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Spanish Expeditions Into Colorado*

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I. INTRODUCTION

We customarily associate Spanish explorations in the West with New Mexico, with Texas, with Arizona, or with California, but not with Colorado. Yet Spaniards in the eighteenth century were well acquainted with large portions of the region now comprised in that state. Local historians of Colorado often err by pushing the clock too far back, and asserting that Coronado, Oñate, and other sixteenth century conquistadores entered the state. On the other hand, they fail to mention several important expeditions which at a later date did enter the confines of the state.

An Outpost of New Mexico.—The Colorado region in Spanish days was a frontier of New Mexico. Santa Fe was the base for Colorado as San Agustin was for Georgia. Three interests especially spurred the New Mexicans to make long journeys northward to the Platte River, to the upper Arkansas in central Colorado, and to the Dolores, Uncomphagre, Gunnison, and Grand Rivers on the western borders. These interests were Indians, French intruders, and rumored mines. After 1673 reports of Frenchmen in the Pawnee country constantly worried officials at Santa Fe. Frequently tales of gold and silver were wafted southward to sensitive Spanish ears at the New Mexico capital. But in the main it was Indians who furnished the immediate motive for long expeditions to the north.

The Indian Tribes.—In the Colorado area the Spaniards came in contact with several well known tribes. Nearest at hand to the north and northeast were the Jicarilla and other Apache bands. Beyond the Arkansas in eastern Colorado were the so-called Quartelejo Apaches, who, Bolton thinks, may have been the Arapaho. Still further to the northeast were the Pawnees,

*This study was prepared in the seminar of Professor Bolton at the University of California, and is based on materials in his private collection and in the Bancroft Library.

on the Platte. In western Colorado and in Utah were the Utes. In northern Colorado and Wyoming lived Comanches. Other Comanche bands occupied long stretches of country in northeastern Texas, along the Red and Canadian rivers. Into this Indian country the Spaniards went to trade, to spread the gospel, to pursue runaways, or to punish marauders of the Spanish settlements.

Routes to the Colorado Region.—By three distinct routes the Spaniards of New Mexico of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries found their way north into the territory comprised within the present state of Colorado. The way most often traveled led north from Santa Fe to Taos, then east over the Culebra Mountains, and finally northeast to the valley of the Purgatoire River. From here they proceeded north into the eastern plains of the state. Their return was generally over the same general route. The second route was northwest toward the La Plata Mountains in southwestern Colorado. Occasional expeditions went as far as the Gunnison River; one crossed the state and penetrated to the Great Basin. One official expedition, at least, went north into the territory by way of the San Luis Valley.

II. EXPEDITIONS WHICH DID NOT PENETRATE THE COLORADO REGION (1540-1600)

Coronado.—The first recorded expedition penetrating the region did not occur until about the middle of the seventeenth century. Coronado on his famous exploration went as far north in the pueblo country as Taos.[1] From his camp on the Rio Grande, he explored both west and east. Eastward he journeyed to Quivira in Eastern Kansas. At no time on this expedition did he pass through any of the territory of Colorado. His outward march was far to the southwest into western Texas.[2] On his return he passed through the northwestern parts of the present states of Oklahoma and Texas.[3]

Rodriguez and Espejo.—After Coronado it was full forty years before further expeditions were made into New Mexico. Then in 1580 exploration of the territory was renewed. In that year Fray Agustin Rodriguez, a Franciscan friar, and eleven others explored as far north as Taos. On the return of the expedition, two of the three friars decided to remain in New

[1]Bolton, H. E., "The Spanish Borderlands," 102.

[2]Winship, G. P., "Journey of Coronado," U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th Annual Report, Part I, pp. 572-591.

[3]Baskett, J. N., "A Study of the Route of Coronado," Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. xii, map, p. 224; Hodge, F. W., "Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States," map, p. 280; Bolton, H. E., "The Spanish Borderlands," map 16.

Mexico as missionaries.[4] Reports of the murder of one of them sent another party north in the following year. This expedition, under Antonio de Espejo, arrived too late, for they found both missionaries murdered. The Spaniards were too few to avenge the deed; and Espejo, being primarily interested in mining, pressed on to explore. He penetrated northeast as far as the present town of Pecos and then returned south by way of the Pecos River.[5]

Sosa.—The reports of mines which members of these two expeditions brought back to northern Mexico stirred up adventurous spirits who, without official permission, set out to exploit the new discoveries. One of these adventurers was Gaspar Castano de Sosa.

This Spaniard in 1590 led a colony as far north as Taos before he was arrested and taken back to Mexico.[6] Three years later, Humana and Leyba explored northeast across the great plains. The meagre accounts of their wanderings indicate that they went eastward down the Canadian, then northward into Kansas.[7] In all probability they did not enter Colorado.

Onate.—The next expedition to New Mexico was one of colonization led by Onate in 1598-1601. After the expedition had arrived at the upper Rio Grande, Onate sent exploring parties west. To the north, too, his lieutenants went as far as Taos. Then finally, in 1601, he journeyed east across the plains over the route of Humana and Leyba.[8] This expedition, according to Onate's map, recently discovered, took him as far as the present site of Wichita, Kansas.[9] Finding nothing to warrant the conquest and occupation of the country he returned to New Mexico. So far as we know, down to this time no Spaniard had entered the Colorado region.

III. EXPEDITIONS WHICH DID PENETRATE THE COLORADO REGION (17th and 18th Centuries)

Archuleta's Expedition to El Quartelejo.—The conquest by Onate was the beginning of active colonization in New Mexico. The Spaniards, once secure along the Rio Grande, took steps to strengthen their position. In pursuance of this policy the gov-

[4]Mecham, J. Q., "The Rodriguez Expedition Into New Mexico," 1581-1582, (MS. thesis, University of California, 1917). Also Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Exploration in the Southwest," 1542-1706, 135-160.

[5]Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Exploration in the Southwest," 1542-1706, 163-195.

[6]Hull, Dorothy, "Costano de Sosa's Expedition to New Mexico," in Old Santa Fe Magazine, October, 1916, 307-332. (A paper prepared in Bolton's seminar.)

[7]Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Exploration in the Southwest," 1542-1706, 201.

[8]Hammond, G. P., "Juan de Onate and the Founding of New Mexico," (MS. thesis, University of California Library). Also Bolton, "Spanish Exploration in the Southwest," 199-280.

[9]Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Exploration in the Southwest," 212.

ernor of New Mexico, about the middle of the seventeenth century, despatched to the northeast Juan de Archuleta with some soldiers to bring back some Taos Indians who had fled to a spot afterwards known as El Quartelejo.[10] The location of El Quartelejo has been thought by some students to be in western Kansas.[11] However, the writer is indebted to Dr. Bolton for the information that El Quartelejo was located well within Colorado and that the Kansas location is too far east. An examination of the distances given in dairies and other contemporary documents used in this paper establishes beyond question the correctness of this opinion. This expedition marks the first definitely known penetration of the Colorado region by Europeans. The route followed can only be conjectured.

Uribarri at El Quartelejo, 1706.—Almost half a century later the Indians of the pueblo of Picuries fled, like those of Taos, to El Quartelejo. Accounts vary as to the date: one gives 1696 and another 1704; possibly there were two flights.[12] Juan de Uribarri was sent to recover the Indians in 1706.[13] With him were some forty Spaniards and one hundred Indian allies. One of the party was Juan de l'Archeveque, who, it will be recalled, was one of the murderers of La Salle.[14] He was now a thriving trader of Santa Fe. Uribarri followed the later well known route to the northeast. After leaving Santa Fe he stopped for a short time at Taos. From Taos he moved along Fernando Creek and over the mountains. The mountains were difficult, but he described some pleasant valleys on his way. He seems to have gone as far east as the present Urac Creek, and here, cautioned by friendly Apaches that marauding Indians were ahead, he turned north. The route, now across the spurs of the Rockies which jut eastward in New Mexico, was exceedingly rough. In a few days the Spaniards came to the divide which separates the headwaters of the Red from the tributaries of the Purgatoire River. After a brief stop they began the next stage of their journey to the Arkansas River. Their route was apparently northeast through the Cuchara Pass, west of Spanish Peaks, then along the eastern foothills of the Greenhorn Mountains. They seem to have arrived on the Arkansas in the vicinity of the present site of Pueblo.

[10]Carta de Escalante, in "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," Third Series, part III, p. 125. Also mentioned in Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, vol. xxvii, p. 166.

[11]Hodge, F. W., "Handbook of American Indians," II, p. 337, Article "Quartelejo."

[12]"Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," Ser. III, p. 195, note 1. Bandelier, A. F., "The Expedition of Villasur to the Platte," "Papers, Archaeological Institute of America," Vol. V, p. 182, note 1.

