition (1845-1846) that he assisted in turning the course of history in California.

In December 1845, Captain Fremont, and a force of sixty men, entered into the Mexican province of Alta California osten-

sibly to map the west coast area. Although he officially made contact with Mexican authorities, his movements around the province was a point of consternation to Mexico's Northern Regional Commander, General Jose Castro. In particular, the latter did not care for Fremont's contact and sympathy for American settlers and emigrants.

The Fremont Party having traversed the territory as far north as Klamath on the California/Oregon border, turned south upon hearing that a proclamation had been issued by General Castro, aimed at driving out foreigners from the province. Fremont, though sympathetic could not commit U.S. Forces to aid the settlers. Nevertheless, he did decide to stay and advise those who chose to confront the Mexican authorities. Captain Fremont established his base camp at the base of four buttes (Sutter Buttes) in the Sacramento Valley a few miles north of John Sutter's Fort.

Word of the camp reached a group of settlers who were most vociferous in their dislike of the province's government. Leader of this group calling themselves Osos (Spanish for Bears), was Ezekiel "Stuttering" Merritt. Merritt was well known in the territory, and the west, for having been a fur trapper in the Rocky Mountains. Captain Fremont gladly accepted the twenty Osos, and went so far as to appoint Zeke Merritt a lieutenant of the irregulars.

California becomes a Republic

Fremont remained in the background of events, not wishing to involve the United States in any altercations the Osos might be involved in; however, he and his force had already been branded "bandits" by General Castro, after an alleged horse stealing episode near Salinas during May 1846. Hence, in early June, Captain Fremont gave advice to capture the Northern Headquarters of General Mariano Vallejo at Sonoma. On June 14, the Osos took the town of Sonoma in the early dawn light without firing a shot. And with the acceptance of General Vallejo's surrender the Osos declared California a Republic, and raised the Bear Flag over the plaza.

Captain Fremont saluted the Bear Flaggers, whose force now numbered ninety, when both the flag of the United States and California Republic were raised on July 4, 1846, in celebration of United States and California Independence.

Following the celebration, Captain Fremont proposed that a unified force be organized, under his command. A discussion was held July 5, with William Brown Ide (Grigsby-Ide emigrant party of 1845), who the Bear Flaggers had elected as their Commander-in-Chief. A compact was drawn up for all volunteers to sign, which in part read: Not to violate the chastity of Women; conduct their revolution honorably; and pledge obedience to their officers. With the signatures or marks of the men, the California Battalion was formed. Fremont appointed a Marine Corps Officer, Captain Archibald H. Gillespie, his Adjutant. Captain Gillespie had joined Fremont when the latter was at the Oregon Border. Gillespie had crossed the Mexican nation and entered California about the time hostilities broke out with the opening of the Mexican War, May 1846. Fremont requested the Battalion's volunteers to elect their officers from the ranks.

Chosen were: Richard Owens, John Grigsby, Granville P. Swift, and Henry L. Ford. The California Battalion was given further legitimacy when on July 23, it was recognized by the American military leader in California, Commodore Robert Field Stockton, Commander of U.S. Naval Forces in the Pacific. J.C. Fremont was promoted to Major by Commodore Stockton, and given command of all Volunteer Militia. Major Fremont and the California Battalion eventually came under the command of Brigadier General Stephen Watt Kearney. Following this command change the Battalion came into prominence when in January 1847 they accepted the surrender of the Californios, thereby ending the conflict in California.

Frémont was appointed a major general of Union troops in Missouri after the American Civil War began, but he proved to be an ineffective leader. Further, in August 1861 he ordered the confiscation of the property of Missourians in rebellion as well as the emancipation of the state's slaves. President Abraham Lincoln, believing those actions to be premature and fearing that they would alienate border states, relieved Frémont of his command shortly thereafter.

Ineffective leadership

The next year Frémont was given leadership of another army—this time in the Appalachian region—but he proved ineffective against the rapid maneuvers of his opponent, the Confederate general Thomas ("Stonewall") Jackson. After losing command of his army to a rival, John Pope, Frémont again angrily resigned from the military. He was still popular enough to be considered for the presidential nomination again in 1864 by the radical wing of the Republican Party. He withdrew his candidacy, however, to avoid dividing the party, since that probably would have resulted in the defeat of Lincoln. Thereafter he retired from public life to devote himself to railroad projects in the West. In 1878, after losing his fortune, he was appointed governor of the Arizona Territory, where he served until 1883.

He passed away July 13, 1890 in New York.

James Beckwourth

1798 - 1866

James Pierson Beckwourth (April 6, 1798, Fredericksburg, Virginia - October 29, 1866, Denver) (a.k.a. Jim Beckworth, James P. Beckwith) was born in Virginia in 1798 to Sir Jennings Beckwith, a descendant of Irish and English nobility, and an African-American mulatto woman about whom little is known.



James Beckworth enjoyed nature and adventure, and it was not long before he set out to explore the vast expanses of what would become that which kept the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans apart.

Places still bear his name. In 1824 he was living in Missouri when he joined Gen. William Ashley's expedition to explore the Rocky Mountains. Although his activities remain largely unknown during this time Beckwourth became known as a prominent Indian fighter and guide often hired by settlers to guide wagon trains through the Sierra Nevada. He later became a horse trader supplying migrants and others, and then later conducted a horse thief operation against the Spanish with fellow Mountain Men.

The company's largest raid took place in 1840 when Beckwourth, in cooperation with Native Americans led by Ute Chief Wakara, over Cajon Pass successfully raiding nearly all the ranches from San Gabriel to San Bernadino of over 1,200 horses. Despite several battles with Spanish posses, including a gunfight against a posse of 75 men led by Governor Jose Antonio Carrillo, at Resting Springs the gang managed to escape.

Beckwourth eventually began ranching, mostly with stolen horses, until he was chased out by vigilantes in 1855. Travelling to the Colorado Territory he became a scout for the Union Army and later lived in Denver as a storekeeper. In 1864 Beckwourth returned to the mountains acting as a guide for John M. Chivington during the Sand Creek Massacre.

Later in his life, Jim recounted his astonishing life to Thomas D. Bonner, who set the book *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth: Mountaineer, Scout, Pioneer and Chief of the Crow Nation* to type. As notable as are the adventures, Jim's linguistic and stylistic prowess also impresses as being beyond the normal scope of reportage. The lessons of the book have currency, and much can be learned that might help us understand the role of alcohol in the US Government, how occupations effect the occupied, our historical relationship to diseases, wildlife, and the environment...among other things, including massacres and war.

Beckwourth's death came at age 69, while guiding a military column to a Crow Tribe in Montana. Complaining of severe headaches and suffering nosebleeds (most probably a severe case of hypertension), Beckworth returned to the Crow village where he died on October 29, 1866. The founder of the "Rocky Mountain News", William Byers, used the news of the death of Beckworth to publish a circulation-boosting, baseless yarn stating that the Crow had poisoned Beckworth, a falsehood that is repeated to this day.

Beckwourth Pass, California ,Beckwourth Pass, named in honor of James Beckwourth, is located in the Sierra Nevada Mountains in Plumas County, California. California State Route 70 crosses the Sierras at an elevation of 1,591 m (5,221 ft.), making it one of the lowest crossings of the Sierra Nevadas in California. It is also the route that the Union Pacific Railroad (former Western Pacific Railroad) used to cross the Sierra's along their Feather River route. The pass is located east of Portola, California.

In 1851, Beckwourth, following an Indian trail, discovered a low elevation pass over the Sierra Nevada mountains into California. He improved what became known as the Beckwourth Trail through Plumas, Butte and Yuba counties. In August, 1851, he led the first intact wagon train into the burgeoning Gold Rush city of Marysville, California, named after Mary Murphy, a survivor of the Donner Party in the winter of 1846-47. Beckwourth demanded payment for improving the trail, claiming he had an agreement with the city and its merchants. When the city failed to pay him, he had no standing as a dark-skinned man in a California court to sue for damages. An estimated 10,000 people used the trail to enter Marysville in the following decade. In 1996, at the urging of promoters of Beckwourth Frontier Days, a living history festival, the city of Marysville's largest park was renamed Beckwourth Riverfront Park in recognition of the debt owed by the city and Beckwourth's significance to the growth of the city.

George D. Brewerton

Reprinted from the Spriing 2000 issue of Spanish Traces, *the newsletter of the Old Spanish Trail Association:*

BY JOURDAN HOUSTON



He was energetic, often anxious,with an air some saw as supercilious. He was tall for the time — nearly six feet — and, in 1848, still quite young.

Douglas Brewerton had not yet entered his 'twenties' when he made his first and only trip across the Old Spanish Trail, a journey that forged his future and remained the pinnacle of his past.

The significance of Brewerton's travels across the Old Spanish Trail has long been considered the record he left in a series of articles he penned for Harper's New Monthly beginning in 1853. In them, the impressionable lieutenant recounted his six-week transit with Kit Carson from Los Angeles to Carson's home in Taos in 1848, followed by Brewerton's solo crossing eastbound on the Santa Fe Trail. The three articles were later compiled into a book, *Overland With Kit Carson,* reissued in paperback in the 1990s.

But Brewerton's accounts of his often harrowing Spanish Trail experience are only part of his Southwestern legacy. In addition to his sketches and prints of the Carson trip, he left a vast visual memoir in an array of paintings, some of the earliest canvases of the region.

Nearly a decade before Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902) first visited the Far West, Brewerton was evoking praise in the New York press for his large paintings of California, Colorado and New Mexico. Decades before eastern artists colonized Taos, Brewerton presented New York's elite with a view of the town. Brewerton had barely returned to the east in 1853 when his paintings evoked attention. As early as February, the *Home Journal,* published in New York by the poet and editor Nathaniel P. Willis, wrote of a southwestern landscape by "G. D. Brewerton, late of the United States Army." The painting "...illustrates southwestern scenery with vivid accuracy, and portrays some features peculiar to that region, and such, moreover, as are seldom represented in paintings of this description. His truthfulness in delineating the misty mountain-tops, turbid streams, decaying forest-wood, and other remarkable aspects of this portion of our continent is worthy special and close attention."

In early 1853, one of the nation's first illustrated weeklies reproduced a Brewerton scene of the Sangre de Cristo mountains in New Mexico.

National Academy display

Several of his paintings soon hung at the National Academy of Design in New York. He would paint and sell his canvases of the Old Spanish Trail for decades, but the locales and the significance of his works did not translate into the next century. Their ties to New Mexico and Colorado in particular have only lately been reclaimed.

George Douglas Brewerton (1828-1901) was a competent artist, trained by the eminent historical painter Robert W. Weir (1803-1889) at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Brewerton's father, Henry, was a career officer, a West Point alumnus, and superintendent of the school from 1845 to 1852. Douglas Brewerton had been born in Newport, Rhode Island, home to his mother's fore-

bears, who included the miniaturist Edward G. Malbone (1777-1807), her uncle. Douglas Brewerton would return to Newport for periods throughout his long life.

His route to the Spanish Trail began in 1846 with the advent of the Mexican War. Only 18, he joined the Seventh New York Volunteers, later known as the First Regiment of New York Volunteers, under Jonathan D. Stevenson, a friend of the Brewertons. The regimental mission: to prevent "hostilities in Mexico, probably in upper California" and to establish a stronger American presence there. A second lieutenant, Brewerton sailed around Cape Horn to California, arriving in August of 1847. He ended up at the Presidio in Yerba Buena, "old dobie barracks" that he and his 30 men defended with two captured Mexican cannons which he described as "prolific in cracks, but deficient on bore."

Accompanies Kit Carson

In the spring of 1848, Brewerton was ordered to accompany Kit Carson from California east; Carson was carrying official messages to Washington, including evidence of local four by six feet. Brewerton's paintings of scenes along the Old Spanish Trail enjoyed wide public display for nearly two decades. A small sampling of his output shows the breadth of his now hard-to-find early Western work. Two oils of New Mexico Territory — Prairie Scene Near the Rocky Mountains and Gorge in the Rockies: Storm Brewing—appeared in New York at the National Academy of the Arts of Design in 1854.

Prairie Scene—which depicts part of the Sangre de Cristo range—was exhibited again that year at the Rhode Island Art Association in Providence, along with his View in the Wah Satch Mts., From an original Sketch. A Southwestern scene was sent to nation's first world's fair, at the octagonal iron and glass Crystal Palace in New York in 1853.



Print from the *Illustrated News* (NY), March 19, 1853. Title: Prairie Scene Near The Rocky Mountains. "By George D. Brewster" [It is the Mora, in New Mexico territory, by Brewerton.

Brewerton, skilled also in using pastels, sent a variety of them to the 24 Spring 2000 Brewerton's Self-Portrait in a western Landscape. Oil on Canvas. 45 inches x 60 inches. Private Collection. [See above] Cosmopolitan Art Association in Sandusky, Ohio, in 1858 and 1859; the association disseminated the artist's works all over the nation — from Natchez, Mississippi, to Augusta, Georgia. The pastels included such scenes from his 1848 trip as Prairie on Fire; Rocky Mountain Scenery; Scene on the Frontier, and Surveying in New Mexico. In 1864, a patron of Brewerton's donated On the Plains to the Metropolitan Sanitary Fair in New York, raising funds for the care of Union troops. (Early in the Civil War, Brewerton had served briefly as a volunteer in the Carolinas with his old friend, General Rufus Saxton, but never enlisted as a regular.) The Brooklyn Art Association hung his western works into the mid-1870s, and Boston auction-goers purchased them over the years, also. A scene from his Carson trip, Green River Falls — Rocky Mts., was hung at the Detroit Art Association exhibition in 1876.

Despite Brewerton's dedication to depicting the scenes of his youthful journey, few of these Western works have been located. Several among those surviving, however, are on public display; each measures roughly thirty by forty-four inches:



Detail with initialed blanket and Brewerton from Self Portrait in a Western Landscape.

☐ Crossing the Rocky Mountains (1854) hangs today at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. It depicts the Mora and the Sangre de Cristo mountains in New Mexico, near where Fort Union was later built.

☐ Gorge in the Rocky Mountains (1854) is in the collection of the Butler Institute in Youngstown, Ohio; it may picture the Gunnison River gorges visible to the Carson party.

☐ Jornada del Muerto (1853) is at the Oakland (California) Museum. The scene is the Mojave Spring 2000 25 Desert, between Bitter Spring and Resting Spring in California, near contemporary Aqua de Tomaso and Archilette. This is a haunting, geometric desert scene. In a private collection, Self-Portrait in a Western Landscape shows the artist camping by a large river in mountainous terrain, probably in California. The largest of the located Western paintings, this measures forty-five by sixty inches. The artist painted his initials on his blanket and carved them in a tree; he left his initials on a tree trunk in the Corcoran Gallery prairie oil, also.

Prolific painter

In this self-portrait, Brewerton wears his favorite red buckskin jacket, which he describes in his accounts. Besides the proliferation of paintings of the Old Spanish Trail, Brewerton produced probably thousands of other works in both oil and pastel. He visited Kansas during the fighting in the mid-1850s, writing a book about his visit. He supposedly qualified for the bar in Kansas; in 1859, he was ordained as a Baptist minister, practicing for a few years in upstate New York both before and after the Civil War. He lived in Brooklyn, in Newport, in Nebraska and in Tacoma, Washington, and returned occasionally to California.

He had almost as many wives as residences – three; two of them divorced him.

Brewerton wrote an elaborate two-volume history of the State of Washington, where he sold real estate in the later 1880s, painted, and sent poems to the Tacoma press.

Kit Carson, long Brewerton's friend and hero, died in 1868. Douglas Brewerton died of pneumonia at Fordham, N.Y., in January of 1901, more than 50 years after their journey together. But Brewerton's ties to the Old Spanish Trail had never paled; their days on the road, he once wrote the scout, had been among the happiest of his life.

Endnotes:

[1.] The articles written and illustrated by Brewerton were titled, "A Ride With Kit Carson Through the Great American Desert and the Rocky Mountains," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 7 (August 1853), 306-334,

[2] "Incidents of Travel in New Mexico," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 8 (April 1854), 577-596.

[3] "In The Buffalo Country," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 25 (September 1862), 447-460. 2. George Douglas Brewerton, Overland with Kit Carson: A Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48 (New York: Coward-McCann Inc., 1930) and Overland With Kit Carson: A Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48 (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska, 1993)..

[3]. Home Journal, February 19, 1853, p. 3.

[4]. Brewerton's dates have been variously given as 1820, 1827 and 1828. His death certificate, gravestone, pension application and a marriage certificate indicate a birth date of 1828.

[5]. George Douglas Brewerton, Argonaut Memories (San Francisco, Frank Eastman & Co., 1887), pp. 18 and 29.

[6]. Home Journal, October 29, 1853,p. 3.

[7]. Paul C. Mills, Archive of California Art, Oakland Museum of California, Oakland, Cal.

[8]. Brewerton writes of his carving initials during his trip with Carson, those of a "noble-hearted woman...a fancy of sweet sixteen" in a "gigantic pine."

[9]. G. Douglas Brewerton, The War In Kansas, A Rough Trip to the Border Among New Homes and Strange People (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856), p.124.

[10]. Obituary of George D. Brewerton, Brooklyn Eagle, February 1, 1901.

Walkara

1815-1855

Ute horse thief and slave trader

A Powerful Ute Leader

AKA Wakara, Walker

Chief Wakara of the Timpanogots Utes is a legend in the West. When he was alive, some believed he could be in many places at once, and after his death, his legend only continued to grow. He was born around 1815, and came to power in his band as the Western exploration and migration boom was beginning. In the early days of Utah



Walkara and his brother Arapeen (on the right), from a book printed in 1855

settlement, Wakara mostly helped the settlers. He sometimes traded using less than honorable means, but he also served as an important negotiator and ally for the Mormon settlers. Later, he resented the settlers' taking over his land, and he and his followers started the "Walker War" by raiding and attacking the new settlements.

A strong leader

Wakara was a leader in the Timpanogots Ute band in the first part of the 19th century. Because he spoke both English and Spanish, he became a successful trader. He specialized in trading horses and slaves.

As a thief and slave trader, he got many of his horses by stealing them from ranches in California. He also stole the slaves.

He and his men would raid Paiute bands and take women and children prisoner. He would sell the slaves to Spanish or Mexican traders and explorers, who would take them back to New Mexico to work in the mines or as domestic servants. In return, Wakara would get guns, ammunition, and other goods. He also sold children to the Mormon settlers, threatening to kill the children if he couldn't sell them.

The cloud of dust from the stolen animals could be seen for 50 miles

People in Walkara's day said there are only 3 seasons in the desert, spring, summer and winter. Walkara, the Ute Indian known as the "Greatest Horsethief in

History," was also a slave trader and chief of his own band of renegades (or outcasts). It would be in the autumn when he would steal 3,000 or more horses from the rancheros in the green valleys of southern California and drive them relentlessly through the passes and across the desert, kidnapping Piute men, women and children if they were handy along the way. This became known as the fourth season, when "Walkara conducts his raids."

Brigham Young didn't like New Mexican traders associating with the Utes. He made a proclamation outlawing New Mexican traders in Utah Territory. This didn't help Wakara's business!

He began to get angry about the large disruption the Mormons were creating for his people. His anger boiled over after a Mormon settler killed a member of his band near Springville during a fight about a trade.

His Utes began to raid Mormon settlements, and the Mormons began to retaliate. This conflict is called the "Walker War." It caused much fear, bloodshed, and deaths of innocent people -- on both sides.

Defeat - and peace

Brigham Young finally ordered that the settlers end all trading with the Utes. He then sent a negotiator to meet with Wakara, and eventually Young met with him himself. Wakara had learned what all Native American leaders learned: that they couldn't win fighting against the Anglo Americans.

Wakara agreed to stop the fighting and live peacefully with the Mormons who had taken over the lands his tribe had used for centuries. He died not long after that.

George Yount

Reprinted from the Spriing 2000 issue of Spanish Traces, *the newsletter of the Old Spanish Trail Association:*

BY HARRY MURRAY

George Yount was born on May 4, 1794 in western North Carolina. He was the sixth child of Jacob Yount and Marillis Killian. The family moved to southern



Missouri near Cape Girardeau when George was ten years old. George grew up helping his family on their frontier homestead. He had little time for schooling and never learned to read or write. Instead, he became an expert with a rifle, pistol, tomahawk and the plow. He defended the family against hostile Indians. He learned to construct a log cabin, build and operate a forge, mill and all the implements required on a frontier settlement. George's family later moved to Howard County, Missouri along the Missouri River. He enlisted in the militia in 1812 and helped defend the frontier settlements against the Indian allies of the British. He first served with a mounted rifle company under Captain Maurice Young. He later served in another mounted rifle company under General Henry Dodge's command. General Dodge also had a band of 80 Shawnees and Delaware Indians under his command. He served his country once again when he served under Daniel Boone's son, Major Nathan Boone, in defending the frontier settlements during the Indian uprisings of 1815.

Prosperous farm

Upon returning to Howard County, Missouri, George Yount worked hard to save for a farm of his own. At the age of 24, when he married Eliza Cambridge Wilds, he had a large, well stocked farm in nearbyBoone County.The future for the young couple looked very good. They had two children, Robert and Frances. In 1826, George Yount was swindled out of his savings by a trusted friend. The farm, the animals and all of his equipment had to be sold to pay off the debt.With the money left over George bought some trade goods and planned to head west from Franklin, Missouri to Santa Fe. He gave the balance to his wife, Eliza.

In August of 1826, leaving his wife and children behind, he was paid $50 in advance by Hickman and Lamme as a teamster to drive a wagon to Santa Fe. William Wolfskill, Elisha Stanley, and the young Kit Carson were among those who came down the Santa Fe trail in the wagon train with George Yount. After a trip of about eight weeks George arrived in Santa Fe, but he couldn't sell his goods due to a lack of money and excess of trade goods from earlier wagon trains in Santa Fe. So in the fall of 1826, George Yount traded his goods for two horses, two mules, traps and provisions and joined a band of free trappers under Ewing Young. They headed into the Gila River wilderness of New Mexico to trap beaver. They stopped for several weeks near the Santa Rita copper mines to wait for their beaver trapping license from Governor Antonio Narbona. Here George bought two more mules.

Trapper's life

They headed southwest along the Gila River where he tells of seeing extremely rugged terrain which he described as nearly impossible to cultivate. Also, George Yount saw the hot springs. One night a rabid wolf came into their camp. George shot it after two others missed, but not before it bit two of their dogs.

On one occasion, George and a couple of companions separated from the main group. They trapped along the San Francisco and Salt Rivers before rejoining the others.

During this expedition, they trapped along the Gila and Salt Rivers in Arizona. Near Phoenix, Arizona the trappers rescued the survivors of the Robidoux party who had preceded them. They had been attacked by the Maricopa Indians.They buried the dead and took the survivors along with them.

They traveled west to the Colorado River near Yuma and followed it north to the vicinity of what now Lake Mead. On their return to Santa Fe, they ran out of food, and were injured, sick and starving when they stumbled into Zuni Pueblo. For three months, the Zuni nursed most of them and their animals back to good health. Most of the trappers survived; however, four died and were buried near Zuni Pueblo.

Upon returning to the Santa Fe area in 1827, they learned that new governor, Manuel Armijo didn't allow Americans to trap and didn't recognize the trapping permits authorized by his predecessor. The trappers who arrived in Santa Fe had their furs confiscated. George Yount had several thousand dollars in furs upon his return. He and Milton Sublette and others stored their furs in the home of Don Louis Maria Cabeza de Baca. He was a member of the Baca family that lived at what is now Las Golondrinas. His home was about 12 miles southwest at Pena Blanca along the Rio Grande. Their furs were now considered contraband by Governor Armijo who sent soldiers to Senor Baca's home to confiscate the furs. Unfortunately Mr. Baca was killed. One trapper, Milton Sublette, later recovered two of his fur bundles on the plaza at Santa Fe.

Having lost his furs, George borrowed money from Elisha Stanley, a merchant who had accompanied him on the Santa Fe Trail in 1826. He went to work making the notorious Taos lightning at William Workman's distillery to earn money for another trapping venture. The distillery was along the Little Rio Grande Canyon in the hills east of Ranchos de Taos. A man named Pice often assisted George at the distillery. Pice's family had lived near the Ute Indians a few generations before and had provided the Utes with some bullocks during a famine. Pice had a friend who was a leader among the Utes who would visit the still. Another, Juan de Dios an Indian from Taos, often visited the distillery. He and George often spent nights at the still to guard against thieves. Although he could not read or write, George sent money and a message back to his wife, Eliza, explaining what had happened.

Leads trapper expedition

In the fall of 1827, Yount led a party of 24 men, including William Workman, Sylvester Pattie and his son James Ohio Pattie on another trapping expedition through the Gila wilderness of New Mexico into Arizona. When they neared the Colorado River at the mouth of the Gila River, the party argued over which way to proceed and split up. The Patties and several others headed southwest and were later arrested and jailed by Mexican officials at San Diego.

George Yount led the rest in trapping along the Colorado before heading north along the prior year's route. On returning to the area of Santa Fe in the spring of 1828, Yount and his party visited the Hopi and Zuni Pueblos. This time they stashed their furs in caves near Jemez Springs. George now had several hundred dollars in cash and several thousand dollars worth of furs. He sent a message and funds to his wife and invested in a partnership with William Workman. In the fall of 1829 George outfitted a party of trappers and sent them to trap the rivers to the north. This trapping party returned in the spring

of 1829 and was very successful.

In the fall of 1829, George Yount organized and outfitted a trapping party of 30 men to trap the rivers of the northwest in what is now Utah, while his partner, William Workman, remained behind in

Taos. Yount's party visited and traded with the Utes and trapped as far north as Bear Lake in northern Utah. Near here they were forced to camp for a while due to fierce snowstorms and deep snows. On the return to Taos in mid March 1830, Yount's party met Jedediah Smith's party returning from northern California. With Smith were David Jackson, Milton Sublette and Arthur Black. From Smith's party George learned of the bountiful land and plentiful beaver in the Sacramento and San Joaquin River valleys of California. After camping and trading with Smith's party, George Yount gathered up his group with a stash of $8000 in furs and headed back to Taos. Before arriving in Taos in April of 1830, Yount stashed his furs in a cave near the Rio Grande river north of Taos until they were sold.

Loses 'nest egg"

George Yount's business with William Workman was flourishing and he wanted to settle up his share and along with his furs expected to have a good "nest egg" for his return to his family in Missouri. Mr. Workman refused to sell their lucrative business so George accepted only $1000 for his share. With his diminished fortune, George Yount decided to make one more trapping expedition before returning home to Missouri. Remembering Jedediah Smith's glowing reports of trapping opportunities in California, he decided to head there.

In September 1830, George formed what became his final trapping expedition out of New Mexico into the rivers of California. With four hired men, he joined William Wolfskill's party of 16 men. Mr. Wolfskill was considered the leader of the party as he had the larger group of men. The party on horseback had pack mules to carry provisions, and beaver traps and trade goods, to trade with the Indians they expected to meet. On their way to California Yount and Wolfskill forged the main branch of the Old Spanish Trail. Instead of taking a more westerly route like Armijo the previous year, who had left New Mexico with trade goods for Los Angeles, Yount and Wolfskill went north to trap the rivers of Colorado and Utah on their way to California. The Yount/Wolfskill route eventually became the main route of the Old Spanish Trail. At Abiquiu, NM, they stopped for final provisions and Wolfskill purchased four oxen for use as food along the way.

They followed the Rio Chama from Abiquiu north and west to the San Juan River. They passed near Durango and Delores, CO. They followed the Rio Delores to the Colorado River. They crossed the Colorado River just south of the Rio Delores. They proceeded west, crossed the Green River near Moab, UT. They traveled north near Green River and Castle Dale, UT to the Unita Mountains before heading west to the Wasatch Range and then southward to the Sevier River which they reached in November. Heading south along the Sevier River, the trapping party encountered a large number of Utes who were gathering from all directions to mourn the death of a chief. Many of the Utes remembered George Yount from his visit the year before. In fact, when George Yount told them William Wolfskill was in charge of the trapping party, the Utes told him he was the head man. In any event, the trappers stayed, smoked the pipe and traded with the Utes.

They presented knives, tobacco, awls, beads and vermillion to the Indians and attended the chief's funeral. According to George Yount, all the clothes, utensils, weapons and animals of the deceased chief were collected and burned on a large funeral pyre.

'Worst snowstorm'

After leaving the Utes, the party followed the Wasatch Range and Sevier River south. In a high mountain plateau of the Wasatch Range they soon encountered the worst snowstorm they had ever seen. The snow was so deep they had to camp for several days. The men huddled together with their animals around a campfire and covered themselves with brush, bark, blankets and beaver pelts to keep warm. As they later learned, they had taken the left hand route, a junction in the trail, instead of the route to the right.

Climbing a nearby peak revealed to Yount and Wolfskill their error. After the weather cleared, the party continued south in the snow and cold out of the high mountain valley. They reached the Virgin River near Saint George, Utah. Along the way they passed through plush green valleys void of snow and ice and teeming with deer, antelope and elk. They followed the Virgin River south to the Colorado River where they rejoined the Armijo Route.

The party followed the Colorado River south to the Mohave Desert where they encountered the Mohave Indians. George Yount had met these Indians twice before. The trapping party camped near the Mohave and learned it was a seven day journey to the pueblo at Los Angeles. Here they decided to abandon trapping and proceed to their destination. After a couple days, their food supplies were about depleted. George Yount and William Wolfskill headed off in advance of the party in search of provisions at the first settlement they could find. Along the way they found a couple of fresh horses to replace their tired mounts. From here they crossed the Mohave Desert to the Mohave River. They followed this to Barstow, CA and through the Cajon Pass. They soon stumbled upon Mission San Gabriel and tens of thousands of head of cattle which was more than either Yount and Wolfskill had ever seen before in one place.

They received a warm reception from Father Jose Benardo Sanchez and were invited to stay and rest. After a two day rest they returned with provisions to the trapping party they had left behind and brought them back to Mission San Gabriel. Yount and Wolfskill were hosted by Father Sanchez at the mission and the rest of the trapping party were allowed to set up their encampment wherever they wanted. The trappers spent about two weeks at Mission San Gabriel.

'Captain Buckskin'

As George Yount was dressed in buckskin he was referred to as "Captain Buckskin." One morning Father Sanchez was showing the operation of slaughtering cattle and tanning hides to the trappers. George Yount was leaning on his rifle as a couple vaqueros were dragging a bullock in for slaughter with a rope around his horns and across his forehead. A trapper hollered out for him to cut the rope across the bullocks forehead with a rifle shot. Father Sanchez thought this was too much of a feat at 50 yards but allowed him to shoot the animal. George shot the bullock and the rope parted as the animal fell.

The trapping venture hadn't been very successful. As it was now too late to trap along the San Joaquin River, the trapping party disbanded. George paid his four men and told them they were free to return to New Mexico. Also, it was here George Yount may have first received word that his wife had divorced him. His wife Eliza filed for divorce in December 1829. The divorce was finalized on July 13, 1830. It would have taken a month or two for him to get word of this in New Mexico. By this time he was probably already on his way from Taos to California.

This news must have followed him to southern California. George Yount and



George Yount initially prospered in California by hunting California seals and selling their pelts. He used Hawaiian "Kanaka divers" to retreive the carcasses after he had shot them.

William Wolfskill decided to remain in California. Some of Wolfskill's trappers, including John Rhea, Martin Cooper, Francis Branch, Samuel Shields and Lewis Burton, decided to stay in California as well.

In California, George Yount was offered the opportunity to hunt fur seals. George went to Santa Barbara where he met Captain William Dana who offered to provide boats, supplies and provisions to hunt fur seals. He and George would split the profits. Although George had never seen the ocean, he had spent time on the rivers of Missouri. On his first sailing venture he was one of a few that didn't get seasick. He accepted the offer from William Dana, and from small boats he would shoot the fur seals.

Hawaiian 'Kanakas'

Hawaiian divers called Kanakas would recover the seals and pull them into the boats. George was accompanied by Isaac Gilbreth and other divers in another boat. Isaac Gilbreth had come to California with Jedediah Smith in 1827. George tried hunting from boats he made from sea elephant skins stretched over a wooden frame of willow, much like those covered with buffalo hides used on the rivers back in Missouri. These skin covered boats could be paddled over the water more easily than wooden boats and worked well. However, the hides didn't last very long in salt water. George hunted fur seals for a couple years in the area of Los Angeles and the Channel Islands.

They often camped on the islands at night. In his first venture hunting the sea otters George brought in 75 skins, each worth about $30.00. While hunting fur seals, George visited all but one of the coastal islands, including San Nicholas, Catalina, San Clemente, Santa Cruz and Santa Barbara, and traveled as far south as San Diego and Ensenada, Mexico. They and their boats would be carried onboard Captain Dana's schooner, Santa Barbara. Captain Thomas Robbins was the ships master.

At Santa Barbara in June 1833, George met Thomas O. Larkin who would later become the Consul General from the United States to Mexico in northern California. Mr. Larkin lived at Monterey, California. Mr. Larkin had come to Santa Barbara to marry Mrs. Rachel (Hobson) Holmes, a widow. As they were Protestants they could not be married by a Catholic priest in Mexico. An American ship, Volunteer, was anchored off Monterey. The captain offered his ship for the wedding and the couple was married at sea and returned to Santa Barbara for the wedding reception. The next day George Yount and the Hawaiian divers accompanied Mr. Larkin and his wife on an overland journey back to Monterey. Mr. Larkin was well prepared and had tents and provisions for himself, his wife and guests and a company of servants and many horses for the journey. There were no roads along the coast of California.

Travelers traveled from mission to mission or camped out in the wilderness. The first night of this journey was spent at Mission Santa Ynez where the travelers received great hospitality. The next two nights the travelers camped out. The following two nights were spent at the Mission of San Luis Obispo and Mission San Miguel, respectively. From here on the sixth day they followed the Salinas River into Monterey.

George Yount stayed at Monterey for a while and repaired some of Thomas Larkin's buildings. Thomas Larkin and George Yount became lifelong friends. He made a boat for hunting fur seals on the Salinas River, but the effort wasn't too successful. Upon returning from this hunt he met up with George Nidiver who came over the mountains with the Joseph R. Walker party in 1833. Later in 1833, George decided to move further north. He shipped his boats and personnel belongings north to what is now San Francisco on a Russian ship. At that time, San Francisco consisted of a few dwellings and was called Yerba Buena. George Yount, George Nidiver, and the Hawaiian divers went north on horseback. From San Francisco, George Yount, George Nidiver, and the Kanaka divers crossed over to San Pablo Bay and proceeded up the San Joaquin River and camped at night on the river bank. It was here they found an abandoned Indian infant among a cluster of huts. George Yount rescued this Indian girl and raised her as his own until she later married. After successfully trapping along the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers, they returned to San Pablo Bay where they camped near Petaluma. Here they found a large group of sea otters. He hunted these animals for several days until stormy weather ended their efforts. While exploring the area around San Pablo Bay, George Yount learned of the missions at San Rafael and Sonoma. Upon running low on provisions, George, his friend George Nidiver, the Kanaka divers and the Indian girl headed off to Mission Sonoma. Along the way they killed a calf from the mission herd for food. When he finally met Father Jose Quijas at Sonoma Mission, George told him what he had done and offered to pay for the animal. The priest forgave him and refused compensation. George later helped Father Quijas by repairing the buildings of the missions at Sonoma and San Rafael. This effort included roofing the buildings with shingles made from nearby redwood trees.

Meets General Vallejo

At Sonoma, George Yount met General Mario Vallejo who was the military commander of northern California for the Mexican government. They became good friends and he shingled the roofs of some of the general's buildings as well. He remained at Sonoma from 1833 through 1835. As a result of his friendship with General Vallejo and Father Quijas, he was offered a land grant if he became a Catholic and a Mexican citizen. George agreed to these terms and was asked where he would like to live. George indicated he had ridden his horse, Hunter, across the mountains to neighboring Napa Valley. This is the area George Yount requested. In February 1836, he received his land grant of over 8600 acres. He called his land the Caymus Rancho after a nearby village of friendly Wappo Indians.

Here, with the aid of several friends including Martin Cooper who came to California with the Wolfskill/Yount party in 1831 and a few educated Indians George Yount built a two-story log blockhouse near a stream. It was the first log

structure in the state of California. General Vallejo and the military garrison was 18 miles away so the block house was capable of being boarded up and had rifle ports on all sides for defending against hostile Indian attacks. The next year he built an adobe house. He later built a flour mill and a saw mill. George Yount planted fruit trees, grape vines, wheat and other crops, raised livestock and sheltered the friendly Wappo Indians from hostile Indian attacks. Several Indian families lived and worked on the property. George Yount and the other ranch owners were sometimes called upon by General Vallejo to assist in defending the settlements from hostile Indians. On at least one occasion, hostile Indians attacked him in his log blockhouse. He and a visiting Frenchman defeated the attack after bringing the friendly Indians inside. By the end of 1837 George had about 170 head of cattle. Not long after this Indians drove about half of them away. To make up for the loss of cattle and to earn money to purchase more livestock he began to again make and sell shingles. Once when General Vallejo had cattle he wanted to move north across the San Francisco Bay, George Yount came to his aid. George built a floating corral out of long timbers and oil casks from whaling ships. The floating corral used long oars and a rudder to transport up to fifty head of livestock at a time across the bay.

Brings children from Missouri

In 1841, an emigrant party from Missouri arrived in northern California. Several of the men with the party, including Charles Hopper and Joseph Chiles, were formerly neighbors of the Younts in Missouri. From Mr. Chiles, George received news that his wife had remarried and that his children were well. George asked Mr. Chiles to bring his children to California on his next trip. His daughters, Frances and Elizabeth Ann, came west to Napa in 1843 to live with him. Elizabeth Ann was born shortly after George left Missouri in 1826. Frances, the oldest, came with her husband Bartlett Vines and their two children. From his children George learned his father-inlaw intercepted the letters and money he sent to Eliza. After his son, Robert, died in 1846 his granddaughter, Elizabeth, came to Napa with her mother to live with him. Elizabeth later married Thomas Rutherford, an early California pioneer. George helped outfit rescue parties to help find survivors of the Donner Party.

In 1855 George Yount married Eliza Gashwiler, a widow. About the same time, George donated some of his land for a cemetery and a small community which was called Sebastopol. George Yount prospered in the latter part of his life. He enjoyed life at his Caymus Rancho with his family and grandchildren around him. He died at home on Oct 5, 1865. The town of Sebastopol was renamed Yountville after he died.

Late in his life, George Yount narrated his life story to a Reverend Orange Clark. The book was finally published in 1966.

Like George Yount, many of his contemporaries eventually settled in California. These included William Wolfskill, William Workman, John Roland, and Thomas "Pegleg" Smith. William Wolfskill became one of the first large growers of Valencia oranges in southern California. George's old friend from fur trapping days, Pegleg Smith, lived in nearby San Francisco and often visited George at his Caymus Rancho. In their later years, they no doubt reminisced about beaver trapping in the southwest.

George Yount never learned to read or write; however, he did learn later in life how to sign his own name. He often lamented, " I wish to God I could not do that."

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William Wolfskill

1798-1866

In 1830 the United States consisted of 24 states and some vast, unexplored territories. Only a few Americans had settled in California, and those had come by sea. Jedediah Smith showed that it was possible to get to California overland from the east. He was followed by other trappers and traders who blazed new trails. William Wolfskill was one who opened another route west, and then stayed to have a role in the future of California.

Early history

William Wolfskill was the oldest of 12 children. He was born in Boonesborough, Kentucky, but the family moved to Boone's Lick, Missouri, when William was about 11 years old. Here he learned the skills of a frontiersman, trapping, shooting, and surviving in the woods. Here, also, he met Christopher "Kit" Carson, who became a famous trapper and scout.

In the early 1820s, Wolfskill became friends with another trapper, Ewing Young, whose home base was in Taos, New Mexico. Wolfskill and Young operated a trading post here that stocked supplies for trappers. During these years, Wolfskill made many trapping expeditions throughout Texas, New Mexico, and the surrounding area.

During his years around New Mexico, Wolfskill heard reports from trapper Jedediah Smith about the beauty of California and the money that could be made by trapping furs there.

As an American citizen, Wolfskill knew that he could not trap legally on Mexican land. Trappers who did so ran the risk of having their haul taken away from them. So Wolfskill applied for Mexican citizenship and became a naturalized Mexican citizen. He changed his name to José Guillermo Wolfskill. Now he could apply for and receive a Mexican trapping license, which he did.

Wolfskill's next challenge was to find the best route between New Mexico and California.

Wolfskill's journey

Wolfskill left Santa Fe in 1831 with a group of about 20 men. Following trails used earlier by Spanish slave traders and American trappers, the group headed northwest from Santa Fe into southern Colorado. They followed the Delores River into Utah, then turned west to the Sevier River and then south. In this way they avoided the barrier of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

Their route after turning south in Utah was similar to that followed by Jedediah Smith a few years earlier. Wolfskill's group stopped at the Mohave Indian villages along the southern Colorado River, and then crossed into the Mohave Desert and California. The trek across the desert brought them to the San Bernardino Mountains, which they crossed through what is now called Cajon Pass. Then came the welcome shelter of Mission San Gabriel, where visitors were always given

food and lodging.

The travelers then went on to the town of Los Angeles, but here the group separated. One of the group was George C. Yount, who went north and settled in the Napa Valley. Wolfskill went back to Mission San Gabriel. The padre, Father Sánchez, let Wolfskill stay at the mission while he had a ship (a schooner) built.

The ship was finished in 1832, and Wolfskill sailed south from San Pedro harbor, hoping to find a fortune in sea otter furs. The sea otters were not as plentiful as he had hoped, and by the end of the year, Wolfskill sold his ship. He now gave up the life of a trapper, and turned to being a settled farmer.

What he accomplished

The route that Wolfskill opened between Santa Fe and Los Angeles became known as the Old Spanish Trail. It was a central route into California, being north of the villages of Indians whose hostility had made the southern route dangerous. The Old Spanish Trail was later part of the Santa Fe Trail, followed by many American pioneers who came to California in the mid-1800s. The route was also used by sheep herders and traders until the late 1860s.

Though credit for opening the Old Spanish Trail into California is enough to insure that William Wolfskill would be remembered in the history of the state, his role here in later years was even more significant.

Later years

In 1833 Wolfskill got married, bought some land near Los Angeles, and settled down to become a farmer. He began growing grapes, and by 1846 had won an award for having the best vineyard in California. He planted groves of orange, lemon, and lime trees, and soon had the largest citrus orchards in the United States. He invested in herds of cattle.

Wolfskill became one of the wealthiest men in California, and a leader in the agriculture industry that was so important to the early growth of the state. He served as an official in Los Angeles County, and is credited with opening the first American school in California.

Several of William's brothers followed him to California, and he acquired land grants for them in the northern Central Valley. There, too, Wolfskill orchards and farms did very well.

William Wolfskill died in 1866, having been an important part of the change of California from a Mexican province to an American state.

Joseph R. Walker

1798-1876)

Joseph R. Walker was an explorer/fur trapper and was one of the first Americans partaking in open fur trade with the Spanish of Santa Fe.

He was born in Virginia shortly before his parents moved to eastern Tennessee. In 1819 he left home to go to Independence Missouri. At that time Independence was



the farthest west of all American settlements, the center for the Western fur trade. Walker became a fur trapper and trader and became a member of the party that traveled to Santa Fe to trade with the Spanish colony there.

After a short period of employment as sheriff of Jackson County, Missouri, Walker set out with Benjamin Bonneville in 1832 on a fur trading expedition to the unexplored lands of the West. After a year of trapping, Walker met up with Bonneville in eastern Utah in July of 1833.

Trail to the Pacific Ocean

Bonneville then sent Walker west to look for furs and/or find a trail to the Pacific Ocean. It took Walker and his party a month to travel over the desert west of the Great Salt Lake before reaching the Humboldt River. They followed the river to the Humboldt Sinks, where the river disappears into marshlands in the desert. At the Sinks, Walker and his group of 60 men were approached by a band of Indians. Walker's group felt threatened and killed "several dozen" of them. Walker then crossed over the Sierra Nevada Mountains at Mono Pass and were the first Westerners to see the famous waterfalls of what is now Yosemite National Park.

Traveling through California, Walker and his party saw redwood forests, experienced a major earthquake, and witnessed a meteor shower. They traveled down the coast to Monterey, the capital of Mexican California and stayed there several month until January 1834. Returning east, Walker went down to the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley and traveled through what would become known as Walker's Pass, which, years later was to be one of the main gateways for gold-seekers migrating into California.

Walker's group turned north through the desert, nearly dying of thirst before reaching the Humboldt Sinks. Again, they attacked defenseless Indians, this time killing over a dozen and wounding many more. They avoided the desert on this trip by heading north to the Snake River. Walker reunited with Bonneville on the Bear River in July of 1834. The route that Walker had found was to become the main trail to California in following years.

Guide for Fremont

For the next nine years Walker continued to trap and trade in the Rocky Mountains. He made another trip in 1841 to Los Angeles to buy horses. In 1843 he led a group of American settlers to California showing them the pass (Walker's Pass) he had discovered years earlier. He served as guide for John Charles Frémont's 1845- 1846 expedition to California. He joined the flood of Americans heading west to find fortune during the Gold Rush in 1849. He started a business selling cattle to the miners as well as leading prospecting expeditions. He also led a group of prospectors to Arizona in 1861.

Walker retired and settled down near San Francisco in 1868, where he died eight years later.

John William Gunnison

1812-1853

Herds of buffalo, wide open spaces, and the amazingly massive landscape of the American West captivated John W. Gunnison and other members of the Stansbury Expedition in 1849. This expedition was Gunnison's first adventure west of the Mississippi River, and one that would create in him a longing for the west for the remainder of his career.

Humble Beginnings

John Williams Gunnison was born on November 11, 1812 in Goshen, New Hampshire. At the age of 18 he traveled to Hopkinton Academy, where after one term, he went on to teach at the local school. During his years as a teacher, he prepared himself to enter West Point



Military Academy. In June of 1837 he graduated second out of fifty.

Gunnison began military service later that year when he was ordered into active duty under General Zachary Taylor. Violent battles had been brewing in Florida between the Seminole Indians and white settlers. As peace talks were undertaken, Gunnison was ordered to explore unfamiliar lakes and rivers in search of provision routes south to Fort Besinger. Although the assignments were challenging and there were many opportunities for adventure, the heat and humidity of the South took a toll on Gunnison's health. In 1838 he received a transfer to the Corps of Topographical Engineers.

Gunnison experienced many things in his new job and personal life. Among them was his marriage to Martha A. Delony on April 15, 1841 and the births of their children in the years to follow. In the summer of 1841 he received his first western assignment to do a standard survey of the unexplored, wild country of the Wisconsin-Michigan border. Through many challenges and hardships, one of which was long periods of time away from his family, Gunnison and the survey crew persisted and eventually mapped much of the border land and the shores of Lake Michigan.

Going West to the Utah Territory

Gunnison's first sight of the western lands came as a member of the Captain Stansbury Utah Territory Expedition of 1849. Gunnison, having caught the exploration bug during his previous expeditions in Florida and Michigan, was thrilled to embark on this new adventure. Their task was to explore the route to the Mormon community in Utah.

After a long, yet beautiful journey through the Great Plains and southern Wyoming, they arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. They explored and mapped the Great Salt Lake region and gathered scientific information about their surroundings. That winter incredible amounts of snow fell bringing with it many dangers and hardships. Communication was cut off, leaving the crew with many idle hours. Gunnison began to study the Mormon Church and wrote a book titled *The Mormons, or Latter Day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: A History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Condition.*

That same winter there was an uprising between American Indians and the Mormons near Salt Lake City. Gunnison negotiated between the two parties, winning the admiration of his peers. The experience led him to believe he could be a mediator, a belief that would later prove fatal.

Exploring Black Canyon

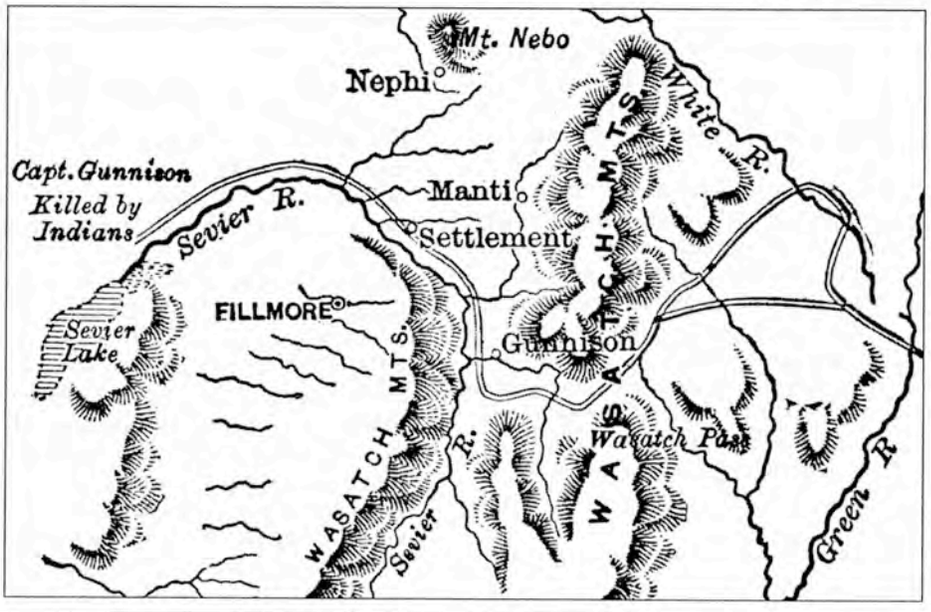
Although relatively inexperienced, Lieutenant Gunnison was promoted to Captain on March 3, 1853 largely due to his successes in Utah and the Great Lakes region. Although happy to be spending more time with his family in the east, Gunnison longed to begin a new adventure and to return to the Western United States that he had come to love. He was selected to lead the search for a Pacific railroad route along the Kansas-Nebraska border. He bid his family farewell, sure to return to them when the expedition was over. His expedition took him through the Great Plains, over the Rocky Mountains, and into the Grand River (Gunnison River) Valley, where the town of Gunnison is today.

On September 7th, the expedition first glimpsed the relatively tame section of the Black Canyon at Lake Fork. The report of the expedition described the area as "a stream imbedded in [a] narrow and sinuous canyon, resembling a huge snake in motion." The report continues, "To look down over…the canyon below, it seems easy to construct a railroad; but immense amounts of cutting, filling and masonry would be required." Even then, these experienced explorers understood the geologic processes that created such an obstacle – an uplift of the earth, volcanic activity, and the power of water.

The captain rode into the canyon several times during that first day. He esteemed the country, "the roughest, most hilly and most cut up," he had ever seen. Though the party never ventured further downstream, their report contains the first official description of the formidable Black Canyon. Future explorers were also impeded by the canyon. The railroad that eventually came through the area many years later made it no further into the canyon than the present town of Cimarron, only after many surveys and attempts.

The Final Adventure

Gunnison and his men decided to navigate around what is now known as the Black Canyon and follow an easier route west through the present day town of Montrose. When the expedition finally reached Utah, Gunnison witnessed the destruction left by Paiute Indian raids on Mormon settlements. Local residents reassured the expedition that the attacks were not a serious threat because peace talks had just taken place. After a trip for provisions to the town of Fillmore, Gunnison divided the troops to make up for lost





An illustration from the Gunnison-Beckwith Exploration Report, 1855

time. He went ahead with a crew of soldiers and guides on October 25 and the party camped along the bank of the Sevier River. The attack came during the early hours of the next morning. Only four men of his party survived. John W. Gunnison never returned home to his family.

Piutes responsible

Reports of the incident stated that it was an act of retribution by the sons of a Paiute leader who had been killed by some emigrants heading west. Utah Governor Brigham Young noted that Captain Gunnison underestimated the tension between the tribes and settlers. Due to earlier successes in negotiations with native people, Gunnison tried to resolve the situation. A formal investigation by Colonel Edward Steptoe brought forth varying testimony about the massacre. One unique statement was heard from a Mormon living in Salt Lake City. She claimed to have heard her fellow Mormons say: "...Captain Gunnison and his party were murdered by the "Danites," [Mormon group] disguised as Indians, by, and with the knowledge, and "counsel" of the Prophet (Governor Brigham Young)."

In the end, Paiute Indians were indicted for the act.

Although remembered largely because of the massacre and by the many places that bear his name, Gunnison's spirit of adventure and longing for the landscapes of the West made him unique among explorers. His place in the history of exploration in the United States brought early Americans closer to an understanding of the wild country beyond the Mississippi River and the tradeoffs that often must be made in order to experience those places. Today it gives us an idea about why the landscapes of the west were so magnetic for John W. Gunnison and continue to be so for many explorers and adventurers, regardless of the personal costs.

Antoine LeRoux

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1803-1861

B Grant Foreman

Antoine LeRoux was born of French Canadian parents who came to St. Louis at an early day. The dates which Leroux himself gave at different times show some discrepancy, but he seems to have been born in, or about, the year 1803.[1]

At the age of nineteen, he was one of the young men who answered an advertisement of Sir William Henry Ashley; and he got his first acquaintance of the Far West as a member of the Ashley expedition of 1822. About two years later, perhaps by the summer of 1824, he arrived in Taos, New Mexico, and his written statement of March, 1853, shows that he regarded Taos as his home from the time of his marriage. This took place in November, 1833, as appears from the marriage register now in the Archiepiscopal Archive of Santa Fe.[2]

Honored in Taos

It would seem that Leroux soon came to be regarded as an honored citizen of the Taos valley. This is indicated by the names of those who assisted at the marriage: Charles Bent, Maria Ignacia Jaramillo, Carlos Beaubien, Antonio Ledoux. Moreover, his marriage identified him with the prominent Vigil family, members of which had, in 1742, secured a land grant that took in the choicest part of the Taos valley-including the present village of Taos.[3] Acting as agent for the heirs, Leroux had the Santa Fe firm of Smith and Houghton [4] begin action for the confirming of the grant. Because of this connection, the claim is known in the records as the "Antoine Leroux Grant."[5] Significant also is an interlude in his engagements as guide during the year 1849. It was in September, 1849, that nineteen delegates assembled in convention at Santa Fe to prepare a territorial plan of government for New Mexico and to elect a delegate to congress. Three of the nineteen were from Taos county: Ceran St. Vrain, Father Antonio Jose Martinez, and Antonio Leroux.[6]

Leroux was one of a class of famous mountain men, celebrated as a guide and scout, and spoken of with great respect by all who knew that class of men. An early biographer of Kit Carson credited Leroux with character and talents similar to those of his subject. The partisans and friends of these early residents of Taos were wont to compare them; but, the biographer says, "It is a just tribute of praise due to both of these brave men, to say that they did not sanction by word or deed either party to the controversy. They came to appreciate each other, and as friends even felt elated, the one at the success of the other and vice versa ... Their ranches were located in the same valley and in the same town where, having lived together as fast friends in life, they found their last resting place in the same graveyard."[7] At least the last statement is a mistake, as we shall see; but it is an interesting fact that their associates made such a comparison between Carson and Leroux.

Service to Mormon Battalion

During the Mexican War, Leroux was a faithful and efficient guide for army officers, notably for Col. Philip St. George Cooke while, in 1846, he was taking his Mormon Battalion from Santa Fe to California. Cooke acknowledged his services in terms of high praise, and spoke of him as the most sensible and experienced of guides. [8]

Leroux was the leader of the company of scouts attached to an expedition made by Company G of the First Dragoons, under Lieut. Joseph H. Whittlesey, that marched from Taos in March, 1849, against the Utes. During the next October, he and Kit Carson guided Maj. William N. Grier in a fruitless pursuit of the Indians who, at Point of Rocks, east of Taos, had captured Mrs. J. M. White and daughter of Virginia, after killing her husband and other members of their party. [9]

Leroux served as guide for Capt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves during his exploring tour from Zuni to the Colorado River and California in 1851, and contributed much to the success of the expedition.[10] In San Diego in the following April,

desiring to return home, he offered his services to John R. Bartlett who was engaged in surveying the Mexican boundary. Bartlett says he gladly accepted the services of the "celebrated guide" to get him through to New Mexico, and turned his outfit to him i;o organize and manage.[11] When they arrived at the Maricopa village on the Gila River, Bartlett says, "Leroux found a chief named Blanco who headed the Maricopa Indians in a fight in 1827 with a party of hunters and trappers from New Mexico, including Leroux, who barely escaped with their lives."[12]

The year 1853 was a busy one for Leroux. Senator Thomas H. Benton, though he had not been returned to congress, was immensely interested in promoting the proposed Central Railroad route from St. Louis to California. Because of the absence of Senator Benton and his son-in-law, Colonel Fremont, from congress, and also because of the divergent interest of Secretary of War Jeff Davis, attention had been attracted to the Memphis or southern route to such an extent that in congressional consideration it had acquired a great advantage over the central route. But the recent authorization by congress for examination and surveys of routes to California seemed to promise adequate consideration of the central route. Senator Benton, relying greatly on the explorations of Fremont, contributed many letters to the press in which he quoted Fremont and other explorers to demonstrate the advantage of this route through the present Colorado.

Statement in Washington, D.C.

In support of Senator Benton's efforts, Leroux apparently had been induced to visit Washington, to contribute his information to the subject. His efforts took the form of an interesting account, obviously prepared at the instance of Senator Benton, which reads as follows:

> At the request of Col. Benton, I, Antoine Leroux, native of St. Louis, of Missouri, and now an inhabitant of Taos, in New Mexico, do make the following statement in relation to the Pass at the head of the valley of the Del Norte, and of the country on each side of that Pass; and also, as to the best road from Missouri to California. And first I tell how I got acquainted with the country.[13]
>
> In the year 1820 when I was in my nineteenth year,[14] I joined Gen. Ashley and Major Henry in an expedition of hunting and trapping to the Upper Missouri and Rocky Mountains; and after near two years in that part I went to Taos, in New Mexico, and afterwards married there,[15] and have made it my home ever since; and from that place I carried on the business of a beaver trapper for about fifteen years, generally on the waters of the Great Colorado of the West; and have trapped the whole country, every river, creek, and branch from the Gila to the head of the Grand River fork of the Upper Colorado, and out to the Great Salt Lake, and on the waters of Wah Satch Mountain, and out to the Virgin River, and have been four times to California, and guide to a great many American officers employed in Mexico, and know the country from New Mexico to California. At the head of the Valley of the Del Norte there is a broad pass about eight miles wide, called by the Utah Indians Coo-cha-tope, and by the Mexican Spaniards, El Puerto, and which signifies in both languages, the Gap, or the Gate; and has been known to the Spaniards ever since they settled in New Mexico, and by the Indians always. It is made by the Sierra San Juan, which comes up from the south on the west side of the Del Norte and gives out there; and by the Sierra Blanca, which comes in from the east like it was going to join the San Juan, but turns off north round the head of the Arkansas and towards the Three Parks, and is eight miles wide. Here between these two mountains is the pass[16] which goes out level from the valley of the Del Norte (and looking like a continuation of it), which leads to the upper waters of the Great Colorado of the West. The Del Norte does not head in this pass, but in the San Juan mountains, a little south of the pass where there is also a summer pass,[17] but none for the winter on account of the snow in it. There is a small creek in the pass[18] called by the same name, Coo-cha-tope, which comes out from the end of the San Juan and goes about eight miles east towards the Del Norte, but stops in a small lake, out of which a little stream gets to the Del Norte-which shows how level the country is. The pass is heavily timbered with large pine trees, and with pifion, and there may be some small oaks, but I am not certain. There is not much snow in this pass, and people go through all the winter; and when there is much snow on the mountains on the Abiquiu route (which is the old Spanish trail to California), the people of Taos go round this way and get into that trail in the forks of the Grand and Green rivers. There are trails through it, but after you get through there are many trails, some going to the Abiquiu road, and some up or down the country. This pass is laid down on a map I saw in the War Office made by Lieut. Parke and Mr. R. H. Kern, and is there named after me, because I gave Lieut. Parke information about it. It is the only map I have seen that shows that pass, and the best one I have seen in that part of the country, and with a little correction would be perfect. As for the country on each side of the pass, I will describe it, and on the east side first.

'Coo-chatope'

There is a large valley to the east, about 50 to 60 miles wide, and near 100 miles long, reaching from the Coo-chatope to the Taos settlements, at the Little Colorado.[19] The Del Norte runs through this valley, which is the widest and best valley in all New Mexico, and can hold more people than all New Mexico besides. It is all prairie except on the creeks, and on the river, and on the mountain sides, which are well wooded. It is a rich soil, and covered with good grass, and wooded on all the streams. The Spaniards called it El Valle de San Luis, and it was formerly famous for wild horses and buffaloes; and ever since Taos was settled by the Spaniards, the inhabitants drove their sheep and cattle there to winter. Before the Utah Indians became so bad, the stock, as many as 50,000 or 60,000 head of sheep and cattle have been driven there to winter, which they did well, feeding on the grass during the day, and sheltering in the woods about the shepherd's camp at night. Most of the winters, there is no snow along the foot of the mountain on the north side of this valley, being sheltered from the north, and open to the sun to the south.

Military post

The United States have established a military post in this valley, not far from the pass of El Sangre de Cristo, and about two hundred families have gone there to live, chiefly near the fort, and raised crops there last year, and now that they have protection, the valley will soon be all settled, and will be the biggest and best part of New Mexico. About three families more were preparing to move there. The post is called Fort Massachusetts.20

This valley has several passes through the Sierra Blanca into the prairie country, on the Upper Arkansas and Kansas, the best of which is called El Sangre de Cristo, at the head of the little streams called Cuchadas, which fall into the Huerfano, a small river falling into the Arkansas not far from Bent's Fort. It is a good pass, and Bent and St. Vrain's wagons have passed through it, and it is passable the worst of winters ; for Col. Beale's dragoons passed through it the same winter, and nearly the same time, that Col. Fremont went through another pass further west. The distance through these passes is not more than five miles. This is the description of the country on the east side of Coo-cha-tope Pass.

'Wah-satch Mountains'

On the west side of the pass the country opens out broad and good for settlement, and for roads, and is the best watered country I ever saw out to the Wah-satch Mountains and to Las Vegas de Santa Clara. After that the water and grass became scarce, and the land poor. It is called a desert, though travelers find camping grounds every night, and the great cavalcades of many thousand head of horses from California to New Mexico annually pass along it. After you go through the pass at the head of Del Norte, there are many trails bearing southwest toward the great Spanish trail by Abiquiu, which they join in the forks of the Grand River and Green River (forks of the Great Colorado of the West), where it is a great beaten road, easy to follow day or night. The country is wooded on the streams with prairies between, and streams every three or five miles, as the Great Colorado here gathers its head-waters from the Wah-satch and Rocky Mountain ranges, which are covered all over with snow in the winter, and have snow upon their tops in the summer, which sends down so much water, and cool, clear and good. And this is the case generally out to the Wah-satch Mountains and Las Vegas de Santa Clara-a distance of near five hundred miles from the head of Del Norte. Wagons can now travel this route to California, and have done it. In the year 1837, two families named Sloover and Pope, with their wagons and two Mexicans, went from Taos that way.

Col. Fremont was looking for Coo-cha-tope Pass in the winter of 1848-9, and was near enough to have seen it, if it had not been hid by the lapping of the mountains, when his guide led him off into the mountains, instead of keeping up the dry valley, which he wished to do, and which would have taken him through easy. It was the worst winter for snow, but he could travel all the time in the valleys and passes. I was below him on the waters of the Arkansas at the same time, acting as guide to Col. Beale, who was out after the Apache Indians with a detachment of dragoons, and we heard of him at the Pueblos. He went as high as Hard Scrabble, and got corn before he crossed into the valley of San Luis, and we got corn at the Greenhorn Pueblo on the San Carlos Creek, about 50 or 60 miles below him, and heard that he had passed along, and supposed that he had gone safe through, and knew no better till he got back to Taos, when I told him how near he had been to the place he was looking for. We passed with the dragoons through the Pass El Sangre de Cristo (Blood of Christ) and got through easy, and that was the dead of winter and the greatest snow we ever had.

There is a way also up the Arkansas to get to the waters of the Great Colorado. It is by Bent's Fort, by the Pueblos and Hard Scrabble (at all which places corn and vegetables are raised), and by Witham's fishery, and at the head of the river, leaving the Three Parks to the north. Horsemen and stock can go that way. Maxwell, of Taos, drove out between four and five thousand head of sheep and cattle last summer, intending to take them to California, but went to the Great Salt Lake and sold them there.

A wagon can now go from Missouri to California through the Coo-cha-tope Pass, without crossing any mountain but the Sierra Blanca (and there have the choice of three good passes), and without crossing any swamp or large river, and nearly on a straight line all the way. only bearing a little south. And supplies of grain and cattle can be had from the Pueblos on the Upper Arkansas, and also from the Mexicans in the valley of the St. Louis, and also from the Mormons at Ojo San Jose, and at their settlement on the Nicollet river, and at Las Vegas de Santa Clara.

I have been from New Mexico to California four times, namely, the way I guided Col. Cook, the way I guided Capt. Sitgreaves, and the Salinas route, and the Abiquiu route, and of these four the one I guided Capt. Sitgreaves is, as I informed Mr. Seward,21 the best and shortest from Santa Fe or Albuquerque; but from places farther north, and especially from Missouri, the Coo-cha-tope Pass is best and shortest, and has most water, grass, wood and good land on it; and has most snow, but not enough to prevent winter travelling; so that when there is much snow in the trail by Abiquiu, people from Taos go that way, as I have already said. The snow in that country is dry, and the moccasins that we wear do not get wet.

'The best way. . .'

And being asked by Col. Benton to state the best way from Missouri to California, I answer: Start as the people now do, going to New Mexico, from the frontier of the State of Kanzas or Independence, and for summer travelling go through the prairies up towards Bent's Fort, and up to the Huerfano to the Pass El Sangre de Cristo; then out by the Coo-che-tope Pass, following a trail to the great Spanish trail. The winter travel will be to start from the same point, but follow the Kansas River valley for the sake of the wood, and when that gives out, cross to the Arkansas, which is not far off, and level between, and follow that up

for wood. The prairie is the way in the summer, but winter travelling must have the protection of woods and timber against snow-storm. And everything that I tell I can show, and would undertake to guide a party safe through with wagons now.

Antoine LeRoux

Senator Benton addressed a communication to the people of Missouri, incorporating Leroux's account which was published in the *Missouri Democrat*.[22]

When Leroux started on his return from Washington to Taos, he apparently travelled by way of St. Louis, and then by the Santa Fe Trail. Edward F. Beale was on his way from Independence to California in 1853, to assume his post as superintendent of Indian affairs, and, at a crossing of the Neosho River on the Santa Fe Trail on May 20, he overtook Leroux. Beale congratulated himself on his good fortune in securing the services of so experienced a guide. But Leroux seems to have been in charge of a train which he felt obliged to conduct safely over a few bad places along the route, and so was not able to join Beale at once; but he promised to overtake him in a short time.

'To ill to travel'

However, when Beale arrived at Fort Atkinson, he found Leroux there under the care of the post surgeon, too ill to travel, and was obliged to proceed without him. Beale had a good deal of difficulty on his route, and in July he again called on Leroux at his home in Taos where he had recently arrived from Fort Atkinson; but again Leroux was unable to accompany him.

At this time, Capt. J. W. Gunnison, with his party organized to survey the middle railroad route on the 38th and 39th parallels, passed Fort Atkinson and Fort Bent; and subsequently, on August 13, he arrived in the vicinity of Fort Massachusetts· near the more recent Fort Garland in Costilla County, Colorado. Here he sent Lieut. H. E. Beckwith and Lieut. Lawrence S. Baker to Taos, to secure the services of Leroux if possible. After a ride of over a hundred miles, they reached Taos, spoken of by Gunnison as the "headquarters of many of the most reliable and experienced of these mountain men."[23]

There they succeeded in engaging Leroux, subject to a prior engagement with Lieut. A. W. Whipple for later in the fall; and after thirty hours of travel, on the 19th they arrived back at Gunnison's camp. Leroux joined them the next day, and the party set out under the direction of this guide, who agreed to accompany them as far as the Spanish Trail which intersected their route in the vicinity of the present Mora in Utah. They crossed the mountain range and descended the Gunnison River; but after passing the site of the present Grand Junction to about where is now the western boundary of Colorado, Leroux was obliged to leave them, September 25, and return to Taos, a month before the unfortunate Gunnison and some of his companions were killed by the Indians near Sevier Lake. With three companions, travelling principally by night, and relying on his skill and knowledge of the country, Leroux successfully passed through the hostile bands of Indians, and reached his home in Taos in good season to keep his engagement with Whipple.

Guides Railroad surveyor

Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, in charge of the Pacific Railroad survey along the 35th parallel, arrived at Albuquerque early in October, 1853, where they remained about a month, making their preparations for continuing the journey west to the Pacific Ocean.

Here Whipple met Leroux whom he had engaged as guide for the remainder of the journey.[24] Leroux's services from this time on are described in considerable detail by Lieutenant Whipple in his report. It is obvious that Leroux was relied upon greatly by Whipple, who was much impressed with the judgment and knowledge of his guide.

Antoine Leroux died at Taos in the summer of 1861, two months before the land grant which was associated with his name received favorable action by the surveyor general in Santa Fe. The brief burial record states that on August 1, 1861, burial was given to the remains of "Antonio Leroux, husband of Juana Vigil, in the nave of the parish church."[25] In all the burials at Taos during a period of fifteen years, including for example that of Carlos Beaubien, no one received such signal honor in his place of burial as did this old French guide and mountainman.

Marriage Record of Antonio Leroux and Juana Catarina Vigil

In this curacy of Taos on November 4 of the year 1833, I, the parish priest Don Antonio Jose Martinez, having obtained the matrimonial dispensation [required] for any stranger and transient for the benefit of Antonio Lerous, bachelor from North America, legitimate son of Antonio Lerous and Elena Josi, so that he may contract marriage with Juana Catarina Vigil, single, from the curacy of San Juan [de los Caballeros] in this Territory, legitimate daughter of Juan de Jesus Vigil and Maria Paula Baldes, residents of the precinct of San Fernandes: the said dispensation having been dated on October 6 just passed in the city of Santa Fe by the very Illustrious Bishop Don Jose Antonio Luriano de Subiria26 [and] returned with the application which I sent, so that I might file it, as I did; and having admonished them (read the banns) on the 20th and 27th of the said October, which were the twenty-first and twenty-second Sundays in the order of Pentecost, and also on the first day of the present feast of All Saints, and since no kind of impediment appeared, and having read to them the said dispensation, following confession and communion, I married and blessed them in facie Ecleciae (in due form of the Church). The padrinos (god-parents) were Charles Bent27 and Maria Ignacia Jaramillo; attending witnesses were Don Carlos Beaubien2B and Antonio Ledus, all residents of the barrio (ward or precinct) of San Fernandes, with the other [witnesses] who were present. The said auto (ceremony) was in the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a chapel of this parish; and for attestation I signed it.

Antonio Jose Martinez (rubric)

Endnotes:

1. Since Ashley did not enter the fur trade until 1822, Leroux could not have been employed by him in 1820 as he wrote in the statement for Senator Benton in 1853. See below.

2. This marriage record is of such interest in several ways that its text is given in full at the close of Mr. Foreman's paper.

A tradition at Taos has it that Leroux, in later life, moved across the mountain• into the Mora valley and died there. This was true of Antonio Ledoux (one of the witnesses at the marriage of Leroux). The land holding in "los valles de Santa Gertrudis de lo de Mora," attributed by Twitchell (Spanish Archives, I, 143, title

478) to Leroux, was really that of Ledoux. The burial record of the latter (Santa Fe, Archiepiscopal Archive, Book B-14, Mora, 1856-60), dated Nov. 16, 1869, shows that Ledoux was born in 1779 and was husband of Apolonia Lucero, resident of the plaza of Santa Gertrudis. Leroux's connection was in the Taos valley and is listed in Twitchell, Spanish Archives, I, 486, Private Land Claim No. 47.---<editor.

3. Santa Fe, U. S. Land Office, Land Clo.ima Rdco-rd, vol. II, 493-507, "Antoine Leroux Grant." The original grant was made (Aug. 12, 1742) by Governor Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza on petition of Pedro Vigil de Santillana, Juan Bautista Vigil and Crist6val Vigil.

4. Probably Hugh N. Smith is meant. He had been appointed attorney general in 1846, while Joab Houghton had 8erved as chief justice 1846-49.

5. Action was 8tarted May 21, 1857, but was delayed by a protest of the Taos Indians. They withdrew their protest in September 1861 after receiving a deed for land which they claimed: and a few days later (Oct. 5, 1861) U. S. Surveyor General A. P. Wilbar recommended confirmation of the Leroux grant; congressional approval was dated March 8, 1869.

6. Twitchell, Leading Facta of New Mazican Hist0'1'1J, ii, 269, note.

7. Dewitt C. Peters, Kit Carson's Life and Adventures (Hartford, Conn., 1874), p. 388.

8. House Executive Document No. 41, 30th Congress, 1st session, "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance," p. 416, Report of Philip St. George Cooke.

9. Blanche C. Grant, When Old Trails Were New: the Story of Taos (New York, 1934), pp. 158-9.

10. Report of an Expedition down the Zui\i and Colorado Rivers by Capt. L. Sitgreaves, Corps of Topographical Engineers (Washington, 1854), 32nd Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document No. 59.

11. John R. Bartlett. Personal Narrative of E:epwratiou and Jnci,dents Connected with the United States and Me:eican BoundarJI CommisllUJ'n. (New York, 1854), I, p, 206.

12. lbid. Evidently this trapping party did not go through to California, for it is not one of "the four times" mentioned below by Leroux.

13. For a biographical account of Leroux see Les Ca'IUUliens de L'Ouest by Joseph Tasse (Montreal, 1878), 231 ff.

14. As noted above, the year here should read "1822." A still greater error appears in the record of a carta de naturaleza (naturalization paper) issued at Santa Fe on Sept. 17, 1830, to "Antonio Loruo," one of a group of French Canadians from St. Louis. With little doubt this was Antoine Leroux, but his age was given as "35"which would place his birth in 1796.--editor.

15. Santa Fe, Archiepiscopal Archive, Book M-40, Marriages, Taos, 1833-45. ff.

16. Cochetopa Pass of today.

17. Probably Spring Pass of today, Leroux Pass on the Parke Map.

18. Again speaking of Cochetopa Pass.

19. Red River of today, 20 miles north of Taos where the San Lula valley begin•

20. On Utah Creek, two miles north of Fort Garland. By "Col, Beale" in the next paragraph, Leroux means Lieut.-Col. Benj. Lloyd Beall.

21. Evidently William II. Seward of Auburn, N. Y., at this time in the U. S. senate. Later, his interest in the Far West brought the purchase from Russia of Alaska, then called "Seward's Folly."-editor. .

22. Copied in the New York Daily Tribune, March 16, 1858, p. 5, cols. 4-6.

23. House Document No. 91, voL 2, Report of Lieut. E. G. Beckwitll of th• Route Explored by Capt. John W. Gunnison.

24. Pacific Railway Survey Reports, Vol. I, p. 22.

25. Santa F□, Archiepiscopal Archive, Book B-42, Burials, Taos. 4/23/8508/27/865, f. 463r. An interlineation by a later and very different hand is misleading.

26. Don Jose Antonio Laureano Zublrfa, Bishop of Durango, was making an official visit and seems to have been in New Mexico for at least three months, July. October, of 1833.

27. The original reads "Carlos Vente," but there Is no mistaking the famous Charles Bent, while the second padrim, was later to be his wife.

28. Another name which helps to make this marriage record impressive. Beaubien was one of the most prominent and influential of the '"foreigners" then in New Mexico. Comment has already been made (note 2 above) regarding Antonio Ledoux (Ledus).

