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## TRAILS, TRADE, AND WEST-CENTRAL COLORADO'S GATEWAY TRADITION: ETHNOHISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS

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### ABSTRACT

*The term "Gateway tradition" has been invoked by others to describe and attempt to taxonomically classify some regionally atypical Formative Era archaeological sites in west-central Colorado. This paper summarizes the ethnohistory of the territory ascribed to the Gateway tradition and demonstrates that it enfolds a critically strategic trail system. This system includes the primary access routes to the three most important travel gateways between the Continental Divide and the Colorado River canyons below Moab, Utah. These topographic gateways connected the Southwest culture area with the remote interior to the north of the Colorado River. The gateways are on the Colorado River at Moab, Utah, at the Colorado's confluence with the Dolores River, and on the Gunnison River at Delta, Colorado. The peoples responsible for the Gateway tradition were situated where they might well have controlled/regulated access from the greater Southwest to and perhaps through these critical gateways. From this strategic location they could also have easily exploited, for trade and subsistence purposes, local deposits of salt and the substantial herds of mule deer, elk, and other large mammals in the region. They thus could have readily obtained quantities of salt, dried meat, and tanned hides as well as varied other commodities funneled to them by peoples to the north and south of the Colorado River. A combined ethnohistorical and archaeological perspective suggests that the Gateway tradition very likely developed from horticulturists who were also specialized hunters and traders within an indigenous nation-to-nation trade system. Regardless of what physical, linguistic, or ethnic background its people may have come from, the evidence suggests that it is highly predictable that just such a specialized, or even a hybrid, culture would have developed in precisely the region where it is today recognized by archaeologists. The author closes with a brief exploration of some of the mechanisms that may have led to the development of the Gateway manifestation as described by others.*

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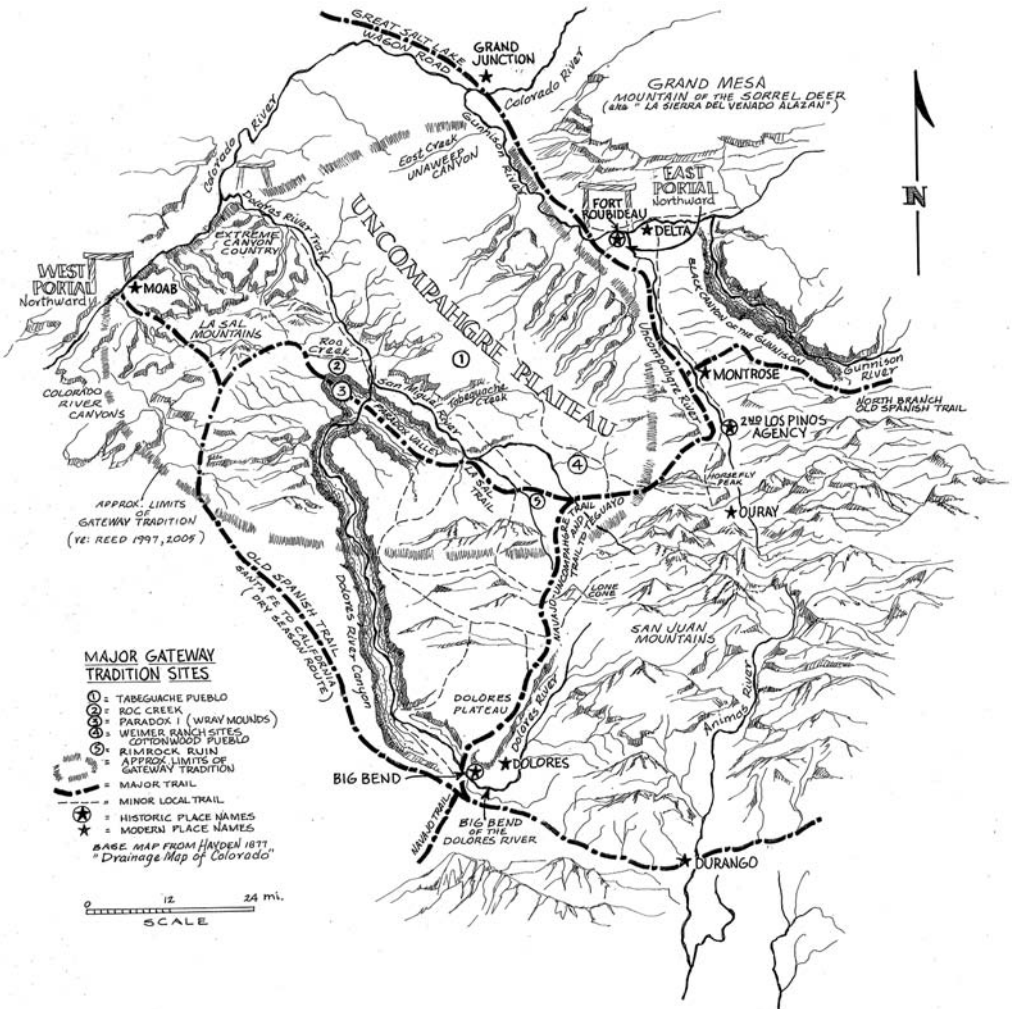
## SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

The term “Gateway tradition” has been used to describe a series of Formative Era archaeological components located in and about the Paradox Basin<sup>1</sup> of west-central Colorado (Figure 1) and extreme east-central Utah (Reed 1997; Reed and Metcalf 1999:131). While this author here writes as both an ethnohistorian and archaeologist, he has not been involved in any of the previous research relative to the Gateway tradition. He has never held any particular professional interest in it and has no plans to deal with the subject beyond the scope and objectives outlined herein. This paper is a serendipitous outgrowth of the author’s ongoing ethnohistorical<sup>2</sup> research into the protohistoric<sup>3</sup> and historic Ute-speaking peoples and related early travel narratives of west-central Colorado. When the many years of this research finally began to bear fruit it became obvious that much of what had been learned was also relevant to understanding the Gateway tradition. The author thus felt professionally obliged to summarize the regional ethnohistory and offer his views on its archaeological implications. These observations will hopefully be of assistance to those who are directly involved and/or more interested in the subject.

This article only briefly summarizes the archaeological data pertaining to the Gateway tradition. It does not attempt to evaluate or discuss that database in any detail. Its scope is intentionally focused on discussion of historical, topographical, and environmental data as they pertain to the human occupation of the region of the Gateway tradition as it has been defined by others from limited archaeological data. The regional topography and natural history did not change appreciably over time. They thus held major implications for all people living in the region from deep in prehistory up through the ethnographic present.

This article also attempts to demonstrate a close concordance between the strictly limited regional travel routes and the territory and sites ascribed to the Gateway tradition (Figure 1). Another objective is to use the ethnohistory to demonstrate that, like the later Utes and Paiutes of the region, the Gateway peoples were very strategically placed relative to these routes and may well have regulated/controlled or otherwise been able to take utmost advantage of travel and trade through them within a widespread pattern of nation-to-nation trade. The existence of such a pattern is demonstrated in the region in the eighteenth century and would almost certainly have had antecedents in prehistoric times as well.

The article then works to explain this pattern of nation-to-nation trade and the commodities that it would likely have been sending through the Gateway tradition territories through time. From this basis it is possible to suggest that the Gateway tradition peoples may well have been specialized traders and hunters or even a hybrid culture that would display the kind of regionally atypical attributes attributed to them. Because of its strategic location, it is not surprising that such a culture would develop in precisely the area ascribed to it. A final objective is to briefly explore, in an initial and inquiring manner, what general mechanisms may have been involved in the development of the atypical Gateway archaeological cultures.



**FIGURE 1:** Map showing the locations of some key Gateway tradition sites in relation to regional topography, the major north-to-south travel gateways, and the associated primary aboriginal travel routes. Based on modern and period maps including Hatch (1879) and Hayden (1877a, 1877b, 1877c). (Copyrighted map of 2007 courtesy of Centuries Research, Inc.)