[13]"Diario y derrotero que hizo el Sarg.to mayor Juan de Uribrari de la jornada que executo de orden del S.or Govern.or y Capit. General de este R.no Don Franz.co Cuerbo y Valdes." In provincias Internas, Vol. 36, Archivo General Num.o 4, Mexico (MS. Bolton Collection.)

[14]Bandelier, A. F., "The Expedition of Villasur to the Platte;" "Papers, Archaeological Institute of America," Vol. V., 179-206.

From here, after a short rest, they proceeded east for some five days, traveling sixty or sixty-five miles to El Quartelejo.

Rumors of the French.—On this journey east the Spaniards came upon reports of the French of Louisiana. The Indians told them that far away on the Mississippi white men were supplying their enemies, the Pawnees, with firearms. In proof of their statements they produced a gun, which l'Archeveque and the rest immediately recognized as a French weapon. The Indians said that they had taken this gun from a man and woman, both French.

After the party had arrived at El Quartelejo, Uribarri, with great ceremony, in the name of Philip V, took possession of the country, calling it the "great settlement of Santo Domingo." This picturesque ceremony, as the Spaniard entered it in his diary, is well worth reproduction, but space does not permit. In a week the Spaniards had the runaway Picuries assembled, and when the time for the departure came the Quartelejos bade them all an affectionate farewell. Their return was along their outward route, and they arrived in Santa Fe without incident.

Valverde's Expedition to the Arkansas.—After the expedition of Uribarri, so far as is known, the Spaniards did not again penetrate the Colorado territory until 1719. In that year Valverde, then governor of New Mexico, made an extensive expedition to punish the Utes and Comanches who were raiding the Apache settlements to the northeast.[15] He proceeded as far north as the Arkansas, and possibly as far east as the present town of La Junta or Las Animas. The expedition returned with news of the French, a fact which had important results the next year, but it did little to accomplish its immediate object. In fact, the diary of the governor mentions so many holidays and hunts that the whole proceeding has the air of a huge picnic, rather than that of a punitive military expedition.

The expedition left Santa Fe on the 15th of September. At Taos the governor was joined by Indian allies. On his departure from Taos his force numbered some six hundred men—one hundred and five Spaniards and the rest servants and warriors. Valverde's route, like Uribarri's, was east along Fernando Creek and then over the mountains. Just beyond the ridge he stopped on Cieneguilla Creek, a stream on which Uribarri had camped some thirteen years before. At this point Valverde swung off to the northeast. In the course of a few days he came upon, as did Uribarri, the divide which separates the Red and Purgatoire rivers. During this time he was joined, somewhere, by an

[15]"Diario y derrotero qeu cujio el S.r General D.n Antonio Balvedere Cosio, Govern.or General de este Reyno y Govern.or provincias de la nueva Mexico en la campana que eiecuto contra las naciones Yutas y Cummanchos, 1719" (MS. Bolton Collection).

Apache band under a leader whom the Spaniards called Captain Carlana. Across the divide the expedition camped on the banks of the Purgatoire, apparently near the present site of Trinidad. From here they moved east to pass around a spur of the Rockies, which comes down at this point, and then marched northwestward to the Arkansas along the foothills. On their way they came upon numerous signs of their enemies, and upon each occasion the governor immediately halted to consider what to do. Once in camp the Spaniards and Indians spent their time hunting and eating until the danger had passed. Twice bears invaded the camp in pursuit of the hunters and temporarily ruined the morale of the expedition. In spite of these experiences and a serious attack of poison ivy, the expedition arrived on the banks of the Arkansas River apparently above Pueblo.

After crossing the river they marched northeast to Fountain Creek, where they camped. From this point on their directions in some small details are confusing, but since they traveled in a generally eastern direction and continually speak of a river, we may conclude that they followed the Arkansas and made occasional sallies in search of the Utes and Comanches, for signs of Indians were frequent. During this ten days' march, they had spent two days in camp and traveled in the remaining eight days about one hundred miles. Their halt, therefore, was probably in the bend of the Arkansas in the neighborhood of the present town of Las Animas.

Here they were met by a great concourse of Indians who had come from El Quartelejo. They brought with them recent signs of the French, particularly an Indian who was suffering from a gunshot wound. The governor questioned this Indian and learned that he had been attacked by some French and Pawnees on a river to the north. From the description given this river was apparently the South Fork of the Platte. The governor obtained what further information he could of the affair for his report to the viceroy, and then after a short visit with the chiefs he began his return to Santa Fe. Here the diary abruptly ends, but apparently Valverde reached home safely, for we have later accounts of his activities as governor of New Mexico.

Villasur Sent to Reconnoitre the French, 1720.—Upon his arrival in Santa Fe, Valverde immediately sent his news of the French to the viceroy in Mexico.[16] This report had been preceded by others from widely separated points along the northern frontier. One of them came from a post in Texas,[17] and another from the governor of Parral,[18] who reported that some six thousand Frenchmen were about one hundred and seventy miles from Santa Fe! Valverde's messenger set at rest any fear of immediate danger, but the authorities decided to investigate, and to learn the actual extent of the French and their movements. Accordingly a council of war was held in Mexico in January, 1720, and orders were despatched to Valverde in New Mexico to conduct a reconnaisance of the French position in the northeast.[19].

[16]Valverde to Viceroy, November 30, 1719, Historia tomo 394, no. 8 (MS. Bolton Collection).

[17]Historia, tomo 394, number 36 (MS. Bolton Collection).

[18]Dunn, W. E., "Spanish Reaction Against the French Advance Toward New Mexico," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, December, 1915, p. 352. This paper was written from materials gathered by Bolton in the Archives of Mexico.

The governor waited for the summer months before carrying out the orders, and on the 16th of June, 1720, an expedition under Don Pedro de Villasur stood ready to depart.[20] The story of Villasur's expedition has been told in a general way on other occasions.[21] Besides the material which has formed the basis of these accounts, there has recently come to light in the French archives a fragment of Villasur's own diary.[22] This page was picked up by an Indian, in some miraculous way, and carried to a French post on the Mississippi River, and from there sent on to France.[23]

When Villasur set out from Santa Fe he had with him forty soldiers, some traders, and sixty or seventy Indians. Among the traders was our old friend Jean de l'Archeveque. He was to act as an interpreter should the Spaniards actually find French habitations. A Pawnee Indian, in captivity since early boyhood, also went along to interpret the Pawnee language. One of the party was a priest, who served, no doubt, as chaplain.

At the Forks of the Platte River.—The command left Santa Fe on the 15th of June, but their movements until the middle of August are almost unknown. In view of the fact, however, that there were with Villasur men who had accompanied both Uribarri and Valverde, we may assume that the Spaniards went, in all probability, over the usual route: first to Taos, then over the mountains east, and finally northeast to the Purgatoire River. Their next stop was at El Quartelejo, where they began their long march to the Platte.[24] Early in August they arrived on that stream. According to the fragment of Villasur's diary, the party came to a point which the Quartelejo Apaches regarded as the beginning of Pawnee land. Here they held a council of war and

[19]Viceroy to Valverde, January 13, 1720, Historia, tomo 394, no. 19 (MS. Bolton Collection).

[20]Valverde to Viceroy, June 15, 1720, Historia, tomo 394, no. 28 (MS. Bolton Collection).

[21]Dunn, "Spanish Reaction," pp. 348-362; also see Bandelier, "The Expedition of Villasur," in "Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America," Vol. V, 179-206.

[22]Villiers, Le Baron Marc de, "Le Massacre de l'expedition espagnol du Missouri (11 aout 1720)," in "Journal de la Societe des Americanistes de Paris," Nouvelle Serie, tome xiii, 246-249.

[23]Heinrich, Pierre, "La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indies," 1717-1731," note 3, page 128.

[24]"Autos sobre Comercio ilicito con los Franceses," cited in "Archaeological Institute of America, Papers," V, p. 126, note 2.

decided to continue their search, though they had traveled already some three hundred leagues since leaving Santa Fe.

The Spaniards crossed the stream which they had been following, the Rio Jesus Maria (apparently the South Fork of the Platte), and soon after came to another very large stream which they also followed a short distance. This latter was the North Platte. On the ninth of August their scouts reported that some Pawnees were ahead. Villasur immediately crossed the river; and after a journey of some twenty miles on the 10th, the expedition arrived opposite a Pawnee settlement. Here Villasur instructed his Pawnee interpreter what he wished to know regarding the French and sent him across the stream.