(Keynote Address at the OSTA Seventh National Conference in Taos, New Mexico, June 10, 2000)

Kit Carson and the Romance of the Old Spanish Trail

By Marc Simmons, Ph.D., Past President of the Santa Fe Trail Association [noted author and historian]

In my mind there is no question that Christopher "Kit" Carson was a romantic figure in the history of the American West. Lt. George Brewerton who accompanied Kit on a trip over the Old Spanish Trail in 1848 says as much in the book he wrote about their experiences. [1] Revisionists of the New Western History school, of course, will deny with their last breath that there was any romance associated with Carson's career. They see him as a racist monster and wanton slayer of Indians, even though that view cannot be supported by historical evidence. [2] This morning I plan to present some of the evidence that will give a true picture of Kit and his trail travels.

I will also be contending that the history of the Old Spanish Trail (OST) was filled with romance. As an example, just consider the opening line of LeRoy and Ann Hafen's classic book, Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles. They wrote; "The Old Spanish Trail was the longest, crookedest, most arduous pack mule route in the history of America." As a romantic lead, that sentence is hard to beat. Perhaps that is why it is so often quoted. [3]

Those who already know something about the story of this historic trail might well question why I dare call it romantic. After all, journeys upon it were weighted with danger, hardship, discomfort, human suffering and tragedy. That sounds like an enumeration in a chamber of horrors, so where is the romance?

The answer is certainly not an easy one. However, remember that people who used the OST in its heyday in the 1830s and 1840s thrived on challenges and danger. They were lured on by the romance of the open trail, and they craved any new adventure that might lie over the next mountain range or across the next desert. We today are so wedded to ease, convenience, and creature comforts that we can't understand, or even imagine, how a jaunt over the perilous Old Spanish Trail could possibly be a romantic experience.

When the Hafens were describing the OST as the longest, crookedest, and most arduous pack mule route I believe they left out a superlative on their list of adjectives that should have been included. And it is this: The Old Spanish Trail, scenically, was without a doubt the most beautiful of our nation's nineteenth century pioneer routes. While that is a subjective judgment on my part, probably most members of this Association would agree with me, especially if they have been out on significant portions of the trail. The earliest travelers saw this as spectacular and romantic country, its harshness notwithstanding, and much of it remains so to the present day.

The primary focus of my keynote remarks this morning is the career of Kit Carson, especially as it relates to the history of the OST. It just so happens that Kit's life as a frontiersman is closely tied to both the eastern and western ends of the Old Spanish Trail, that is, to New Mexico and California. So both states have a strong claim on his personal history.

Kit first landed in New Mexico in 1827, as a teenager who had run away from his apprenticeship with the Workman Saddlery in Franklin, Missouri at the head of the Santa Fe Trail. He soon gravitated to Taos, a place with which he would remain closely identified for the rest of his life. His ambition was to become a trapper, but as the mountain men would have put it, he needed "to add some tallow," or gain weight and grow in experience. His break came in 1829 when veteran mountain man Ewing Young allowed Kit to join his company, which was preparing to set out on a two-year trapping expedition to California. By the time Young's party returned to Taos in 1831, the youth had matured to become a full-fledged member in the fraternity of trappers.

After beaver hunting through the Rockies, Kit Carson brought in furs to sell at Taos during the summer of 1833. There by chance he met Captain Richard Bland Lee, on leave from the Army, who was preparing to carry trade goods to northern Utah and

exchange them for furs with trappers working there. Lee needed a few men to act as guides, hunters, and packers and one of those he engaged was Kit Carson. The party used Abiquiú as a staging and departure point.

In his memoirs, dictated in 1856, Kit declares; "We followed the Spanish Trail that leads to California till we struck White River . . . " [4] There is no evidence today that when Captain Lee made his journey in 1833, the route was known as the Spanish Trail. But twenty-three years later, when Carson recorded his memoirs, that term was in common usage. I bring this up because the origin and first use of the name Spanish Trail ought to be of considerable interest to us.

In his Keynote Address at OSTA's Sixth National Conference in Las Vegas, Nevada last year, Dr. Joseph Sánchez reminded us that in the beginning the New Mexicans called this route, El Camino de California (The Road from California), whereas the natives on the West Coast, known as the Californios, spoke of it as El Camino de Santa Fé, or alternately as El Camino de Nuevo Mexico. [5]

Toward the latter 1830s, some of the Californios began referring to this route as El Camino de los Chaguanosos, best translated perhaps as The Horsethief Trail. That certainly has a romantic sound to it. Renegades who were ex-trappers, French-Canadians, New Mexicans, and Indians of assorted tribes would ride up the Old Spanish Trail and raid the vast livestock herds of California's missions and ranchos. Collectively, these rustlers were designated as Chaguanosos, a word whose origins are obscure. Janet Lecompte, however, plausibly suggests that it derived from the Hispanicized form of Shawnees, which became Shauanoos, and was afterward written Chaguanosos. At this period, displaced Shawnees from the Ohio Valley were engaged in these and other nefarious activities throughout the Far West. [6]



Dr. Marc Simmons, Keynote Speaker
Photograph courtesy of J.W. Coffman, 2000

Following his first venture over a part of the OST with Captain Lee in 1833 Kit did not return for a second ride until early 1844, his new experience providing a further bit of information on the trail's naming. This was in connection, of course, with the Second Expedition of Exploration by John C. Frémont of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. For this well-planned enterprise, young Frémont hired several experienced frontiersmen as guides, among them Kit Carson, Alexander Godey, of French ancestry from St. Louis, and Lucien Maxwell, a figure whose career was closely linked to Taos.

Launched in 1843, this expedition went first to the Oregon country, then turned south to visit and re-supply at Sutter's Fort in northern California, which was then Mexican territory. From there, Frémont pushed through rough country down to southern California where in his journal entry for April 18, 1844, he announced, " . . . we struck the great object of our search — THE SPANISH TRAIL -- which here was running directly north." [7] He had reached the OST above Cajon Pass just before the trail began its bend to the east, descending the Mojave River Valley.

Since Frémont had not been in California before and he was searching for this route, it is clear his guides must have told him about it. Did they also identify it as the Spanish Trail, or did they possibly use some other designation and merely mention that they'd heard Spaniards long ago had traveled it? If the latter was the case, Frémont may have been prompted then and there to bestow the name Spanish Trail. Even had he first heard the term from Carson or one of his other western veterans, his use was to be definitive, since so far as we know, he first used the name in print, bringing it to the attention of the public.

That occurred in the next year, 1845, with publication of his journal as a U.S. Senate document. At once it was picked up and brought out in a popular edition by trade publishers, quickly reaching ten thousand copies sold. Americans on the East Coast were hungry to read reliable information on the Far West, while emigrants preparing to embark upon the Oregon Trail snapped up the book and carried it along as a guide. In turning Frémont's

stirring pages, readers first saw the ame Spanish Trail in print. The tacking on, a few years later, of the adjective "Old" gave it a bit more romantic luster.

Frémont had in mind to follow several hundred miles of the OST, as far as central Utah, before breaking off and taking another route back to his starting point in Missouri. As the party worked its way across the Mojave Desert, it encountered two New Mexican refugees -- a middle-aged man, Andres Fuentes, and a boy, Pablo Hernandez -- who were the only survivors of a small party from Santa Fé that had been massacred by Indians. These two had been out herding nd managed to escape, driving the loose animals. At the oasis of Bitter Spring, they left the horses and continued west until their chance meeting with the Americans.



Sign at Taos' Carson Home (Photo courtesy of C.W. Querfeld)

The expedition reached Bitter Spring, only to discover that the stock had been driven off by the Indians. Carson and Godey promptly volunteered to go in pursuit and attempt a recovery. Upon their return a day and a half later, Frémont wrote dramatically in his journal: "This expedition of Carson and Godey may be considered among the boldest . . . in the annals of western adventure. Two men, in a savage desert, pursue day and night an unknown body of Indians . . . attack them on sight -- defeat them in an instant -- and for what? To punish the robbers of he desert and to avenge the wrongs of Mexicans whom they did not know. I repeat: it was Carson and Godey who did this." [8]

The recital of this thrilling episode on the OST was probably the very one, when published the next year, that launched Kit's national reputation as a romantic and mythic frontiersman in the nature of James Fenimore Cooper's fictional heroes. Frémont's extravagant praise of Kit caught the public imagination and within a short time he was recognized as a celebrity.

Two years later, Carson was back in California, participating in the Bear Flag Revolt, which led to United States annexation of the territory at the end of the Mexican War. In 1847 he was sent on a transcontinental courier mission to Washington, D.C., carrying military dispatches for the President and the War Department. On the trip east, he took the Gila Trail across southern Arizona to New Mexico and then he picked up the Santa Fe Trail, going horseback as far as Fort Leavenworth where he boarded a steamboat.

In Washington Kit delivered the mail and a grateful President James K. Polk granted him a lieutenant's commission in the Army. Polk also asked him to turn around and go back to the West Coast to deliver new dispatches to the U.S. military governor of California. Carson retraced the Santa Fe Trail on this journey, but once in New Mexico's capital, he turned north to visit his home and wife in Taos.

After a ten-day rest there, (well-earned) he and a 16-man protective escort rode out of Taos on the North Branch of the OST. As far as we know, this was the first time that Kit covered the entire length of the Old Spanish Trail. Of that 1100 mile trip, Taos to Los Angeles, he mentions in his memoirs only one small incident, described in a few lines. On the Muddy River in Nevada, the party was surrounded and threatened by 300 hostile Indians. They may have been Southern Paiutes, or possibly Utes on their way to coastal California to rustle livestock. Through sheer bravado, Kit dispersed the Indians when they refused his order to withdraw.

There must have been other startling adventures on this long courier mission, and we sorely wish that some chronicler had been along to record them. After Kit arrived in Los Angeles and delivered his mail, he reported for military duty, since he was now a lieutenant. The governor assigned him to spend the winter in command of a detachment, guarding Cajon Pass on the OST. His instructions were to intercept thieves, Indians or others, who might be fleeing eastward with

stolen animals. As it happened, winter was the off-season for rustling, so Carson had very little to do. Still, here is another episode in his career that is linked to the Old Spanish Trail.

The year 1848 brings us to Kit Carson's grandest adventure of all on the Old Spanish Trail -- another courier mission cross-country to Washington, D.C. On this occasion, the 27-man escort included Lt. George Douglas Brewerton, a young man in his early twenties, a keen observer, and a budding writer and artist. And bless him! He left us one of the most detailed accounts of any traveler on the OST. It is filled with descriptions of marvelous experiences, and through his narration Kit and that old trail live again in the reader's mind.

Brewerton's story was first published serially in Harper's New Monthly Magazine between 1853 and 1862, and within a few years was forgotten. Not until 1930 were the chapters pulled from Harper's backfile and published as a book under the new title Overland with Kit Carson. [9] That volume soon went out-of-print and remained so until 1993 when the University of Nebraska Press released a handsome paperback edition. We can be ever so grateful that young Lt. Brewerton survived his trip over the Old Spanish Trail, because his book made a fine contribution to its history.

Incidentally, Kit's version of that 1848 courier mission with Brewerton runs to all of three measly paragraphs in his memoirs. Upon arriving in Missouri, eastbound, he gave an interview to a reporter for the St. Louis Republican. In its issue of August 4, 1848, the newspaper said this: "Mr. Kit Carson bearer of dispatches from California arrived in the city this morning. He met with no adventure of any interest as far as Santa Fe!" We can be sure that is what Kit told the reporter in his usual modest way -- that nothing worthy of note had occurred during his crossing of the Old Spanish Trail. Incredible! From the same experience, Brewerton had seen enough of interest to produce an entire book.

So far as we know, after 1848 Carson never again traveled the OST all the way between California and New Mexico. Later however, he did use sections of both the North Branch and the South Branch from New Mexico into Colorado, and possibly even into Utah. That was during the 1850s and early 1860s when he served as Indian agent for the Utes, with the agency headquarters at his home in Taos. When the tribe was at peace, he would visit their camps, and when they were hostile, he would, accompany military expeditions that operated on parts of the Old Spanish Trail.

After service in the Civil War and the Indian Wars in New Mexico, Kit Carson died May 23, 1868 at Fort Lyon, Colorado on the mountain route of the Santa Fe Trail.

It is sometimes said that Kit Carson has been greatly overrated because there were other mountain men who had amazing careers, but never received proper recognition. The difference with Kit is that his main achievements came in the second half of his life, after his trapping period. He also had a good publicist in John C. Frémont, who admired him and gave him large credit in his books. Another part of Carson's luck was that, being often in the right place at the right time, he took part in many major events in the history of the Far West. That circumstance kept him in the public eye.

But specifically, just why Kit emerged as a stellar player in western history can be attributed, I believe, to three of his personal qualities. They are his courage, his competence, and his character. The first two really define the third. To conclude, I wish to relate briefly a couple of incidents that happened to Kit when he was out on trails, because they illustrate his possession of these three virtues.

The first occurred in the spring of 1843, shortly after Carson had married Josefa Jaramillo and established their home in Taos. He was asked at that time to carry important letters to the fur trading post of Bent's Fort in southeastern Colorado. Mounted on a well-bred horse, Carson set out on that dangerous ride with a single companion, a native Taoseño, whom he fails to name in his memoirs. [10] The pair crossed the mountains east of Taos, dropped onto an open plain, and headed for the mouth of Raton Pass on the Santa Fe Trail. At one point they stopped to rest their horses. Suddenly the men caught sight of a Ute war party racing toward them. The Taoseño urged Carson to leave him and escape on his fast horse.

In his memoirs, Kit said: "I considered the advice very good and was about to mount my horse I when I thought how cowardly it would be for me to desert this man who had so willingly offered to sacrifice his life to save mine. Upon this

I changed my mind and told him that I would [stay and] die with him." [11]

What loyalty, on the part of both men! As the warriors rode up and surrounded them, they stood back-to-back with their single-shot muzzleloaders each leveled at one of the leaders. Reported Carson: "They remained around us for about half an hour; then, seeing but little hope of being able to kill us without losing two of themselves, they left." Strong character, buttressed by courage and competence, had saved the twosome.

The second incident I want to mention happened toward the end of Carson's 1848 courier mission eastward over the OST with Lt. Brewerton. In the San Luis Valley, descending the North Branch above Taos, the exhausted mail party was pursued by 150 hostile Indians. Kit guided his companions into a copse of stunted trees where they tied their mules, then he arranged them in a skirmishers' line. He next stepped forward, fully exposed, and began to harangue the enemy in their own language. According to Brewerton, "Carson's whole demeanor was now so entirely changed that he looked like a different man. His eyes fairly flashed, and his rifle was grasped with all the energy of an iron will." And the lieutenant added that Kit knew "boldness alone could save us." [12]

Just when it appeared that the Indians were making ready to ride the whitemen down, one of their scouts dashed up from the south on a lathered horse and imparted some important news. The warriors began to fall back and retreat, so Carson ordered his men to mount and ride as fast as possible down the trail toward Taos. At the first small settlement encountered, they learned that a large body of volunteers had taken the field against this very band of Indians and it was word of its approach that had been brought by the scout. "In that lay the secret of our almost miraculous escape," explained Brewerton. [13]

An added factor, of course, was Kit's courage and boldness, as evidenced by his brazen haranguing of the Indians. Major Edward Wynkoop, who served with Carson in the Civil War, stated: "Kit Carson knew how to lead men into battle and to keep them there." [14] It is plain that courage, competence, and character shaped the configuration of his life.

Psychologist Carl Jung once said: "Ultimately everything depends on the quality of the individual. [15] If that statement is true, as I believe it is, then Carson should be recognized as a man of quality. Those of us attending this conference ought, to be glad that the career of this romantic nineteenth century figure, Christopher Carson, intersected at various points with the ROMANCE OF THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL.

ENDNOTES

1. Overland With Kit Carson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

2. On this view, see, Marc Simmons, "Kit and the Indians," in R.C. Gordon-McCutchan, ed., Kit Carson, Indian Fighter or Indian Killer? (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1996), pp. 73-75.

3. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), p. 21.

4. Milo Milton Quaife, ed., Kit Carson's Autobiography (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, n.d.), p. 35.

5. See, Spanish Traces (Fall, 1999), p. 12.

6. Janet Lecompte, "Jean-Baptiste Chalifoux," in Leroy R. Hafen, ed., French Fur Traders and Voyageurs in the American West (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1995), p. 66.

7. John C. Frémont, Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1845), p. 263.

8. Frémont, Report, p. 263.

9. The publisher was Coward-McCann, Inc. of New York. Stallo Vinton contributed an Introduction.

10. Following this presentation, an OSTA member, Pat Richmond, suggested to the speaker that Kit's unidentified companion may well have been the Taos-born mountain man Mariano Medina (or Modina). That speculation seems highly plausible.

11. Quaife, Kit Carson's Autobiography, p. 72.

12. Brewerton, Overland With Kit Carson, p. 140.

13. Overland with Kit Carson, p. 142.

14. Santa Fe Daily New Mexican, Feb. 24, 1886.

15. Quoted in Simmons, "Kit and the Indians," p. 87.



John Carson, great-great grandson of Kit Carson attended the OSTA meeting in Taos on June 9, 2000

(Photo courtesy of John W. Coffman)

"I PAID FOR ALL THE HORSES I DROVE AWAY."

Horse Thief Thomas L. "Pegleg" Smith and the Old Spanish Trail

By Rod Miller

Four-legged animals of the equine type traveled the Old Spanish Trail in large numbers. Mules and horses left Abiquiú weighed down with *serapes* and blankets and other woven wool trade goods, and returned in company with hundreds more of their kind acquired in trade at Los Angeles and other California settlements.

But, given the demand for horses and mules in New Mexico, it was only a matter of time until trade turned to thievery. Indians, mountain men, and Mexicans raided California ranchos repeatedly, making off with hundreds, even thousands, of animals at a time. Among the participants—some say he was a leader—was Thomas Long "Pegleg" Smith.



Born 10 October 1801, Smith ran away from his Kentucky home at age fifteen, making his way to St. Louis, where he hired on as a trapper for John Jacob Astor. In the West, he worked or was acquainted with notable mountain men including Jim Bridger, Milton Sublette, Kit Carson, Bill Williams, Jim Beckwourth, Joseph Walker, Jedediah Smith, and Tom Fitzpatrick.

Smith reportedly trapped and traded among the Sioux and Osage Indians for a few years, then worked as a free trapper in New Mexico and throughout the Southwest, including a stint with Ewing Young's 1826 foray into Arizona.

Historian Marshall Trimble tells how Smith acquired his nickname. "It was in the fall of 1827 in North Park, Colorado that he was wounded in the left leg. With the help of fellow trapper Milton Sublette and a jug of 'Taos Lightning,' he amputated the leg. Smith himself cut through the flesh, then Sublette sawed through the bone and the wound was seared with a rifle barrel heated in a fire until it was red-hot. That winter, while living with the Ute Indians, he whittled himself a new leg."

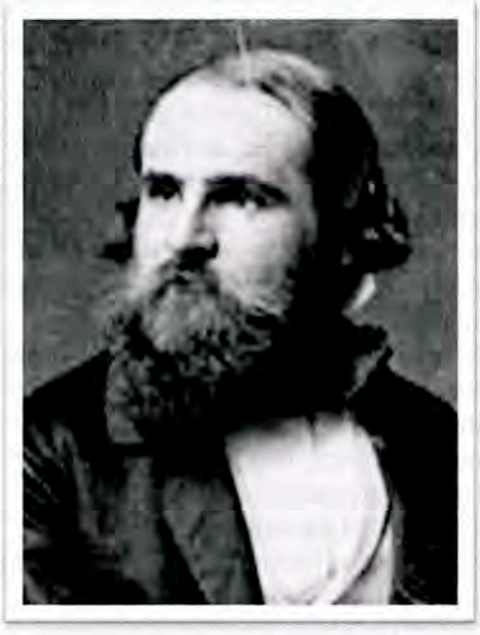
Smith's wooden leg, Trimble says, was more than just for walking. "He learned to unhook his wooden leg in an instant and use it as a shillelagh in a brawl or a battle with Indians. He became known as the meanest barroom fighter in the West." A pouch replaced the left stirrup on Pegleg's saddle to accommodate his wooden appendage.

In *The Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles*, LeRoy and Ann Hafen report Smith's first known encounter with the Trail occurred in 1829. The "all too meager data" came from Pegleg's obituary in the *San Francisco Bulletin*:

> *In 1829 he joined a company for the purpose of trapping on the Santa Clara and Rio Virgin rivers in what is now Utah Territory. The field had never been visited by trappers before, and in a few weeks' time they had secured enough skins to make a cargo. As the season was not half over, it was decided that two of the party should take the spoils to Los Angeles and dispose of them. Smith was one of those commissioned*

to perform this duty, as it was considered to be extra hazardous.

Smith's visit to California did not end well, according to the Hafens. "About this time an American raider began his troublesome operations in California...his notorious raids made the name *El Cojo Smit* feared throughout the province. This Pegleg Smith is reported to have made his first trip to California in 1829." The authors quote H.H. Bancroft's *History of California*: "He was ordered out of the country, and he departed, he and his companion taking with them, however, a band of three or four hundred horses, in spite of efforts of the Californians to prevent the act."



"It soon became apparent to many, mainly from New Mexico, that they could more easily obtain mules and horses by stealing rather than legitimate purchase," Edward Leo Lyman wrote in *The Overland Journey from Utah to California*. "This practice became so extensive that in 1832 the Los Angeles *ayuntamiento* or city council felt constrained to pass measures to control the situation. The council designated assembly points where all livestock to be driven over the trail would be inspected." Posses sent out recover uninspected stock met with limited success and sometimes violence, and the rustlers usually got away with their stolen herds.

Seeking help from the governor, the Alcalde of Los Angeles wrote that New Mexicans had stole at least 1,000 animals over the preceding three months and that "If the matter is not checked soon everything in the country will be taken away by the robbers," according to official papers located by the Hafens.

As the profitability of trapping declined over the years, Pegleg Smith, like other mountain men, had to find new sources of income. Some became guides, others opened trading posts, some kidnapped Indian children to sell as slaves, some prospected for precious metals. At one time or another, Pegleg Smith reportedly engaged in all these activities. But stealing horses and mules out of California figured prominently on his résumé.

Lyman wrote that "[P]robably the greatest of all horse thieves in the history of the West was Wakara, a Ute Indian chief from central Utah." Smith knew Wakara well. "When Wakara and his tribesmen joined forces with Old Bill Williams, Pegleg Smith, and other mountaineer associates, the result was probably the most extensive horse-stealing escapade ever documented."

Reports claim the thieves stole some 1,200 mules and horses at the Mission of San Luis Obispo, including the best saddle horses. Other unwilling suppliers of stock included Mission San Gabriel, San Bernardino, San Juan Capistrano, and elsewhere. "[S]ources concur that the thieves gathered at least three thousand head of good horses and mules through the series of well-planned raids."

Authorities organized posses to track down the rustlers and recover the livestock, pressuring men to join and even recruiting prisoners from the jails. Accounts vary as to how and when the posses clashed with the rustlers, but there is some agreement in the broad strokes.

Driving 3,000 horses and mules is not for the faint-hearted, and keeping the herd moving in an orderly fashion is hard work and progress can be slow. Fearing being overtaken, Wakara and other leaders of the rustlers assigned some of their 25 or so men to drop back and hinder the pursuers. They met an advance party from the posse at Rabbit Springs or along a creek in

Crowder or Horsethief Canyon or some other watering place in the Mojave Desert. When the Californians stopped to water and rest themselves and their horses, the rustlers stole their mounts.

Jose Antonio Carrillo, leader of the embarrassed advance party of Californians, reported later that one white man and one Indian were killed in the encounter. The unhorsed posse members rode Shank's Mare back toward San Bernardino and met up with the rest of the oncoming posses under command of Don Ignacio Palomares and Juan Leandry. Now numbering some 75 to 100 mounted but poorly armed men, pressed on with Carrillo, despite his earlier humiliation, taking the lead according to the Hafens.

Following the rustlers' dust trail across the Mojave Desert for days, Carrillo finally caught up with them laying over at *Agua de Ramón*, which the Hafens and Lyman agree was likely Resting Spring. Possibly taken by surprise, the outlaws left camp in a hurry, driving away what horses they could but abandoning camp equipment and other gear. Carrillo claimed his men and their mounts were too tired to go on and believed the thieves would perish in the desert. Already, he reported, half the stolen horses—some 1,500 head—already lay dead along the trail.

Years later in 1848 an American soldier, George Brewerton, traveled the Old Spanish Trail with an unnamed mountain man guide. Brewerton asked about all the equine bones along the trail through the Mojave, and his guide told him of the 1840 raid, naming Old Bill Williams as the leader. Others said Phil Thompson led the raids. Others credited Pegleg Smith' who later boasted about the raid. Horace Bell recorded the boast in *Reminiscences of a Ranger* and quotes Smith:

> *"I went down into the Spanish country and got them [horses]... They cost me very dearly...Three of my squaws lost brothers, and one of them a father, on that trip, and I came near going under myself. I lost several other braves, and you can depend on it that I paid for all the horses I drove away. Them Spaniards followed ups in a way that Spaniards were never before known to do." "How many did you get?" we again queried. "Only about 3000; the rascals got about half of what we started with away from us d—m them."*

Smith was accused by California authorities of raiding for horses and mules again in 1841, leading "a motley gang of Frenchmen, Utes, Americans, Saguanosos, Sozones," according to documents reported by the Hafens. Jim Beckworth reportedly led a horse-stealing venture into Southern California in 1846. Joseph Walker drove as many as 500 horses and mules out of California in 1846. Just how he got them is vague, but many of the animals ended up in the employ of Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny's Army of the West, and may well have returned to California with his forces during the Mexican-American War.

For his part, Pegleg Smith says he stopped raiding for California horses following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which made California U.S. territory. Bell reported him saying, "I never make war on my own people, and in driving off Spanish horses I might be brought in contact with my own country-men, and you know that would not by any manner of means do."

At the time of his conversations with Horace Bell, Pegleg Smith operated a ranch and trading station on the Bear River "a little northeast of the newly established Mormon settlements at Salt Lake," according to the Hafens. He sold out to Brigham Young in 1849.

Despite his many adventures as a mountain man and horse thief, Pegleg Smith is, perhaps most remembered for yet another escapade. As Marshall Trimble wrote in *True West* magazine:

> His greatest claim to fame for was the famous, perhaps mythical gold mine he found then lost. In 1829 He reportedly located the gold by accident atop a hill in the California

desert while he was enroute from Yuma to Los Angeles.

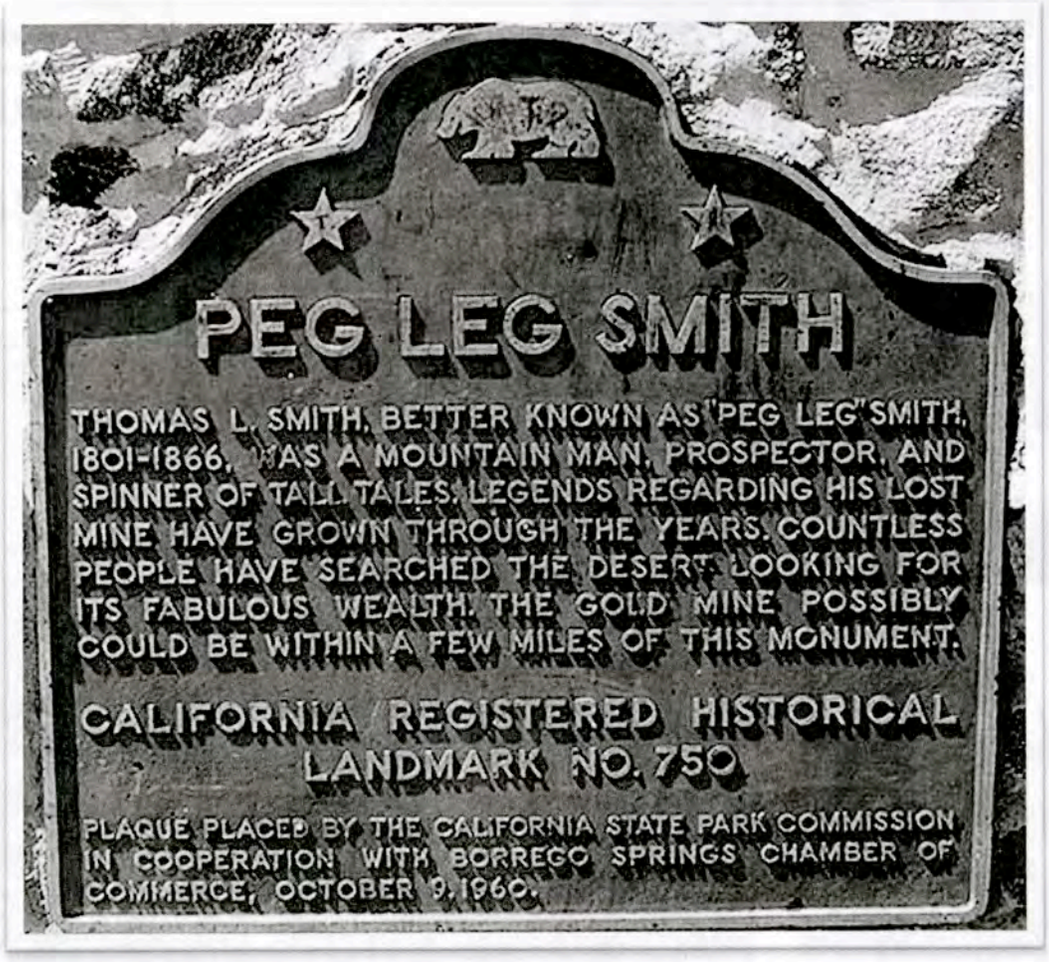
Pegleg, being pressed for time, attempted a shortcut across the desert but lost his way. To regain his bearings he climbed a hill. While reconnoitering, he noticed some lumps of black, burned-looking ore thickly sprinkled with yellow particles of varying size, which literally covered the entire hill.

Attracted by the curious appearance of the rock he gathered up a few samples and carried them to Los Angeles where an expert pronounced the particles pure gold.

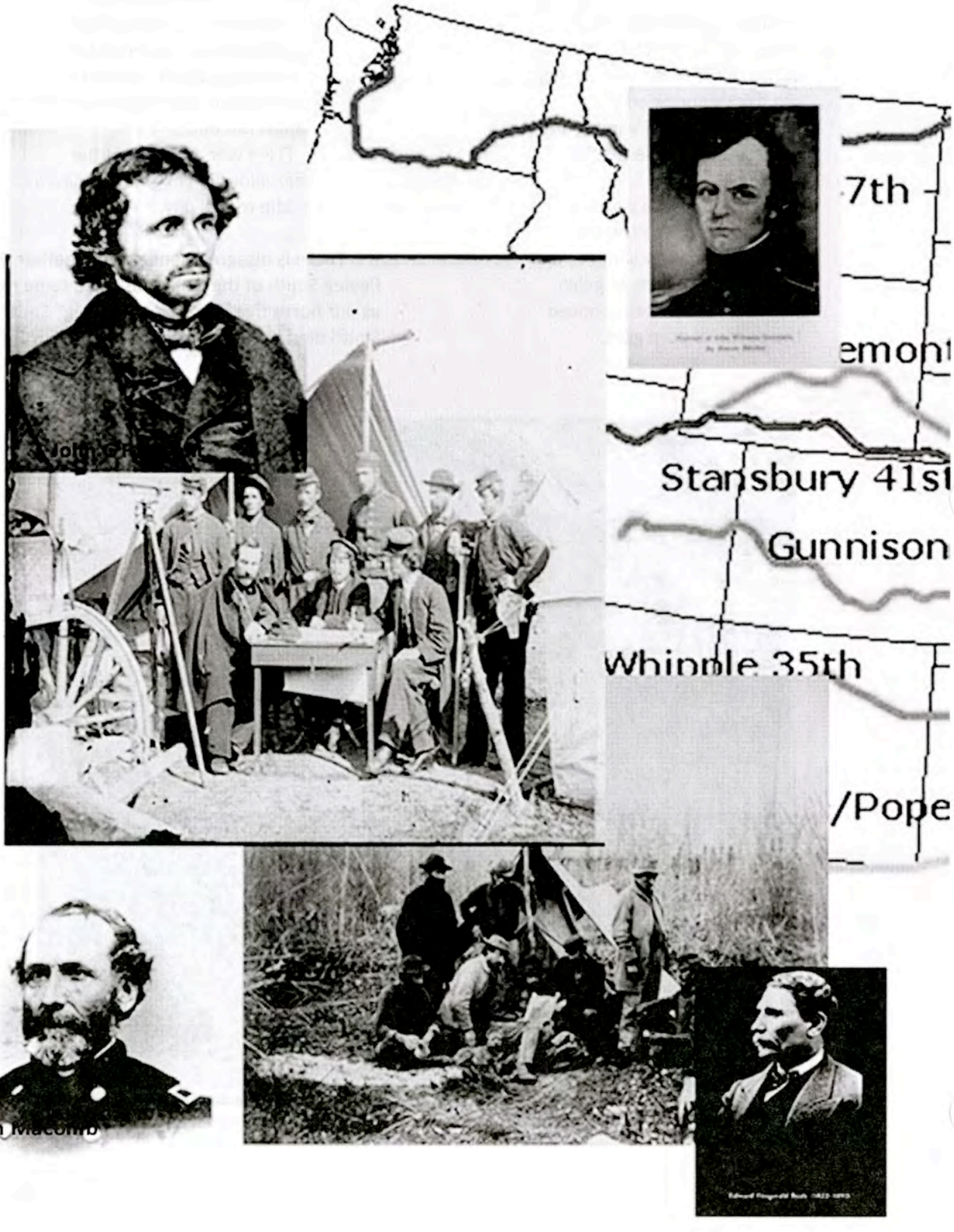
Pegleg Smith was never able to relocate his golden hill, and over the next fifty years, He traded tall tales for liquor and went off to the desert at least three times to guide gullible goldseekers to his legendary mine. He'd usually run out on them about the same time the liquor ran out....

[T]he whereabouts of the marvelous hill of gold remains a riddle to this day.

There is disagreement about whether the Pegleg Smith of the lost mine is the same man as our horse thief Thomas L. "Pegleg" Smith. Smith died in a San Francisco hospital in 1866.



Path Makers
Officals Survey the Old Spanish Trail



Military Use of the Old Spanish Trail, including the North Branch 1844-1860

By William L. Chenoweth

Military expeditions exploring or traveling in the western United States, prior to the Civil War, made good use of the existing Old Spanish Trail and its North Branch. This article briefly summarizes these expeditions and examines their historic significance.

FRÉMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION

Captain John C. Frémont's third expedition of 1843-1844 has been called "The Great Reconnaissance." In the spring of 1843 he and a small party of men left Westport, Missouri and followed the Oregon Trail to Fort Vancouver. After reaching the Fort, the expedition traveled south, crossing the Sierra Nevada range in January 1844. They rested and reoutfitted at Sutter's Ranch in California, leaving the Ranch on March 24, 1844. On April 18, near Cajon Pass they came upon the trade route from the Pueblo de Los Angeles to Santa Fe, which Frémont named "The Spanish Trail" [1]. They followed the trail northeasterly, passed Las Vegas, leaving the OST near Little Salt Lake.

Frémont continued northeasterly hen east passing by the south flank of the Uinta Mountains to the North Park of the Rocky Mountains. They headed south though South Park reaching Pueblo, Colorado on June 29, 1844. Heading east they arrived in St. Louis on August 6, 1844.

The significance of this expedition cannot be overestimated. Frémont's orders were to make a connected survey of the interior of the west. He succeeded brilliantly. He circumnavigated the Great Basin and placed what he saw on an accurate map [2] that "radically and permanently altered western cartography" and "changed the entire picture of the west." [3] Frémont laid to rest the fabled Buenaventura River, but also included a mythical east-west mountain range that contributed to later troubles for the "Death Valley Party." He gave the Spanish Trail its name – even though the "Old" came into use twelve years later. The Frémont report and map were subsequently widely used and cited as a guide to travel from the east to California. The military also found them of strategic value. Thus the Old Spanish Trail became nationally known as a viable route for commerce and migration and was widely used for these purposes.

Lt. GEORGE D. BREWERTON AND KIT CARSON

The next expedition to keep a journal of travels over the Old Spanish Trail was that of Kit Carson and Lt. George D. Brewerton in 1848. Carson was to deliver "official dispatches" to Washington, D.C., and Brewerton was to report to Independence, Missouri.

Carson and Brewerton left Los Angeles on May 4, 1848 with a party of 20 hired men, three citizens and three Mexican servants. They followed the Old Spanish Trail to the Green River crossing on June 3, 1848. Carson erroneously called this river the Grand, an error Brewerton recorded in his journal [4]. The group had a difficult time in crossing the Green River. A raft with nearly all the provisions, pack and riding saddles, six rifles and ammunition and clothing was lost. Brewerton lost his notebook, geological and botanical specimens, and many of his sketches. [5] The party had similar difficulties when crossing the Grand (Colorado) River, which Carson called the Green.

The party reached Taos, New Mexico, Carson's home, about June 11, 1848. Brewerton's journal is very vague on details between the Grand River and Taos. This has led Vinton [6] to state that the party did not take the northern branch of the Old Spanish Trail from the Green River crossing to Taos. Instead, he believes the party followed the main trail, crossing the Grand River near the site of present day Moab, Utah, and leaving the trail near Chama, New Mexico and thence eastward to Taos. The Chama-Taos route requires crossing the Brazos Range and the Rio Grande gorge. Brewerton would surely have mentioned these obstacles. Also, Brewerton's [7] sketch of the Rocky Mountains resembles the region near Gunnison, Colorado and nothing of the topography along the Old Spanish Trail in the Moab-Durango-Chama area. Carson and Brewerton probably traveled the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail from the Green River Crossing to Taos.

From Taos, Carson traveled to Santa Fe and then across the plains to Fort Leavenworth and on to St. Louis, Missouri where he mailed his dispatches to Washington, D.C. The dispatches included the first news of the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill on California's American Fork River.

LIEUTENANT BEALE'S EXPEDITION

Navy Lieutenant Edward F. Beale led the first of three expeditions over the North Branch in 1853, and the first one to keep a journal. Beale, with a small party of men with horses and mules was en route to California to establish Indian Reservations. West of the Missouri River, he chose a route along the 38 and 39th parallels, one of the routes being considered for a Pacific railroad. Beale's cousin, Gwinn H. Heap, kept a journal of the expedition [8]. In western Colorado, Felipe Archilete Sr. (Pegleg) guided the group.

After traveling across the prairie and over the Sangre de Christo range, they came upon the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail in the San Luis Valley. They followed the North Branch over Cochetopa Pass into western Colorado. After losing some supplies while fording the Uncompahgre River south of the present site of Delta, Colorado and losing most of his remaining supplies while attempting to find the Grand (Gunnison) River, Beale sent Heap, Archilete and seven men back to Taos for supplies including bullhide boats. Heap, Archilete and three men rejoined Beale on July 17, 1853.

Their route followed the North Branch to the Green River crossing on July 24. The party continued over the Old Spanish Trail to California. Heap's journal was the first to describe in detail the route along this trail, including distances between camps and rest stops.



The Rio Grande Gorge, west of Taos, NM: A formidable obstacle

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld, 1998.

CAPTAIN GUNNISON'S PACIFIC RAILROAD SURVEY

The U.S. Government's survey of the Pacific railroad route along the 38 and 39th parallels was lead by Captain John W. Gunnison of the Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers. In western Colorado, Antoine Leroux was the expedition's guide and interpreter. Captain Gunnison and seven men were killed by Utes in the Sevier Valley, Utah on October 26, 1853. Consequently, the second in command, First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith, Third Artillery, wrote the report of the trip, using Gunnison's journal [9].

The Gunnison expedition was quite large. Besides Gunnison and Beckwith, there were five scientists, a wagon master, 18 wagons, teamsters, employees and 32 mounted riflemen. Richard H. Kern, artist and topographer prepared maps of the expedition's route. After Kern's death, Sheppard Holmans, an astronomer, completed the maps. Other scientists included Jacob H. Schiel, surgeon-geologist, F. Creutzfeldt, botanist, and J. A. Snyder assistant topographer. Charles Taplin was the wagon master and the soldiers were under the command of Brevet Captain R. M. Morris. Six mules pulled each of sixteen wagons. An ambulance was drawn by two horses, which were replaced by four mules when they reached the mountains. Four mules pulled a carriage

for the instruments.

The expedition left Westport, Missouri on June 24, 1853 and followed the Arkansas River into Colorado Territory. The Huerfano River was then followed into the Sangre de Christo Range. Fort Massachusetts on the east side of the San Luis Valley was reached on August 20, 1853. The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail was followed into western Colorado, fording the Blue (Colorado) River at the present day site of Grand Junction on September 17.

Their guide, Antoine Leroux, left the expedition at their camp in the Westwater area and Gunnison headed westward toward the foot of the Book Cliffs. They found the "Spanish Trail" some 20 miles south of the Green River crossing. West of the Green River, at Lost Spring Wash, the expedition left the trail and headed north toward the White (Price) River. After turning to the southwest Gunnison rejoined the Spanish Trail, on October 10, at Huntington Creek in Castle Valley. Here Beckwith [10] recorded "The Spanish Trail, though but seldom used of late years is still very distinct where the soil washes but slightly. On some spaces today we counted from fourteen to twenty parallel trails, of the ordinary size of Indian trails or horse-paths on a way of barely fifty feet in width."

Near the present day site of Salina, Utah, Gunnison left the trail and turned north down the Sevier River. Nine days later on October 26, 1853, Captain Gunnison, Mr. Kern, Mr. Creutzfeld, William Potter, a guide, John Bellows, an employee, and Paiutes Caulfield, Liptrott and Merhteens were killed in the Sevier Valley by Ute Indians. The Gunnison expedition, although tragically cut short, did provide the U.S. Congress with a brief description of the topography of Colorado and eastern Utah and the problems faced by the construction of a trans-continental railroad across the Rocky Mountains.



J.C. Frémont

FRÉMONT'S FIFTH EXPEDITION

Colonel John C. Frémont led a third exploring group over the "central route" for a Pacific railroad in 1853. His privately funded expedition was to examine winter conditions along the same route Lieutenant Beale and Captain Gunnison had taken. Frémont kept no journal but a member of the expedition, Soloman Nunes Carvalho, made some notes [11]. The expedition consisted of 22 men with horses and mules. They left Westport, Missouri on October 6, 1854, following the Arkansas and Huerfano drainages to the Sangre de Christo Range. This range was crossed via Robidoux (Mosca) Pass into the San Luis Valley. Gunnison's tracks on the North Branch were followed thereafter. Spence [12] noted that of the 1550 miles Frémont traveled on his fifth expedition, the first 700 were over old ground and at least another 300 were in the wagon tracks of John Gunnison.

In the area where Gunnison intercepted the Old Spanish Trail, Frémont continued southwesterly and crossed the Green River some 20 miles south of the Green River crossing [13]. The party continued up the San Rafael River and after traveling over portions of the Old Spanish Trail, the hungry and sick expedition reached the settlement of Parowan, Utah Territory on February 8, 1854.

After resting in Parowan, they headed west across the Great Basin to the Owens Valley of California. Unable to find a crossing of the Sierra Nevada Range, they went south around the end of that range into the San Joaquin Valley, reaching Stockton in April 1854.

Frémont's fifth expedition did not find a suitable route for a transcontinental railroad although he concluded that one was necessary for the good of the country. The expedition indicated that winter travel in the Rocky Mountains was dangerous.

CAPTAIN MARCY'S EXPEDITION

In 1857 General Albert Sidney Johnson was sent with an army to suppress what was perceived by some as an insurrection in Utah. With supplies running low, General Johnson, stationed at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, directed Captain Randolph B. Marcy, 5th Infantry to cross the Rocky Mountains by the "most direct route into New Mexico" to procure supplies. On November 24, 1857, Captain Marcy left Fort Bridger with a party of 40 enlisted men, 25 mountain men,

packers and guides. Jim Baker was the expedition's interpreter.

By traveling south-southeast, the party reached the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail near the site of present day Mack, Colorado [14]. They followed the trail to the confluence of the Bunkara (Gunnison) and Uncompahgre Rivers on December 8, 1857.

Deep snow caused several frostbite cases and virtual starvation as they approached Cochetopa Pass. A relief party that was sent to Fort Massachusetts returned eleven days later with much needed supplies. Marcy's weak and cold party reached the Fort on January 14, after a march of 51 days from Fort Bridger [15].

After reaching Fort Union, New Mexico, where supplies were obtained, Captain Marcy left Fort Union on March 15, 1858 for a return to Fort Bridger using a longer, but safer, route.

COLONEL LORING'S EXPEDITION

With the "Mormon problems" in the Utah Territory settled, Colonel William W. Loring was ordered to return to Fort Union, New Mexico in the summer of 1858. Loring's expedition, consisting of 300 men and 50 wagons, left Camp Floyd, in the vicinity of Utah Lake on July 19, 1858. Antonio Leroux served as the expedition guide. After traveling south for five days they reached the Old Spanish Trail near Salina, Utah. Proceeding along the trail, they reached the Green River crossing on August 5. After fording the Green River the expedition followed the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail reaching Taos, New Mexico on September 11, 1858 and Fort Union on September 13 [16]. Colonel Loring's expedition was the first large wagon train to travel the North Branch and left its mark on the land for future travelers to follow.



Green River Crossing

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld, 1998

THE SAN JUAN EXPLORING EXPEDITION

In June 1859, Capt. John N. Macomb, chief topographical officer in New Mexico for the Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers, was ordered to lead an expedition northwesterly from Santa Fe into southeastern Utah Territory in search of a military road. The expedition also was to seek out the confluence of the Green and the Grand Rivers that formed the Colorado River. Twenty thousand dollars was appropriated for the trip known as the San Juan Exploring Expedition. The staff of the expedition consisted of John S. Newberry, geologist-naturalist; Charles Dimmock, cartographer; and three assistants, Messrs. Fisher, Vail and Dorsey. Lt. Milton Cogswell and a detachment of the Eighth Infantry provided security against hostile Indians. Also joining the expedition were Albert H. Preiffer, a Ute agent, Neponocino Valdez, his interpreter, and guides. Mr. Fisher and Mr. Vail assisted Capt. Macomb with his astronomical observations and Mr. Dorsey helped Dr. Newberry with the collection of natural history specimens [17].

The expedition left Santa Fe in mid-July following the Old Spanish Trail up the Rio Grande to the San Juan Pueblo and then northward up the valley of the Rio Chama. West of the present day settlement of Cebolla, the expedition left the main trail and headed north to the "Great Pagosa Hot Spring." From there they traveled westward and joined the Old Spanish Trail south of present day Durango. They continued northwesterly passing the present day settlements of Hesperus, Mancos, Dolores, Lewis, Yellow Jacket, Cahone, and Dove Creek in southwestern Colorado. They entered Utah, east of the present day

ite of Monticello in mid August. As ney descended into Dry Valley, via Canon Pintado (East Canyon) Newberry discovered the remains of a dinosaur that he partly excavated from rocks now known as the Morrison Formation. This is the first dinosaur discovered in the Rocky Mountain Region. In the northern part of Dry Valley, at a water hole, near the Old Spanish Trail, known as Ojo Verde the expedition set up a base camp. From the camp, Macomb, Newberry, Dimmock, Cogswell, the three assistants, a helper, and an Indian guide went across Hatch Point and descended into Hart Draw (Newberry's Canon Colorado) to look for the legendary confluence of the Green and the Grand Rivers. After much difficulty they reached a mesa overlooking the Grand River near the mouth of Indian Creek. Here, on August 23, 1859, their Indian guide pointed out the area of the confluence, eight miles to the southwest.

After Macomb, Newberry and the others rejoined the main party they proceeded south past the present day towns of Monticello and Blanding and followed a drainage, now known as Recapture Creek to the San Juan River. They returned to Santa Fe across the San Juan basin, following Armijo's route up the San Juan River, up Canon Largo and on via Jemez Pueblo.

Although the expedition did not actually reach the confluence of the Grand and the Green Rivers, Dr. John S. Newberry, geologist of the expedition, made several important scientific observations. He made the first detailed descriptions of the areas that would later become Mesa Verde and Canyonlands National Parks. The feature he described as "Great Sage Plain" is still used on today's maps. His observations are given credit for the name, Colorado Plateau, being first applied to the area of the Four Corners. Newberry's notes on the ancient ruins were some of the first descriptions of the Anasazi lore to reach the general public [18]. Clearly, the use of the Old Spanish Trail by the San Juan Exploring Expedition in 1859 had a great impact on future scientific investigations in the west.

THE CARLETON CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PAIUTES [19]

In January, 1860 Indians near the Mojave River killed Robert Wilburn, an employee of Bachman & Company of Los Angeles, while he was tending a herd of Bachman cattle. In March, 1860 Thomas S. Willams and Jehu Jackman were en route from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles in a wagon train that was near Bitter Springs. Williams was killed on the spot while Jackman was wounded and died a month later in San Bernardino. Again, Indians were blamed. The identity of the Indians and their tribes were unknown, but the Paiutes were nevertheless believed responsible. There also were dark suspicions that the Indians may have been acting at the behest of the Mormon church – recall that the memory of the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre was quite fresh.

The resulting furor led to petitions for military intervention. The California governor, John G. Downey, asked Brigadier General Newman S. Clarke, commander of the Department of California, to establish a military post on the Mojave river and to punish the Paiutes. This request led to the dispatch of two companies from the 1st Dragoons based at Ft. Tejon to the Mojave to punish those responsible and to prevent further incidents. Brevet Major James H. Carleton was given command. Thus began the 1860 campaign against the Paiutes – who were probably not responsible for the murders.

Carleton left Ft. Tejon on April 12, 1860 with 1st Lieutenants Milton T. Carr and Benjamin F. Davis, Surgeon Jonathon Letterman, two civilians and eighty-one enlisted men. On April 19, the command reached the Mojave river about ten miles downriver from the point where the Old Spanish Trail splits with one fork leading northeast to Bitter Spring and the other following the river to its sink near Soda Springs (Zyzxx). Carleton here established Camp Cady as a base camp.

From April 19 until July 3, 1860 Carleton's command scouted the Mojave for Paiutes to punish. Detachments commanded by the two lieutenants explored Old Spanish Trail segments to the Providence Mountains beyond Soda Lake and to Bitter Springs and beyond toward Telescope peak, the high peak that dominates Death Valley to the east. Carleton himself led a reduced command to Las Vegas. The command split into two groups at Silurian Lake with one following the traditional OST route up the Amargosa River to Resting Spring,

Emigrant Pass and Stump Spring. The other group followed the Kingston cutoff. The two groups rejoined at Mountain Springs southwest of Las Vegas.

Few Indians were found during this period. Lt. Davis' detachment fought a group of Paiutes southwest of Camp Cady on April 19 and killed two Indians. Lt. Carr encountered a group of Indians near the Kelso Dunes, killed three of them and returned to Camp Cady with their heads. These heads and the bodies of the other two Indians were subsequently hung on a gibbet at Bitter Springs to the distress of travelers on the OST, both Indian and non-Indian. Carleton was subsequently reprimanded by General Clarke for this excess. Fortunately, Lt. Davis found old traces, but no living members, of the Panamint (Timbasha Shoshone) Tribe in the south end of Death Valley.

Carleton's expedition left redoubts in place at Camp Cady, Soda Springs and Bitter Springs, but there was little long-term effect – except for the survivors of those who were killed. Worries about Indian depredations decreased with the onset of the Civil War in 1861. A lasting peace with Paiutes was achieved in 1867, but their numbers then were so reduced that they posed little threat. The Timbisha Shoshone remain in conflict with the U. S. Government even today [20].

Endnotes

[1] Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, The *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont, Vol. 1, Travels* from 1638 to 1844 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970) p. 674.

[2] John C. Frémont, *Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year* 1842 *and Oregon and North California the years* 1843-44, *by Brevet Capt. J. C. Frémont of the Corps of Typographical Engineers.* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, Printers, 1845).

[3] Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West, Vol. 2*(San Francisco, The Institute of Historical Cartography), pp. 194 – 200.

[4]George D. Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson, a narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in* '48 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) p. 113.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 120-122.

[6] *Ibid, p. X-XIII.*

[7] *Ibid, p.* 127.

[8] Gwinn H. Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific* from *the Valley of the Mississippi to California,* (Philadephia: Lippencott, Grambo and Co., 1854, reprinted 1981 by Arno Press, New York).

[9] Edward Griffin Beckwith, *Report of Exploration of a Route for the Pacific Railroad, near the 38th and 39th parallels of latitude, from the mouth of the Kansas to Sevier River, in the Great Basin. 33rd Cong., Ist Sess., House Ex. Doc. 129* (Washington: Nicholson, 1855).

[10] *Ibid, p.* 71.

[11] S. N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West: with Col. Frémont's last expedition across the Rocky Mountains: including three months' residence in Utah, and a perilous trip across the Great American Desert, to the Pacific* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856, reprinted 1954 by the Jewish Publication Society of America).

[12] Mary Lee Spence, *the Expeditions of John Charles Frémont, Vol. 3, Travels from* 1848 to 1854 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) p. lxxiv.

[13] *Ibid, p.* 466.

[14] John N. Macomb, *Map of Exploration and Surveys in New Mexico and Utah made under the direction of the Secretary of War, assisted by C. H. Dimmock* (Washington: War Department, 1860) Scale 1:760,320.

[15] Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty years of Army Life on the Border* (New York: Harper Brothers, reprinted 1963 by Lippencott, Philadelphia).

[16] William W. Loring *Colonel Loring's Expedition across Colorado in 1858, with an introduction and notes by L. R. Hafen* (Denver: Colorado Magazine, Vol. 23 1946) p.49-76.

[17] John N. Macomb, *Report on the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West in 1859* (Washington: U. S. Engineer Department, 1879).

[18] John S. Newberry, *Geological Report, in J. N. Macomb, Report on the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West in 1879* (Washington: U. S. Engineer Department, 1879) P. 9-118.

[19] Dennis G. Casebier, *Carleton's Pah-Ute Campaign* (Norco, CA, Dennis G. Casebier, 1972).

[20] Bill Helmer and Pauline Esteves, *Old Spanish Trail Impacts: Timbisha Shoshone Tribe and Other Native Americans,* Spanish Traces, this issue, pp. 38-48.

The Pacific Railroad Surveys of 1853

Our half-known new western empire was mapped, in a great mass exploration, by the Army's Pacific Railroad Surveys of 1853

William H. Goetzmann

A grand national reconnaissance extending over half a continent and led by men who would later be counted among the most prominent soldiers and scientists of the Republic were the capstone of an American age of exploration in the Far West. They were packed with adventure and stalked by death, and they were conceived in desperation by a preCivil War Congress hopelessly deadlocked over the proper location for the first vital transcontinental railroad, which would link the Mississippi Valley with golden California. Should the route go north, or south? Sectionalism offered loud answers but no agreement. The railroad surveys were an attempt to let science decide a question that, after eight years of continuous debate, appeared to be beyond the powers of mortal men. Not since Napoleon, in the midst of his short-lived conquest of Egypt, had taken a large corps of savants to study that country's lands and culture had such an array of scientific talent been marshalled in the service of geographical conquest. And not since that celebrated Egyptian foray were the scientific results to prove so rich and overwhelming while the practical results appeared to lead only to frustration. For the first actual railroad to the Pacific was not completed for another sixteen years.

The great exploration provided the first panoramic view of what the vast West was really like. It produced an encyclopedia of western experience in thirteen massive calfskin volumes—government reports now consigned to dust and obscurity in public libraries and archives. In them was a matchless picture of the Old West before its settlement. The surveys likewise produced a cast of heroes —military and scientific explorers whose names and deeds, like the records of the surveys themselves, are now almost forgotten.

On the second of March, 1853, Congress ordered the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, to "employ such portion of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, and such other persons as he may deem necessary, to make such explorations and surveys as he may deem advisable, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean." Davis was to see to the organization and execution of the program and the compilation of a report on the findings by the first Monday in January of 1854—within ten months from the day of the order. It was a staggering assignment—one that seemed virtually impossible to complete in the time allotted, even allowing for the fact that the men were required to make only a rapid reconnaissance of the feasible routes. Moreover, with the whole project under the direction of such an archSoutherner as Jefferson Davis some people

wondered why there was to be a serious study at all, since the selection of a southern route appeared to be a foregone conclusion.

Almost immediately Davis set to work organizing the task. He established the Bureau of Explorations and Surveys, headed first by his old friend from the Topographical Corps, Major William H. Emory of Maryland, and commanded later by Captain Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, the Army hydrographie engineer who had tamed the Mississippi at the New Orleans levee. Together Davis, Emory, and Humphreys decided which routes were to be explored and who was to command each of the field parties. In general the routes considered for the surveys were those that appeared to have the most political backing in Congress. Thus, four main transcontinental parties were sent into the West, each corresponding to an important sectional interest. The northern survey, which was to operate between the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels, was led by Isaac Ingalls Stevens, a brilliant and energetic young Army officer who had just resigned his commission to accept the post of governor of the new Washington Territory. This railroad route was to connect the Great Lakes to the Pacific at Puget Sound by way of St. Paul and the great bend of the Missouri River [see pages 46-47). As the new governor, Stevens had a direct interest in bringing back a favorable report on the possibilities of the route. Moreover, his political fortunes were closely tied to those of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, chief financial backer of this northern venture.

Another expedition moved west along a line much farther south. It was led by Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple, and it followed the thirtyfifth parallel from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Santa Fe and farther westward, carrying with it the hopes of the citizens of southern Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Mississippi. Douglas also stood to profit if this line was selected, since it would connect with his new Illinois Central Railroad at Cairo, Illinois. Far to the south appeared to be the likeliest route. In fact, so convinced in its favor was Davis that at first he did not even deem it necessary to send a party out to explore it. Ultimately, however, he yielded to political pressure and ordered two expeditions into the field to survey the thirty-second parallel line one from the west, led by the veteran explorer of New Mexico, Lieutenant John G. Parkc, the other from the east, commanded by Captain John Pope, even at this earlystage of his career addicted to the same self-advertisement from his "headquarters in the saddle" that would make him the laughingstock Union commander at the Civil War disaster of Second Manassas.

Out in California other expeditions coursed north and south between the Coast Ranges and the Sierras looking for passes over the mountains and for a connection between California and the Northwest.

Perhaps the most interesting survey activity took place dead in the center of the map. Here, at the behest of the all-powerful Thomas Hart Benton, the perennial statesman from Missouri, who repeatedly called for "a grrreat central Highway to the Pacific," the Secretary sent out one

of the largest and best-equipped expeditions, under Captain John Williams Gunnison of the Topographical Engineers. This expedition was to follow a line west between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels, cross the Rocky Mountains through the Cochetopa Pass between Kansas and Utah territories, and make its way to the Great Salt Lake —which Benton and his son-in-law John Charles Frémont appear to have thought lay just due west of the celebrated Cochetopa. It was the most difficult of all the routes, and the San Juan Mountains directly in its path had been the scene of Frémont's epic disaster in 1848, when the whole party almost perished in the wintry snows and the flesh of one dead explorer was said to have been sampled by some of the starving survivors of the Pathfinder's party. Gunnison and his men seem to have believed the route to be impractical even before they started out, and the evidence indicates the possibility that Davis sent the party into the field with the object of proving Benton wrong rather than of locating a railroad route of any kind. As it was, the Gunnison survey through what is now south-central Colorado proved to be one of the most dramatic and interesting of the surveys, and thus, perhaps, it can stand here for the whole massive operation.

At the outset politics proved troublesome to Captain Gunnison. Benton, disappointed that Frémont was not picked to lead the party, thundered his defiance, and before he was through, one of Frémont's friends, Edward Fitzgerald Beale, a hero of the war in California (he also brought the news of the gold discovery to the East), found himself made the Indian commissioner for California with a princely appropriation of !250,000 (more than the railroad survey appropriation) and orders to head west along the shortest and most practicable route. Naturally he took the great central Cochetopa Pass route, leaving in May, 1853, and arriving in Los Angeles in August. And when his friend and kinsman, newspaperman Gwin Harris Heap, finished writing a privately published report on the western march, the line through the Cochetopa Pass seemed almost incredible in its economic possibilities.

Meanwhile, back in New York Frémont himself was assembling still another force, an exploratory "truth squad," as it were, to take to the field on the heels of the Gunnison party and, presumably, challenge any unfavorable report. But Captain Gunnison was not one to be awed by such formidable competition. A tough, serious New Englander of Swedish ancestry, he was a career soldier and veteran explorer who knew the West almost as well as Fré mont did. Born in 1812, Gunnison gre,w up on his father's farm near Goshen, New Hampshire. He attended Hopkinton Academy, taught at the age of nineteen in a one-room log schoolhouse, won an appointment to West Point in 1833, graduated second in the class of 1837, and ultimately received an appointment to the elite Corps of Topographical Engineers. As a career soldier Gunnison had an extremely varied record. He had served in Florida as an Everglades scout under Zachary Taylor. He had assisted in the sad removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to Oklahoma. He had explored and mapped parts of northern Wisconsin and had worked seven years on the Great Lakes Surveys learning the difficult arts of geodesy and topographical

cartography. In 1849 he had ventured into the Far West as assistant to Captain Howard Stansbury in an expedition to map and explore the valley of the Great Salt Lake. There he and Stansbury spent the winter among the sometimes hostile Mormons; together, the two men got to know the ways of the West, the mountain men and hunters, the Indians, the settlers, and the mysterious Mormons themselves.

As a result of his western experience Gunnison wrote in 1852 what was perhaps the first objective book ever published about this people who so fascinated our nineteenth-century forebears: The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake . By 1853, then, Gunnison had achieved some prominence as a soldier, author, and explorer-engineer. And though he was an outspoken advocate of a Pacific railroad, he had no sense of dedication to either St. Louis or a central route. He could be relied upon to be honest and fair in his report. In short, Gunnison was the ideal man for the job.

On June 4, 1853, one month from the date he received his orders, Gunnison had secured his scientific personnel and equipment in Washington and arrived in St. Louis for the final outfitting of his expedition. Soon he moved out onto the prairie, establishing a base camp at a onestreet ramshackle trader's outpost on the Kansas River. Here he assembled his party. One of its most important members was Lieutenant Edward Griffin Beckwith, an artillery officer assigned to the Topographical Engineers who was on his second western expedition, having escorted the Collier party by way of the Gila Trail to California in 1850. Others included Frederick O. Creuzfeldt, a German botanist who had survived the disaster of Frémont's 1848 expedition; Jacob Heinrich Schiel, a geologist and Heidelberg graduate who had come all the way from Prussia to help explore the West; Sheppard Romans, the astronomer; J. A. Snyder, assistant topographer; and Richard H. Kern, youngest of four brothers, three of whom were artists. Richard, his brother Edward, and their doctor brother Benjamin had gone along with Frémont in 1848, and Benjamin had perished somewhere in the San Juan Mountains.

By June 22 the wagons were assembled, mules broken, and equipment packed, and the Gunnison party was ready to move out—sixteen sixmule wagons, an instrument cart, and a crude canvas-topped ambulance, escorted by a contingent of thirty-two cavalrymen. They headed west along the Santa Fe Trail with the Kansas River on their right and the prairie to their left stretching away like an ocean through the rain and gloom.

Three days after the start, taking the advice of the fur-trade veterans William Bent and Tom Fitzpatrick, Gunnison divided his forces. Keeping Kern, Homans, Captain Morris of the cavalry, and a few men from the escort with him, he coursed westward along the line of the Kansas River, past Fort Riley, then only a few low adobe barracks in the process of construction, past the confluences of the Republican, Solomon, Saline, and Smoky Hill rivers with the Kansas, to an appointed rendezvous near Walnut Creek where it flowed into the great bend of the Arkansas

River. Lieutenant Beckwith led the main party via the regular Santa Fe Trail until he made contact with Gunnison on the twelfth of July. At Walnut Creek they met on a great dividing line of the prairie. Behind them were the rolling swells and lush grasses of the well-watered region. Ahead lay sand and short grass, buffalo-wallow water, and prairie-dog holes, country that the earlier explorers Zebulon Pike and Stephen H. Long had called the Great American Desert.

For two weeks Gunnison pushed his party up the Arkansas, through arid buffalo plains to Bent's Old Fort far upriver near present-day La Junta, Colorado. The fort, which William Bent had blown up himself in 1849, stood a squat and deserted adobe ruin, its rooms open to the sky, its round, castlelike tower barely discernible and fast mouldering back into the earth. It was still a landmark on the way west, but it would never again be the colorful center of frontier life it had been back in 1846, when Kearny's Army of the West camped there on the way to the conquest of Santa Fe. Beckwith, however, thought it an ideal site for a new military post at the entrance to the Southwest.

The next few days saw the explorers moving due west along the upper Arkansas, past Timpas Creek to a point on the left bank opposite Apishpa Creek, which they took to be the Huerfano River. With the utmost difficulty they managed to cross the Arkansas by sending out an advance party of several Delaware Indian scouts, who swam the river with ropes in their teeth. By August i the whole party had made the crossing, and far in the distance, just above the horizon, they could see the Wahto-Yah, or Spanish Peaks, in full view.

Lacking a competent scout, they followed the Apishpa Creek southward for several days, still thinking they were on the Huerfano and that it would lead them directly to Fort Massachusetts, an Army outpost on a branch of that river in the midst of the wild and beautiful San Luis Valley. Instead the whole party became lost, and it took the services of a Spanish-New Mexican mountain man whom they ran across along the way to lead them finally into the San Luis Valley and Fort Massachusetts. Fort Massachusetts vied with Fort Yuma as the Botany Bay of American military outposts. Situated at the base of the Sierra Bianca in the southern Rockies, it guarded the northern approaches to New Mexico, but aside from an occasional foray against the local Indians there was little else to do. In one of his few letters from the expedition Gunnison provided a vivid description of an officer's life on the New Mexican frontier: It is amusing, surprizing and disgusting to hear the officers describe society in New Mexico. According to their observation, there's nothing like chastity regarded by man, woman, or priest. ... Few girls are married until they have been seduced and have a child. ... They arrive at puberty at eleven or twelve years and marry from eleven to fourteen. One beautiful woman was named who was a grand mother at 29 and though now appearing in the flower of her age, her grand daughter is ready to be married.

With its limited range, social life at Fort Massachusetts did not detain Gunnison's party for very long.

They rested their animals and overhauled their gear, while a detachment under Beckwith rode off southward for Taos to get another mountain man to guide them over the treacherous Cochetopa Pass and into the valley beyond. Fortunately they returned with Antoine Leroux, one of the real veterans of the southern Rocky Mountain fur trade. Leroux had guided Kearny west to California in 1847. In 1851 he had taken Lieutenant Lorenzo Sitgreaves' expedition into the Navaho country of New Mexico and Arizona, below the Grand Canyon and the San Francisco Peaks to the Colorado River and on to California; on that trip a Yampais arrow had all but paralyzed him. For the past few months he had been staying in Taos with the other mountain trappers, assiduously attending fandangoes and all-night drinking bouts.

With Leroux to guide them the explorers were in good hands. During the last weeks of August they moved up the San Luis Valley, and by the end of the month they were approaching the Cochetopa Pass. Everywhere the grandeur and serenity of nature was impressive, and the party's routine responded to its invitation. Gunnison would scout ahead with Leroux while Beckwith would urge along the train. Kern would ride off to some nearby prominence to sketch the terrain while Schiel and Creuzfeldt would collect rocks and plants for shipment to the Smithsonian in Washington.

On September 2 they cut their way with axes and shovels over the crest of the Cochetopa, thereby crossing the Continental Divide. And during the next week, led by Leroux, they descended by stages into the valley of the present-day Gunnison River, which the captain himself called the Grand. The only disturbing sign was an Indian smoke signal that arose against the sky beyond the mountains to the northwest in mistaken answer to a cook's runaway campfire. Then one day the advance party found itself suddenly surrounded by nearly two hundred Paiute Indians well mounted on captured Navaho ponies and arrogantly scowling at the white interlopers and demanding tribute. What had become a tense situation was shortly disposed of by Leroux. Speaking to the chief, he declared: We have good weapons, much powder, and much lead. If you want to fight, so be it. We will fight with you and kill many of your warriors. The white father has many brave warriors. He will punish your transgressions. He has sent us to ride through your land and see what his red children are doing.

With that the red men became more hospitable and vanished shortly afterward. The explorers' route took them along the gorgeous high canyons of the Gunnison, across the barren divide west to the Uncompahgre, down that river to the Gunnison again, then over the Grand River (the main Colorado).

One day an entire Indian band appeared in a friendlier manner and, camping on a riverbank beside the caravan, hopefully awaited presents, shouting far into the night to their comrades on the other shore to swim across and join the party and tell their friends about it, too. The hardpressed Leroux found himself in the embarrassing position of having to spend the night sharing sleeping quarters with a native chief, one of whose fellow chiefs the scout had once killed in an altercation over a horse. But after much smoking and giving of presents the explorers eventually departed in peace.

From the Grand they made their way across a great barren artemisia plain covered with agate and other conglomerate rocks, relics of whole formations that, as Schiel pointed out, had almost vanished, "as it were, before our eyes." To the north were the colorful bands of the Book Cliffs. To the south, though none of the explorers noted it, were the fantastic eroded arches (now preserved as a national monument) that mark the entrance to the rugged country around the confluence of the Green and the Grand.

After passing the Green River the party made directly west up the broad sloping incline of the San Raphael Swell to the base of the Wasatch Mountains, which they could see dead ahead of them for several days. October 12 found them encamped near the entrance to Wasatch Pass, ready to cross over into the Great Basin. Captain Gunnison had thus far led his expedition successfully through some of the wildest and most difficult country in western North America, and they all had passed safely through the dangerous Ute country. Sometime after crossing the Grand River, Antoine Leroux had deemed them safe enough and himself turned back through Indian country for New Mexico and a rendezvous with Lieutenant Whipple and his thirty-fifth-parallel survey.

Meanwhile, as Gunnison's expedition was nearing its objective, FYemont's rival party, backed by eastern capitalists, was four months behind the Army topographers and following the same route. Because of his late start, however, Frémont found the Cochetopa Pass route considerably more difficult than had Gunnison. He followed the topographer's wagon ruts for a time, but deep snow soon obliterated the tracks, leaving the fate of the party up to the navigational skill of Frémont and his Delaware Indian guides. First the snow, then temperatures below 30 degrees, then starvation overtook them. It was 1848 all over again, and one night, somewhere near the Green River, Frémont made his men solemnly promise, no matter what the emergency, never to resort to cannibalism as had his previous company. Saved from despair and death only by Frémont's indomitable will, the party pushed on over the Wasatch Mountains to eventual safety at Parowan in southern Utah. One day short of safety, however, Oliver Fuller, the assistant topographer, quietly died of exposure and the effects of having frozen his legs and feet from the knees down. Solomon Carvalho, the photographer, a city man at heart, and F. W. von EglofFstein, the topographical artist, a portly gentleman who wasn't

much used to starvation, had had enough, and on March i, 1854, they arrived in Salt Lake City clad in rags, still hungry, and eager for civilized companionship. The Pathfinder's luck was down. Once again a Frémont expedition had ended ingloriously, if not tragically.

Gunnison, on the other hand, four months ahead on the trail and oblivious to Frémont's difficulties, was nearing the end of his labors, and he spent a week passing over the Wasatch Mountains in a painstaking approach to the valley of the Sevier River. Once across the mountains the party was in Mormon country and what could practically be considered civilization. However, when they visited Manti, near the great bend of the Sevier River, and found the entire population barricaded in their houses, fearful of an Indian attack, Gunnison learned of potential dangers from savages in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. From Manti he wrote to his wife: There is a war between the Mormons and the Indians and parties of less than a dozen do not dare to travel. Wc did not know what a risk we have lately been running until coming here for I have been riding carelessly in the mountains hunting roads ahead and other curious capers. ...

It was to be his last letter.

Upon his return to camp near Fillmore, Utah, Gunnison had reason to congratulate himself. He had located a new military road from Taos most of the way to the Great Salt Lake. He had laid out a new route for westbound emigrants that would enable them to start later in the season. He had plotted a military trail that led right into the heart of the Mormon stronghold. And finally, he had convincingly shown that the Cochetopa Pass route, while passable, was clearly inferior to the Stansbury route via the Medicine Bow River and the Laramie Plains farther to the north in present-day Wyoming —Senator Benton, John C. Frémont, and Edward Fitzgerald Bealc notwithstanding. But tasks remained, among them the exploration of the lower Sevier River for a suitable railroad crossing. Somehow he secured the services of two Mormon brothers, G. G. and William Potter, who consented to act as guides in an effort to find the best railroad pass over the mountains and down into the Great Basin.

Now on October 25, Gunnison, Kern, Creuzfeldt, Bellows, the Mormon William Potter, and a corporal's guard of seven men from the escort left the main party encamped on the upper river and headed downstream toward Sevier Lake. Lieutenant Beckwith was left in charge of the main camp. At eleven the following morning a scouting party he had just sent out of camp returned with a tattered and bloody dragoon from Gunnison's party who was so weak and exhausted that he was barely able to talk. He was the corporal in charge of the escort, and between gasps for breath he sobbed out his story. Less than five hours ago, just at dawn, Captain Gunnison and all his men had been massacred by an overwhelming force of Indians hidden along the Sevier River. As far as he knew, he alone had survived.

As it turned out, four men had survived. But the other accounts added little to the corporal's. After leaving the main camp Captain Gunnison's command had spent most of the twenty-fifth of October moving slowly down the valley. They had marched about eleven miles before making camp on the edge of the river near a willow grove. The arduous marches of the previous months were behind them, and officers and men alike refused to take the daily Indian signal fires seriously. Some of the party went out hunting along the river just before nightfall. And then they all retired after a good campfire meal. The next morning, just as they had begun to stir themselves, all hell broke loose. Shrieks and yells, showers of arrows, reports of guns, men screaming in terror, horses neighing wildly and breaking their picket ropes in a dash for freedom -- it was an Indian attack, or was it the Mormons? In any case it was doubtless every man for himself, with the losers left on the battlefield.

The rest of the story belongs to the attackers, young braves from Chief Kenosh's band of Sevier River Paiutes. On the afternoon of the twenty-fifth several young Paiute Indians were out hunting ducks when they heard the firing of the soldiers in the marshes along the river. Incensed at all white men for the recent murder of one of their chiefs, they followed the hunters back to camp, observed it, and then hurried to their own village, where, in a wild dance, they whipped up a war party to ambush the soldiers. About midnight they departed. There were about a score in all—Mishoquop, Sam, Pants, Tomwants, Jimmy Knights, Toady, Doctor Jacob, Nunkiboolits, Shipoke—their names absurdly incongruous with the mission they were set on performing.

When they reached the campsite, Mishoquop deployed his forces professionally. One group hid in the willows along the river to the south of the camp, others to the east. The rest stationed themselves behind a ridge to the north and somewhat back from the river. All three sides were covered in crossfire, and the river itself on the west offered little chance for escape. Then they waited.

At dawn the cook arose, raked up the fire, and began his breakfast chores. Professor Creuzfeldt stood, hands outstretched, warming himself by the fire. One by one the men began to stir. It was rapidly getting light. Captain Gunnison, who had left his tent to go to wash, had just moved past the door of his tent into the center of the camp when Mishoquop gave the signal to fire. At the first barrage the soldiers panicked. They ran in all directions, some without trousers, some without tunics, most without any thought of guns or resistance. The coolest ran for the horses, the rest just anywhere away from the enemy. One dragoon managed to mount his horse and start out of camp. At the flash of a gun his horse reared, and at the same instant the dragoon fell pierced with arrows. Another soldier vaulted onto the horse from a dead run and dashed away to safety. Whooping and howling as loudly in fright as the Indians did in triumph, the soldiers were shot down as thev ran or rode away from camp right into the Indians concealed

behind the ridge to the north. Creuzfeldt and Kern fell by the fire. With the first barrage Gunnison rushed forward to rally his command. He too went down, riddled with arrows. In all, three men died at the riverside and six on the plains beside the willow grove. Four managed to escape: two on horseback, one by hiding in the bushes after his horse threw him, and the fourth by swimming the river. In a few minutes it was all over, and the savages, full of triumphant revenge, swarmed onto the field to mutilate the dead explorers.