**OVERVIEW OF THE GATEWAY TRADITION**

This overview recaps Alan Reed’s basic description (Reed 1997; Reed and Metcalf 1999:131) of the Gateway tradition and some further details that he and others have recently added to our understanding of the phenomena. It only briefly comments on his and others’ characterization and interpretation of the database and how they believe it supports definition as an archaeological tradition. It is, however, obvious that the manifestation is indeed something that is “different” from other regional Formative Era archaeological cultures and that

there are appreciable, and perhaps very significant, differences among its components. As the entire embracing entity described by Reed it has to date failed to reflect the profiles of either the classic Anasazi or Fremont as archaeologists have commonly come to know them.

McMahon (2000, 2004, 2007), Reed (1997), and Reed and Metcalf (1999:131–140) have summarized the history of research in the area of the proposed Gateway tradition, its database, and the evolution of the various interpretations regarding it. Cathy Crane (1978) is to be credited with first suggesting that the manifestation was regionally atypical. Reed (1997) followed up on her views and has since applied the term “Gateway tradition” to it. Reed has tentatively placed the date range for the manifestation between about 400 B.C. and A.D. 1250 when at least some corn horticulture was being practiced in the area. The following attributes have been relied upon by Reed in his characterization of the Gateway tradition:

- Limited reliance upon corn horticulture.
- Manufacture of small corner-notched projectile points, such as the Rosegate series.
- Procurement through trade [of] small quantities of Anasazi, and much less frequently, Fremont ceramics. Such trade with the Anasazi may have occurred primarily during the period between A.D. 900 and 1050. [It is now known that at least some production of Anasazi ceramics was undertaken locally by the Gateway population (L. Reed 2007)].
- Apparent lack of ceramic production. [See comment above.]
- Habitation of circular and rectangular masonry surface structures. In a few cases, rooms may be contiguous.
- Possible habitation of pit structures.
- Relatively short-term use of habitation structures, as indicated by shallow middens.
- Construction of granaries and storage cists in rockshelters.
- Rock art with both Anasazi and Fremont influences.

(Reed 1997; Reed and Metcalf 1999:131)

On the basis of the evidence to be presented herein it is believed that the following additional and quite important attribute can be added to the description of the Gateway tradition.

- The sites are located within the Paradox Basin in the near vicinity of documented primary trails. These trails were the only reasonably accessible ways for people to pass through the basin’s rugged topography. Their location near these routes may readily have allowed Gateway peoples to control or otherwise regulate access to the three regionally critical travel gateways leading from the Southwest culture area to regions northward beyond the Colorado River. These were on the Colorado at Moab, Utah; the confluence of the Colorado and Dolores rivers; and the Gunnison

River at Delta, Colorado. The Gateway peoples also had ready access to, and perhaps control over, local deposits of salt. They could also readily harvest, and/or manage trade in, the bountiful wild game resources, such as the meat and hides of deer and elk, of the La Sal Mountains, Uncompahgre Plateau, and Gunnison Basin and perhaps even areas beyond them. Because of their so highly strategic location, the potential existed for the Gateway peoples to broker trade within an indigenous nation-to-nation system. This trade could have involved virtually any pre-historic commodity, including human slaves, which topography might have funneled through their territory.

Todd McMahon (2000, 2004, 2007) has challenged Reed's reading of the data and believes that his Gateway tradition is no more than another variant of the quite heterogeneous archaeological cultures commonly referred to under the generic term "Fremont." The only real quibble between the two viewpoints seems in large measure to be in just what to call the manifestations. Reed has to date held to his view that it is a separate archaeological tradition and not simply another sub-tradition of either the broader Fremont or Anasazi ones.

The venerable concept of "archaeological tradition" is fundamental in the lexicon of prehistoric studies. It has long had specific meanings, uses, and implications (Willey and Phillips 1958:35–39). Archaeological traditions have usually been defined only after plentiful and well-executed excavation data sets have been obtained and evaluated. They are usually not defined from quite minimal data sets such as Reed relied upon in first defining the Gateway manifestation as such a tradition (Reed 1997). He may or may not have been correct in referring to it as a separate tradition so early in his research. If time proves that he was correct, then his early "hunch" regarding these sites may well have paid off.

The appropriateness of Reed's early use of the term "tradition" might thus be challenged as more data and understanding are acquired. Such issues are, however, far beyond the scope and intent of this paper. Reed and those other prehistorians who are both well acquainted with the database and involved with its study will hopefully further ponder heavily on this question. If the sites ultimately prove to be specialized Anasazi ones, then the entire complex would simply be a sub-tradition of the Anasazi archaeological tradition. The core of the present paper is largely dependent on Reed's (Reed 1997; Reed and Metcalf 1999) interpretation of the nature and extent of the Gateway tradition. Despite lingering issues involved in the use of the term "tradition," it thus places some considerable confidence in his reading of the available data.

McMahon (2000, 2004, 2007) suggests that the manifestation specifically referred to by Reed is best considered as a unit of the "Gateway Variant," or essentially a slightly attenuated expression of the Colorado variant, of the widespread Fremont Culture of Colorado and Utah. It is though seemingly neither highly developed classic Fremont nor Anasazi. The nature and degree to which the Gateway Tradition sites appear to depart from other Fremont manifestations/variants does not, however, seem to this writer to be any more than are already well known from other regions. This variation itself is a primary and

commonly known attribute of the Fremont. Recent research has indicated that at least some of the Gateway peoples actually had much stronger connections to the Anasazi than previously recognized (L. Reed 2007).

Sites that Reed attributed to the Gateway tradition occur in low frequencies throughout much of the rugged Paradox Basin (Barrs 1972:59–72) in San Miguel, Montrose, Delta, and Mesa counties of Colorado and seemingly in extreme east-central Utah. Their actual numbers do not appear to be known but the sites have to date appeared to cluster in western Montrose County in the vicinity of the Paradox Valley and the Dolores and San Miguel rivers. The more complex sites that Reed relied upon in postulating his Gateway tradition include Paradox I, Cottonwood Pueblo, Tabeguache Pueblo, and the Roc Creek sites (Figure 1). Reed and Emslie (2008) have recently further summarized and evaluated a number of other Gateway sites in terms of their research potential. All of these are in Colorado.

Figure 1 shows the boundaries of the Gateway tradition as postulated by Reed. It also shows the locations of some of these key sites in very general relation to the critical travel routes discussed herein. Most of these routes have never been precisely mapped and it might today prove very difficult to do so. There has thus been no close rectification of the site locations and trails. One should not, however, anticipate that all of these sites would be directly beside the trail traces themselves.

The extent to which Gateway sites have actually been recorded in extreme eastern Utah is not known to this writer even though Reed has indicated that such sites exist there (Reed 1997; Reed and Metcalf 1999). Reed's boundaries for the manifestation are generally the Colorado River on the north, the west side of the Uncompahgre Plateau on the east, and the extreme eastern area of Utah east of the Colorado on the west. The ambiguous south boundary would seem to be the northern periphery of the Anasazi culture area. This is very roughly approximated by the dividing line between Dolores and San Miguel counties.

## **THE GREAT GATES AND REGIONAL TRAVEL ROUTES**

Prior to the introduction of the horse the aboriginal landscape of all of North America was crisscrossed by an intricate network of ancient pedestrian trails. Like the primitive roads and modern highways that were commonly built over it, this network contained major arterials and junctures as well as a variety of more local routes. Through this system Indian traders, messengers, emissaries, hunters, and war parties traveled far and wide, often by running. Running allowed them to cover great distances with impressive speed.<sup>4</sup>

Trails were usually established in keeping with the dictates of topography and often followed local drainage patterns. Baker (1991, 1995, 1998, 1999), Hibbets et al. (1979), and Huscher (1939) discuss these in reference to western Colorado. The most easily traveled routes were commonly along natural ridgelines and valley bottoms. The side slope contours of valleys were also utilized when the bottoms were, as was very commonly the case, choked with beaver ponds or heavy vegetation. Smaller local trails spiked off of the main ones to

reach into virtually every topographic nook and cranny a person might envision. Big game and human trails were commonly one and the same.

At about the same time that the Gateway peoples were occupying their territory, major and complex Formative Era puebloid settlement systems (aka "Anasazi") were focused in and about the famous "Four Corners" region where Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah adjoin (Cordell 1997). This region and the other areas of the Southwest where Formative Era puebloid cultures flourished was a harsh landscape of mountains, deserts, dry rim rock, and deep rocky canyons. Despite their own impressiveness, these features were and still are dwarfed by the great natural east- to west-trending mountain wall formed by the Southern Rocky Mountains' Sangre de Cristo, San Juan, and La Plata ranges. These mountains combine with the great escarpments of the Colorado Plateau and the Colorado, San Juan, and other deep river canyons to form a bold and essentially unbroken front nearly 500 miles long from east to west.