The Spaniards were visited shortly by some of the Pawnees who told him of "other Spaniards"—French, of course. Villasur immediately ordered l'Archeveque to write a letter to the French, which was entrusted to the interpreter. The Indians returned with some old paper, but the writing on it was unintelligible. The Spaniards, thinking that the writers lacked materials, sent back paper, quill and ink, and a letter in Spanish. For two days they awaited a reply, but no Pawnee appeared.[25] Fearing trickery, the little force retreated some twenty-five miles to the river which they had forded on the ninth. Recrossing the stream, they made camp in the tall grass on the southern bank.

Massacre of Villasur's Men.—The Spaniards evidently felt themselves secure from attack; for, though they established a guard, they were not particularly disturbed by the loud barking of a dog and the noise of people moving along the bank of the stream.[26] While the Spaniards slept, Indians were cautiously surrounding the camp, and with the first break of dawn they came down upon the bewildered Spaniards like a whirlwind. When the smoke cleared, l'Archeveque, Villasur, the priest, and thirty-one others lay scalped in the tall grass. Eleven men,[27] at least, escaped and fled back to Santa Fe to tell the news.

From the various sources now available we are now able to determine the site of the massacre with considerable degree of accuracy. The spot was on the south bank of the North Fork of the Platte in the neighborhood of the present town of North Platte.

Bustamente y Tagle's Expedition.—After the disaster to Villasur's expedition, the Spaniards made no entries into the Colorado region, so far as is known, until about the middle of the century. Some time before 1750 the Indians to the northeast again

[25]Valverde to Viceroy, October 6, 1720, Historia, tomo 394, nos. 29-35 (MS. Bolton Collection).
[26]Testimony of Aguilar and Tamariz, Provincias Internas, tomo 37, Expediente No. 1, f. 6 and f. 7. (MS. Bolton Collection).
[27] "Ibid," f. 6.

became restless and Bustamente y Tagle made a punitive expedition down the Arkansas.[28] What his route was, however, the account is too meagre to determine.

Rivera's Expedition to the Gunnison.—After the turn of the half-century the Spaniards directed their attention northwest across western Colorado into the Great Basin and north into the San Luis Valley. The mines in the northwest, rumored by Indians, first attracted the Spaniards to the La Plata Mountains. Governor Tomas Velez Cachupin despatched, probably in 1765,[29] an expedition northwest to examine the territory.[30] The party was commanded by Don Juan Maria de Rivera. On leaving Santa Fe, Rivera marched to the northwest along the foothills of the San Juan Mountains. In the canyons of the La Plata they secured some samples of ore and then moved on to the Dolores River. From the Dolores they crossed to the San Miguel. We next catch sight of them going eastward across the Uncomphagre Plateau, whence they descended to the Uncomphagre River. Following this stream, they came in a few days to the Gunnison, where one of the men "carved on a limb of a cottonwood a cross and the characters which tell his name and the year of his expedition." The return was probably over the same route, though we have no information of their further activities.

Expedition of 1775.—In 1775 some of the men who had accompanied Rivera, penetrated to within a three days' journey of the Gunnison River.[31] Whether or not this was a private venture or an official expedition is not known.

The Russian Danger and a Route to California.—In 1776 the story of Spanish activities on this northern frontier took on a new aspect. For many years the Spaniards had been unmolested, but now her vast dominions were threatened on the Pacific Coast by the expansion of Russia and England. Consequently Spain took active steps to guard her possessions by occupying Alta, California. Settlements were made in this territory to hold the intruders out. San Diego was founded in 1769 by Portola and Father Serra. Other presidios and missions were established to the north, culminating by 1776 in the founding of San Francisco. With the establishment of these posts the necessity of land communication developed immediately. To establish this expeditions were made from Pimeria Alta (Arc Una) by Juan

[28]Bolton, H. E., "Athanase de Meziere and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780," I, p. 48.
[29]Hill, J. J., "The Old Spanish Trail," in "Hispanic-American Historical Review," Vol. IV, no. 3, Aug. 1921, p. 446, note p. 446.
[30] "Diario y Derrotero de los RR. PP. Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y Fr. Silvestre Velez de Escalante" in "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," segunda serie, tomo I, p. 389.
[31] "Ibid," pp. 409-410.

Bautista de Anza and Father Garces.[32] No satisfactory route was discovered, so it was suggested that an effort be made by going north from Santa Fe and then west to Monterey. With this in view, two friars, Dominguez and Escalante, in 1776 set out on their remarkable journey.[33] The friars did not accomplish their object, but the story of their struggles over the mountains and canyons and their wanderings unarmed among the Indians of western Colorado is one of the epics of the Southwest.

The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition, 1776.—The expedition set out from Santa Fe in July, 1776. With the padres were twelve companions, several of whom had been with Rivera as far as the Gunnison. On the way northwest to the La Plata Mountains they crossed many of the streams that flow southward from the San Juan Range. Of these streams and the delightful spots which they marked out as sites for future Spanish cities, they left many charming pen sketches. Their first entrance into the boundaries of the present state of Colorado seems to have been in the vicinity of Caracas.

On the 14th of August, from their camp on the Mancos River, the little band climbed northwest over the low spur of the La Plata Mountains and descended into the valley of the Dolores River. The next week they struggled painfully through the rocky defiles of the Dolores, but finding, finally, that the route was impassable, they decided to turn northeast and search for the Sabuaganas Indians, whom they knew to be in that direction. From their diary they evidently left the Dolores near the mouth of Gypsum Canon (Canon de Yeso, they called it), and their route from this point took them over the mountains to the San Miguel River. This was a hard journey, and left their horses with bleeding feet. Along the San Miguel they spent two days, working their way west, and then climbed the Uncomphagre Plateau. On the summit they met an Indian whom they employed as a guide, and soon after they began the descent to the Uncompahgre River by way of Dallas Creek.[34]

Following the footsteps of Rivera they continued down the Uncompahgre to the Gunnison, arriving on that stream near the site of the present town of Robideau. The condition of their horses' feet here forced them to despatch the guide to the Sabuagana rancheria. He returned the next day with some guides, and the party moved off to the northeast. A day and a half's

[32]Bolton and Marshall, "Colonization of North America," 384-392.

[33]Powers, Hazel, "The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition into the Great Basin, 1776-1777," translation of the original documents with Introduction and Editorial Note (MS. thesis, University of California Library, 1920). This is the best identification of the explorers' route ever made.

[34]Professor Bolton, who examined the route of the friars with the Diary in hand, has identified this stream as the one by which the party made its way down from the plateau.

journey brought them to the settlement. These Indians tried in various ways to dissuade the Spaniards from continuing. But the padres, after a short stay, again took up their route. This took them across the upper waters of Plateau Creek to the Grand River. They arrived upon the Grand in the neighborhood of Battlement Creek.

The next stage of their journey was northwest to the White River. Their travel was over a very rough and broken country. By accident they stumbled upon a canon which led them straight through to the White River. This high-walled defile was probably Douglas Creek. They called it The Painted Canon because of some Indian tracery on the walls. They pitched their camp on the north side of the White River, in the vicinity of present day Rangly.

From this point, on the 10th of September, they took up the last stage of their journey within the present bounds of Colorado. Their route was still to the northwest, and they evidently passed out of the state by following the plain that skirts the foot of the Blue Mountains. From here they continued west to the Green River and camped on that stream about opposite the point where Brush Creek flows into it.

The details of the padres' exploration from this point on do not fall within the scope of this paper, but it seems advisable to sketch them very generally. From the Green River they traveled west as far as Utah Lake. From here they turned south to the Sevier River and halted near the present town of Mills. Their next stop was in Beaver River Valley. This swing to the south from Utah Lake had been for the purpose of seeking a passage through the mountains, but at this point the lateness of the season and the heavy snows which crowned the mountain peaks persuaded them to abandon the search and return to Santa Fe. Their route now south took them to the Virgin River, and then east to the Colorado River, which they forded at the Crossing of the Fathers. They went southeast through Zuni, and after a two weeks' stay went on to Santa Fe, arriving there on the 2nd of January, 1777.

This expedition unquestionably ranks as the outstanding exploration of the western part of Colorado in the eighteenth century.

Anza's Expedition Through the San Luis Valley, 1779.—Three years after this remarkable expedition, Juan Bautista de Anza, of California fame, but then governor of New Mexico, led a military force north into the San Luis Valley and east over the mountains.[35] The purpose of this expedition was to punish some

[35]"Documentos para la historia de Nuevo Mexico," II, 861-922 (MS. Bancroft Library).