It was the only great disaster of the Pacific Railroad Surveys and would have a strong impact upon the people of the day. The leadership of the exploring party devolved upon Lieutenant Beckwith, who led what was left of the command on a sad march north to Salt Lake City and comparative civilization.

After a winter of recuperation at Salt Lake City, Beckwith's partytook to the field again in an effort to complete the task assigned to their thirty-eighth-parallel survey. In the early spring, even before the snows had melted, they explored eastward, searching for suitable railroad passes across the Wasatch Mountains and into the valley of the Green River, where Beckwith hoped to link up with Stansbury's route of 1850. ByApril 22 he and his men had completed their task, and a practicable central railroad route had been located from the Platte River as far west as the Mormon capital.

Upon receiving authorization from Washington, Beckwith determined to finish the central survey all the way across the Great Basin to California. On May 5, 1854, he led his surveyors out across the Basin, where for days they threaded their waythrough mountain passes and over the arid and dustv vallevs of what had once been a primeval lake bed, seeing no one except a few wretched Digger Indians who lived on rats and crickets and slept in crude stick huts called wickiups. When at last the surveyors reached the Sierra Nevada, on the far side of the Basin, they searched out a new railroad pass (Madelin Pass) and crossed over into California, linking the valley of the Mississippi with the Sacramento Valley on a great central route that ran north of the one that Senator Benton had proposed. In the light of their own hard-won experience, however, it was one that appeared to be far more useful. It offered few mountain obstacles. And it could take advantage of the already existing Mormon settlements for labor in constructing the road as well as for a ready-made market for some of the products that the road would carry.

The results of all the Pacific Survey expeditions had indeed been startling. Every commander of a field party—Stevens, Parke, Pope, Whippie, and Beckwith—reported the discovery of "the most practicable and economical railroad route to the Pacific Ocean." The tired Congress was right back where it had started. But for Davis there was no doubt: the southern route along the thirtysecond parallel was the best. It mattered little that Beckwith and the weary men of the Gunnison expedition had discovered what was perhaps a superior line or that the equally

intrepid Whipple had led his expedition upon what was plainly another practical line along the thirty-fifth parallel. Davis was sure he saw things more clearly than most people, and his subordinates in the topographical bureau backed him up. It was the southern course or none.

Congress would not agree, and the choice for now was none. No section, North, South, or West, could agree on a route, and no through railroad was completed until 1869, when the Golden Spike went down at Promontory, Utah. By then the victorious North had control of Congress and could put through lines wherever it chose.

The Pacific Railroad Surveys were, for a time, a seeming failure, but only for political reasons. Eventually, however, rails covered nearly all the routes, and run to this day. Meanwhile, the explorers had produced a monumental inventory of our unsettled empire beyond the Mississippi. Lieutenant G. K. Warren's overall survey map of 1857 was a landmark in American cartography. Jules Marcou and William Blake produced the first comprehensive geologic maps of the West, though the second man, Blake, sharply criticized the work of the first, behavior not unprecedented in the scholarly world. Back in Washington, Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution supervised a team of zoologists who published massive volumes on the birds, mammals, reptiles, and fishes of the West. Each of the surveys had a report on geology and botany. Two reports even included discussions of Indian ethnology. With their stilted formalities, the big, weighty volumes are still fascinating to read and pore over, illuminated by dramatic landscapes and splendid maps and offering the flash of humor and the thrill of danger and discovery.

Thus the West was first widely mapped, classified, catalogued, painted, described, and published for everyone to see. The price was a bargain. In the long run science and the generations to come were the ultimate beneficiaries, and Gunnison's name, like that of the other great Pacific Railroad explorers, lives on, appropriately affixed to those wonders of nature that he helped to discover and that he hoped to conquer for civilization.

[OSTA Conference presentation – 2016]

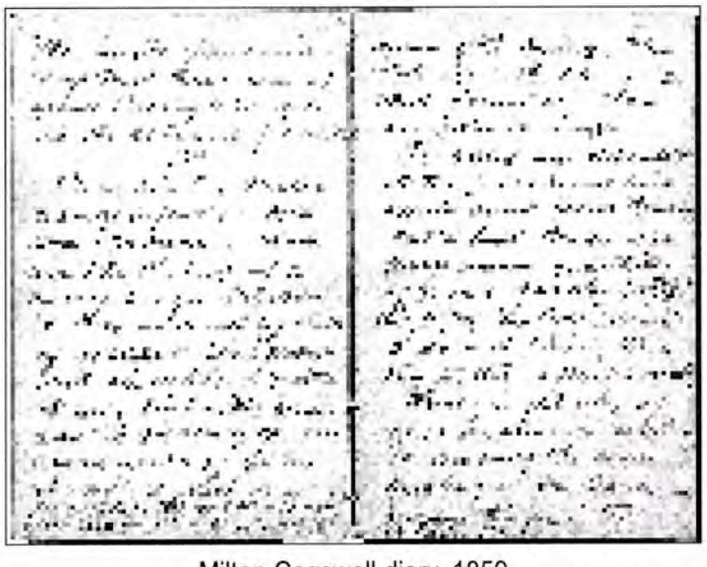
Crossing a Sandstone Wilderness on the Old Spanish Trail

By Steven K. Madsen

From the rim of Colorado's Sage Plain plateau the Old Spanish Trail dropped into a wildly contorted land, alive with color and harmonious features. It was a rugged, sinuous passageway and it ran nearly 100 miles north and northwestward across a sandstone wilderness – an immense corrugated region of southern and central Utah within the Colorado Plateau. The plateau derives its name from the mighty Colorado River that gathers its far-flung tributaries that cut this land, draining it to the Pacific Ocean. Its canyons, plateaus, mesas, and monoliths have been elaborately sculpted by erosion. And its deeply gouged interior created an impassable terrain for direct east-west travel.

This gashed and broken country forced travelers on the Old Spanish Trail to follow a great arch- shaped corridor, looping northward. Across this rough landscape, the intricate topography - as well as available water, forage and fuel - dictated the route.

For modern travelers of the OST, the contemporary eye witness accounts of New Mexican traders, Mormon settlers, government explorers, military surveyors, cattle drovers, and other overlanders during the trail days and post-trail years serve as guides.1 Their observations and maps, both published and manuscript, including those of the Macomb Expedition, provide useful information.



Milton Cogswell diary, 1859

The U. S. War Department in 1859 ordered topographical engineer Capt. John N. Macomb, Jr., to launch a military survey along the eastern leg of the OST from Santa Fe to the confluence of the Colorado and Green Rivers. Known as the San Juan, or Macomb, Expedition, one of its major objectives was to map the OST route – mile by mile. Accompanying the party, escorted by a military detachment of 40 infantrymen and one officer, was a physician-scientist, a civil engineer and three assistants, an Indian agent, and a group of Hispanic sheepherders and muleteers. (Entirely new to OST historians is the diary, now housed at the Princeton University Library, which was kept by the commander of the military escort, and the flowers collected by the expedition's scientist, presently located at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History.)

The scientist, Dr. John Strong Newberry, studied the region's geology, flora, fauna, and paleontology, and collected important specimens for the Smithsonian Institution.

Macomb's team crossed the gently sloping, southward-tilting Sage Plain, an undulating low plateau extending from Mesa Verde and the Dolores River to the Abajo Mountains in present southwest Colorado, on the Old Spanish Trail as it gradually ascended the plateau towards the northwestern rim.

Today this is the setting of a vast dry farming area, but for Macomb's explorers the lush grama grass of the



Symphyotrichum sp., near Piute Spring



Abajo Mountains



Plaintago patagonica Jacq., Piute Sp

Sage Plain provided abundant forage for their pack animals. And the Abajo Mountains, a prominent feature on the western skyline, offered a picturesque backdrop to their travel route. Several miles south of the Abajos, the jutting peaks of the La Sal (Salt) Mountains loomed on the horizon.

In this environment, some 270 miles from Santa Fe, New Mexico, Macomb crossed the present Utah-Colorado border near today's Ucolo, a community of farms 15 miles east of Monticello, which is nestled near the base of the Abajos. At Ucolo, the trail reached a spillway, or "Pour off" on Piute Draw identified as Juajoloté (salamander) by the Macomb expedition. Here the overflow from Piute Spring, upstream from the Pour-off, forms pools in a "canyon slimy with water-lizards," noted Charles H. Dimmock, the party's civil engineer.

Beyond Juajoloté, the trail continued up the draw to Piute Spring, an important waterhole on the OST two miles from the Colorado border. In post-trail days Piute Spring offered sufficient water for cattle drovers, military commands, pioneer farmers, and freighters as the American frontier moved to the area after 1876. Texas cowboys driving livestock over the OST to stock the ranges of eastern and southern Utah paused at the refreshing waters.

Here, the Carlisle Cattle Company established a headquarters in the 1870s. A military reconnaissance from Fort Lewis, Colorado, under Lieutenant E. H. Ruffner, stopped at "Ute" Spring on October 7, 1878.2 Another



At the Colorado-Utah line



The Pour-off



Old Spanish Trail at Piute Spr.

command from the same post was based here for a time in 1884. And in 1912 the area was homesteaded by H. U. Butt of Monticello.

Macomb's party followed the OST from Piute Spring to the periphery of the Sage Plain plateau - to reach South Canyon, a branch of East Canyon, which opens out into Dry Valley, a desert

basin drained by Hatch Wash. They descended South Canyon, dropping a thousand feet in about three miles to the floor of the brilliantly colored East Canyon, known in the trail days as Cañon Pintado.3

F. V. Hayden's monumental Atlas of Colorado, Sheet IX, shows the "Old Spanish Trail" running northwest-ward across the "Great Sage Plain," into Utah. The same Old Spanish Trail route is labeled "Trail to Canon Pintado" in F. V. Hayden's Ninth Annual Report.

In 1876, Wm. H. Holmes of the Hayden Survey, climbed Abajo Peak (elevation 11,360 feet), the highest point in the Abajo Mountains, and made a detailed panoramic sketch of the surrounding country to the north and east, including "Canon Pintado," "Casa Colorado," and other landmarks on the Old Spanish Trail. The panorama drawn by Holmes accurately shows

the region between the Great Sage Plain and the La Sal Mountains, and beyond. Using Holmes'panorama, it is easy to identify Canyon Pintado with today's East Canyon Wash as it is shown on modern topographic maps.

Allow us to backtrack to 1848 when Orville C. Pratt, from August 27 to October 25, followed B. Choteau's route of travel over the OST. He copied Choteau's 1848 log and description of travel and recorded place names, including: Cuesta, Puseitos (or Penutos), Tewaja, Coriste, Little Salt Cr., and Grand River.

Fortunately, Choteau gives us further details about the above place names. He notes that the "Cuesta" is "a long hill." When Orville Pratt passed down this canyon on September 13, 1848, he wrote that they descended "one of the longest & steepest mountains yet passed over. But we got down it with safety." Following the OST on August 17, 1859, the Macomb expedition "struck a side cañon [South Canyon] to the Cañon de las Pañitas." (Note the similarity with B. Choteau's "Penutos.") They described this side canyon as a "deep, precipitous chasm." They entered this "1000 ft. deep" canyon, which they "follow[ed] down 3 miles."4



Cañon de las Pañitas – Cañon Pintado

Within East Canyon they found the bones of a massive fossilized dinosaur encased in sandstone, "directly on the Old Spanish Trail," stated Dr. Newberry. (According to the Smithsonian Institution, they are the first sauropod



Tinaja at Casa Colorado

dinosaur bones found in the western hemisphere. The sauropod, a giant, long necked, long-tailed, plant eater from the Jurassic Period, may be the ancestor of all North American sauropods.) Newberry found the bones, dubbed Dystrophaeus viaemalae, embedded in a sandstone cliff near Macomb's Camp 26 – 250 feet above the canyon floor.

Newberry and his team, though handicapped by inadequate tools, feverishly extracted from the stone encasement 200 lbs. of the fossil bones, which Edward Cope later described and illustrated in the Wheeler Survey publications.

The original bone fossils, now in the Smithsonian Institution, were the first significant dinosaur fossils added to their collections. In 1987, Fran and Terby Barnes of Moab, Utah, rediscovered the site (dinosaur quarry) which has since been examined and excavated by Utah's paleontologists.

From the fossil quarry in East Canyon, members of the Macomb Expedition crossed the upper end of Dry Valley to reach La Tinaja (The Tank) and Casa Colorado (Red House).

In his descriptive notes of 1848, B. Choteau tells us that the Tewaja was "a rock hollow" with "water." We now know that Choteau's "Tewaja" is a corruption of the word "Tinaja," since the name appears in the 1859 Macomb expedition documents as "La Tinaja" as well as El Tenejal (The Place of the Tanks)

La Tinaja is an enormous pothole formed by erosion and surrounded by several other natural basins in the slickrock surface. Newberry noted that it was a water supply source in dry seasons and a "curious & important provision of nature." The men used leather kegs to gather the

water from the nearby sandstone basins.5

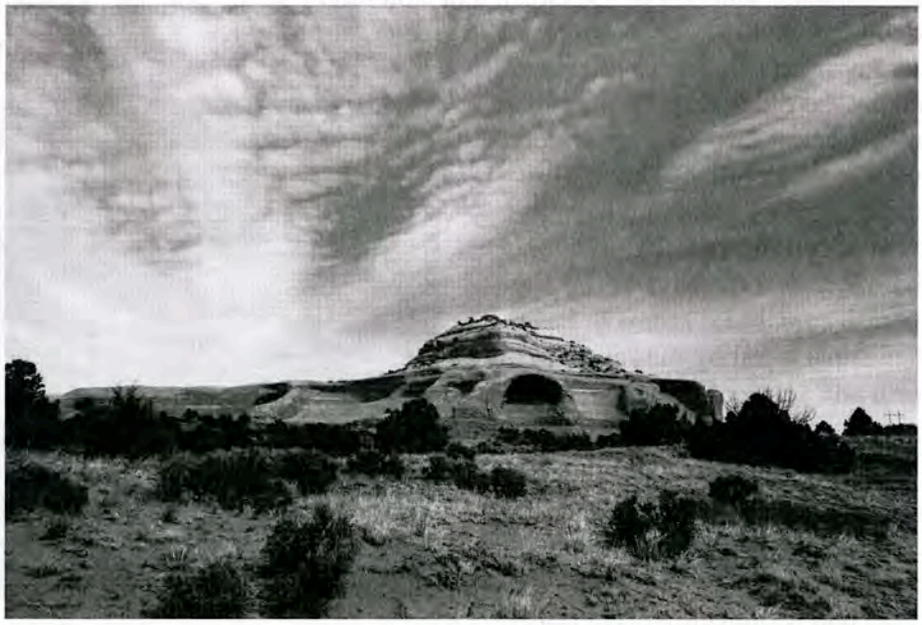
From these natural tanks, Macomb's men "walked to the top of an adjacent sandstone hill where we had an extensive but sterile view," Dimmock wrote. From Casa Colorado's elongated western arm, Macomb's explorers could observe the OST as it stretched west and north

towards the Colorado River near Utah's Moab. Looking southward they can see the trail that

brought the Macomb expedition to Casa Colorado Rock from the Great Sage Plain.

The deeply grooved alcoves cut into the southern face of Casa Colorado, a "detached butte" of sandstone more than 200-foot high rock monument, reminded passersby of the windows of a massive house. Although nineteenth century travelers seldom appreciated the natural allurements alongside the OST, Newberry described Casa Colorado as "one of the most striking [formations] seen from our route." He stopped here to sketch the "immense mass of sedimentary rocks," the scene depicted in a color lithograph in Macomb's final report.

According to one source, "the deep alcoves surrounding Casa Colorado were most likely caused by processes similar to those in the formation of many arches in



Casa Colorado



Casa Colorado promontory

Arches National Park 35 miles to the north."6

Macomb found this wild landscape repulsive, apparently because it lacked exploitable resources. He wrote: "I cannot conceive of a more worthless and impracticable region than the one we now found ourselves in."7

Macomb's civil assistants countered that the area's appearance "was so strange and beautiful as to call out exclamation and delight from our party." Newberry considered the landscape "the wildest and most fantastic scenery on the surface of the globe."

Descending an easy grade west of Casa Colorado for five miles, they diverged from the OST near the mouth of Hook and Ladder Gulch, in an area where infrequent storms replenish watering holes, shared by range cattle and coyotes. In the general vicinity of present U. S. Highway 191 and the Steen Road south of present Moab, Utah, they set out on their historic quest to find the legendary junction of the Green and Colorado rivers. About the OST, Macomb wrote: "The greater part of our journey from Abiquiu to this point was by the old Spanish trail, which has not heretofore been accurately laid down upon any map. This trail is much talked of as having been the route of commerce between California and Mexico in the days of the old Spanish rule, but it seems to have been superseded by the routes to the north and south of it, which have been opened to modern enterprise."

Beyond this point the area's topography helped mark the OST route, which pursued a northerly path along the former highway route between Moab and Monticello. It continued this course to Looking Glass Rock, about 10 miles from Casa Colorado. The perforated landform along the OST seems to jut up more than 100 feet from the valley floor.

In 1855, five men from the Elk Mountain Mission (Mormon fort) at Moab explored the region south to the San Juan River via the OST - the trail to "Santa Fee," as they called it - and referred to Looking Glass Rock as the "big rock with hole through it." In post-trail days the sandstone landmark served as a midday halting place for cattle drives heading north to the Denver & Rio Grande Western railhead at Thompson, Utah.

The approximate route of the OST from the vicinity of Hook and Ladder Gulch, via Looking Glass Rock, to the crossroads point at La Sal Junction is shown on the map of the "Territory and Military Department of Utah made under the Direction of Hon. J[ohn] B. Floyd, Sec. of War, by Capt. J. N. Macomb, Topl. Engrs., assisted by C. H. Dimm[o]ck, C. Engr. &c., 1860."8

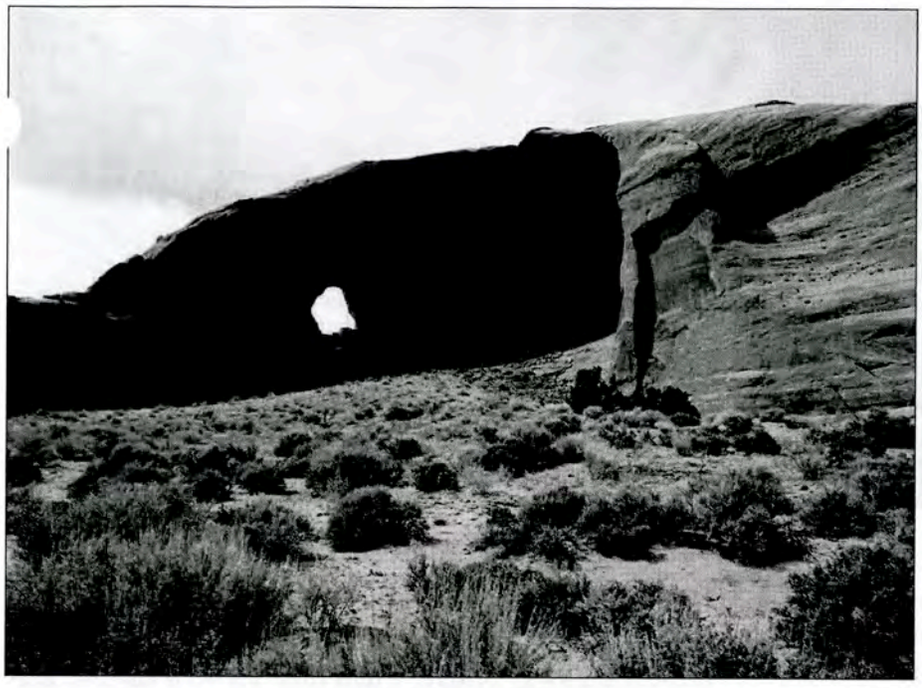
North of La Sal Junction, Mule Shoe Wash lies directly on the OST, on the route to Kane Springs. Here the trail took the shape of a large mule shoe as it sharply curved to cross the upper end of the narrow ravine. (Access to the OST ford is blocked by modern highway barriers.)

The Mule Shoe is clearly depicted on the "Route of Journey from Ute Springs [Piute Spring], Utah via Blue Mountain Region to Bluff City, Utah under Command of Lieut. Colonel N. W. Osborne, 6th Infantry, in the Month of September and October, 1885."9

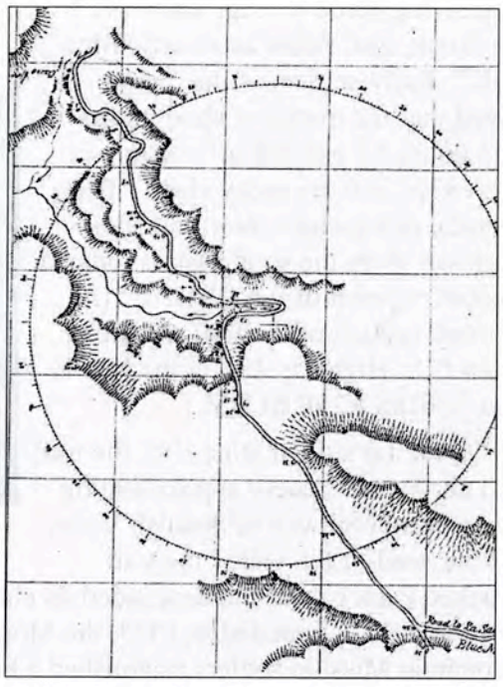
Beyond The Mule Shoe, OST riders reached a mas-



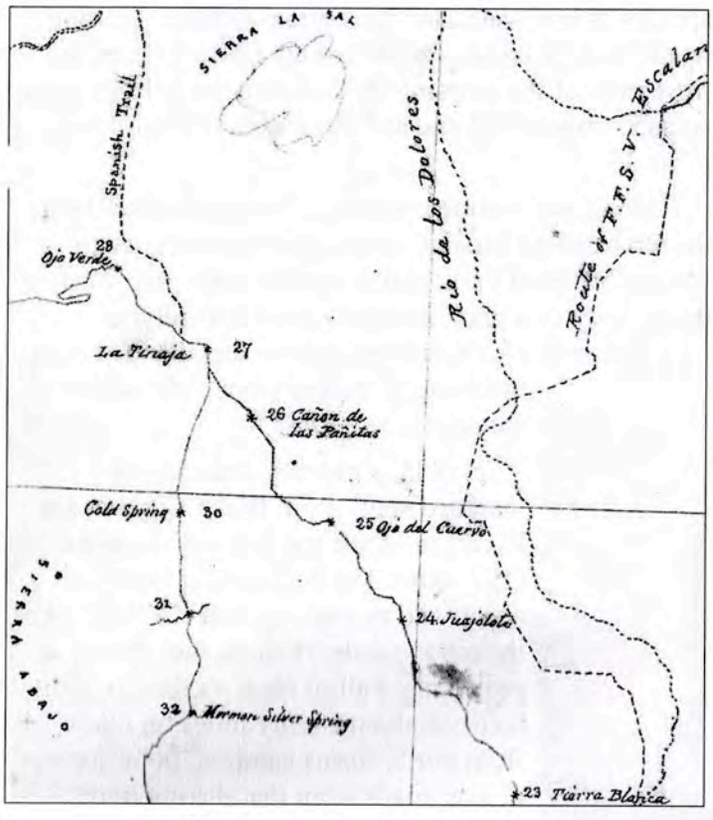
Casa Colorado promontory



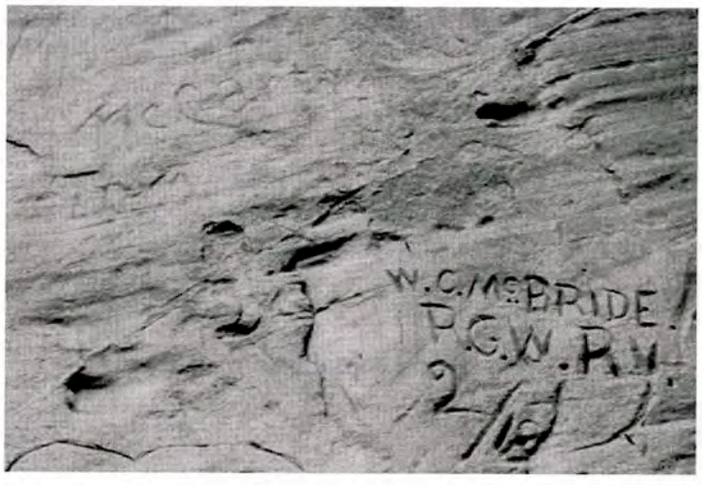
Looking Glass Rock



Osborne map of The Mule Shoe



Macomb manuscript map



Tom McCarty inscription

sive rock monument, jutting against today's U.S. Highway 191. In 1848, B. Choteau mentioned ıe "peculiar rock," named "St. Louis Rock" in 1855 by the Elk Mountain Mission scouting party. Known today as "Hole 'N the Rock," the rock formation is covered with commercial graffiti and the inscriptions of former passersby.

According to . Choteau the rock promontory – was near the site "Corisite." Trail diarist Orville C. Pratt called it "Corasito," probably a corruption of corridita, a Spanish diminutive of corrida meaning flow of water, or runoff. (The root word of Corasito may also be Carrizo, meaning reed grass; hence the diminutive "carrisito," or short reed grass.) The site served as a campsite for weary OST travelers and is now the Kane Springs highway rest area on U.S. Highway 191, about 16 miles south of Moab.

Leaving Kane Springs and Hole N the Rock, trail riders ascended "Blue Hill." Early settlers of the region noted that the marks of shod horses had gouged a path, clearly visible in the 1870s into the rocky slope. The historic path, which intersects the highway from the southeast, is today a visible remnant of the OST.10 (A pristine section of the trail is visible from U.S. Highway 191 in the NW ¼ sec. 1 T28S R22E SLBM.)



Old Spanish Trail - Blue Hill

On the far side of Blue Hill, the trail ran northward closely approximating the present highway to Spanish Valley. At the head of the valley the trail reached Pack Creek and descended its channel to present Moab.11 Founded in 1855, the Mormon Elk Mountain Mission settlers established a built a fort here, which was soon abandoned due to Indian depredations.12

Resettled in the 1870s, the city has become an important center of economic activity in the area, spurred by tourism.

Passing through Moab, early travelers reached the Colorado River - known as the Grand River in the trail days - three miles distant. This was an important river crossing in the OST period. Both trail diarists B. Choteau and Orville C. Pratt crossed the Colorado River here in 1848. Pratt

found it necessary to swim the animals across the river and raft the goods and equipment.



Mormon fort site - Moab

Trail riders crossed the river downstream from the present highway bridge, a half mile above a narrow, natural opening known as "The Portal." Here, the river is about two hundred fifty yards wide, but an island appears at low water and the bottom is firm. Fording would have been possible at lowest water. The northwest bank of the crossing lay between the tailings at the Atlas Uranium Mill site and the mouth of Courthouse Wash.13

Beyond the historic crossing of the Colorado River, the OST climbs Moab Canyon, past the entrance to Arches National Park, and ascends Courthouse Wash to the vicinity of a giant monolith known locally as Courthouse Rock. Water issues from the hillside below the rock, providing a bountiful supply of spring water.

In 1885, a military detachment marched south from Blake City (Green River) to Moab and beyond along the OST route. The commander issued a report and manuscript map.14 Page 10 of the report reads: "Courthouse Rocks, a projecting wall of rock, visible for a distance of about twenty miles on roads from north, forms camping point for travel over roads from that direction to Moab."

Beyond the watering source known as Upper Courthouse Spring the trail enters a drab desert landscape broken only by the serrated profile of the Roan and Book cliffs on the northern skyline. On entering the Green River Desert the OST passes



OST ford - Colorado River



Upper Courthouse Spring

along the northern base of the Blue Hills, five miles west of today's U.S. Highway 191.

At a low divide between Thompson Wash and Little Grande Wash, in the center of this parched terrain, the North Branch of the OST intersected the Main Route. Here, John W. Gunnison's railroad survey team in 1853 reached the main trail.15

Our journey ends in the desert near the base of the Book Cliffs – an irregular wall of Cretaceous cliffs xtending from the Green River area and beyond to Grand Jct. Colorado – on the well- trodden pathway of the OST's North Branch, now followed by U.S. Interstate 70.

James Schiel, a surgeon-geologist of the 1853 Gunnison Expedition following the OST's North Branch route, described a landscape with "no vegetation of any account" that covered the country: "For days before we struck the Green River, we travelled over a black, clayish, absolutely sterile soil, produced by the decaying mountains…," he wrote.16

Standing on the spot where the North Branch met the Main Route, the mysterious-looking outline of the San Rafael Reef and the castle-like profile of the eastern flank of the San Rafael Swell on the western skyline, drew trail riders towards the next leg of the OST and ultimately to its western terminus more than 700 miles distant.

ENDNOTES:

1. See C. Gregory Crampton and Steven K. Madsen, In Search of the Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles, 1827-1848. (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 1994)

2. B. S. Humphrey, Topographical Sketch of a Part of Western Colorado & Eastern Utah, Showing Route of

March [E. H. Ruffner Command, 1878]. MS. National Archives, Record Group No. 77.

3. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), plate XXXVII, "Map of South West Colorado with parts of Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona." (See also the "Old Spanish Trail" entering southeastern Utah on the U.S. Geological Survey Reconnaissance Map, Utah-Colo. Abajo Sheet, 1893, reprint ed. 1931.) See F. V. Hayden, Tenth Annual Report, 1878.

4. This matches the three-mile South Canyon route. The U.S. Army topographic map, "Cortez, Colorado; Utah 1956 (Rev. 1969) sheet," shows the elevation on the summit of the Sage Plain plateau at the head of South Canyon as 7000 feet. At the mouth of the canyon, where it intersects East Canyon Wash, the U.S.G.S. topographic map shows the elevation as 5978 feet. For



Desert near the Book Cliffs

travelers heading westward over the eastern leg of the Old Spanish Trail, the summit of the Sage Plain plateau, in a pinyon-juniper forest, was a high point along the route.

5. LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, Old Spanish Trail (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), pp. 366, 369.

6. Belinda C. Madsen, "The Geology of Casa Colorado Rock," 2015. Unpublished ms., in author's possession.

7. J. N. Macomb, Report of an Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado River of the West in 1859, with Geological Report by Prof. J. S. Newberry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876), See p. 75.

8. Manuscript map. Record Group 77, W81, Roll no. 4, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

9. Signed R. R. Stevens, 1st Lieut. 6th Infantry, Observer. (MS. Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.)

10. See Faun McConkie Tanner, The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah. (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1976), p. 40.

11. Traveling six more hours beyond the Corisite on September 25, 1848, Orville Pratt reached Salt Creek. The following day he rode some four additional hours to reach the Grand (Colorado) River north of today's Moab. According to Choteau's notes, the Little Salt Cr, Pratt's "Salt Creek," was 12 or 14 m[iles] from the Corisite. And from the Salt Creek to the Colorado River was another seven miles, according to Choteau.

12. C. S. Cecil Thomson, Moab freighting pioneer, in 1977 pointed out the Mormon fort site to OST historians Steven K. Madsen and C. Gregory Crampton. He stated: "The rock walls of the old Mormon fort were still standing when I was a boy...The foundation and part of the walls were still standing around the 1920s – near the Moab Truck Center." See Steven K. Madsen interview with C. S. Cecil Thomson, April 19, 1977. MS. Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

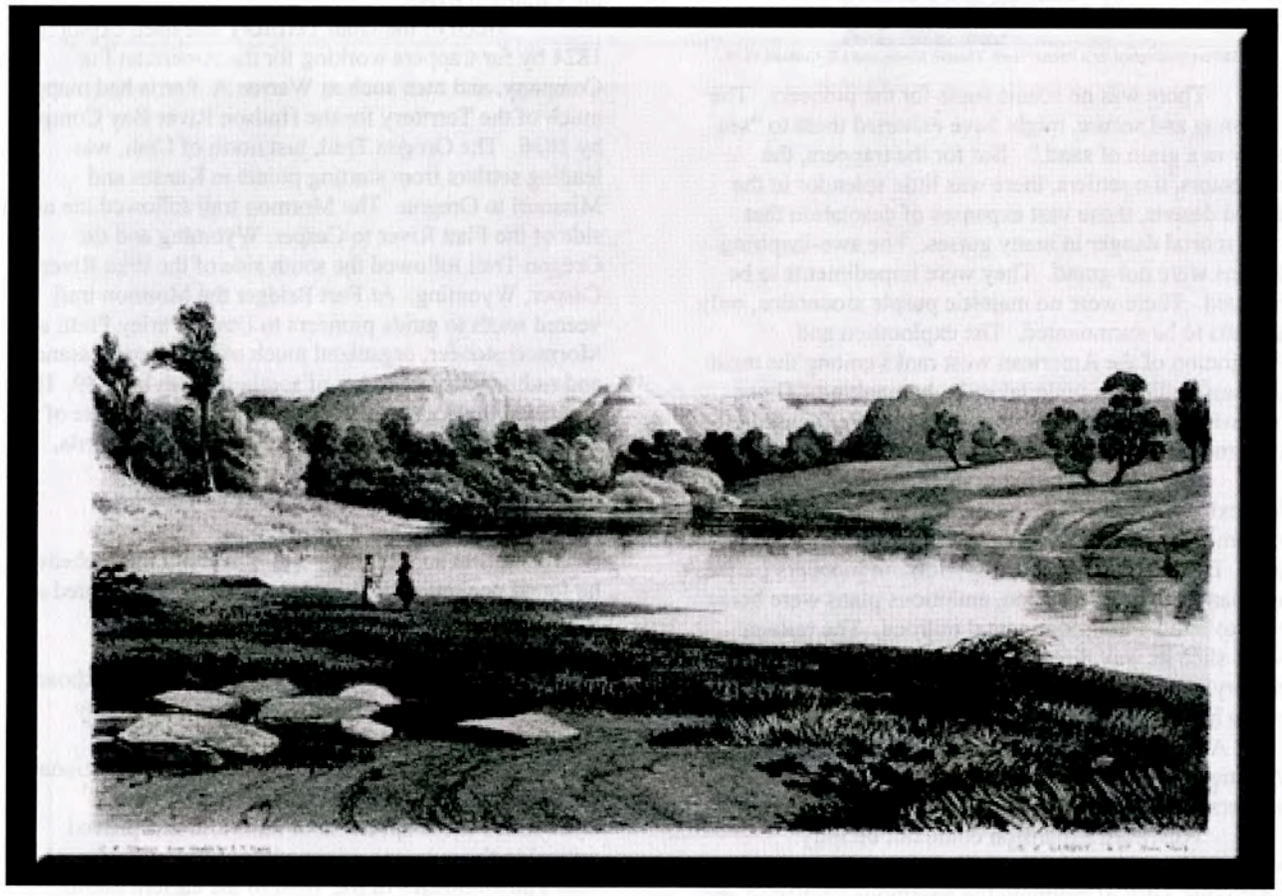
13. John N. Macomb's 1860 map of his expedition route shows the general route of the Old Spanish Trail running north and northwest of Moab. See "Map of Explorations and Surveys in New Mexico and Utah made under the Direction of the Hon. J. B. Floyd, Sec. of War, by Capt. J. N. Macomb, Topl. Engrs., assisted by C. H. Dimmick [sic], C. Engr. &c., 1860." Manuscript map. Record Group 77, W81, Roll no. 4, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

14. "Route of Journey from Ute Springs [Piute Spring], Utah via Blue Mountain Region to Bluff City, Utah under command of Lieut. Colonel N. W. Osborne, 6th Infantry, in the month of September and October, 1885." (Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.)

15. Data supplied by the expedition corroborates the historic path of the Old Spanish Trail to the Green River crossing. See E. G. Beckwith, "Report for a Route for a Pacific Railroad, by Cap. J. W. Gunnison, Topographical Engineers, near the 38th and 39th Parallels of Latitude, from the mouth of the Kansas River, Mo., to the Sevier Lake, in the Great Basin," in Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean . . . II (Washington, D.C.: A. O. P. Nicholson, Printer, 1855).

16. James Schiel, "Geological Report on the Country explored under the 38th and 41st Parallels of North Latitude in 1853-54": U. S. Pacific R.R. Expl., 33d Cong., 2d Sess., S. Doc. 78, pt. 2, 1855, p. 96-107.

Painting, Drawing and Photograhing the Old Spanish Trail



Thomas Moran and the Expeditionary Artists: (1848-1900)



John Hillers Photograph of a Paiute Youth Thomas Moran and J.E. Colburn 1873.

There was no scenic route for the pioneers. The poet, snug and secure, might have exhorted them to "see beauty in a grain of sand." But for the trappers, the prospectors, the settlers, there was little splendor in the painted deserts, those vast expanses of desolation that posed mortal danger in many guises. The awe-inspiring canyons were not grand. They were impediments to be traversed. There were no majestic purple mountains, only ramparts to be surmounted. The exploration and immigration of the American west ranks among the most daunting challenges undertaken by humankind. Those souls who accepted the perilous calling were focused on much more basic things than the slowly passing scenery.

And yet even as the first tentacles of civilization were extending westward, political, religious and economic forces were forging a vision of what was to come. Even as the first wave of Mormon pioneers pulled their handcarts towards Zion, ambitious plans were being made to build a transcontinental railroad. The railway would slice its way directly through the Utah territory. By the mid-1860s, roughly sixty-two thousand people had settled in what would become the state of Utah. After May 1869, the Transcontinental Railroad was bringing thousands more in a comfort and safety that the pioneers could never have imagined.

Westward expansion could not be fully exploited, however, without the backbreaking and meticulous work of mapping the enormous uncharted and nameless wilderness that comprised the West. Frontiersmen and trappers initially led the way finding the difficult mountain passes and river crossings used for those first settlements. But it was the intrepid, unflinching government survey crews that measured the topography, assayed the geology and rendered the maps and routes to the Pacific—many of those initial exploratory routes traversing the Utah Territory. At the forefront of these surveys were professional artists who also served as engineers, geologists, topographers and photographers.

Speculation abounds that as early as 1540 Spanish explorer Lopez e Cardenas came as far north as southern Utah, searching for the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola. Less speculative is the well documented exploration by the Spanish explorers and missionaries, Juan Maria de Rivera, Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante in 1776 through southern Utah. They ventured as far north as the Great Basin before they conceded that finding a route to California, with early winter storms descending upon them, was too difficult to complete. An alternate route through southern Utah was used and continued to be the primary route for succeeding explorers, especially those needing to ford of the Colorado River.

Much of the Utah Territory had been explored by 1824 by fur trappers working for the American Fur Company, and men such as Warren A. Ferris had mapped much of the Territory for the Hudson River Bay Company by 1836. The Oregon Trail, just north of Utah, was leading settlers from starting points in Kansas and Missouri to Oregon. The Mormon trail followed the north side of the Platt River to Casper, Wyoming and the Oregon Trail followed the south side of the Platt River to Casper, Wyoming. At Fort Bridger the Mormon trail veered south to guide pioneers to Utah.[3] Parley Pratt, a Mormon pioneer, organized much of the reconnaissance and rudimentary mapping of southern Utah by1849. He described the area around Zion as "A wide expanse of chaotic matter consisting of huge hills, sandy deserts, cheerless plains, perpendicular rocks, lying in inconceivable confusion. In short a country in ruins…turned inside out, upside down, by terrible convulsions in some former age."[4] Among the 'upheaval', he found pockets of rich land that could be cultivated and settled.

By 1848, significant exploration of the American Southwest was underway and many of those explorers were artists. Photography was extremely cumbersome and expensive for such far-reaching fieldwork and so, as one scholar noted, "A revolutionary phenomenon: the artist as explorer" was initiated.[5] Eyewitness to the spectacle of nature, artists proved critical to the outcome of expedition surveys, bringing the only known images of the West to the eastern public, private financiers and government officials.

No single act spurred scientific exploration of the West, and at the same time, artistic exploration of the southern part of the Utah Territory, more than Congress' authorization of the railroad survey bill on 3 March 1853.[6] By this time much of the southern Utah Territory had been crudely mapped by trappers and portions had even been settled by Mormon pioneers, but the difficult scientific work of detailed cartography, engineering and geology necessary to chart and plan possible railroad routes had just been signed into law.

The rush was on. The mandate, to find the cheapest, fastest and most reliable route to build the transcontinental railroad, was of such great consequence that six official expedition surveys were organized and sent west within months of the signing of the bill. One of the six official government expeditions was dispatched to the important 38th parallel, which traversed the Colorado Plateau through southern Utah. Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, handpicked Captain John W. Gunnison as commander to lead the 1853 survey as far as Utah. Gunnison had proven himself indispensable in the 1849 Stansbury exploration of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Davis, a strong advocate of the 35th parallel had ordered the Gunnison Survey "not to proceed to the Pacific, but to return from Utah..." Their mission was to quietly prove the 38th parallel impractical for rail transit.[7] Davis appointed other essential personnel including cartographers, engineers, botanists, astronomers, surveyors, geologists and photographers. Artist **Richard H. Kern** (1823-1863) came to the survey highly recommended for his work with earlier surveys.

Kern's first introduction to the west was with John C. Fremont's ill-fated fourth expedition in 1848, during which he narrowly escaped freezing and starving to death in the Rocky Mountains in southern Colorado. Kern's biographer, David Weber, noted that after the Fremont expedition, Kerns then "...visited Navajo country with James H. Simpson and crossed central Arizona with Lorenzo Sitgreaves, sketching deserts, basins, ranges, ruins, villages and peoples that no other artist had ever recorded. These activities put him in the vanguard of a small group of artists that gave Americans their first graphic images of the Far Southwest."[8] In 1853, Kern was commissioned to act as assistant engineer and artist for Gunnison's government survey of the 38th. Parallel.

By the time they reached central Utah winter was setting in and their work was largely behind them. Richard Kern, Captain Gunnison and a number of other men left the safety of the large group to explore sections of the Sevier River and Lake. In what has been called the worst massacre in expedition history, seven of the group was killed by local Pahvant Indians, including Gunnison and artist Richard Kern.[9] Theories of what provoked the massacre vary, but Kern biographer David Weber wrote:

> A group of California-bound emigrants had passed through the valley some weeks before and had indiscriminately killed some Pahvant Indians, a Ute people, who had come peaceably to trade. The Pahvants would want revenge. In the last letter Gunnison would write to his wife, penned at Manti on October 18, Gunnison reported: "There is a war between the Mormons and the Indians and parties of less than a dozen do not dare to travel...May the favor of Heaven attend us until the work is accomplished.10

James Snyder, Kern's assistant wrote of that day in a letter to his father:

> One of the men who escaped has just returned, and brought me a guard that was upon Mr. K's neck, this being the only thing the Indians left upon his person. The night before he left he told me, if he did not return, how to dispose of his books and other articles. His books and paints he wished me to give to his brother N., (now in the Arctic expedition) and his money to his sister. It seems as if every man who was along with him had a presentment of what was to happen. The morning Mr. Kern left he bid me 'good bye,' saying he should not see me again. A tear fell from his eye at the time. I cannot write more at present as my feelings are worked up to a high pitch.11

Two of Kern's Utah sketches survive as lithographs rendered by **John Mix Stanley** (1814-1872) a renowned engraver and well-known veteran of Western Surveys.12 There is reason to believe however that judging from a "...recently discovered field sketch by Richard [Kern], Stanley and the various other lithographers who produced the plates took considerable artistic license in creating picturesque scenes of the wild."[13] The first, *View of the Roan or Book Mountain, At the Spanish Trail Ford of the Green River* (1853, fig. 1.1), was sketched on the same day that Lt. E. G. Beckwith wrote in his journal, "Desolate as is the country over which we have passed and around us, the view is still one of the most beautiful and pleasing I remember to have seen."[14] Kern sketched another work on October 1st titled, *Rock Hills between Green and White Rivers* (1853, fig. 1.2) reported to be "...the last sketch to be adapted to the *Pacific Railroad Reports*."[15] This work shows more desert flora; a prickly pear cactus and yucca plant can be seen in the foreground. The forested river bottom rendered at the ford of the Green River has given way to the desert in the later work.

That same year two unsanctioned expeditions were initiated under the powerful personality of Thomas Hart Benton, former thirty-year Senator of Missouri, to explore the same 38th parallel route that would cut a wide swath across Utah.[16] St. Louis, a natural terminus with its north-south waterway, would act as an enormously profitable hub for all westbound travel to the Pacific. Having already earned the moniker of the "Cross Roads of the West," a departure point for overland wagon trail routes, Benton wanted St. Louis to be a departure point for the railroad trains as well. He persuaded "Edward Fitzgerald Beale, who had just been named superintendent of Indian affairs for California, to proceed to his new post by way of the 38th parallel route."[17]

The Beale-Heap expedition left Washington D.C. on April 20, 1853 with Gwinn Harris Heap (1817-1887),

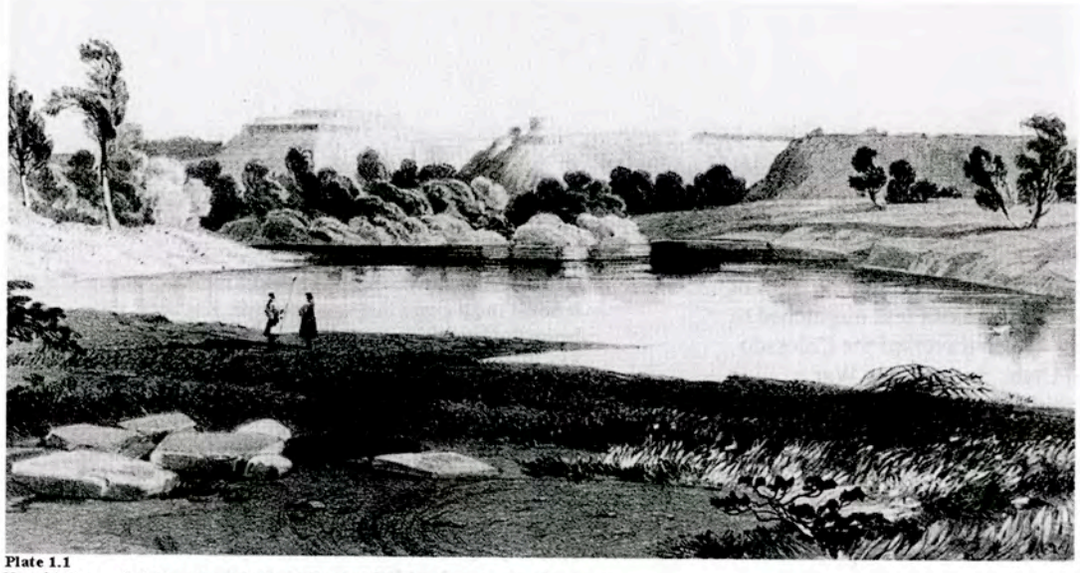


Plate 1.1
View of the Roan or Book Mountains, at the Spanish Trail Ford of the Green River, October 1 (sketch, 1853)
Lithograph by JOHN MIX STANLEY, based on a sketch by RICHARD H. KERN,
Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Made under the Direction of the Secretary of War, in 1853–56.
Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.



Plate 1.2
Rock Hills Between Green and White Rivers (sketch, 1853)
Lithograph by JOHN MIX STANLEY, based on a sketch by RICHARD H. KERN,
Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Made under the Direction of the Secretary of War, in 1853–56.



Plate 1.3
Rafting Across the Grand River (sketch, c. 1853) Lithograph by P. S. Duval & Co. Lithographers, Philadelphia, based on a sketch by GWINN HARRIS HEAP,
Central Route to the Pacific, from the Valley of the Mississippi to California: Journal of the Expedition of E. F. Beale,
Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California and Gwinn Harris Heap, from Missouri to California in 1853. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co., 1854.
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah

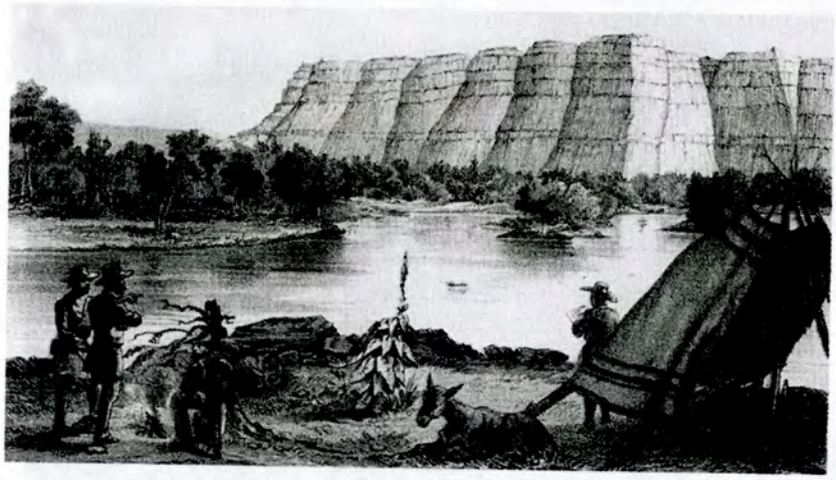


PLATE 1.4

View of the Green River (sketch, c. 1853)
Lithograph by P. S. Duval & Co. Lithographers, Philadelphia,
based on a sketch by GWINN HARRIS HEAP,
Central Route to the Pacific, from the Valley of the Mississippi to California: Journal of the Expedition of E. F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California and Gwinn Harris Heap, from Missouri to California in 1853.
Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co., 1854.
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah

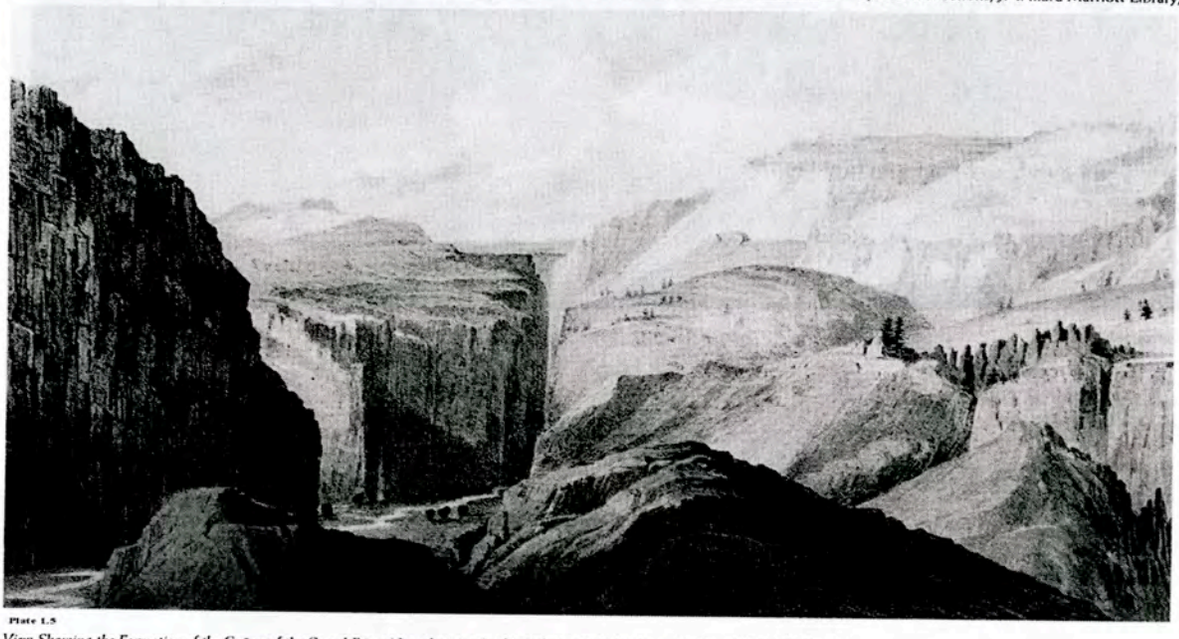


Plate 1.5
View Showing the Formation of the Cañon of the Grand River Near the Mouth of Lakefork with Indications of a Formidable Side Canyon
Lithograph by JOHN MIX STANLEY, based on a sketch by FREDERICK W. VON EGLOFFSTEIN
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Plate 1.6

Natural Obelisks
Steel engraving from the prospectus for John Charles Frémont's *Memoirs of My Life*,
based on a daguerreotype by SOLOMON NUNES CARVALHO
Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California RB 334663

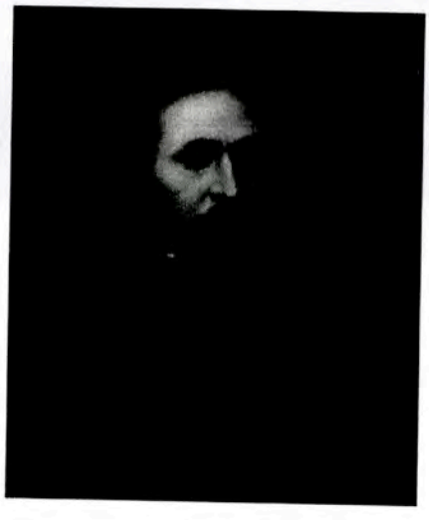


Plate 1.8
SOLOMON NUNES CARVALHO
John C. Frémont
1864, oil on board, 14 x 12 inches
Courtesy of Anthony's Fine Art and Antiques



Plate 1.7
SOLOMON NUNES CARVALHO
Grand River
1875, oil on canvas, 20 x 30 inches
Collection of the Oakland Museum of California
The Oakland Museum Kahn Collection



Plate 1.9
HENRY STEINEGGER
Mountain Meadows
1877, chromolithograph, 18 x 24 inches
San Francisco: Pacific Art Company
Courtesy of Ken Sanders Rare Books

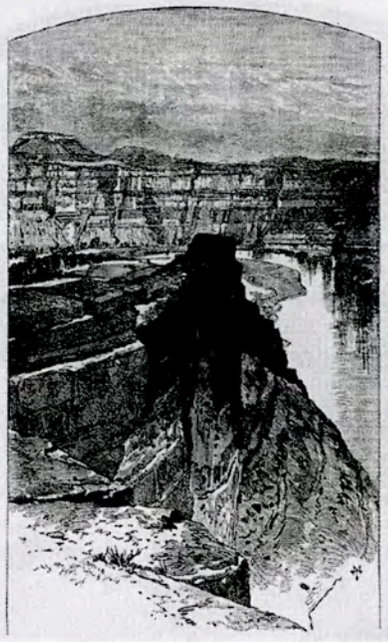


FIGURE 1.2

Sumner's Amphitheater

Lithograph of a THOMAS MORAN sketch, based on an E. O. BEAMAN photograph,
John Wesley Powell's Survey Report: *Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries.*
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah

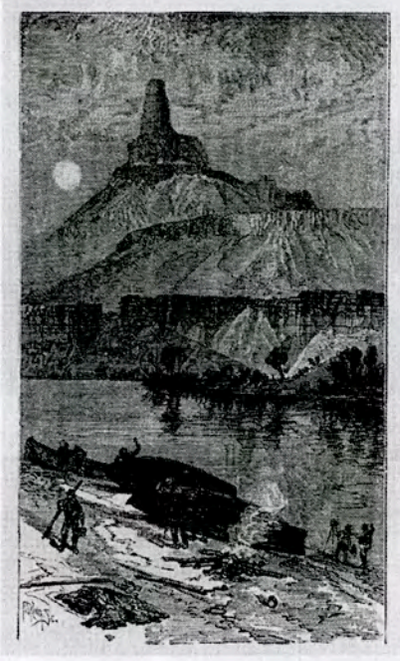


FIGURE 1.3

Gunnison's Butte at the Foot of Gray Cañon

Lithograph by F. S. KING of a possible THOMAS MORAN sketch,
based on an E. O. BEAMAN photograph,
John Wesley Powell's Survey Report: *Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries.*
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah

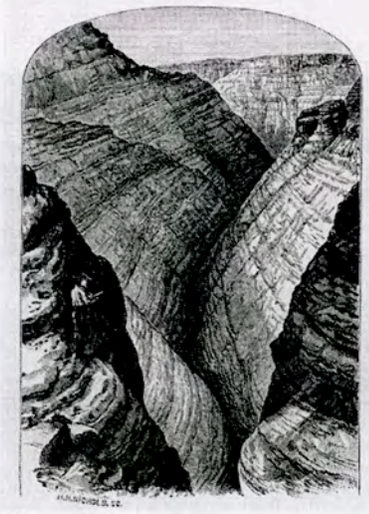


Figure 1.9

Cañon in Escalanti Basin

Lithograph by H. H. NICHOLS, based on a JOHN HILLERS photograph,
John Wesley Powell's Survey Report: *Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries.*
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah



Plate 1.10

Crossing of the Colorado River Near Mouth of Paria Creek

Lithograph from a sketch by GILBERT THOMPSON while on the Wheeler Survey, c. 1873.
Courtesy of David Rumsey Map Collection

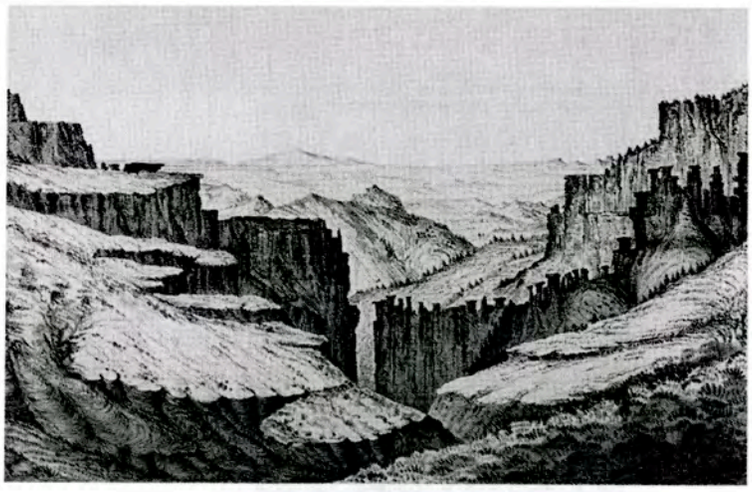


PLATE 1.11

Headwaters, Paria Creek From the Rim of the Basin, Southern Utah
Lithograph from a sketch by an Unknown Artist while on the Wheeler Survey, c. 1872.
Courtesy of David Rumsey Map Collection



PLATE 1.12

El Vado de Los Padres, Colorado River [Crossing of the Fathers]
Lithograph from a sketch by JOHN E. WEYSS while on the Wheeler Survey, c. 1872.
Courtesy of David Rumsey Map Collection



Plate 1.14

JOHN HILLERS photograph, 1873: (seated lower left) JOHN WESLEY POWELL, possibly their guide, FRANK, CHIEF OF THE PAH UTES, J. E. COLBURN, unknown man, THOMAS MORAN (to the far right seated with top hat), one of the men standing may be cartographer ALMON HARRIS THOMPSON. Other men are unknown.
Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives
Smithsonian Institution (gn 56331)



THOMAS MORAN
Colburn's Battle, S. Utah 1873
1873, watercolor and gouache, 14 x 9½ inches
From the Collection of David and Laura Gaez, New York

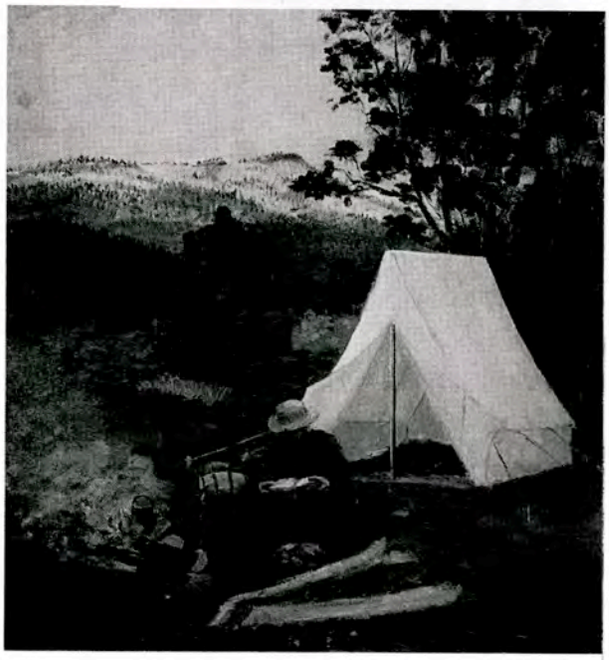


PLATE 1.13

FREDERIC DELLENBAUGH
Thought to be cartographer Almon Harris Thompson
1875, oil on board, 18 x 16 inches
Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society

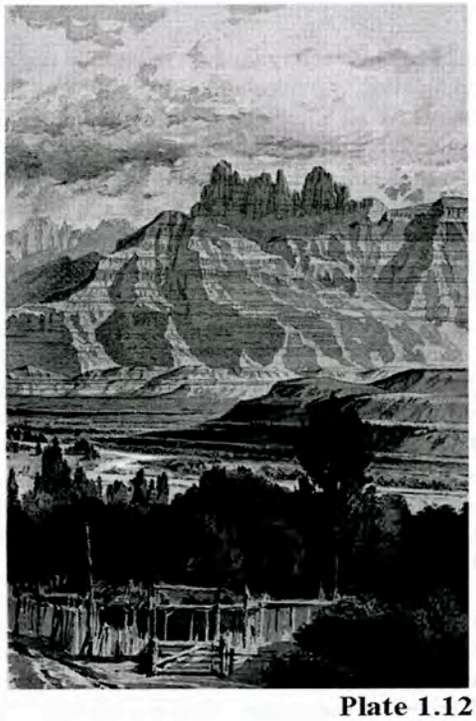


Plate 1.12

WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES

Smithsonian Butte—Valley of the Virgen [sic]

Chromolithograph based on a sketch for
Clarence Edward Dutton's
The Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District,
delivered in 1881.
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library,
University of Utah



Plate 1.11

Pink Cliffs—Eocene—Paunsagunt

Lithograph based possibly on a JOHN HILLERS photograph,
for Clarence Edward Dutton's *The Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District,* delivered in 1881.
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah



Land of the Standing Rocks

Lithograph based on a field sketch by WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES,
for Clarence Edward Dutton's *The Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District,* delivered in 1881.
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah



Jurassic Terrace—The Colob

An H. H. NICHOLS or THOMAS MORAN lithograph,
based on a sketch probably by THOMAS MORAN,
for Clarence Edward Dutton's *The Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District,* delivered in 1881.
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah

Beale's cousin, acting as journalist and artist for the small expedition. The Heap-Beale party left the east coast quite early in the season for a transcontinental crossing, which seems to have aided their unobstructed passage to California. Thirteen images from this relatively unknown artist survived the 1853 expedition and were produced in a book that he wrote about the trek in 1854, titled *Central Route to the Pacific*. His primitive style suggests that he may have been self- taught; however, his naive scenes are recognizable and act as important historic documents. Among the Utah images are: *Crossing the Grand River* (plate 1.1) and *View of the Green River* (fig. 1.3). The seemingly peaceful scene of the raft drifting across the river in *Crossing the Grand* belies the treacherous crossing that took days of planning and merited a lengthy description in Heap's journal.

In *View of the Green River* Heap depicts a more leisurely scene. Men are talking around a campfire, a burro is resting and Heap may have included himself to the right sketching a scene. The image is more naïve than the more finished work by Kern of the same view. Heap wrote in his journal: "Green River was broader and deeper than [the] Grand River…, but its current was neither so rapid nor so turbulent. The scenery on its banks was grand and solemn…"[18] With the exception of the Grand River crossing, their journey seemed to proceed without incident, strengthening Benton's justification for a 38th parallel route to the Pacific.

The second unofficial group to depart that year, also under orders to explore the 38th parallel, and again under Thomas Hart Benton's direction and financial influence, was John C. Fremont's fifth expedition across the Rocky Mountains. Fremont, a full fledged American folk hero by then, had led four previous expeditions earning him the moniker 'The American Pathfinder'. His 1843 expedition to northern Utah had been a notable success, as his survey group mapped much of the area. Fremont observed that the Great Basin with its habitable environment, fresh water and good soil would be an ideal location for future settlement; a finding that reportedly influenced Brigham Young's decision to relocate the Mormon Church. On Fremont's return trip in 1843 he chose a southern route that traversed southern Utah on the old Spanish Trail via the Mountain Meadows and the Dominguez-Escalante/Jedidiah Smith routes.

Because of his early success and notoriety, Benton hired Fremont to establish a survey route along the 38th parallel.[19] The German artist Baron **Frederick. W. Von Egloffstein** (1824-1898)[20] was assigned to act as the survey cartographer and **Solomon Nune Carvalho** (1815-1897) was appointed as official expedition photographer. Bertram W. Korn wrote that "Fremont was always eager to experiment with new methods, new scientific techniques. He, therefore, decided that the time had come to take along, not only an artist who would sketch geographical sites, but also a photographer, who would be able to capture and make visually real the vistas along the way."[21] Skilled with daguerreotypes, Carvalho was hired for his adroitness with the process and for his expertise in handling special chemicals that would withstand the obstacles of extreme cold and dampness.[22]

Of the three major expeditions to explore the southern section of the Utah Territory in 1853, with a total of four gifted artists (Richard Kern, Frederick W. Von Egloffstein, Solomon Nunes Carvalho and Gwinn Harris Heap), only a handful of images have survived.

Privately funded, the Fremont party did not reach the Continental Divide until December 14th, roughly three months after the Beale-Heap party had crossed it. Fremont and his group of men deliberately marched into the dead of winter over the rugged Rocky Mountains and the high plateaus of eastern Utah. Their nearly fatal assignment had been to ascertain winter conditions for train travel along this route.

Solomon Nune Carvalho's journal, kept against Fremont's orders, recounts their horrific struggle to stay alive once they reached Utah. He describes, for example, how the group had to eat the hides and hooves of their pack mules for sustenance. So dire were their circumstances that Fremont gave orders to shoot, on the spot, any man attempting cannibalism. Shortly before their rescue, one man died in the saddle of his horse, and Carvalho, near death himself recalled: "I felt myself gradually breaking up. The nearer I approached the settlement, the less energy I had at my command; and I felt so totally incapable of continuing, that I told Co. Fremont, half an hour before we reached Parowan, that he would have to leave me there…"[23] Carvalho had lost over a third of his body weight, weighing only 107 pounds. His journal continued:

> I was mistaken for an Indian by the people of Parowan. My hair was long, and had not known a comb for a month; my face was unwashed, and grounded in with the collected dirt of a similar period. Emaciated to a degree, my eyes sunken, and clothes all torn into tatters from hunting our animals through the brush. My hands were in a dreadful state; my fingers were frost-bitten, and split at every joint; and suffering at the same time from diarrhoea, [sic] and symptoms of scurvy which broke out on me…24

In such an emaciated state, it was impossible for Carvalho to continue the trip to California with Fremont. He needed to convalesce and was nursed back to health by local Mormon residents in the little outpost of Parowan, Utah, for nearly a month before he was strong enough to travel on to Salt Lake City.

Carvalho gives little indication in his journal of any work with daguerreotypes or sketching during the brutal trek through the Utah Territory, but a letter from Fremont to his "wife Jessie, and father-in-law, Thomas Hart Benton [explains that] 'until within about a hundred

miles of this place [Parowan] we had daguerreotyped the country over which we passed, but were forced to abandon all our heavy baggage to save the men…'"[25] Fremont, of necessity, kept the navigation equipment and for posterity he retained possession of the roughly three hundred daguerreotypes that Carvalho had rendered. The daguerreotypes of this expedition are by all accounts recognized as the first photographically documented images taken on any exploring expedition of the Western Territories.[26]

There are no known sketches of Utah territory by Carvalho during the doomed winter months of the 1853-54 expedition. There is one extant sketch from Egloffstein, thought to have been from this trip, *View Showing the Formation of the Cañon of the Grand River Near the Mouth of Lakefork* [sic] *with Indications of a Formidable Side Canyon,* (fig. 1.4).[27]

Jessie Fremont wrote that "almost all the plates were beautifully clear" and John Fremont wrote that many were "admirable."[28] All of the Carvalho sketches, plates and "the prints and copies, …were irretrievably lost in a warehouse fire, together with Fremont's notes on the trip."[29] Only one daguerreotype and roughly thirty-four steel engravings survived for use in Fremont's *Memoirs*, "twenty of them [are] landscapes."[30] The lithographers take artistic license when translating the image in the photograph to the steel plate--sometimes altering the image or the intent of the photographer significantly.

Of Utah's Red Rock area, at least two steel engravings, rendered from Carvahlo's daguerreotypes, are extant: *Colorado Valley*[31] and *Natural Obelisks* (fig. 1.5). The latter was taken on 23 or 24 January 1854 in what is now Capitol Reef National Park. The lithograph depicts the engravers flare for dramatic composition; the furious black cloud and the men building camp while fighting a freezing wind. The obelisks stand as an impediment or a portal depending on one's reading of their plight.

During Carvalho's recuperation in Salt Lake City, he painted portraits of numerous important personages to earn his fare home.[32] His return trip took him once again through the southern Utah wilderness, this time in a wagon train with Governor Brigham Young as his escort. Young had planned to hold peace talks with Chief Wakara, in response to the killing of Gunnison and his men. After initial meetings in Nephi, Carvalho, Young, Chief Wakara and others then traveled to the Parvain camp near Filmore where they would continue talks with the famous Chief Kanoshe.[33]

Carvalho wrote that he found the legendary Kanoshe "…well armed with a rifle and pistols, and mounted on a noble horse. He has a Roman nose, with fine, intelligent cast of countenance, and his thick black hair brushed off his forehead, contrary to the usual custom of his tribe. He immediately consented to my request that he should sit for his portrait; and on the spot, after an hour's labor, I produced a strong likeness of him."[34] On May 14th Carvalho recorded that he sketched the surrounding countryside near Filmore and four days later he spent the day sketching in Cedar City, before traveling further south.

For all of the courage and talent of this important artist there is only one known extant oil painting of a scene from Utah's Red Rock Country, *Grand River* [Colorado River] (1875, plate 1.2). In a compelling recreation of Carvalho's trek and of his photography, Robert Shlaer theorizes that "…insofar as the painting bears a resemblance to anything along the Colorado or Grand Rivers which Carvalho might have seen, it is to the cliffs in the vicinity of Dewey [where there is] a bend in the river, some high formations, and red, castellated cliffs…He apparently made sketches here, then after his own fashion later assembled the elements into a composition to his liking."[35]

In 1862 Carvalho entered an oil painting in the National Academy of Design exhibit in New York City titled "Moonlight on the Rio Virgin," most likely a depiction from a sketch he made during this trip.[36] The painting, now lost, would have been the earliest image of the Zion/Virgin area of Utah.

Nearly as important as a rail route to the Pacific was a navigable waterway to the Pacific. In 1857, First Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives of the Corps of Topographical Engineers and his survey crew including two German artists Baron F. W. von Egloffstein and **Heinrich Balduin Mollhausen** (1825-1905), both well acquainted with the west, were commissioned to chart the Colorado river as a possible water way by going up stream in a fifty foot long iron steam powered boat. In little time, however, it was evident that the river would afford no such access. Having reached Black Canyon on March 12th, 1857, Ives reported in his journal, "I now determined not to try to ascend the Colorado further…Rapids had occurred in such quick succession as to make navigation almost impossible." They continued on land to chart the waterway as far-east as the mouth of the Virgin River.

About this time building tensions between the Mormons and the Federal Government escalated when a military offensive, known as the Utah War, was launched by U.S. President James Buchanan to the, supposedly, rebellious Utah Territory. Not aware of the developing crisis, an Arkansas emigrant company, the Fancher-Baker party, proceeded on the southern route to California. War hysteria was at fever pitch in Cedar City and the group was seen as an enemy by local Mormon and Indian inhabitants.

Events spiraled out of control and they attacked and killed about one-hundred-and-twenty men, women and children at a place south of Cedar City called Meadow Meadows (1877, plate 1.3). This lithograph was produced in the same year as the execution of John D. Lee, who was the only person ever convicted of the

atrocities that occurred at Mountain Meadows.[37] Because of the horrendous massacre and the Utah War and because of the diversion of resources to the Civil War, interest in southern Utah exploration waned until 1866.

Clarence King, Director of the U.S. Geological Survey, was relieved and buoyed to finally announce that "Eighteen sixty-seven marks, in the history of national geological work, a turning point, when science ceased to be dragged in the dust of rapid exploration and took a commanding position in the professional work of the country."[38] The frantic search for a railroad route to the Pacific was over. In two years the Atlantic and Pacific coasts would be connected by a far-reaching stretch of rail line that would be connected by a golden spike on May 10th at Promontory Point, Utah.

The completion of the railroad liberated significant funding for more scientifically based expeditions involving geology, botany, anthropology and hydrology, since it provided both more immediate access to the heart of the west and more secure transportation for delicate instruments and provisions for longer treks. By 1871 four significant surveys of the West had been funded by Government: the Powell, King, Haden, and Wheeler Surveys.

Among the first, however, to take advantage of the quick rail passage was John Wesely Powell's privately funded 1869 survey.[39] Two weeks after the celebration at Promontory Point, Powell and his crew of nine launched four boats into the Green River at Green River, Wyoming. The group embarked on one of the most harrowing adventures in exploration history; to explore the Green and Colorado Rivers. Their epic and breathtaking journey took them through the rough and unimaginable canyonlands of Utah, the Grand Canyon in Arizona and ended at the mouth of the Virgin River.

There were no artists or photographers employed on this image laden voyage. Journal entries indicate that Seneca Howell and Frank Goodman did some sketching in the area of Brown's Hole, and at Island Park, and fellow adventurers, Rhodes, Dunn, Hawkins, Goodman and Howland were all sketching on the trip.[40] Another member of the group, George Young Bradley, reported that "My boat was sunk while being lowered over the rapid this morning and all my books and papers soaked with water, and I fear both my albums and most of my photographs and tintypes spoiled,"[41] but there is no other indication that he had photographic equipment with him.

The expedition was insufficiently funded from the beginning. Their allowance did not allow for the organization of sufficient food drops let alone data gathering or photography equipment. A more treacherous trip than originally conceived, the expedition encountered moments of the sublime as well as terror and hardship.[42] Bradly reported early in the trip that, "A terrible gale of dry hot wind swept our camp and roared through the cañon mingling its sound with the hollow roar of the cataract making music fit for the infernal regions. We needed only a few flashes of lightning to meet Milton's most vivid conceptions of Hell."[43]

Without the possibility of images to take back to the Smithsonian, Powell was obligated to use descriptive, poetic, geologic narrative to describe the inconceivable. At the confluence of the Grand and the Green River, for example, he wrote:

> When speaking of these rocks, we must not conceive of piles of boulders, or heaps of fragments, but a whole land of naked rock, with giant forms carved on it; cathedral-shaped buttes, towering hundreds or thousands of feet; cliffs that cannot be scaled, and canyon walls that shrink the river into insignificance, with vast, hollow domes, and tall pinnacles, and shafts set on the verge overhead, and all highly colored—buff, gray, red, brown, and chocolate; never lichened; never moss-lined; but bare, and often polished.[44]

Wallace Stegner suggested that Powell's report of "the [first] exploration [was]'probably the finest narrative of exploration in all of American literature,'"[45] and F.S. Dellenbaugh described the journal as "word painting of natural scenery."[46]

The Second Powel Expedition (1871-1872) was sanctioned and funded by Congress for $10,000. The only stipulation being that they give a full account of the trip to the Smithsonian Institution. Powell arranged for ample food drops and a fully equipped survey crew. He handpicked his crew from among many willing applicants hoping to participate in the adventure of a lifetime. The survey was allotted two years time to explore the Colorado River, its tributaries and the surrounding plateau. The boats launched, once again, from Green River, Wyoming in May 1871.