From prehistoric through historic times this front insulated regions to the north of the Colorado River, including the legendary Native American province of Teguayo on Utah's Wasatch Front, from the peoples of the Southwest.<sup>5</sup> The front contains some of the deepest and most rugged canyons and chasms in the western United States as well as a mass of alpine mountain ranges where peaks over 14,000 feet are commonplace. Every pedestrian travel route had to be delicately threaded through this imposing landscape. There were very few places where the topography was relaxed enough to permit any easy access to the distant regions to the north of the Colorado River.

By the eighteenth century Native American pedestrian travelers had developed all of the then existing Indian trails through and beyond the great wall. Most of these were difficult for pedestrians and entirely unsuitable for horses. A person on foot could certainly, but with comparative difficulty, eventually navigate the great canyons and mountain heights at a few points. The bigger the load, the harder the trip would of course have been. Native Americans certainly sought the easiest available routes to travel and carry out commerce and other activities. Accordingly, the easiest such routes were thus also the easiest ones for horses to travel.

The first great obstacle for both pedestrian and equestrian travelers headed northward to the Colorado River and beyond was thus simply to skirt the mountain portions of the great wall. This had to be done before they confronted the great canyons of the Colorado River and its tributaries below Moab, Utah. They also had to avoid the tributary side canyons on the north side of the San Juan River. Once the mountains were skirted, a second major natural barrier still shielded the regions north of the Colorado. This was formed by the deeply incised canyons of the Colorado River and its Gunnison River tributary (Figure 1). The truly great chasms formed by these rivers created a very effective moat beyond the great mountain wall. This extended westerly from near the Continental Divide in Colorado for some 250 miles before it became the truly ominous Glen and Grand canyons of the Colorado in Utah and Arizona. This moat could readily be breached at only three places where Mother Nature momentarily softened the topography enough to allow

for narrow gateways by which people could travel north or south beyond these rivers.<sup>6</sup>

These gateways were on the Colorado River at Moab, Utah; at the confluence of the Dolores River and the Colorado; and the Gunnison River near Delta, Colorado (Figures 1–6). These respectively formed the west, middle, and east gateways to Teguayo and the other regions northward beyond the Colorado. The swift rivers at these locations could only be safely forded at low water after the spring run-off from the mountains had ceased. Mountain snows and fast, swollen, and often deeply encased rivers thus limited pedestrian and particularly equestrian travel to a few months of late summer and fall in this region. Topography funneled all traffic headed to regions north of the Colorado toward one or the other of these three river crossing points.

The trails leading to the great gateways at Moab and Delta eventually became the routes of the region's primary modern highways. The very difficult route down the lower Dolores Canyon to the Colorado was ultimately abandoned by all but the most intrepid of hikers. This author has not yet been able to determine if horses can be taken all the way to the Colorado by this route or if the Colorado can be readily forded once it is reached. It is possible to exit the canyon of the Colorado near the mouth of the Dolores (Figure 6). It appears that there has never been even a rudimentary road all the way down to the Colorado from the confluence of the San Miguel and Dolores rivers. There was for a time a four-wheel drive route part way down the canyon but this has now been blocked off by the Bureau of Land Management. At best this would have been a very challenging way to get to and across the Colorado River.

To the north of these three gateways there were still the many more mountain and canyon defenses that would have to be overcome in order to reach Teguayo and beyond. The 1776 account of Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante (Auerbach 1941, 1942; Bolton 1950; Chavez and Warner 1976; Miller 1976) discusses these and their own successful efforts to surmount them.

The Moab and Delta gateways were the ones that became important when people began to use horses and mules to travel north beyond the Colorado (Figures 1–5). To date their importance has been badly overlooked in discussions of the regional prehistory and history. They were, however, every bit as important, or perhaps even more so since their numbers were so limited, than the “Great Gates” formed by the many high passes of the Rocky Mountains as so eloquently discussed by Marshall Sprague (Sprague 1964). These many passes generally permitted travel between the areas to the east and west of the Rocky Mountains or from one mountainous region into another.

The Delta and Moab gateways, which allowed north-to-south travel west of the Continental Divide, became so important that they may correctly be referred to as “extremely critical” to all regional trade and transportation. The two main trails leading from the Southwest culture area toward the narrow Colorado and Gunnison gateways, as well as the old Dolores Canyon route (Figures 1–5), sprang from a critical trail junction immediately south of the “Big Bend” of the Dolores River in the vicinity of Dolores, Colorado.



Potential travel routes through the great wall were even more restricted once horses began to be used in the region in the eighteenth century (Baker 2005, 2008; Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007). All efforts to skirt the west end of the mountain wall and search for the Colorado River, Teguayo, and other northerly areas thus pitted horses against some of the most difficult, unforgiving, and then wholly undocumented topography in the American West. Early Spanish explorers such as Juan María Antonio de Rivera in 1765 (Baker 2008; Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007; Leiby 1985; Rivera 1765; Sánchez 1997) and Fray Domínguez and Father Escalante in 1776 (Auerbach 1941, 1942; Bolton 1950; Chavez and Warner 1976; Miller 1976) were able to skirt the great wall at only one point during their travels into the Uncompahgre-Gunnison Basin.

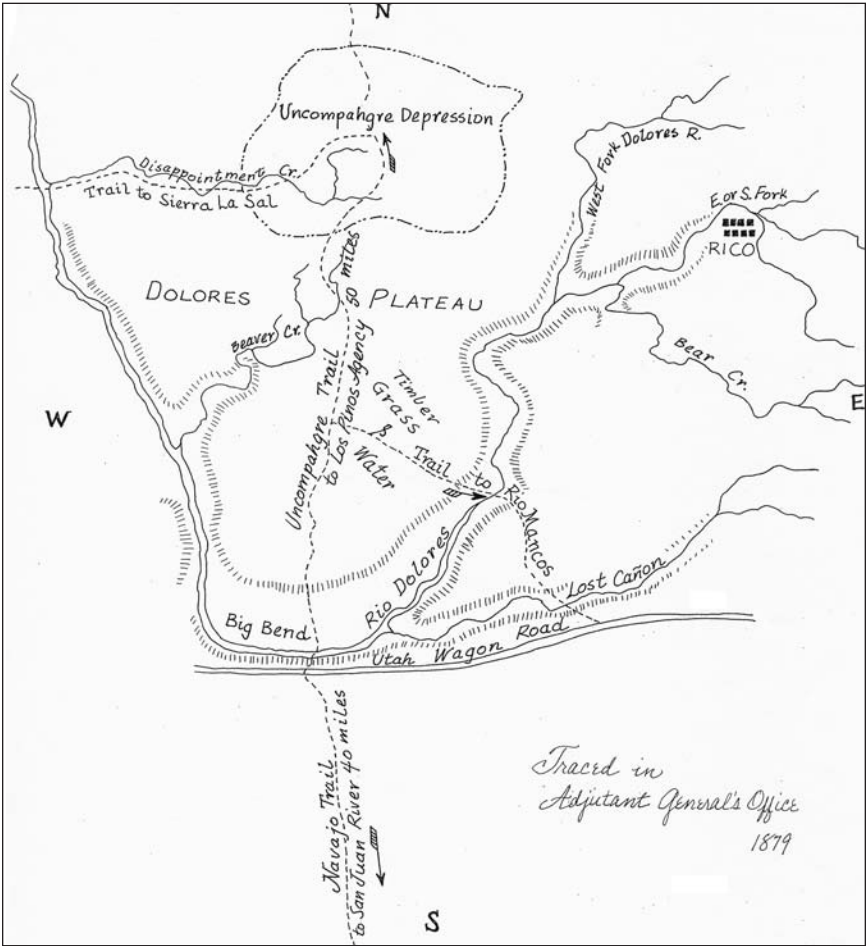
This point was the trail juncture just south of the Big Bend of the Dolores River deep in the combined Ute and Paiute territories (Figure 1). It is today approximately marked by the junction of Colorado Highways 184 and 145. From the Big Bend, Rivera followed a major path northward over the Dolores Plateau and on into the Paradox Basin where he quickly abandoned a plan to go to the Colorado by way of the old Dolores pedestrian trail. At that point he turned east on it toward the Gunnison. This route emerged to history as the “Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail” in the 1870s (Figures 1, 2).