Comanche Indians who, under their leader, Cuerno Verde (Greenhorn), had been murdering Spanish settlers. In August, 1779, Anza and his army of six hundred and forty-five men left Santa Fe. Their route, northwest over the Rio Grande and then north, took them across many small streams in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado until they again came to the Rio Grande in Colorado. The diary mentions the streams Las Nutrias, San Antonio, Conejos, Las Jaras, Los Tumbres (Rio Alamo) and San Lorenzo (Piedra Pintada Creek), all of which are easily identifiable today. Apparently they crossed the Rio Grande near Del Norte.[36] From here they proceeded north [37] along the foot of the main range to a point where they were able to cross over to the headwaters of the Arkansas near Salida.

Soon after they effected the crossing, they came upon the Comanches and inflicted a severe defeat upon them. The region is now immortalized by the name Greenhorn Mountains. After this they recrossed the mountains, by what pass it is not at all clear (possibly Sand Hill), and then returned to Taos along the western foothills of the Culebra Range.

The expeditions are part of the great story of Spanish expansion, and furnish the background of the region which was later cut off to become the state of Colorado.

IV. CONCLUSION

The foregoing expeditions of Archuleta, Uribarri, Valverde, Villasur, Rivera, Dominguez-Escalante, and Anza, all penetrated the Colorado region. Probably Bustamente y Tagle crossed some part of the territory. The expeditions of Coronado, Rodriguez, Espejo, Sosa, and Onate did not enter the territory. With the above conclusions in mind an examination of the histories of the state of Colorado reveals some interesting facts. The writers of these histories err in misunderstanding the significance of the expeditions; they err, too, by including in their story expeditions which never entered the region, and, more seriously, by neglecting others which did contribute to this early part of Colorado history. Mistakes are made, also, even in a general way, concerning the movements of the expeditions which they say rightly did penetrate the region. These errors arise, of course, from the faulty sources upon which the accounts are based. It can readily be seen that the history of these Spanish expeditions must be written in the light of the diaries and other records kept by the Spaniards themselves.

[36] Hill, J. J., in "Hispanic American Historical Review," Vol. IV, no. 3, August, 1921, 458.
[37] "Ibid.," 459, foot note 30.

Further Archaeological Research in the Northeastern San Juan Basin of Colorado, During the Summer of 1922

BY J. A. JEANCON AND FRANK H. H. ROBERTS

Pottery of the Pagosa-Piedra Region

BY J. A. JEANCON

(Concluded from the September Number)

Another feature is the triangular filling of the corners of the panels. In the Pagosa-Piedra region the inner margins of the triangular fillings are fluted (large pitcher, Plate 19, C) and dotted in the other (small pitcher, Plate 19, C). In the Jemez Plateau wares the inner margins are mostly straight, and often dotted on the straight line.

A curious coincidence is the single specimen found by Dr. Fewkes at Sityatki in 1895 showing a typical Jemez Plateau filled triangle in the corner (Fig. 21).[18]

The mixed rectilinear and curvilinear elements are of great importance and interest as they express a transition from the wholly rectilinear to the curvilinear elements. The large pitcher (Plate 19, C) affords an excellent study of three different types of design and elements, beginning at the top with a simple checkerboard, and suddenly displaying a highly sophisticated interlocking design in the middle, and then following below with a design which might well belong to a totally different part of the country.

The large open-mouthed olla is another remarkable piece (Plate 19, B). If the design had been applied horizontally instead of vertically as it is, we would have another example of a highly sophisticated elaboration of the simple triangular corner. It seems to the writer that these groupings of design elements are not accidental nor the similar expressions of persons in widely separated areas in different culture periods. It does not necessarily mean that individuals actually came in contact with each other, but would seem to indicate that the simple grouping of the elements began in one or possibly two localities and were carried to other areas by the individuals who passed them on to their contemporaries or their descendants. This is all the more proba-

[19]Fewkes, J. Walter. Expedition to Arizona in 1895. 17th Ann. Bureau of American Ethnology. Plate CXXXVII.

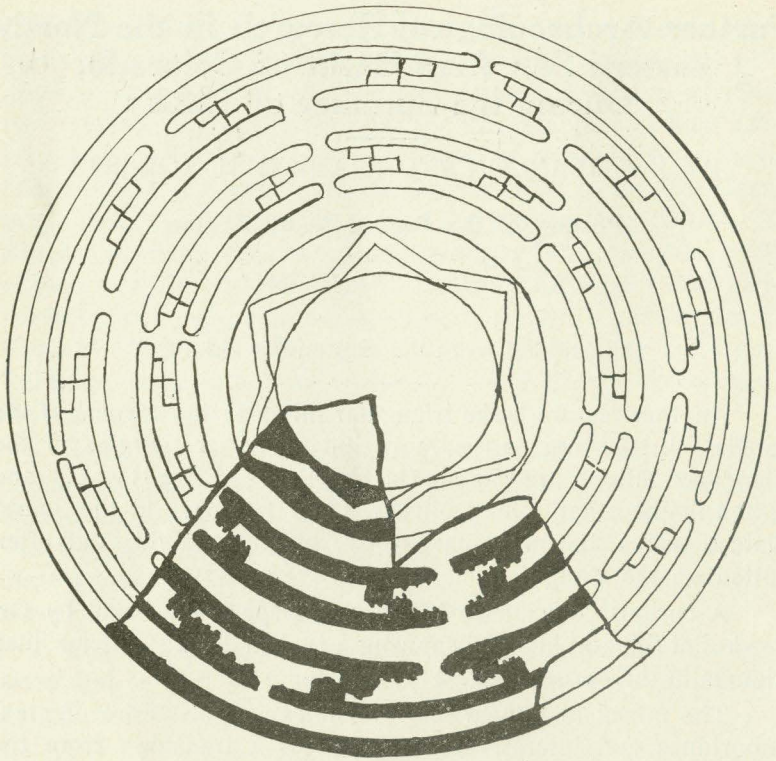


Figure 28. Black on White Bowl, With Deep, Straight Sides, Badly Burned.

ble as the areas under discussion were all occupied at consecutive periods and not simultaneously. The finding of a jar with the filled triangle and peculiar arrangement of oblique lines and dots at Sikyatki is not a surprise, as Dr. Fewkes demonstrates that the founders of that village originally came from the Jemez Plateau.[20]

Bladder-Shaped Water Jar

The bladder-shaped water jar which was found in fragments in the large ruin on top of the Chimney Rock mesa and which has since been restored is shown on Plate 19, D. It is one of the most unique and interesting specimens ever seen by the writer.

The paste is made of a very fine grained, dark grey clay with most excellent temper. The white slip is, where not discolored by contact with fire or other agencies, of a brilliant white with a slight undertone of bluish black. It originally had a very high polish which had almost the appearance of a glaze. The black pigment with which the design was painted is a deep jet black with an ultramarine undertone. The form is unique; at a glance

[20]Fewkes, J. Walter. Designs on Hopi Pottery. 33rd Ann. Bureau of American Ethnology.

it appears to be one of the conventional duck shapes, but a little study shows that it is almost an exact form of a bladder or water-skin. This is emphasized by the placing of the neck, which is a little to one side of the upper part of the forepart, just as the duct of an animal bladder is placed. It is a masterly piece of workmanship and is easily placed in the last period of the series.

The design is one of the most complex ever seen by the writer. The curious continuity of the elements following each other without interlocking and yet with a definite connection one with the other, affords an example in the psychology of the evolution of design that is a most interesting problem. Certainly no novice evolved and executed this arrangement of simple elements, and it would be difficult for those of us now living to imagine the process that brought about such a result.

Mountain Sheep Figurine

While there have been a number of new objects and forms in ceramics found in the Pagosa-Piedra region, there is one piece that is by far the most nearly unique of all. This is the figurine of the mountain sheep made of the black on white ware. It measures eight and one-fourth inches in height, six and one-half inches in length and is four and one-half inches across the breast (Plate 12).

The color is a good white on a slip which is firm and even. The black pigment used to paint the design is excellent and rather in contrast to some of the pigment used on other black and white pieces of the same period. The slip is somewhat marred in places by a smudge caused by smoke during the firing of the piece. The design consists of a series of seven wavy lines running horizontally around the body just above the hips and up onto the breast. Around the neck are two straight horizontal lines somewhat after the fashion of a collar. Above the horns are three wavy lines. In the middle of the back is a most curious design which is a combination of a key and straight lines (Fig. 29).

The figurine is hollow and originally had a handle attached to the rear of the head on the side over the body. Short portions of the handle are still in place but the rough edges were smoothed off and show that the vessel was used after the handle had broken off. The function of this figurine was undoubtedly ceremonial.