Among the eleven original crew members were, **E.O. Beaman** (dates unknown), from New York, enlisted as the official photographer, and **John (Jack) Hillers** (1843-1925), whom Powell had met by coincidence in Salt Lake City and signed on to "pull an oar," as another crew member recalled. **Francis Marion Bishop** (1843-1933), a student of Powell's at Illinois Wesleyan, was signed on as topographer and created truly beautiful maps.[47] The youngest member of the expedition, **Frederick S. Dellenbaugh** (1853-1935), from Buffalo, New York signed on for the trip at age seventeen. He wrote in his journal, "it was my duty to make any sketch that geologists might want,"[48] and later in the expedition he worked in topography.[49]

E. O. Beaman's photography equipment, weighing roughly a thousand pounds, included a large camera, portable dark room, tripods and large, very fragile glass plates used to make photo negatives with the colodium wet-plate method. The oarsman, Jack Hillers, recently discharged from the U.S. Army as a sergeant, was interested in Beaman's work and soon acted as his unofficial assistant. Beaman's historic photographs were

to become the first images ever taken of the Green and upper Colorado River. Initially viewed by audiences in the east as lithographs, the images had a different appearance to viewers because they were translated from photographs rather than sketches that had been used up to this point.

Powell had intended the photographs to "provide illustrations for his printed reports. As the technique of halftone printing had not yet come into use, he employed a number of artists, in the east, including Thomas Moran (1837-1926), H.H. Nichols (1816-1887), and F.S. King (dates unknown),"[50] to translate the photographs into lithographs that are most well known today. The lithographs *Sumner's Amphitheater* (fig. 1.6) and of the romanticized *Gunnison's Butte* (fig. 1.7), for example, were translated by F.S. King, from Thomas Moran sketches of E. O. Beaman's photograph, making the image of *Gunnison's Butte*, for example, a synthesis of three artists' interpretations, two of whom were not present at the site.[51]

"Here it was," wrote Dellenbaugh the day they landed at Gunnison's Butte, "that Captain Gunnison of our army in his notable explorations crossed in 1853 on his westward journey... Before leaving he established the latitude and longitude of this crossing, which ever after bore his name."[52] Hillers noted in his journal on 31 August, that "Major, Beaman, Clem and myself went out with the instruments to take a picture of Gunnison's Butte. Returned at dinner and immediately went out again to take more views."[53]

Two days later he noted that they "...pulled out again at 2PM. Saw a beautiful little butte in the shape of a cathedral. Beaman took a photograph of it. Major called it 'Dellenbaugh's Butte' after Fred."[54] Many of the place names along the route remain the same and are attributions by Powell to his crew of both trips and to other personages such as Gunnison.

Having survived canyons with such names as Desolation, Labyrinth and Cataract, aptly named by Powell, the group left the river to winter in Kanab, Utah. Beaman left the survey in January1872, after a dispute with Powell. He had experienced some of the most treacherous white water in the world and took remarkable photographs of the harrowing journey up to that point.[55]

Powell then returned to Washington, D.C. to ask for more appropriations from Congress and was granted another $20,000 for completion of the survey on 10 June 1872. **James Fennemore** (1849-1941) a Salt Lake City photographer working in Charles R. Savage's photography studio at 12 & 14 Main Street in Salt Lake City was then engaged by Powell for the second half of the survey.[56] By early August, however, it was determined that Fennemore was too ill and frail to continue the physically punishing trip.[57]

Much of Hillers' early journal entries recount not so much his own exploits or those of Powell, but the work that Beamen had been doing. He was clearly absorbed in the project and Fennemore taught an eager Hillers how to complete all stages of the photography, especially the difficult mastery of the wet plate technique (fig. 1.8).[58] Jack Hillers, acclimated to the extreme temperatures and rationed food, was also strong enough to negotiate the rough terrain and steep slopes with the heavy equipment. He had a good eye for composition and Powell put him in charge of photography for the remainder of the expedition.

The photographs that Hillers took, the first to be viewed from the massive canyon floors, were masterly. But like Beaman, his images had to be translated to lithographs. First viewed in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1875-76, the photographs were often idealized in sketches by Moran or another unknown artist and then translated from the sketch to a lithograph. Images such as *Glen Cañon* (fig. 1.9) and *Island Monument in Glen Cañon* (fig. 1.10) would become known around the world. Unfortunately, Hillers' descriptive journal entries gave way to the more time consuming work of his photography. His short, exact entries during their time in Glen Canyon tell only of the number of photographs taken, the weather and the number of rapids run. The images in (fig. 1.11) are lithographs by H.H. Nichols, from photographs by Hillers. John Hillers would go on to work for the U.S. Geological Survey for the next thirty years as a photographer and has become one of the most important American photographers of the nineteenth century.[59]

Most of F.S. Dellenbaugh's (fig. 1.12) artistic talents on the voyage were devoted to scientific charting of geologic formations and topography. In his journal, the definitive account of Powell's second survey, he remembered that "...a part of my work was to make a continuous outline sketch of the left wall for use of the geologists and this I was able to do as we went along. I had a pocket on the bulkhead in front of my seat in which I kept a sole leather portfolio, which I could use quickly and replace in the waterproof pocket."[60] Both Dellenbaugh's and Hiller's journal entries indicate that when not on the river, Dellenbaugh would climb hills or scale cliffs to get a good view from which to augment his topographical sketches. Hillers noted in his journal more than once that, "Fred sketched".[61] *Cañon in Escalanti Basin* (fig. 1.13) depicts a man, possibly Dellenbaugh, taking survey sketches at the brink of the canyon.

The same year that Powell was on the Green River headed toward the Colorado, Lt. George Wheeler was put in charge of the United States Geological Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian. On 10 June 1872 he received appropriations for a fifteen-year survey that was expected to cost $2.5 million dollars. Congress had authorized him to map the United States west of the 100th meridian on a scale of 8 miles to the inch.

Just a year earlier Wheeler made a surprising decision, like J. C. Ives had done in 1857, to find a

navigable waterway going up the Colorado against the unyielding currents that often required difficult portages. Their journey ended 50 miles up the Colorado River into the lower Grand Canyon when they reached Diamond Creek. It was on this trip, in 1871, that Timothy H. O'Sullivan (1840-1882) captured such impressive images of the Arizona grandeur and the lower section of the Grand Canyon. But as with the Ives survey, the group could not navigate up the cataracts of the Colorado into Utah.

Between 1874 and 1879, Lt. George Wheeler's expedition surveyed as much as one-third of territory west to the 100th meridian, including Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada and Utah, enough information to fill dozens of books. Twenty-five publications were supervised by Wheeler, as well as the publication of over seventy-one geographical and topographical maps. Wheeler, well aware of the fame garnered by the Hayden Survey's use of Thomas Moran and William Henry Jackson (1843-1942) on the Yellowstone, employed numbers of photographers and unfortunately minor artists to record the work and the terrain.

Among the highlights of the images of Utah that can be found in his surveys are: *Crossing the Colorado River Near Mouth of Paria Creek,* (fig. 1.14), a sketch attributed to the topographer, Gilbert Thompson (1839-1909), and published as a lithograph in 1889 as was *Headwaters, Paria Creek From the Rim of the Basin, Southern Utah,* (fig. 1.15) by an unknown artist; and *El Vado de Los Padres, Colorado River [Crossing of the Fathers]* (fig. 1.16) by John E. Weyss (1820-1903), artist and cartographer. Weyss was described as "A man with sterling qualities and unexcelled ability as a topographer."[62] Like many of the survey documents, the lithographs were printed by Julius Bien (1826-1909) in New York. When published in 1889 they could not help but influence and interest Utah artists like Henry L. A. Culmer (1855-1914).

John Wesley Powell invited Thomas Moran and Jack Hillers to spend the summer of 1873 with him in southern Utah as he continued to survey the Colorado River's contributories. Photography could not capture the depth of field nor could it produce the radiant color of the terrain, and lessons from Hayden's success with Moran's paintings of of *The Great Cañon of the Yellowstone* (1871) were not lost on Powell.[63] Conversely, it gave Moran a chance to explore new territory and to be associated with the now legendary Powell. Moran's traveling companion during that summer of 1873 was J.E. Colburn, a *New York Times* writer, with "whom he shared a commission for a chapter of William Cullen Bryant's *Picturesque American*"[64] (fig. 1.17).

Moran and Colburn arrived in Salt Lake City, Utah in early July, meeting up with Powell and then traveling south by stagecoach, wagon and ultimately horseback to join Powell's survey (fig. 1.18). On August 2nd, 1873, Moran wrote to his wife, Mary, that the group was:

> ... going on a trip of a couple of days to the Canon of the Virgin...We took an Indian guide, (Frank, the Chief of the Pah Utes about here) one assistant, Prof. Thompson and Jack Hillers the photographer. The next morning we started for the cliffs about 8 miles distant where we arrived about 10 o'clock. The view was very fine and I made one sketch....[65]

Between Toquerville and the Valley of the Rio Virgin in Zion National Park, Moran made at least thirteen known field sketches [see inventory]. Anne Morand writes that at their base in Zion:

> ...Moran made sketches that document his working relationship with...Jack Hillers. In circumstances similar to those surrounding the creation of images of Yellowstone Lake by Moran and Jackson in 1871, Hillers and Moran may have collaborated on views of the Valley of the Rio Virgin...That Moran was not simply copying Hiller's photographs is shown by variations in the compositions...[66]

It is well known that when Moran translated the more contoured field sketches to large oil paintings in his studio, he romanticized the images to evoke the sensation and impression of the area. Making no secret of his method, Moran told a writer for *American Painters Magazine* that, "I place no value upon literal transcripts from Nature. My general scope is not realistic; all my tendencies are toward idealization...Topography in art is valueless...The forms are extremely wonderful and pictorial...I did not wish to realize the scene literally but to preserve and to convey the true impression."[67]

After reading Powell's account of his trip down the Colorado, Moran wrote to Powell, reproaching him: "You do not once...give your sensations even in the most dangerous passages, nor even hint at the terrible and sublime feelings that are stirred within one, as he feels himself in the jaws of the monstrous chasms."[68] For Moran, scientific rendering in art or prose was a static process. The landscape was dynamic and required a fluid interpretation that evoked emotion. Scale, composition, lighting and color were all sublimated to dramatic effect. The sublime in nature was placed at the service of art to inspire heroic visions with awe and beauty.

Powell's group stayed in Zion Canyon for two days giving Moran time to work out his sketches of *Mu-koon'-tu-weap,* meaning "Straight Canyon" in Paiute and *Shin-Au-Av-Tu-Weap,* meaning "God Land" (c.1873, plate 1.4). Mukuntuweap[69] became the official name of the canyon on 31 July 1909 by a proclamation signed by President William Howard Taft, and in 1919 it was officially changed to Zion National Park. Moran's wood engraving of the image of *Mu-koon-tu-weap,* titled *Valley of Babbling Waters*, was featured in *Aldine Magazine* in

April 1875 and caused the editor to remark that "Probably no portion of the American continent embodies more natural glories…The mind of man cannot conceive anything in nature more truly blending the beautiful and the awful [inspiring]"[70] Of Mukuntuweap, Moran wrote:

> Southern Utah is where Nature reveals herself in all her tumultuous and awe-inspiring grandeur…There is a canon off the Rio Virgen known in the local Indian vernacular as Mu-koun-TuWeap [sic], that for glory of scenery and stupendous scenic effects cannot be surpassed. Its cliffs rise up in rugged massiveness for 5000 feet, with some of the most peculiar formations believable toward the top. It is a marvelous piece of nature's handiwork that is worth going a long distance to see.[71]

Moran painted *Colburn's Butte, Southern Utah 1873* (1873, plate 1.5), a mountain named for his traveling companion that summer (fig. 1.17). It was an especially successful trip, Moran wrote to his wife that at the end of the survey, he had orders for "70 drawings for Powell, 40 for Appleton, 4 for *Aldine*, 20 for *Scribner's* all from this region [including the Grand Canyon] beside the water colors and oil pictures."[72]

Moran had a facile memory for detail and once divulged that "…I have trained from my youth up, so that while sketching and coloring, I impress indelibly upon my mind the features of the landscape and the combinations of coloring, so that when back in my studio the water color will recall vividly all the striking peculiarities of scenes."[73] Other artists concurred, finding his memory to be:

> …extraordinary—a memory so retentive that it enabled him to portray intricate landscapes months, even years after he had fixed the images in mind. "He could always see clearly what he wished to remember," wrote his daughter Ruth…On one occasion late in life, after reading a magazine piece on Zion Canyon, he proceeded to paint an effective picture of the canyon, although he had not set eyes on it for forty years.[74]

The Rio Virgin Southern Utah, (1917, plate 7.4) may well be the painting that Ruth referred to, but it is also likely that he consulted a watercolor sketch titled *Canyon of the Rio Virgin, S. Utah*, 1873 for the 1917 painting. The watercolor is less romanticized and the image was thought to still have been in Moran's possession at the time; it was gifted by Moran to the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in 1917. The watercolor reveals that in his actual field sketches he was more interested in the topography of the scene, which he could then accurately "idealize" later. In the *The Rio Virgin Southern Utah*, 1917, the flow of the stream is at a slightly different aspect: it has more gradient and more white water and he has framed the painting by arching the stone façade at the top of the canvas. He may have added this framing device from a photograph taken by Hillers that Moran translated to a wood engraving of *The Narrows, North fork of the Rio Virgin* around 1874, in which the rocks form a proscenium arch over the Rio Virgin. The slight adjustments in composition, the idyllic mist in the stream, the strong contrasts of warm and cool colors all combine in Moran's idealized 1917 image of the canyon.

Moran's large *Valley of the Rio Virgin, Southern Utah* (1875, location unknown) was his first fully wrought Utah painting. The added genre element of migrating Paiutes adds to the panoramic sweep of the Western landscape. Typical of Moran are bold contrasts of a green foliage foreground against red rock and blue mountain distances. This richly painted oil certainly ranks among the artists earliest Western masterpieces and the first great oil representing southern Utah.

Frederick Dellenbaugh and Almon Harris Thompson (fig. 1.19), veterans of Powell's second Colorado River expedition, returned to the Utah Territory in 1875 to work on Powell's survey for the *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region* with a more detailed mapping of Utah, but on dry land. Several of Dellenbaugh's field studies are extant, including a painting of their winter camp and with an image thought to be that of cartographer Almon Harris Thompson reading by the camp fire, (plate 1.6),[75] but most of his work was again in topography. Roughly twenty years later Dellenbaugh would distinguish himself with a painting of Zion that was in part responsible for the naming of the area as a National Park (1903, plate 7.4).

Clarence Edward Dutton, a Captain of Ordnance for the U.S. Army, delivered four major reports to the United States Geological Survey. Of these, his *The Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District* reports on much of the Colorado Plateau region of Utah and the drainage systems that feed the Green and the Colorado rivers. Delivered on 1 March, 1881, the report is recognized as a work of exquisite prose and unrivaled illustrations. Dutton himself recognized the excesses, but made no apology for them, writing in his preface:

> I have in many places departed from the severe ascetic style…Under ordinary circumstances the ascetic discipline is necessary. Give the imagination an inch and it is apt take an ell, and the fundamental requirement of scientific method—accuracy of statement—is imperiled. But in the Grand Canon district there is no such danger. The stimulants which are demoralizing elsewhere are necessary here to exalt the mind sufficiently to comprehend the sublimity of the subjects. Their sublimity has in fact been hitherto underrated.[76]

Wallace Stegner observed that the allure of Dutton's reports, especially of *The Tertiary History,* has survived the "scientific specialty and their periods, perhaps because art ages less swiftly than science, and an artist was at least as prominent in the writing of these monographs as the scientist who drew his pay from the surveys."[77]

In concert with the duality of the empirical and the poetic found in Dutton's essays, Thomas Moran and **William Henry Holmes** (1843-1933) were employed to render their own interpretations of the environment. Holmes was actually traveling with Dutton during that summer while Moran translated the images to lithographs from his home in the East. This may explain why Moran, who was always interested in capturing the mood and flavor of the territory, was slightly less dramatic with these translations.[78]

W.H. Holmes, on the other hand, rendered more heuristic, architectural images of stunning simplicity and inquiry, (fig. 1.22). Holmes' chromolithograph, *Smithsonian Butte-Valley of the Virgen* [sic] (plate 1.7), is the frontispiece for the *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District* and is not typical of his more linear work. The peaks of Zion loom large in the background while the foreground reveals the lush bottomland and a farmer's out-buildings and fence. Dutton, in awe of the towering peaks wrote "...but the noblest of all are the white summits of the great temples of the Virgin gleaming through the haze. Here Nature has changed her mood from levity to religious solemnity, and revealed her fervor in forms and structures more beautiful than anything in human art."[79] The images of *Pink Cliffs—Eocene—Paunsagunt* (c. 1881, fig. 1.20) and *Land of the Standing Rocks* (c. 1881, fig. 1.21) reveal a more arid and deliberately sequential topographical landscape.

Nichol's lithograph based on Moran's drawing, *Jurassic Terrace-The Colob* (c. 1881, fig. 1.22), is circular and almost whimsical. Dutton describes the Colob [sic] as "...full of comedy. It is a singular display of Nature's art mingled with nonsense. It is well named the Colob, for the word has no ascertainable meaning, and yet it sound as if it ought to have one."[80] Ultimately Moran "contributed nine woodblocks to the book" and helped to make it the "most beautiful book produced by any of the surveys."[81]

By the late 1880s better photography and new painting methods had displaced the expedition artist. The unknown wilderness had given way to the documented Territory and soon Utah would be a state with few "lost" regions. Other kinds of artists, after a brief hiatus, would be lured to the wilds of Utah's Colorado Plateau not for the discovery of the new, but for the pursuit of the beautiful and the sublime. A chapter of history had soon closed within a decade the next would open slowly.



Figure 1.14
Temples and Towers of the Virgen [sic]
Lithograph based on a field sketch by WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES,
for Clarence Edward Dutton's *The Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District*, delivered in 1881.
Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah

Artists on the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail

by David Miller

Following the United States' acquisition of the Mexican Cession in 1848, government surveys and military traffic over the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail expanded in the decade leading up to the Civil War. This traffic is especially significant for trail historians since it provides detailed information about the OST in two ways: government sponsored travelers took scientific readings and kept detailed journals; and most of these expeditions included either artists or photographers who made pictorial records of the landscape and important geographical features along the trail. These original sketches and published illustrations provide a wealth of vital information about the trail. There were four government expeditions over the OST in the 1850s that produced pictorial records. Three were in 1853, and the fourth in 1858.

All three of the 1853 expeditions were related to exploration along the proposed 38th parallel railroad route from St. Louis to the Pacific. The first was Edward F. Beale's trek by pack train to California. With the encouragement of Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, Beale, having successfully lobbied Congress for special funding for his California Indian Superintendency, chose the proposed 38th parallel railroad route for his return journey to California. The diarist and artist for this expedition was Beale's cousin, Gwinn Harris Heap. The Beale-Heap expedition struck the North Branch of the OST at the base of the Sangre de Christo Pass in the San Luis Valley in June, 1853, and followed the OST all the way to California. Heap made a number of sketches along the trail. Over a dozen were published in 1854 as colored lithographs in Heap's *Central Route to the Pacific.* With the exception of George Brewerton's enigmatic woodcuts published in *Harper's Monthly* in 1853, Heap's lithographs provide the earliest published record of scenes along the North Branch of the OST.

Two months later Lieutenant John W. Gunnison, conducting the official Pacific Railroad Survey, struck the OST at the same point in early August. The Gunnison survey, which included a wagon train, followed Beale's tracks all the way across Colorado and Utah as far as the Green River Crossing. Gunnison's surveyors then followed the OST a few miles beyond the Green River Crossing to a point where the OST veered west around the northern end of the San Rafael Swell. Gunnison considered the terrain through this huge anticline to be too broken to facilitate construction of a railroad, so he left the OST a few miles north of Trail Spring, traveling in a long arc to the northwest. Turning back to the south, he struck the OST again in Castle Valley on the western edge of the Swell, and headed on down the trail through Salina Canyon to the Sevier River. Pahvant Indians subsequently ambushed Gunnison's party at a campsite on the Sevier. Gunnison and several members of his command including artist Richard Kern were killed in what became known as the Gunnison Massacre.

A few wagons may have traversed the North Branch of the OST as early as 1837 and by the 1850s small wagon trains occasionally rolled down the Trappers Trail from either Fort Laramie or Bent's Fort. They pushed on over the Sangre de Cristo Mountains via Robidoux Pass and then dropped down into the San Luis Valley near the eastern border of the Great Sand Dunes National Park en route to Taos. But Gunnison was the first to build a wagon road along the OST all the way from Fort Massachusetts (later Fort Garland) in the San Luis Valley to the Sevier River in Utah.

Artist Richard Kern produced dozens of sketches along Gunnison's route as well as a few finished paintings. Many of these images were reproduced as lithographs and woodcuts in the finished government *Report.* The majority were renditions of scenery along the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. In making his sketches, Kern made extensive use of a camera obscura.

The camera obscura dates back to the middle ages, when artists utilized a pinhole of light shin-

ing from outside into a darkened room where it reflected an upside down image on a flat surface. A box camera version was available by the 18th century. It solved the problem of an upside down image by reflecting the image from a lens onto a mirror, which reverses the image and in turn reflects it onto a sheet of glass where it can be sketched using tracing paper. The concept is similar to the 35mm single reflex camera without the film. This device provided landscape artists with a method for quickly sketching accurate outlines of geographic features which they would later utilize in painting their finished landscapes.

John C. Frémont led the third 1853 railroad survey along the OST. Frémont had courted and married Senator Benton's daughter Jessie, and therefore had the powerful patronage. Benton had lobbied hard with Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to have Frémont command the 38th parallel railroad survey, but when Davis selected Gunnison, Benton raised private funds to finance a separate Frémont survey, known as Frémont's Fifth Expedition. In light of his disastrous Fourth Expedition which ended up snowbound in the San Juan Mountains, Frémont was determined to vindicate himself by locating an all-weather snow-free pass over the continental divide.

Frémont's Fifth Expedition was delayed in Kansas due to the "Pathfinder's" ill health, and did not get underway until October 31, 1853. They traveled on horse and mule back, following Gunnison's wagon tracks. Frémont's party crossed over the continental divide via North Cochetopa Pass on December 14, 1853. Frémont was elated to find little more than a dusting of snow in the pass. They continued down the west side of the Cochetopa Pass to the Gunnison River, and followed Gunnison's general route all the way down the Gunnison River to a point just upstream from the site of the Blue Mesa Reservoir dam.

But, instead of following the OST over the Blue Mesa to Montrose as both Beale and Gunnison had done, and despite deeper snow, Frémont detoured to the south over Blue Mesa, heading up the Cimarron River Valley toward the San Juan Mountains. Perhaps he was trying to justify his failure in the San Juans during his Fourth Expedition. His party eventually crossed over Cimarron Ridge via Owl Creek Pass, dropping down to the Uncompahgre River. Heading down that river, he and his companions rejoined the OST near modern Montrose. Photographer Solomon Carvalho made dozens of daguerreotypes of the country along Frémont's route. Although almost all of Carvalho's photographs were destroyed in a warehouse fire in the 1880s, they survive in the form of steel engravings. Robert Shlaer in his *Sights Once Seen* used Carvalho's engravings to locate Frémont's route with considerable precision.

During the summer of 1858 Colonel William Loring led the fourth major 1850s government expedition over the North Branch of the OST. Loring's soldiers departed Camp Floyd in Utah Territory en route to Fort Union, New Mexico. His command consisted of several hundred dragoons and infantry supported by a large wagon train. Among those soldiers was Private Joseph Heger, a skilled artist, who made a series of beautiful pencil drawings of scenes along the trail. These included sketches of rock formations in Rabbit Valley northeast of Westwater, wagons fording the Colorado at Grand Junction, and several landscapes between Montrose and Taos. He also made three important sketches which identify the route through North Cochetopa Pass. Heger's sketches also provide important clues about Captain Randolph Marcy's route during his renowned mid-winter odyssey from Fort Bridger to Fort Union via Cochetopa Pass (1857-58).

Historians have long assumed that the majority of Richard Kern's original sketches were lost in the Gunnison Massacre. However, most of Kern's sketches were actually recovered. Upon receiving news of the massacre, Brigham Young sent Dimick B. Huntington to the massacre site to recover the victims' remains, as well as government property. Assisted by Anson Call of Fillmore, Huntington managed to collect almost all of the missing government property including Kern's notebook. It was taken to Salt Lake City and turned over to Captain E. G. Beckwith, who replaced Gunnison as expe-

dition commander. Huntington was less successful in recovering the slain surveyors' bodies, since wolves had mutilated and scattered their remains.

Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein was a recent immigrant from Germany when he signed on as Frémont's topographer in 1853. Frémont's party got a little more than a taste of severe winter conditions as they crossed the Wasatch Mountains in central Utah. When Frémont's emaciated and frost-bitten party finally arrived at the Mormon settlement of Parowan in February 1854, the Baron could go no farther. After a few days of recuperation, he hitched a ride to Salt Lake City in the back of a farm wagon. There he found employment as Richard Kern's replacement on the continuation of the government's railroad survey across Nevada. The Baron also gained possession of Kern's sketches, most of which he retained after the conclusion of the survey in California. Artist John Mix Stanley also received some of Kern's tracings, several of which he redrew in order to produce the lithographs published in the Gunnison railroad survey R*eport*. Admittedly Stanley did not have much to work with, since the majority of Kern's tracings contain only outlines of geographical features with few notes on color or other details related to composition. Yet, most of Stanley's lithographs are true to Kern's originals. A few contain serious distortions.

Kern made his tracing of the Buffalo Gate looking north up Sheep Creek near the confluence of Sheep and Saguache creeks (fig. 1). Kern titled his sketch "Leaving Sahwatch Cr." Stanley's rendition of this entrance to Cochetopa Pass is one of the most significant lithographs published in the Gunnison *Report*. Advocates of Senator Benton's central route to the Pacific considered this "Gate of the Buffalos" leading to a snow-free Cochetopa Pass over the continental divide to be the key to the viability of the Central Route. The significance of this gate can be seen in Karl Wimar's 1862 painting entitled "Cochetopa Pass," which appears as a lunette in the rotunda dome of the Old Courthouse in St. Louis. It symbolizes St. Louis as the "Gateway to the West."



Fig. 1. Richard Kern. "Leaving Sahwatch Cr". New York State Library



Fig. 2. John Mix Stanley after Richard Kern. "Coo-che-to-pa Pass" Reports of Explorations and Surveys, II. *46.*

Stanley's lithograph has the caption "COO-CHE-TO-PA PASS: View Looking up Sahwatch Creek Sept.1st (fig. 2)." The view is actually looking up Sheep Creek. The OST passed through the gate, continuing up Sheep Creek for about a mile before turning west up East Pass Creek to the summit. My 2008 photo of the Buffalo Gate is about 200 yards north of Kern's vantage point (fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Buffalo Gate looking up Sheep Creek. Photo by D. Miller.

Kern made this tracing from the east bank of Red Creek looking southwest down the Gunnison Canyon (fig. 4). Stanley added two Indians to the lithograph to provide perspective, but otherwise rendered a faithful copy (fig. 5). My photograph of the Dillon Pinnacles is made from a slightly different perspective looking across Blue Mesa Reservoir (fig. 6).

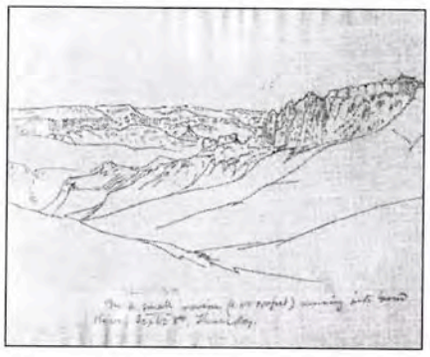


Fig. 4. Richard Kern. "In a Small Ravine Running into Grand [Gunnison] River, Sept 8." New York State Library



Fig. 5. John Mix Stanley after a sketch by Richard Kern. "View of Ordinary Lateral Ravines on Grand [Gunnison] River." Reports of Explorations and Surveys. II, *51*



Fig. 6. Dillion Pinnacles. Photo by D. Miller

Kern made at least two sketches of the Green River crossing situated just north of modern Green River, Utah. He drew this sketch on a lithograph sheet depicting a cloud formation (fig. 7). Kern carried along a supply of these "blank" lithographs which were handy for making landscape sketches, since the clouds and sky were already present. He made this sketch of the Book Cliffs from the middle of the Gunnison Valley looking north. The Green River flows through Gray Canyon, entering the valley just to the left of the round butte in the center of the sketch, which John Wesley Powell named Gunnison Butte. Stanley added the Green River in his lithograph entitled "View of the Roan or Book Mountains at the Spanish Trail Ford of Green River, Oct. 1st (fig 8)." Since Kern had left the foreground blank, Stanley had no idea how to represent the relationship between the Book Cliffs and the Green River Crossing of the Old Spanish Trail. The ford was actually about eight miles from the Book Cliffs escarpment. In the lithograph, Stanley has moved the ford much closer to the Book Cliffs, reduced the height and shape of Gunnison Butte, and of course, added the two Ute Indians on the left bank. ♦

David Miller holds a Ph.D. in southwestern history from the University of New Mexico. He is currently president of the Southern Trails Chapter of the Oregon-California Trails Association.

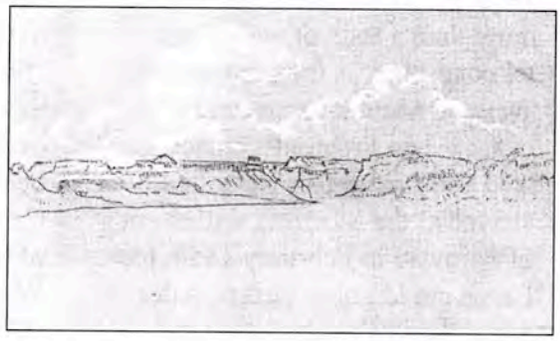


Fig 7. Richard Kern. Untitled sketch of the Book Cliffs at the Green River Crossing. New York Public Library



Fig 8. John Mix Stanley after a sketch by Richard Kern. "View of the Roan or Book Mountains at the Spanish Trail Ford of Green River, Oct. 1st." Reports of Explorations and Surveys, II, *62.*

Slave Trade
On the Old Spanish Trail



Paiute Child being weighed prior to being sold.

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

By Elizabeth von Till Warren

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

"An Indian Girl's Story, 1841" [A]

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

The Catholic Encyclopedia [B]

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

Eulogia Valdez, Presbtro. [C]

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

Eulogia Valdez, Priest [C]

INTRODUCTION

The literature about the Spanish invasion of Mexico and the American Southwest is full of narratives of forced labor – slavery – upon which the invaders established a system of Indian exploitation that operated greatly to their benefit. Historians and ethnohistorians have recently begun to turn their attention to the size of this traffic in human beings, and the impact on the groups that provided these laborers as well as on the colonial culture that received them.[1] This article will explore some of the background and ramifications of the southwestern slave trade on the Ute Indians, who lived north of Spanish settlement, and on their Paiute neighbors.

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

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

ABORIGINAL UTE LIFEWAY

In pre-contact times the Utes occupied a large territory extending from northern Utah and Colorado south to northern New Mexico, north of the San Juan River, and from the western flanks of the Wasatch Range to the eastern slopes of the Rockies and beyond, onto the plains of the Oklahoma panhandle and western Texas.[8] They had occupied these lands since at least the 14th century, when they apparently retreated from a still larger territory to the desert nd mountain strongholds where they were found during the early historic period.[9] The Utes are one of a large number of tribes that speak a Numic language of the great Uto-Aztecan family of Mexico and western United States. Numic speakers occupy a vast portion of interior, western North America, including all of the Great Basin, the Rocky Mountains, adjacent plains, and portions of New Mexico.[10] Linguistically and culturally, the Utes are related to the Paiutes, Shoshonis, Bannocks, Comanches, and Hopis. There are important similarities and also important differences between and among these different groups. In the pre-contact period, these traits represented adaptation to the varying environments found in their vast territory, and to neighboring peoples of different lifeways. Contact with the Spanish initiated processes that resulted in such significant change within the Ute social and economic organization that early travelers on the Plains and in the Rockies did not recognize the common origins of the horse-mounted Utes and Comanches with the "Diggers" (Paiutes, Shoshonis, and non-horse Utes) of the Great Basin.[11]

The aboriginal lifeway of the Utes was shaped by their desert and mountain homeland. Scarce rainfall in the desert and deep snows in the mountains affected plant cover, animal populations, and the humans who depended on them. Without large beasts of burden, the Utes were restricted to traveling on foot, and moving to exploit seasonal food sources. Large quantities of food were rarely available at one time, and so there were few opportunities for great numbers of Utes to live and work together. The people lived most of the year in small but strongly bonded family groups of perhaps eight to ten or fewer members. Only in the spring and fall was there sufficient natural food production to permit coming together for brief periods. At those gatherings, families were reunited, prospective mates courted, ceremonies performed, objects bartered. Young Ute couples then sometimes gave their young children to older relatives, usually grandparents, who could provide for an extra mouth to feed. A well-established tradition, this custom allowed more certain survival among the younger Ute population, both infants and their parents. The population of Utes was small, probably never more than one thousand, in either the pre- or post-contact period. Peoples' lives focused on the very small world of the extended family; tribal or even band organization was absent.[12]

HISTORIC UTE-SPANISH RELATIONS

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

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

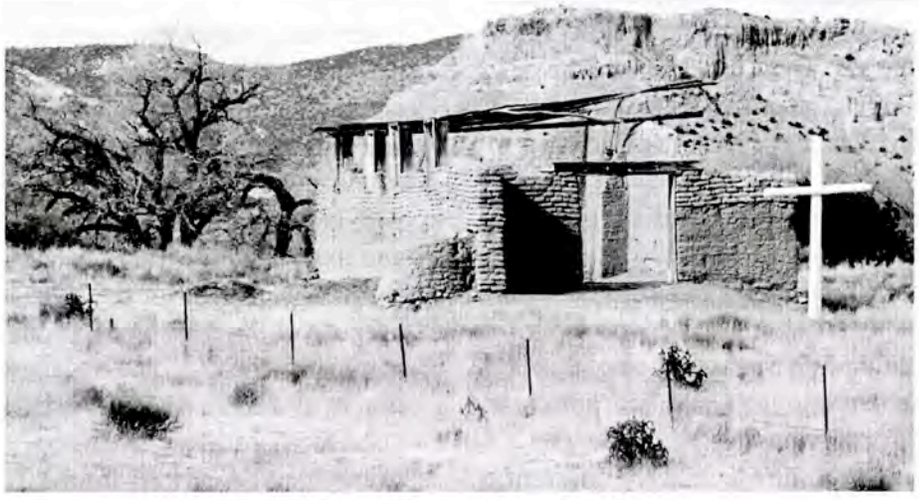
According to Ute tradition, the first direct contact between the Utes and the Spanish occurred at a trade fair in Santa Fe, although the Utes and Pueblo Indians had long gathered to exchange goods at the Indian pueblos in northern New Mexico. While a definite date for the beginning of the Ute-Spanish barter cannot be determined, by the 1630s pack trains were regularly heading north from the New Mexico settlements, bringing the trade to the Utes in their own territory.[14] Around 1640, the horse was sought by the Utes, but the steep price set by the Spanish severely strained the limited resources of the Indians. They then offered their children, and found a ready market. Although offering children in trade for horses may seem grotesque, the practice was not greatly different from the ancient Ute custom of giving children to grandparents. This pre-horse tradition had permitted greater mobility and freedom to young adults of childbearing years; trading a horse for a child accomplished the same end. The child was cared for, and the parents retained or achieved a degree of mobility that was essential for their survival. Indeed, the record reveals that the Utes felt greatly threatened by other, nomadic, horse-mounted Indians such as the Apaches and Comanches, and cited this threat in explaining or rationalizing this bizarre behavior.[15] Given the deep affection of the Utes for their children, the elaborate cultural practices related to childbirth and child rearing, the loss of their children was undoubtedly painful. Nonetheless, it continued well into the 19th, century. Ouray, a noted Uncompahgre Ute leader of the 1870s, was adopted by Mexican settlers and spent his youth herding sheep on a frontier New Mexican rancho. His sister was also a captive but managed to escape, while the very young son of Ouray himself was kidnapped by Arapahos. In 1873, when Ouray went to Washington to discuss the Brunot Treaty, he hoped to meet a boy thought to be the missing child, located by the federal authorities in return for Ouray's cooperation in signing the treaty. "Having been reared an Arapaho and taught to hate the Utes, the boy was unwilling to leave his adopted people," and refused to go to meet Ouray, who "returned to his mountain home disappointed."[16]

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

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

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

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



The Ruins of Santa Rosa de Abiquiu

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld © 2000

The first "village" was abandoned, but in the late 1740s, Don Tomas Velez tried again to settle the area, sending hispanicized Comanche Indians from Santa Fe to a new site near the first mission. The second attempt, this time a small, defensible pueblo named Santo Tomas de Abiquiu, also failed, but a 1754 effort finally succeeded. The location of this pueblo and the nature of its population gave Abiquiu an important role in the developing story of Ute-Spanish (and later Ute-Anglo) relations on the New Mexico frontier. The town was for many years the northernmost outpost of New Mexican goverment and officials at Abiquiu supervised trade with the Utes. It was the jumping-off point for numerous recorded and unrecorded expeditions, including the Dominguez-Escalante exploration of 1776, and the trading caravans of the Old Spanish Trail. Its population, based on the original, relocated Comanches from the Santa Fe barrio, proved difficult to control, consistently violating governmental policies regarding trade with Indians, including slave traffic.[22]

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

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

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

Since some of the genizaros were themselves Utes, commercial exchange with the "wild" Indians beyond the New Mexican frontier was perhaps unusually successful. Certainly it is not just coincidence that trading with the Utes developed into such a strong focus of economic activity for the people of Abiquiu. The records clearly reflect the town's role as the gateway to Ute territory, but there was also a trade fair at Abiquiu like the one developed earlier at Taos for the Plains Indians. Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez described this event in miscellaneous notes recorded during his visit there in 1776:

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

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



Santo Tomas de Abiquiu

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld © 2000

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

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

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

Great Basin slave trafficking did not end then and there. In the 1867 "Report of the United States Joint Special Committee on Indian Affairs on the Condition of the Tribes," accounts of slaving are still noted, and the negative impact of this activity on the peace and security of the Territory of New Mexico are strongly stated. While most of the official attention focused on problems with the Apaches and Navajos, the "Yuta" peoples were also included as targets of slave raids. And, Catholic Church baptismal records continue to reflect the absorption of young Utes and Paiutes into Abiquiu society.[30] The relatively weak, non-horse Utes, Paiutes and Shoshonis long remembered their losses, although they were unable to fight back or convince others to assist in ransoming their stolen women and children. In the 1870s, when the U.S. government attempted to place the various Ute groups on one large reservation, the non-horse Utes and Paiutes of southern Utah and northern Arizona refused. Despite ancient common cultural heritage, these people found "no voice raised" in favor of going to the Uintah Reservation, "the Utes of Uintah had been their enemies from time immemorial; had stolen their women and children; had killed their grandfathers, their fathers, their brothers and sons, ... under no consideration would the Pai-Utes live with them." The commission investigating the sentiments of the Paiutes consequently reported to Congress that it would be impossible, without using force, to induce the Paiutes to join the Utes. The alternative was to place these Indians on the Muddy River Reservation in southern Nevada, where they remain still.[31]

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

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

The traffic in human chattel finally ended for the Great Basin and New Mexico after the release of the Doolittle Report and the strong negative public reaction to it in the East. In New Mexico, despite the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862 and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, concerted resistance developed. Even after the passage by Congress of Joint Resolution No. 65, authorizing the commanding general of the United States Army, Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, to use "the most efficient means at his disposal" to reclaim from bondage those held in captivity and return them to their respective reservations, New Mexicans refused to cooperate. The United States District Attorney subsequently was directed to open a grand jury investigation, to which three hundred witnesses were summoned from Taos, Santa Fe, and Rio Arriba counties. The hearings were "a fiasco – those witnesses owning Indian slaves declined to testify; the grand jurors themselves owned Indians and were not sympathetic to the proceedings. ..." The system was defended by the Santa Fe New Mexican, which published a "humanitarian plea," arguing that the New Mexican system bestowed the benefits of Christianity and civilization on "savage and barbarous people .... They are free – "[but] only "one in fifty" of the captives desires to leave. They prefer to "remain in homes where they have so long been domesticated. ..."

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

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

Gradually, New Mexicans adapted to this new era. There were many more depredations by Indians, subjected to extremely great pressures by land- and mineral-hungry Americans. There were many deaths, many injustices on both sides. But Ute Indian slavery ended. In the 1870s, only one baptism of a Ute is recorded in Catholic Church records; there were twenty-six the previous decade, forty-three in the 1840s.[35] The American solution to the Indian Problem was to get them out of the way, not to absorb them into the general population. The 1870s would witness the end of free-roaming Indian bands, and their forced settlement on reservations. Slavery was ended, but captivity of another kind was only beginning.

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

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

SOURCES AND DATA

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

Ecclesiastical records are another source for information about individuals who were brought into the hispanic communities of New Mexico. The Catholic Church, partner with Spain in pioneering Latin America, had a strong presence in the day-to-day lives of all people. Missions and pueblos established under their authority were the focal ,oints of community life. Catholic Church rules for living became the guideposts for Indians as they had been for the Spanish and Mexicans. For the Church, baptism was essential to human salvation, and in the records of the frontier churches the extension of these concepts is manifested in thousands of entries of baptism, marriages and burials of Indians: Pueblos, Apaches, Navajos, Utes; the list is long and covers all tribes in the Southwest.

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

The frontispiece graph prepared by Brugge, and Table 2 [here included as Table 1] in his book, show the relative proportion of captives from four major groups of Indians between 1694 and 1875. The careful check of records made by Brugge and his partner, J. Lee Correll, noted the presence of persons from tribes not controlled by the Spanish government. Brugge and Correll assumed that, for the most part, these baptisms were not voluntary. Further, the padres did not distinguish between and among the various Shoshonean tribes; the frequent use of the term "Yuta" or some variant of it was sufficient for their purposes.[39]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

often makes understanding the record quite challenging. As pointed out by Brugge and certainly supported in the segments of the baptismal data examined for this paper, the Church obscured behavior of which it disapproved. At Santo Tomas Apostel de Abiquiu, a succession of priests agreeably acquiesced in certain fictions. The 1832 baptism consulted for this article cited "padre no conocido" (father unknown) for many babies, while the mother is carefully identified, along with her parents. In 1833 and 1834, numerous entries claim that no one knows the parents of a newborn baby, who is listed nevertheless as under the "jurisdiction" of the pueblo. Such children are given names at the baptismal ceremony, but it is not clear what surname is used. The term "esclava" (slave) never appears; captives are identified as "criada" (brought up or raised) by a sponsor, or simply "traido," brought from "las Naciones" or from "el tribu Uuta." There is no clear statement about the age at which the Church records the baptism as child or adult; Brugge used seven years in one article, but admits that this determination was based on inductive reasoning from the ages of children baptized in the records he examined. At Abiquiu, children up to the age of ten were identified as "parvulo" (very small).[40]

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

Colorado River in flood would threaten the pack trains used for transport. The commercial caravan route that connected Santa Fe with Los Angeles through the Great Basin only opened up in 1829-1830. Comparison of baptismal data with the operation of this traders' trail may provide still additional facts to support the anecdotal evidence of slaving along the route. Such a project will require many more hours of research to complete, but a few tentative observations can be made even now.

The baptism ratio of Indian females to males is 21 to 5, supporting the stories that mainly young girls (and women) were taken into captivity. Few baptisms occurred in the summer months; November and September are the months of most frequent entry: eight in November, four in September, in the three-year period. May is the least popular month, with zero entries all three years, while June, July, and August have only one entry each for all thirty-six months. The correlation of these data with trading caravans has yet to be made, but they may provide clues as to the nature of trade (or raid) conducted. Similar information may be discovered in Catholic Church records of Southern California missions. Official Spanish and Mexican documents of early California contain references to slave traffic operated by the New Mexican caravan leaders.[41] A search of mission records may well reveal additional insights into the number of Great Basin Indians carried into captivity in California. Mormon Church records may identify Ute and Paiute Indians taken into their communities under the 1852 Act previously discussed. Finally, the United States Census of 1870 asked for identification of Indians, and may contain pertinent data.

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[4] Opler, "The Southern Ute of Colorado," in Linton, Acculturation, 151.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[25] For an example of genizaro interpreter to Utes, see story of Manuel Mestas in Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, 263; for trade fairs, see Dominguez, Missions of New Mexico, 252-253 and "Bishop Tamaron Visits New Mexico, 1760," in Milner, ed., Major Problems, 94.

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

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

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

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

[30] For a close analysis of the "Special Report on the Conditions of the Tribes," usually called the "Doolittle Report," see Bailey, Indian Slave Trade 175-188 and Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 14; for two late examples of Ute baptisms, see Archdiocese of Santa Fe, "Abiquiu Baptisms 1861," Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Historical Library, Salt Lake City, Microfilm: 4 (February 19, 1862), 16 (May 11, 1862).

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

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

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

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

[36] Powell and Ingalls, Report.

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

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

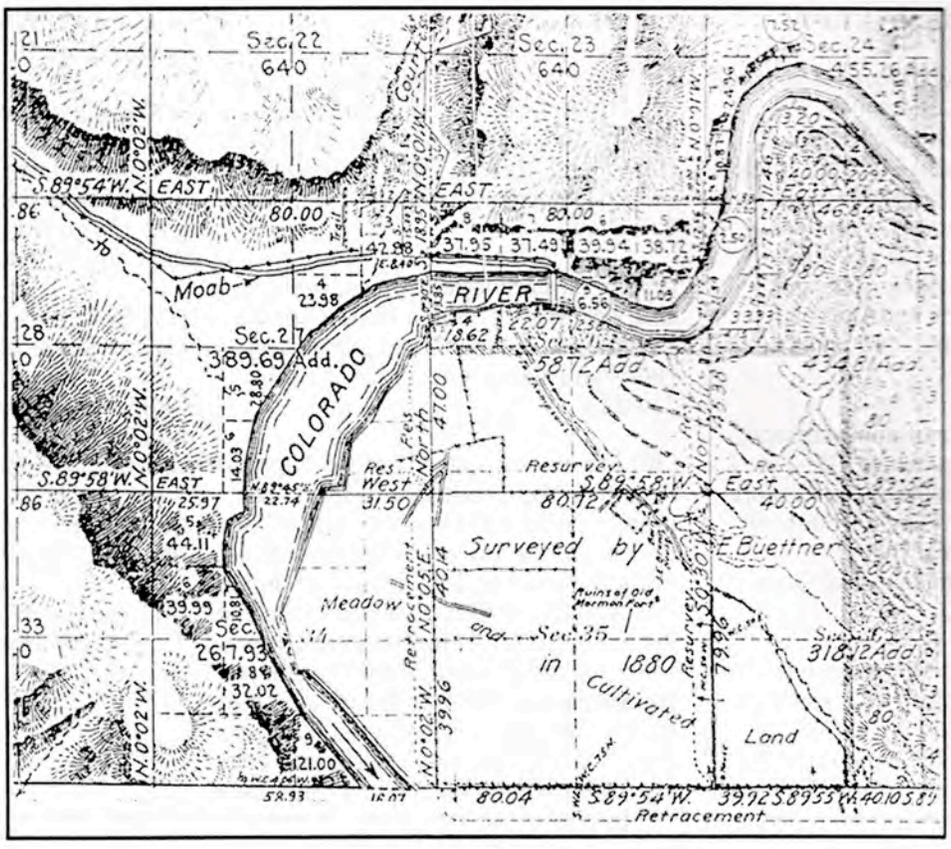
[39] Brugge, Navajos in the Catholic Church Records, xii, 31-32.

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

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

Day 1
May 23rd
Salt Lake City to Moab

Day 1 Salt Lake City to Moab, Utah								
	Point to Point	Distance	Travel Time (min)	Time at Stop (min)	accumulate Miles	Accumulated Time	Arrive at Stop	Estimated Time of Day of Departure from Stop
	Salt Lake City							7:00 AM
	Tucker Utah (Coffee and Restroom)	84	90	30	84	120	8:30:00 AM	9:00 AM
	Crescent Junction (Intro and Lunch)	121	120	60	205	300	11:00:00 AM	12:00 PM
	Mill Canyon Dinosaur Tracks and CH Spring	24	30	60	229	390	12:30:00 PM	1:30 PM
	Kane Springs	35	40	30	264	460	2:10:00 PM	2:40 PM
	Casa Colorado	20	25	60	284	545	3:05:00 PM	4:05 PM
	Return to Moab	53	60	0	337	605	5:05:00 PM	5:05 PM
					337	605	5:05:00 PM	5:05 PM
					337	605	5:05:00 PM	5:05 PM
					337	605	5:05:00 PM	5:05 PM
	total travel time			4:00:00	337	9:20		
				0:00:00				



The Southern Route of the Old Spanish Trail through Grand and Northern San Juan Counties, Utah

By Lloyd M. Pierson

The recent renewed interest in the Old Spanish Trail so many years after the Hafens [1] brought it to the attention of the history world forces me to add my meager input to the knowledge of the trail. Over the past three years I have been searching for and recording old roads and trails through Grand and Northern San Juan counties in Utah. This fascinating, to me at least, study is made much more interesting by the fact that in this desert environment any disturbance of mother earth remains visible for a long, long time and hanged little even after the severe arroyo cutting of the 1880s.

In studying the route of the trail through this part of the world there are several things that must be kept in mind. First and preeminent is the fact that one can't just go anywhere, even on foot, much less on horseback or with wagon or automobile through the maze of canyons and mountains the earth has provided here. Secondly the surface material dictates what one can do easily. Sand, clay and rock are the usual surfaces each with its own problems for the traveler. Less important today are the sources of water, animal feed and fuel for cooking fires which, in the past, were vital to survival and ease of passage.

Also of importance was the reason for use of the trail. The first users of the general route were the early inhabitants both pre-Columbian and European. Most accounts indicate that they were using the trail mostly for trade, an important part of their economy. The Utes produced fine leather products and dried meat from deer and other game animals. The New Mexicans grew corn, tobacco and other agricultural products, made wool blankets and raised horses, sheep and goats. Both groups had need of slaves to ease their life style. This trade formed the basis of the early use of routes from New Mexico into southern Colorado and Utah.

Although the Old Spanish Trail's southern route has been advertised as starting in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in actuality the jumping off point was Abiquiu, New Mexico. This was a settlement permanently established in 1754 as a frontier outpost and populated with Christianized Indians from many tribes including Utes, Apaches, Navajos, Comanches and various Pueblos. As such these people made good traders, especially among the Ute, because they spoke the language, were dealing with relatives, and knew much of the country to the northwest.

Unfortunately for historical documentation, their actions were clandestine most of the time. To give some idea of the importance of this trade to the people of Abiquiu at least, there are reports of traders coming on foot with a fanega (1.5 bushels) of corn from Abiquiu to the La Sal Mountains to trade. [2]

The Ute Indians practiced transhumance: living in the valleys during winter and spring and in the mountains in summer and fall. From reports they had large camps in the Provo, Utah area, the Grand Valley of Colorado where Grand Junction is located, the valley near Montrose, Colorado, and lesser use of the valley at Green River, Utah and Moab, Utah in the 19th Century.

While the New Mexican traders were interested in getting to where the Indians were at any particular time, the next group of trail users, the American Mountain Men, were mostly interested in getting to the streams and areas that had beaver. Some of the Mountain Men, who included French Canadians, Spanish and many North European ethnic groups, did take up trading as did Antoine Robidoux and Jim Bridger, but most were after the beaver pelt.

So the first use of the southern branch of the trail as it was forged further and further into the country northwest of Abiquiu was probably mostly determined by past Indian usage. As the Mountain Men became involved there was more exploration, searching for beaver and avoiding certain antagonistic Indian groups. But eventually the

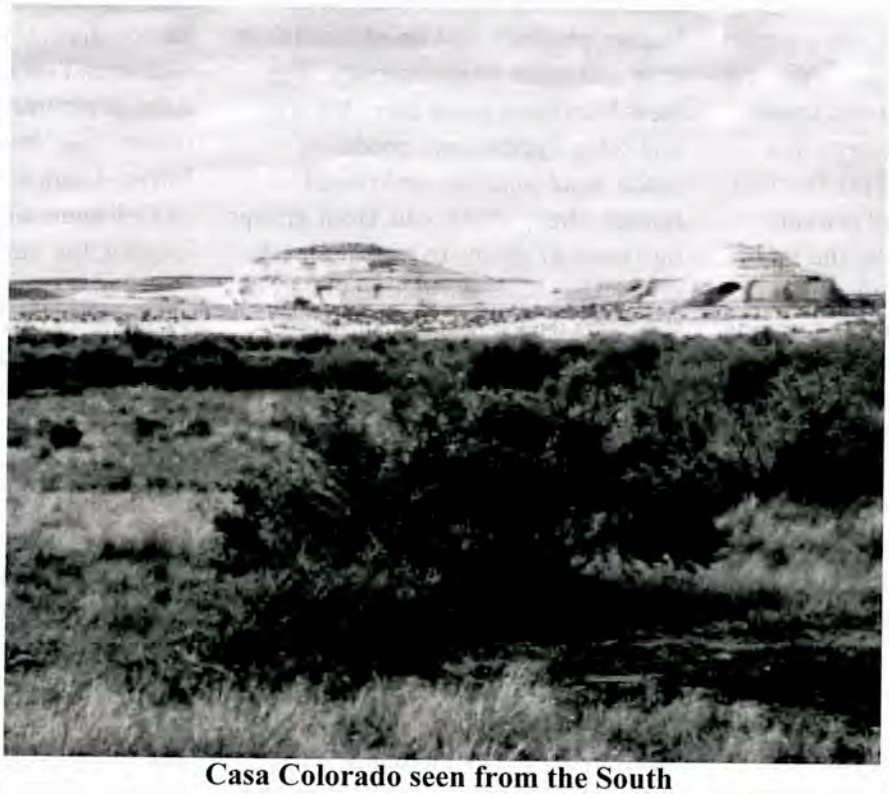
trail route as we know it today, with a few branches or short cuts, was pretty well established, certainly by 1830 when the entire reach of the trail from New Mexico to California was opened.

Some consider the trail to have been retired by the 1850s but there is argument over this as after 1830 the trail was used by immigrants in both directions as New Mexicans went to California. (California, incidentally, wasn't settled until 1769 so there was no reason to go there from New Mexico earlier). Settlers from Mormon Utah used the trail in their moves to settle the west and explorers, miners and others continued to use the route, if not the trail itself, up until the present.

Our research indicates that the trail served as the route in many places for the first so-called wagon roads. Sometimes the trail was improved, widened, with large boulders removed, and dugways made. As time went on technology and equipment improved and so did the trail. Some time after the turn of the century increased trail use, a need to reduce travel time and grades for both wagons and automobiles and newly available heavy equipment allowed route changes that required considerable movement of earth.

With all of this in mind here are our findings about the Old Spanish Trail through Grand and Northern San Juan Counties. These findings are based on field work using General Land Office plats dating from 1878, U.S. Geological Survey Quads dating from the 1950s, various other military and exploration maps (some as old as the 1850s), diaries and various printed material.

Once the trail left Paiute Spring and came down East Canyon into Dry Valley, it entered the realm of this paper. The 1855 dairy of Ethan Pettit [3], one of the Mormon missionaries trying to establish a mission at what is now Moab, indicates that the trail to Santa Fe takes off from a southbound trail to the San Juan region where Peters Canyon wash and East Canyon wash join. He describes Church Rock as being west of his trail.



Casa Colorado seen from the South

Photo courtesy of the Editor

Fran Barnes of Moab has traced out the Macomb exploration route which followed the trail as far as Ojo Verde on Hatch Ranch Wash. [4] Early descriptions of the trail (Macomb [5]; Choteau/ Pratt [6]) indicated an important landmark was Casa Colorado and associated natural stone tanks (tinaja in Spanish) containing a supply of water. Choteau/Pratt calls them "tewaja" and Macomb says "La Tenejal." There are at least two natural tanks and probably more in the sandstone bottom of the drainages heading south from the Casa Colorado. Barnes also reports a reservoir in Bairds Bridge drainage, but with the historic erosion in the area and the predilection of the Bureau of Land Management to build such things just how old this reservoir might be is open to discussion.

At any rate it would be difficult to water animals at the stone tanks since they are steep sided. Their water supply would not always have been dependable and they are difficult to locate, but they were available much of the year. Other water was sometimes available west of Casa Colorado some four miles in what is known as "Tank Wash." From there it is only an additional five miles to the "Ojo Verde," which Barnes locates in Hatch Ranch Canyon, a southern branch of Hatch Wash just west of Hatch Rock. Undoubtedly the trail went with the water and as this is open, fairly flat country the trail wound around the hillocks and sandstone outcrops and

through the patches of pinyon, juniper and brush.

Although the Ojo Verde in Hatch Ranch Canyon still has water, it looks nothing like it did in the 19th Century. The alluvium in the canyon bottom is now cut by a deep arroyo. During the 19th Century a ranch near the spring served as the point of exchange on the mail route between Moab and Monticello. The mail came by stage over a road that still appears on the Hatch Rock and La Sal Junction 15 minute U.S. Geological Survey quads. The road now passes to the west of Looking Glass Rock, a natural arch in a sandstone outcrop, but in the 19th Century it passed to the east where a primitive road still exists.

Both the Ojo Verde and Looking Glass Rock were important landmarks on the trail. When Ethan Pettit passed this way headed south to trade with the Navajos in August, 1855, he wrote in his diary that they passed on the east side of a "big rock with a hole in it" which from the trail description could only be Looking Glass Rock.

Pettit also describes going in and out of Mule Shoe Wash. Today one can see three crossings of the narrow, deep wash: the present highway, an older one just upstream with masonry and concrete bridge abutments (but no bridge) and another one hundred yards up stream, an old wagon road fording the dry stream bed in a "mule shoe shaped crossing," hence the name(?). This latter is where the trail crossed the canyon after heading north from Looking Glass Rock, crossing West Coyote Creek, an easy crossing, and following along the sandstone cliff to Muleshoe.

On the cliff face on the road to Muleshoe are some Anglo names from 1901 written in what appears to be axle grease and one of the few Hispanic-style glyphs that I know of from this area. The glyph is that of a cross in the style of the patron saint of Mexico, the Virgin of Guadalupe. That is, the cross is surrounded by lines radiating out from it as are depictions of the virgin. Next to it is a heart scratched in the sandstone and with at least four bullet holes piercing it. I believe them to be 20th Century, but it is interesting to note here that in all the explorations along the Old Spanish Trail there seem to be no rock recordings of the passing of those peoples. Perhaps we haven't looked hard enough or in the right places.



Looking Glass Rock from the West after the storm

Photo courtesy of the Editor

From the Muleshoe crossing the trail had little room for maneuver and it followed along the face of the cliff, the same route as the old highway still there today on its way to Kane Springs. There is a large drainage to be crossed here, which is most easily headed without too much trouble as the old highway did. There are also the remains of an old wagon road paralleling and destroyed by the old highway in the area.

Just when Cane Springs became Kane Springs is not known, but it seems logical that the original name was "Cane" for several reasons. The 1878 map of the route of the Ninth Cavalry detachment in support of the boundary survey between Utah and Colorado spells it "Cane" as does the 1917 General Land Office map of Township 27 South, Range 23 East. There is no record of a family name of Kane in the annals of Grand County. Choteau/Pratt refer to "Corisite" for the site which appears to be a corruption of the Spanish "carrizo" (cane) or perhaps a form of "corriente" (running or flowing) referring to the stream of water flowing out of the sandstone at the spring. (Steven Madsen [7] reaches a similar conclusion in his recent article in Spanish Traces) The difficulty is that Pratt, an Anglo, was writing down what Choteau, a French-Canadian, was saying as he tried to pronounce Spanish names.

Kane Springs was referred to as "St. Louis Rock" by Pettit. It served as the first camp for the group headed from the Mormon Fort in Spanish Valley to the San Juan, a matter of some 16 miles covered by horseback. Pettit says it was a "very rough and rocky road" referring to the trail over what the early 1880 settlers in the Moab area called "Blue Hill."

The trail leading north from Kane Springs is now a much eroded dugway on the east side of the small

draw while the present highway is located on the west edge with an older highway on the cliff above it. The dugway was made by the pioneering party for the Hole-in-the-Rock settling of the Bluff area. They came through the Navajo country determining the routes and places to settle in 1879 and returned to Central Utah via the Moab area. [8] The dugway is a gentle grade and could easily have been navigated by horses sideling along the slope of the hill when it was a trail.

Once on top of the hill it is a flat mile and a half until the descent begins. Today there are four roadways descending the hill into Spanish Valley. Three of them, the present highway and two older ones, are the products of modern highway construction. The fourth, located within 200 feet east of the present road cut, is a primitive wagon road with little more done to it than to remove the large boulders. It parallels the present highway on a gentle grade. The lower portion has been destroyed by the present highway, Utah Highway 191.

Early accounts of Blue Hill tell of shod horse marks on the rocks there in 1877. [9] The old wagon road fits the needs of the Old Spanish Trail for access to the Spanish Valley. At the bottom of Blue Hill is a drainage which ties into Pack Creek within three miles. Pack Creek is a live stream today, but its waters are entirely diverted for irrigation in the valley. It was called Pack Saddle Creek by the Elk Mountain Mission men. As one descends Pack Creek there are several springs on the north side. Pratt camped at one of them some four hours by trail from the Colorado (called the Grand till 1921) River. Springs are to be found at the present day Moab Golf Course and the Old Moab City Park. Others may still be present since Pack Creek, after it is dried up by irrigation needs, later picks up enough spring water to flow through town.

Some indication of the route of the trail through Spanish Valley is the route of the old highway paralleling Pack Creek to the upper end of the valley. The lower end of it is called Spanish Valley Drive today. The memory of the trail is also kept alive by Spanish Trail Road, the Spanish Trail Arena and other names in the valley.

Pratt [5] indicates that the crossing of the Colorado River was some 600 yards above what is now called "The Portal," where the river plunges back into a sheer sided canyon after crossing the end of the valley. A swampy approach today through tamarisk (a recent introduction), willow and cottonwoods brings one to a large island where the crossing may have taken place. Ferdinand Dickert's [10] General Land Office Survey of 1878 shows a road just south of the abandoned Mormon Fort leading due west to this crossing.

Later river crossers of record used another island closer to where the river came out of the canyon and located at the mouth of the small stream draining Moab Canyon, the continuation of Spanish Valley to the northwest. This crossing is about a half mile downstream from the present highway bridge.

The Mormon Fort was located near Skakel Spring, another important source of water for the Mormon Missionaries, the town of Moab today and probably people on the trail.

Once across the river, the route of the trail was up the stream bed of the drainage some refer to today as "Bloody Mary Creek," because when it rains it looks like a Bloody Mary as it drains the red sandstones up stream. The bottom of the creek is sandy to begin with, but soon turns into bedrock with many boulders strewn over the surface.

One obstacle that caused problems for the Elk Mountain missionaries getting their wagons over this route is the limestone ledge some 25 feet high near the Arches National Park Visitor Center called The Jump. The present highway cut the ledge down but remnants can still be seen. The first missionaries in 1854 took their wagons apart and lowered them over the ledge. The next year the group cut a dugway around the north side of the slope leading to the ledge. This dugway is still visible although construction of the present highway circa 1958 destroyed part of the dugway and altered the rest as a bulldozer worked its way up the dugway, bulldozing as it went, so that drilling machines could be brought up to the top of the limestone to drill holes for blasting the ledge. The dugway, which brought horses and pack animals around the ledge, was an improvement over the earlier trail route.

Pratt's diary reports that the road to Green River was "over a rocky country." No complaint about the "dropping off place" as the Mormons called it. There is a possibility that travelers could have climbed the hill to the south of the limestone ledge above where the railroad runs today thus avoiding the ledge, but there is no physical or historical evidence of this.

The remains of an old wagon road

are visible in Moab Canyon following the bottom of the wash and eventually climbing out in the same general area as the present highway on the south side of the canyon. Once on top the country is fairly flat until one reaches Corral Canyon, a small canyon a mile beyond the mouth of Sevenmile Canyon.

There are two springs two miles beyond Corral Canyon, either one of which could have been on the trail. They are Upper Courthouse and Lower Courthouse Springs. Both lie close to the 12 miles to water on the trail Pratt reported in his diary. Both have a history of use, Upper Courthouse in the days of horse and buggy and Lower Courthouse from the first automobile days. The problem is the sandy area at the base of the cliffs along the route. Wagons could make it up the steep road on the north side of Corral Canyon leading to Upper Courthouse Spring easier than they could through the sand between Corral Canyon and Lower Courthouse Spring. Early automobiles and trucks had a difficult time getting up the steep grade to Upper Courthouse Spring and so opted for the sandy route to Lower Courthouse Spring.

General Land Office township plats for 1916 and 1917 show the old road to Thompson Springs going past Upper Courthouse Spring. Just north of here about one mile is a road shown branching off to the west, which is called the Green River to Moab road. This road stops by Brink Spring after crossing the mouths of Tusher Canyon and Bartlett Wash. The road is still in use today, slightly improved because of time and the mineral explorations in the area.

Brink Spring has been developed for livestock, but an inspection on the ground shows that it has been used prehistorically by people using Shoshone style pottery, probably Ute. The old wagon road to Green River ran north from Brink Spring paralleling the present improved road across the mud flat. A rock road marker indicating it is 22 miles to Moab was found along side this road during a cultural resource inventory completed by my wife and me ahead of a potash mining development in 1977. Brink Spring fits well with the 30 mile distance from the Green River and the 20 mile distance from the Colorado River shown for Grand River Spring in Choteau's Log of the trail. [11]

The "small run of living water" passed by Pratt and reported in his diary [12] as 12 miles from the Grand River could have been either of the Courthouse Springs, but most likely it was the upper one as it had more water and even today, little grass.

Beyond Brink Spring the trail heads northerly for a meeting with the north branch of the Old Spanish Trail. Old roads in the area from the south meet the east-west route at a place called variously Floy Junction in the road system or Little Grand(e) siding and section house on the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad narrow gauge built in 1883 across northern Grand County. This is wide open country and as yet we have encountered no definitive route across it for the trail.

The crossing of the Green River near present day Green River, Utah is described by LeRoy Hafen, translating Col. W. W. Lorings report [16] as just south of the present railroad bridge where a wide spot in the river is divided by several small islands shown on the USGS Green River 15' Quad. The 1881 General Land Office plat shows a ford at Blake, the forerunner of Green River, in the bend of the river that later was left high and dry as the river changed its course to the east. This is about one quarter mile above the highway crossing into Green River at the county line. As the county boundaries had been set at the middle of the river, this left Grand County with a chunk of land on the west side of the river much to the chagrin of people living in Green River.

Hafen, in his seminal "Old Spanish Trail"[13], reports that, based on Bert Silliman's study, using diaries of Powell's men from the 1871 trip exploring the Green and Colorado Rivers and Silliman's personal knowledge of the country, the crossing is placed at an island shown on the USGS Gunnison Butte 15' Quadrangle 5 miles above the highway bridge crossing the Green River. This is also given as the crossing used by Gunnison in his 1853 ex-ploration for a railroad route that took him and his party across the northern end of Grand County according to the description given by party member Jacob Schiel [14]. He puts the crossing "several miles" from the camp they made on the west bank of the river after crossing it. It also fits the sketch of the cros-sing made by Henry Gannett [15] in his report for the Ninth Annual Report of the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey in 1875.

Crossing both the Grand and the Green Rivers was complicated by the fact that both rivers have dramatically increased flows from melting snows in far-off mountains that culminate in mid-June. Rains can cause a similar rise, but usually

for a shorter period. At low water from late fall through early spring, fords can be made. Here again the river frequently changes its course and there are places where it could be forded as erosion and deposits of silt take place. There were no dams on the rivers then and even today with dams in place, the river can be treacherous during flooding. Floating a raft across the Green River,as Kit Carson did on his trip east from California in 1848, was the usual method of crossing in high water, and was a real adventure. When wagons were used on the trail, a boat of sorts could be made from the wagon bed, but the stock had to swim across, posing another problem as some livestock were not entirely cooperative.

Col. W. W. Loring's [16] description of his route eastward in 1858 after crossing the Green River brings him, the first day, to about Browns Wash where it leaves the Books Cliffs in Horse Canyon. The USGS Crescent Junction 15' Quad shows a seep there. The next day he passed between Hatch and Horse Mesas north of Floy Junction through Green River Gap. Loring encountered a Mormon trail near here which Hafen footnotes as the trail the Mormons took to the Elk Mountain Mission in 1854/55. However, this may be another trail used by Mormon pioneers as Loring encountered another trail further east near the state line between Gunnison's road and the mountains, which he assigns to the Mormons.

W. D. Huntington, a member of the exploring party for the Elk Mountain Mission in 1854, says in his letter to the editor of the Deseret News, December 21, 1854 that he left the Gunnison Road 25 miles from the Grand River. This would have had him leaving the Gunnison Road somewhere near present-day Floy Junction.

It is apparent in reading the routes taken by various explorers over the broad expanses of desert at the foot of the Book Cliffs it was frequently the travelers' option as to whether they followed previously used trails or took off on what they determined to be the shortest and best route.

That there were other routes through this part of the world is not doubted, but they fall from consideration as the main route of the Old Spanish Trail for lack of steady references and lateness of use. That the so-called southern branch of the trail was the main branch is borne out by the fact that R. S. "Uncle Dick" Wooton, mountain man, refers to it as the "Great Spanish" trail. [17] Similarly, Jacob Schiel, after coming from the east over Cochetopa Pass with Gunnison, writes that Antoine Leroux, their mountain man guide, told them where they would come to the "Spanish Trail" further west. [15]

One of the alternate routes of the trail from the south left the main route on the Great Sage Plain and came down Three Step Hill into Lisbon Valley. Lisbon Spring provided water on this route, which took the traveler to the vicinity of present day La Sal, Utah. This is indicated as the route of a company of Ninth Cavalry who were in support of the boundary survey between Utah and Colorado in 1878. From near La Sal the cavalry troop went down West Coyote Creek to join the main trail near La Sal Junction.

There is some indication that this trail from La Sal went just north of the Nipples, a prominent rock along the trail. The 1916 General Land Office Plat shows a road through here. (I have been told that the correct name is Neva's Nipples after a local Moab woman, Neva Kirk).

Another possible alternative route of the trail continues from present-day La Sal around the west slope of the LaSal Mountains to the head of Pack Creek and then down Pack Creek to join the main route of the trail near the foot of Blue Hill. A jeep trail is indicated on this route on the La Sal Junction 15' USGS Quad. Early settlers in the Spanish Valley in the early 1880s seem to have used this route to get to La Sal and the mail went this route by horseback as early as 1879. [18]

In all of this we have studiously avoided using the route described by Rivera [19] in 1765. Various researchers have decided that his route came to present day Moab or to a crossing of the Colorado River at the mouth of Castle Valley. My own impression, based on the report and the later description by Escalante, is that Rivera's route came into eastern Utah, but quickly went back into Colorado and ended somewhere on the Uncompaghre or Gunnison Rivers.

From the foregoing it can be seen that there are many places where the Old Spanish Trail can be specifically identified while many other locales are in doubt as to exactly where the trail went; a problem for future researchers. Recent research efforts have shown that there are documents buried in various archives that will shed further light on the trail.

Specific sites that have been identified as important places on the trail and still extant today are: Casa

Colorado with its rock tanks; Looking Glass Rock; Kane Springs and Blue Hill; the spring at Moab's Old City Park; Colorado River Crossing at Moab; Moab Canyon and The Jump; Upper Courthouse Spring; Brink Spring; and the Green River Crossing at Green River. These are prime candidates for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places and the National Trails System.

The national significance of the trail lies in its importance to western history, not only the Spanish/Mexican period, but also in the era of western expansion. To New Mexico and Chihuahua the trail was important because it provided deer hides and other materials made by the Utes in trade for New Mexican products. The hides, in turn, were used by New Mexicans to acquire exotic goods from Chihuahua over the Camino Real. Economically the trail made life a little more bearable in isolated New Mexico.

The users of the trail provided the geographic and demographic information for the various governments involved, especially the United States. Those familiar with the trail, through their trapping and trading expeditions, provided information vital to those interested in military matters and development of a transcontinental railroad. The Mountain Men and their New Mexican cohorts also provided eastern cities like St. Louis with some of their wealth through their trading/trapping work.

The military was unsure of the intentions of the Mormons in Utah and through the work of Macomb attempted to identify wagon roads into Utah Territory for military purposes.

Lastly the Old Spanish Trail provided an access route for immigrants from New Mexico to the new area of California. Some of these immigrants were political refugees needing a place to avoid possible political problems. Mormon immigrants from the Wasatch Front used the trail to gain access to the Moab area. Miners from western Utah used the trail to get to the newly-found gold fields of the San Juan Mountains of Colorado.

Once the route of the Old Spanish Trail was found, it was never abandoned and our present-day highways through eastern and southeastern Utah still follow the route, sometimes right on top of it.

Endnotes:

[1] Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Sante Fé to Los Angeles* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954).

[2] Frances Leon Swadesh, *Los Primeros Pobladeros: Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974).

[3] Ethan Pettit, collected papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, UT.

[4] F. A. Barnes, *Hiking the Historic Route of the 1859 Macomb Expedition* (Moab: Canyon Country Publications, 1988).

[5] John N. Macomb, *Report on the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fé, New Mexico to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West in 1859* (Washington: U. S. Engineer Department, 1879).

[6] Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, pp. 341 – 369.

[7] Steven K. Madsen, "Retracing the Spanish Trail: Across the Colorado Plateau in Utah," Spanish Traces 4 (spring 1998): 9.

[8] David E. Miller, *Hole-in-the-Rock: an epic in the colonization of the Great American West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959), p. 29.

[9] Faun McConkie Tanner, *The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1976), p. 40.

[10] Ferdinand Dickert, General Land Office Township Plats, 1878.

[11] Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, p. 366.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 349.

[13] *Ibid*, p. 305-6.

[14] Jacob H. Schiel, *Journey Through the Rocky Mountains and the Humboldt Mountains to the Pacific Ocean* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 59.

[15] Henry Gannett, "Topographical Report on the Grand River District," in F. V. Hayden, Ninth Annual Report of the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories embracing Colorado and Parts of Adjacent Territories, US Government Printing Office, 1877.

[16] William W. Loring, "Colonel Loring's Expedition across Colorado in 1858, with an introduction and notes by L. R. Hafen," Colorado Magazine 23 (1946): 60 – 61.

[17] R. S. Wootton, Letter to the Editor, Missouri Democrat, in *Central Route to the Pacific*, LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957) p. 271.

[18] Frank Silvey, "History and Settlement of Northern San Juan County, Utah," papers, p. 10.

[19] Joseph P. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail1678 - 1850* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997).

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THE MACOMB EXPEDITION

On a windy day in August 2014, Dr. John Foster, paleontologist and director of the Museum of Moab, stood on the edge of a steep slope of weathered Jurassic-aged rock in San Juan County, Utah, and recounted a discovery made 155 years (to the day) earlier:

On the north side of the canyon just opposite our camp… I discovered the bones of a large Saurian. Probably the greater part of the skeleton is still imbedded in the rocks, as, although I spent two days, with several assistants, in excavating at this point, the tools at our command were too light for such heavy work as it proved to be, and we were compelled to leave many bones, which we could see, but had no means of extricate from their envelopes. The special object of our efforts, the head, was not reached, but still remains to reward some future geologist who shall visit this interesting locality, with more time at his command and more adequate implements for rock excavation than we possess.