Very inexplicably, Domínguez and Escalante unfortunately missed this trail and floundered about in the Dolores Canyon for some days before they managed to get on it and continue unimpeded on their way to the Gunnison. The accounts of these early Spaniards’ travels through this region help to explain the routes of the local trails. These expeditions were largely intended to gather ethnographic data on the people between Santa Fe and Teguayo (Baker 2008). The narratives of them are the first such accounts in existence.

On the New Mexico side of the great wall nearly all of the rivers flow southward from it and ultimately join with the Colorado River via the westward-flowing San Juan River. On the western edge of the mountains in extreme southwestern Colorado, near where Utah’s canyon country begins, the northward-flowing Dolores River, a tributary of the Colorado, is a notable and major exception among the otherwise southward-flowing rivers of the region (Figure 1). This aberration in the regional drainage pattern is commonly said to be the reason that the Paradox Valley was so named since the river there truncates rather than follows that great valley.

Because of its paradoxical nature, the Dolores was the first place west of the Continental Divide where Mother Nature would allow the great wall to be breached without great effort, particularly by horsemen. Accordingly, many ancient travel routes converged near its Big Bend and led on to about everywhere on the continent. Because of this the Big Bend vicinity was very prominent in the Rivera and Domínguez and Escalante narratives. It also played an important role in the history of the Spanish Trail and later travel (Crampton and Madsen 1994; Hill 1921, 1930; Macomb 1860; Hayden 1877a, 1877b, 1877c; Smith n.d.).<sup>7</sup> Pedestrian trails leading to about everywhere on the continent could be accessed from that region (Figure 1).

The Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail northward from the Big Bend toward



**FIGURE 2:** Tracing of the 1879 map prepared by Captain Edward Hatch of the 9th Cavalry (“Buffalo Soldiers”). This is a rough representation of one route of the La Sal Trail and a portion of the Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail from the Big Bend north as far as the Paradox Basin (aka Uncompahgre Depression). This map was drawn as part of a contingency plan designed to rescue the White personnel of the 2nd Los Pinos Indian Agency in the Uncompahgre Valley if a then much feared full-scale Ute War were to erupt in west-central Colorado in the spring of 1879 (Hatch 1879).

the Uncompahgre Valley and then on to the Gunnison ultimately lost its strategic importance and was virtually forgotten to memory. This happened rapidly once it became possible for travelers moving north from New Mexico to safely use a route through the San Luis Valley and over Cochetopa Pass to access the Gunnison drainage. This occurred in the nineteenth century when threats from Comanches and other hostile peoples were finally neutralized in that region. That route (Figure 1) in time became the north branch of the Spanish Trail (Chenoweth 1991a, 1991b, 2005; Hill 1921; Kessler 1998; Nelson 2005).

The main or southern branch of the Spanish Trail (Figure 1) also

departed toward the great Moab portal (Figure 3) from the trail junction at Big Bend and is today closely followed by the route of Colorado Highway 184 and U.S. Highway 491 to Monticello, Utah. While the critical Gunnison portal (Figures 4 and 5) continued to be used, it was no longer necessary for travelers to move north from the Big Bend unless they explicitly wished to enter the very rugged Paradox Basin. There was little incentive for them to do that once the north branch of the Spanish Trail could be used to reach the Gunnison gateway. As it still does today, all through traffic headed northward beyond the Colorado was thereafter channeled by either the main branch of the Spanish Trail to the Moab gateway or by the north branch to the Delta gateway (Figure 1).

There was of course also the trail to the Colorado, which followed the lower canyon of the Dolores River below the Paradox Valley (Figure 1). Even though rock art along the canyon testifies to its former use as a travel corridor,



**FIGURE 3: Aerial photo of Spanish Valley, the town of Moab, Utah, and the great western travel gateway on the Colorado River. The main (south) branch of the Spanish Trail crossed the Colorado at photo right just above the point where the river again becomes incased in a deep canyon. (Image is from an untitled poster printed by the Town of Moab and given away to the public. Photo courtesy of Lloyd Pierson of Moab, Utah.)**

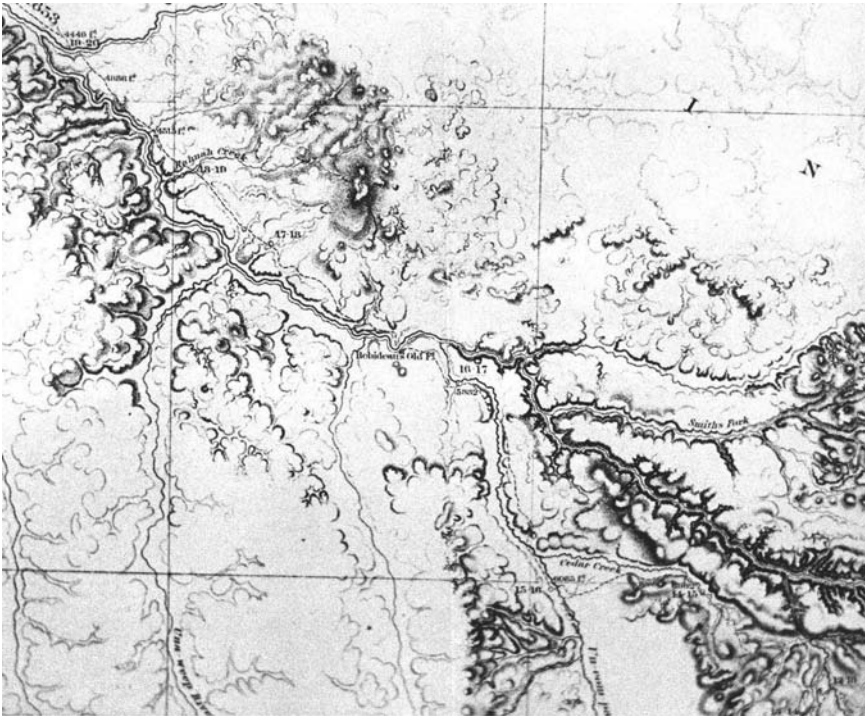


**FIGURE 4: Aerial photo showing the river bottoms at the great eastern travel gate on the Gunnison River near Delta, Colorado. This view is to the northwest and shows the lower end of the Black Canyon of the Gunnison at lower left, the west end of Grand Mesa at photo right, and the Uncompahgre Plateau with its massive Escalante and Dominguez canyons in the distance. (Photo of October 2007 by Steven G. Baker, courtesy of Centuries Research, Inc.)**

it is uncertain if prehistoric peoples actually commonly crossed the Colorado at its confluence with the Dolores (Toll 1977). It is an extremely difficult path but just may have been fordable at that point during low water and there was a way to exit the Colorado's canyon there (Figure 6). To the extent that it could be crossed there it would have served as a third seasonal portal to the region north of the Colorado. Since the lower Dolores Canyon is so tight and constricted it would have been largely impassable when there was much water running it. It simply could not have been used until all the spring and summer runoff had ceased. The same constraint would have been present relative to crossing, as opposed to following, both the Colorado and Gunnison.

Even if the Colorado was fordable to its north (right) bank, with the advent of horses this route down the narrow Dolores Canyon was quickly abandoned. What people once might have done when they got to the Colorado by this route is certainly open to speculation. Maybe some of them waded it, swam it, or built rafts. Rivera's guides told him that some Indian people used little two-person basket boats to cross the Colorado somewhere along its course. It seems hard to imagine but perhaps Native Americans were indeed challenging portions of the Colorado by this means (Rivera 1765: Entry of July 15).