Its appearance is most lifelike and a very fair portrayal of the animal. Figurines of this kind are very rare in the San Juan Basin. Mr. Earl Morris found likenesses of deer at the Aztec ruin of New Mexico and in 1909 a jug was obtained by the University of Utah from the Montezuma Canon, southeast Utah, which represents a prairie dog seated on his haunches. It is also

made of the black on white ware, but the design is of a very different character and is typical of the Montezuma Canon black on white ware.[21]

While Dr. Walter Hough found a number of pottery figurines in the upper Gila Valley, they were none of them as fine and well made as the one we found. They were all solid, and not hollow.[22]

Solid clay figurines are more or less common all through the ruins of the prehistoric Pueblos, but these are always crude and not to be compared with the prairie dog and the mountain sheep mentioned above. We also found a solid figurine of a bear which is shown on Plate 9. In Mr. Frank Hamilton Cushing's report on Zuni fetishes, he refers to the mountain sheep as the food animal of the west and being under the control of the Coyote and Bear Prey God.[23]

Pipes

The collection of pipes shown on Plate 9 is most unique. They were found with a burial which we believe to have been intrusive and of a late period. This burial was in a pithouse of the fourth period and my reason for thinking that it was intrusive and of a later period is that on two sides of the room, back and right side, were walls of sandstone slabs, well dressed and laid up in the manner of the later periods.

The pipes are of a very rough paste, with quite large sand content, but still very hard. As far as can be determined at present they were not covered with a slip of any kind, but simply smoothed off and possibly slightly polished. They are all more or less crude and clumsy.

The largest one measures ten inches in length, the opening in the bowl is one and one-half inches by one inch. It is oval instead of round. The next one is seven and three-fourths inches in length, the opening in the bowl being roughly one and one-fourth inches. The third has a double bowl and is seven and one-half inches in length, the bowl opening in each being one inch in diameter. These are the only bowl openings that are really round. The smallest elbow pipe in the group is three and three-fourths inches in length and the bowl opening roughly three-fourths of an inch in diameter. The cloud blower or tubular pipe is two and five-eighths inches in length and about one and one-eighth inches in diameter.

[21]Cummings, Byron. Ancient Inhabitants of the San Juan Valley. Bull. University of Utah, Vol. III, No. 3, part 2.

[22]Hough, Walter. Culture of the Ancient Pueblos of the Upper Gila. Report of the U. S. National Museum. Bull. 87. 1914.

[23]Cushing, Frank Hamilton. Zuni Fetishes. 2nd Ann. Bureau of American Ethnology.

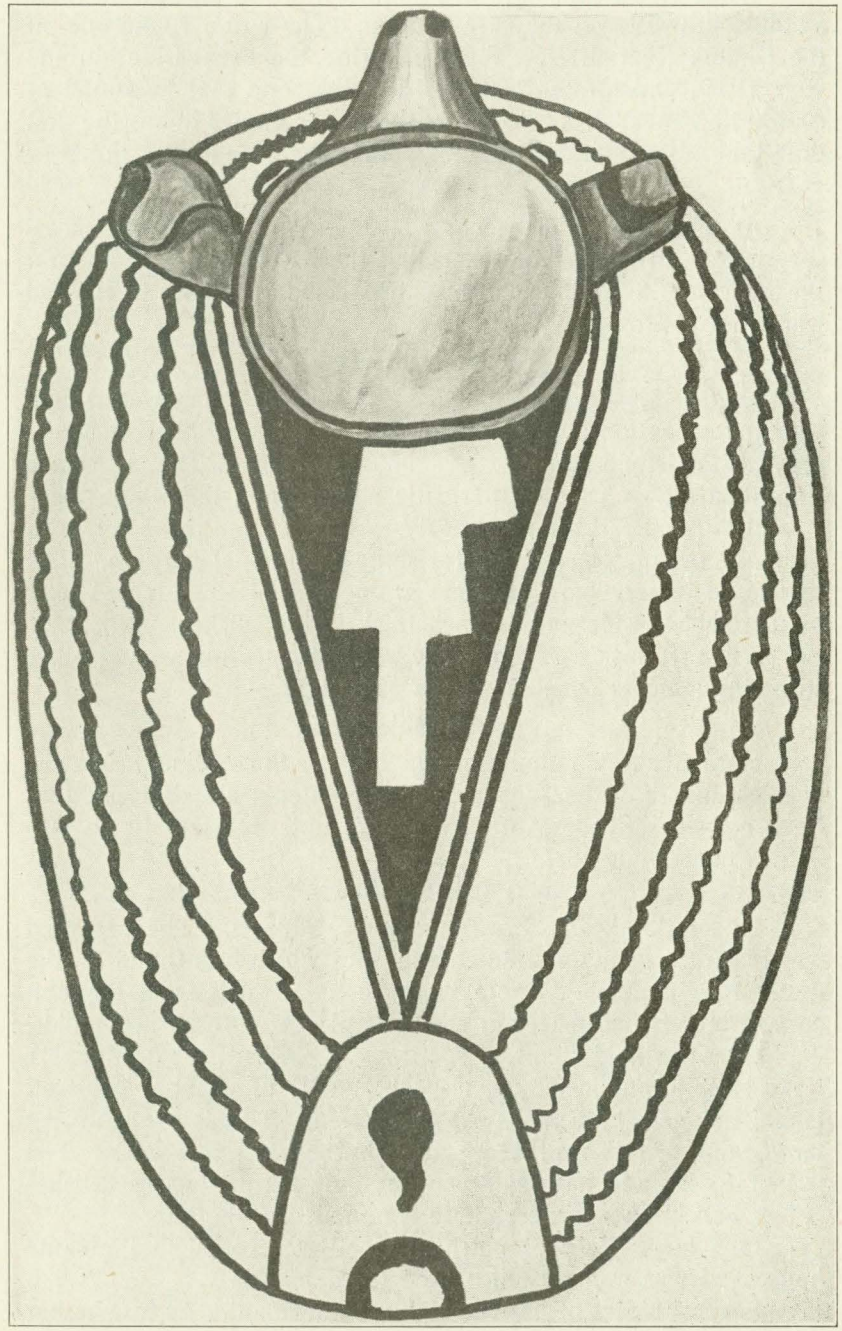


Figure 29. Design on Back of Mountain Sheep Figurine.

While elbow pipes are not unknown in the prehistoric ruins of the southwest, yet they are unusual. The writer found one on the Chama river in New Mexico during the excavations in the year 1919, and Mr. Earl Morris describes one that he found at Aztec, New Mexico.[24]. As far as the writer knows this is the first time that more than one elbow pipe has been found at a time.

Red Ware

As the red ware has been dwelt upon already it is not necessary to add anything more than that the native red ware has not the rich coloring or fine finish which seems to belong to the red ware that is intrusive (Plate 13, F).

Stone Objects

Under this head nothing of any special value was found, with the exception of a double bitted axe head. This is made of grayish sandstone and was of unusual form. The sides are smoothed off so as to be perfectly straight and the whole piece is well finished. It seems almost too fine a piece to be for ordinary use and may have been for some ceremonial purpose. The sandstone is very hard and fine grained. It is 5½ inches long by 2⅛ inches wide and ¾ inch thick in the thickest part.

Aside from this piece the axe heads, mauls, manos and other stone implements were all of the usual type.

Bone Objects

Here again we find nothing out of the ordinary. Awls, needles and the other perforating implements are of types that have been described so often that it is not necessary to go into details concerning them.

Fossil Fetishes

Under this head were found many objects. The best find was that of a medium sized cooking pot which was found on the upper Pargin ranch. There were about 35 articles in the pot, comprising: two fossil clam shells, 9 pieces of fossil ammonids, 2 pieces of crinoid stems, 8 sperifers, 2 pieces of chalcedony, 1 large piece of pumice stone, 1 sheet (small) of selenite, 5 miscellaneous stones, 1 duck-shaped concretion. This is probably the largest find of fetishes that we made in the two years work. The use of fossils and natural eccentric stone formations as fetishes is too well known to necessitate comment at this time.

One large piece of petrified wood was found in the same house and was probably also used for a fetish.

Several pieces of native sulphur were found. As to whether this was to be used medicinally or otherwise we are unable to say.

[24]Morris, Earl H. The Aztec Ruin. Anthro. Papers. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Vol. XXVI, pt. 1, page 26.

Summary

Owing to the lack of specimens and the limited knowledge of the local distribution of the wares and types it is too early to give more than a tentative basis for discussion of the pottery of the Pagosa-Piedra region. That the study of the ceramics of this region is important goes without further saying and, as the function of this paper is only a preliminary presentation of the subject, it must necessarily be a simple statement of the actual finds and comparisons where such can be made. The diversity of expressions of the potters' minds is most remarkable in the small number of pieces found. So far, we have practically nothing to indicate that the advancement in the knowledge of ceramics was either slow or fast, suffice it to say that there was a greater advance in the decorative features than in any other phase of the work. This is indicated by finding primitive forms decorated with the most elaborate combinations of simple design elements and a limited knowledge of temper and pastes, which is shown by the asymmetrical forms which would not have occurred if a fuller knowledge of these points had been possessed by the potters. What length of time was consumed in making these advances we have no way of telling.