These words were written by John Newberry in 1859 upon his discovery of the first dinosaur fossils ever found west of the Mississippi River. Dr. Foster is now leading a paleontological excavation to conclude this important work, started so long ago.

In 1859 John Macomb, a captain in the U.S. Army, was dispatched to find a military route through New Mexico to southern Utah. His goals were to discover the confluence of the Green and Colorado Rivers and to conduct a scientific study of the area they traveled. Macomb took along Dr. John S. Newberry as expedition physician and scientist. In 1858 Dr. Newberry had traveled in a similar capacity with the Ives expedition, which ascended the Colorado River in Northern Arizona to determine how far steamboat travel was possible. For the Macomb party Dr. Newberry was charged with recording the area's geography and natural history, particularly the geology, paleontology and anthropology. His responsibilities included providing a full report on the geology and mineralogy of the areas, and collecting zoological and botanical samples for the Smithsonian Institution.

The expedition departed a military outpost near Santa Fe in mid-July 1859. As the expedition moved along the Old Spanish Trail, they set up camp for the night in East Canyon, which the Newberry referred to as "Cañon Pintado" for the colorful rocks found in the surrounding cliffs of Entrada Sandstone. On August 17, 1859, Newberry was exploring the area surrounding their camp when he came across fragments of fossilized bone at the base of the cliffs. Recognizing these fossils and their importance, he found a route to the top of these very steep cliffs and located additional fragments. He traced them to their source in a bright burgundy and orange layer of softer rock found between layers of harder sandstone. Ten days later he returned with assistance to collect these remains. He made special note of the occurrence in his journal:

Saurian bones – On the north side of the canyon just opposite our camp…The bones we obtained were mainly those of the extremities: a femur entire; the greater part of a humerus; several of the phalanges of the toes; portions of the ribs; and other large and to me, quite incomprehensible bones. All of these have been placed in the hands of the anatomist, Professor Leidy, who will make them the subject of a special report. The size of the animal, as indicated by these bones, must have been very large. The femur taken out measured 30 inches in length, by 4 in [inches] diameter, at its smallest part, the articulations being much thicker. A portion of the scapula which was taken out was 22 inches long and 16 [inches] wide at the broadest part, and this but a fragment.

The fossils that were removed were packed and sent via mule to Santa Fe, where they were boxed up by Newberry and sent to the Smithsonian Institution. While many of his zoological and botanical specimens were not able to be preserved due to rains, he was excited that "…large collections of fossils were brought in safely, though often in great danger in fording larger rivers." Newberry sent many letters to Dr. Joseph Leidy, a professor of anatomy at the University of Pennsylvania, requesting that he study the fossilized remains. Dr. Leidy had described the first dinosaur known from North America, *Hadrosaurus foulkii*, in 1858. Newberry's letters to Leidy appear to have gone unanswered.

The ultimate published report on the



CAPTIONS



Macomb Expedition did not appear until 1876 due to the breakout of the Civil War. A year later, in 1877, noted paleontologist Edward Drinker Cope, a student of Leidy's, described the bones discovered by Newberry. He noted that they belonged to a large, plant-eating, quadrupedal dinosaur generally referred to as a sauropod. He named the dinosaur *Dystrophaeus viaemalae*. The genus name *Dystrophaeus* means "coarse joint" in Greek, referring to the pitted joint surface present on the original limb bones. The species name, *viaemalae,* means "of the bad road" in Latin, referring to the difficulty in finding and accessing the dinosaur remains. The original remains are part of a front leg and include the ulna, a scapula, a partial radius, and several finger bones. These original bones are now at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, with a cast on display at the Museum of Moab. After this initial report, a second paper was written by German paleontologist Friedrich von Huene, in 1904. This was the last major work *Dystrophaeus* would receive for nearly eighty years.

The site remained lost to time, with no good map or detailed description of the area available. It wasn't until 1987 that the site was relocated by Moab residents Fran and Terby Barnes. The Barnes family were local paleontology enthusiasts who contributed greatly to the paleontological knowledge of the area, writing several books on the topic. Fran Barnes had been searching for this site for twelve years. In 1988 the Barnes's took then Utah State Paleontologist Dr. Dave Gillette to the site. They returned in September 1989 and collected bone fragments that were found on the surface, remains that are now housed in the Natural History Museum of Utah. Dr. Gillette and colleagues were able to determine that the site was located in the lower portion of the Upper Jurassic Morrison Formation (~155 million years in age). *Dystrophaeus* represents the only known vertebrate fossils remains from this section of the Morrison Formation, and the only dinosaur known from fossil remains during this section of geologic time in North America.

Due to the logistics associated with the site and the expense involved, a new quarry was not established on the site until 2014. In 1997 Dr. John Foster visited the site with Dr. Gillette when the former was working on his doctoral degree. In 2013 talks began with regard to reestablishing work at the *Dystrophaeus* Quarry. Together with Dr. Randall Irmis of the Natural History Museum of Utah, work began once again at the site in July 2014, with funding from the Canyonlands Natural History Association.

The goals of this work, dubbed the *Dystrophaeus* Project, are to excavate more fossils of this sauropod in order to better understand how it fits into the family tree of these animals in North America. Bones and tracks of early long-necked dinosaurs have been found in many areas of older rock exposures in the western United States, so the existence of these types of animals on this continent from earliest dinosaur times is well established. However, true sauropods do not have a good record in North America until the Late Jurassic, during deposition of the Morrison Formation. Dinosaurs known from the Morrison Formation include *Apatosaurus, Diplodocus, Camarasaurus, Brachiosaurus, Barosaurus,* and *Haplocanthosaurus,* the first three of which are relatively common, with the latter three rare. *Dystrophaeus* is the only identifiable sauropod specimen known from the older Morrison Formation. As such, it is geologically the oldest sauropod skeleton in North America.

Today the site is managed out of the Bureau of Land Management's Monticello Field Office. Additional material is needed from the *Dystrophaeus* Quarry, such as vertebrae or skull elements, in order to unravel the mystery of the origins and later evolution of these keystone species in the Jurassic. Future work at the *Dystrophaeus* site is planned for several weeks in 2016 and will involve the use of a helicopter to more easily shuttle in the needed supplies and equipment and to remove the fossils. This work is funded in part by the National Geographic Society. Stay tuned as this project continues to clarify the early evolution of sauropod dinosaurs in North America. We think that Newberry would be happy that 157 years later his work continues.

ReBecca Hunt Foster,
BLM Canyon Country District Paleontologist

Day 2 - May 24th

Moab, Green River Crossing, Emory County

San Rafael Swell, Salina Canyon, Richfield

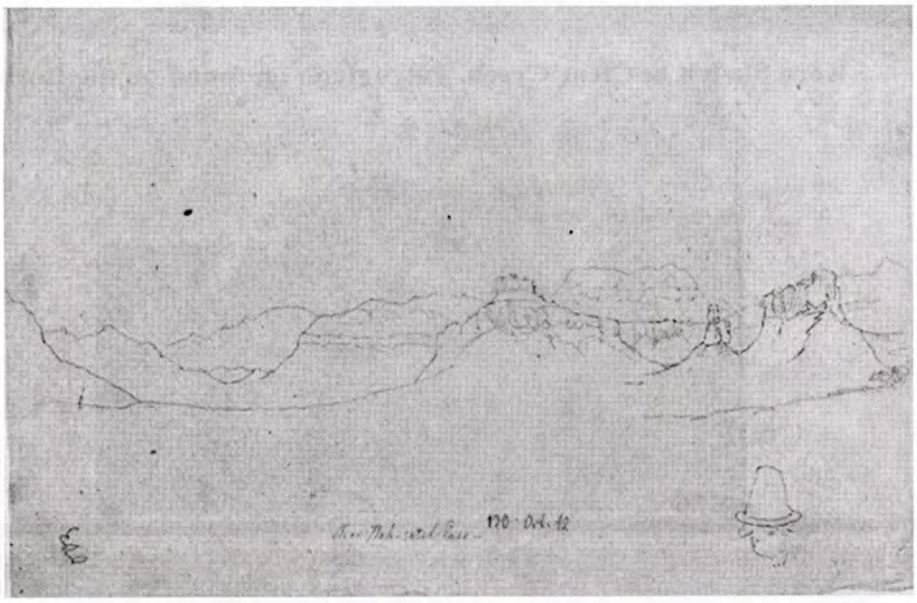
Day2 Moab Utah to Richfield Utah							
Point to Point	Distance	Travel Time (min)	Time at Stop (min)	accumulate Miles	Accumulated Time	Arrive at Stop	Estimated Time of Day of Departure from Stop
Moab							7:00 AM
Green River (Meet Wade, Silver Eagle	51	55	20	51	75	7:55:00 AM	8:15 AM
Spanish Trail Crossing	10	20	30	61	125	8:35:00 AM	9:05 AM
Green River, Restroom	10	20	20	71	165	9:25:00 AM	9:45 AM
Substation Turn Off	9	9	0	80	174	9:54:00 AM	9:54 AM
Green River Castle Dale Cut-Off	15	15	0	95	189	10:09:00 AM	10:09 AM
4 way intersection	15	30	30	110	249	10:39:00 AM	11:09 AM
Furniture Draw	15	30	30	125	309	11:39:00 AM	12:09 PM
Buckhorn Draw Rest Area	10	20	45	135	374	12:29:00 PM	1:14 PM
Stop 1 State Route Ten	30	35	30	165	439	1:49:00 PM	2:19 PM
Fremont Juncton Exit.	10	15	60	175	514	2:34:00 PM	3:34 PM
I-70 Stops towards Salina	30	35	30	205	579	4:09:00 PM	4:39 PM
Richfield	18	25	0	223	604	5:04:00 PM	5:04 PM



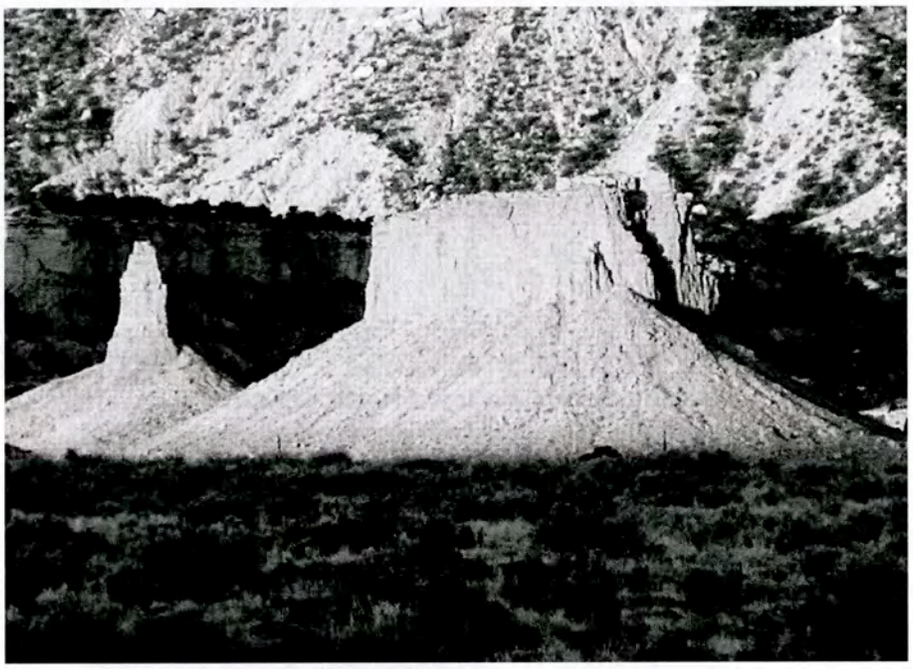
Richard H Kern's Sketches Then and Now John Willliam Gunnison Expedtion 1853

David Miller Jr. Provided Wade Allsinson with copies of sketches from Richard H. Kern, topographer and artist, field notes taken on the Gunnison Expedition of 1853. Wade Allisnon found these features in field and has taken photographs to cooberate the locations from which the sketechs were made.

In what has been called the worst massacre in expedition history, seven of the Gunnison Expedition members were killed by local Pavhant's, including Captain Gunnison and Richard H. Kern on October 26, 1853 west of Hinkley Utah in Sevier County

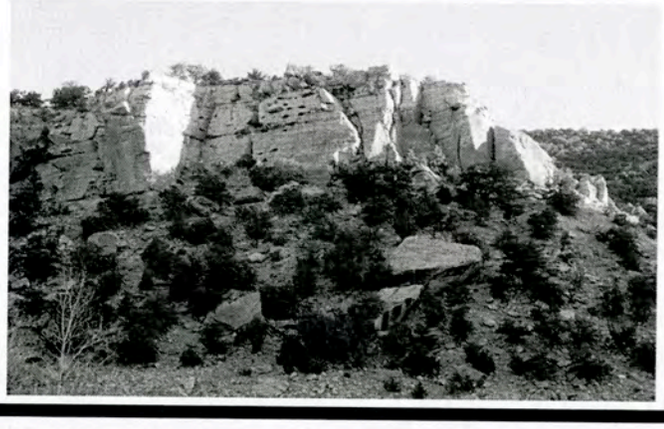


Netherly's Needle just south of Emery.



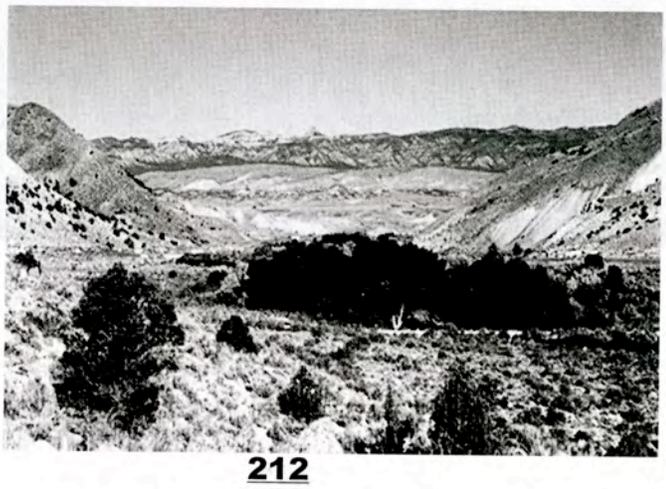


Kern Sketch in Clear Creek. Petroglyph on found on the Butte.





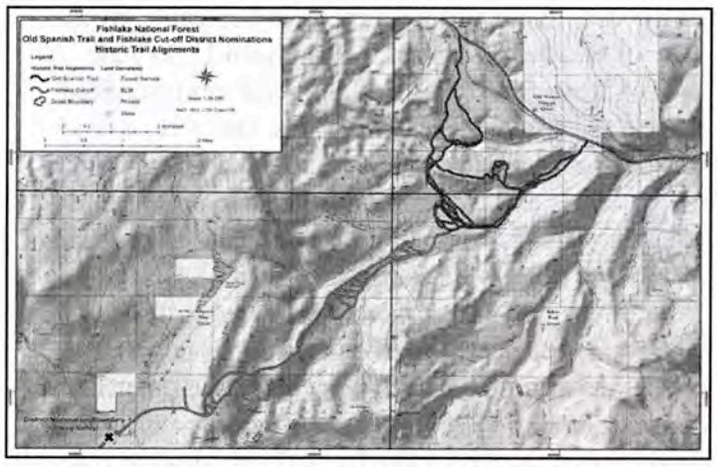
Entering Sevier Valley, Mouth of Salina Canyon



Beyond the Veil of Time: New Revelations from Red Creek

by Bob Leonard

Red Creek Canyon, in the northeast quadrant of the Fishlake NF, was "rediscovered" by Bob Leonard, Forest Archeologist, and Lydia Jakovac, International Volunteer, during the summer of 2009 (**Map 1**). The mapping of scarring across the landscape was initially confusing until a copy of Lt. E. G. Beckwith's 1855 report to the War Department came to light. Beckwith indicates that he and Capt. J. W. Gunnison had traveled up Red Creek for "two and one-half miles" where the Spanish Trail forked into northern and southern branches. The "southern branch" is now known as the Fish Lake Cut-off.



Map 1: The OST segments located on the Fishlake NF are the Fish Lake Cut-off segment and above the Cut-off, the V-shaped section of trail which dips to the southwest and then to the northwest once around a very deep gulch called Tommy Hollow. The FLCO rejoins the OST at the confluence of the Sevier River and the East Fork of the Sevier River near Junction, Utah.

Ditches, sometimes referred to as traces and swales, were noted from one side of the canyon to the other and extended southwest along the Fish Lake Cut-off while the Spanish Trail turned northwest around the head of a deep gully and ventured back to Wasatch Pass. Now, wish as we may, ditches cannot be dated to a particular period or event. Even with Beckwith's account, we only know that the two branches of the trail were in Red Creek Canyon as of October 1853. Adding in features such as cairns and rock inscriptions, the ditches still elude validation. And such is the plight of trails archeology which is taxing, complicated and, unfortunately, subjective. One man's horse and mule ditch is another's cow trail and we have had, in recent history, both cows and sheep plus elk in this section of our forest.

Communication is a wonderful tool. Marilyn Martorano of RMC Consultants, Inc. is a member of the Old Spanish Trail Archaeology and History Summit group site on Facebook. One fateful day I happened to read a

Continued on page 26

Cost of Living, *continued*

glers, cooks or campkeepers). Little wonder so many men risked the hardships of becoming trappers even when the traps cost ten pesos/dollars each, as two good pelts garnered more than one month's wages as a common laborer!

Once again, the importance of historic documents as windows to the past is admirably demonstrated through a comparison of the Martinez will and Wolfskill ledger. ♦

This article was the basis of a talk given to the Salida del Sol Chapter of OSTA this year, and first appeared in the Fall 1998 issue of Taos Lightnin', *a publication of the Kit Carson Historic Museums of which Skip Miller was a co-director at the time. He is currently the Forest Archæologist/Tribal Relations Lead with the Carson National Forest in Taos, New Mexico.*

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post by Marilyn that suggested that I, renowned ditch finder, get my nose out of the dirt and look around at the trees. I did and we now have a sizeable inventory of blazes and limbed trees (**Photo 1**). In June, USDA Research Biologist Stan Kitchen visited Red Creek and cored a number of trees. One tree, a dead ponderosa with a fire scar, documented one forest fire in the 1600s and two in the 1700s. Two large "pumkin" ponderosas with cultural modifications on Native American peels were sampled (**Photo 2**). One peel, with three "US" inscriptions, was dated to 1804 which dates only the peel, with the inscriptions occurring sometime after that date. The peel that was marred by ax was dated to 1838-1848. A 16-inch Douglas fir root lying across the Fish Lake Cut-off revealed damage episodes dating to 1804, 1825, 1834-35, 1844-45, 1868-69 and 1875 (**Photo 3**). The 1875 date may be associated with the Karl Grove Gilbert Expedition, a USGS geologist, and his pack mule train. Surprisingly, only one date (post-1900) is probably related to wagon travel along this section of trail that was thought to have been overrun by an 1880 wagon road. On the OST segment above North and Red creeks, a star -shaped blaze was inventoried, cored and analyzed (photo). The date of the blaze is 1794-1816 with cross-dating indicating a time closer to 1794 (**Photo 4**). Unlike traces, swales and circumstantial features, tree ring dates are nearly absolute.



Photo 1: Limbed trees are common on each margin of the North Creek corridor. They have been cut with an ax, are weathered grey and have lichen growing on the cut surface.

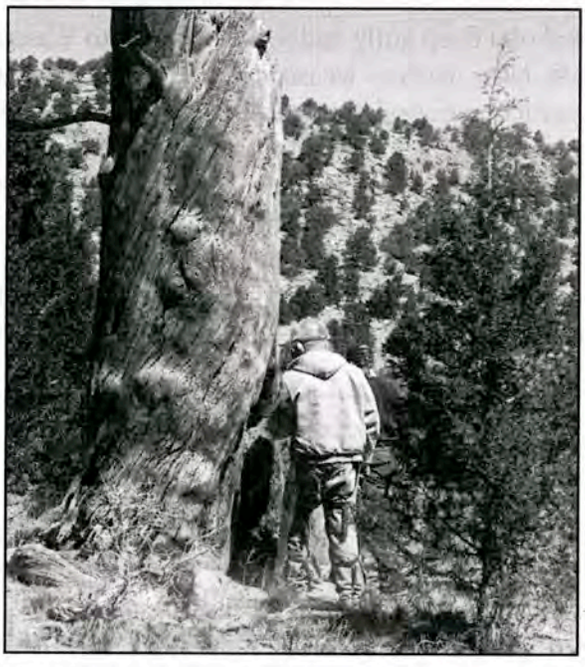


Photo 2: Dr. Stan Kitchen slices a "donut" from a dead ponderosa tree. This tree revealed the fire history of Red Creek Canyon.

Since the initial analyses, over 30 blazes and limbed trees have been recorded on the "driveway" leading up to the ridge above North Creek. The blazes are on old piñon trees and designs include rectangles, hearts, parallel slashes and narrow elongated scars which are found near the bases of the trees (**Photo 5).** Some trees contain two to three blazes and would have faced up and down traffic (photo). These trees, plus a devil-face tree up on the ridge, will be cored by Dr. Kitchen in October. Some have suggested that this driveway and grove of blazes is a sheep driveway from 1900-1930. According to Vince Pace and Bob Tuttle, Fishlake NF range conservationists with 70 years of service on this district, the "herders would not have gone to the effort" to get 1200-1500 sheep up to a ridge to which they would have been programmed by nature to wander to naturally. And yes, we know about porcupines



Photo 3: A large root lying across part of the FLCO was sampled with a chainsaw to ascertain damage episodes. This location is over 8,000 feet elevation and the tree cover consists of fir, spruce and aspen. No porcupine damage was noted anywhere on this slope.



Photo 4: The star blaze is 15 years older than the earliest OST traffic on the trail in central Utah. Could it represent early Spanish commercial ventures to Utah Lake?

and are cautious about some, not all, of the blazes.

Does this mean sheep were never on the ridge? Few sections of the OST are pristine. Near the confluence of Red and North creeks, sheepherders built a c. 1900 dugout in the *middle* of the OST corridor where it parallels the creek. A presumed OST blaze and limbed tree, on the north side of the camp, marks the Santa Fe to Los Angeles trail. In their wanderings, sheep could have used the OST driveway, to the south of the dugout, on their way to the top of the ridge. Herders probably rode their horses this way but are not thought to have limbed trees or left blazes along this 500-foot wide corridor. Around the star blaze, a recent survey found a small sheep camp, two WWII-era rifle cartridges and an archaic projectile point that pre-dates the birth of Christ. However, the largest impacts to this ridge-top environment were not Americans Indians, sheep or hunters but rather OST mules and horses. And the number of early 19th-century livestock appears to be substantial.

Thanks to Lydia Jakovac who pushed me to look at the North Creek ridge, Marilyn Martorano who encouraged me to look at the trees, Linda Chappell and Bob Campbell, USFS ecologists who arranged the tree ring coring, and Stan Kitchen, our dendrochronlogist for both his time in the field and the laboratory. Collaboration and communication do have a prominent and constructive place in trails archeology. ♦

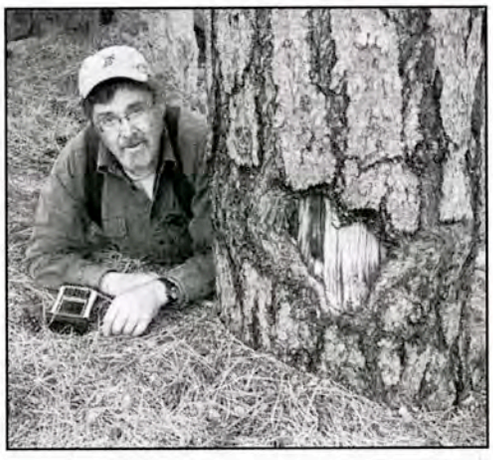


Photo 5: There are at least four heart-shaped blazes on the driveway leading up the North Creek driveway. One was even found on an old gray and barkless piñon tree lying on the edge of the trail corridor.

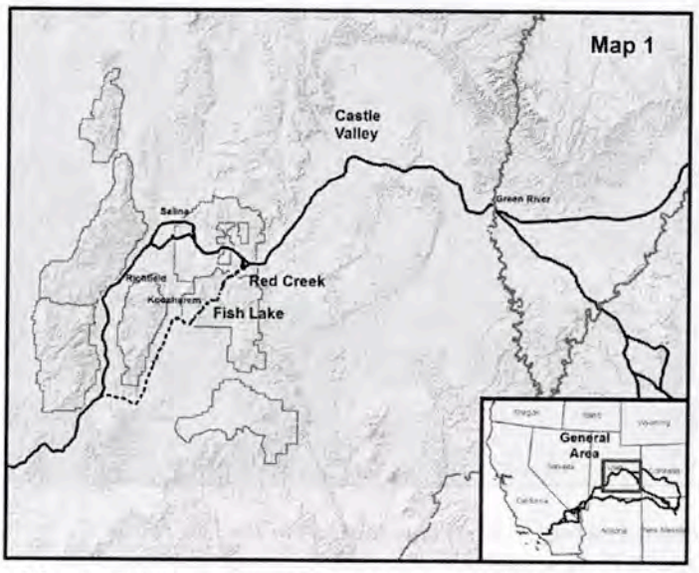
Red Creek Canyon: The Final Chapter?

By Bob Leonard

Truth is like the sun. You can shut it out for a time, but it ain't goin' away (Elvis Presley 1935-1977)

Motivated by a hard landing on two miles of the Fish Lake Cutoff (FLCO) (42SV2828) during a Dixie harrow project, I began a voluntary survey in 2009 to delineate any remaining trail remnants. My survey compatriot was Lydia Jakovac, an International Volunteer on sabbatical from a teaching job in British Columbia. We found many traces and swales extending from Grass Valley near Koosharem, Utah that ascended the Fish Lake Plateau to the Quakie Haven Resort south of the lake (Map 1). A year later, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) hired Alpine Archaeology of Montrose, Colorado, to resurvey access points to Fish Lake. Alpine judiciously recorded Government Land Office (GLO) roads and dissected a good number of historic "precursor" roads or roads thought to be in existence before the GLO recorded them. This included what we had considered the main FLCO corridor. However, we remain convinced that this lineal trail feature, characterized by two swales to six or so swales, is intermittently present from the hill above the south end of Fish Lake to State Road 24 and beyond. This corridor meets the criteria, in our opinion, of an "unaltered trail" now used by cattle.

After a year of joint efforts by the Forest Service and the BLM to nominate 90 miles of the Old Spanish Trail (42SV2621) and the FLCO to the National Register of Historic Places, the BLM decided that it no longer wanted to participate in the nomination. We hired a consultant, SWCA of Salt Lake City, Utah, to reformat the nomination and to shorten it to 11 miles of trails on lands managed by the Forest Service. This proved to be the silver lining to a dark cloud (i.e., no private land) and the nomination was eventually listed on the National Register of Historic Places (2013). After finishing in the Koosharem area, we landed in Red Creek Canyon where the trail dropped from the wastes of Castle Valley and entered the relatively lush lands of central Utah (Map 1).

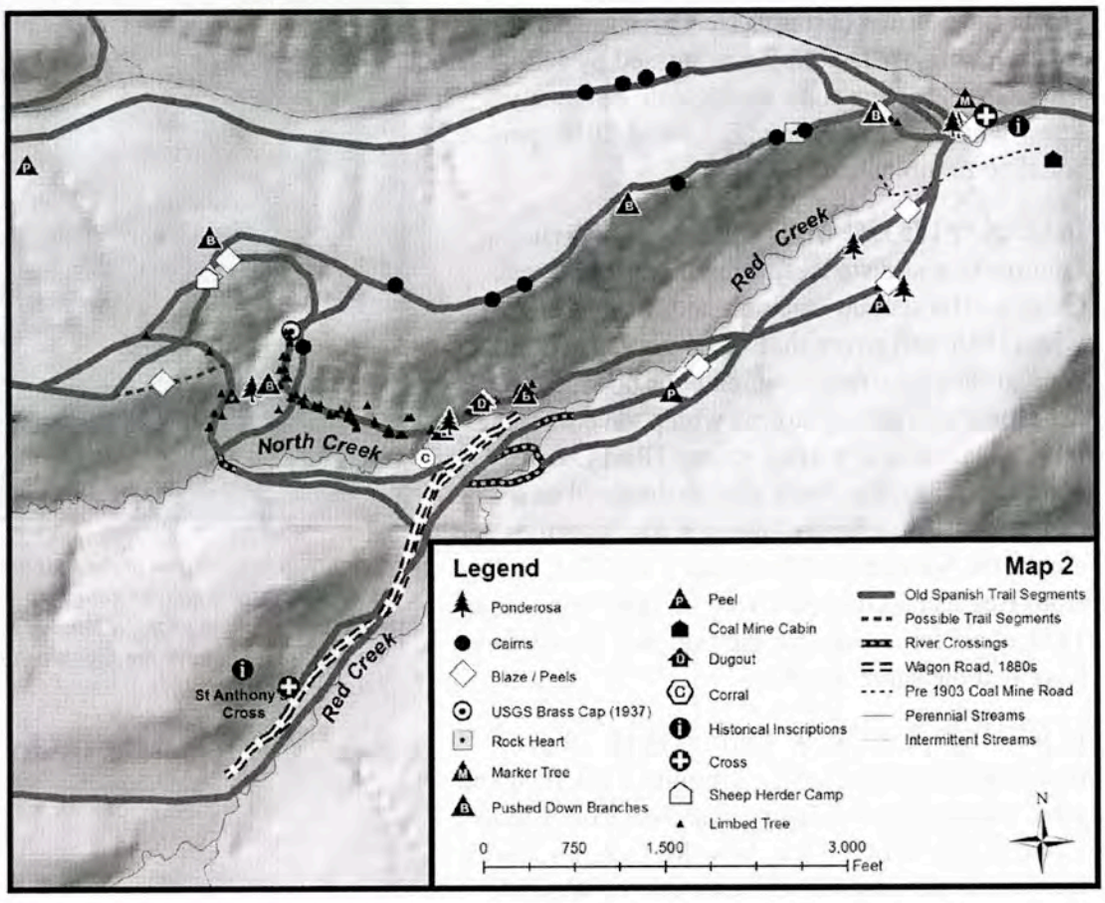


Map 1: Vicinity map showing Red Creek, Fish Lake and the town of Kooharem. The OST is represented by a heavy black line and the Fishlake Cutoff has been dashed. The Fishlake National Forest designated by blocked units.

The north end of the FLCO and the approximate middle of the Main Branch of the OST are seemingly complex in a landscape cloaked by topographic relief and trees (Photo 1). Red Creek is remote, underutilized by the public and mostly pristine. The trail system was literally hiding in plain sight, although it has taken me the better part of five years to connect all of the dots. I am an historic archaeologist and I began my career at Bent's Old Fort excavating the ice house (Leonard 2013:10-12). This experience did not prepare me for analyzing the linear features in Red Creek, trying to separate the traces of horses, mules, cows, sheep, elk, log skidding, wagon roads, and erosion.

In the beginning we labored under many misconceptions, including one that was dramatic in terms of our mindset. We entered the canyon at its mouth and

42SV2828, the professional site number developed by the Smithsonian and used by all the states. For example, 42 is Utah, SV is Sevier County and 2828 is the number for the FLCO. The number is referenced in the first mention of the site. For example, "the FLCO (42SV2828) begins 2.5 miles south of. . . ."



Map 2: The east side of the Red Creek area. Features discovered during multiple surveys from 2009-2014 are illustrated.

followed what Crampton and Madsen (1994:61) had described as the FLCO. I assumed that the OST was in back of us and was simply underneath the pavement of I-70 where it climbed Wasatch Pass. When Lydia found a multitude of traces turning from the southwest back to the northwest, only then did we realize that we were on the OST. This roughly horseshoe-shaped dip allowed herders to steer their livestock around the head of a historically deep and impassable gully. Therefore, the junction of the OST and the FLCO is exactly where Capt. Gunnison said it was: 2.5 miles south of the mouth of the canyon and I-70 at the bottom of the horseshoe-shaped dip (Map 2). Of interest, we found the Gunnison (Beckwith 1855) report *after* Lydia had found the trail turning.

Lydia's "trail" wasn't the only one. *Depending upon the decision of the herder*, the major eastbound caravans and westbound trains would have used one of three major corridors present in or near the canyon. One route is on the east bench above Red Creek, another avenue climbs the ridge on the west side of the creek, and the final skirts the west side of Tommy Hollow. When they were able, herders used benches, ridge tops and the toes of ridge slopes to keep their stock out of the sagebrush and riparian vegetation (Photo 2). In Red Creek, there was a common strategy which reflected the movement of every OST/FLCO pack train or caravan. This was getting around the gully, called Tommy Hollow, which used converging trail corridors that crossed at a single pinch point, a one-hundred-foot-wide ford (Photo 3).

Consider the following observations made by United States military personnel between 1853-1858.

1. In July 1853, Lt. E. F. Beale (Hafen and Hafen 1993: 215) said "we continued to travel parallel to the hills [I-70 corridor] in the south by a west course [from the junction of Interstate 70 and State Road 10], and in seven miles came to a gap, giving issue to a small stream [Red Creek], which we ascended three miles." Beale and his *pack mule train* continued on to the south end of the Sevier Valley

where they turned east up a trail over the Antelope Mountains. This trail was missed by Jedediah Smith in 1826 who rode west. Beale obviously knew where he was going [E. Lyman 2010: personal communication).

2. In October 1853, Capt. J. W. Gunnison, giving landmarks and distances, turned into Red Creek Canyon. His second-in-command, Lt. E. G. Beckwith (1855: 66) wrote that "This gorge is cut into deep gullies by streams which pour down from the mountains during storms which gave us some labor to cross; and a small stream [Red Creek] coming in from the south also so detained us a short time. But, after following it for two miles and a half, the Spanish trail branches [OST/FLCO]." Both Beale and Gunnison were military men on an 1853 quest for a route for the railroad. Could they have had the same map?

3. In July 1858, Col. W. W. Loring (1946: 49), commanding three companies of mounted riflemen and three companies of infantry, marched from Camp Floyd, Utah, to Ft. Union, New Mexico, improving the road as he went. On the east side of Wasatch Pass, Loring (p. 57) wrote, "At this creek [Clear Creek] there is a good camp with a good quantity of grass, wood and water, pinyon and cottonwood trees. For ¾ of a mile, cut the road through the canyon, along the creek with no little labor." [Tommy Hollow, Red Creek, Clear Creek]

4. It is also worth mentioning that for 30 years of my career, I was led to believe that the extensive gullying in the Wasatch Pass vicinity was the result of historic over-grazing from 1875-1905. As Gunnison (Beckwith 1855: 66) describes, deep gullies existed in 1853, 23 years before the introduction of sheep and cattle.

Archaeologists work with two types of data, the absolute and the circumstantial. We consider the Red Creek documentation, taken as a whole, to be as absolute as possible for an historic trails survey. We also have features that are circumstantial, but when grouped together they become very compelling. The swales and traces of the area are consistent with large numbers of livestock being moved across the landscape (i.e., herd-



Photo 1: In comparison to the east and west deserts of Utah, the green plateau and canyon country between I-70 and I-15 is lush. In the center of the photo, a band of disturbed soil and vegetation can be seen just above the sagebrush in the canyon bottom. This is a corridor of the OST.

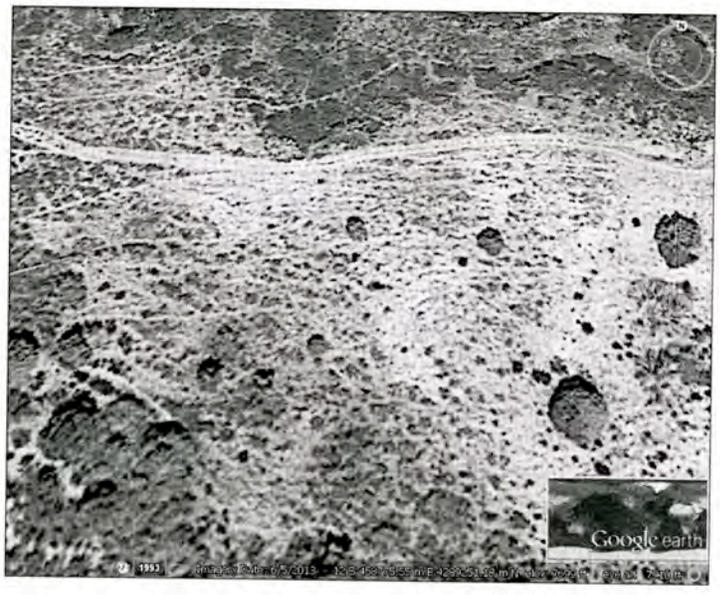


Photo 2: Satellite image of the disturbed band showing traces and swales on a side hill, thus avoiding the sagebrush and creekside vegetation along North Creek in the upper part of the photo. The trail veers right, crosses a ford and climbs to the west ridge corridor.

ing). Cows and sheep, in contrast, are allowed to drift individually or in small groups, at their own pace, and in whatever direction. Their configuration is scattered (Smith 1998). OST and FLCO traces and swales are straight, parallel and can measure up to 300 feet in width. This is consistent with Beckwith's (1855:65) observations of the OST during the passage of the Gunnison Expedition through Castle Valley.

Other circumstantial features are made of stone: three inscriptions, a system of cairns, and a mystery boulder. The inscriptions start at the mouth of the canyon where a cross inside a shield has been incised into a boulder. Two miles into the canyon, a St. Anthony's Cross is pecked into a boulder, and upslope, on the rim rock of the ridge, someone has carefully crafted a "JS". We were sure this was left by Jedediah Smith but according to western rock art historian James Knipmeyer (2011: personal communication), Jed is not known to have left his initials anywhere. Knipmeyer, nonetheless, was impressed with the very ornate style of the inscription, which looks like the margin header out of a Latin Bible, and stated that he had never seen anything like it. As for the cross, the "T" symbol is a character in the Greek alphabet and even dates back to ancient Egypt. The "T", without the bulb on the right arm, is a livestock brand registered by Thomas Davis & Sons of Cleveland, Utah, in 1900 (Division of Animal Industry Brand Books 1849-1930, USDA) Cleveland is 56 miles northeast of Red Creek. Archie Jeffs, a WW II veteran, is known to have scratched his brand, a capital "A" with a "J" hanging from the cross arm (W. Allinson 2015: personal communication). The St. Anthony's Cross could well be a vestige of the OST or it could represent an early 20th century cattle brand. Current archaeological techniques will not allow us to date the inscription or to determine the motives of the inscriber.



Photo 3: This is the ford where OST traffic was crossing Tommy Hollow, facing north towards the I-70 corridor. The hollow was named for Tommy Simpers, the companion of the Bennion teenagers and their 2,000-head herd (1876).



Photo 4: This is one variation of the cairns in the Red Creek area. This marks the corridor which runs on the slopes to the east of Tommy Hollow. There are five cairns in a short distance, and they define the lineal corridor and also act as a barrier keeping stock from dropping down into the vegetative mess along the hollow.

The cairns are fascinating. People mark a trail in unfamiliar territory. It is unlikely that early cattlemen or sheepherders built cairns on their own ranges (V. Pace 2012: personal communication). OST parties coming in from wide-open deserts may have been apprehensive about taking a wrong turn in the woods with a pack train or caravan behind them. Cairns define the trail on the west ridge above Red Creek: five cairns prevent stock from dropping off of the slope above Tommy Hollow and into the brush, and three cairns signal the access points to a ridgeline where the FLCO begins (Photo 4).

Two cairns appear to be associated with historic land surveys. They were used to prop up cedar posts. One post sports a 6d. wire nail and suggests that flagging was used to aid surveyors needing a clear line-of-sight. A third, problematic, cairn rests on a stacked rock base

and supports a pillar of stone. It may be a line-of-sight target but does not sit on a section line or corner. It is also oriented magnetic north-south when surveyors use true north. Unfortunately, culturally modified stone is stone and it can't be dated nor can the identity or the motive of the carver be delineated. But the other 13 cairns in the inventory have evenly distributed lichen, "look" old, and all, of significant interest, were found *after* the trail corridors were mapped. Their very specific patterning would *suggest* legitimacy.

The strangest and most mysterious stone feature found in the Red Creek area is on the west ridge corridor. It is a 5-foot wide x 5-foot tall heart in the middle of the trail (Photo 5). The top part of the stone appears to have been hewn to make the boulder look like a heart and the boulder appears to have been placed and blocked at the right toe to prevent it from toppling. The heart must weigh several tons.

There are well over a hundred piñon and juniper trees that have been limbed and some actually cut down. It is thought that cedar posts were used by the early cattlemen and sheepherders to build corrals. However, limbing is an entirely different activity that was apparently done to make a way through the piñon and juniper canopy for livestock larger than sheep. This was a practice at the OST Bunker Campsite on the North Branch in Colorado (A. Krall 2012: personal communication). The limbing looks to be on the older trees and presents a lineal pattern (see Map 2). One limbed corridor that accesses the west ridge has slopes that look heavily disturbed (Photo 6). This is a ridge without water and even today's cattle spend little to no time up there. We also have branches on juniper trees that have been pushed down (Photo 7). Red Creek is not a heavy snow area so could the branches represent temporary shelters?

One relatively new technique of investigation is the identification of protein residue still present on artifacts even after +1,000 years. I have had arrowheads and spear points, from separate sites, with protein (probably blood) from cougars and porcupines. Recognizing that OST livestock were unshod and that hooves are mostly protein, I had the money to test one rock in a beaten trace for protein. There were elk droppings within a foot of the rock but the analysis by PaleoResearch Institute of Golden, Colorado, came up negative for equus and elk, sheep, cows, and deer. One sample is simply not enough.

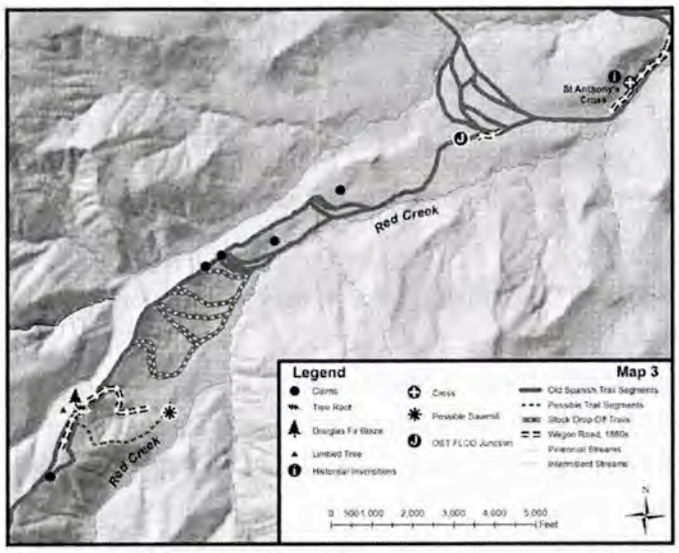
And now, the best for last. I have just received my final dendrochronological dates for both the OST and FLCO (see Maps 2 and 3). Tree ring samples were taken and analyzed by Dr. Stan Kitchen of the Shrub



Photo 5: Climbing the west ridge corridor from the mouth of Red Creek Canyon, a seemingly-shaped heart is encountered about halfway to the top. Note the stones at the base of the heart, on the right, which block the object and prevent it from falling over.



Photo 6: Corridor from North Creek up to the summit of the west ridge corridor. This trail access is heavily disturbed and has been limbed.



Map 3: The west side of the Red Creek area. Features discovered during multiple surveys from 2009-2014 are illustrated.

Sciences Laboratory, Rocky Mountain Research Station, U.S. Forest Service, Provo, Utah. We discovered six blazes on the OST. They are shaped like a cross, vertical overgrown scars, and a devil face with horns. The dates, from earliest to latest, are 1795 (west ridge, cross blaze on a piñon pine), 1813-1814 and 1818-1819 (east bench, one blaze marked twice in June or early July on a dead ponderosa), 1836 (east bench, marked in late June or early July on a ponderosa), 1840+/-10 (ax cut ponderosa), 1899-1900 (east bench ponderosa, livestock men?) and 1927 (west ridge, devil face, ax cut limbs, probably livestock men?).



Photo 7: Pushed down limbs, on the older trees, may form the frame for a temporary structure like a modified wikiup.

On the FLCO, there is a large root, 16 inches across, that has been damaged by livestock, wagons and vehicles: the injuries date to 1797-1798, 1806-1807, 1837-1838, 1844-45, 1875-1876, 1889-1890, 1908, 1922, 1926-1927, 1936-1937, 1942-1943 and 1960. There are no damage episodes on the root after 1960 because the Forest Service moved the road away from the 1880s wagon tracks (Nielsen 1903). Uphill, a blazed Douglas fir tree with a pronounced bent limb points to the northeast, away from the root, to pristine swales and traces on a very steep slope (Photo 8). This indicates that the FLCO spreads out on the slope and only the 10-foot road corridor was impacted by wagons and vehicles. The fir tree blaze was dated to 1796-1797 and although Native Americans are *reported* to have used the cambium layer of Douglas fir trees, studies reference the discovery of only modified ponderosa trees in Utah and New Mexico (Allen and Skousen 2009: 3, M. Kyte 2010 and B Loosle 2010: personal communication).

Native American people, most likely the San Pitch Utes (Loring 1946: 56), were removing the cambium membrane from some ponderosa trees in Red Creek during times of scarcity. The peels date to 1803 or 1804 (east bench), and 1836 (east bench, marked late June, early July when eastbound traffic was in the canyon). Two peels on the slopes of Tommy Hollow were recorded but not analyzed. A single fire-scarred tree, on the north end of the canyon, was also sampled and yielded fire episodes in the canyon of 1653, 1704-



Photo 8: Vertical blaze on the FLCO which points to swales coming uphill from the northeast. This blaze was dated to 1796, marked in late June or early July. Note the cultural bend in the limb in the upper left of the photo.

1705, and 1752-1753.

Final tally is seven datable injuries in the Red Creek area (two post-date the OST and other was not cored), one fallen ponderosa with a double-marked blaze, two piñon pine trees with blazes, one Douglas fir with a blaze, one Douglas fir root with injuries, and one ponderosa, and three junipers felled or limbed in front of a ponderosa blaze. Five ponderosas have been peeled and two ponderosas were fire-scarred.

In reference to interpreting blazes and peels, archaeologists have taken the "if I don't understand it, it must be ceremonial" approach. A blaze or peel is an injury to a tree by human hands, or "culturally modified trees." We can tell you when the injury happened although we have absolutely no idea who did it or anything about their motives. Here are an array of interpretations about peels and blazes that Rio Grande archaeologist Angie Krall (2015: personal communication) came up with.

1. The OST followed Indian trails as did earlier Spanish traders. The peels served, in a secondary fashion, as markers for later travelers.
2. Some peels were renovated into blazes by travelers using an ax or simply re-marking them.
3. Some peels were intended as trail markers when oriented towards a trail corridor.
4. Three peels/blazes in Red Creek were marked during June or early July. This is the green-up period at 8,000 feet and alternative food sources were available. Trees marked during this period in the 1830s and 1840s, and regardless of what they were using them for, overlapped with the arrival of eastbound caravans. Were the San Pitch Utes there to trade? Jed Smith, somewhere on "Ashley's River" in August 1826, encountered another Ute band, "a nation of Indians who call themselves Sampatch." The Indians received Smith cordially and in turn received of his largess (Morgan 1964:1964).

Bottom line, every tree with a blaze or peel does not necessarily represent some Native American carving a tree trunk for food or whatever. The profession may have assumed way too much (Allen and Skousen 2009:10-11).

If you were to *loosely* correlate the dendrochronological dates with activities and travelers in Red Creek Canyon, here are some suggestions to the historical context.

1795-1797: Spanish travelers, probably traders, San Pitch Utes

1806-1807: Manuel Metas, trader

1813-1819: Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia, traders

1837-1838, 1844-1845: OST and FLCO, San Pitch Utes

1875-1876: Bennion brothers, Tommy Simpers, cowboys, geologist Karl Grove Gilbert

1889-1890: cows and sheep, Emery to Wayne County wagon road

1908: U.S. Forest Service begins management

1960s: Forest Road 141 renovated with switchbacks, FLCO avoided

The presentation of these dates is not meant to suggest that they were left by the travelers mentioned above but only attempts to familiarize the reader with the historic activities in the canyon around the time of the tree ring dates.



Photo 9: Passport in Time volunteer kneels near a large cairn on the FLCO. The marker is still intact on the right but looks to have spilled to the left. This feature is located at one of the access points for the trail on a ridge spine.

Combining information gleaned from interviews with specialists and advocates, historical accounts, dendrochronology, and archaeological survey, we can conclude the following.

1. Mules travelling in a *train* were not tied head to tail. Brewerton (1855) referred to their mules as a "mob". They were loose but followed a bell mare (B. Hooverson 2011: personal communication). Pack trains can easily leave a trail 50 feet wide although, according to Richard Waller (2015: personal correspondence), there are times when mules are prone to single-file it. Where pack trains and caravans were using the same corridor, it should be difficult to separate the traces of the two groups. To see a short video of a U.S. Army pack train from the Spanish American War go to www.criticalpast.com/video/65675065296_army-mules_Spanish-American-War_mules-carry-ammunition_mule-skinners. If you haven't seen the new video with the pack train scouts ("explorodores"), go to www.youtube.com/watch?v=b_IaZnzl-Ig

2. When not constricted by the landscape, large horse and mule herds were shaped like a tear drop, with the boss mare in front, the dominate animals in the middle, and the sub-dominate stock on the outside with the stallion. Animals were herded at their natural pace, about 3.3 mph and they spread out. Some of our traces are 250 to 300 feet wide. "Expresses" were faster and Carson's 1848 party made Santa Fe in six weeks. Caravans could take months and Carson, finding himself behind a 1,000 head herd stretched out for a mile on the trail, made a dash around the behemoth (Brewerton 1855: 35-6).

3. Herders made decisions on the trail which dictated their routes across and through landscapes. Decision variables might include terrain, trail conditions, weather, water, forage, sustenance, and defense. In Red Creek, they seem to have preferred ridge tops and slopes which allowed the livestock to stay out of the brushy vegetation in the bottom of the canyon. In the fall, and with good weather, California-bound pack trains may well have turned south on the FLCO. The trail to Fish Lake is markedly less arduous, if we can believe Gunnison (Beckwith 1855: 68) and Loring (1946: 56), than the OST route to the Sevier Valley. And of course, the abundance of fish protein at Fish Lake would have been an incentive in a region where deer, elk, and antelope were scarce (Kay 2009: personal communication).

4. Herders marked their way through this timbered region. They used cairns and blazes as trail guides. Cairns can be as simple as two large stacked stones with one pointed end. Cairns can be carefully stacked or appear to be a jumble of rocks. Some cairns are so subtle that in Red Creek, I walked by one for years. It is a large slab of rock on top of an outcrop and balanced with a small wedge stone (Photo 9). It was pointed out to me by one of my Passport in Time volunteers, who explored the area with metal detectors.

5. It is well documented that Native Americans peeled the cambium membrane from ponderosa trees for starvation food and medicines (Allen and Skousen 2009: 1-2) and we have documented at least five. However, one blaze, which or may not have started as a peel, has been classified as a blaze on the basis of significant attributes (Photo 10). The blaze is located at the convergence of two major trail corridors, the west ridge and the east bench. The bottom of the ponderosa blaze is four



Photo 10: Most archaeologists would call this a peel but because of its orientation, and delimbing of obstructing trees, I believe that it is a blaze facing the traffic descending from the west ridge corridor.



Photo 11: "Marker" tree above the blazed ponderosa. This may have directed travelers into Red Creek Canyon. Not post-cutting, note that the roots have been cut, killing the tree and preventing regrowth from obscuring the marker.

feet from the ground and is high enough to clear a ledge of rock that would have obscured it from travelers coming down off the west ridge. The blaze is oriented to a high point on the ridge trail. Three cedar trees and one small ponderosa, cloaking the blaze, were cut down or severely limbed with an ax. Cross-dating these trees, unfortunately, was not successful. However, the blaze was cored and dates to 1840+/-10 years. Above the blazed ponderosa on a bench, a cedar tree has been cut into the shape of a notch and all of its roots have been severed thus killing the tree and preventing regrowth (Photo 11). The bare trunk tree is visible from Ivie Creek and may have signaled the turn into Red Creek.

6. People who may have traveled through the Red Creek Canyon include Manuel Metas (1805), Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia (1813), Jedediah Smith (1826), Denis Julien (1832), Wakara (1840s), Benjamin Choteau (1848), Kit Carson (1848), George Brewerton (1848), Old Bill Williams (1848), Orville Pratt (1849), E. F. Beale (1853) John Gunnison (1853), Alfred Billings (1855), William Loring (1858), Blackhawk (1860s), and Carl Gilbert (1875).

Conclusions

We all realize that trails, made by animals and humans, are used and reused over time, but Red Creek was a surprise. I never thought that the OST would dip to the southwest from I-70 and I certainly didn't expect Spanish traffic on both the OST and the FLCO during the late 18th century. Two blazes and a damaged root (Douglas firs and a piñon pine) document this travel and suggest that Jed Smith, when he dropped out of Castle Valley, was simply following established trails. Travel, confirmed by additional blazes and damage episodes on the root, documents that traffic continues in the 1830s and 1840s. Ground disturbance suggests that the passage of stock was "massive".

The human mind is a mysterious contraption. One of its many functions is to put different pieces of information into different boxes. Psychologists call this "compartmentalization." In the early 1990s, I arranged to have Lincoln Land Community College of Springfield, Illinois, survey the Fish Lake Basin. On the north end of the lake, they discovered an area with ashy soils and apparent rock alignments (42SV2229). In 1995, Dr. Joel Janetski of BYU partnered with the Forest Service and the Paiute Tribe of Utah to excavate the site. What they found was a fishing village consisting of wikiups that had been intermittently used from AD 200 to the Late Prehistoric Period. In two separate areas of the encampment they found an iron moccasin awl, two metal arrowpoints, a tinkler and glass trade beads dating to c. 1840 (DeVore 1992). The fact that there is a native, albeit *seasonal*, population at Fish Lake, coupled with European use of the FLCO dating from 1795 to 1848, makes a good argument for commercialism.

I will be retired by August of this year. However, the Fishlake National Forest has been exceptionally supportive of the Old Spanish Trail project. I am confident that they would issue permits to trails-oriented consultants, not focused on wagon roads or 3-foot-wide pack trails, to review Red Creek. And of course, as a private citizen, you are welcome to do your own "Leave No Trace" survey without permits. Consider this a standing invitation. ✦

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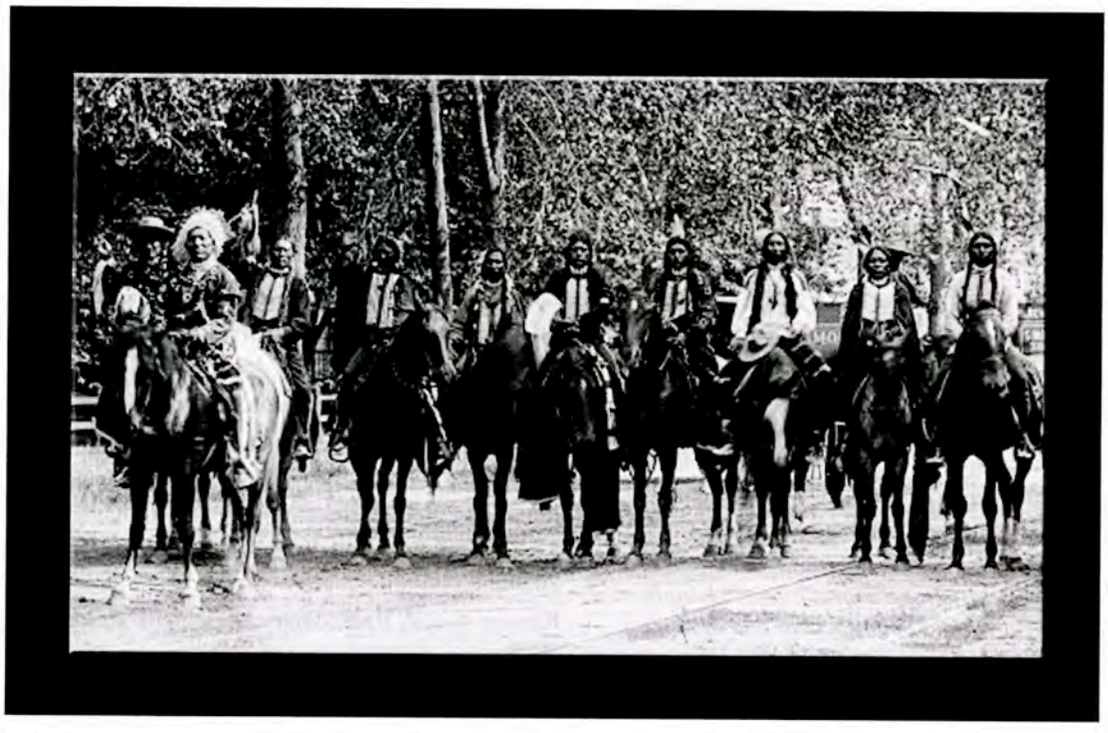
Bob Leonard began his Forest Service career as an historic archaeologist in 1975. Since 1980 he has been the Heritage Program Manager on the Fishlake National Forest, and in 1996 he was named the National Forest Interpreter of the Year. He will retire this August.

Day 3 - May 25th

Richfield, Fish Lake, Junction,

Circleville, Bear Valley, Parowan, Cedar City

Day 3, Richfiled Utah to Cedar City, Utah							
Point to Point	Distance	Travel Time (min)	Time at Stop (min)	accumulate Miles	Accumulated Time	Arrive at Stop	Estimated Time of Day of Departure from Stop
Richfield Utah	50	60					8:00 AM
Stop 1 - south end interpretative signs	40	60	45	40	105	9:00:00 AM	9:45 AM
Stop 2 - archaeological sites	10	15	45	50	165	10:00:00 AM	10:45 AM
Stop 3 - Johnson Lake interpretative signs	5	10	45	55	220	10:55:00 AM	11:40 AM
Fish Lake Lodge - lunch & history	10	15	80	65	315	11:55:00 AM	1:15 PM
Kingston intrepretative sign	50	60	30	90	195	2:15:00 PM	2:45 PM
Circleville	6	10	45	96	250	2:55:00 PM	3:40 PM
Highway 20 - Upper Bear Valley Rd	20	20		116	270	4:00:00 PM	4:00 PM
Upper Bear Valley Stop 1	5	10	30	121	310	4:10:00 PM	4:40 PM
Upper Bear Valley Stop 2	10	20	30	131	360	5:00:00 PM	5:30 PM
Paragonah	5	10		136	370	5:40:00 PM	5:40 PM
Cedar City	25	20		161	390	6:00:00 PM	6:00 PM



Some insights into the Fish Lake Cut-off

New information shows this section of the Old Spanish Trail got heavy use for forage

Editor's Note: The following is from Spanish Traces, a publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association, Spring 2012 edition:

BY EDWARD LEO LYMAN AND ROBERT LEONARD

The Old Spanish Trail, a pack mule route from Santa Fe, New Mexico to Los Angeles, California, served as a vital segment of the first travel and trade route from the Pacific Coast by continuing on the adjacent link of the Santa Fe Trail to St. Joseph, Missouri, then on the western-most edge of the United States, during the main period of its use (1829-1848).

In the past four years, much new information has been discovered about an important variation-return route, the Fish Lake Cut-off, which aimed to take advantage of better forage and a shorter distance in the summer months when the snow was gone from the high mountains of present central Utah.

'Artifact-in-place'

The annual national conference of the Old Spanish Trail Association to be held at Richfield, Utah on June 14 and 15, 2012 will focus particular attention on this important historical "artifact-in-place." Guided tours to several segments of this route will be available. This segment of the trail has not yet been recognized by Congress as part of the national historic trail. Congressional recognition will take more documentation demonstrating use as a trade route, although the ruts are quite an eloquent testament to such use in driving trade animals along its course.

These high-demand animals herded over the trail annually by the thousands, up to perhaps 30,000 in the 18-year period of trade, left remnant swale-ruts on the mountain slope south of the east end of Red Creek-Salina Canyon that experts have correctly argued to be visible evidence of this important road, even though not used as such in more than 150 years.

After Franciscan fathers, Atanasio Domínguez and Sylvestre Escalante, first explored a variant of the eastern segment of the Old Spanish Trail in 1776, Jedediah S. Smith and his fur trapping brigade did similar trail blazing from the eastern end of the Red Creek-Salina Canyon passageway through the Wasatch Mountains all the way to Needles on the lower Colorado River of California,



Fishlake Forest Archeologist, Bob Leonard, stands in one of the swales of the Old Spanish Trail at Red Creek, Fishlake NF.

over half the trail's total distance in 1826. Just three years later, Antonio Armijo, a New Mexican trader with men and pack mules followed the Domíguez-Escalante return route from present southern Utah to Santa Fe (going the opposite direction), crossing the Colorado where the padres did (now under Lake Pow-ell), then following close to the present Arizona-Utah border. They thereafter blazed a new trail more directly to California by traveling past Las Vegas Wash to the Mojave River, instead of following the difficult Colorado River course south-ward as Jed Smith had done. They sold their manufactured goods, including New Mexico woolens at good profits. Two small portions of the Armijo company then headed home immediately, but more than a third stayed longer.

'Profitable trade route'

This latter group, led by Armijo, gathered a considerable number of horses and mules, purchased at low prices, to herd back over the return trail. It took them 56 days to make their way to Santa Fe. But finding welcome markets for their new livestock there, they fully inaugurated the trail as a profitable trade route in both directions, utilized every year thereafter until Mexico lost the huge region (the Mexican Cession) to the United States in 1848.

LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fé to Los Angeles: With Extracts from Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954, reprint, paper, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 169.

Soon Missouri too became a major market for California mules and horses.

The mainstay of the transportation system, both as car-

riers and the chief return merchandise, was the mule, which for Hispanic and Anglo-Americans alike proved better suited than horses or oxen for the formidable desert road-ways. The animals were more able to subsist on the inconstant and sometimes alkaline water and equally scarce grass feed. Certainly some years saw a greater number of pack mules and return animals on the Old Spanish Trail. In 1830, there were at least 125 New Mexican men known to be engaged procuring livestock in southern California to take back over the trail. Even if the average number of horses and mules each trader secured was only ten head, which might be a low estimate, that would be over 1,200 driven back toward New Mexico that year.

In the summer of 1841, Francisco Estevan Vigil, a regular entrepreneur-organizer of many of these expeditions who often assembled large numbers of horses and mules at Los Angeles, started a huge herd of 4,141 legally-cleared animals out through Cajon Pass, the largest animal herd ever known to have traversed the entire trail.

Hafen and Hafen, Old Spanish Trail, 185-86, 244.

Still visible ruts

One can imagine the deepening of the still-visible parallel ruts both sides of the ridge-saddle below Hilgard Mountain from modern Sheep Valley where the trail starts down the relatively steep slope with over 4,000 head of unshod horses and mules choosing their alternative parallel courses downward toward the bottom and intersecting Ivie Creek to the canyon floor (now near Inter-state 70).

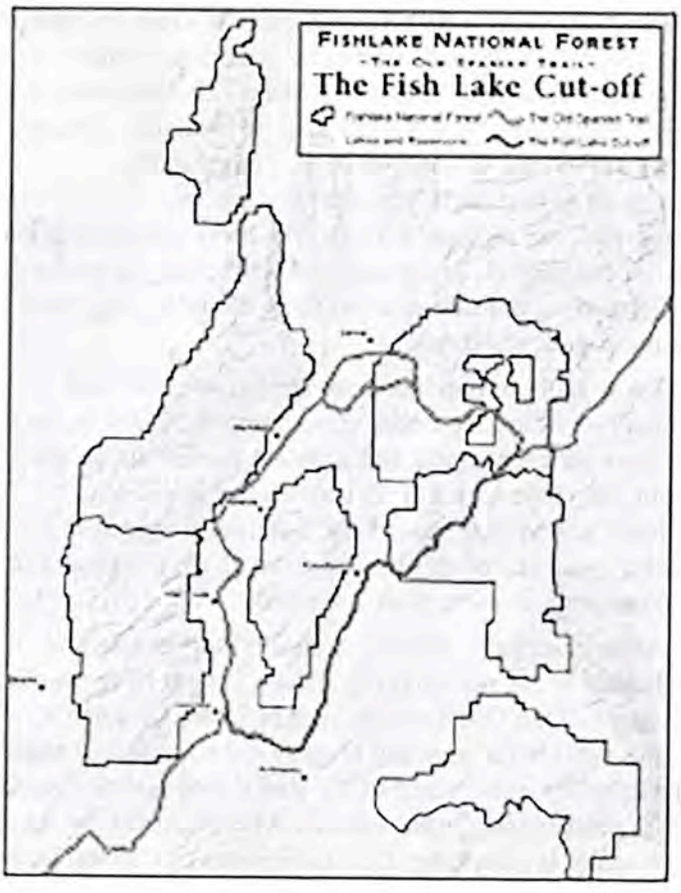
Archeologically, the narrow ridge spine above Red Creek is only 30-100 feet wide and does not suggest it could accommodate herds of this size. However, if they arrived at Sheep Valley Ridge by the first week in June, perhaps the traders prepared for such a large herd passing Archeologically, the narrow ridge spine above Red Creek is only 30-100 feet wide and does not suggest it could accommodate herds of this size. However, if they arrived at Sheep Valley Ridge by the first week in June, perhaps the traders prepared for such a large herd passing through the ridge spine by dividing it into smaller units in Sheep Valley and regrouping the herd again at the bottom of Red Creek Canyon.

In the spring of 1848, the last year of regular use of the entire Old Spanish Trail, 20-year-old Army Lieutenant George D. Brewerton accompanied a Kit Carson-led party from California eastward over the route. They started too late to avoid the inconvenience of the large Mexican caravan of 1,000 head of animals moving toward New Mexico with more than 200 persons dressed "in every variety of costume, from the embroidered jacket of the wealthy Californian, with its silver bell-shaped buttons, to the scanty habiliments of the skin-clad Indian." He added that the line of march of this strange cavalcade occupied an extent of more than a mile. The army officer complained that the huge company "ate up or destroyed the grass and consumed the water at the few camping grounds upon the route." Fortunately they were able to bypass this caravan after eight days travel, and the trail conditions became better for his group.

George R. Brewerton, Overland with Kit Carson: A Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48 (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930, reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 53-99.

Abundant trout

Later, in present south-central Utah, after crossing the western extension of the Wasatch Mountains and following down the Sevier River some 20 miles, the expedition turned right up the East Fork of that stream to commence traveling over the shorter (when clear of snow) Fish Lake Cut-off. Thus they headed eastward about a dozen miles then turned northward near Otter Creek to traverse the 30 miles across Grass Valley and commence climbing up five miles of mountain slope toward the always-scenic Fish Lake. Upon arrival there, Brewerton noted the friendliness of the local Ute Indians and their willing



ness to trade for food in the form of bighorn sheep meat and, upon Carson's inquiry, trout, which the diarist learned was then abundant in the creeks adjacent to the ake.

Brewerton soon noted "to our hungry people this was more than good news; and that evening was devoted to the composition of a chowder, which was literally fish 'au naturel'." By sunrise, many of the campers started wading in the icy water up to their knees in the creeks. The diarist recorded "a slaughter of the finny tribe." They took some trout with them when they departed next day. Their course for the next eight miles was mainly upward to the still snow-bound and windswept ridge dividing Sheep Valley from the Red Creek watershed on the southern slope of the canyon, then another dozen miles northeast on a down-ward course toward the base of the mountain.

Brewerton, Overland with Kit Carson, 110-12.

Much of the most detailed documentation of the Old Spanish Trail, particularly in the area of the Fish Lake Cut-off comes from diarist-reporters accompanying the government-sponsored survey expeditions of Edward F. Beale and John W. Gunnison, assisted by his successor, E.G. Beckwith, both traveling west in the summer and fall of 1853, technically five years after official discontinuance of the Old Spanish Trail as a trade route.

Edward Leo Lyman, The Overland Journey From Utah to California: Wagon Travel from the City of Saints to the City of Angels (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 44-70.

Route followed by Gunnison

As they approached the mountains, Beale's cousin and diarist, Gwin H. Heap, mentioned a long branch trail jutting north farther than the one they were tracing through a relatively level valley. That alternate route was the one followed later in the year by Gunnison and his men, who were driving teams and wagons and making a more careful railroad survey.

As the Beale group tended south by west, they crossed several creeks in later western Emery County. Then after passing parallel to the hills for some distance, they finally approached the gap of a canyon, giving issue to a small stream, Red Creek, which they ascended several miles. On July 29 they commenced to climb through the narrow Red Creek-Salina Canyon Heap called a gorge, which afforded the best passage through the eastern branch of the Wasatch Mountain Range, precisely where nterstate 70 now begins the same grades in both directions.

LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., Central Route to the Pacific: With Related Material on Railroad Exploration and In-dian Affairs by Edward F. Beale, Thomas H. Benton, Kit Carson, and Col. E. A. Hitchcock, and in other documents, 1853-54, by Gwin Harris Heap, (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957) 214-15. See also Beckwith note 15 herein.

The significant recent rediscovery of the visible remnants of the Fish Lake Cut-off segment of the Old Spanish Trail in central Utah commenced in the fall of 2008, when a crew from the Fish Lake National Forest Service began looking for traces of the Fish Lake Cut-off after Bureau of Land Management archeologist, Chris Horting-Jones shared a startling archeological find with Robert Leonard, her counterpart archeologist at the Fish Lake National Forest office at Richfield. She had recorded a series of swales within a verifiable Old Spanish Trail Fish Lake Cut-off site east of Koosharem, Utah in the middle of a section that had been harrowed.

Leonard examined the trace of trail and became fascinated and excited about the prospect of locating other such trail segments. What he and his associates discovered over the next two years was a dramatic series of intermittent swales and anomalous patches of vegetation within the corridor previously defined by trail historians, C. Gregory Crampton and Stephen K. Madsen. The archeologist and his main assistant in the quest, Lydia Jakovac, visiting from Australia, studied and applied various diary descriptions: Kit Carson's travel companion, Lt. Brewerton in 1848; Heap, with Lt. Beale and Lt. Beckwith; and Captain Gunnison, who each offered specific observation-insights relevant to the Fish Lake Cut-off. By applying these, Leonard and his associates have gathered more specific information on these historic trail corridors than was previously known.

Studying the trail

The approach to the survey was first an intuitive look at the Fish Lake Cut-off by simply following lineal trail segments, studying the historic documentation, scrutinizing satellite imagery, interviewing livestock specialists, local residents and historians while paying close attention to what Leonard termed the New and Old Testaments of the Old Spanish Trail (meaning the history written by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen); along with the detailed trail guidebook by Crampton and Madsen.

LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fé to Los Angeles (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954, reprint paper, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993). C. Gregory Crampton and Steven K. Mad-sen, In Search of the

Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles, 1829-1848 (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith Publisher, 1994).

Much of the early efforts were focused on the slopes of the Fish Lake Plateau north of Grass Valley, which surrounds Koosharem. When the identification of this trail corridor was completed, it was apparent that the historic swales were in some cases impacted by harrow-ing projects, livestock driveways, historic travel to Fish Lake and even the skidding of logs. However, the irrefutable fact remains that the corridor was delineated and intermittent swales were identified.

The trail remnant search then shifted to the northern terminus of the Fish Lake Cut-off in Red Creek Canyon just south of Interstate 70 (milepost 85). This trail segment is situated at the 7,400 foot elevation level and consists of canyons separated by ridges dotted with piñon and juniper trees. Red Creek Canyon includes a perennial stream which flows into Ivie Creek originating in the Castle Valley country. Although the canyon's north end borders Interstate 70, the canyon mouth constitutes a 350 foot wide gap, where a curtain of cottonwood trees shields the sights and sounds of the highway from the trail. Once inside the canyon, the only reminders of the 20th and 21st centuries are a dirt road, a couple of fences and an occasional grazing cow. It is easy to imagine what the place looked like during the 1830s and 40s. The landscape has largely maintained its natural integrity.

'Formidable barrier'

A more detailed description of the beginning of the cut-off vicinity shows the Spanish Trail climbing southward out of Ivie Creek Canyon (where I-70 goes) to avoid the obstacle soon encountered, a deep gully called Tommy Hollow, indicated as a formidable barrier for travelers, even with horses or mules, at least as early as the accounts of Beale and Beckwith.

William H. Goetzmann, Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959, paper, 1965), 283-86.

From either east or west direction, trail users were compelled to travel around the head of this depression (meaning climbing up the semi-steep mountain slope to where the detour is mainly level and easy traveling) for up to six miles around this heavily-eroded hollow.

Lt. Beckwith, the second in command with the ill-fated John W. Gunnison expedition, followed this same segment of trail. (Gunnison and six of his men were killed by Utes 120 west of Fremont Junction. *See Edward Leo Lyman and Linda King Newell, A History of Millard County (Salt Lake City: Utah State His-torical Society, 1999), 68-71.)*

Beckwith stated, "this gorge [Ivie Creek Canyon] is cut into deep gullies by streams which pour down from the mountains during storms, which gave us labor to cross; and a small stream [Red Creek] coming in from the south detained us a short time. But after following it for two and a half miles, the Spanish trail branches." Here the southern branch, the Fish Lake Cut-off, "following the stream passes over a higher elevation and soon [actually in some 70 miles] rejoins the northern branch, which though longer, crosses the mountains at a [relatively] low depression."

Early in the project, Aaron Mahr, Trails Coordinator for the National Park Service's National Historic Trails group which oversees the western states trails, visited the area where the cut-off forks from the main Old Spanish Trail at Red Creek. Partly through the comments of seasoned Forest Service range and livestock experts, Vince Pace and Fred Houston, he became convinced of the authenticity of the swale-rut remnants visible in that vicinity. Mahr was impressed with the number and integrity of swales that measured from the single width of a horse path to one more heavily trampled segment up to 15 feet wide and five feet deep which demonstrated no evidence of erosion other than wind blowing loosened sand and dirt away from the deepening trail ruts. After his examination of these literal "artifacts-in-place," the National Park Service Trail Coordinator suggested that Leonard and his associates submit a National Historic Register nomination to be a part of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, which has since been done.

'Irrefutable documentation'

With the precise documentation offered by Beckwith and Heap, the location and existence of the northern terminus of the Fish Lake Cut-off becomes irrefutable. And the extant swale-ruts scattered near that spot become authentic evidences of the historic trail. Other trail segments are visible farther up the Sevier River in Piute County and into Garfield County, where the trail turns westward through Bear Valley into the Parowan area, then west to the Escalante Valley and south through the Mountain Meadows and on out of present Utah by way of Utah Hill in the extreme southwestern corner of the state. As more interest in the Old Spanish Trail has been generated in recent years, more segments of the route have been located and studied. There is yet more research and tracing to be done, but the road course is already reasonably certain, including some to be seen from satellite photos, which are remarkable for the trace swales, disturbed slopes and eroded river crossings which are often easily apparent to interested and careful modern observer-explorers. ♦

New monument to honor Paiutes slain in Circleville Massacre

By **Dennis Romboy** @dennisromboy
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CIRCLEVILLE, Piute County — A new memorial will mark a dark but rarely mentioned moment in Utah history when Mormon settlers slaughtered as many as 30 Paiute men, women and children in the small town of Circleville 150 years ago.

The massacre with guns, knives and clubs happened in April 1866 during the Black Hawk War because of unfounded fears by the settlers that the Paiute Koosharem band posed a threat, even though the two groups had been friendly.