When first mapped in the 1870s the Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail crossed



**FIGURE 5: A portion of the 1855 Beckwith map of the Gunnison Expedition's route. Map No. 4 "From the COO-CHE-TO-PA PASS TO THE WASATCH MOUNTAINS." This portion of the map shows the great eastern gateway and ford on the Gunnison River near present Delta, Colorado. "Robideau's Old Ft." is illustrated in the center of the map and the northwesterly trail from the fort is the route of the old Teguayo Trail, North Branch of the Spanish Trail, and the Salt Lake Wagon Road through this region (Gunnison and Beckwith 1855).**

the trace of the Spanish Trail, which was by then referred to as the Utah Wagon Road, just south of the Big Bend of the Dolores (Figures 1, 2). It then trended northerly across the Dolores Plateau, which makes up the divide in the middle of the river's great bend. It led directly into the Paradox Basin (aka Uncompahgre Basin) and the old Gateway territories. This and regions beyond ultimately became western Colorado's vast Ute heartland. Much farther north, far beyond the Uncompahgre Valley and the Gunnison River gateway, was the province of Teguayo (Figures 1, 4, 5), which was actually visited briefly by Domínguez and Escalante (Baker 2008; Chavez and Warner 1976).<sup>8</sup>

A primary path continued northwesterly from the major trail junction near Big Bend by a tightly constrained route on the divides between the San Juan-Dolores and Colorado-Dolores river drainages (Figure 1). This route threaded a narrow corridor of passable terrain, which at some points is only a few miles wide. Its traces stayed above the steep tributary canyons of the San Juan and Colorado river gorges and the canyons formed by the western portion of the Dolores drainage and the La Sal Mountains. It then entered Utah's



**FIGURE 6: The middle or Dolores River travel gateway at the confluence of the Dolores and Colorado rivers. The view is to the northeast up the Colorado with the Dolores canyon shown in the upper photo center. The travel route northward exited the canyon of the Colorado by way of a side canyon a short distance up river. (Photo of March 2008 by Steven G. Baker, courtesy of Centuries Research, Inc.)**

Spanish Valley. There it passed north to the Colorado River gateway at Moab (Figure 3) and then on to the west through the deserts of Utah to the Green River. In the early nineteenth century this route via Moab became the main or southern stem of the Spanish Trail. It has remained the primary route to the Colorado west of Delta to this day (Crampton and Madsen 1994; Hafen and Hafen 1954; Hill 1921; Pierson 2005, Sánchez 1997). Its route is today closely followed by U.S. Highway 191 from Monticello to Moab.

For a few decades the Spanish Trail was the major commercial route between Santa Fe and the Spanish settlements in California. At the Moab gateway the ever so wild Colorado River relaxed a bit, escaped its deep canyons, and could be forded (Figure 3; Crampton and Madson 1994; Pierson 2005). The Colorado could also be forded at what became Grand Junction, Colorado (Chenoweth 1991a, 1991b, 2005; Kessler 1998; Nelson 2005). In order to reach the Colorado at Grand Junction, however, the Gunnison River tributary of the Colorado (Figures 1, 4, 5) first had to be crossed and that could be an extreme life-threatening undertaking (Heap 1854).

The Gunnison is a notoriously fast and wild river. For nearly all of its length prior to joining with the Colorado at Grand Junction it runs encased in the exceptionally deep (2,000 ft.), narrow, and virtually inaccessible Black Canyon, Gunnison Gorge, and other dramatically rugged canyons. The latter

include those named after Fathers Domínguez and Escalante just below the Delta gateway. The only exception to its encased nature is the short segment near Delta, Colorado, where a geological contact permits the river to dramatically alter its character for only a few miles. Instead of its typical deeply incised and fast youthful nature, the river temporarily becomes a more mature meandering river with broad alluvial bottoms. These extend along its banks for less than 15 miles (Figures 4, 5). The Gunnison then abruptly enters another series of deep canyons, which extend all the way to Grand Junction.

From near the Continental Divide to Moab, the gateway at Delta is the only place where either pedestrian or equestrian parties could reasonably ford the Gunnison and travel on north to the Colorado without crossing the lofty and rugged Grand Mesa as Domínguez and Escalante did. Like the trail to Moab, the trail northward toward the Colorado from the Gunnison gateway was forced to follow a highly constrained route on the passable terrain between the western foothills of the Grand Mesa and the rugged tributary canyons of the Gunnison main stem through Domínguez and Escalante canyons (Figures 1, 4). This passable terrain between Grand Mesa and the canyons is little more than a mile wide at some points. It is today generally marked by the route of U.S. Highway 50.

The Delta gateway on the Roubideau Bottoms is some 60 miles north of the San Juan Mountains (Figure 5). There the wooded bottomlands along the Gunnison remained a major stopping and fording place on the Colorado route northward toward the Colorado River. In addition to the early accounts of Rivera and Fathers Domínguez and Escalante, those of Gunnison and Beckwith (1855), Heap (1854), and Marcy (1866) are prime examples of this. This attractive and strategic area was popular with the Utes (Baker 2005) and became the location of Fort Roubideau (aka Fort Uncompahgre; Figure 5). This was the first Mexican licensed trading post (ca. 1830s) established deep within the Ute dominions (Figure 5; Barton 1989; Hill 1930; Scott 1982; Wallace 1953). The Roubideau Bottoms remained in use as the primary fording area on the Gunnison until the latter nineteenth century. Then the first roads and bridges were constructed and the railroad came to the region and drastically altered the river's hydrology. Most every known expedition that ever entered western Colorado from south of the Gunnison passed through the Gunnison River gateway at Delta.

## **AN ETHNOHISTORY OF THE GATEWAY TRADITION TERRITORY**

Because of their strategic topographic location, the trails through the Paradox Basin and the territory of the Gateway tradition played a prominent role in the earliest descriptions of western Colorado and the people who lived there. Because of the previously discussed topographical constraints on travel, only a few potential routes were available to such monumental eighteenth century explorers as Juan Rivera (Baker 1994, 2008; Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007; Cutter 1968; Leiby 1985; Sánchez 1997) and the Franciscan priests, Fray Domínguez and Father Escalante (Auerbach 1941, 1942; Bolton 1950; Chavez and Warner 1976).

The available routes led the Spaniards directly through the Gateway tradition homeland. Rivera passed through it as far as the Gunnison in 1765. Domínguez and Escalante followed some of his footsteps in 1776 when they also traveled to the Gunnison and on to Teguayo. Although the culture of the Gateway peoples would appear to have been long gone by the eighteenth century, together these two accounts provide important ethnographic insights into issues of early historic, and even prehistoric, travel and nation-to-nation trade in this region.

Juan Rivera was seeking a route from Santa Fe to the then still undiscovered Colorado River. He made two expeditions to the Big Bend in 1765. In doing so he pioneered the regional equestrian trails and was the first person to ever write about them. He also left the earliest meaningful descriptions of the Ute and Paiute Indians of the region. Although he never actually reached the Colorado, Rivera ultimately did arrive at the Gunnison River gateway to that great river (Figures 1, 4, 5). Understanding a bit about his travels and those of Domínguez and Escalante helps to understand how there were only the two primary routes northward beyond the Big Bend. These ran through the Paradox Basin that contained the territory Reed (1997; Reed and Metcalf 1999) says had once been occupied by Gateway peoples. No matter which route they might wish to take northward toward the Colorado from the Big Bend junction, there were no realistic ways for travelers from the greater Southwest to bypass the Paradox Basin and the Gateway peoples' territory.

Rivera reached the Gunnison by way of the Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail (Figure 1, 2) northward across the Dolores Plateau from the Dolores at the Big Bend (Baker 1994, 2008). Since he had a quantity of horses and mules with him, Rivera's guides should, however, have led him on the more northwesterly track toward modern Monticello, Utah, and on to the Colorado at the Moab gateway. Instead of taking him by that path, which was clearly the easiest for horse and mules, they led him northward across the Dolores Plateau to the Paradox Valley. This took him directly into the heart of the rugged old Gateway territories.

In the Paradox Valley Rivera was on one of the westerly trending routes of the "La Sal Trail," which spiked westward from the Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail and joined with the more westerly path to the Moab gateway on the west side of the lofty La Sal Mountains (Figures 1, 2). In the Paradox Valley he was within the proverbial "spitting distance" of the Colorado River by way of both the Moab gateway as well as the trail down the lower Dolores Canyon. Topography, however, prevented him from reaching the Colorado by either route. Although they initially took a different and more tortuous route to the Paradox Valley than Rivera did, Domínguez and Escalante ended up traveling some of the Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail.