Taken as a whole the writer feels that the study of the ceramics of the Pagosa-Piedra region will be one of excellent results when we have more material to draw from, and that possibly a new light will be shed upon some of the migration myths of the Tewa through this study.

My Experiences in the First Colorado Regiment

By R. B. Wallace, Marshalltown, Iowa.

Last August Mr. H. W. Jennings of Marshalltown, Iowa, visited the State Museum. He asked to see the flag of the First Colorado Regiment.

"I have a letter from a splendid old gentleman back home who was in that regiment," he said, and handed me a letter. In part it read: "Among other things in the museum is the Regimental Flag of the 1st Colo. Vols. It is sealed up in a glass case, spread out full bigness, and shows many **Bullet holes** in it. I was very **close to it** when that was done. Powder Smoke was thick and Bullets were thicker. When I go to Denver I **always** go and stand before that Flag, hat off, and not a dry eye in my head."

I was keenly impressed. I asked to have the letter for our files and the request was granted. I immediately wrote to Mr. Wallace and asked if he would be kind enough to give us an account of his experiences in Colorado. Some time after we received a very interesting manuscript written in Mr. Wallace's own hand writing, which we publish herewith.—L. R. Hafen.

Marshalltown, Iowa, September 11, 1924.

L. R. Hafen, Historian and Curator,
Denver, Colorado.

Dear Sir:

At your request I will try and write a little about my personal experiences as a member of the First Colorado Volunteers and some other pioneer items as I found them there. I will have to write altogether from memory as I have no written reminiscences to help me.

I left old Vermont in April, 1861, bound for Pike's Peak. I reached St. Joseph, Missouri, which was the end of the railroad west at that time. I found Ben Holliday's Stage Line. All old Concord coaches ran from there through to San Francisco by way of Denver. A stage was started out every morning. I engaged passage to Denver, price $75.00. The stage ran day and night, 100 miles every 24 hours. Stage stations every 15 or 20 miles. Changed horses at every station, which was done quick, too. Reached Denver in 6 days and nights. Got off the stage at the old Tremont House, tired. I wanted to get to French Gulch as I had a brother there who owned some claims on that gulch. Found a team that was going to South Park. Had to take the trail from there and carry grip. Arrived in Georgia Gulch first day. This was about the best gulch, Placer Diggins, known at that time. Reached French Gulch next day. This was a long, wide gulch, 12 feet to bed rock and not much 'pay dirt.' We opened a claim in Gibson Gulch. Not much pay there either. My brother and I started back for Iowa. When we got to Denver I found they were raising the First Colorado Volunteer Regiment. I enlisted in Company K on October 8th. About one-third of the population of Colorado at that time were Southerners and they were raising soldiers, too. A rebel flag was raised in Denver one day, but it did not float long.

Barracks for our regiment were built about a mile up the river from Denver. We drilled twice a day until February and were about perfect in company or battalion drill. We were ordered to New Mexico to meet the Texas Rangers and started February 22nd, 1862. The results of the campaign are a matter of history and it is not necessary for me to repeat it. It was sure strenuous from the word "Go." While we were in New Mexico all the Indians on the plains from Julesburg to California went on the "war path." I do not know how true it was, but it was said that the South furnished them arms and ammunition. The Indian war kept a large number of soldiers from the Southern front. Our regiment was ordered back from New Mexico to

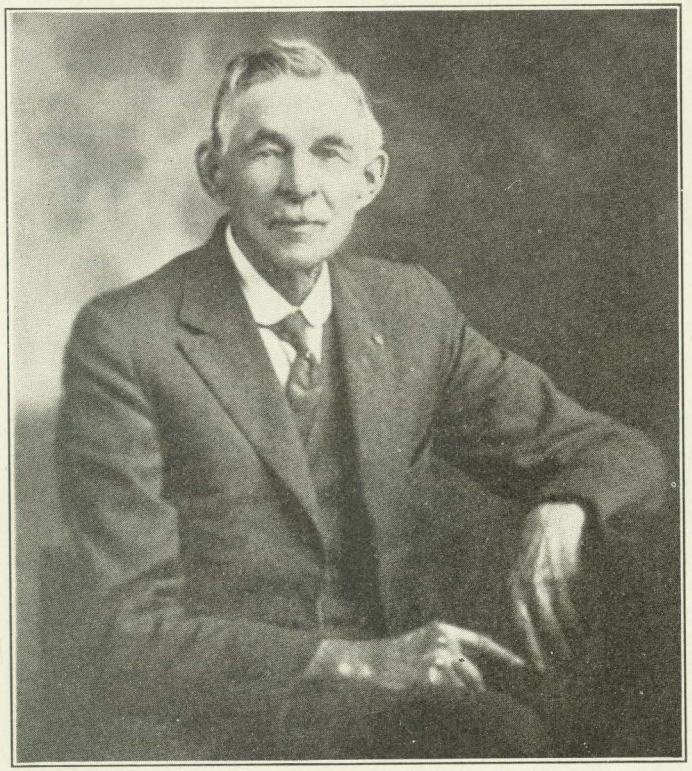
R. B. Wallace, From a Copy of a Photograph Taken in Denver in 1862, Upon Return From the New Mexico Campaign

Colorado and we were mounted. Horses were bought in the East and sent to Colorado City. We drew our horses and took on the cavalry drill right there. The regiment was scattered all over the country, one company in a place to protect the citizens. Company K was ordered to Denver. Our beloved Col. Chivington was placed in command of the Department of Colorado and the whole department was put under martial law.

A provost guard was detailed, two men from each company, besides two sergeants and the provost marshal, Capt. John Wanless. I was on the detail from our company. If there were any robbers, thieves or outlaws spotted, the provosts went and got them. We always managed to get the drop on them. No one likes to gaze into the muzzle of a cocked revolver, and they would "stick 'em up" quick. The police were discharged and the provosts ran the town. Freight trains came in frequently and the teamsters had a habit of going on a spree when they got to Denver, and of painting the town red. They didn't care for police.

They tried that on the provosts just once. I had been on the guard about six months when the provost marshal came to me one day and says, "Wallace, I have got a job that **must** be done and I don't feel like detailing anyone and telling him he must do it." I asked him what the job was. He says, "Company B is stationed on the south side of the Platte River just opposite of where the Caschelakodre [Cache la Poudre] River empties into it, about 75 miles away. The Comdz. officer wants to get dispatches to Captain Logan ordering his company here to Denver. It is likely that Indians are camped on the river and there may be several camps. Do you feel like undertaking the job?" I replied, "I will try it, Captain. I have a horse that can go some, and he has good wind for a race, if that should be necessary." He says, "Get ready and come to my office at dark. You must be 75 miles from here before daylight."

I saddled up, examined my revolver carefully and reported at Captain Wanless' office at dusk. He came out and handed me the dispatch and buckled his revolver to my saddle and says, "You have 12 shots now. Save one for yourself, you know." I says, "Yes, Captain," and rode away. It was an unwritten law among us never to be taken prisoner alive by the Indians, for that meant death by torture. "Save one shot for yourself." I wanted to make as good time as possible but not to overdo my horse on the start. I kept on until I thought it must be past midnight (I had no watch). I could see that the trees along the river just ahead came up to the bluffs, rode into the bluffs and went around that place and two more afterwards. After I got back into the road from the last detour, I could see the morning star in the East and knew it would be daylight in less than an hour. I didn't want to be caught on that road in daylight. I made the next five miles on the gallop. I could see the sun shining on the top of Long's Peak. I thought I heard something, slowed down to a walk. I could hear a bugle—the sweetest music I ever heard. I knew that meant the bugler in Company B was sounding reveille. I was safe and soon came to camp. Found the captain's tent and delivered the dispatches. The captain called his orderly, told him to rub down my horse and, when cooled off enough, to water and feed him. Told me to go and get breakfast with the boys, after which he came over, had the company fall in and read the dispatches to them, then ordered them to have tents struck and wagons loaded, all ready to start in 30 minutes. He gave me a horse to ride that day and I led mine. In the afternoon we passed through one of the places that I went around, and, it was plain enough to be seen, hundreds of Indians had been camped there the night before.



R. B. Wallace as He Appears Today

The captain asked me how I ever got through that place. I told him "I got through by going around it."

We got to Denver next afternoon. I went to the marshal's office and reported Company B all present in Denver or accounted for. Then he asked me all about my trip. He says, "When you rode away in the darkness that night, I did a very unmilitary act. I came back here and sat down and cried." The captain was good-hearted but all business just the same. He made a good provost marshal.