Despite being the worst atrocity committed against Native Americans in Utah, it became a hidden chapter in state history. Paiute people know little of what happened to their ancestors. Circleville residents — none of whom are original descendants of the perpetrators — don't talk about it.

But that is changing.

The Paiute Tribal Council, Utah Division of State History, Circleville, LDS Church Historical Department, Utah Westerners and some independent historians felt compelled to recognize the victims.

On April 22 — the suspected date of the massacre — they will dedicate a monument to the slain Paiutes in Memorial Park in Circleville. It will provide a solemn place of contemplation and commemoration to honor the victims of one of Utah's saddest episodes.

"I think it's going to be beautiful," said Dorena Martineau, Paiute Tribe cultural resources director. "Hopefully the remains, the spirits of our past ancestors can come to rest."

The Paiute Tribe wrote the inscriptions for the granite monument, which in part say, "None of us can ever hope to describe the emotions that these people might have felt. All we can do is honor their existence as human beings."

"The story here is about the victims, and it's about the process of forgetting the victims," said Jed Rogers, a Utah state historian. "How is that we have a tragic event that very, very few people in this state know anything about. That, to me, compounds the tragedy of Circleville."

More widely known is the Mountain Meadows Massacre when Mormons in southern Utah killed 120 men, women and children on a wagon train emigrating from Arkansas to California in September 1857.

Martineau said the tribe is grateful that the time has finally come to remember the Circleville Massacre. Historians, Boy Scouts and others had approached the Paiute Tribe about building a memorial going back a decade.

Brad Westwood, Utah history division director, said plans came together as the 150th anniversary of the incident approached. He said it was "brave and wonderful" for the various parties to gather for the same cause, including a reconciliation meeting between Paiute tribal leaders and leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Donations to build the monument came from the LDS Church, the Utah Westerners and private sources, he said.

The massacre took place early in the seven-year Black Hawk War between settlers and native people in central Utah that ended in 1872.

In early 1865, Utes raided the town of Circleville, killing two men and two 13-year-old boys.

A year later, Parowan militia officers decided to "take in all straggling Indians in the vicinity" — including Paiutes, with whom Circleville residents had traded baked goods and other items on friendly terms, according to the state history division. They were questioned at Fort Sanford and released.

Militia members targeted Paiutes out of paranoia, distrust and the mistaken impression that they had allied with the Utes, Rogers said.

On April 21, a dispatch from Fort Sanford to Circleville stated that two formerly friendly Paiutes had shot and wounded a member of the Utah militia. What the report did not include was that one of the Paiutes had been injured, while the other had been shot and killed by a soldier's long-range rifle, according to the state history division.

Settlers and local LDS leaders in Circleville decided to take the local Paiutes prisoner and sent a messenger to have them come into town and hear a letter read by the local LDS bishop.

The settlers told the Paiutes to give up their arms and when they were reluctant, the settlers forcefully disarmed them. Men were sent to bring in the Paiutes who had refused to come in the first time. One Paiute who attempted to escape was shot. The prisoners, including women and children, were held under guard in an unused cellar of a mill.

LDS Church apostle Erastus Snow received a report from Circleville and instructed that the prisoners should be treated kindly and let go unless "hostile or affording aid to the enemy." But the missive arrived too late.

Undetected by the soldiers, the Paiute men had managed to untie the ropes that bound them. They waited until the evening when the guards changed and then attacked their captors. All of the Paiutes were shot and killed in the struggle.

Panicked by the bloody incident, the soldiers felt it necessary — as one resident put it — to "dispose of the squaws and papooses" to prevent them from telling of the massacre and inciting further violence. The women and children were brought from the cellar one at a time and killed, according to the history division.

No one was ever tried and punished for the killings, and the tragedy was largely swept from the state's history.

"This event should be known. It should recognized and should be placed in the larger context and significance of Utah history," Rogers said. "(It's) something that should be reflected in our textbooks, in our general histories and in our consciousness."

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BUTCH CASSIDY

These days, Butch Cassidy might have trouble recognizing his hometown of Circleville. While the Butch Cassidy Hotel and Restaurant still serves up rooms and a meal, and the Butch Cassidy Museum and Antique Store offers up a rather predictable palette, the town these days is perhaps better known as the main staging point for the Paiute Trail, the serpentine all-terrain vehicle trail that winds up and down the mountains surrounding this small town. Indeed, there are more all-terrain vehicles on Main Street during the summer than there are horses. Butch would be perplexed.

Sorting Facts from Fiction: In 1969, when 20th Century Fox released its box office smash 'Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid,' reporters came to Cassidy's childhood home, looking for his family. They found Mrs. Lula Parker Betenson, 86, Butch's youngest sister. Among other things, she told reporters that Cassidy had not died in South America in 1909, as was widely believed, but had come back to visit some 16 years later, in 1925. Lula said that Butch instead died in Spokane, Wash., in 1937, and spent his last years as a trapper and prospector. Could it be true?

Recently, diligent scholars like Larry Pointer, who wrote In Search of Butch Cassidy, have dug up evidence showing that in all likelihood Butch Cassidy did fake his death in San Vicente, Bolivia. They suggest that after making it big in Bolivian train, payroll and bank robberies, Cassidy sailed to Europe, got a facelift, moved back to America, married, and then became an entrepreneur in Washington. Some of the evidence is convincing, especially a detailed manuscript about Cassidy which actually appears to have been authored by Cassidy.

The Early Years: Born Robert LeRoy Parker in Beaver, Utah on April 13, 1866, Cassidy was the first of 13 children. His Mormon parents had come to Utah from England in 1856. His parents moved over the mountains to Circleville in 1879 and young Roy, as he was known about the house, worked in ranches across western Utah, including at Hay Springs, near Milford. On one of these early jobs Roy had his first run-in with the law - he let himself into a closed shop, took a pair of jeans, and left a note promising to return later to pay his debt. But things did not go well in Circleville for the Parker family - Roy's dad, Maximilian, lost land to another homesteader in a property rights dispute - and Roy ended up looking to a shady local rancher, Mike Cassidy, in admiration. By 1884, Roy was rustling cattle from Parowan (just over the Markagunt Plateau) and his life on the lam had begun. He soon took on the name Butch Cassidy, perhaps in honor of his childhood hero.

Roy Parker has been called a sort of Robin Hood of the Western frontier, a man who bristled at the notion that large cattle outfits were squeezing the smaller rancher out of business. In the years following 1884, Roy drifted west to Telluride, Colo., stopping along the way in the back of beyond territory known as the Robber's Roost, which is in the rough foothills of the Henry Mountains. He also worked in Green River.

Life as an Outlaw & Telluride: The first major crime attributed to Cassidy is the robbery of the San Miguel Valley Bank in Telluride, on June 24, 1889. He and three cowboys got away with $20,000 by thoroughly casing the joint first. The bandits then made their way over a choice hideout, Brown's Park, along the Green River at the Utah-Wyoming border. They made forays to Green River and Vernal before moving north to Lander, Wyo.

Cassidy was one of the first to break ground on the Outlaw Trail, a meandering ghostlike path that began in Mexico, ran through Utah, and ended in Montana. The unofficial trail linked together a series of hideouts and ranches, like the Carlisle Ranch near Monticello, where ranch owners seemed willing to give jobs to outlaw cowboys. The Carlisle, actually, was close to Robber's Roost, and it was here where Butch camped out for a night or two before and after the Telluride holdup.

After Telluride, Butch's notoriety as an outlaw grew - an outlaw fighting for 'settlers rights, as citizens of the united States of America against the old time cattle baron (sic)' as written in a mysterious manuscript now believed to be Roy Parker's memoir. After the cruel winter of 1886-87, these resentments were ripe. Small cattle operations were crippled by the loss of stock, and larger operations paid a premium for rustled cattle. During this time, Cassidy and his gang established what would become their greatest hideout, the Hole-In-The-Wall, in central Wyoming. After spending a few years in a gloomy prison in Wyoming, Cassidy returned to rustling, this time along the Utah-Arizona border. During this period he began to assemble a sort of elite corps of outlaw cowboys, the Wild Bunch, which included Dick Maxwell, Elzy Lay, and Harry Longabaugh, who was perhaps better known as the Sundance Kid. Later the group was joined by Henry Wilbur 'Bub' Meeks, another Utah Mormon escapee, and George Currie.

Montpelier Bank Robbery: The first robbery credited the Wild Bunch was the August 13, 1896 holdup of a bank in Montpelier, Idaho. This robbery showed the trappings of what would become the Wild Bunch signature holdup: a well-planned attack. The bandits made off with over $7,000, and Cassidy, in part of an elaborate escape attempt, fled to Iowa, then Michigan, where he came face to face with an old foe - a deputy sheriff from western Wyoming who was on the lookout for him. Narrowly escaping (Cassidy even claimed to have shared a hotel room with a sheriff who was hunting for him but apparently never got a good look at him) Cassidy headed south then west again, where he met the gang and planned perhaps their greatest robbery, the $8,800 heist of the Pleasant Valley Coal Company payroll.

In and Out of Utah: Here, in narrow Price Canyon a few miles from Helper, Cassidy and his gang stole the payroll simply by shoving a revolver into the gut of the paymaster, who forked over the loot. Then, using an ingenious scheme, Cassidy and his gang rode hard for several days, employing a series of cached top-quality horses that could ride for hours at high speeds without tiring. The gang split up, and Butch fled to northern Wyoming, where he persuaded a rancher to hire him temporarily.

Castle Gate was the Wild Bunch's one and only major holdup in Utah. After that, the outlaws held up banks and trains in South Dakota, Wyoming, New Mexico and Nevada, and managed to bring home increasingly large sums of money - like an estimated $70,000 for the holdup of a Rio Grande train near Folsom, New Mexico. But by then, the good old days seemed to be over. By this time, the Wild Bunch had an extensive ally of law officers hunting them wherever they went, and Butch had an impressive folio compiled by the Pinkerton National Detective Agency, whose operatives seemed to follow his every move, waiting for a slip-up. The Gang often came back to Utah, either for protection or transportation, and once to ask Gov. Heber Wells in 1900 for amnesty in exchange for the promise to shape up. Abandoning that idea, the group, later traveled across the Great Salt Lake Desert en route to Nevada, where they robbed the bank in Winnemucca.

Death in South America?: The heat was on in a serious way, and by 1902 the group had disbanded, and Butch had gone to England, then Argentina, where Butch, Harry Longabaugh and his girlfriend Etta bought a small ranch. All was well until a stock buyer and former Wyoming deputy came through the country, ending the gang's seclusion. From here, Cassidy went back to robbing trains and payrolls up until his supposed death in 1908.

The Legend Lives: After a trip back to Europe, Cassidy returned to the United States, this time with the name William Phillips. Phillips went to Michigan, where he met and fell in love with Gertrude Livesay. The two were married in May, 1908. The happy couple moved to Arizona, where Phillips apparently made a little cash on the side by fighting with Pancho Villa in the Mexican Revolution, then north to Spokane, where he founded the Phillips Manufacturing Company and later worked for Riblet, who made chairlifts and tramways. But things went downhill, and Phillips was close to bankrupt. He embarked on a

few desperate trips back to Utah and Wyoming in hopes of finding some buried caches, but he apparently was unsuccessful. He was diagnosed with cancer, and died on July 20, 1937.

The Essence of Butch Cassidy: In a way, Cassidy captured the essence of a land that, in many respects, is still wild. Back in Circleville, his old home is frail and weathered. Back in 1976, in a story for National Geographic, Robert Redford followed the Outlaw Trail. In his story, Redford wrote: 'As technology thrusts us relentlessly into the future, I find myself, perversely, more interested in the past. We seem to have lost something - something vital, something of individuality and passion. That may be why we tend to view the western outlaw, rightly or not, as a romantic figure.'

Maybe. Cassidy had his own reasons, though. He wrote: 'The best way to hurt them is through their pocket book. They will Holler louder than if you cut off both legs. I steal their money just to hear them holler. Then I pass it out among those who really need it.'

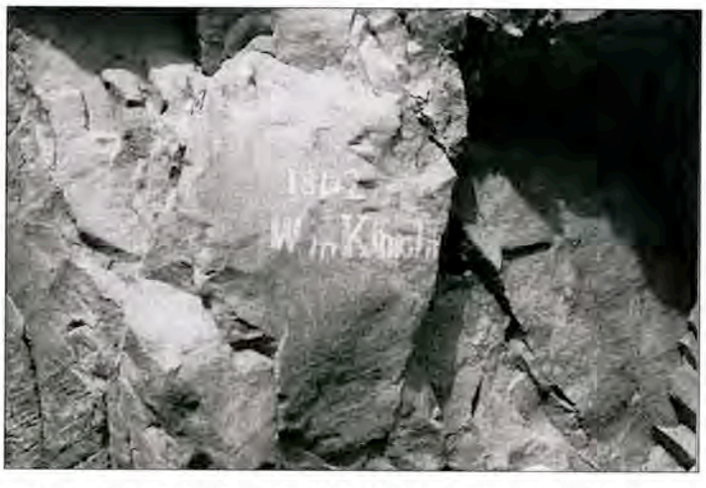
A Historical Guide: Salina Canyon to Enoch, Utah

by Edward Leo Lyman

Passage of Old Spanish Trail travelers through the western half of present-day central Utah was over a little-known segment of the important roadway. That route may serve as a case study of the process for establishing a correct route, even though there are but few actual related documents.

Rock inscriptions on two poorly-chosen variant routes taken by contemporary Anglo-American travelers prove that even reasonably good pathfinders were capable of straying from what would become the best known and most often used line of travel. They instead passed through less desirable mountain and canyon terrain situated both north and south of the eventually most popular and useful pack mule passageway.

Steven Heath, historian and Utah State Director on the National Board of the Old Spanish Trail Association, has followed little-known leads to extant trail markings in at least three canyons related to the variant routes through the area. These include the eventually-proven way over the high mountain ridge from one of the many places named Bear Valley, then down Little Creek to to where the name of William Knight, an early Anglo-American user of the best route, may still be seen carved in the side canyon rock, then on to Paragonah, Iron County. Heath has done significant research to recount the man's trail experience, and his subsequent life as a San Joaquin Valley, California, pioneer (Knight's Landing). [1]



William Knight inscription, Little Creek Canyon east of Paragonah, Utha, rediscovered and photographed by Steven Heath

The rock markings on the incorrect routes are useful in helping illustrate some of the process of elimination needed to arrive at the optimum route to surmount the mountain obstacle.

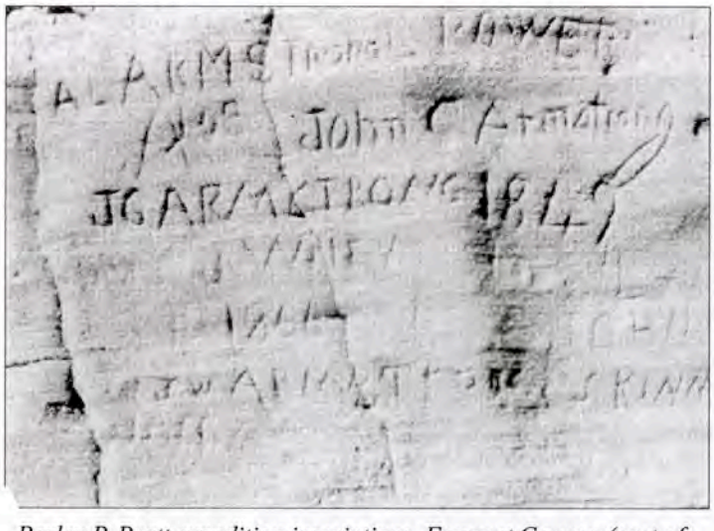
Well into their arduous journey from New Mexico to California, trail muleteers exited the long and convenient west-bound Salina Canyon passageway (now also utilized by Interstate 70) near current Salina, some miles west and south of the geographic center of Utah. There the nearby Sevier River enabled the trail travelers to simply turn south and head upstream, assured of adequate grass feed and water for man and animals for almost eighty more miles (unless a party made a less-desirable choice of routes before then). Yet, in this portion of the trail corridor it would still take some time to agree upon the optimum pack mule roadway at a number of points.

The first man known through historical documentation to have taken this entire long segment of the Old Spanish Trail (from the east end of Salina Canyon all the way to California) and thus be honored as the blazer of half the entire trail was Jedediah S. Smith in 1826 and again in 1827. But as he passed through the current Joseph vicinity in southwestern Sevier County, he chose to turn right and follow the Sevier tributary, Clear Creek, up a southwest-tending route to the summit of the western branch extension of the Wasatch Mountains. The descent was through the area where just over thirty years later Brigham Young assigned later Mormon President Gordon B. Hinckley's grandfather, Ira N. Hinckley, to erect Cove Fort. Smith then followed the general course of current Interstate 15 southward through current Beaver, Parowan, Cedar City into the St. George-Virgin River area in extreme southwestern Utah. Few others ever followed Smith's route, mainly because of the scarcity of water and feed for pack mules. There are only four substantial streams

coursing west from the mountains along this entire 140-mile roadway.

The Sevier River on the east side of the mountains offered far better feed and water, which in the greater semi-desert region were the primary considerations of virtually all muleteers. And thus the preferred pack mule route would still follow that river as far as was practicable. When, just south of where Smith left the river, it entered a rather steep-sided canyon, difficult for pack mules to negotiate, the muleteers chose to leave the river and turn south-east just west of present Monroe, Sevier County. The relatively easy trail passed through a later mining district in the low-lying Antelope Range of mountains, then tended southwestward on a good roadway heading back toward the Sevier River near current Marysvale.

Most of the later caravans continued satisfied with this best route so promptly established, which simply followed along the Sevier southward. However, several groups mistakenly chose to turn west just twenty-two miles from Marysvale, near Circleville Canyon. The groups couldn't see what by then might have been an easily-recognized (in the summer) partially packed main trail because of the winter snow when they came into that area. The first of these was Mormon apostle Parley P. Pratt, who in 1849-50 led a large group dispatched southward to perform their peoples' first reconnaissance of the southern portion of their domain, Deseret (later Utah and surrounding areas). They made precisely the same mistake John C. Fremont would make four years later, also in the snow, of taking their wagons up a canyon into the mountains at which point passage proved virtually impossible. Eventually the men struggled through to the lower elevations farther west, into an area near the current Beaver-Iron County line (and I-15 exit 100). Their serious mistake was partially documented by the initials and names carved into the rock sides of the canyon wall after the group had commenced to regain their strength for the remainder of their journey.[2]



Parley P. Pratt expedition inscriptions, Fremont Canyon (east of I-15 exit 100), courtesy William and Donna Smart

In 1854, the "pathmarker of the West," John C. Fremont, and his men experienced some considerable winter hell in the same region trying to surmount the often relatively easy mountains (except in this vicinity between Marysvale and past Circleville, near the Tusher Mountain peaks just to the west, the highest in the entire region). Thus the only truly competent map maker (other than Jed Smith) to travel this trail lived to help document his own major blunder, brought about by turning right a dozen miles too soon.[3]

Earlier, probably in 1829 or but slightly before that, unnamed Hispanic muleteers, probably rather effortlessly, chose the correct route through the mountain barrier by traveling some ten to twelve miles farther south before leaving the Sevier at what has long been called Spry or Orton Junction, now Bear Valley Junction on most highway maps. It is where Utah Highway 20 coming east from I-15 joins Utah Highway 89 (east of the mountains), the longtime main route intersecting Utah north to south, the best way to Grand Canyon and farther south. In the early days as well, this was designated as Bear Valley Junction, the turning point for packers leaving the Sevier, heading west generally up a grade for six miles, then turning south for 15 miles through Bear Valley, then turning west down Little Creek Canyon just after surmounting the one formidable mountain grade toward the 8,000 foot elevation and crossing the ridge-pass. Although this is one of the three highest mountain passes on the entire Old Spanish Trail, it was not particularly threatening to those negotiating it (they usually preferred it to

several longer desert passages).

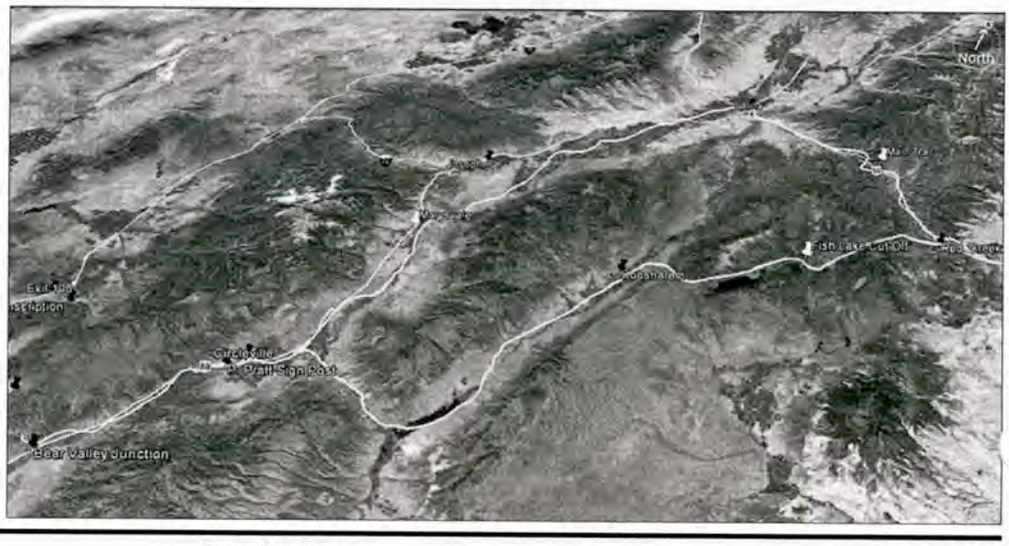
It is entirely likely that this almost unanimously-utilized route through the mountain chain was used from ancient times by Native American travelers, and perhaps even a few unauthorized and unrecorded New Mexican pack mule trains prior to when the first recorded expedition seeking the best route came through the area in late 1830 and early 1831. The Anglo-Americans William Wolfskill and George Yount, who had both become Mexican citizens during their time residing in New Mexico, were the first known to have utilized Salina Canyon on their path-breaking and path-marking journey toward California, with a brigade of up to fifteen others, mainly beaver fur trappers, who also carried some trade goods to exchange in California. They abandoned all hopes of trapping at this point on their trip because of snow and extremely cold weather.[4]

The seemingly most promising historical documentation of this important expedition might have been a narrative related by Yount to Reverend Orange Clark just five years after the journey, when both were residing in the Napa Valley of California. Unfortunately, much of the relevant portion of that record has apparently been lost. However, fragments of other versions of the same Clark interview have been collected at the great repository of western historical documents, the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, California, where a historian, Charles L. Camp, in 1923 pieced together "The Chronicles of George Yount."[5]

One portion of this recounted the "cheerless" winter trek up the Sevier, and states: "The party had missed their way, and had taken the left hand (actually going straight ahead) route, when they should have taken the right hand (at Bear Valley Junction, which they could not recognize in the snow, although there was probably already a partially-beaten trail there). Yount's statement is probably evidence the correct route was already known and in use (although it could also be argued that it was hindsight knowledge acquired later but before the Yount interview after five years). They continued on southward up the Sevier, either all the way past Hatch town to Mammoth Creek, which if they followed it to its source would take them in the correct direction by the second best route (other than the Bear Valley way). Or perhaps the group followed the earlier-joining Panguitch Creek tributary of the Sevier which coursed northward through the site of a later town of the same name and up past Panguitch Lake. Either way, the group found themselves on a "table mountain" at the 10,000 foot elevation level, where they all suffered through "several days" of "the most terrible snowstorm they had ever experienced," during which "they lay embedded in snow, very deep, animals and men huddled thick as possible together, to husband and enjoy all possible animal warmth, having spread their thick and heavy blankets, and piled bark and brush wood around and over them."[6]

Thus they survived!

Then, after climbing at least part way up a higher



Area now in vicinity of Fremont Junction of Highway 89 and State Route 20, and the river and mountain areas near present Panguitch, and toward Parowan-Summit, Utah. Map courtesy David Evans.

mountain, perhaps Sugar Loaf Mountain or even Brian Head Peak, the expedition leaders chose a southwest tending route north of what was later named Cedar Breaks, across the heads of several canyons into one running closer to the desired direction, the East Fork of Braffit's Canyon, through which they descended from the mountains to a point almost directly on the preferred route of the Old Spanish Trail. So far as is known, no overland travel company ever again sought to follow this Wolfskill-Yount version of the trail. The remainder of the route to California is mainly better known than the segments just discussed (including generally west from Enoch to Antelope Springs, then south through Mountain Meadows).

Over a century later, Utah trails expert Charles Kelley, in a carelessly written (regarding historical facts) article in 1950, stated, "In 1830 William Wolfskill and a group of 15 trappers from Santa Fe decided to continue this trail [Santa Fe Trail by way of the Old Spanish Trail] into California, as Escalante had [supposedly] planned in 1776, but did not complete. . . they crossed the Green River at what is now the town of Greenriver, Utah, worked their way through the Wasatch Mountains to what is now Parowan, passed down Santa Clara [Virgin] River, crossed the desert to Las Vegas, Nevada, and into California. Beginning in 1831 their trail was used annually for trading ... until 1852 [probably 1848]." Kelley then added a note: "On one of our expeditions to hunt Indian petroglyphs, Frank Beckwith and I had been directed to Braffet Canyon, near Paragonah [Summit], Utah. While photographing these we were amazed to discover, carved on a rock, a cross with the initials "A.W.L.B" and the date "1831." [7] Searching farther we found other initials with the same date and on a large boulder the word "GOLD" cut in reversed lettering. There is no written history of this party of 1831 and none of the initials can be identified. The whole canyon, we learned, had been dug up in search of the gold supposed to have been buried there."[8]

Leroy R. Hafen, in his classic guide and history, *The Old Spanish Trail,* explains in a footnote that he was led by William R. Palmer, a good local historian, to the Braffit's Canyon (which he called Winn's Canyon) in August 1951, and saw the inscriptions there. He deci-



Inscriptions photographed by Frank Beckwith in Braffit's Canyon near Summit, Utah. Courtesy Desert Magazine, *October 1950, 22.*

phered the initials inscribed to be TW, AW, LB, & LD. He saw two date figures, "1831," and concluded that "if the initials are correctly interpreted, only one pair, LB, would correspond to the (known) name of a member (Lewis Branch) of the Wolfskill-Yount party." The date, he asserted, is certainly correct for the group, being near the first of the new year (when there). He added that they reached Chino, California on February 5, 1831. [9]

Steven Heath has persuasively made the case that the generally-suggested T on TW initials is actually an I. The letter I is often used for the traditional J, which in Spanish writing use had hardly any curved line at the bottom outside edge. Classic examples are the several D. Julien inscriptions found and photographed in several Utah locations.Since Wolfskill's other often-used first name was Jose, that initial might well be the brigade leader's (JW instead of TW).[10] Some who have recently hiked to the inscriptions have asserted that they may well have been carved as part of a celebration for having survived their ordeal in crossing the mountains.

The Return Trip By Way of the Fish Lake Cut-off

Although many history and trail buffs are just beginning to learn this fact, the return journey from California back to New Mexico over most of the same

trail proved to be immensely more complex and profitable for the traders. Since the time the trail was inaugurated as a trade route by Antonio Armijo in 1829 (over a more direct route passing present Lake Powell and along the Utah-Arizona border, but which proved too difficult for common use), it has been known that California horses and mules were the most valuable trade commodity. These could generally be purchased for around $5 per head, driven back over the trail to New Mexico for sale at approximately $50 per head, and those traders with sufficient determination could even choose to continue on the adjacent Santa Fe Trail all the way to Missouri, then on the frontier of the United States, to sell the animals for over $100 each. In the subsequent 18 years of Old Spanish Trail trade activity (prior to losing the region to the Anglo-Americans after the Mexican War in 1848), an estimated 20,000 head of horses and mules were driven over the trail, including 4,150 in an 1842 expedition and an expedition two years later with 1,800 head.[11]

Besides a very few historical documents indicating this trade, the best evidence may be the three-foot-deep parallel trail ruts (these are clearly not water erosion, but the winds blowing out the newly-pulverized rock dust each year) down the steep slope from north of Fish Lake to the Red Creek area adjacent the eastern mouth of Salina Canyon (and Interstate 70).

To trail enthusiasts, this Fish Lake Cut-off may loom as the most fascinating subject of such history experienced or recounted in recent years. Most of the relatively new information stems from its main re-discoverer, Robert Leonard, archeologist with the Fish Lake National Forest Service, Richfield, Utah, and his associates. No one should miss reading his article in the recent issue of *Spanish Traces*, featuring 170-year-old tree blaze marks recently discovered along the cut-off route.[12] He delivered two informative presentations, first at the national Old Spanish Trail conference in June 2012 at Richfield, Utah, featuring the physical trail remnants still visible and their discovery during the past four years; then another in October 2013 at Cedar City, Utah, focusing on the trail blaze marks more recently discovered on piñon trunks dated around 200 years old.

The return journey to Santa Fe would doubtless have been much more demanding for the men wrangling the large herds of horses and mules. These animals would not always have followed in one continuous long line characteristic of pack animals on the outward journey. Instead, the *vaqueros* would have to keep an often much larger and less disciplined herd heading in the proper direction, likely considerably spread out from front to back, and particularly when heading down a steep mountain slope such as that north of Fish Lake, also following several adjacent parallel courses. This most important variant in the route back toward New Mexico would have branched between Circleville and Marysvale from the main segment of the Sevier River, at a point long designated



A stretch of Old Spanish Trail between Little Creek and the summit of the mountain ridge at 8,000 feet before descending through Bear Valley, Iron County, Utah. The view is looking north toward the ridge, with some of the trail rut visible in foreground. *Photo: David Evans*

as Junction because the East Fork of the Sevier joins the main stream there. By that point in the journey, the wranglers understood that after struggling through some four hundred miles of desert, the nearly-famished animals needed to recoup their strength during a longer duration stop on better grass feed and more abundant water than they had experienced in the past two months. Thus the herding parties headed their animals eastward up the branch of the Sevier toward the abundant pasture grasses of Fish Lake Mountain, with some superior pasturage also on the way there as they passed through Grass Valley.

After following the East Fork of the Sevier some dozen miles to near where Otter Creek Reservoir is now situated, the herders turned their livestock left (north) up Otter Creek, which intersects Grass Valley from north to south. After traveling about twenty-seven miles past the later Koosharem area, the herds were pointed up the mountain grade trail toward the top of Fish Lake Mountain, where there would be more than a week allowed for leisurely grazing on the superior pasture lands, while the packers feasted on readily-available trout. [13]

If, as was occasionally the situation, snow yet covered the ground, even toward mid-summer, the herders could drive the animals eastward down to lower elevation pasturage in what would soon be named Rabbit Valley near the later town of Fremont, Wayne County. Either way, it was then a rather unchallenging descent to the main Old Spanish Trail on which they would then head southeastward toward current Moab, Utah and on to New Mexico.

Although the founding historian, LeRoy Hafen, from the beginning of his important study of the Old Spanish Trail understood the route through central Utah and the Fish Lake Cut-off, these segments have too long remained in the shadows of obscurity among most who have demonstrated an interest in this and other historic trails. Presently, members of the Utah chapters of OSTA and a few others have been seeking to rectify the notable gaps in knowledge, understanding and appreciation of this important portion of the routes.

Endnotes

1. Steven Heath, "William Knight-An Early Spanish Trail Trader," National Spanish Trail Symposium, Southern Utah University, October 2007, Cedar City, Utah, published in Alva L. Matheson, ed., *Symposium Proceedings* (unpaged, by count) 72-76; copy, Sharratt Library, Special Collections, Southern University, Cedar City, Utah.

2. William B. Smart and Donna T. Smart, eds. *Over The Rim: The Parley P. Pratt Exploring Expedition to Southern Utah, 1849-1850* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1999), 54-73, photo in Smart adjacent 72. See also illustration 3, source cited in note 7.

3. Donald D. Jackson and Mary L. Spence, eds., *Travels from 1848 to 1854: The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 3 vols., 3: 458-60; Allan Nevins, *Fremont: Pathmarker of the West* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1939, 1955) 2 vols. 2: 417-18; Solomon N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West: with Col. Fremont's Last Expedition* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1857; reprint of, Philadelphia; Jewish Society of America, 1854; reprint University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 125-134.

4. Charles L. Camp, "The Chronicles of George C. Yount,"*California Historical Society Quarterly* (1923), 2-66.

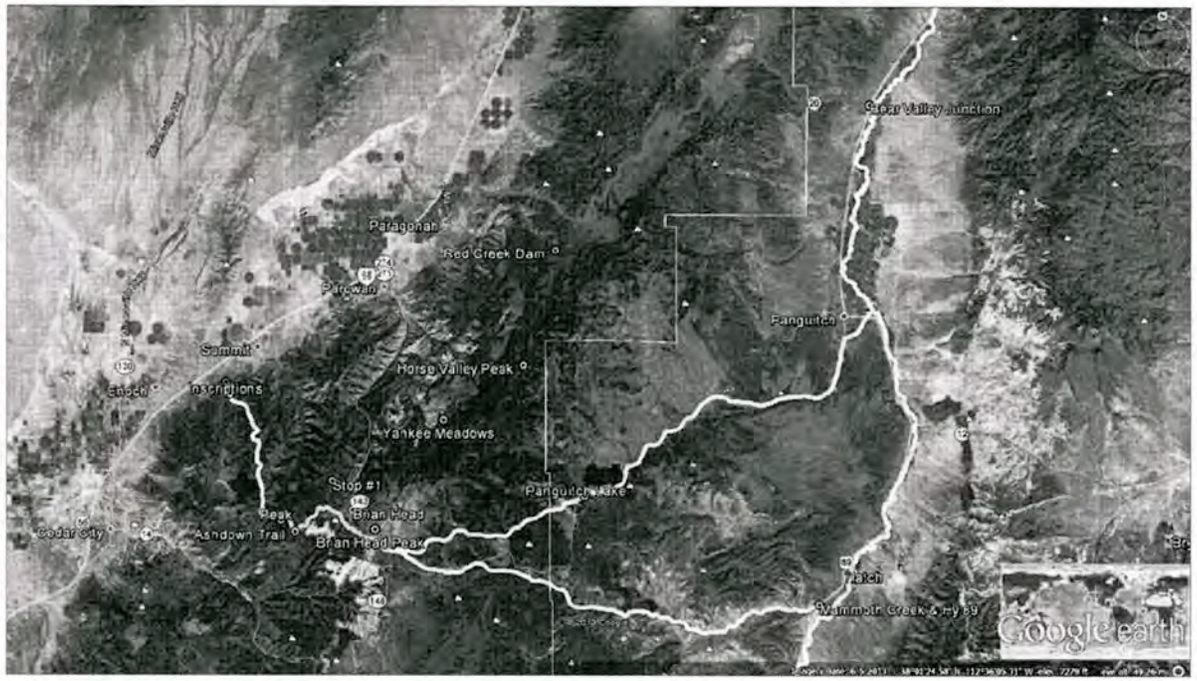
5. Camp, George C. Yount, 38-41

6. Camp, *George C. Yount*, 40-41; Iris Higbie Wilson, *William Wolfskill, 1798-1866: Frontier Trapper to California Rachero* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965), 74-75

7. Charles Kelley, "Forgotten Trail of the Old West," *Desert Magazine*, October, 1950, 22.

8. As usual, whenever gold is mentioned, some writer, in this case George A. Thompson, "Lost Treasures on the Old Spanish Trail," (Salt Lake City: Westernlore Press, 1988), 76, has a garbled account of Wolfskill and Yount discovering a ledge of gold, amidst some reasonably accurate Old Spanish Trail history. It is absolutely doubtful if there is any documentary evidence at all for the gold discovery, which appears to be mainly fiction. Yet people still believe the tale and their activities (featuring dynamite) have destroyed one inscription and endangered a second. Yount, later in the decade on a fur trapping expedition in the Utah Hill area, picked up a piece of heavy rock he claimed had gold in it. His companions, including Peg-leg Smith, ridiculed him. Smith led a prospecting expedition back to the area several years later, unsuccessful in finding any ore. But the Apex gold mine later operated in that area at the end of the next century.

9. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles, With Extracts from Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antono Armijo and Orville Pratt* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), 147, n. 19; reprint, Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska



Wolfskill and Yount Map Added to Lyman Story in Spring 2014 Issue

In Edward Leo Lyman's "A Historical Guide: Salina Canyon to Enoch," *Spanish Traces,* Spring 2014, pp 20-26, a second essential map-illustration was inadvertently omitted. Pages 22-23 of the article recount the instance when, in the winter snow, the two recognized founders of the main Old Spanish Trail Route through Utah, William Wolfskill and George C. Yount, themselves got lost. They missed the right turn at what is now the junction of Utah Highway 89 with Utah Highway 20, the so-called Bear Valley Junction, and instead continued straight south through later-Panguitch. They then chose either to go straight ahead south up the branch of the Sevier River to Panguitch Lake or turned left on another branch of the same river headed east then south until they reach a junction with a major tributary to the Sevier, Mammoth Creek. If they followed Mammoth Creek, it would have taken them westward up to the 10,000 foot elevation plateau. By either route taken, they heroically survived a major blizzard and thereafter chose a westward route, descending the west side of the formidable Wasatch Mountain spur toward Braffits Canyon and the nearby springs of later Enoch on the Main Old Spanish Trail route. The accompanying map properly illustrates these features.

Old Spanish Trail Marked by Early Explorers

by Steven H. Heath

(This article was originaly published in *The Daily News* of Cedar City, UT. Reprinted with permission. – Editors)

In November 1847, Jefferson Hunt, a member of the Mormon Battalion, and his 12 companions became the first Mormons to enter the future Iron County. They were on their way to southern California along the Spanish Trail. Even though the trip was in unfamiliar territory, the members of the group were experienced western travelers and they had an important mission to perform. Their purpose was to go to California where they could obtain cattle, fruit tree starts, seeds, etc. which would be needed by the next wave of Mormon immigrants who would be in the Great Salt Lake Valley the following spring.

Even with the mission in mind they would probably have not attempted this dangerous trip had they not been familiar with the extraordinary report of John C. Frémont, "the Great Pathfinder." Frémont had traveled up the Spanish Trail in the spring of 1844 as he concluded his two-year reconnaissance of the Great Basin and California.

The Mormons had literally consumed about every page of his famous report as they prepared to journey from Illinois and Iowa to Utah in 1846 and 1847.

Frémont's description of the Spanish Trail did not go unnoticed and the Hunt party had a good idea of what they faced on the trip. Frémont was one of thousands who had traveled through Iron County before the arrival of the Mormons in Utah.

Thanks to the work of scholars like LeRoy & Ann Hafen, Dale Morgan, etc. we now have volumes of descriptions of the traffic on this important early trade trail from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Los Angeles, California.

The trail was especially active from 1829 to 1848.

Mexican and American traders brought dry goods (pots, pans, blankets, etc.) from Santa Fe to California in exchange for horses. Unfortunately for Utah's Indians, the traders often captured Indian children to be sold as domestic servants on both ends of the trail. A young Indian girl would bring as much as $400, 1830's value, as a slave. Young Indian boys, who would run away when older, were worth as much as $200. The Mexican commerce essentially ended with the annexation of Mexico's northern territories by the United States in 1848.

Travelers along this infamous trail besides Frémont included such notables as Jedediah Smith, Thomas (Peg Leg) Smith, Antonio Armijo, William Wolfskill, Peter Skene Ogden, Bill Williams, Walkara, William Workman, and Kit Carson to name a few.

Jedediah Smith pioneered the western half of the trail with his two trips following the annual fur trappers rendezvous at Bear Lake in 1826 and 1827. In 1826, he left Bear Lake and came to what would become the Spanish Trail just south of Price. After traveling down Salina Canyon and going up the Sevier River, he crossed the Wasatch Range of mountains on Clear Creek.

He then traveled south along a route closely paralleling Interstate 15. He entered Iron County in mid-October, struggled over the Black Ridge and made his way down through the treacherous Virgin River Gorge, and on to California via the Colorado River and southern California desert.

In 1827, Smith avoided the Gorge by going up the Santa Clara and over Utah Hill and back to the Virgin River.

Thomas "Peg Leg" Smith came up the Colorado River in December 1827. After he hit the Virgin River he traveled on through Iron County on his way to Colorado.

He had two good legs for the trip, but became involved in a fight with Indians in northern Colorado in 1829. An Indian shot him in his left ankle and shattered the bone. With a little help, Smith amputated his leg, attached a wooden peg and went back to his mountain man exploits. In 1839, he traveled with James Beckwith, a trapper, and Walkara on a daring horse-rustling raid. The mixed party stole about 5,000 horses from the unsuspecting California Mexicans and headed north towards Utah with their booty.

A posse of men followed and recovered about 2,000 head, but Smith, Beckwith and Walker succeeded in retaining the other

3,000 horses. It was perhaps the largest horse-rustling event in the history of the west. There are still places, like the one at Three Peaks just west of Cedar City, where the trail shows the effects of the tens of thousands of horses that traveled along the Spanish Trail.



Photo by Steven H. Heath

Cross Glyph at Three Peaks

Antonio Armijo brought the first trade caravan from New Mexico to California. He followed a route which crossed the Colorado River at Crossing of the Fathers and then went west along the Arizona Strip to the Virgin River, so he didn't enter Iron County. But the financial success of the expedition brought many more caravans in the years that followed.

In the fall of 1830, William Wolfskill and George Yount left Santa Fe on Sept. 29 and arrived in Los Angeles on Feb. 5. They traveled a route which became the standard path on the Spanish Trail. From Santa Fe, they traveled north to southeastern Colorado, then northwest to present-day Moab where they crossed the Colorado River.

After crossing a short stretch of desert they reached present-day Green River where they crossed the Green River. After traveling north around the San Rafael Swell they went west down Salina Canyon, then up the Sevier River to a spot just north of Circleville. They crossed the mountains by ascending Bear Creek and descending Little Creek to the Little Salt Lake.

From there they traveled southwest to Mountain Meadows, then along the Virgin River, for a ways, then south to the Las Vegas Springs and across the Mojave Desert to Los Angeles. The Wolfskill party left a Spanish Trail glyph on a volcanic rock near the mouth of Braffits Canyon a little south of Summit. It is the oldest known glyph along the trail (below).

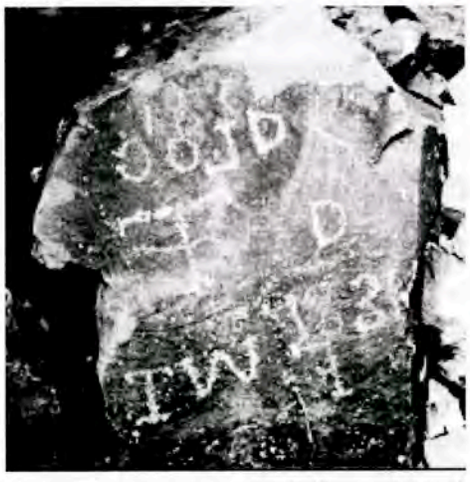


Photo by Steven H. Heath

Braffits Canyon Glyph, South of Summit

The route across the Mormon Mesa south of Mesquite, Nevada, became the favored route around 1835, when the horse trade business demanded a livestock trail. In the fall of 1841, William Workman and John Rowland led a party of mostly Americans to California along the trail. The description of the journey mentions passing through the Little Salt Lake valley. On the return trip in the spring of 1842, William Knight, a member of the party, carved his name and the year in the sandstone cliffs along Little Creek. The Spanish Trail glyph is one of the historic treasures in Iron County (below).



Photo by Steven H. Heath

Glyph in Little Creek

After the settlement of Iron County in 1851, the Spanish Trail became a wagon road known by travelers as the "Mormon Road" to southern California. Eventually it became the Arrowhead Trail, U.S. Highway 91, and in more recent times, Interstate 15. Hopefully, Congress will approve the National Park Service recommendation that the Old Spanish Trail be designated as a National Historic Trail.

(Note – Original photographs have been enhanced for high contrast to make the glyphs more legible – Editors.)

10. Father Antonio José Martínez (1793-1867) was a New Mexican priest, educator, publisher, rancher, farmer, community leader, and politician. In Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, he is portrayed as corrupt and dictatorial.

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From the Spanish Trail Suite video. *courtesy Sara Penny*

William Knight: An Early Spanish Trail Traveler in Iron County, 1841-1842

by Steve Heath

Despite the thousands of travelers along the Old Spanish Trail, there are few traces of their passage through what is now Iron County, Utah. One of the rare exceptions is an inscription near the mouth of Little Creek Canyon at Paragonah, Utah. It reads:

1842
Wm Knight

My first encounter with this interesting rock signature brought two immediate questions: "Was it authentic?" and, if it was, then "Who was William Knight?" At first I thought that it might be a fake, since there have been residents of Iron County named "Knight." Reference to Leroy and Ann Hafen's *Old Spanish Trail* reveals that there was indeed a William Knight who traveled to California in 1841 (204-218). Had someone wanted to fabricate the inscription in the walls of Little Creek Canyon, he or she most certainly would have engraved the year 1841 instead of 1842.

I learned of the inscription from Spanish Trail enthusiast Alva Matheson, who told me that he had seen the engraving in the 1930's as a young man. The interesting style of the inscription letters, the Hafen's reference to Knight, and Matheson's testimony persuaded me that it was authentic. I was completely convinced when I later discovered that Knight had made two additional trips across the Spanish Trail in 1842. Reference to these two trips did not appear in print until 2001 (Spitzzeri 25).

William Knight's life narrative is worthy of consideration, in that it provides us with an example of a pioneer who, in the face of social and political conflict, traveled to California along the Old Spanish Trail.

Knight was born in Baltimore about 1795. By age twenty-four, he had a bright future ahead of him as a physician. Perhaps life in Maryland was too docile for him, for by 1830 he was living in St. Louis. At this gateway to the West, he came under the influence of adventurers and experienced western pioneers like William Wolfskill and John Rowland. Encyclopedic historian Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote of him: "He was a great hunter, and though said to have been educated as a physician, was a man of very rough ways, violent in temper, always ready to take offence, and settle all differences by force" (IV, 702). Excited about the far western frontier, Knight traveled down the Santa Fe Trail to Santa Fe (Walters and Anderson 131). Although he also may have practiced medicine in Santa Fe, he became a trader along the trails between Santa Fe and the southern towns in Sonora and Chihuahua.

In 1831, Knight married Carmen Tapia y Arce. She was the daughter of Jose Tapia, a prominent Mexican resident of Santa Fe. Records indicate that William and Carmen had eight children, five born in New Mexico and three later in California (Walters and Anderson 13; LDS Family Group Records).

Even though Knight became a Mexican citizen in 1835, he and many other American-Mexicans were "distinctly Anglo" in their associations with Indians living in the area (Hafen, VII 386). The Mexicans, on the other hand, had become bitter enemies of the Indians. The murder of Juan Jose in 1837, in which Knight was indirectly involved, illustrates the dramatic change in the attitude of the Indians toward American-Mexicans. Juan Jose, a young chief of the Mimbres Apache, was educated for the priesthood at a Chihuahuan Catholic school. He apparently was a model student until his father was unjustly killed by Mexican officials. Following this unfortunate event, Juan Jose became a renegade leader in the long-standing fight against Mexicans. But at the same time, Juan maintained good but cautious relationship with Americans in Mexico. Irritated with the Apaches in general, the governor of Sonora hired an American named James Johnson to assassinate Juan Jose. Johnson's opportunity came when a group of Americans led by a man named Ames were on a mule-buying expedition in Oposura (modern-day Moctezuma, Sonora, Mexico). Knight was one of the members of the party (Hague 193). Johnson offered to guide the group north to the Gila River where they might obtain the mules they sought from the Indians. The route he proposed took them through Apache country in present-day southern Arizona. Johnson knew that he might entice Juan Jose to visit the caravan of American traders, and he was not disappointed. As a result, he and an accomplice named Gleason were able to carry out their treacherous assassination plan (Hague 194-195). The response of the Apache was immediate and deadly. The trade caravan was driven back to Oposura. Several in the group were killed, but Knight escaped as did Johnson and Gleason. We are not told how Knight returned to Santa Fe, but whatever trail he took was fraught with danger. The friendship between the Apaches and Americans in New Mexico continued to deteriorate during the days and years that followed.

By 1841 it was becoming unbearable for American-Mexicans to remain in New Mexico, not only because of increased hostility with Indians, but also because they were being persecuted by Mexican officials. Texas had been taken from Mexico in 1836, and Mexican government officials were now fearful that Americans in Santa Fe and Taos might be planning to liberate New Mexico from Mexican control. Two of Knight's friends, John Rowland and William Workman, were accused of having such sympathies. Knight himself may also have been suspected of similar views. During the summer and early fall of 1841, Rowland and Workman planned a trip to California on the Spanish Trail to avoid immediate conflict with the Mexican government. These Spanish Trail pioneers hoped that Mexican-California might be a better place to live than New Mexico.

The details of the Rowland-Workman expedition have been provided by Spanish Trail historians LeRoy and Ann Hafen (195-225) and Paul Spitzzeri (20-28). According to these accounts, the members of the expedition assembled at Abiquiu where they purchased several hundred sheep to eat along the way. They also convinced a few Mexican families to join them. Knight did not bring his wife and children with him since is wife was probably pregnant or had recently delivered their fifth child. He likely felt she would be safer with her father at the ranch where they had recently lived and farmed between William's trading expeditions.

Historical sources for the trip are very limited, but we do know that the expedition followed a route which traversed the path which has been recognized as the northern route of the Old Spanish Trail. The group left Abiquiu the first week of September and arrived in Los Angeles on November 5. The records indicate that they passed through the Little Salt Lake Valley on the way. They were probably

in Iron County by the middle of October. Knight, an experienced frontiersman, no doubt was very helpful to the pioneering group.

After spending the winter in California, Knight joined Rowland and others headed for Santa Fe and a reunion with their families. Both men had determined to make California a permanent home. They left California on April 7, 1842, for the long journey back to Santa Fe along the Spanish Trail. The party experienced no major difficulties on the return trip except for the swollen rivers in their path. At the Green River crossing, they lost two of their party, James Doke and a man called Tibeau. The two men, who had also been in the 1841 expedition, drowned at the treacherous crossing of the river (Spitzzeri 25). Knight may have carved his name on the rocks at Little Creek on the trip back, but he probably did not since his party would have been traveling as rapidly as possible on the return trip.

The date the group arrived back in New Mexico has not been recorded. This is not surprising since they may have been fugitives from Mexican officials. At the end of the summer, the men quietly organized their families, friends, and others and commenced traveling back to California. They knew that too early a departure would take them into the Nevada and California deserts when the heat made travel unsafe. They probably left New Mexico in September as they had done the year before, but with the addition of extra families and young children, they did not reach California until December 12 (Spitzzeri 25). Knight and his wife had five children, ranging in age from one to seven, to take care of during the trek. I suspect that Knight carved his name in the rock wall of Little Creek on the return trip when the expedition was moving at a slower pace. They would have passed through the canyon in late October 1842. Rowland would later write to a friend of the group's experience:

> On the road we had nearly all the time very cold unpleasant weather in which our women and little ones suffered very much an accident also happened to our sheep by which we lost about 400 which got smothered by the flocks rushing into a deep ravine or gully; but on the whole we at last got here, for which I shall always feel grateful to the Divine Ruler of destinies of us Mortals for having delivered me from the bondage of the Taosanios and Apaches to which I was always doomed whilst in New Mexico. (Walters and Anderson 14)

Mexico was happy to have American-Mexicans to settle in California, and Knight and his many emigrant friends were welcomed to their new home. Knight stayed in Los Angeles area for a short time and then settled in northern California along the Stanislaus River. There he built a ferry and established a small farm for his family's support. He was a good hunter and made his living as a trader as he had done in New Mexico. When the Mexican War broke out in 1846, Knight sided with those bent on taking California and the Southwest from Mexico. During the subsequent gold rush he prospered greatly. Although he found some gold, the ferry brought greater wealth for him and his family. Some days he made as much as $500 ferrying men and goods in the gold fields. The new American government did not recognize the claims on his property at Knight's Landing. He did not live long enough to secure his Mexican land grant or spend his new-found income, for on November 9, 1848, he was killed. Family members later charged that he was murdered (Walters and Anderson 16). Knight's widow was taken care of by his older children.

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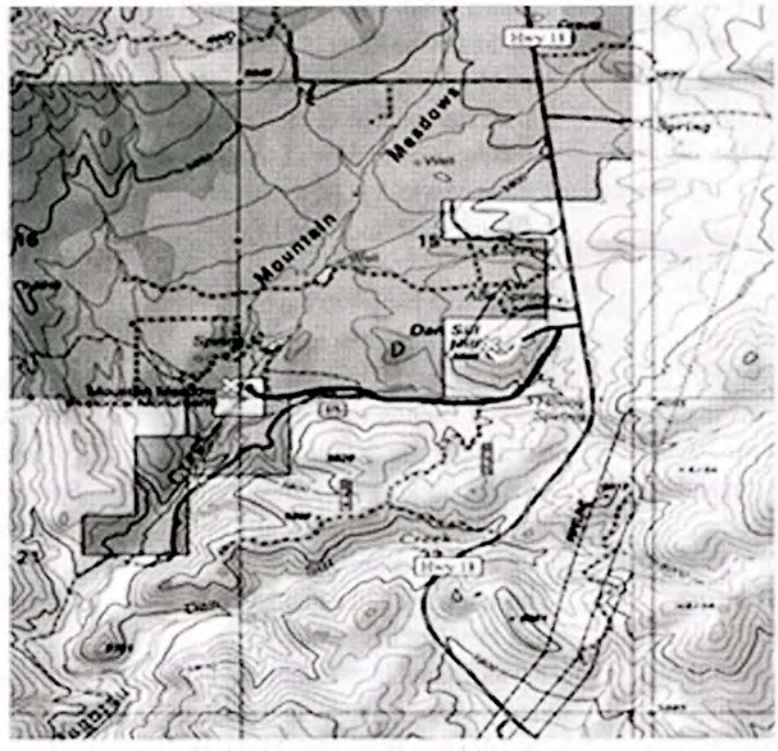
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Day 4
May 26th
Cedar City, Enoch, Enterprise
Mountain Meadows Massacre, Salt Lake City

Day 4, Cedar City to Moutanin Meadows and Salt Lake								
	Point to Point	Distance	Travel Time (min)	Time at Stop (min)	accumulate Miles	Accumulated Time	Arrive at Stop	Estimated Time of Day of Departure from Stop
	Cedar City							7:30 AM
	Enoch	8	10	60	8	70	7:40:00 AM	8:40 AM
	Casting of Lots Marker	12	20	15	20	105	9:00:00 AM	9:15 AM
	Jefferson Hunt Marker	31	33	30	51	168	9:48:00 AM	10:18 AM
	Enterprise, Utah	7.6	15	60	58.6	243	10:33:00 AM	11:33 AM
	Mountain Meadows	11	20	180	69.6	443	11:53:00 AM	2:53 PM
	Salt Lake City	302	300		371.6	743	7:53:00 PM	7:53 PM
					371.6	743	7:53:00 PM	7:53 PM
					371.6	743	7:53:00 PM	7:53 PM
					371.6	743	7:53:00 PM	7:53 PM
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					371.6	743	7:53:00 PM	7:53 PM
					371.6	743	7:53:00 PM	7:53 PM
					371.6	743	7:53:00 PM	7:53 PM
					371.6	743	7:53:00 PM	7:53 PM
	total travel time			5:45:00	371.6	12:44		
				0:00:00				

Mountain Meadows Massacre
September 7th, 1857



The tragic story of Death Valley's 'Lost 49ers'

After leaving the Old Spanish Trail and trying a supposed shorter route, they nearly perished

In January of 1848, gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill in California and people from all over the United States packed their belongings and began to travel by wagon to what they hoped would be a new and better life. Since most of these pioneers began their exodus to California in 1849, they are generally referred to as 49ers. One of the supply points along the trail was Salt Lake City, where pioneers prepared for the long journey across the Great Basin desert before climbing over the High Sierra Mountains to the gold fields of California. It was important to leave Salt Lake City and cross the desert before snow began to fall on the Sierra Mountains, making them impassible. Only a couple of years before, a group of pioneers called the Donnor Party left late out of Salt Lake City and was trapped by a storm, an event that became one of the greatest human disasters of that day and age.



The sand dunes of Death Valley

The southern route

The stories of the Donnor Party were still fresh on everyone's mind when a group of wagons arrived at Salt Lake City in October of 1849. This was much too late to try to cross the mountains safely, and it looked like these wagons were going to have to wait out the winter in Salt Lake City. It was then that they heard about the Old Spanish Trail, a route that went around the south end of the Sierras and was safe to travel in the winter. The only problems were that no pioneer wagon trains had ever tried to follow it and they could only find one person in town who knew the route and would agree to lead them. As this wagon train left Salt Lake City, some of these people would become part of a story of human suffering in a place they named DeathValley.



Capt. Jefferson Hunt

The first two weeks of travel on the Old Spanish Trail were easy, but the going was slower than most of the travelers wanted. The leader of the group, Captain Jefferson Hunt, would only go as fast as the slowestwagon in the group.

Captain Hunt was an experienced Mormon wagon master, who had only recently endured the adversities of the Mormon Battalion. He had already traveled the Old Spanish Trail to California to get provisions for fellow Salt Lake residents and he knew the way.

He was Born in Bracken County, Kentucky in 1805 and moved to Illinois, where he and his wife were baptized in 1834. He joined the Mormon Battalion in 1846, became one of its officers and had traveled from California to Salt Lake Valley via the northern route in 1847. Later that same year, he returned to California by the southern route (the Old Spanish Trail) to obtain provisions for Salt Lake's residents. Then, in 1849, he led this wagon train of emigrants to California via the southern route, accompanied partway by gold seekers bound for the gold fields. He would return to Utah in early 1851; later that year he would help settle San Bernardino, California. He would return to Utah because of 1857–58 Utah War; settle in Ogden Valley, where the town of Huntsville would be named for him. He would spend the last years of his life in Oxford, Idaho, where he would die in 1866.

Following Fremont's map

As for the 49ers he was leading to California, just as the people were about to voice their dissent about the slowness of the wagon train, a young man rode into camp and showed some of the people a map made by John Fremont on one of his exploratory trips through the area. The map showed a short cut across the desert to a place called Walker Pass. Everyone agreed that this would cut off 500 miles from their journey so most of the120 wagons decided to follow this map while the other wagons continued along the Old Spanish Trail with Captain Hunt. As later events would prove, they should have remained with the Hunt wagons.

The point where these wagons left the Old Spanish Trail is near the present day town of Enterprise, Utah, where a monument (Jefferson Hunt Monument) has been

constructed to commemorate this historic event. Almost as soon as these people began their journey, they found themselves confronted with the precipitous obstacle of Beaver Dam Wash, a gaping canyon on the present day Utah-Nevada state line (Beaver Dam State Park, Nevada). Most of the people became discouraged and turned back to join Jefferson Hunt, but about 20 wagons decided to continue on.

It was a tedious chore getting the wagons across the canyon and took several days. In the meantime, the young man who had the map of the short cut got impatient and, under the cloak of darkness, left the group. Despite the fact that the group now didn't have a map, they decided to continue on, thinking that all they had to do was go west and they would eventually find the pass.

After crossing Beaver Dam Wash the group passed through the area of present day Panaca, Nevada and crossed over "Bennett's Pass" to Del Mar Valley. Here they started having difficulty finding water but eventually found their way to Crystal Springs in the Paranagat Valley. They continued over Hancock Summit into Tikaboo Valley and then on to Groom Lake in central Nevada. They had now been slowly making their way across the desert for almost a month since they had left the Old Spanish Trail. At Groom Lake they got into a dispute on which way to go. One group wanted to follow a well traveled Indian trail to the south in hopes of finding a good water source. The other group wanted to stay with the original plan of traveling west. The group eventually split and went their separate ways but they both were to have two things in common. They were both saved from dying of thirst by a snow storm and they both ended up meeting again in a place called Ash Meadows located east of Death Valley. From here they continued on through present day Death Valley Junction and along the same route followed by Highway 190. On Christmas Eve of 1849, the group arrived at Travertine Springs, located about a mile from Furnace Creek.

The 'Burned Wagons Camp'

The lost pioneers had now been traveling across the desert for about two months since leaving the Old Spanish Trail. Their oxen were weak from lack of forage and their wagons were battered and in poor shape. They too were weary and discouraged but their worst problem was not the valley that lay before them. It was the towering mountains that stood like an impenetrable wall as far as could be seen in both directions.

They decided to head toward what appeared to be a pass to the north near present day Stovepipe Wells, but after discovering this was also impassible, decided they were going to have to leave their wagons and belongings behind and walk to civilization. They slaughtered several oxen and used the wood of their wagons to cook the meat and make jerky. The place where they did this is today referred to as "Burned Wagons Camp" and is located near the sand dunes of Death Valley. From here, they began climbing toward Towne Pass and then turned south over Emigrant Pass to Wildrose Canyon. After crossing the mountains and dropping down into Panamint Valley, they turned south and climbed a small pass into Searles Lake Valley before making their way into Indian Wells Valley near the present day city of Ridgecrest. It was here that they finally got their first look at the Sierra Mountains. They turned south, probably following a trail and traveled close to the same route followed by Highway 14. Ironically, they walked right by Walker Pass (Highway 178 to Isabella Lake), the place they had set out to look for almost three months earlier.

From Walker Pass, they entered into what was to become the worst part of their journey, the Mojave Desert Plateau. This is a flat, featureless land with very few water sources to be found. The only things that saved them from dying of thirst were a few puddles of water and ice from a recent storm. Eventually they found their way over a pass near Palmdale, California and, following the Santa Clarita River drainage, were finally discovered and rescued by Spanish cowboys from Rancho San Fernando, located near present day Newhall, California.

Naming of Death Valley

Another 49er making his way to the Gold Rush in California from Wisconsin was William Lewis Manly, a fur trapper, guide, farmer and gold miner who was responsible for the naming of Death Valley. He would later write:



"Just as we were ready to leave and return to camp we took off our hats, and then overlooking the scene of so much trial, suffering and death spoke the thought uppermost, saying, "Good bye Death Valley!". . . then faced away and made our steps toward camp. Even after this in speaking of this long and narrow valley over which we had crossed into its nearly central part, and on the edge of which the lone camp was made, for so many days, it was called Death Valley. (*From Death Valley in '49,* Chapter X, by William Lewis Manly.

Derived from National Park Service Sources

Mountain Meadows: Utah's darkest day in history

1857 massacre killed 123 men, women and children, launching long-standing controversy

September 11, 1857, was the date of Utah's darkest, most disturbing day. Just like on September 11, 2001, religious zealots' murdered innocent people in cold blood. Mormons and Paiutes killed 123 men, women, and children who had put their lives in their hands.

A controversy that won't go away.

The Mountain Meadows Massacre is one of the most controversial moments in Utah history. From the beginning, accounts have been confused and muddled about why it happened, who ordered it, and what might have provoked it. Although many historians and organizations have weighed in with evidence and opinions on one side or another, we may never really know for sure why the massacre happened and who gave the order for it. A wagon train starts out with high hopes for the future. What we do know are the basic facts: A wagon train left rkansas in April 1857, headed for California. It had as many as 150 people, and hundreds of head of cattle.



Mountain Meadows Monument to the dead in 1900.

In August, the group arrived in Salt Lake City and bought supplies. They then decided to take the southern route to California. This would take them south through Utah — so that they could avoid running into early snows in the Sierra Nevada.

Suspicion and paranoia in Utah

This was a very tense time in Utah. The U.S. government thought Mormons in Utah Territory had started a rebellion against the country. Troops were even on the way to put down the "rebellion."

In Utah, the Mormons feared what the approaching troops might do. They mistrusted the government and any unknown parties traveling through the state. The Fancher party gets caught in the rumor mill. Brigham Young had declared that anyone traveling through Utah should have a pass from the territorial government, but the Fancher party didn't have one. The rumors began to spread about the emigrants as they traveled through the state. By the time they reached southern Utah, the tales had grown very tall indeed. The residents along the way refused to sell the wagon train ıy supplies. So, unwelcomed, the wagon train headed past Cedar City and camped at MountainMeadows, a popular stop on the trail.

The Attack

On September 7, according to accounts written by Anglo Americans, a band of Paiutes and Anglos dressed up like Indians attacked the emigrants. However, the Paiute tribe today says that, according to their oral tradition, they did not participate in the massacre. The attackers killed seven of the emigrants immediately.

The Fancher party circled the wagons and managed to fend their attackers off for five days. But they couldn't hold out forever. When Mormon militia offered to protect them, the emigrants agreed to leave all their possessions behind — and to give up their weapons. The miltiamen separated out men, women, the wounded, and children for a march toward Cedar City. After the group walked for more than a mile, the line of people grew strung out and separated.

Betrayal

Suddenly, instead of leading the people to safety, the militiamen killed everyone but the smallest children. The militia took the small children to Cedar City to stay with Mormon families and buried the dead in shallow graves.

A messenger that had been sent days earlier to get Brigham Young's advice on what to do with the wagon train returned shortly after the killings. His message from Young: Let the wagon train pass through unharmed. When Young learned that the awful massacre had occured, he blamed it on the Paiute Indians.

Investigation

The families of the victims began to wonder what had really happened. The U.S. government investigated and finally prosecuted only one man, John D. Lee. Although many men had participated in the decision and deed, Lee took the blame for it all. He was executed in 1877.

This massacre won't die

This event shows that the only thing we know about the past is the evidence left behind. We don't have enough evidence to know why this tragedy happened. Historians must interpret the documents, journals, accounts, and recorded memories the best they can. Everyone sees it differently. And that is why there are so many different books about this event—as historians struggle to figure it out.

Terror on the Trail: The Massacre at Mountain Meadows

by David L. Bigler

September 11 will mark the anniversary of the most horrific terrorist attack in U.S. history. No, I'm not talking about 9/11, 2001. I refer to September 11, 1857. On that day, white settlers and Indians in southwestern Utah deceived, betrayed, and murdered more than a hundred men, women and children at a rest stop on the Spanish Trail to Los Angeles, known as Mountain Meadows. No one knows for sure how many they killed that day because there were no survivors old enough to tell. But a good estimate would come to about forty unarmed men; some thirty women, most of them young mothers; and as many as fifty children, including about twenty girls between the ages of seven and seventeen.

It was the most horrific terrorist attack in our nation's history, not as figured by body count, but in the *way* its victims were slain. White men and Indians struck them down one at a time, up close and personal, with knives, hatchets, pistols, and muskets. Mercy was shown only to children too young to testify and young enough to come under a doctrinal exemption, known as "innocent blood." Only seventeen children qualified.

For their mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, it was all over in minutes. For seventy or so white men involved in the killing, it would never be over. All belonged to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Mormons. Most were God-fearing men, devoted husbands, caring fathers. The wounds they suffered that day were soul-deep and never healed. Sixty-one years later, Nephi Johnson lay dying. In delirium, the eighty-four-year-old Indian missionary preached in native languages, sang hymns and prayed. Suddenly his eyes opened wide, staring straight up, and he cried, "Blood! Blood! BLOOD!" Sixty-one years before, he had led the Indians in killing the women and children. He was reliving the horror and was afraid to die.

Noted historian David McCullough has said that nothing ever *had* to happen the *way* it happened. "History could have gone off in any number of different directions in any number of different ways at any point along the way," he said.[1] So why did it go the way it did in this case? How could God-fearing men do such a thing? A hundred fifty years of obstruction, cover up, denial and falsifying have obscured the answers to such disturbing questions.

Our limited time today precludes a detailed examination of the events and since-forgotten beliefs behind the worst atrocity on our overland trails. But as I briefly recount these events and the conditions in which they took place, you may gain some insight into why it happened.

Keep in mind something else McCullough said, that there was never anything like the past. Nobody ever lived in the past. Our ancestors didn't go around saying, "Isn't this fascinating living in the past?" They lived in the present, just as we do, only it was *their* present, not *ours*. Just as we don't know how things are going to turn out, they didn't either. The two-time Pulitzer prize winner and author of *1776* said that it's easy to find fault with people for why they did this, or didn't do that, because we're not involved in it, we're not inside it, we're not confronting what we don't know—as everyone who preceded us always was.

The Arkansas emigrants who headed west in 1857 surely had no idea of what lay ahead. Not only would they be murdered, but forever after they would also be maligned, mischaracterized and blamed for what happened to them. And they would be unable to defend themselves.

This defamation continues today, although we know better. We know that, unlike many of the parties that passed through Utah during this period, they were an orderly train, led by mature, experienced captains, 52-year-old John T. Baker and Alexander Fancher, 45, who surely knew their responsibility for the safety of some eighty women and children. Most of their wealth was tied up in a

large cattle herd, but they also possessed thirty or forty wagons, horses, mules, tools, firearms and cash for expenses. Their picture is not one of hell-raisers, but of prosperous farm families moving west to California to make new homes there.

After more than four months on the trail, they arrived in Salt Lake Valley near the peak of a flaming revival, called the Reformation, to purify God's people and to merit divine favor in an imminent confrontation with the United States. Mormon leaders had seen it coming. The brief history of this fervent millennial movement had already shown that a people, ruled by God through inspired men, could never live in peace within a republic governed by the elected representatives of its citizens. The two governing systems are incompatible. The Reformation featured a fearful doctrine known as blood atonement.

In addition, some weeks after they left Arkansas, Mormon Apostle Parley P. Pratt had been brutally murdered in that state. He was killed by the vengeful husband of a woman he had taken as his twelfth polygamous wife. But to believers, Pratt was a martyr of the faith, whose blood cried for vengeance—not on the man who had taken his life, but on the people of the nation and state, who allowed him to do it with impunity. The popular apostle was killed in the same part of Arkansas the emigrants came from.

Finally, less than two weeks before the doomed company arrived, news had struck Great Salt Lake that an American military expedition had marched from Fort Leavenworth to escort a new governor to Utah to replace Brigham Young and assert federal authority in the theocratic territory.

In short, the emigrants came to the wrong place, from the wrong place, at the wrong time. Utah Territory was a place emotionally inflamed by excessive religious zeal, by the thirst for vengeance, and by the threat of war.

Malinda Cameron Thurston, who survived only because her husband decided to take the northern trail, while the rest of her family took Mormon advice and went south, fixed the day of the train's arrival as August 3, 1857. From that day, out of all the companies that had followed the southern trail since 1849, some with cattle or sheep, the company from Arkansas became a marked train, one singled out for special treatment.

Early that same day, Apostle George A. Smith left in a horse-drawn carriage on a flying visit to the string of Mormon settlements along the route that led to the Spanish Trail, near Cedar City, two hundred and fifty miles to the south. At each settlement he delivered orders from Brigham Young to sell no food to the emigrants and to tell the Indians they have "got to help us or the United States will kill us both."[2] The latter order bore sobering implications.

Mormons then and today believe that American Indians, known as Lamanites, are a remnant of ancient Israel in the New World from the tribe of Manasseh, the son of Joseph, son of Jacob. They also accept as true that most members of the faith also descend from Jacob through Joseph's other son, Ephraim. The conviction of common Hebrew ancestry made Mormons and Indians cousins by blood, and natural allies.

These beliefs appear innocent enough today, but they were hardly non-threatening then. For the Prophet Micah warned that when Zion was redeemed the "remnant of Israel" would be among the gentiles "as a young lion among the flocks of sheep; who . . . both treadeth down and teareth in pieces," a prophecy repeated by *The Book of Mormon* prophet, 3rd Nephi.[3] Mormons then believed the "remnant of Israel" referred to the Indians and the prophecies to their own time and circumstances.

Today such teaching is not taken seriously. At that time, it was. In southern Utah, they took it *very* seriously. The Cedar Stake patriarch in a prophetic blessing on William H. Dame, then commander of Utah's Southern Military District, prophesied the officer's mission. "Thou shalt be called to act at the head of a portion of thy brethren and of the Lamanites in the redemption of Zion and the avenging of the blood of the prophets upon them that dwell on the earth," he promised. "The angel of vengeance shall be with thee."[4]

Unaware of the danger in their path, the emigrants followed Apostle Smith south along the route of today's I-15, but at a much slower pace. In a horse-drawn vehicle the apostle averaged forty miles a day, even after giving sermons and issuing orders along the way. Slowed by their herd, the emigrants journeyed at a little more than seven miles a day. After months on the trail, they needed flour and fresh vegetables, especially for the children, but they could not buy food at any price. At Provo and Nephi, sharp words were exchanged because the settlements refused to permit the emigrants' cattle to graze on common fields. An inflammatory rumor spread that some train members had helped murder the Mormon prophets, Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

Ahead of them, the apostle issued instructions, written and verbal, to those who would soon murder the emigrants. He met with Colonel Dame, mentioned before; John D. Lee, ostensibly a lowly Indian farmer, but an adopted son of Brigham Young under a sealing ordinance long ago discontinued and a main figure in the massacre; Isaac C. Haight, president of the Cedar Stake of Zion; and Major John Higbee, who would give the order to kill the emigrants. Lee later said that he always understood that Smith came to prepare the people for that bloody work.

If so, an important part of Smith's mission was to carry out Brigham Young's order to dismiss the moderate head of the Southern Indian Mission and to replace him with frontier zealot Jacob Hamblin, who could be counted on to do as he was told. Smith ordered him to gather up the Southern Paiute chiefs and bring them back with him to Great Salt Lake to meet with Young.

Smith had done all this and was halfway home when he and his party, now enlarged by a dozen or so Indians, met the Arkansas train at Corn Creek in central Utah. The apostle camped within forty yards of the emigrants who voiced fear at seeing Mormons and Indians together and doubled their guard. Smith later claimed the Arkansans poisoned the Pahvant Indian band at Corn Creek, but there is no evidence to support this charge. It, like all other tales of emigrant misbehavior, is patently false, but still repeated, for no apparent reason than to convey the impression that "they got what they deserved."

The Corn Creek meeting actually had nothing to do with poison and everything to do with the emigrants' reaction at the sight of Mormons and Indians traveling north together. Up to this point, halfway between Salt Lake and Mountain Meadows, they had traveled at less than eight miles a day. But from Corn Creek to their final resting place, they hurried up to over twelve miles a day, or about as fast as they could go with a big herd after so long on the trail. They were not looking for trouble. They were trying to get away.

As they neared the Spanish Trail, Apostle Smith delivered the Paiute chiefs to Salt Lake where they met with Brigham Young and his personal interpreter Dimick B. Huntington. Afterward Huntington said he gave them "all the cattle that had gone to Cal[ifornia] by the south rout."[5] The gift was an invitation to attack the Baker-Fancher train with the implied promise of help if needed. The Paiute chiefs knew what cattle he referred to because they had seen them at Corn Creek. They left Salt Lake early on September 2 to be at Mountain Meadows when the first volley was fired five days later.

Meanwhile, the emigrants passed Cedar City and crossed the gradual swell that divides Great Basin waters from the head of the Colorado River. On September 6, a Sunday, they camped at the scenic Spanish Trail location named Mountain Meadows because it was more than a mile above sea level and provided ample water and grass. Here, some thirty-five miles from the nearest settlement, they felt secure enough to rest and to recruit their cattle for the desert stretch ahead after driving them hard for almost two weeks. But the spot they selected – not close enough to a spring, and too close to the low hills around it – was indefensible.

Early Monday morning, a deadly burst of gunfire out of the pre-dawn darkness killed or wounded as many as ten men as they stood silhouetted by the campfire. The first volley's destructive impact suggests the involvement of white Indian missionaries under John D. Lee because the Paiutes had few firearms and little skill in using

them. But the emigrants chained their wagon wheels together, dug rifle pits and fought back. Their resolute defense led to one of the bizarre episodes in this story.