These early Spanish narratives demonstrate that the area of the Gateway peoples was clearly occupied by Numic-speaking Paiutes and both Moache and Tabeguache Utes in the latter eighteenth century. These peoples may or may not have been in the vicinity while the Gateway peoples were there. The timing of their arrival in the region is still an open question. It is, however, begin-



ning to look more and more like they may not have appeared in western Colorado until very late prehistoric or even protohistoric times (Baker, Dean, and Towner 2007). If these Numic speakers were not actually present in the region during the Gateway times, it is still quite probable that some other as yet unidentified peoples were at least occupying or utilizing adjoining regions to the north and east.

In the summer of 1765 Rivera's party traveled from the Genízaro<sup>9</sup> pueblo of Abiquiú north to the Dolores by the basic route, which ultimately became the dry weather main leg (aka "south branch") of the Old Spanish Trail (Crampton and Madsen 1994; Gunnison and Beckwith 1855; Pierson 2005). This followed east to west along the south flank of the San Juan and La Plata mountain ranges. Rivera was then seeking a Ute, Cuero de Lobo or "Wolf Hide," a Moache Ute. This man had previously promised to guide him to the source of some native wire silver that a Ute had brought into Abiquiú. Finding the source of the silver was a major goal of Rivera in the summer of 1765. He was also trying to gather information about the Colorado River and the route to it.

Rivera was to meet Cuero de Lobo at his ranchería on the Animas River near present Durango, Colorado. At that time the Animas was where the Ute territories started. Spanish traders do not appear to have been traveling any farther than this, if even that far, from the frontier outpost of Abiquiú. The following discussion of Rivera's travels and ethnographic observations is drawn from a translation of his diaries made by Donald Cutter (1968) and this writer's ethnohistorical efforts to interpret them. This interpretive work has been ongoing since 1990 (Baker 1994, 2008; Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007). In collaboration with this writer, Dr. Rick Hendricks of Las Cruces, New Mexico, is currently preparing a new translation of the Rivera diaries. Other translations are for the moment more readily available in Leiby (1985) and Sánchez (1997). These sources, however, vary in their translations of important passages and contain no useful interpretations of the expedition's route or the ethnographic content of the narrative. Information relative to the Domínguez and Escalanate narrative is taken from the translation by Fray Angélico Chávez (Chávez and Warner 1976), but is routinely compared to that prepared by Bolton (1950). When referenced directly only the date of the Rivera diary entry is given. Since the Cutter translation is not generally available that will allow readers to most easily check the available translations.

Upon arriving at the Animas on July 4, 1765, Rivera was disappointed to find that his promised Ute guide had gone "off to the land of the Payuchis to see his mother-in-law. . . ." In his place he acquired the services of a Paiute, "Capitan Assigare," to "guide us to the Land of the Payuchis" so that he could find Cuero de Lobo. In their search for Cuero de Lobo, Rivera and/or his men subsequently traveled as far as the Dolores River several miles down river from the Big Bend and present Dolores, Colorado (Figure 1). Before they could catch up to their man, the Spaniards camped with Assigare and other members of his Paiute "kin click" (Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007) on the Big Bend. He asked them to tell him what they could about the Colorado, the way to it, and

the peoples who lived along the path. After turning back toward Santa Fe, Rivera finally found Cuero de Lobo in a ranchería on the La Plata River. After exploring for silver in the La Plata Mountains the Spaniard decided that there was no point in trying to go on toward the Colorado and returned to Santa Fe.

During his summer trip Rivera was able to cement friendships with the Utes and Paiutes between the Animas and some distance down the Dolores. He later met with some of these people and the governor of New Mexico, Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín, at Abiquiú. At that time plans were developed for another trip that was to be made into the Ute territories in the fall of 1765 after the weather cooled. Promises were made by the Indians to guide Rivera's party to the Colorado at that time.

Prior to the fall trip the governor, who had a great deal of experience with Native Americans, prepared detailed instructions for Rivera.<sup>10</sup> According to these Rivera's primary mission was to try to reach the Colorado and travel beyond it into the far distant province of Teguayo. He was to learn all he could about the lands between Santa Fe and the legendary province. He was to go among the peoples who lived along the Colorado, within Teguayo, and along the route to the province. He was to surreptitiously learn all he could about these peoples without betraying that he was a Spaniard on a mission of exploration. He was to pretend to be nothing more than a trader.

Rivera was specifically charged with seeking the truth about long and persistent rumors within the New Mexico colony that there was "some kind of bearded white people dressed like those of Europe" living in Teguayo. It was said that these people lived near the Lake of Copala in many large pueblos under the authority of some kind of king or sovereign. Rivera's primary mission was to acquire ethnographic data and he was very dutiful in his attempt to determine the accuracy of what he was being told by the Indians. He was of course, as always, to also try to find sources of precious metals along the way.

Rivera would never reach Teguayo. He only got as far as the Gunnison River gateway at Delta, Colorado, after surmounting some quite serious obstacles in the Paradox Basin. Domínguez and Escalante would, however, travel all the way to Teguayo in 1776, in part by the path pioneered by Rivera. They took a copy of Rivera's 1765 diary with them and traveled with some of the men who had been with the pathfinder on his failed mission (Chávez and Warner 1976). Although generally unrecognized, the fathers' mission was largely to fulfill the goals that Rivera failed to achieve (Baker 2008). Their narrative is very much an ethnographic account. Until the Rivera diary was found in the 1960s, the fathers' narrative served as the earliest ethnographic baseline for information on the Ute peoples. The diaries of Rivera (Baker 1994, 2008; Cutter 1968; Sánchez 1997; Rivera 1765) and the fathers (Bolton 1950; Chávez and Warner 1976) provide the basis for the following ethnohistorical summary of the people then living in the old territory of the Gateway peoples and the nature of the nation-to-nation trade of the time. The diary of Rivera and that of the fathers tend to confirm the observations made in one another.

One of the more important ethnohistorical observations from these earliest sources is that the distribution of the Ute and Paiute speakers was not at

all like that commonly mapped in archaeological, ethnographic, and historical works on these people. Good examples of such mapping may be found in Callaway et al. (1986) and Simmons (2000:18). This problem overly simplifies a rather complex and shifting cultural landscape and has recently been discussed in some detail by this writer (Baker 2005; Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007). Rivera's travels demonstrate that the Animas River was where the Ute territories actually started in 1765.

The Animas was where the Moache were first encountered. Moache men were intermarried with Paiute women and people of both groups extended from the Animas all the way down the Dolores drainage to the Paradox Valley. Although she projects no date for the distribution she illustrates, Simmons (2000:18) shows this region as the territory of the Weenuche (Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007). This may be correct in that the Weenuche were Paiute speakers. The Tabeguache Ute territory commenced in the San Miguel River drainage on the west side of the Uncompahgre Plateau and seemingly extended up onto it. The plateau served to divide the territory of the Tabeguache from that of Sabuagana (Uncompahgre) Utes who at that time were living in the Uncompahgre and Gunnison drainages.

All of these people encountered by Rivera were involved in the passage of trade goods northward by way of a pattern of trade that was described in the Rivera narrative as "nation-to-nation." This involved moving goods by passing them forward from one group to another as opposed to having traders traveling from group to group among them. The nation-to-nation trade was very competitive and individual Ute groups jockeyed hard for advantageous positioning within it. It was a very common form of competitive trade in the early historic period throughout most of North America.

A series of guides individually tried very hard to keep Rivera and his party from encountering members of other nations. This extended from one Paiute or Ute group to another. Even though some Paiutes and Moaches were intermarried, Moaches were dead set against allowing him to pass through their territory and on into the territory of their Paiute neighbors. The Moaches openly expressed their fear that their commercial position in the nation-to-nation trade would be compromised. This could happen simply by allowing the Spaniards to actually enter into the territories of their customers farther into the interior since it would make the latter competitors.

Although Spanish traders may have been trading as far as the frontier of the Ute territory, there is no evidence at all that they had been trading directly into the Ute nations by the time of Rivera's travels. For many years historians and anthropologists have held a common notion that Spanish traders were among the Utes before Rivera's time (Sánchez 1997). The latter's narrative demonstrates that this was not the case for the Utes of the interior as opposed to those who may have been fully equestrian and very mobile. Like some of the Comanche, the latter seem to have been living to the north and east of the colony. Not only did the law officially prohibit such trade among the Indians in the far interior outside the colony (Gibson 1988, Sánchez 1997), the Utes did not want it as it would hurt their commercial interests. Rivera was actually

told by the Tabeguache Utes that he was the first Spaniard to pass through the territory. Governor Veléz Cachupín was liked and respected by the Indians and was able to make alliances with them. That is how he received permission from them for Rivera to travel into their territories (Baker 2008; Ebright and Hendricks 2006).