I served about nine months as provost guard. My company was sent to Ft. Lyon, 240 miles south of Denver on the Arkansas River. I asked to be relieved from provost guard duty, as I wanted to get back with the boys again and do company duty. My request was granted.

Was at the Battle of Sand Creek (40 miles northeast of Lyon), where about 500 Indians were killed. We rode all night and came to the Indian camp at daybreak. Was in many smaller fights. We were ordered to the Platte River to help guard the

stage line. The company was scattered out to different stage stations, about 15 or 18 men at a station for escort duty. Four men were sent with every coach, two riding about 100 yards in advance and two in the rear. Would ride west to next station and return with next coach east. The coaches had to be guarded clear through to California; about 20 men (infantry) also at each station. These were mostly "galvanized Yankees," we called them, Southern prisoners that enlisted in our army to fight Indians only. They were not asked to fight their own people.

I had been promoted to sergeant and was in charge of our escort station, called the Wisconsin Ranch, about the third station east of the Junction.

The war ended in April, but we had to stick until regulars could be enlisted to relieve us. My company was mustered out October 26, 1865, four long years and 19 days of service.

Four of us boys bought a mule team and went up to Black Hawk, chopped and hauled wood to the Black Hawk mill for three years.

I like the West and the Western people. They say what they mean and mean what they say, mostly. At least, they used to.

The Grave of Chief Ouray

By Florence E. Whittier, Denver, Colorado.
Photographs by Wm. L. Tisdel, Denver, Colorado.

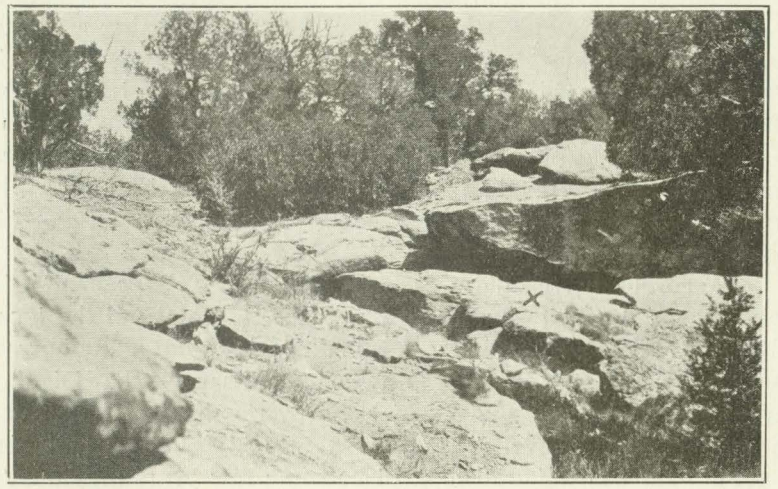
Ignacio, Colo.—That Chief Ouray, the West's greatest Indian statesman and signer of the famous Ute treaty, was buried at Ignacio has been definitely established by Buckskin Charlie, chief of the Southern Utes and successor to Ouray.

With the location of the grave proved, E. E. McKean, superintendent of the Consolidated Ute Indian Agency at Ignacio, announced that he would request the federal government to appropriate $1,000 for the erection of a monument to Ouray's memory. Mr. McKean also said he would request the government to arrange for the burial of Queen Chipeta, wife of Ouray, who died August 16 at Bitter Creek, in the Indian cemetery here. The remaining bones of her husband have been unearthed from their rocky sepulchre south of town and will be reburied in the Indian cemetery. It is Mr. McKean's plan to bury the famous

Indian couple side by side and to place an iron railing around their last resting place to guard the proposed monument.

Chief Ouray died at Ignacio, August 24, 1880. Ouray came to Ignacio with Queen Chipeta and her brother, Chief McCook of the Ouray and Uintah bands, to confer, along with the lesser Ute chiefs, with four commissioners sent from Washington to arrange for the payment of the money due the Utes for their hunting grounds. But before the commissioners arrived from the home of the "great father," Ouray took sick and died of kidney trouble.

At that time the Indians were still living in tepees and the scene of Ouray's death is marked by the present water pumping



General View of Ouray's Grave, Looking East. The Exact Spot is Under the Rock Marked. It Faces Down the Arroyo Toward the South and the New Mexico Line.

station at the Consolidated Ute Indian Agency north of Ignacio. So says Buckskin Charlie, himself now past eighty years of age, who repudiates the rumor that Ouray is buried in the San Miguel mountains and that only Chief McCook knows the exact spot.

Ouray was buried about two miles due south of Ignacio under a huge rock at the head of an arroyo. The exact spot is known by at least three Indians living today—Chief Buckskin Charlie and Colorow, both living at Ignacio, and Chief McCook, brother of Chipeta. These three Indians were among those present when Ouray was buried. Both Buckskin Charlie and Colorow agree where the grave is, and others of the older Indians refer to these two men when asked "You sabe where Ouray is buried?"

The location of the grave is also known by Babe Watts, nephew of Buckskin, and by L. M. Wayt, a white merchant of

Ignacio, who for twenty years has lived here and has won the confidence of the Indians through his fair dealings with them.

Two Ute chiefs were buried under the same rock, according to Chief Buckskin—first, Suvi-tah-ah, chief of the Capotas, a band of Utes; then Ouray, big chief of the Utes, who died "maybe forty-six years ago."

According to the Ute custom, the burial place of Ouray was kept secret and it was only after much persuasion that Chief Buckskin Charlie was induced to share this secret of a few old men of his tribe with any white men. However, all these years there have been stories current at various times to the effect that Ouray was buried in the San Miguel Mountains. If he has heard these tales, Buckskin Charlie has only smiled, for he knew better.

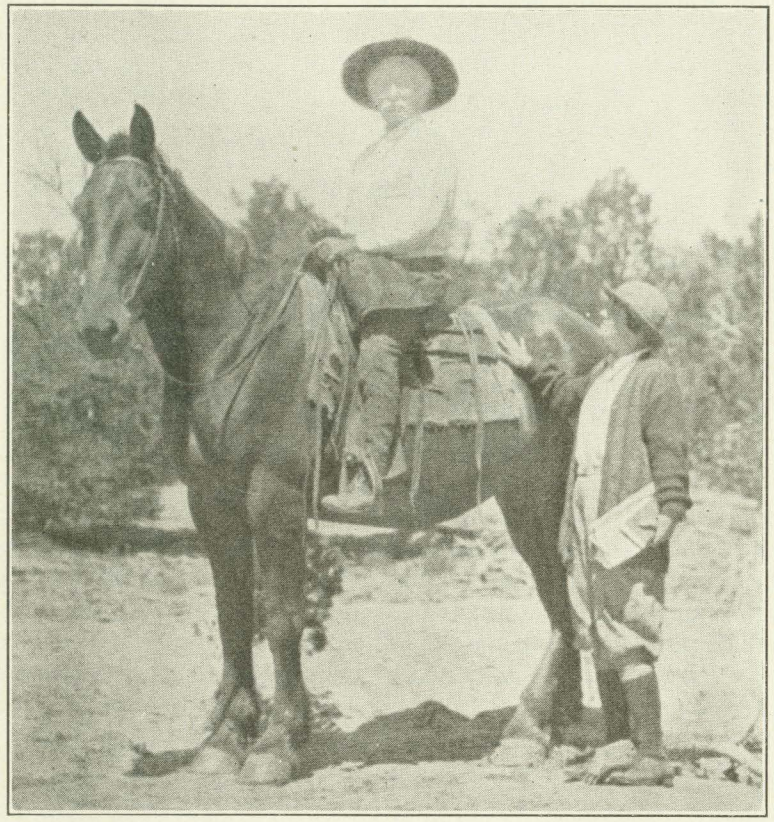
About a year ago, when there was talk of erecting a monument to the memory of Ouray on proof of the location of his grave, L. M. Wayt, the white trader already referred to, talked the matter over with Buckskin, who reasoned as follows:

"Me getting old. Me soon lie down and die. Me like see monument for Ouray in Ignacio. Ouray good friend of white man. You know. You say you help get monument Ouray. All right, me tell secret burial place."

Accordingly, the old chief sent his nephew, Babe Watts, to whom he had previously shown the grave, to point out the location to Mr. Wayt. The two men found near the spot many horses' bones scattered over the nearby boulders and sagebrush. Digging around the huge rock under which Ouray was buried, they found human bones, believed to be those of Chief Ouray or Chief Suvi-tah-ah, whose burial took place some few years previous to that of Ouray. Two shoulder blades, two ribs and an arm bone were unearthed. These Mr. Wayt and Babe Watts reburied close by, pending a time when they should be transferred to the Indian cemetery north of Ignacio.