Worried by the standoff, the head of Zion's Cedar Stake sent a rider to notify Brigham Young that the Indians, real and disguised, had corralled the train. He asked, "What should we do now?" Where else on the frontier would they send an Englishman with only one horse on a 500-mile ride to inquire what to do about Indians attacking a party of mostly women and children? Anywhere else, they'd know what to do, and, without a "by your leave," do it. And where in western annals of heroic rides for help does the hero come back to find that the settlers have helped the Indians kill the emigrants?

On Wednesday night two young volunteers tried to slip out and return to Cedar City to get help. One had joined the train at Provo to get away from Utah. Mormon guards shot and killed him at a nearby spring. They wounded his companion, too, but he escaped to alert emigrants to white involvement. On Thursday, three other men slipped out after dark in a desperate attempt to reach California on foot. One got as far as Las Vegas Springs before he was tracked down and killed. Meanwhile, a plan was hatched that same night to disarm the Arkansans and decoy them into the open.

On Friday, 9/11/1857, John D. Lee and William Bateman drove two wagons into the little stronghold under a white flag. Lee said they found the emigrants almost out of ammunition, short of water and becoming desperate. He told them their only hope was to turn over their arms, "so as not to arouse the animosity of the Indians," and place their lives under the protection of the Mormon military arm, known as the Nauvoo Legion, which did double duty as the territorial militia.[6]

Soon after, the most heartbreaking parade ever staged on American soil emerged from the camp. Leading it was a wagonload of children under six years old. Then came Lee on foot, followed by a second wagon bearing two or three wounded men and one woman. Some distance behind walked the women and older children. After them, a quarter-mile or so to the rear walked in single file the disarmed men, each escorted by an armed guard. It was all carefully planned. As the women and children entered a narrow place in the hills, heavy with brush, Major Higbee called out: "Halt. Do your duty."

It was horrific. Each of the guards shot the man next to him. At the firing, Indians and painted whites swarmed out of the brush to kill women and children with knives, hatchets and guns. The little valley was filled with gunfire and screams of women and children under murderous attack. Girls begged for their lives and cried out loud as they were dragged away to have their throats cut. As he killed two wounded men in the wagon with one shot, Samuel McMurdy reportedly prayed, "O lord, my God, receive their spirits, for it is for thy Kingdom that I do this."[7] Nephi Johnson later testified white men did most of the killing. Southern Paiute oral remembrance agrees.

Next morning they covered the bodies with a little dirt, which gave no protection from the coyotes. They then formed a prayer circle, Lee said, and thanked God "for delivering our enemies into our hands." And they swore to keep their role secret from everyone but Brigham Young, to always say the Indians alone did it, and to kill anyone who broke this oath. To excuse their Indian allies, the initial story blamed the victims for what happened to them. They had poisoned the Pahvants on Corn Creek, 140 miles to the north, and brought it on themselves, the story goes. But no Pahvants from Corn Creek took part in the atrocity.

Four days after the killing, Brigham Young declared martial law. He stamped the U.S. Army expedition "an armed mercenary mob," ordered the territorial militia, or Nauvoo Legion, to repel an imagined invasion, and shut down all travel "into or through or from" an area of the American West large enough enclose New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, without a permit. The massacre and closure of overland trails led California's newly elected fourth governor to voice alarm over the impact

on immigration, "so essential in developing the state's resources." To protect citizens traveling through U.S. territory, Governor John B. Weller said, the "whole power of the federal government should be invoked."[8]

Nearly three weeks after the crime, John D. Lee reported to Brigham Young, who undoubtedly knew all about it by then. At this point, a historian meets a familiar phenomenon. In each of many nineteenth-century conflicts between the Mormons and their neighbors, one almost always discovers two squarely opposing, mutually exclusive, and highly credible versions.

In his later confessions, Lee said he told Young all there was to tell, including the names of those who took part. According to Apostle Wilford Woodruff, Lee only told Young that the emigrants had poisoned the Indians who became enraged and alone killed them, sparing only a few children for sale to the Mormons. Years later, Young swore that Lee came two or three *months* after the massacre and began to tell him about it, but he had stopped him. He'd heard rumors about it and didn't want his feelings "harrowed up" by a recital of the horrid details.

The end of the Utah conflict in 1858 introduced a period of cover up, obfuscation, appeasement and bureaucratic bungling. To avoid bloodshed, Young's replacement as governor, Alfred Cumming, scotched an attempted investigation by the fearless federal judge, John Cradlebaugh. It seemed that everyone west of the Missouri River knew the truth, except federal officials in Utah and Washington. The California newspapers had it right almost as soon as the first reports reached the West Coast.

Yet for twenty years, only the U.S. Army investigated the massacre. In 1859, Major James H. Carleton, who later commanded Union forces in the Southwest during the Civil War, led a mounted company from Los Angeles to Mountain Meadows. He saw at once that "a great and fearful crime" had been committed. The officer called the men who did it "relentless, incarnate fiends," but his report was largely ignored in the events leading to the Civil War. Arthur H. Clark has published Major Carleton's Report in a blood red cover with a map and introduction by Bob Clark. It's worth much more than the modest price.

Carleton and his men of Company K, collected and buried some of the bones and erected over them a monument of stones twelve feet high topped by a cedar cross that bore the words: "Vengeance is mine: I will repay saith the Lord."[9] The soldiers had gone off to the Civil War two years later when Brigham Young visited the site. He read these words and said, "It should be vengeance is mine and I have taken a little."[10] His escort tore down the cross and scattered the stones. Three years later Captain George Price and Company M, Second California Volunteer Cavalry, camped there and built it up again.

After the Civil War, pressure grew from the outside and from church members, as well, for an investigation and punishment of the crime. So it was that one would pay the price for all. The year 1870 saw the excommunication of John D. Lee. To get him out of the way, he was sent off to run the ferry at a remote location on the Colorado River, now called Lee's Ferry. A year later, guilt-ridden former Cedar City bishop Philip Klingensmith appeared before the district court in Pioche, Nevada, and broke the oath of silence.

Still, nothing happened—and for good reason. The only man with the power to conduct an investigation and punish the guilty simply chose not to unless he controlled the outcome. Brigham Young took such authority from a unique legal system created by Utah lawmakers after Congress established the territory in 1850. In brief, a pre-millennial theocracy applied democratic processes to create an exclusive legal system for a people who lived under a higher law. But it gave little or no consistent equal protection to outsiders.

Not for twenty years did Congress dismantle the territory's controlled judiciary and restore the court system it had meant to create in the first place. Six months after it passed the Poland Act in 1874, a federal marshal arrested John D. Lee and others for the massacre.

Lee's two trials in 1875 and 1876 stand as remarkable examples of judicial string pulling, first to

exonerate, then to convict the same defendant. The first 12-member jury counted one inactive and eight active Mormons and three so-called Gentiles. No faithful Mormon stepped forward to testify against Lee, but enough evidence did come out to convict him. As expected, however, the panel deadlocked, nine to three. Only the non-Mormons voted to convict.

The wave of indignation that now swept across the country alarmed church leaders. Something had to be done to close the book on Mountain Meadows without incriminating anyone else. At the same time, a new U.S. attorney was under pressure to gain a conviction. So the two sides struck a deal. The prosecutor agreed not to implicate Brigham Young and others. In return, Young sacrificed John D. Lee. He provided the witnesses to convict his adopted son and guaranteed a unanimous verdict. To make it look good, as well as work, the prosecutor empaneled Mormon jurors only.

As scripted, witnesses appeared out of the sagebrush at Lee's second trial in whatever number it took to seal his fate. The all-Mormon jury took less than four hours to find their former friend and brother guilty, twelve to zip. It was all neatly done.

John D. Lee, scapegoat for the sins of many, sat on the edge of his coffin at Mountain Meadows in 1877 and was shot to death by firing squad. "The old man never flinched," one observer said. His reward was a passport to celestial glory awarded in 1961 when LDS officials restored his church membership and former blessings. He now lies under a marker enigmatically engraved, "Know the truth and the truth shall make you free." With that, the book on Mountain Meadows was finally closed.

Except for the bones. The bones cried from the ground in 1859 when Major Carleston buried many from victims of all ages and erected over them a monument of stones and a cross. The monument was later torn down, but the bones would not keep silent. The men of Company M, Second California Cavalry, heard them and restored it. The bones again cried from the ground six years ago, when the LDS church, in cooperation with the descendants of John D. Lee and family members of the emigrants, began work on a new memorial. A backhoe operator broke the earth and exposed the bones buried by Carleton's men, uncovering a young woman's skull with a bullet hole in the crown, broken children's bones, arm and leg bones, scarred by coyote teeth. A self-disciplined county sheriff saw the children's bones and was deeply moved. "That was what really hit me hard," he said.[11]

The bones tell of beliefs, long ago outdated and forgotten: God's kingdom as a sovereign theocratic state, the immediate coming of the Son of Man, oaths to avenge the prophets' blood, unquestioning obedience to religious authorities, American Indians as instruments of divine justice, uncontrolled religious zeal, the shedding of human blood for the remission of certain sins, justice by inspiration, the law of adoption, and others.

The bones tell of Arkansas farm families who did not come to torment Utah settlers, but to pass through their country on their way to make homes in California. The bones rebuke the slanders and false testimony to justify and conceal the involvement of those who killed them. The bones speak of vengeance that fell on the wrong heads. They tell of innocent men, women and children, deceived, betrayed and slain for no rational reason or purpose.

On the 142nd anniversary of the massacre, September 11, 1999, over a thousand attended the dedication of the new monument. In dedicating it, LDS church president Gordon B. Hinckley said he came as a peacemaker. We cannot comprehend what happened here so long ago, he said. It was not a time for recrimination, but a time to leave "the matter in the hands of God," he said.

The day before the dedication, several hundred family members of the victims—Bakers, Mitchells, Fanchers, Dunlaps, Tackitts and others—came from Arkansas and across the country to attend special services in the valley on the headwaters of the Santa Clara River. They came to honor their slain early relatives and return to the earth their troubling bones. Reverently, they bore them in little handmade arks to the new monument, where they placed them in soil from Arkansas.

Afterward a Baptist preacher from the town of Springdale, Arkansas, concluded the services with a lesson from Mountain Meadows for the living. It is one that seems especially appropriate as we come three weeks from today to 9/11/2005, the 148th anniversary of the massacre and the fourth of the worst terrorist attack in our history in terms of the number killed. No one knows the hour, or the way, he will be called home, Reverend Stanton Cram said. If for you, it would be today, at this place, as it was for them, he asked, "Are you ready?" That's a good question to think about, as well as to end my talk on, and I do both now with thanks to each of you for your kind attention.

End Notes

1. David McCullough, "Knowing History and Knowing Who We Are," *Imprimis,* 34:4, April 2005.
2. Young to Hamblin, 4 August 1857, Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre,* 34-35.
3. See Micah 5:8 and *The Book of Mormon,* 3 Nephi 20:15-16.
4. William H. Dame Papers 20 February 1854, MS 2041, LDS Archives.
5. Dimick B. Huntington Journal, 1857-May 1859, LDS Archives, MS1419-2.
6. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled,* 240.
7. Ibid, 241.
8. Inaugural Address, Governor John B. Weller, 8 January 1858, California State Library.
9. Romans, 12:19.
10. G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal,* 5:577.
11. *New York Times,* 15 August, 1999, 22.



Interview with Will Bagley

[**The editors:** Will Bagley is an independent historian living in Salt Lake City, Utah. For a number of years he wrote the *History Matters* column for the *Salt Lake Tribune*. He is series editor of the Arthur H. Clark Company's *Kingdom of the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier*, a prize-winning multi-volume documentary history that includes *Pioneer Camp of the Saints*, Thomas Bullock's official journal of the 1847 Brigham Young Company, *Army of Israel: Mormon Battalion Narratives* (with David Bigler), *Scoundrel's Tale: The Samuel Brannan Papers*, and most recently, Kenneth Owens's *Gold Rush Saints*. Mr. Bagley's book *Blood of the Prophets*, which is the topic of this interview, won the 2003 Caughey-Western History Association Prize and the Caroline Bancroft History Prize from the Denver Public Library for the best book of the year in western history.

Will's current project is a trilogy on the Oregon-California Trails. Entitled *The Long and Perilous Journey*, it is based on a historic resource survey that he has done for the Park Service that will appear on the internet. The three volumes are titled *So Rugged and Mountainous: The Blazing of the Oregon Trail and the California Trace* (1840 to 1848); *With Golden Visions Bright Before Them: The Oregon California Trails and the Creation of the Mining West* (1849 to 1852); and *The War for the Medicine Road: The Oregon California Trails and the Conquest of the American West* (1853 to 1869).

Will describes himself as a "heritage Mormon" whose ancestors were among the early pioneers to Utah. He is a member of the Utah Crossroads Chapter of the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA). He spoke on Mormon-Indian relations at the 2003 OCTA Conference in Manhattan, Kansas, and was one of the organizers of the 2005 OCTA Conference in Salt Lake City.

We interviewed Will in a telephone conversation between Salt Lake City, Utah, and Irvine, California, on October 22, 2005.]

ST (*Spanish Traces*) What inspired you to take on Mountain Meadows as a book project?

WB (Will Bagley) I was actually hired to do it. I had been reluctant to tackle the subject because I knew that the sources were

Resting places of victims 'n 1857 massacre found

By Bill Bowden

This article was published September,,13, 2015 at 4:12 a.m

HARRISON -- Two mass-grave sites for victims of the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre have been located in southern Utah, an archaeologist said.

Everett Bassett said he found the rock tombs by using U.S. Army records from 1859 and locating the California/Old Spanish Trail.

Bassett said he was sitting on a pile of boulders when he realized that the rocks were the top layer of a tumulus, an archaeological term for a burial chamber or sepulcher. "It was like getting hit in the stomach," he said.

Bassett presented his report Saturday night at a meeting in Harrison of the Mountain Meadows Monument Foundation.

Huge graves

"The graves are huge," Bassett told about 100 people at the Quality Inn Convention Center. "The men's grave is 35 feet across."

Bassett said afterward that the site includes an apron of riprap around the men's tumulus, which is in a ravine. The women and children's sepulcher has no such apron, he said. The two sepulchers are the same size -- 8 feet wide, 12 feet long and about 4 feet high, and they're oriented in the same east-west direction, he said.

Bassett of Forest Knolls, Calif., is a senior biologist for Transcon Environmental Inc., a firm that does environmental analysis. Bassett, who has 30 years of experience in historical archaeology, said he took a personal interest in the Mountain Meadows Massacre and did the research on his own to locate the burial sites.

About 120 people died in the massacre as their wagon train traveled from Arkansas to California. Most of the victims were from north Arkansas -- in what would now be Boone, Carroll, Crawford, Johnson and Marion counties. They were killed by Mormon militiamen and American Indians.

The massacre site, 33 miles north of St. George, Utah, was declared a national historical landmark in 2011. While the site of the initial attack has been accurately marked, the burial sites of most of the victims haven't, Bassett said.

Bassett said he visited the Mountain Meadows historical site in the summer of 2014 and realized that monuments for the two main grave sites were in the wrong places. That's when he began researching the Army records and the location of the California/Old Spanish Trail.

Monument location

Bassett said a monument for the male victims is 2,196 feet from their sepulcher, and a monument for the women and children's tomb is about 1,000 feet from their burial site. The two groups were massacred at different locations at Mountain Meadows and buried in sepulchers about 1,000 feet apart, he said.

"I think people will be glad to know where these

Key events in the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre

EARLY APRIL The wagon train leaves its first staging area at Caravan Springs on Crooked Creek, 4 miles south of what is today Harrison.

MAY 1 The wagon train crosses the Arkansas border into the Oklahoma Territory.

AUG. 3 AND 4 The Baker-Fancher Train passes through Salt Lake City. Plans call for it to take the southern route to Cedar City, the Mountain Meadows, and then California.

SEPT. 7 The wagon train is attacked with several members killed. The attackers, Mormon militiamen along with some American Indians, drive away the group's large cattle herd. The pioneers form a defensive corral with their wagons.

SEPT. 11 The pioneers are approached under a flag of truce by a Mormon leader and persuaded to turn over their weapons with promises of safe passage back to Cedar City. Once out of their makeshift fort, the pioneers are attacked by Mormons and Indians who kill more than 120, sparing 17 children.



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

graves are," Bassett said in an interview before his presentation. "I think people like to know where their relatives are buried. Knowing where the bodies are helps people to grieve."

Monuments that now mark the wrong burial sites are on property owned by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. But the actual burial sites are on private property, Bassett said.

"None of these graves are in the area set aside for the national monument," Bassett told the crowd Saturday.



PHOTO BY SPECIAL TO THE DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE
One of two rock sepulchers containing the bones of victims of the Mountain Meadows Massacre sits in a field in southern Utah. The other is about 1,000 feet away.

Ben Pykles, a historic sites coordinator for the Mormon Church, attended the event Saturday in Harrison and said he hasn't had a chance to read Bassett's report.

"I'm interested," said Pykles, who has a doctorate in historical archaeology. "I'm looking forward to looking into it further. Because of our involvement in the site, we're clearly interested."

Some of the victims are buried at the site of the initial attack, where a modern monument was built in 1990 to replace more rustic cairns that had marked the location since the massacre.

Attacked while camping

The Baker-Fancher wagon train was attacked while the travelers were camped at Mountain Meadows, a staging point before crossing deserts on the way to California. The settlers on the wagon train held off the attackers for five days.

Then, on Sept. 11, 1857, Maj. John D. Lee approached the wagon train, offering safe passage to Cedar City if the travelers would lay down their weapons. They did and were then executed after being marched away from the battle site. Only 17 children under age 8 were spared.

Lee was tried and convicted in the massacre. He was executed by firing squad at Mountain Meadows on March 23, 1877.

Lee's trial was reported widely by 19th century newspapers. Lee said he was merely following orders from militia leaders.

Exactly why the wagon train was attacked and the people massacred has been debated over the past 158 years.

Some historians cite hostilities between Mormons and the federal government, saying the wagon train just happened to pass through Utah at a volatile time.

Others cite the murder of Parley Pratt in Arkansas on May 13, 1857. Pratt was a Mormon apostle and is the great-great-grandfather of former GOP presidential candidate Mitt Romney.

The massacre victims were initially buried in shallow graves, but erosion and animals soon exposed the remains.

The trail was the Interstate 40 of its day, with wagon trains passing through on the way to California. Bassett said having the skeletal remains of a massacre along the California/Old Spanish Trail was an embarrassment for the federal government.

Army sends soldiers

So 20 months after the massacre, the U.S. Army sent 207 soldiers to collect and bury the bones, which by that time were mostly fragments. According to the Army's description, the tombs are basically ossuaries, containing piles of human bones rather than skeletons of individuals, Bassett said.

The sepulchers haven't been excavated.

Bassett said he doesn't know if the bones are in the tombs or are underneath them. He said the ones could have been placed on top of a layer of boulders, then covered with another layer of rocks.

"Soldiers collected hundreds of bones and put them in here," Bassett said, referring to the sepulchers. "I don't know how many bones are under them, but we do know these are the grave sites."

Bassett said the sepulchers are within 5 feet of the locations described in Army records from 1859. He said earlier researchers may have missed the tombs because they were mistaken about the location of the California/Old Spanish Trail.

"I figured out where the road was," he said. "Then I went back and started going through the historic records. It took 20 minutes to find them."

Bassett said he's surprised that the burial sites weren't discovered before now because the Army records are very accurate. The burial site for the women and children is within sight of Utah Highway 18, he said.

"Truckers were driving by honking at me," Bassett said. "The location where the women and children were massacred is right in the middle of the highway, to some extent."

The monuments and markers for the burial sites are vague on exactly where the victims are buried.

"Now, instead of saying it happened out there somewhere, we'll be able to say it happened right here," Bassett said.

Bassett said the burial sites don't look like what people would expect. Because the tomb for the men is in a ravine, it's difficult to see from above ground, he said.

'Carefully engineered'

"When you look at it from above, it looks like a farmer was dumping rocks in a ravine," Bassett said. But the sites are "carefully engineered," he said. Basalt and granite rocks were used instead of sandstone, which is considered of lower quality, said Bassett.

"It becomes immediately obvious when you look at these that they're not just the result of land clearing," said Scott Fancher, a Harrison lawyer who is a "collateral descendant" of Alexander Fancher, one of the wagon train's leaders.

Fancher said Bassett's find is a "big deal."

"I think a lot of the story is going to be 'What's next?' And that frankly remains to be seen," Fancher said.

Shannon Novak, a bioarchaeologist from Syracuse University who specializes in trauma and mass death, said the stone structures Bassett found do appear to be grave sites.

Novak, who attended the meeting Saturday in Harrison, said the remains of 28 people are buried in a cairn at the battle site.

"So when you think about that, there are still approximately 100 individuals unaccounted for," she said. "So the vast majority of the people who were murdered are probably in these cairns. They were meant more as graves, to keep the wolves out and the bodies in."

Novak examined bones of some of the victims that were inadvertently unearthed at the battle site. She's the author of a book titled *House of Mourning: A Biocultural History of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.*

Bassett said he's confident that he has found the grave sites.

"I'm thinking that I might be wrong, but I'm probably not," Bassett told the crowd Saturday. Bassett said he expects his peers to begin research on his findings to prove him either right or wrong.

"I guess the question now is what do you want to do about it?" Bassett asked the crowd.

"I know it's stressful not knowing where your ancestors are buried," he said. "Maybe if we can put this to rest by knowing where they are, it might create a balm to heal some of these wounds."

SundayMonday on 09/13/2015

The Mountain Meadows Tumuli: Re-evaluating the Spatial History of a Massacre Site

Everett J. Bassett

Abstract

Although the Mountain Meadows Massacre is considered a seminal event in Utah history, neither the location of the two massacre sites nor the location of associated mass burials is known. The discovery of the location of the California Trail through the Meadows has led to the identification of two rock features, identified as *tumuli,* covering the mass burials and also the pinpointing of the massacre locations. These features are discussed within the geographical context of Mountain Meadows and of a newly established National Historic Landmark district. This Historic Landmark memorializes these events, but at locations far from where they actually occurred.

INTRODUCTION

On September 11, 1857 approximately 120 men, women, and children, emigrants travelling between Arkansas and California, were massacred in the Mountain Meadows of southwestern Utah. The perpetrators were a local Mormon militia, probably with the assistance of Paiute Indians. After attacking and laying siege to the emigrant camp, the militia promised the emigrants safe passage, led them approximately one mile to the north, and massacred all of the men and boys; a few hundred yards farther north the women and most of the children were also massacred. These bodies were then left on the ground to rot or thrown into nearby ravines.

Nineteen months later, on May 6, 1859, two mass graves were constructed by the U.S. Army at the locations of these massacres. The graves were constructed by three companies under the command of Captain Reuben P. Campbell, United States Second Dragoons. The bodies were collected and the graves constructed under the supervision of Assistant Surgeon Charles Brewer, a doctor attached to Campbell's command.

What has become known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre is one of the most comprehensively investigated events in the history of the West and has been the subject of many books and articles. Just a sample includes Gibbs (1910), Beckwith (1935), Rea (1957), King (1970), Brooks (1991), Logan (1991), Bagley (2002), Shirts and Smeath (2002), Denton (2003), Novak and Kopp (2003), Bradbury (2006), Novak and Rodseth (2006), Turley (2007), Novak (2008), Walker et al. (2008), National Park Service (2014), and Kelly (n.d.). The paper presented here is highly focused: it addresses only the question of the locations of these massacre sites and of the mass graves where the remains of most of the victims were eventually buried.

The primary historic records regarding the mass graves at the massacre sites are limited to those made the week the graves were constructed. What we are left with is extremely limited. After collecting the skeletal remains Dr. Brewer reported: "Under my direction, the above-mentioned remains were all properly buried, the respective locality being marked with mounds of stones"

(Brewer 1860). These five words – "marked with mounds of stone" – are the only physical descriptions we have of the constructed structures. Elsewhere, distances to the graves from the siege encampment have been recorded. However, much of this information is contradictory and has added to the confusion. As a result, the graves and their associated massacre sites have never been relocated.

The research presented here was initiated during the summer of 2014 when the author became aware of newly-erected monument complexes purporting to show the locations of the two massacres and associated graves. These monuments had been placed on land owned by the Corporation of the Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) and constructed by the LDS Church. However, these locations appeared to the author to be in an unlikely landscape for the massacres to have occurred and contradicted much of the historic record. In addition, a review of the nomination for the Mountain Meadows National Historic Landmark district prepared by the LDS Church (National Park Service 2014) uncovered a number of errors and misinterpretations of the historic record.

An unavoidable side effect of stating where something occurred is that other possible locations can then then be discounted. This is re-enforced when, as in this case, those conclusions are literally writ in stone. If incorrect, the actual location of the events and any extant physical remains are subject to destruction. It was this concern that provoked the author to revisit the issue and attempt to identify the actual locations of the massacre sites and mass graves.

The author determined that no physical evidence of the massacre sites likely remained; both massacres occurred over a matter of minutes, leaving no permanent changes to the ground surface. Likewise, it would not have been feasible to search exclusively for the graves. The Meadows are huge, heavily disturbed, and numerous rock scatters that *might* have represented graves are present. However, if the correct road alignment taken by the emigrants to the massacres could be identified, this would greatly narrow the search field. This new road, if identified and merged with the historic record, might lead to the location of the mass graves and, eventually, to the massacre sites. This approach is very different from that utilized for the delineation of the National Landmark. In that case, possible rock scatters, suggested through oral tradition to be associated with the massacre, were first identified. Only then was a possible road connecting the features drawn in.

During the summer of 2014 the author identified physical traces of an alternative road taken by the emigrants. These road traces, when combined with the primary historic record, led to the identification of two *tumuli* within the Mountain Meadows. These have been ascertained to be the mass graves of the emigrants - those that had been constructed by the Army and "marked with mounds of stone" (Brewer 1860). A tumulus (plural=tumuli) is an artificial mound of rock or earth placed over a mass grave. In the following summary of this ongoing research, descriptions of these tumuli are presented. This is followed by a discussion of the tumuli, including their construction, alternative explanations of their origins, preservation concerns, and historical support for the interpretations proposed. This is followed by discussions of associated historic roads, the massacre sites, and of the recently designated National Historic Landmark that purports to interpret this landscape.

THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS TUMULI

Both tumuli (designated Features 1 and 2) are located on private land in the south-central portion of the Mountain Meadows (Figure 1). This property was federal land within the General Land Office's Dixie Forest Reserve until 1906 when it became part of the Dixie National Forest. In 1917 this and other portions of the National Forest within the Mountain Meadows were released for homesteading; several homesteads in the vicinity were patented in the early 1920s. However, the 160-acre property the tumuli are located on was not settled until 1930 when Ezra Lytle of St. George, Utah made a homestead claim there; Lytle patented the claim in 1933 (accession #1060760). As part of the improvements required under the Homestead Act of 1862, Lytle cleared, but did not cultivate the portion of his homestead in the vicinity of the two tumuli (General Land Office 2015); alignments of field rock gathered by Lytle are clearly visible in the vicinity of Feature 2. Also in the early 1930s, State Route 18 was improved and paved through the property and adjacent to Feature 1 (Kelly n.d.).

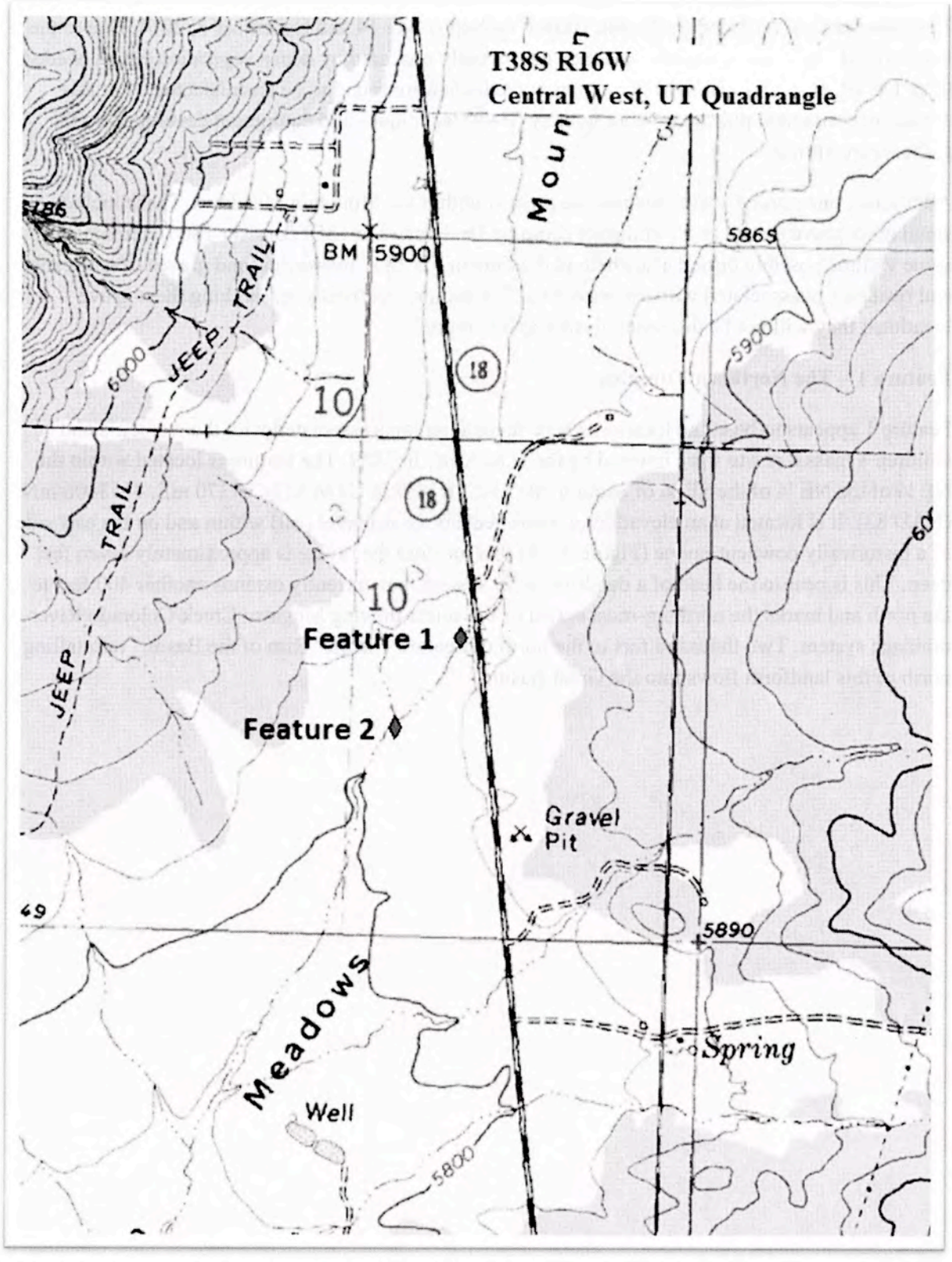


Figure 1. Project area, indicating the location of the two tumuli.

The features were recorded by Everett Bassett on September 14 and December 8, 2014. Due to the large size of the features and because they are partially obscured by dense vegetation which needed to be left intact, traditional field photography methods were found to be unsatisfactory. For this reason, experimental pole aerial photography (PAP) techniques and equipment developed by the author were utilized.

Additional, unrecorded gravesites may be present within the Mountain Meadows. These include a small mass grave placed at the emigrant camp by Dr. Brewer in 1859 (Brewer 1860), remains of some victims possibly buried elsewhere at the time of the 1857 massacres, and graves of emigrants and residents unassociated with the massacre. The author is currently researching these grave locations; they will not be discussed further in this report.

Feature 1 – The Northern Tumulus

Feature 1 appears to be at the location where skeletal remains associated with the women's and children's massacre site were interred by the U.S. Army in 1859. The feature is located within the NE ¼ of the NE ¼ of the SE ¼ of Section 10, T38S, R16W at UTM S12 267370 mE, 4153106 mN (NAD 83). It is located at an elevation of 5,846 feet above sea level (asl) within and on the east side of a historically downcut ravine (Figure 2). At this location the ravine is approximately seven feet deep. This is near to the head of a dendritic gully system that currently extends another 400 feet to the north and marks the northern-most extent of the south-flowing Mogatsu Creek/Colorado River drainage system. Two thousand feet to the north of Feature 1 is the "Rim of the Basin;" rain falling north of this landform flows into the Great Basin.

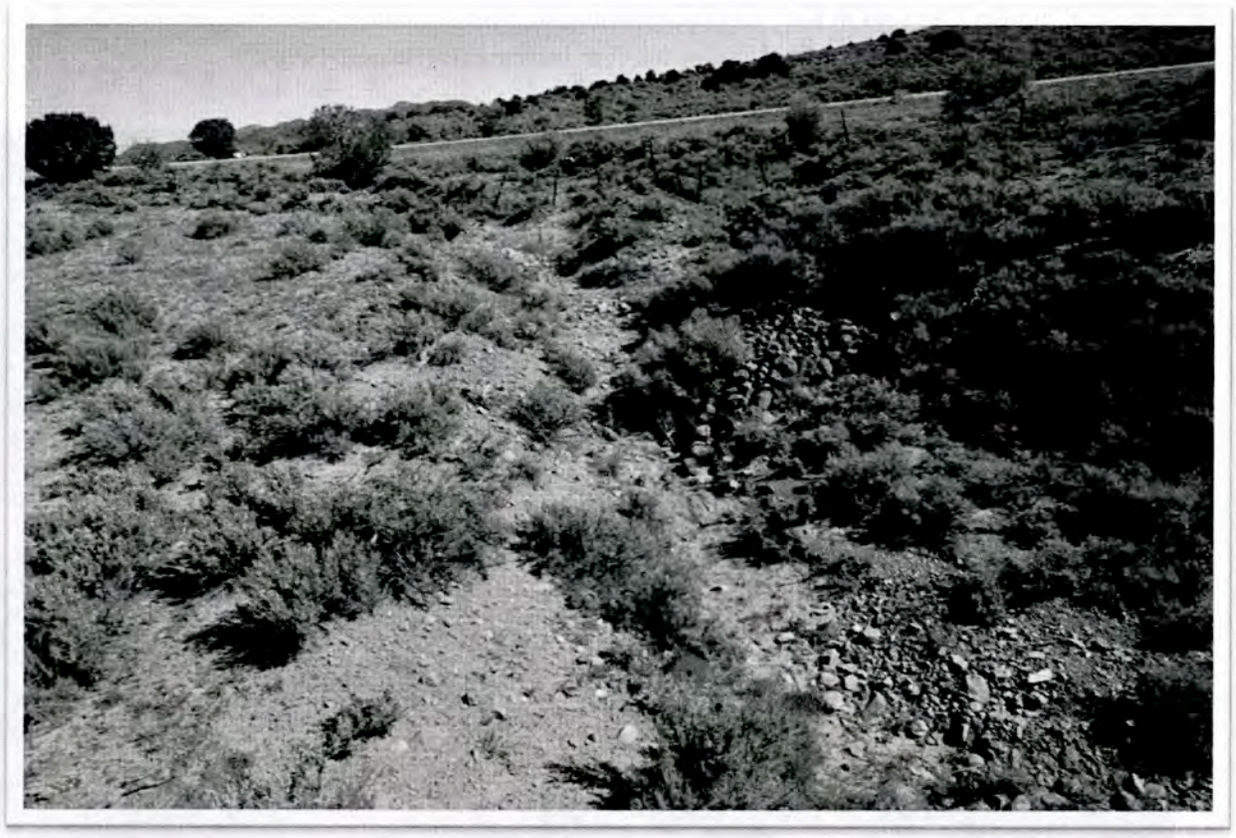


Figure 2. PAP overview of Feature 1 (center of image). View to the northeast with Utah State Rte. 18 in the background. This ravine is the eroded location of the Old Spanish Trail. The probable women's and children's massacre site is near to the vehicle at the upper left of the image.

The ravine in which Feature 1 is located was created by the historic downcutting of the original (circa 1829) Old Spanish Trail corridor. Aerial photographs indicate that a separate, probable massacre-era, road trace bypassed the ravine just to the east, although at this location the trace has been partially obliterated by the construction of Utah State Route 18. (Historic road issues are discussed in greater detail later in the report.) The current highway right-of-way is located less than 40 feet to the east of Feature 1 and the tumulus location is easily visible from vehicles on the highway. Where not scoured by erosion, this area is covered with grasses and sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*).

The original dimensions of and construction techniques employed at Feature 1 are clearly evident. The feature is an open-topped rectangular enclosure or box constructed of large boulders and infilled with cobbles (Figure 3). (Compare the highly-structured nature of the feature as viewed from directly above in Figure 3 with its slipshod aspect as shown in the oblique view of Figure 2.) The east end of the box is approximately 2.5 feet below the top of the ravine and the west end is approximately five feet above the current ravine bottom. The box is oriented precisely east-west and measures exactly eight feet wide. It appears to be 12 feet long (east-west), although slumpage has made this difficult to measure precisely; it undoubtedly measured between 11 and 13 feet long. Historically, milled

dimensional lumber was sold in four-foot increments and most structures, even when not made of wood, were constructed in either four foot or ten foot increments (Bassett 1996).

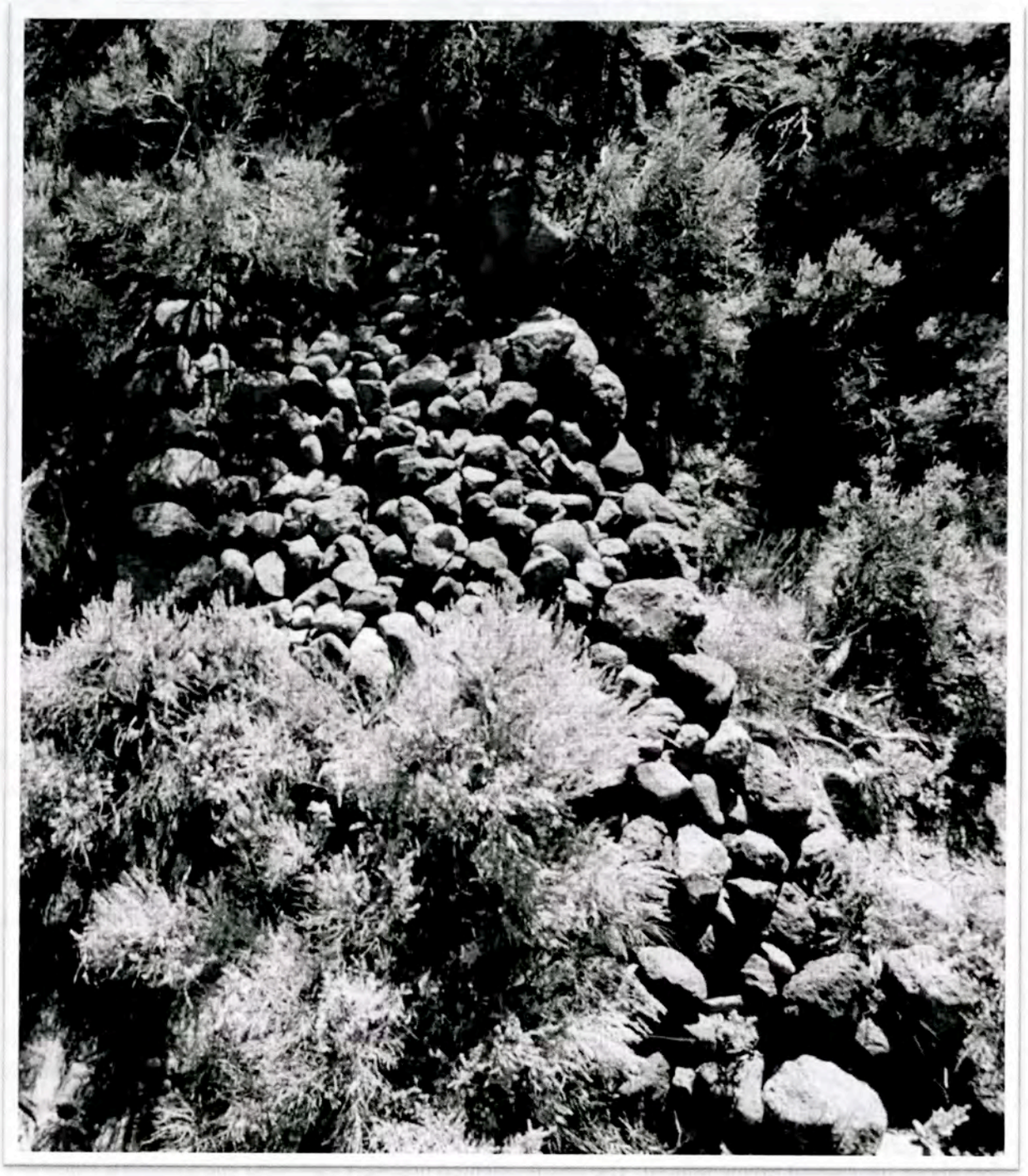


Figure 3. PAP photograph of Feature 1 (with east to the top). Note the rectangular shape and perimeter wall constructed with larger stones. The lower right corner has partially collapsed into the ravine. The lower left corner is obscured by sagebrush.

The height of the feature is difficult to measure due to siltation (soil inwashing) along the top and sides. Currently, three courses of boulders are completely exposed on the sides (Figures 4 and 5) and at least two, and possibly three, additional courses are partially visible. These walls are vertical and there does not appear to have been any effort to batter (slope) them inward for greater stability. In addition, these courses appear to run horizontally, suggesting they were laid on a prepared, level platform rather that along the natural slope of the ravine edge. The exposed portion of the south wall averages 2' 8" high. It is estimated the original height of the feature, including the now-buried portions, was four feet.

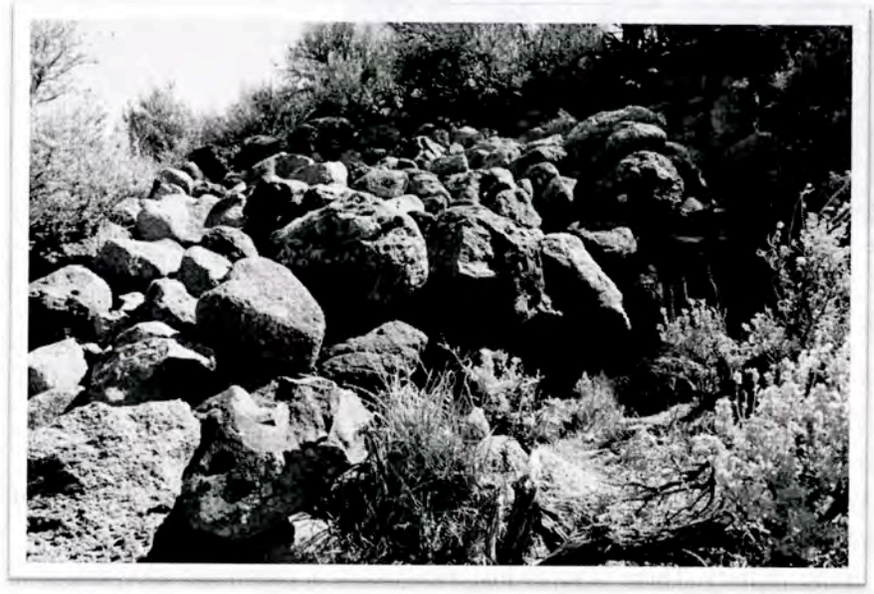


Figure 4. Feature 1 showing south perimeter wall and rock infilling. View to the northeast.



Figure 5. Feature 2 showing the north perimeter wall. View to the southeast.

The exterior rocks at Feature 1 are large, averaging 14 inches in diameter and are almost all basalt. Interior rocks, those used as fill, average between four and seven inches in diameter (Figure 6). Approximately 80% of these are also basalt with the remaining cobbles being of a friable granitic material; both of these rock types are available locally, especially at the ravine bottom. Almost all of the rocks are roundish and water-worn, rather than angular or tabular and no use was made of the ubiquitous sandstone found in the vicinity. There is some historic evidence, presented later, that suggests the infill may have also once included earth and was originally mounded rather than level, but has since subsided. This would still be consistent with Brewer's description of "mounded with rock" (1860). Curiously, one of the interior rocks appears to be a prehistoric artifact, although it is unlikely this would have been apparent to a non-archaeologist. This artifact is an Archaic Period (circa 8,000-2000 BC) "metate blank," a naturally occurring basalt slab that has had large flakes removed from around its perimeter in preparation for use as a seed-grinding implement.



Figure 6. PAP view of a portion of Feature 1 showing the southern vertical enclosure wall (at bottom) and infilling (above).

Feature 1 appears to be quite old. This is partially evident in the patination on the exposed rock and the mature and consistently-sized lichen growth and the lack of any older lichens on rock surfaces not exposed to the sun. In addition, the feature is partially covered with a mature growth of sagebrush with evidence of older dead, but not yet decomposed, plants visible between some of the rocks. Sagebrush can live to be 150 years old (Ferguson 1964).

A small portion of the northwestern corner of the feature appears to have collapsed, having been undercut by flooding episodes; some of these rocks have dropped into the ravine. The southwestern corner has also partially collapsed, but these rocks are still present on the downhill slope, above the ravine bottom. In addition, the entire feature appears to have slumped downhill slightly, with the top of the intact walls on the western, downhill side being a full two feet lower than those at the top. A small scatter of cobbles between the uphill, eastern end of the rectangle and the top of the ravine may be an artifact of this downhill movement. Slumpage, if it did occur, may have been caused by entropy, by the feature being trod on by livestock, by downward pressure caused by siltation, or by lack of support from below following a collapse episode. However, there is also a possibility the feature was purposely constructed with a gradient and that little or no post-construction movement has occurred. Without clearing vegetation from the feature and better exposing the side walls, this issue is unlikely to be resolved.

Feature 2 – The Southern Tumulus

Feature 2 appears to be the location where skeletal remains associated with the men's and boy's massacre site were interred by the U.S. Army in 1859. Feature 2 is located within the NW ¼ of the SW ¼ of the SE ¼ of Section 10, T38S, R16W at UTM S12 267165 mE, 4152839 mN (NAD 83). It is located 1,090 feet to the southwest of Feature 1 at an elevation of 5,820 feet asl. Like Feature 1, it is within the 1933 Ezra Lytle homestead and is located within and on the east side of a historically downcut ravine that was likely the original (circa 1829) Old Spanish Trail corridor; at this location the downcut ravine is currently 14 feet deep. Aerial photographs indicate that a separate, probable massacre-era, road trace bypasses the ravine 50 yards to the east in an area currently used as a horse pasture. This road trace, shown in Figure 16, was found to be in good condition. The slope of the ravine is covered with sagebrush, although clumps of Gambel (scrub) oak (*Quercus gambeii*) are present on the west bank. One interesting aspect of Feature 2 is that the presence of this tumulus on the edge of the ravine has forced the water flow to divert at least 30 feet to the west over time. This diversion is clearly visible in Figure 7 and has implications for the age of the feature.



Figure 7. PAP photograph of Feature 2. View to the east. Note diversion of the ravine around the feature and the sandstone slab positioned between the feature and the light green willow.

Feature 2 is similar to Feature 1. However, it appears to have been less carefully constructed. For this reason, its dimensions and construction techniques are less immediately obvious and required more careful examination. The rectangular box portion of the structure, like Feature 1, is oriented east-west, is eight feet wide, 12 feet long, and, originally, three to four feet high. Siltation along the edges currently obscures the actual height of the walls. Unlike Feature 1, the top of the box is relatively level and the eastern (uphill) edge is level with, not below, the top of the ravine. This adds additional support to the supposition that Feature 1 has slumped over time. The rock materials used are identical to Feature 1, with none of the ubiquitous sandstone having been selected. However, the shape and size of the rocks that were selected do not appear to have been as carefully chosen. For both the large exterior rocks and the smaller infill rocks, there is a much wider range of sizes and the differences between the two are less obvious.

At Feature 2 a rock apron or skirt has been constructed around the base of the tumulus (Figure 8). These are formed by layers of rock (riprap) having been used to form a pavement extending downhill toward the ravine bottom and tapering to a point. Along the south wall this apron is nine feet long and drops six feet in elevation. On the west side the partially collapsed apron is ten feet long, also dropping to a depth of six feet. There also appears to have been an apron on the north (upstream) side, but this has been undercut by past flooding episodes; most of the rocks that made up this apron have collapsed into the ravine below (Figure 9). This damage has also exposed underlying rock, indicating that the apron was constructed of several courses and was at least two feet thick. Also on the north side, an exposed arch or vertical alignment of rocks (Figure 10) marks the margin of the apron and indicates the care with which this structure had originally been constructed.



Figure 8. Feature 2, showing the raised tumulus in black, the southern apron (right), the partially collapsed western tumulus (center), and the sandstone slab tablet. The collapsed northern apron is on the far side of the tumulus.



Figure 9. PAP photograph of Feature 2 showing undercutting, loss of the northern apron, and partial feature collapse into the wash.



Figure 10. Feature 2. View to the south. The base of the tumulus enclosure is covered with sagebrush at the upper left of the image. At the center is the vertical linear margin of the northern apron, most of which has collapsed into the wash.

It is likely these aprons were designed to shield the base of the tumulus from flood episodes. If so, the northern apron has already been sacrificed to that end and it is likely the entire tumulus would have already collapse into the ravine without this protection. Similar protection may not have been deemed necessary at Feature 1, upstream, where the ravine is shallower and presumably had a much lower water flow.

Another interesting aspect of Feature 2 is the presence of a large, rectangular sandstone slab located adjacent to and south of the feature (Figures 8 and 11). This slab measures approximately 15 inches square, is five inches thick, and appears to have been placed into a prominent, excavated depression at this location; it is possible the edges of the slab have been worked. Although sandstone is ubiquitous in this area, an examination of the ravine for ½ mile in both directions failed to reveal a slab as large, as rectangular, or with as smooth a surface as this one. It is possible this slab was collected and placed here by Campbell's troops with a view toward marking the gravesite with a tablet. The slab does not appear to have been inscribed, but it may have had words painted on it, either with axle grease or paint. In either case the writing would have eroded away, but remnants may by retrievable through chemical or optical analysis.



Figure 11. Possible sandstone tablet at Feature 2.

Much like Feature 1, Feature 2 appears to be quite old. This is evident in both the patination, size of the lichens (Figure 12) and the presence of mature sagebrush. The degree that that the wash has diverted around the feature also indicates antiquity. Several active rodent burrows are present at the top northeast edge of the feature; these appear to extend beneath the rock mass. It should be noted that rodents will seek out and gnaw on bones to provide correct alignment for their continually

growing incisors (Reitz and Wing 2008). The probable culprits here are Botta's pocket gopher (*Thomomys botae*) or one of several species of ground squirrels (*Callospermophilis* sp.).



Figure 12. Feature 2, showing patination and typical lichen growth on the tumulus rocks.

Preservation Issues

Both tumuli are in relatively good condition and are in no imminent danger of collapse. They have been preserved by their locations within the ravine, by the lack of development in the immediate area, and by the fact that they have been "disguised" as discarded field rock piles. Had these structures been built on level ground anywhere within the Mountain Meadows, they would almost certainly have been destroyed by now. Ironically, their location within the ravine also places them in danger over the upcoming decades. Flooding episodes continue to eat away at their bases, especially at the northern margin of Feature 2.

The greatest danger would result from visitation to the tumuli in their current, unstabilized condition. The features are quite unstable and merely walking across their surfaces would result in rocks being displaced and, eventually, entire walls collapsing. This is especially true of the north wall of Feature 2, which is located above a vertical, seven foot-high earthen face that is currently being undercut by scouring from flooding episodes. In fact, in the three months following the discovering of the feature, at least four rocks have fallen from the feature into the ravine. In its current state and with repeated visitation, even if that visitation were well-intentioned, the feature would be unlikely to survive and skeletal remains could be exposed. Both features might also be threatened by vandals or other non-authorized persons determined to open up the features to examine them or to remove skeletal remains. The location of Feature 1, adjacent to and visible from State Highway 18, would allow for easier visitation, but might also discourage vandalism.

Discussion of the Tumuli

The two tumuli, Features 1 and 2, are nearly identical in most aspects. Both are located adjacent to the Spanish/California Trail corridor, are within and on the east side of a ravine, and are oriented exactly east-west. Each is a constructed feature, formed by a raised, rectangular perimeter enclosure of large rocks infilled with smaller ones. Each is constructed using local rocks that were carefully size and material-selected. Both features are the same size and shape, measuring eight feet wide, approximately twelve feet long, and approximately four feet high. Finally, each appears to be of similar antiquity as demonstrated by their partial collapse, patination, lichen growth, and associated sedimentation and stream diversion.

However, the features differ in two significant ways. First, Feature 1, the possible women's and children's tumulus, is more finely constructed. The rocks used appear to have been more carefully selected with both the outer perimeter rocks and the infilled rocks exhibiting a smaller range of sizes. In addition, the perimeter rocks are more consistently larger than those comprising the infill; at Feature 2 rock selection appears to have been more casual. Secondly, Feature 2, the possible men's and boys' tumulus, had an extensive rock skirt or apron constructed around its base. This element is absent from Feature 1.

This curious combination of uniformity and dissimilarity suggests the two features were constructed by different individuals or groups of individuals, but ones sharing a similar cultural construct or set of instructions. This would be consistent with the 207 soldiers under Captain Campbell's command who built both tumuli in a single day in 1859. Campbell presumably assigned separate work details to manage the camp, locate and collect skeletal remains, collect and transport rock, and separately construct each of the tumuli.

The construction technique used at these features is a variation of the double rock wall (exterior wall faces infilled with rubble) and is consistent with field rock-stacking techniques used in the glaciated regions of New England during the first half of the 19th Century, sometimes referred to as the "golden age of stone wall building" (Thorson 2004). The logic behind this stacking technique is that the enclosing perimeter wall allowed more rock to be stockpiled per area, often above a bedrock outcrop (Figure 13). If field rock had been merely dumped in a pile, it would eventually spread out across arable land. This method of construction has also been used in New England to mark graves (Figure 14) and, in other regions, to construct tumuli over mass graves (Tarlow and Stutz 2013). It is likely that many of the officers and soldiers present at the Mountain Meadows were from New England and, presumably, would have been familiar with this rock stacking technique.

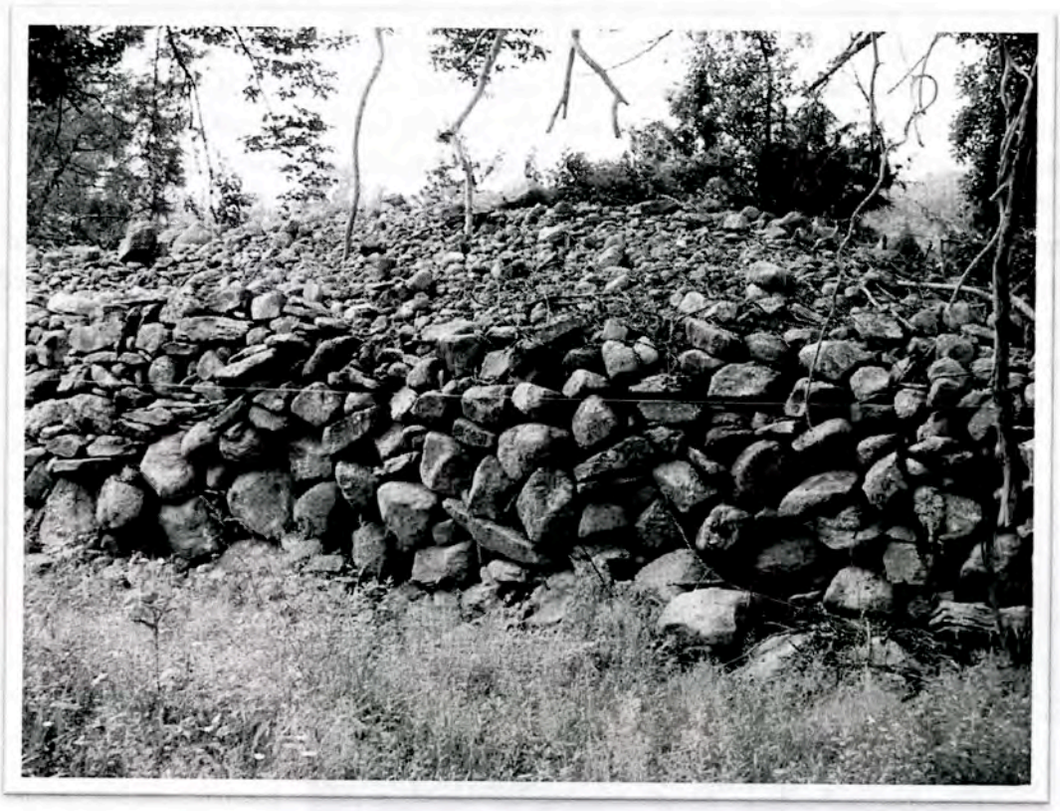


Figure 13. Rectangular, infilled rock feature resulting from field clearance. New England.

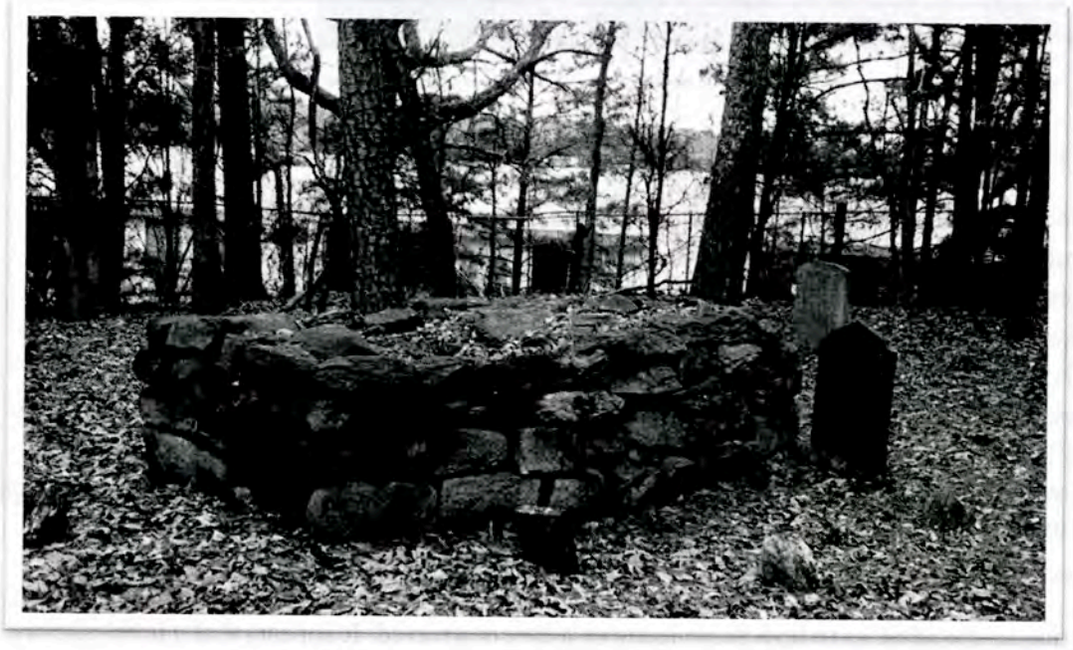


Figure 14. Enclosed rock grave tumulus. New England.

Coincidentally, a similar technique appears to have been used in 1864 when Captain George F. Price, Company M, Second California Volunteer Cavalry, replaced Carleton's original 1859 monument at the emigrant siege site. Price described his structure as being "twelve feet square at the base, and four feet high, compactly filled in with loose stone and earth" (Price 1883). This suggests it was nearly identical to the two 1859 tumuli constructed farther north except that it was square rather than rectangular. Price's use of soil along with rocks for the infill raises the possibility this method may also have been used at Features 1 and 2 and that the centers of those tumuli were originally mounded rather than level. If so, rain and shifting of the rocks over time may have caused the soil to be washed into crevices and for the rocks to subside. The only known photograph of Capt. Price's 1864 structure was made in 1877 (Figure 15). This image shows a degraded enclosure wall, presumably impacted by livestock accessing the adjacent spring.



Figure 15. 1877 photo of Capt. Price's 1864 rock structure at the siege encampment.

Brewer (1860) noted that the 1859 tumuli were built to protect the remains of the victims from the elements and from the depredation of "wolves." There has been some discussion among Mountain Meadows researchers as to whether these were actual gray wolves (*Canis lupis*) or coyotes (*Canis latrans*), often referred to as "prairie wolves" during the 19th Century. Discussions with personnel at the Utah Division of Wildlife Resources (2015) indicate these were almost certainly gray wolves. Wolves were common in the non-settled portions of southwestern Utah during this period and a gray wolf was killed at Enterprise as late as 1916. Furthermore, wolves and coyotes are sympatric carnivores, with coyotes tending to avoid regions where wolves are present. Carleton's other writings (Carleton 1983) indicate his decades in the West had provided him with a clear appreciation of the difference between the two species; Carleton only reports on wolves having been present.

It is interesting to speculate as to how these features were constructed. It appears that a level platform was excavated into the soft soil at the side of the ravines. This would need to have been at least ten

feet wide and 14 feet long (east-west). The uphill wall, excavated into the slope, would have been at least four feet high. Once this platform was prepared, the rectangular perimeter wall could have been constructed along the north, west, south, and, possibly, east walls. (The cut soil embankment could have served as a wall on the east side.) The interior could then have been infilled by tossing cobbles and, possibly, earth into the enclosure and compacting it. Alternatively, the perimeter walls could have been built in separate courses with the interior being infilled (and thus providing interior support) until the next course of the perimeter wall had been laid. After the structure was completed, spoil from the excavation would have been shoveled around the edges and, at Feature 2, aprons constructed on the downhill slopes.

While this construction technique appears unnecessarily elaborate, the tumuli would have been much faster for a company of soldiers to construct then excavating a large grave pit where only one or two men would have been able to work simultaneously. In addition, the loose soil on the eroded ravine margin would have been easier to excavate than in the adjacent meadow.

If these features do cover a mass grave and an assemblage of bones was placed within theme, there are several ways this could have been accomplished. The bones could have been set out on the platform and the rock infill laid directly on top of them, or a frame of boards or tree branches could have been laid over the bones to protect them. The most likely solution is that the bones were laid on the platform, soil from the excavation was used to cover these, and rock infill was then laid on top of this. An alternative method would have been to excavate a pit into the soft soil of the ravine embankment before constructing the tumulus above. In this case, remains would be located *beneath* the tumuli rather than *within* them.

Alternative Explanations for the Tumuli

Rather than just assuming these features are tumuli associated with the Mountain Meadows Massacre, alternative explanations should be explored; two are suggested. The first is that the features were constructed for some purpose other than to cover human remains. The second is that they are merely piles of dumped rock, the result of field clearing.

It is difficult to explain what alternative function these features might have served given their location within the ravine. Having been constructed of rounded rather than tabular rock and with vertical rather than battered sides made them extremely unstable. Downward pressure on the top would (and has) caused them to collapse outwardly rather than compress inwardly. This would have made them non-competent as structure foundations. Furthermore, they do not logically conform to any known historic feature type found in the region: Their location within the ravine and their height are inconsistent with tent-house platforms. There are no corresponding features on the opposite sides of the ravine, so they are not bridge buttresses. They cannot be livestock-loading ramps given their fragile construction and lack of access. Finally, they are not retaining walls (as is sometimes observed with mining waste rock) since nothing beneath the features in the ravine required safeguarding.

No previously-identified prehistoric or ethnohistoric feature in the region matches this construction technique and there is no evidence of Native American occupation of the immediate location. Built as they are within the historically downcut ravine, they clearly post-date the establishment of the Old Spanish Trail corridor in the1820s and probably of its abandonment by the mid-1850s.

It is also extremely unlikely these are merely piles of discarded rock, such as might have occurred as a result of clearing fields for cultivation. There are a number of reasons for this conclusion: First, there is no logical explanation for the excavated foundation pits or the carefully size-sorted or stacked the rocks. Second, no examples of this method of rock disposal have been recorded in the region. Third, there would have been no reason to exclude the ubiquitous sandstone or both the larger and smaller rocks found in the adjacent fields. In fact, the nearby linear rock piles resulting from field clearing by Ezra Lytle during the period 1930-1933 show no size sorting, are dominated by sandstone, and exhibit little or no lichen growth. Finally, the apparent antiquity of the features argues against an agricultural origin. This property was not settled and cleared until the 1930s and there would have been no reason to clear the land prior to then.

The Historic Record of the Tumuli

A number of lines of evidence indicate that the two tumuli reported on here are the mass graves located at the massacre sites and constructed by the Army in 1859. The most reliable of the historic documents is Brevet Major J. H. Carleton's official report to Congress (Carleton 1860). Most other accounts were penned by either massacre participants or journalists, with both sources being suspect. Although his command did not include cartographers, Carleton had previously been attached with the 1st Dragoons to the Corps of Topographic Engineers on mapping expeditions and was familiar with cartography and with the military necessity of accurate measurements (Carleton 1944). Don Erickson, a historian of military surveying, has suggested to the author that Carleton's Dragoons would likely have carried a portable Gunter's surveyor's chain and a Burt's solar compass. These would have enabled them to make measurements to within just a few feet over several miles (Don Erickson, personal communication, 2015).

Carleton (1860) reported to Congress that:

> I caused the distance to be measured from point to point on the scene of the massacre. From the ditch near the spring to the point upon the road where the men attacked and destroyed, and where their bones were mostly found, is one mile 565 yards [6,975 feet]. Here there is a grave where Capt. Campbell's command buried some of the remains. To the next point, also marked by a similar grave made by Captain Campbell, and where the women and children were butchered; a point identified from their bones and clothing have been found near it, it is one mile, 1,135 yards [8,685 feet].

Brewer (1860) additionally noted that the grave at the men's and boys' massacre site was constructed in a ravine fifty yards west of the road described by Carleton. Today, Carleton's "ditch near the spring" is known to have been located immediately outside of the northeast corner of the current monument enclosure at the siege encampment (Novak 2008). If one follows Carleton's instructions

and measures 6,975 feet "point to point" from this location to a point on the newly identified historic road trace and then 50 yards west and perpendicular from that trace (as recorded by Brewer), one ends up less than three feet from Feature 2 (Figure 16). Brewer (1860) also noted that the two grave locations were 350 yards apart. It should be noted that the two newly identified tumuli are 356 yards apart. Despite the Army's detailed report, identifying these locations was not possible prior to a correct understanding of the route taken by the emigrants and of the identification of the historic road trace. That issue is discussed later in the report.

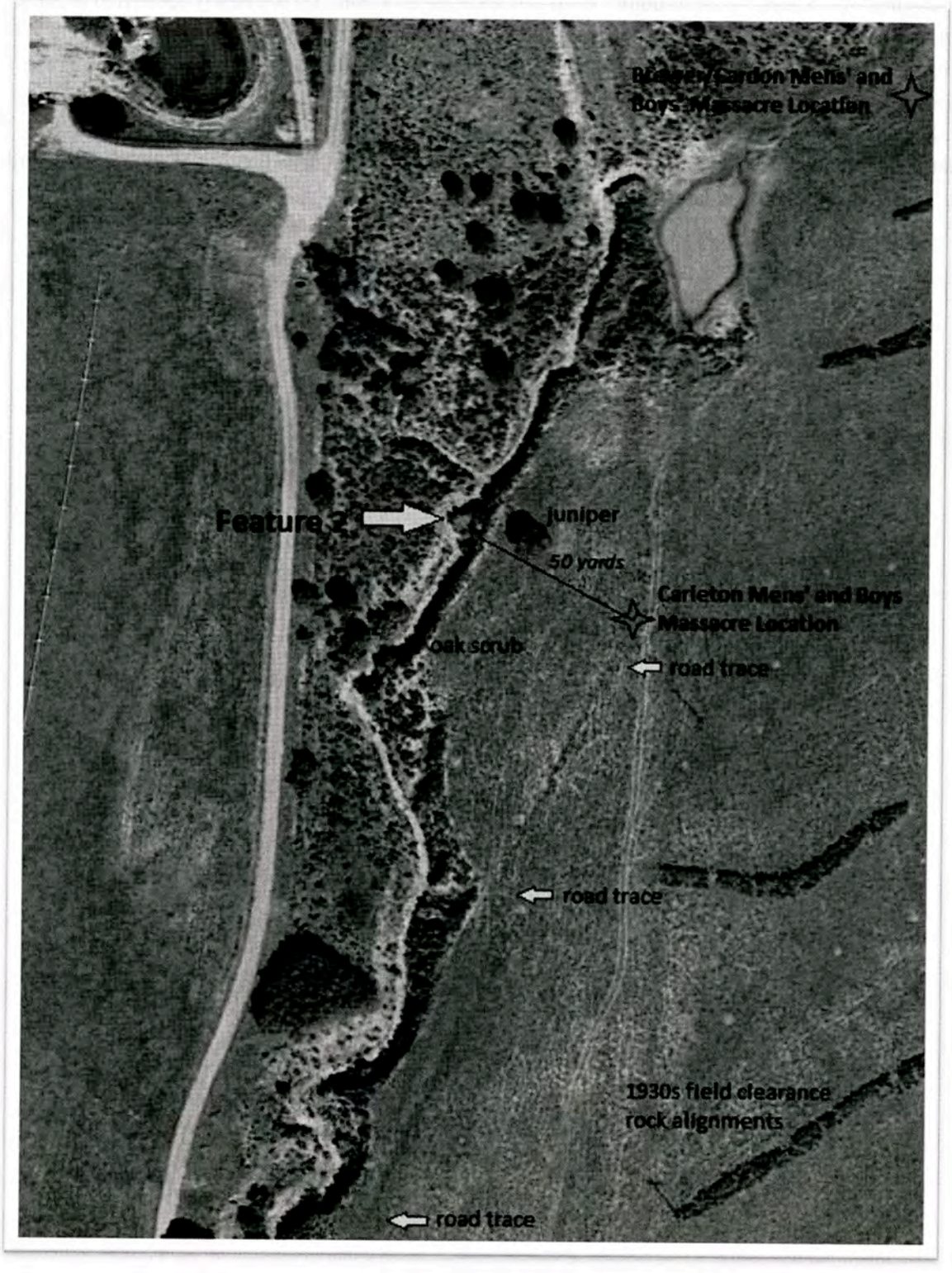


Figure 16. Location of Feature 2 showing historically mapped massacre locations and historic road trace.

Brewer (1860) noted that when he first arrived on the scene "many of the skeletons of the men and boys had been thrown or partially buried in ". . . a ravine fifty yards distant from the road, bordered by a few bushes of scrub oak" (Brewer 1860) and that this is where he reburied the bodies. Feature 2 is located within a ravine bordered by few bushes of scrub oak. Tommy Cardon, in his diary, additionally noted that the grave was constructed 45 yards from the edge of the road at this location (Cardon 1967). However, Brewer and Cardon both provide slightly different distances (2,500 yards and 2,480 yards, respectively) to this location than did Carleton in his official report. Both locations are approximately 480 feet north of Feature 2 (Figure 16). Brewer's "twenty-five hundred yards" appears just to be an estimation of the distance. Cardon was a 15 year-old, non-English speaking Company bugler (Figure 17) and it is difficult to imagine him independently and accurately measuring this distance. It is probable both of these recollections were based on Carleton's official measurement.



Figure 17. Camp Floyd Bugle Corp, circa 1859. The 15 year-old Tommy Cardon may be in this photo.

One aspect of the historic record contradicts this conclusion and has posed an enormous problem to past researchers. Brewer had recorded that the men's and boys' grave was located "15° W of North" (345 degrees northwest) from the spring at the siege encampment (Brewer 1860). However, Feature 2, is actually located 24 degrees to the northeast (not 345 degrees northwest) of this spring, a significant difference. If Brewer's directional notes are correct, the men's and boys' grave should be approximately 5,000 feet farther west and 340 feet higher in elevation than Feature 2. Lee Oertle (in Shirts and Smeath 2002:46) concluded that Dr. Brewer could would not have errored in this matter and, therefore, the militia must have led the emigrants across rocky mountainous terrain toward the northwest. This would have been extremely unlikely, especially as no road is known to have existed there.

When recording Feature 2 (the men's and boys' grave) the author realized that a compass backshot to the spring at the siege encampment would not have been possible because of its distance and because low hills obscure the view. However, the cottonwood trees at Abe's Spring are clearly visible. In fact, Abe's Spring would have been the most noticeable feature in that landscape. Significantly, Feature 2 is exactly 15 degrees W of north (345 degrees) from Abe's Spring. The author has concluded that the distance to Feature 2 was accurately measured from the spring located at the siege encampment, but then was either accidentally or purposefully backshot to the closer, visible spring.

There exist several other, less dependable, descriptions of the massacre locations, but not of the grave sites. For the most part, these accounts correspond to the official Army versions. At both massacre locations it was noted that most (or some) of the bodies were eventually thrown into an adjacent ravine prior to the Army arriving in 1859. William Rogers (1860) described it this way:

> In a gulch or hole in the ravine by the side of the road, a large number of leg and arm bones, and also skulls, could be seen sticking above the surface, as if they had been buried there, but the action of water and digging of the wolves had again exposed them to sight. The entire scene was one too horrible and sickening for language adequately to describe.

Jacob Forney (1859), who also visited the site prior to the military arriving, confirms that the bodies were mostly in a ravine at the two locations and that some had been partially buried. Logically, one would expect the putrefying bodies to have been carried the shortest distance possible to the ravines, to those portions closest to the attack sites. Brewer (1860) later noted that the mass graves constructed by the Army were at or close by the locations where these bodies had been previously deposited. The historic record, therefore, is fairly clear: bodies were thrown into the ravines at points adjacent to the massacre sites; later, the Army constructed the mass graves at or very near these same locations in the ravine.

In the 150 years following the burial of the victims, there had been almost no discussion of the mass graves. This is not surprising, as the public quickly came to conflate and compress the landscape of the Meadows: For most it was assumed the massacres took place at, or very close to, the initial attack site at the spring. This error was re-enforced by Josiah Gibb's (1910) book, "*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*" and by the plaque on the1932 attack site monument.

Just three likely references appear to have been made over this period in regard to the actual graves. In 1899 Mayhew Dalley conducted a General Land Office cadastral survey of Township 38S, Range 16W. In his surveyor's notes he records that:

> about 40.00 chs [chains]. dist. From this point is a small monument, supposed to mark the place where the Mountain Meadows Massacre of Arkansas emigrants took place, claimed by old settlers to have been committed by the Indians from Corn Creek and other parts of Northern Utah (Dalley 1899).

He also notes this approximate location with a small cross on his map. It is clear from his notes that Dalley didn't actually map the location of the monument or even visit it – he was just told about it while in the field. This information may have come from either the Canfield or Burgess families, both of whom were running cattle in the Meadows at the time. Dalley's mapped location of the

"monument" is between and well to the west of the two newly identified tumuli. It is located more than 800 feet from Feature 1 and more than 600 feet from Feature 2.

Dalley's notes were enough to convince James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior, that this location should be set aside "as a historic landmark under the Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities, approved June 8, 1906" (Garfield 1907). Garfield (1907) goes on to quote the Commissioner of the General Land Office who had had previously stated:

> The field notes and plat of public survey definitely locate the site of the massacre at Mountain Meadows in 1857, the same being in the central portion of the 80-acre tract composed of the NE-1/4 SW-1/4 and the NW-1/4, Sec. 10, T. 38 S., R. 16 W. of the Salt Lake Meridian, Utah. This tract is embraced within the boundaries of the Dixie National Forest, created by proclamation dated September 25, 1905, and is free from all forms of entry.

This indicates that within two years of the establishment of both the Antiquities Act and of the Dixie National Forest, the federal government had proposed establishing the massacre sites and graves as a National Historic Landmark. By 1930, when Ezra Lytle made a homestead claim on this property, this location had apparently been forgotten.