The Moache concern for their trading advantage actually escalated into a physical altercation between a Paiute and a Moache before Rivera had even had passed beyond the Animas. This nearly doomed his mission at the outset. Rivera was keenly aware of the sensitivity of the nation-to-nation trade and, in keeping with his instructions from the governor, attempted to conceal his plans and purpose of his travels from the peoples that he made contact with. The dispute between the Paiute and Moache factions was ultimately settled amicably and Rivera was allowed to pass on toward the Dolores from the Animas. This very problem continued to arise during his travels and repeatedly threatened the success of Rivera's mission.

Rivera's first Paiute guides avoided taking the party toward the Colorado by the easiest paths for an equestrian party. These would have been by either the great Moab or Gunnison river gateways (Figure 1). If they had headed to the river by either of these routes, namely the Spanish and Navajo-Uncompahgre trails, they would have encountered other peoples. The route by which they took him in very large measure kept the Spaniards within the territory of their own Paiute kinsmen. In a similar manner, the Tabeguache guide seems to have intentionally avoided the Uncompahgre Valley where Rivera would have encountered the Sabuaganas (aka "Uncompahgres;" Baker 2005; Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007). There may, however, also have been some issues of danger from wholly undocumented hostile peoples involved in these decisions and particularly that relative to the Moab route.

Rivera was in large measure using food as primary gifts to help cement diplomatic relations among the Utes and Paiutes that he encountered. For this purpose he was packing a quantity of pinole, flour, and corn as well as tobacco for both chewing and smoking. Such consumables were important trade items. He stressed that giving of food was a sign of true friendship among the Indians. He also repeatedly provided horses to his guides since they had none. His account makes it very clear that he was not traveling among peoples who were substantially equestrian at this point in time. The subject of horses among the Colorado Utes is discussed in some depth by the author in Baker, Carrillo, and Späth (2007). By trial and error Rivera very quickly began to appreciate which of the old pedestrian trails could be traveled by an equestrian party. He may well have been the first man to travel on many of them by horseback.

Most of the ethnographic information gathered by Rivera appears to have been accurate and whenever possible he made efforts to authenticate what he was being told. His account suggests a cultural landscape that was far more dangerous and complex than commonly portrayed in the anthropological literature. There was clearly inter-group competition and violence, seemingly even among peoples of the same linguistic backgrounds such as Ute and Paiute. The

Spaniard's informants continually stressed the dangers that lay beyond their own territories along the path to the Colorado River. These were usually, though not always, simply ruses to keep the Spaniards from venturing farther down the paths and upsetting the order of the trade. In his discussions it is apparent that the Utes and Paiutes actually had little firsthand information about areas at much distance from their own territories.

Rivera's informants did very accurately portray the threat from Comanches situated in the area north of the Colorado River in present-day Colorado. There were clearly ongoing hostilities between the Tabeguaches and the Comanches at the time of Rivera's trips. He actually stayed with some Utes who were celebrating the acquisition of Comanche scalps in fighting that had taken place north of the Colorado. The presence of this danger to the north of the Colorado was confirmed by the account of Domínguez and Escalante who encountered no Ute rancherías during their travels through northwestern Colorado.

There were other instances where Rivera was given information about hostile people ahead toward the Colorado that was imbedded in otherwise realistic descriptions of the country and issues he would face in traveling onward. They do not readily appear to be fabricated excuses because they actually refer to one by a name that is later documented ethnographically. During his first trip the Paiutes explained the realistic advantages of Rivera making a fall trip to the Colorado instead of going on in the heat and dryness of the summer. In that part of the narrative it appears that they were talking about the path that led to the Colorado by way of the Moab gateway since both the Dolores and Navajo-Uncompahgre trails had plentiful water year around.

The Paiutes told the Spaniards that there were some seven or eight hostile nations between the Dolores and the Colorado who would readily kill them all. They may well have been referring to the lower reaches of the river to the southwest. One of these groups was said to be made up of people with pierced ears who frequently killed the Cosninas "who are people who go about naked all the time and are very friendly." Ethnographers tend to identify the Cosninas as Havasupi, a Southern Paiute people of Utah and Arizona.<sup>11</sup> The identity of the pierced-eared people is anyone's guess today. The Paiutes told Rivera that they would take him to the Colorado by way of the lower Dolores River trail instead of other routes. They said they could get him there in about seven days.

The lower Dolores route seems to have been preferred by them over the other easier routes for one or possibly two reasons. The first is that it would prevent the Spaniards from meeting other Indians and trading with them. The second may well have been because these more distant people toward the Moab portal were present there and truly hostile as described. Just who these other people around the Moab portal may have been is not known. There is virtually no ethnographic information on that area until well into the nineteenth century. There may well have been some element of truth behind the Paiutes' cautionary tales. It is notable though that the Paiutes also neglected to try to take Rivera to the Gunnison by way of the Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail through the seemingly friendly Tabeguache and Sabuagana territories.

The Paiutes also spoke of things they appeared to have heard about but had no direct knowledge of. One of these involved a nation that:

. . . kills people with only a kind of smoke that they make, but that they have no information what they make it out of; that it is so strong that as soon as one smells it a person dies immediately.

(Rivera 1765, Entry of July 16 by Cutter [1968])

The Paiutes' story about the poison gas is not inconsistent with this author's professional safety training relative to hydrogen sulphide gas (H<sub>2</sub>S). If one gets a whiff of this rotten egg smelling sulfurous gas it is already too late and they normally die immediately. This gas occurs naturally in the petroleum fields of northwestern Colorado. Such fields were directly along the route north toward Teguayo.<sup>12</sup> Could it be possible that such gas might have naturally vented to the ground surface at some point and thus given rise to this tale, which was then, in its retelling and retelling, attributed to some unknown distant hostile people?

Rivera's Paiute informants also told another story that they had only heard about. This involved a place in distant lands toward or beyond the Colorado where there was said to be a deep cellar under the care of a man. In the cellar were a variety of animals that would tear a traveler to pieces if they did not pay the price of a fur. The fur was the toll to assure safe passage across the Colorado or some other topographic feature. This is not necessarily an outlandish bit of mythology and may be an embellished third- or fourth-hand or more oral account of a restricted travel point or crossroad controlled by some distant people. The key point behind the tale is that it involved payment of a toll in order to pass. This is a very common type of folklore account and is reminiscent of, among many, the old Norwegian folktale of "Billy Goat Gruff," which young school children still commonly act out.

Immediately after this account regarding tolls, the Rivera narrative explained the manner of trade between the peoples on the north and south sides of the Colorado River. There was apparently a common trading point, which was seemingly described as being at a narrow tributary trench or side canyon of the river. There are very obvious problems with the original translation from Paiute or Ute into Spanish or the hand sign language used by the interpreter, the Spanish transcription, and/or the available Spanish into English translations on this matter. At face value all of the available translations seem to suffer from the same lack of clarity in regard to various words, and particularly that of "throwing" or "throw." It is implied that this point was seemingly narrow enough that goods could be thrown or *otherwise readily sent* from one side to the other. The important aspect of the narrative to this discussion is, however, in the nature of the commodities being exchanged and not just where the trading point was.

. . . when those of this side cross to the other side [of the Río Tizón] they make their trades without crossing it [the trench], with those from this [south] side throwing [or perhaps otherwise sending] to the opposite side bridles, and knives that the Spaniards trade with the

Utes and which from nation to nation are sent to the Rió del Tizón, and those from the other side throw [or send] back tanned hides.

(Rivera 1765: Entry of July 16 by Cutter [1968])

The Paiutes also described how the Indians on the north side of the Colorado, who were said to be of diverse languages, crossed the river in basket boats referred to as “xicaras.” It was said that only two persons could fit in one of these with, “one facing the place they are leaving and the other facing where they are going . . .” The people from the south side lacked such basket boats and “cannot cross until the river is at low water.” In addition to this plausible account they gave some further description of the heavily bearded Indians of Teguayo who were said to look like Spaniards and then abruptly concluded their description of the region because “That is all they know about the River.”