When the news of the death of Chipeta reached the ears of Ignacio's 290 people, Chief Buckskin Charlie was again asked to divulge the burial place in order that Queen Chipeta's body might be brought down from Bitter Creek in Utah to be placed beside her husband's remains in Ignacio. Buckskin Charlie saw the wisdom of letting the world know where the mighty Ouray was buried and he hearkened to the advice of his good white friend, Mr. Wayt, and consented to show the spot to a reporter and photographer.

With Buckskin Charlie leading on horseback and Mr. Wayt, through whose influence the interview was obtained with the sagacious chief, following in an automobile with the newspaper couple, the four made the pilgrimage to the grave of Ouray on



Buckskin Charlie Upon His Horse. With Him is Mrs. Tisdel

August 21, 1924. Going out of Ignacio by the south road, they then went up the hill to the right of the Denver and Rio Grande station, up a winding road to the other side of a hill where runs a creek.

Leaving the auto, the three whites on foot and the old chief, riding straight as an arrow on his splendid saddle horse, the party made its way over an old deserted road, then left the road toward the south through sagebrush. Sagebrush changed to evergreens —pinon, pine, and cedar—then reverted again to sagebrush. Another group of evergreens led to an arroyo where rocks of huge proportions formed a jumbled mass.

The chief dismounted, tied his horse to a tree above the arroyo and climbed down to the large rock under which he says Chief Suvi-tah-ah and Chief Ouray were both buried. Despite his years, which he says are "maybe 87," Buckskin Charlie clambered spryly over the rocks in the arroyo which he had not visited for about five years. He climbed under the huge sepulchre rock,

from the side opposite that from which the body was originally interred, and tried to find more evidences of the once human frame of Chief Ouray or Chief Suvi-tah-ah. But water and time have changed the arroyo. Other parts of the two bodies and the blankets, with which they were covered instead of a coffin, have disintegrated and washed away. Earth has filled in and the arroyo has deepened with the years.

Mr. Wayt found the spot where, a year ago, he and Babe Watts reburied what human bones they could find under the sepulchre rock, which was the grave of Chiefs Ouray and Suvi-tah-ah. These bones were photographed and then brought back into town to be preserved by Mr. Wayt until such time as they might be given a final burial place in the Indian cemetery at the agency of the Consolidated Ute tribes north of Ignacio.

One of the photographs shows Chief Buckskin Charlie with L. M. Wayt pointing to the rock under which Ouray was secretly buried nearly half a century ago. His gesture bespeaks the secret which has baffled those interested in locating the grave during the years which have intervened. For the first time the world is now being told what many have been curious to know. The Indian, first American of all, has broken his traditional silence.

The very words which Chief Ouray uttered on his deathbed were repeated by Chief Buckskin Charlie, whose memory is as clear today as forty odd years ago on the details of Ouray's departure for the happy hunting grounds.

"Me sick, me die. You stay here, you and other Utes. No go on run. Charlie, you understand, you take care of Indians. When me die, you chief," Ouray told Buckskin Charlie.

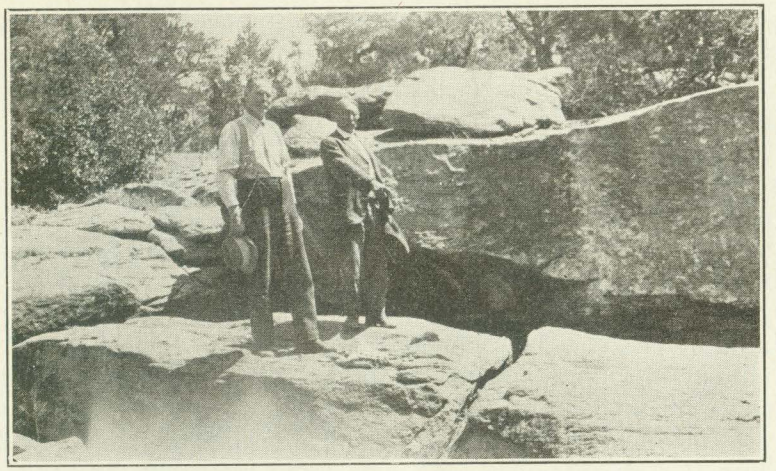
"Summer all right here. Winter lots of snow. You first see commissioners. You get money. You sign," Buckskin Charlie further quotes the dying Ouray.

"Me say all right," Buckskin Charlie quotes himself as saying to Ouray, who further advised the chief of the Moaches:

" 'Count thirty days. You go to Pagosa Springs. Money come. You get money for your people.' Ouray tell me other Utes at Navajo Springs say no want money. Capota chief say all right."

Buckskin Charlie went on in his reminiscences to tell how Ignacio, another Ute chief, for whom the town of Ignacio was later named, didn't want any money for his people at first, "but when money come, then he want."

Three horses belonging to Ouray were killed at the grave, according to the old Ute custom of sending a man's horses and saddle to the happy hunting grounds with him. "Three horses were killed, two here, one here. That one spotted horse," Buck-



Buckskin Charlie Pointing to the Grave. With Him is L. M. Wayt

skin Charlie pointed out. And sure enough, within a few feet of the spot indicated may be seen the bleached bones of horses today. The saddle was torn to bits and scattered near the grave and pieces of leather have been picked up and carried off by white people at various times.

In those days it was customary to pay the Indian chief in cash and the chief distributed the money among the families of his band. The money was sent from Washington in kegs and payments were made exclusively in gold. Nowadays the Indians get their monthly payments of interest on the money for their lands bought by the government by check.

Of the four commissioners sent here to negotiate with the Utes, Buckskin Charlie remembers General Curtis, who could talk the Ute language, said to be the most difficult of Indian tongues, and another military man, "big soldier," as Buckskin Charlie calls him, named Hatch.

Both Ouray and Buckskin Charlie, it may be said here, are half Ute and half Apache. Ouray's mother was an Apache. His father was a Ute; so with Buckskin Charlie also.

Many rumors in regard to Ouray's death have sprung up, but it has been proved beyond a doubt that Ouray died in Ignacio and that he was buried south of Ignacio.

There are numerous Indians who recall Ouray's visit here. Nanese, a Ute with one arm amputated because of blood poisoning, and himself older than Chief Buckskin Charlie, remembers Ouray. When shown the picture recently printed in a Denver newspaper of Ouray and Chipeta photographed in the seventies

in Denver, Nanese recognized them immediately. "Ouray, Chipeta," Nanese said, pointing to each.

Dick Charlie, younger than Nanese and Chief Buckskin, says he was a boy "when Ouray die," but he too "sabes Ouray."

One of the unconfirmed stories regarding the burial of Ouray is that about Chipeta throwing into the Pine River the sack of gold which Ouray left her.

For years old timers in Ignacio have known the approximate location of Ouray's grave, for the story has been handed down by those who knew Pony Pollock, employed as the post trader on the reservation, how Pollock saw a group of Indians go with the body of Ouray towards the south and how after being gone about three hours they returned.

Some ten or fifteen years ago Jake McJunken found a skull which was later hung up on a tree near the arroyo, where the grave originally was. This skull can no longer be found. About the same time and place, Happy Amarine found the bones of a human leg which he brought to town and put in his house. The house later burned down. Bill Bryan, now a merchant in Ignacio, but formerly a sheep herder, came across some horses' bones and bits of leather near the same spot some years ago.

For years, it is said, an old Indian, Pawuche, guarded the hill where Ouray was buried. This Indian had been known to chase boys over the hills for miles at the point of his trusty Winchester when he suspected them of trying to dig up Indian graves, particularly the graves of the two chiefs. Pawuche died half a dozen years ago.

Queen Chipeta has visited Ignacio numerous times during the forty odd years that have elapsed since her famous brave passed away. A niece of hers lives here today.

A peace pipe bag which belonged to Chief Ouray is in Ignacio today. It is now owned by an old Indian by the name of Owat-Paquan, who says he got it from his mother. The bag is of real buckskin with long red fringe and beautiful bead work decoration.

Seeing the picture taken of Ouray and Chipeta fifty years ago in Denver, Chief Buckskin Charlie volunteered a description of the clothes worn by the famous couple. These clothes, lavishly beaded on buckskin, were supposedly sent to Washington by the Indian agency following Chief Ouray's death, Buckskin Charlie says. Some day, he adds, he is going to find out whereabouts in Washington these historic garments are.

Meanwhile, Chief Buckskin Charlie, with the co-operation of his white friends, Superintendent McKean and L. M. Wayt, is interested in seeing that a monument is erected in the Indian cemetery at Ignacio to the memory of Ouray, "big chief" of the Utes and friend of the white people.

Ouray's Peace Pipe Bag