The third possible reference to the graves dates to the 1930s. Charles Kelly (n.d.) reported from a secondary source that a monument dating from the massacre had been located somewhere within the proposed right-of-way of the newly constructed State Route 18, but had been destroyed by the road construction. Feature 1 is approximately 40 feet from the highway ROW. It is possible this was the monument referred to, although clearly it had been not destroyed, nor is there evidence to suggest the highway had been realigned to avoid it. It is possible this account was in reference to some other structure unrelated to the massacre

Given the large size of the two tumuli and their faithful correspondence to the historic record, it is fair to ask why they had not been previously identified. This is likely due to a misunderstanding over what the gravesites should look like as well as where they should be located. Only a single primary description of the tumuli exists, with Brewer (1860) referring to the graves being "marked with mounds of stone." However, in subsequent descriptions, these "mounds of stone" quickly mutated into "monuments," "cairns," or "memorial cairns" (i.e. Gibbs 1910; Shirts and Smeath 2002; Walker, et al. 2008).

This mistake is likely due to an assumption that the tumuli must have been similar to Carleton's impressive vertical monument constructed at the attack site. However, "monuments" and "cairns" are both intended to be noticed - signage, as it were - to draw attention to their locations. Campbell's tumuli, located as they were within the ravines, appear to have had the opposite intent. The stone mounds were likely designed only to protect the skeletal remains from scavengers and from the elements. For this reason, it is, perhaps, understandable that they had previously gone unidentified. Few individuals would have had reason to inspect these locations prior to the 1930s. And, if observed during subsequent years, the now-degraded and sagebrush-covered tumuli would have been

interpreted as piles of field rock rather than the highly visible monuments that were, by then, expected.

The other factor that has prevented the graves from being identified has been a misunderstanding over the location of the road travelled by the emigrants. This issue is discussed in the next section.

THE ROADS

To understand 1850s-era transportation options within the Mountain Meadows, it is necessary to understand the origins and abandonment of the Old Spanish Trail. This route was used by Mexican inhabitants of New Mexico to trade slaves and woolen goods with southern California communities for livestock. The original circa 1829 Old Spanish Trail passed through Mountain Meadows. It entered from Holt Canyon at the north end and left through Mogatsu Creek Canyon (after passing the spring where the massacre victims later camped) at the south end (Figure 18). Rather than a delineated trail, this should be considered a braided corridor accommodating men on horseback with herds of horses, mules, or other livestock picking their way along the easiest possible route. The focus of such a corridor would have been the center (lowest elevation) of the valley along the currently downcut Holt Canyon and Mogatsu Creek drainages. At these locations the route was most level, the meadow grasses more verdant, and the soil less rocky than on the peripheries of the meadow.

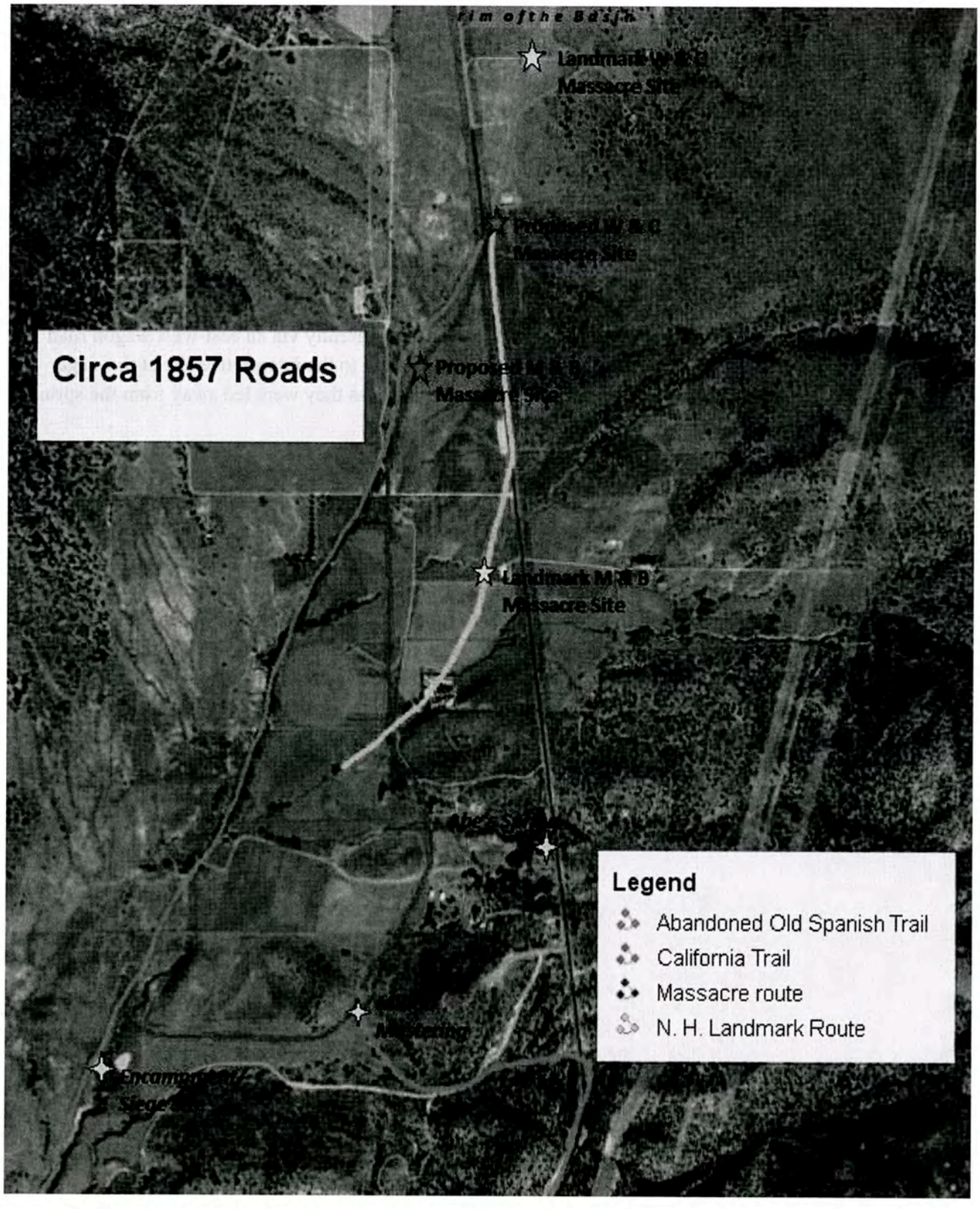


Figure 18. Proposed 1857 road network and sites with alternative National Landmark road and sites.

Prior to 1847 no wagons were taken along this route. In that year, or possibly soon thereafter, the route was realigned to allow wagons to avoid eroded canyon portions (National Park Service 2001). At the north end the route was realigned to follow Leach's Canyon to the east, thence southwest through Pinto, before meeting the old trail near to where Hamblin would later construct his adobe. At the south end the road bypassed Mogatsu Creek Canyon by veering to the southeast before joining the approximate current location of State Highway 18 and following it to the Santa Clara River (Figure 18). It was only after this wagon road was established that the route began to be referred to as the "California Trail - Southern Route" or, later, the "Salt Lake to Los Angeles Road" (National Park Service 2001).

This meant that, by 1857, the spring at the attack site had been bypassed by this new California Trail by a distance of ½ mile. By then, access to the spring was apparently via an east-west wagon road that ran parallel to and north of the current gravel road leading to the interpretive site at the siege encampment. This was likely the route used by the emigrants as they were led away from the spring (Figure 18).

At some point prior to the 1850s, portions of the center of the Meadows also became extremely eroded. In fact, the ravine that is sometimes referred to as the upper extent of Mogatsu Creek appears to be an artifact of its use as the Old Spanish Trail corridor. In particular, this includes the portion that runs from State Route 18 near Feature 1 to an unnamed spring located approximately 900 feet northeast of the Emigrant Camp (Figure 18). (South of this point the Trail apparently ran to the west of the creek.) There are several lines of evidence to support this conclusion. The first is that the ravine is not continuous across this distance, as it would be for a long-established drainage. Ravine downcutting has only occurred within segments where the soils were especially erodible. Within other segments, intact portions of an old road trace remain, often appearing as a "holloway," or sunken road (Figure 19). In addition, at some locations where it is deeply downcut, the ravine forms a straight line and is at an elevation higher than the lowest point of the valley. A mature, natural drainage would meander more and follow the valley's lowest point.



Figure 19. An intact, sunken portion of the Old Spanish Trail located between Features 1 and 2. View to the south and toward Feature 2, located by the juniper at the center of the image.

High elevation mountain meadows can be highly erodible, especially when exposed to traffic and livestock grazing for a number of years. Livestock trails or wagon ruts will often capture runoff and become either boggy mires or gullies, depending on soil conditions. This sometimes resulted in a series of parallel routes being pioneered, continuously moving upslope and away from the lower, now-degraded portion (Figure 20). An excellent example of this is present within the Meadows one mile northeast of the State Route 18-Pinto Road junction where five parallel sets of ruts are still visible. Where soils are especially erodible, the trail segment can be downcut extremely quickly, forming a ravine (Briaud 2013).



Figure 20. A section of the Oregon Trail in Wyoming showing multiple parallel ruts extending upslope and to the right, away from the original trail location.

These issues are relevant to answering a critical question concerning the massacres at Mountain Meadows: what route was taken by the militia when leading the emigrants to their deaths. Based on the current research, this route is shown in red in Figure 18.

The best historic account of the movement of the emigrants away from the siege encampment is provided by Daniel McFarlane (1896), one of the militia members:

> The militia under Higbee was stationed at a point about ½ mile northeast from the emigrants' camp, and the emigrants marched that distance in a single file, until the militia was reached, when the course was changed toward Hamblins ranch, nearly due north; . . .

McFarlane repeats this account on at least two other occasions. Other contemporary accounts note that the emigrants, along with the wagons that preceded them, did not cut cross-country, but followed an established wagon road (Lee 2003).

There exists only one location approximately ½ miles northeast of the camp from which wagons could travel along an established road "nearly due north" toward Hamblin's Ranch without having to cross ravines or elevated terrain. This is at a saddle between two hills where the 1857-era California Trail was located. (This saddle is identified as the Militia Mustering location on Figure 18.) One can still follow traces of this road headed south from this saddle toward the Santa Clara River and also of

a fainter, secondary road trace leading west to the siege encampment. The saddle is only 620 yards from the militia's encampment at Abe's Spring and was the closest location along the road where the militia could have stayed concealed from the emigrants. (However, see Klingensmith (1875) who stated he was "in sight" of the emigrants; this suggests that some militia may have been on the southern edge of the saddle.) That this saddle is the correct location is further supported by John D. Lee who recalled telling the emigrant women at the head of the column to turn left, to the north, "to follow the road up to the troops, which they did" (Lee 2003). This indicates the emigrants were led east along an existing wagon road before turning north and walking up (uphill) to where the militia awaited at the saddle.

Extant traces of the California Trail leading north from this saddle have been mapped by the author for approximately 0.35 miles before being lost in cultivated and irrigated fields across a distance of 0.58 miles. However, a currently maintained farm road runs north-south at this location and may, in fact, be at the same location as the older road. Historic traces of the road can be picked up again 0.22 miles south of Feature 2. This trace can be followed in a hit and miss fashion for another 0.54 miles, all the way to where the newer California Trail rejoined the Old Spanish Trail, just north of where it crosses State Rte. 18 (Figure 18). Along this last stretch the road trace parallels and is approximately 50 yards east of the large ravine, interpreted here as the eroded Old Spanish Trail corridor. It is this newly identified section of the California Trail which, along with Carleton's official report (1860), allowed the author to locate the two tumuli.

Other researchers have place the road followed by the emigrants much farther to the east. (This route is shown in green on Figure 18.) This alignment appears to have been first articulated by Morris Shirts (Shirts and Smeath 2002), reiterated by Walker, et al. (2008), and, again, in the National Landmark nomination by Chad Orten and Benjamin Pyckles (National Park Service 2014). This eastern route is identified in the National Historic Landmark district record.

There are a number of reasons to argue against that being the correct route: It does not head "nearly due north" as described by McFarlane. The portion of this alignment directly west of State Route 18 does exhibit a segment of old road trace. However, this trace ends at the highway, suggesting the road terminated there, likely post-dating the circa 1920s establishment of that alignment. The route proposed in the NHL nomination then *exactly* follows State Route 18 in a straight line for 2,900 feet. State Route 18, like most highways built after the 1920s, was constructed using heavy equipment, culverts, and cut and fill construction techniques. These techniques allowed roads to be built in the straight lines so beloved by highway engineers. This alignment shows none of the curves or meanders that would have been necessary in an 1850s-era wagon road. Finally, if Carleton's point-to-point measured distances are applied to this proposed route, they terminate on sagebrush-covered slopes where there is no evidence of historic road traces, scrub oak clumps, adjacent ravines, or, most significantly, gravesites.

THE MASSACRE SITES

If one accepts that the road and mass graves reported on here are, in fact, the same as those present in 1857-1859, their locations finally allow us to pinpoint the two massacre locations. These are the most significant historic spaces in the Mountain Meadows landscape, and, perhaps, in all of southern Utah.

The location of the men's and boys' massacre site is within a level area, formerly covered with native meadow grasses and measuring approximately 1,300 feet northeast-southwest by 700 feet wide. Despite its current pastoral appearance, this was a perfect killing field. The level meadow would have allowed no place for the victims to hide. To the east, escape would have been prevented by the militia. To the west, escape would have been thwarted by the deep ravine and by mounted militia located on its west side. Three emigrants did, in fact, manage to cross the ravine during the massacre, but were chased down and shot by mounted militia within 300 feet of the massacre site (McFarlane 1896).

Of course, there was no single point of the massacre, but rather an alignment extending northeast-southwest along the road. Each male emigrant was marched with a militia member escort on his right hand (east) side. The distance between these pairs would have had to have been sufficient for the men not to be tripping over one another and to allow the militia space to use their firearms. However, militia leaders would likely have wanted the group tightly packed to better corral escapees and to control their own frightened troops. The minimum distance between these pairs would likely have been six feet. When McFarlane viewed the massacre site days later he reported that the bodies lay approximately one rod (16.5 feet) apart (McFarlane 1896). Lists prepared by past researchers (i.e. National Park Service 2014) suggest that there were, at the time of the massacre, approximately 27 emigrant men and older boys on the road. (This excludes those who had left the encampment early on, had been killed and buried at the encampment, or had been wounded and were being carried in the wagons.) This line of 27 male emigrants and their militia escorts would, therefore, have been spread over a distance of between 162 feet (if six feet apart) and 446 feet (if 16.5 feet apart).

Today, this location, which is used as a horse pasture, captures much of the feeling of its 1857-1859 setting (Figure 21). The field does not appear to have been cultivated and the ancient road trace through the meadows here is still visible. A large, mature Utah juniper (*Juniperous osteosperma*), 6.5 feet in circumference at breast height, is located near to the center of the massacre site. Utah junipers are long-lived (a 1,275 year old specimen is located in the state (National Park Service 2015)) and this tree was already mature by the 1850s. The ravine and area surrounding the tumulus is mostly unchanged and ranch buildings to the northwest and State Route 18 to the east are obscured by vegetation or terrain. A low-voltage transmission line and its two-track access road cross the meadow and detract somewhat from the setting.



Figure 21. The men's and boys' massacre occurred along a historic road trace running parallel to the ravine and on the far side of the juniper tree. Note Feature 2 at lower left.

The precise location of the women's and children's massacre site is more elusive. However, there are several clues that allow us to approximately identify its location. We know it was along the California Trail (which is mostly undisputed in this vicinity), was south of the "Rim of the Basin," was in an area where scrub oak and high bushes surrounded the road, and was near to and east of the ravine where the military constructed the mass grave. In addition, we have several distance measurements provided by the Army between the siege encampment and the massacre site as well as between the two massacre sites.

Contemporary measurements to the women's and children's massacre site are somewhat varied, but all but one fall along a 450 foot-long historic segment of the road trace to the northeast of Feature 1 (see Figure 22); Tommy Cardon, the fifteen year-old French bugler, provided a location for the massacre 265 feet to the south (Cardon 1967). Significantly, this location of the Trail is heavily vegetated with thick bushes.

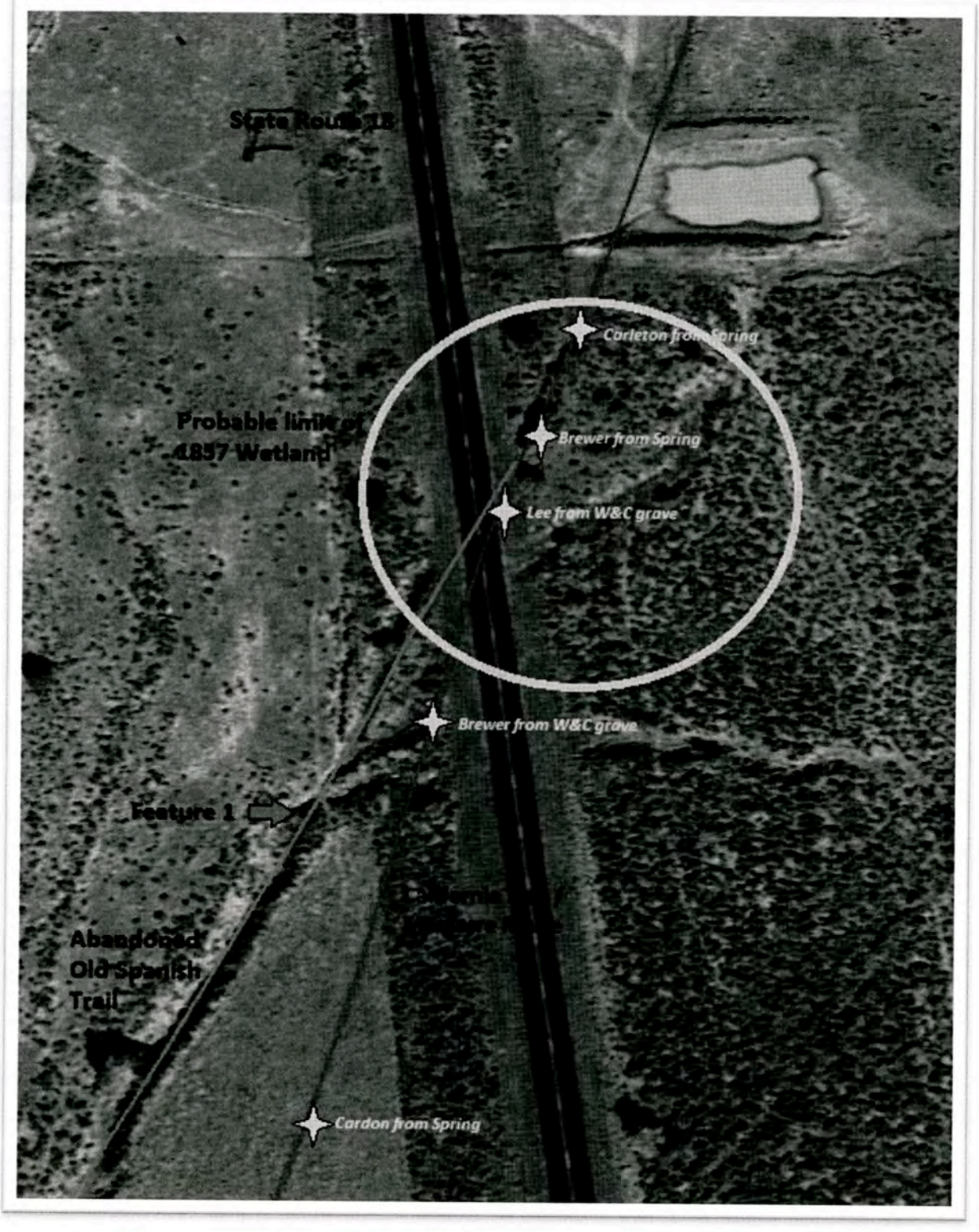


Figure 22. Location of Feature 1 showing historically recorded massacre locations, historic road traces, and probable wetland.

However, two factors prevent a precise association between Feature 1 and the women's and children's massacre site, such as is assumed to exist between Feature 2 and the men's and boys' massacre site.

The first difficulty is that the area in which the women and children were killed covered a much larger area than at the other massacre site. When the attack came, it was carried out by a relatively small number of men; many of the women and children were able to temporarily escape through the brush to the north and east, only to be struck down in areas away from the Trail (Lee 2003). For this reason, while it might be possible to pinpoint the location of the initial attack along the Trail, the actual extent of the massacre - and the distribution of bodies - eventually covered a much larger, dispersed area. A contemporary account (Rogers 1860) reported that:

> When we arrived here in April 1859, more than a year and a half after the massacre occurred, the ground, for a distance of more than a hundred yards around the central point, was covered with the skeletons and bones of human beings, interspersed in places with rolls or bunches of tangled and matted hair, which from its length, evidently belonged to females. In places the bones of small children were lying side by side with those of grown persons, as if parent and child had met death at the same instant and with the same stroke. Small bonnets and dresses, and scraps of female apparel were also to be seen in places on the ground there, like the bones of those who wore them, bleached from long exposure, but their shape was in many instances entire.

(It is interesting to note that these lurid details are missing from contemporary accounts of the men's and boys' massacre site. Whether this is because less material remains were actually present on the ground, or whether the images of bonnets, pinafores, and long strands of hair just made for a more compelling narrative, is not known.)

The second difficulty is that, unlike the location of the men's and boys' massacre site, there was no convenient ravine immediately adjacent to the Trail at this location to bury the bodies. There was (and is) a ravine present at the current location of Feature 1, but this is approximately 320 feet southwest of the presumed attack site. John D. Lee recalled that Samuel Knight dumped bodies of some of the women and children 100 yards (300 feet) from the massacre site along the road (Lee 2003); this corresponds very well with the location of Feature 1. The location of Feature 1 was probably the northernmost point that the Mogatsu Creek watershed/Old Spanish Trail had sufficiently downcut into a deep ravine by 1857. As such, it was the closest point to the attack site where some of the bodies could be placed out of sight in 1857 and also the closest point for the Army to easily construct a concealed tumulus 18 months later.

All first-hand accounts of the massacre make special mention the unique state of the vegetation at the site of the women's and children's massacre. This vegetation is typically described as "tall sagebrush" along both sides of the road, although many accounts also refer to the "thick scrub" or the clumps of "scrub oak" that were present (McFarlane 1896i.e. Lee 2003,). It is within this area of thick vegetation that the attackers are reported to have hidden in preparation for their ambush. Of

special interest is Rebecca Dunlap Evin's description of this location as "sedge-bush" (Evins 1897). The archaic term sedge-bush is little used today, but during the 19th century it referred to plants that grew in marshy areas. Sedge-bush would have been well known to the emigrants for its biblical usage, as in Job 8:11: "Can the rush be green without moisture, or the sedge-bush grow without water?"

Whatever plants were growing at this location in 1857, it is clear they were noticeably different from the surrounding landscape, being thicker, taller, and more verdant. Curiously, no previous researcher has questioned why the vegetation at the location of the massacre should have been unique. Sagebrush, which covers the margins of Mountain Meadows now and in the past, dominates the vegetative community and will, if undisturbed, grow to a consistent maximum height. This height will be a function of available soil moisture, the depth and richness of the soil, or a combination of the two (Vale 1975). Photographs of the meadows in 1877 and in again in 1909 (Gibbs 1910) show the overall sagebrush community to be approximately two-three feet high, approximately what it is today (Cottam and Stewart 1940). A location where sagebrush grows significantly higher, or where clumps of oak or other moisture-dependent plants compete with the sagebrush, indicates unique moisture or soil conditions. If those conditions were present in the past at the location of the women's and children's massacre site, they might be discernible today.

There is one location in the probable vicinity of the women's and children's massacre site that meets this description. This area is shown on Figure 18 as a potential former wetland surrounding both sides of the combined California Trail/Old Spanish Trail. To this day this location is characterized by sagebrush that averages two to three feet higher than that in the surrounding area and also includes extensive clumps of Gambel (scrub) oak and, more significantly, a large grove of Utah serviceberry (*Amelanchier utahensis*) (Figures 23, 24). Elsewhere within this part of the Meadows, Gambel oak mainly grows in ravines; serviceberry grows in profusion only at this one location.



Figure 23. Thick brush at the probable location of the women's and children's massacre. View to the northeast.

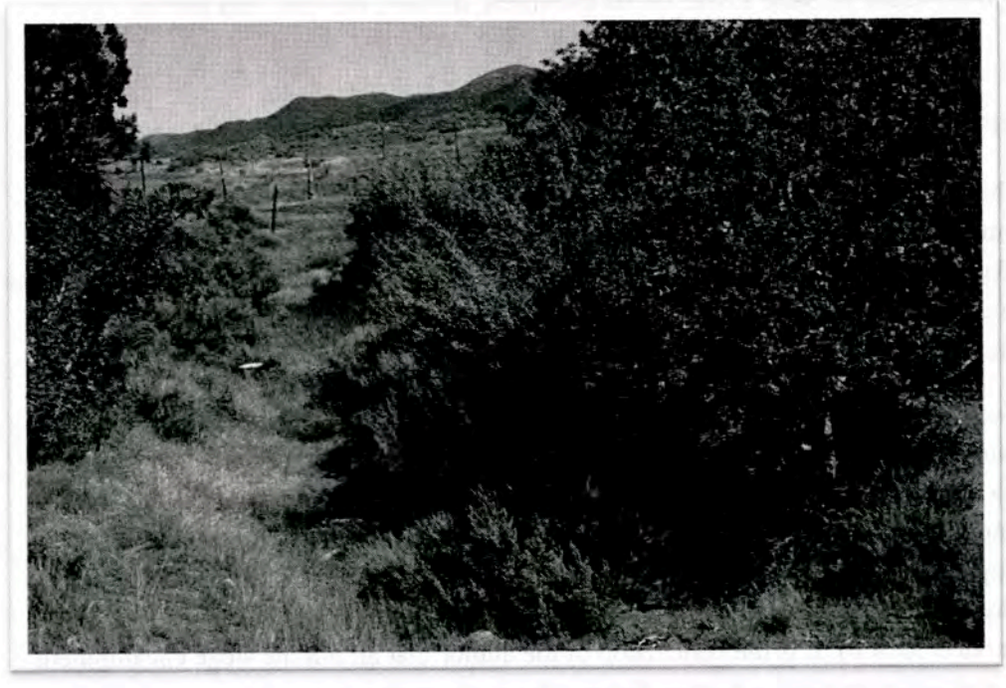


Figure 24. Old Spanish/California Trail trace through thick brush at the women's and children's massacre site. View to the north-northeast. Note open sagebrush land immediately north toward the "Rim of the Basin".

Limited soil borings into the vadose zone at this location indicate that the soil has a much higher moisture content and is also darker and loamier at depth than do soils in surrounding areas at the same elevation. This suggests that a minor seep is, or was, present, and that this created the conditions found here. The author is currently researching this location and is carrying out comparative borings to better characterize soils and moisture levels.

(The perseverance of serviceberry at this one location presents a curious backstory to the massacre: In the southern Appalachians and Ozarks, serviceberry, a member of the rose family, was one of the first shrubs to bloom in late winter or early spring. Presbyterian or Methodist Circuit preachers could finally reach isolated homesteads at this season and the ground was sufficiently thawed to dig graves. Funeral services could then be held for those who had died over the winter. Serviceberry, or "sarvisberry" as it was pronounced, became a symbol of sorrow and remembrance (Bernheim Arboretum 2015).)

To summarize, a number of lines of evidence allow us to identify the probable location of the initiation of the massacre of the women and children. This is located within or near the eastern side right-of-way of State Route 18 where it is crossed by the Old Spanish Trail/California Trail trace (Figure 25). Supportive evidence comes from historically recorded distances to it from the siege encampment, the men's and boys' gravesite, the women's and children's gravesite, and the "Rim of the Basin." Additional supportive evidence comes from its location along the historic road trace, its spatial relationship to a nearby ravine, and its location within a microenvironment exhibiting unique soil moisture and vegetation. This location, especially its southwestern portion, has been extensively impacted by the construction of State Route 18, its shoulders, ditches, culverts, and fences.

CONCERNS WITH THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

The locations of historic events associated with the Mountain Meadows massacres have been identified and nominated as a National Historic Landmark district (NHL) by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) (National Park Service 2014). These are the siege encampment, the road taken by the emigrants to the massacres, the men's and boys' massacre site, and the women's and children's massacre site.

The location of each of these historic events is on a parcel of land owned by the LDS Church and marked by separate visitation sites, interpretive signage, and engraved stone monuments. Of special concern here are a tract of approximately 16 acres which purportedly "encompasses the site of the massacre of the men and boys and a grave or graves containing a portion of their remains" and another tract of approximately 83 acres which purportedly "encompasses the location where the women and children were massacred, as well as a grave or graves holding some of their remains" (National Park Service 2014:6). It is the conclusion of the author that all but the siege encampment have been interpreted and memorialized some distance from where they actually occurred (Figure 18). The actual locations are currently unprotected by any National Landmark status.

In reviewing the NHL nomination, it is difficult to understand how these locations were established, other than from land ownership concerns. The official U.S. Army report states that the men's and boys' massacre site and the women's and children's massacre site are only 1,050 feet apart (as are Features 2 and 1) (Brewer 1860). The NHL nomination identifies these as being over 4,760 feet apart. In numerous other ways the NHL nomination contradicts the historic record: There is no ravine adjacent to the road; the road does not follow the route described in historic sources; and there is no evidence of increased vegetation at the women's and children's massacre site.

Perhaps the most perplexing conclusion concerns the location of the men's and boys' massacre site. The National Landmark nomination correctly cites Carleton's reported point-to-point distance between the emigrant spring and the massacre site as one mile, 565 yards (6,975 feet). However, the nomination then places the new monument on Church-owned land just 5,778 feet from the spring and states that "This [Carleton's] location is within the boundary of this parcel of land, as was Dr. Brewer's measurement" (National Park Service 2014:8).

The physical evidence used to support the nomination is also questionable. A scatter of rocks at the new men's and boys' monument was reported by the family that previously owned the land to be the location of a grave from Dr. Brewer's burial efforts in 1859 (National Park Service 2014). However, this scatter is almost certainly from a cairn identified and photographed by Josiah Gibbs in 1909 (1910). In his book Gibbs identified this as a massacre grave monument, and so it is understandable the landowners would come to accept this as the truth. However, Gibb's scholarship has been thoroughly discredited due to his virulent anti-Mormon views, his compression of the massacre events across a very small area, and his consistent misrepresentations of the historic evidence (Shirts and Smeath 2002). It should be noted that this small cairn was located between the northeast corner of Abraham Burgess' late 19th century homestead claim and the boundary of the then newly established Forest Reserve. This rock scatter likely represents an old property boundary marker.

A second series of rock scatters located near to the new monument at the purported women's and children's massacre site had also been reported by the landowner as being associated with the massacre. These rock scatters are mentioned in the NHL nomination which states that ". . . written accounts indicated that part of the massacre occurred here" (National Park Service 2014). An archaeological study of the rock scatters funded by the LDS Church concluded that these scatter were likely the result of field-clearing activities (Searcy 2010).

Other evidence is provided in the NHL nomination for the purported men's and boys' massacre site. A basalt boulder with a "cross" on it from near this location is provided as evidence of a grave; this boulder is even mounted on the monument established by the LDS Church (Figure 25). This inscribed cross (probably an X rather than a religiously-inspired cross) is best interpreted as a surveyor's corner monument. The 1881 *Manual of the Surveyor General of the General Land Office* states: "When a rock in place is established for a Corner, its dimensions above ground must be given, and a cross (X) marked at exact corner point". (General Land Office 1881:128). In his surveyor's notes Dalley (1899) reported placing several such corner monuments in this part of the Meadows, as well as displacing several older, incorrect monuments (Figure 26).

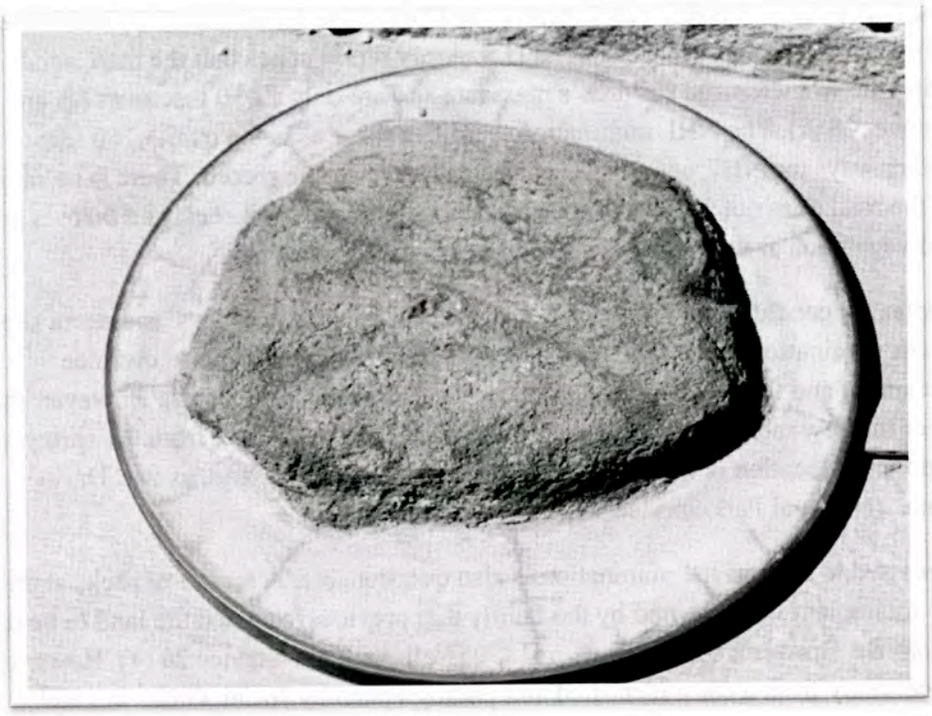


Figure 25. A probable surveyor's corner monument interpreted in the NHL nomination as a grave marker.

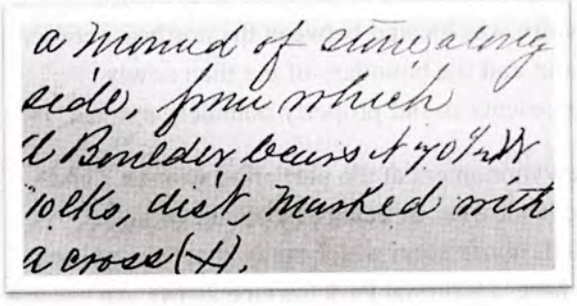

a mound of stone along
side, from which
a Boulder bears S 70° W
10 lks, dist, marked with
a cross (+).

Figure 26. Mayhew Dalley's surveyor's field notes recording the placement of a boulder corner monument in Mountain Meadows (1899).

CONCLUSIONS

A re-evaluation of the Mountain Meadows landscape and of historic documents has led to the identification of new alignments of the historic Old Spanish and California trails and of two large rock tumuli. These tumuli are interpreted as markers for the mass graves constructed by the U.S. Army in 1859. The location of these tumuli has also allowed the location of the two massacre sites to be pinpointed. For the first time, an all-inclusive spatial interpretation of the events surrounding the massacres is possible.

Unfortunately, none of these locations are recognized within the current Mountain Meadows Historic Landmark district. In fact, newly-erected monuments to these events are at locations far from where they actually occurred. Misinterpreting a property as significant as the Mountain Meadows Massacre landscape is problematic, leaving significant aspects of our past fair game for destruction.

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"They Have Slain My Children": The Rescue of the Orphans of Mountain Meadows

By Will Bagley
For *Wild West*

http://www.historynet.com/wild-west-rescue-of-the-mountain-meadows-orphans.htm

In the fall of 1857, a party of emigrants from Arkansas camped in southern Utah Territory at Mountain Meadows, a lush alpine oasis on the Spanish Trail where wagon trains rested before crossing the Mojave Desert. The party was made up of about a dozen large, prosperous families and their hiredhands, driving about 18 wagons and several hundred cattle to Southern California. Of its 135 to 140 members, almost 100 were women and children.

As the travelers brewed coffee not long after dawn on Monday, September 7, a volley of gunfire suddenly tore into them from nearby ravines and hilltops, immediately killing or wounding about a quarter of the able-bodied men. The survivors quickly pulled their scattered wagons into a corral and leveled their lethal long rifles at their hidden, painted attackers, stopping a brief frontal assault in its tracks. The Arkansans quickly built a wagon fort and dug a pit at its center to protect the women and children. Cut off from water and under continual gunfire,the emigrants fended off their assailants for five long, hellish days.

Finally, on Friday, September 11, hope appeared in the form of a white flag. The emigrants let the emissary, a Mormon from the nearby settlement of Cedar City, into their fort, and then the local Indian agent, John D. Lee, entered the camp. Lee told them the Indians had gone, and if the Arkansans would lay down their arms, he and his men would escort them to safety. The desperate emigrants, Deputy U.S. Marshal William Rogers reported two years later, trusted Lee's honor and agreed to his unusual terms. They separated into three groups—the wounded and youngest children, who led the way in two wagons; the women and older children, who walked behind; and then the men, each escorted by an armed member of the Nauvoo Legion, the local militia. The surviving men cheered their rescuers when they fell in with their escort.

Lee led his charges three-quarters of a mile from the campground to a southern branch of the California Trail. As the odd parade approached the rim of the Great Basin, a single shot rang out, followed by an order: "Do your duty!" The escorts turned and shot down the men, painted "Indians" jumped out of oak brush and cut down the women and children, and Lee directed the murder of the wounded. Within five minutes, the most brutal act of religious terrorism in America history was over—and it would not be surpassed until a bright September morning exactly 144 years later, as airplanes filled with passengers were flown into the Pentagon and New York City's World Trade Center.

So ended the Mountain Meadows Massacre—but the story of this mass murder and its twisted legacy had only begun. Although "white men did most of the killing," as participant Nephi Johnson later admitted, Utah Indian Superintendent Brigham Young informed Washington that "Capt. Fancher & Co. fell victims to the Indians' wrath" and blamed the emigrants for "indiscriminately shooting and poisoning them"—essentially, Young argued, they got what they deserved. Young made no effort to investigate the crime or identify the perpetrators. The murderer—smany of whom stripped for battle and donned war paint to look like Indians—took a blood oath to blame the slaughter on the local Paiutes (see "Warriors and Chiefs" in this issue), and since they thought they had killed everyoneold enough to tell the emigrants'side of the story, whocould contradict them?

The killers, however, made a mistake: They spared 17 of the children, believing they would be too young to be credible witnesses. Mormon doctrine made shedding innocent blood an unforgivable sin, and anyone under the age of 8 was by definition "innocent blood." Lee later claimed he was ordered to spare only children "who were so young they could not talk." The Mormons actually killed at least half a dozen children 8 years old or younger, but in an atrocity notably lacking in mercy, that belief in not shedding innocent blood saved the lives of 10 girls and seven boys between infancy and age 6.

Yet their youth did not prevent the orphans from leaving behind some of the most compelling accounts of what actually happened on that black Friday. "The scenes and incidents of the massacre were so terrible that they were indelibly stamped on my mind, notwithstanding I was so young at the time," Nancy Huff Cates recalled in 1875. The tale of how a hard-bitten crew of colorful frontiersmen rescued these sad orphans is one of the great, untold stories of the American West.

The first news of the worst massacre in the history of the Oregon and California trails appeared in the Los Angeles Star on October 3, 1857. Several children, it reported, "were picked up on the ground, and were being conveyed to San Bernardino." A week later, that newspaper said the Indians saved 15 "infant children" and sold them to the Mormons at Cedar City. By the end of the year, word of the murders had reached the families of the victims in northwest Arkansas, where an angry citizen asked if the government would send enough men to Utah "to hang all the scoundrels and thieves at once, and give them the same play they give our women and children?"

William C. Mitchell's married daughter, Nancy Dunlap, had been with the so-called Fancher party, as had a married son, Charles, and an unmarried son, Joel. Mitchell wrote to Senator W.K. Sebastian, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, expressing his hope that an infant grandson had survived. He asked Sebastian to investigate: "I must have satisfaction for the inhuman manner in which they have slain my children," he wrote,"together with two brothers-in-law and seventeen of their children." Many of the murdered emigrants came from powerful Arkansas families. In February 1858, the "deeply aggrieved" people of

Carroll County in northwest Arkansas petitioned Congress to appropriate funds to reclaim and return the children saved from the massacre.

Utah was still in a virtual state of rebellion, however, and not long after the massacre Mormon guerrillas had burned Army supply trains on the way to the territory. The government could do nothing much until June 1858, after Brigham Young's hoped-for alliance with the Indians collapsed and the "Mormon Revolt" fizzled. Young grudgingly accepted a blanket pardon for treason and allowed the new governor and federal judges into the territory. That same month the U.S. Army established the nation's largest military station at Camp Floyd, 40 miles from Salt Lake City. Alfred Cumming replaced Young as governor, and Jacob Forney took over as Indian superintendent. One of their first priorities was to locate the Mountain Meadows orphans and "use every effort to get possession" of them, as Washington had first ordered Forney to do back in March.

Jacob Hamblin, the president of the Mormon Southern Indian Mission, met with Brigham Young in June and told Young "everything" about the murders, including that whites were involved. Young told him, "Don't say anything about it," and Hamblin loyally continued to blame the massacre on the Indians. Hamblin told Forney that 15 of the survivors were living near his ranch with white families. With considerable effort, Hamblin claimed, the children had been "recovered, bought and otherwise, from the Indians." Forney hoped to go south in a month to recover the children, but he put off the job for almost a year, although he did tell Hamblin to collect the children.

In early August, Young sent orders to Isaac Haight and William Dame, religious leaders in southern Utah (and the same men who had given the direct orders to massacre the Arkansans). He told them to have Hamblin"gather up those children that were saved from the Indian Masacre [sic]." Forney also sent orders to Hamblin, "All the children must be secured, at anycost or sacrifice, whether among whites or Indians." He instructed Hamblin to take the childreninto his family. "You will be well compensated forall the trouble you and Mrs. Hamblin will have,"Forney promised.

Hamblin had found 15 of the orphans by December 1858, but he was "satisfied that there were seventeen of them saved from the massacre," he wrote. He claimed two children had been taken east by the Paiutes, a story apparently concocted to extort government money to pay imaginary ransoms to the Indians. In late January 1859, Forney reported to Washington that he had recovered 17 children (when in fact he had seen none of them), and in March he finally headed south on this errand. Meanwhile, Congress had appropriated$10,000 to locate the survivors of Mountain Meadows and transport them back to Arkansas.

Not long after setting out, Forney learned that $30,000 worth of property and presumably some cash had been distributed among Mormon church officials at Cedar City within a few days of the massacre. He reported that he hoped to recover at least some of the stolen property. He stopped 40 miles south of Salt Lake City to testify before the grand jury that the fearless Judge John Cradlebaugh was holding in Provo. Forney had aligned himself with the federal

officials led by Governor Cumming who had aligned themselves—and sometimes lined their pockets—with Brigham Young's interests. Forney and Cumming were timid men, and as heavy drinkers both were easily intimidated. Events soon showed that neither of them had the courage to ensure justice was done for the victims of the massacre, let alone the gumption to stand up to a powerhouse like Brigham Young, "the Lion of the Lord." Despite detailed, credible evidence that whites and not Indians had committed the massacre, Forney hired Mormons to escort him on his trip to southern Utah.

At Nephi, Forney met up with two remarkable frontiersmen: Colonel William Rogers and Captain James Lynch. Rogers, affectionately known as "Uncle Billy" in both California and Carson Valley, was already a Western legend in 1858 when he moved to Salt Lake City, opened the California House (a hotel "fitted up in superior style") and quickly won a legion of friends. Two years later, British explorer Richard Burton found Colonel Rogers running the Pony Express station at Ruby Valley, trading furs and managing a government Indian farm for the Western Shoshones. Rogers was already a veteran of many "adventures among the whites and reds," Burton said, and had "many a hairbreadth escape to relate." But nothing he did in his long, colorful career was as dangerous as his mission to Mountain Meadows.

Uncle Billy joined Forney at Nephi as an assistant. At the same time, Captain Lynch was leading a party of between 25 and 40 men south from Camp Floyd, where he had worked for the commissary department, to the area that would become Arizona (possibly to prospect there), when he too met Forney at Nephi.

Born in Ireland, Lynch had been orphaned not long after his parents immigrated to Brooklyn, and he had drifted to New Orleans, where he enlisted in the frontier army. Lynch had served under Zachary Taylor and Robert E. Lee in the Mexican War and was cited three times for bravery. (Lynch's captain title, however, was honorary, not military.) After his discharge, he joined the Utah Expedition as a civilian, but years later he recalled he resigned in disgust at "the continual failure of the soldiers to rescue the orphaned children."

Forney told Lynch he was "doubtful" about the Mormons he had hired to escort him to Mountain Meadows. When Lynch reached Beaver in late March, he found the Mormons had indeed abandoned Forney, warning that if he pressed on "the people down there would make an eunuch of him." Forney asked for help, and Lynch placed his whole party at his command, but he expressed concern that Forney had hired Mormons in the first place, "the very confederates of these monsters, who had so wantonly murdered unoffending emigrants, to ferret out the guilty parties." It would not be the last doubt Lynch would have about the nervous Indian superintendent.

Forney's party tried to get information as they trekked south, reaching Cedar City on April 16. "But no one professed to have any knowledge of the massacre, " Rogers recalled, "except that they had heard itwas done by the Indians." Jacob Hamblin sent Ira Hatch, a talented Indian interpreter who had probably killed at least one of the Arkansans himself, to guide the men to the scene of the massacre.

"Words cannot describe the horrible picture which was here presented to us," James Lynch wrote a few months after the mid-April visit to the massacre site. What he and the others saw in this beautiful alpine valley would haunt them to their graves: "Human skeletons, disjointed bones, ghastly skulls and the hair of women were scattered in frightful profusion over a distance of two miles." The men found three mounds, evidence of "the careless attempt that had been made to bury the unfortunate victims." In a ravine by the side of the road, "a large number of leg and arm bones, and also skulls, could be seen sticking above the surface, as if they had been buried there," Rogers reported. They spent several hours burying a few of the exposed remains. "When I first passed through the place," Rogers later wrote, "I could walk for near a mile on bones, and skulls laying grinning at you, and women and children's hair in bunches as big as a bushel." The bones of children were lying by those of grown persons, "as if parent and child had met death at the same instant and with the same stroke." Lynch could not forget seeing the remains of those innocent victims of"avarice, fanatacism and cruelty," adding, "I have witnessed many harrowing sights on the fields of battle, but never did my heart thrill with such horrible emotions."

The day after visiting Mountain Meadows, Forney and his escort reached the Mormon settlement at Santa Clara, where they found 13 of the surviving children in the custody of Hamblin, who was just beginning his legendary career as a frontiersman and Indian interpreter for explorers such as John Wesley Powell. In his recollections, Lynch claimed he and a few men might have been sent ahead in disguise to find the children and determine what kind of reception awaited Forney. Fifty years later, Lynch remembered that Hamblin claimed some of the children were being held captive by the Indians. "Produce them or we will kill you," Lynch recalled saying while pistols and rifles were pointed at Hamblin's head. "He surrendered." (It's a wonderful story, but none of the contemporary reports— including that by Lynch—tell it.) After Forney arrived, the men spent three days at Santa Clara while clothing was made forthe children.

Eyewitnesses gave contradictory reports about the circumstances of the rescued children."The children when we firstsaw them were in a mostwretched and deplorable condition," James Lynch charged,"with little or no clothing, coveredwith fillth and dirt, theypresented a sight heart-rendingand miserable in the extreme."U.S. Army Major James Carletonsaid their captors "keptthese little ones barely alive."In contrast, William Rogersreported that all the childrenhad sore eyes but were otherwisewell, and Jacob Forneybelieved the children were wellcared for. He found them "happy and contented, except those who were sick" and insisted the orphans were inbetter condition than most ofthe children in the settlementsin which they lived.

Forney rejected a number of obviously fraudulent claims to repay ransoms allegedly paid to save the children, since it was well known that the children "did not live among the Indians one hour." He received other claims for the children's support and indignantly reported he would not "condescend to become the medium of even transmitting such claims"; however, he later authorized $2,961.77 to pay for the cost of the children's care.

With the orphans in tow, Forney proceeded to John D. Lee's home in Harmony on April 22, 1859. He had learned that Lee had some of the property of the murdered emigrants in his possession and demanded that he surrender it. On the 23rd, Lee denied he had any of the property and insisted he knew nothing about it except that the Indians took it. "Lee applied some foul and indecent epithets to the emigrants," William Rogers reported. Lee said they slandered the Mormons "and in general terms justified the killing."

Forney's conduct while visiting Lee astounded his escort, who had refused "to share the hospitality of this notorious murderer—this scourge of the desert," Lynch swore. He was outraged that Forney accepted Lee's hospitality, despite the statements of the surviving children, who identified Lee as one of the killers. Lee agreed to accompany Forney to Cedar City and discuss the matter of the massacre with other Mormon officials, but on the way he rode ahead and disappeared. The leaders in Cedar City proved no more helpful in tracking down the stolen property. Frustrated and outraged, Forney's party picked up three additional survivors and headed north with 16 orphans.

Meanwhile, both the U.S. Army and Federal Judge Cradlebaugh had launched their own investigations of the murders. In mid-April, Brig. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of the Department of Utah, ordered one company of dragoons and two of infantry to proceed to Santa Clara to protect travelers on the road to California, investigate reported Indian depredations and provide an escort for the Army paymaster who was on his way to Camp Floyd with a large supply of "spondulicks," as Utah's Valley Tan reported—back pay in gold, worth a rumored half-million dollars. Johnston then ordered the "Santa Clara Expedition " to provide protection for Judge Cradlebaugh, who was on his way to investigate the crime and, if possible, arrest the murderers.

As Forney marched north, Kanosh, chief of the Pahvants, informed him that some Indians had told him there were two more children saved from the massacre than Hamblin had collected. The information was not deemed very reliable, but after meeting the troops from Camp Floyd at Corn Creek, Cradlebaugh swore in William Rogers as a deputy U.S. marshal, and Forney sent him back south to see if he could find any other children.

Rogers soon learned that one child was at a remote settlement named Pocketville. He sent Hamblin to recover the orphan, "a bright-eyed and rosy-cheeked boy, about two years old," who proved to be Joseph Miller, youngest son of Joseph and Matilda Miller. Rogers "inquired diligently" for the second child but learned nothing. Despite a host of legends about a surviving child who remained in southern Utah, all reliable evidence indicates that the federal officials successfullyrecovered every surviving child.

The orphans and their ages at the time of the massacre included the children of George and Manerva Baker: Mary Elizabeth, 5; Sarah Frances, 3, and William Twitty, 9 months; of Alexander and Eliza Fancher: Christopher "Kit" Carson, 5, and Triphenia D., 22 months; of Joseph and Matilda Miller: John Calvin, 6; Mary,

4, and Joseph, 1; of Jesse and Mary Dunlap: Rebecca J., 6; Louisa, 4, and Sarah Ann, 1; of Lorenzo Dow and Nancy Dunlap: Prudence Angeline, 5, and Georgia Ann, 18 months; of Peter and Saladia Huff: Nancy Saphrona, 4; of Pleasant and Armilda Tackitt: Emberson Milum, 4, and William Henry, 19 months; and of John Milum and Eloah Jones: Felix Marion, 18 months. To his credit, Forney quickly determined that "none of these children have lived among the Indians at all." He found them "intellectual and good looking" with "not one meanlookingchild among them."

In late June 1859, the Salt Lake probate court appointed Jacob Forney guardian of the orphans with the power "to collect and receive all property belonging to the murdered Emigrants." Forney still hoped to recover some of the wealth looted from the Arkansans, but he and his successors failed to reclaim a single nickel stolen from the Fancher party. Forney's craven behavior with John D. Lee disgusted James Lynch, who swore out an affidavit that called the agent a "veritable old granny." Lynch accused Forney of assisting the coverup of the crime by undercutting the authority of federal officials like Judge Cradlebaugh by arousing "a feeling of resistance to his authority among the guilty murderers."

Brigham Young followed the federal investigation closely. In early May, he groused that Congress had appropriated $10,000 and appointed two commissioners to return the orphans to their relatives. "What an expensive and round about method for transacting what any company for the States could easily attend to at any time, and with trifling expense," he complained.

General Johnston, however, was taking no chances with the survivors' safety, and he assigned two companies of the 2nd Dragoons to escort the orphans to Fort Leavenworth. As "an act of humanity," the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell (which would start the Pony Express in the spring) offered the children free transportation in their freight wagons, but Johnston provided more comfortable spring wagons. Forney hired five women to accompany the "unfortunate, fatherless, motherless, and pennyless children" and made sure they had at least three changes of clothes, plenty of blankets, and "every appliance" to "make them comfortable and happy."

Forney took two of the survivors, John Calvin Miller and Emberson Milum Tackitt, to Washington, D.C., in December 1859 to provide their "very interesting account of the massacre" to the government. The next day, Brigham Young's Washington agent reported that Forney had given the Mormon version of the massacre and would "be of service." Young immediately responded that if Forney continued to be a "friend of Utah," he would not lose"his reward."

Interestingly, no record of what the two boys told federal officials survives, but even "Old Granny" had seen enough. Forney reported in September 1859 that he began his inquiries hoping to exonerate"all white men from any participation in this tragedy, and saddle the guilt exclusively on the Indians." But it simply wasn't so. "White men werepresent and directed the Indians," he concluded.

Forney named the "hell-deserving scoundrels who concocted and brought to a successful termination" the mass murder: Stake President Isaac Haight, Bishop Philip Klingensmith, Branch President John D. Lee, Bishop John Higbee and Forney's own trusty guide, Ira Hatch. He gave their names to the attorney general, but nothing was done to bring the murderers to justice before the Civil War broke out—and nothing would be done for a dozen years.

William C. Mitchell, who was an Arkansas state senator, had picked up the other 15 children, who included his granddaughters Prudence Angeline and Georgia Ann Dunlap (but not his infant grandson, who was among the dead), at Fort Leavenworth in late August 1859, and on September 15, friends and relatives gathered at Carrollton, Ark., to welcome the orphans home. According to the Arkansian, Mitchell told the crowd the children were "kept secreted by the Mormons" until Forney offered to pay a $6,000 ransom.

No one who witnessed the return of the children ever forgot it. Mary Baker, whose husband Jack had died at the Meadows, took charge of her three grandchildren. "You would have thought we were heroes," Sarah Frances "Sallie" Baker recalled in 1940. "They had a buggy parade for us." Her grandmother gave each of the children a powerful hug. The children arrived home not long before Confederate guns opened fire at Fort Sumter, and Arkansas witnessed some of the most brutal conflict of the Civil War. Despite the turmoil, all the children found homes with relatives, who raised them as best they could.

According to John D. Lee, Brigham Young said that the government took the children to St. Louis and sent letters to their relatives to come for them. "But their relations wrote back that they did not want them—that they were the children of thieves, outlaws and murderers, and they would not take them, they did not wish anything to do with them, and would not have them around their houses." However unreliable Lee's quote might be, a generation of Mormon historians repeated the slander that most of the children wound up in a St. Louis orphanage.

Efforts continued well into the 20th century to win some kind of compensation for the survivors of Mountain Meadows, but nothing was ever done. For the 17 orphans, the pain of their loss never went away. "I remember I called all of the women I saw `Mother,'" Sallie remembered. "I guess I was still hoping to find my own mother, and every time I called a woman `Mother,' she would break out crying."

None of the Mountain Meadows orphans had bleaker prospects than Sarah Dunlap, who was only 1 year old when a gunshot wound almost severed her arm during the massacre. An eye disease acquired in southern Utah left her virtually sightless. After returning to Arkansas, she was educated at the school for the blind in Little Rock and settledwith her sister Rebecca in Calhoun County.

James Lynch wandered the world as a mining expert, but he never lost touch with the orphans. After retiring, Lynch visited his old charges in Arkansas, who greeted him "as a returned father." The old frontiersman found Sarah Dunlap,

now "a cultured lady of 34 years," and he soon "wooed and won" Miss Sarah. The couple were married on December 30, 1893, when the groom was 74. Lynch ran a store in Woodberry, and Sarah taught Sunday school. They eventually moved to Hampton, where Sarah died in 1901. Her ornate gravestone and vault were "proof of the tenderness that James felt for Sarah." For decades the community recalled how Captain Lynch "never tired of telling how he rescued her from the Mormons."

Lynch died about 1910 and was buried next to his wife in an unmarked grave. His fellow Masons conducted his funeral, the Arkansas Gazette recalled, "the likes of which have never again been seen in these parts." The survivors of Mountain Meadows never forgot "the brave, daring and noble Capt. James Lynch," but he rested in the unmarked grave until March 21, 1998, when the Arkansas State Society Children of the American Revolution dedicated a monument to his memory.

SIDEBAR

Although none of them had been over the age of six when their families were murdered, the 17 orphans provided some of the most powerful evidence about what had really happened at Mountain Meadows—and their testimony removed any doubt about Mormon involvement in the massacre. In contrast to the wildly varying stories told by the murderers, the children's recollections were surprisingly consistent. For example, they reported that Mormons had disguised themselves as Indians: The orphans told Capt. John Robinson "they had seen these white men take off disguises and wash the war paint from their faces." Rebecca Dunlap "saw quite a number of white men washing the paint from their faces." Martha Elizabeth Baker recalled, "I distinctly remember the group disguised as Indians. There was not a real Indian in the group, for they went to the creek and washed the paint from their faces." And while he was playing marbles with a young Mormon boy in Salt Lake, "Kit" Carson Fancher said, "My father was killed by Indians; when they washed their faces they were white men."

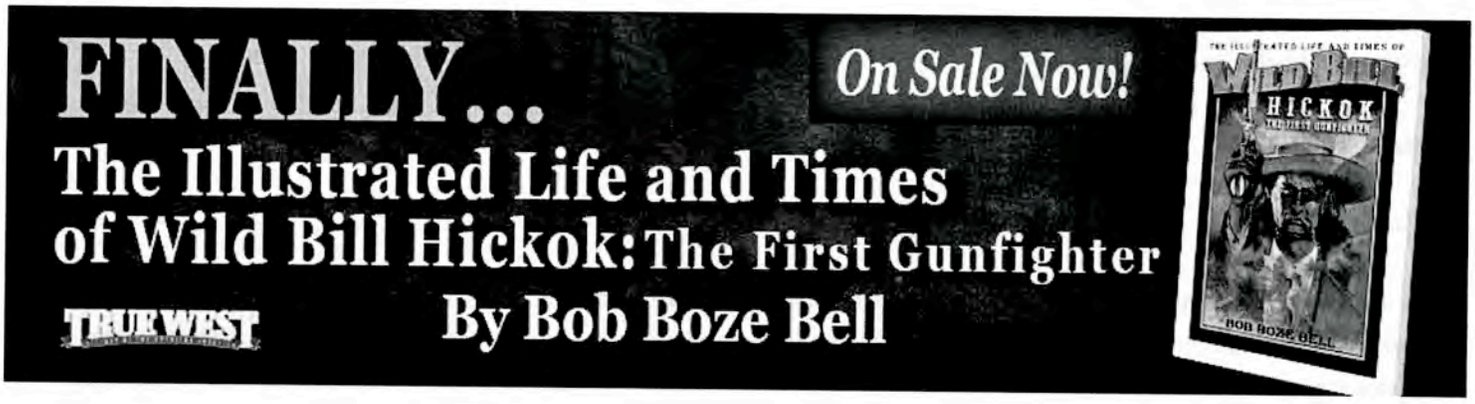
James Lynch said several orphans retained "a very vivid impression of much connected with the massacre," but only fragments of what they told their rescuers survive. Rebecca Dunlap and Emberson Milum Tackitt recognized the wives of John D. Lee wearing dresses jewelry that belonged to their mothers, and Tackitt said Lee had his father's oxen. The older children "frequently pointed out carriages and stock that belonged to the train, stating to whom it belonged." One of the most compelling stories was attributed to the boy identified as "John Calvin Sorrow," actually John Calvin Miller, the oldest son of Joseph and Matilda Miller, who had "picked arrows from his mother's body." The boy saw his grandfather, grandmother, aunt, father, and mother murdered. "Clenching his little fists," one of the orphans' nurses recalled, "he would burst into a little passionate speech like this: 'When I get to be a man I'll go to the President of the United States and ask for a regiment of soldiers to go and find John D. Lee. But I don't want to have anybody kill him; I want to shoot him

myself, for he killed my father. He shot my father in the back, but I would shoot him in the face.'"

"I shall never forget how he looked," said Judge Cradlebaugh.

Will Bagley, who operates the Prairie Dog Press in Salt Lake City, is the author of Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows (see interview in "Reviews" in the December 2003 Wild West) and has a second book about the massacre, Innocent Blood, in the works. Bagley was also one of the people interviewed for a Mountain Meadows episode—co-produced by Bill Kurtis and Paul Andrew Hutton, and scheduled to air in late December 2004—of the History Channel's Investigating History series. Also recommended for further reading: The Mountain Meadows Massacre, by Juanita Brooks.

This article was written by Will Bagley and originally published in the February 2005 issue of Wild West Magazine.

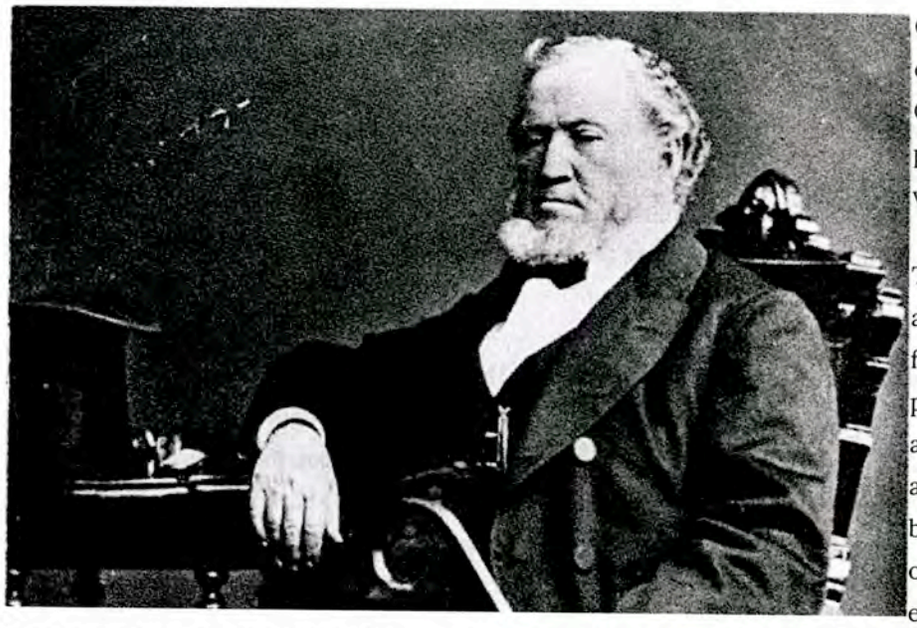


FEATURES (HTTPS://TRUEWESTMAGAZINE.COM/CATEGORY/HISTORY-FEATURES/)

Did Brigham Young Order a Massacre?

Columnist Will Bagley and Brigham Young University Professor Ron Walker present opposing viewpoints to the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

'RIL 1, 2003 *by* WILL BAGLEY AND RON WALKER (HTTPS://TRUEWESTMAGAZINE.COM/AUTHOR/WILL-BAGLEY-AND-RON-WALKER/)



On September 11, 1857, 120 men, women and children—pioneers from Arkansas headed for California—were massacred after being promised safe passage through a Southern Utah valley known as Mountain Meadows.

They were murdered by a small Mormon militia and its Indian allies in a horrible ploy: after a four-day gun battle with their attackers, the pioneers accepted a truce that turned out to be a deadly lie. They were clubbed, stabbed or shot at point-blank range, then stripped and left to be scavenged by wolves and buzzards. The only ones spared were 17 children under the age of eight, who were taken in by local Mormon families, and would later testify they saw their parents' clothes and jewels being worn by locals.

The nation was and remains horrified by what happened at Mountain Meadows. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has steadfastly denied responsibility. At first, it blamed Indians; later, it claimed a rogue church official was responsible—and after two trials, Mormon militia leader John Lee was hanged in 1877 for the killings.

But now, a new book, which has been a bestseller in Utah since it appeared last summer, claims the massacre was ordered by Mormon Prophet Brigham Young. Anxiously awaited is a book due to be published in 2004 by three Mormon church historians that will exonerate Young.

True West asked the authors of both books to lay out their claims. Will Bagley, a history columnist for the *Salt Lake Tribune*, is the author of *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* published by the University of Oklahoma Press. Ron Walker is one of the three Mormon historians writing the upcoming rebuttal to be published by Oxford University Press.

Their face-off begins.

Brigham Young Did It.

By Will Bagley

There are two ways to interpret the evidence about who ordered the brutal murder of 120 men, women and children at a remote Utah oasis on the road to California on September 11, 1857. Fifty-three years ago Juanita Brooks' classic study, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, concluded the crime was the result of one unfortunate circumstance after another. (She also established "from the most impeccable Mormon sources" that Brigham Young had obstructed a murder investigation for 18 years, which made him guilty of felony murder.)

The second explanation is that the massacre was a calculated act of vengeance.

After five years researching and writing about this horrific atrocity, I doubted I'd ever find a definitive answer to the question, "Did Brigham Young order the murders at Mountain Meadows?"

I was wrong.

To my surprise, I found evidence that convinced me beyond a shadow of a doubt that Brigham Young issued orders (probably verbal) to kill everyone in the Fancher party except those of "innocent blood"—children under eight years of age—to fulfill his sacred vow to "avenge the blood of the prophets" Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and more specifically, Apostle Parley P. Pratt. As one of John D. Lee's wives put it, "The Mormons were so insulted and indignant over the death or murder of Pratt that they Raked untold Vengeance on the poor Emigrants."

When I began writing about the massacre, I realized trying to "prove" anything about this appalling crime would prove only that I was an idiot. The evidence has been so corrupted—suppressed, destroyed, and fabricated—it's hard to determine the date the murders took place, let alone trace all the ins and outs of the conspiracy behind the crime. Writing a polemic trying to blame Brigham Young would be self-defeating, just as writing an apologia to clear his skirts would ultimately have to justify murder. Instead I tried to tell the story as honestly and accurately as possible and let readers make up their own minds about who ordered the slaughter of more than 80 women and children—and why.

Apparently I succeeded, since critics in the employ of the LDS Church claim I don't "prove" Brigham Young ordered the murders. People make what they want of the facts in my book, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows*, but for most readers, the evidence about who ordered the massacre is overwhelming.

As any attorney knows, the problem with a guilty client is he acts guilty, and after the massacre Brigham Young never behaved like an innocent man. Young's fiery discourses calling for blood and vengeance, his encouragement of Indian attacks on wagon trains and the lies he told to cover up the crime all show he was intimately involved in fomenting a vicious act of vengeance.

He said he did it.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, Brigham Young and his entourage visited Mountain Meadows for the first time since 1857. He stopped at the cairn the U.S. Army's First Dragoons had raised in 1859 over the grave of the emigrants whose scattered bones they had collected and buried. Young read the *Bible* verse the soldiers had inscribed on a cedar cross atop the monument: "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord."

"It should read," he said, "'Vengeance is mine, and I have taken a little.'" Young then directed the desecration of the grave. "Within five minutes," recalled massacre participant Dudley Leavitt, "not one stone stood upon another."

A few days later Young justified the massacre as a necessary act of righteous vengeance. "The company that was used up at the Mountain Meadowes" included the fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters "& connections" of the men who murdered the prophets, he told John D. Lee, and "they Merited their fate." The only thing that ever troubled Young "was the lives of the Women & children, but that under the circumstances [it] could not be avoided."

"But," I can hear Mormon historians object, "this is purely circumstantial evidence Young actually ordered the killings." Could be, but it's no more circumstantial than the evidence O.J. Simpson murdered his wife.

Why did Brigham Young allegedly send a message telling Southern Utahns NOT to kill the emigrants unless he was countermanding previous orders? Why didn't he use his powers as territorial governor to hunt down the men who committed this despicable crime? Why did he do nothing to return the stolen property of the 17 surviving orphans? Why did he threaten honest men who called for justice in the matter? Why did he shield the murderers and allow the church's newspaper to blame the crime on the Paiutes for a dozen years after Jacob Hamblin told him Mormons were involved? And why does the *Deseret News* continue lying about Mountain Meadows to this day?

Finally, why has so much evidence been destroyed or purged from Mormon archives, and why has so much evidence been suppressed?

There's one answer to all these questions: Brigham Young ordered the murders as a righteous act of vengeance.

Learning how Eleanor McLean Pratt got to Salt Lake City convinced me Brigham Young "did it." The 12th Mrs. Pratt had buried her polygamous husband Parley in Arkansas the previous May, and she was obsessed with exacting vengeance from his murderers. She believed God's "legions" would "hunt them down in every land & place." With help from Mormon apostles in Missouri, Eleanor arrived in Utah on July 23, 1857, where she allegedly charged that men in the Fancher party had helped her first husband murder Apostle Pratt. She demanded Mormon authorities listen to "the cry of his blood" and take swift vengeance against the Fancher train, which had left Arkansas long before Pratt was killed.

How did the widow Pratt cross 1,500 dusty miles in a mere 21 days?

That question stumped me for years, and like many other Mormon mysteries the clues have been carefully purged from the records of Utah's past. When I learned that Orrin Porter Rockwell, the notorious Mormon lawman and "Danite," had rushed Mrs. Pratt across the plains in record time, I knew what happened at Mountain Meadows.

Why? The great historian Harold Schindler spent 40 years learning everything there was to know about *Orrin Porter Rockwell, Man of God/Son of Thunder* (the title of his definitive biography). Hiding Rockwell's role in expressing Eleanor to Utah from my late friend Hal was evidence that had been carefully suppressed. And "the suppressing of evidence," Andrew Hamilton said in 1735, "ought always be taken for the best evidence."

Brigham Young did it.

No He Didn't.

By Ron Walker

Americans enjoy a good mystery, and they like conspiracies. They are also fascinated by stories of murder and especially murder on a grand scale. It's no coincidence, then, that pulp fiction and Hollywood have used these ingredients—mystery, conspiracy and mass murder—for years. So do some authors who've written about the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

There is a logic to this. It creates a sensation and sells books. But it's not a formula for good history.

Good history must be based on facts. Stubborn facts. Not theories. Not circumstantial evidence. Not historical conspiracies created by authors speculating about the past.

The following are a few facts necessary for an understanding of this terrible event in Western and Mormon history.

Brigham Young tried to stop the massacre.

"In regard to emigrating trains arriving and passing through our settlements," he wrote in a letter designed to restore calm in Southern Utah, "We must not interfere with them." These clear and difficult-to-misread words were rushed to Cedar City after Young received an express from local setters there telling him of pending trouble. Tragically, Young's letter arrived two days after the massacre, despite one of the epic rides in Western history. James Haslam, who rode the 500-mile circuit in six days, recalled, Young "told me [when riding back south] . . . not to spare horseflesh." He didn't.

Copies of Young's letter exist both in rough draft and final draft form. The latter is filed in sequential order in Young's well-preserved and bound letter books. Witnesses later testified about Haslam's dramatic arrival in Salt Lake City, the writing of the letter and its dispatch South. In short, Young's letter must be taken at face value: It was a determined, almost frantic, attempt to stop the massacre.

No credible evidence exists that Young wanted the massacre.

Of course, anti-Young historians say otherwise. For motives, they point to the persecution of the Mormon people and to the earlier killing of Mormon leaders Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Adding fuel to Mormon rage, they argue, was the killing, a few months before the massacre, of Apostle Parley P. Pratt. Pratt had been murdered in Arkansas, where the Baker-Fancher party had its origin. Wouldn't these events have kindled Young's anger and led him to seek revenge? Critics assume, yes.

But history is not assumption. The facts are these: Young spoke out against revenge killings. Justice for his people's wrongs was heaven's responsibility, not his, he said. Nor did Pratt's death stir blood lust. "The seeing of our faithful Elders slaughtered in cold blood," he wrote after his friend's death, is "at times almost to[o] grevious to be borne, but as the Spirit within me whispers, peace be still." This advice was never changed.

Logically, the idea of ordering a massacre as 2,500 U.S. troops marched upon Salt Lake City is absurd. Young was too clever—and too religiously devout—to have destroyed the emigrants and thus irreparably harm the reputation of his people. The crisis of the Utah War demanded that he husband moral authority and public opinion.

Young was not complicit in planning or executing the massacre.

With no additional evidence, some historians have pointed to a Native American council held in Salt Lake City on September 1, 1857. The council sought to create a Mormon-Indian alliance, and to make such an arrangement attractive to the Indians, Young allegedly told them that he would no longer stop them from stealing emigrant cattle on the California Trail.

While this Indian council is important and requires extended scholarly discussion, this much can be said: No evidence suggests the council's focus was the Baker-Fancher party, much less its destruction. No evidence exists that the Indians at the council agreed to attack. Finally, it is also a matter of historical record that none of the Indian leaders at the Salt Lake council were later at Mountain Meadows, except the Southern Ute leader, Ammon, who tried to prevent the massacre.

Evidence exculpates Young.

Because the historical past will always be opaque, historians must seek the weight of evidence, and in this case, the preponderance suggests Young's innocence. Particularly telling is the testimony of those who did the killing at the Meadows. These men later insisted that no orders had come from Salt Lake City, and this testimony included that given by those who in later life left Utah and Mormonism. Some testimony came in private interviews when there was no motive to lie.

Likewise, John D. Lee, the only man convicted of the murders, was repeatedly offered leniency in exchange for incriminating Young—the last offer was made just moments before his execution. Despite a growing bitterness toward his former mentor, Lee refused. "Matters have & are being delayed with design of Cohearce [to coerce] me to Make a statement beyond what I know," he wrote in his diary. But "I am determined by the help of God never to bear false witness against My Neighbour." Later, he complained that those who questioned him wanted lies, not truth. Rather than provide them with what they wanted, Lee "chose to die like a man then [than] to live a villain."

The events at Mountain Meadows do not suggest a conspiracy, and certainly none involving Young.

While several reasons for this statement may be suggested, most persuasive is the ebb and flow of the local decision-making during the weeklong event. In this period, militia leaders at Cedar City and at Mountain Meadows changed their minds several times whether the killing should go forward. They were reacting to events as they took place. Even on the day of the slaughter, couriers were reportedly hurrying from Cedar City—30 miles to the east—to call it off. In short, the massacre is best explained by cascading local events in a setting of extreme excitement and fear. When it was over, men quarreled over responsibility, and many vowed that no one should ever know of their deadly work, including, presumably, Brigham Young.

Young was not a man of violence.

While the church leader's temper and strong words at the pulpit earned him a reputation for coercion, in truth, those who knew him best often spoke of his caution and his abhorrence of bloodshed. Militia orders to the Mormon army carried Young's words on the reverse: "Shed no blood."

"When the books are opened in the day of judgment," declared an associate who was at his side in 1857, "these things will be proven to heaven and earth."

The Mountain Meadows Massacre was a horrible atrocity, and the conduct of some Mormons involved in it was deplorable: strong words from the Tabernacle pulpit, Saints seeking vengeance because of their past persecution, Young's risky Native American alliance, senseless acts by some local Mormon leaders, Utah's troubling episodes of extralegal violence and most awful, the terrible killing at Mountain Meadows. But we only make the tragedy worse by saying that it was something other than what it was—by trying to fit events into a pre-conceived theory of conspiracy. That admonition includes charging Brigham Young with crimes that he did not commit.

Photo Gallery





(Above) John D. Lee sits on his coffin moments before being executed for reportedly ordering the Mountain Meadows attack. (Right) John D. Lee.

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