Near the end of his second trip Rivera was camped on the Robideau Bottoms of the Gunnison a few miles below Delta, Colorado (Figure 5). There he conducted separate interviews with five Sabuagana (aka Uncompahgre) Utes, whom his men found on the Grand Mesa. Rivera purposefully interviewed these men away from the influence of the two Tabeguache men who had accompanied him to the Gunnison. These men’s accounts confirmed those of the Tabeguaches regarding the trail on ahead to the main stem of the Colorado and beyond toward the province of Teguayo. They confirmed that this point on the Gunnison was where one must cross in order to travel on northward toward the bearded people of that province.

Consistent with the documented Comanche threat beyond the Colorado, the lands to the north were said by the Sabuaganas to be filled with “pirate nations” who posed a great risk. The perils of the Comanche territory of northwestern Colorado and northeastern Utah were very similar to those later described by Domínguez and Escalante. The Utes’ knowledge of Teguayo was also consistent with the old legend and with what the fathers finally noted when they arrived in the province.

In addition to the dangers from the Comanches and others along the way, the Indians gave some very tantalizing and seemingly quite true information about the area north beyond the Colorado toward Teguayo. This included a description of a kind of people who purportedly ate their own children during times of famine. These people were said to be found one day’s journey beyond the main stem of the Colorado on the path that led north from the Gunnison. No matter how much danger and lack of integrity his informants generally ascribed to the peoples ahead, this is the *only* mention of cannibalism in the entire Rivera narrative. It does not appear that they were simply trying to disparage other distant people by referring to them as cannibals. Rather, they were, simply as a matter of fact, trying to tell Rivera all that they knew about the people and lands ahead.

The Spaniard was making exactly the detailed ethnographic type of inquiries that he had been instructed to do by the governor. According to the Utes the cannibal people would be encountered north of the Colorado River

and prior to entering the Comanche territory along the trail to Teguayo. This would put these people in the area of the Douglas Creek Arch south of Rangely, Colorado, precisely on the route later followed by Domínguez and Escalante. When the fathers traveled north beyond the Colorado they were of course following the path northward that Rivera had learned about and recorded in his journal. They also had Rivera's journal with them (Chávez and Warner 1976).

There is actually some compelling archaeological evidence in support of the cannibal tale reiterated to Rivera. Evidence does suggest that a relic population of Fremont people may have survived in this area into the protohistoric period (Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007). Further, it is noteworthy that the Sky Aerie Promontory is in that region and is a unique/aberrant Fremont site. Sky Aerie is very strongly suspected of having been occupied or utilized for centuries by people who cannibalized or at least practiced some other manner of perimortim manipulation of human remains within a wholly culinary context. This very strongly resembles evidence of cannibalism (Baker 1999; White et al. 1997). This is the only location in western Colorado north of the Colorado River that such tantalizing archaeological evidence of cannibalism has ever been found. Is this simple coincidence or evidence that the Utes were explaining something that was, or once was, true about the peoples ahead on the trail to Teguayo?

Tanned buckskins (aka "gamuzas") and dried (jerked) venison were primary commodities in the nation-to-nation trade in protohistoric and historic times. There can be little question that such items were also traded extensively in prehistoric times. Domínguez and Escalante (Chávez and Warner 1976) reported that salt was being mined in the Paradox Basin by the Utes in 1776 and archaeologist Cathy Crane (1978) was the first to suggest its importance as a prehistoric item of trade relative to that region. Archaeologist Glade Hadden of Montrose reports that prehistoric salt mines have been documented in the old Gateway territories (personal communication with Steven Baker, February 2008). The trade for slaves from the interior accelerated during this period and there is no reason to believe that they were not being captured and traded during prehistoric times as well (Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007; Schroeder and Stewart 1988). Much of what the Spaniards actually knew about Teguayo came from the firsthand account of a Jemez Indian named don Juanillo. This man had actually been a captive among the people(s) of Teguayo in the latter seventeenth century (Thomas 1982).

The regional flow of tanned hides was generally from peoples, such as the Utes and Paiutes, living northward of the Colorado or northeasterly across the Uncompahgre Plateau in the Uncompahgre and Gunnison drainages. Rivera's account is the first to mention this trade and he is explicit in how the buckskins in particular were being traded southward from the interior. There is no reason to believe that this flow of goods had then been altered much from prehistoric times. The people of the Gateway tradition were thus ideally situated where they could readily control or otherwise regulate the primary routes for trading these items via the nation-to-nation trade. Although emphasis is herein placed on the nation-to-nation pattern of trade, this does not preclude the



notion that specialized traders may through time have been able to arrange passage back and forth through this area with the regional occupants.

The documented buckskin trade and the slave trade from the interior are discussed in specific reference to the Utes of Colorado by Baker (Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007:55, 61–66). More general regional discussion of it is given by Sánchez (1997:91–100) as well as Fowler and Fowler (1971). Rivera himself describes the workings of the buckskin trade in his narrative. Domínguez and Escalante also describe trading with the Utes for buckskins, dried/jerked venison, and manzanita berries (Bolton 1950; Chavez and Warner 1976). The importance of buckskins and dried meat as staples in the aboriginal trade of the greater region is, among others, also discussed by Alley (1982), Hughes and Bennyhoff (1986:240–41), Ford (1983:712–13), Fowler (1986), Fowler and Fowler (1971), Kenner (1969), Kessell (1987), and Weber (1971:18, 22). In the historic period Spanish goods included iron tools and beads among a range of other things (see Sánchez 1997).

Callaway et al. (1986:338) have discussed just how the documented Ute territory, or the described hinterlands northward from the Gateway tradition locale, “was richer both in abundance and available species than that of most groups occupying the Great Basin.” This biomass included vast herds of deer and presumably of elk as well. Big Horn sheep and bison would also have been available. The Utes and Northern Shoshones “had more access to mammals than all Indians in Western North America except for the northwesterly dwellers of the Fraser and Columbia Plateaus” (Jorgenson 1964:21). The peoples of the Gateway tradition were thus not only well situated to regulate trade from and into these game rich areas, they were also situated where they themselves could readily exploit nearby portions of it to obtain the deer and also the elk, which were presumably plentiful there in prehistoric times. If they could obtain and/or produce enough buckskins to surpass their own needs, they could develop surpluses that could be traded to the substantial Anasazi populations farther to the south.

The extent to which the very local resources of deer and elk may have been effectively extirpated by the Anasazi in their core occupation area is not known to this writer. It does, however, seem reasonable that enough pressure may have been exerted on it by these substantial populations around the Four Corners Region that a ready market for buckskins and dried meat could have been created. It also seems reasonable to suspect that the Anasazi peoples themselves might well have established specialized communities in advantageous locations in order to have their own people procure meat and hides and/or to regulate trade coming toward their heartland from the north.

## **EXPLORING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE REGIONAL ETHNOHISTORY**

It is believed that this article has demonstrated the regionally strategic nature of the territory of the Gateway peoples relative to the great north-to-south gateways and the associated constrained routes of travel and trade within the Paradox Basin. There is a close concordance between them (Figure 1). It

has also shown how these routes were generally situated within their territory and demonstrated how these peoples were ideally situated so that they may well have controlled, regulated, or otherwise taken utmost advantage of travel and trade along them. It has also explained how a pattern of nation-to-nation trade, which likely had roots deep in prehistory, was operating on these routes when Juan Rivera traveled them and thereby closed the regional protohistory.<sup>13</sup>

It has also been shown that during the local protohistoric and early historic periods primary articles of trade from the north into the Gateway territory, or from within it, were tanned hides and likely dried meat, and probably salt as well. There is no reason to doubt that these commodities were not also being traded during the time of the Gateway tradition. From this basis it is possible to suggest that the at least partially horticultural Gateway tradition peoples may well have been taking utmost advantage of their strategic location through an economy in which they further served as specialized hunters and traders who dealt in just such commodities.

The Gateway peoples' strategic location was a great crossroads. People of many ethnic, linguistic, and biological backgrounds might easily have been brought together by various mechanisms. Like those along the ancient world's great trade routes of Asia for example, it takes little stretch of the imagination to envision how a specialized, or even a hybrid,<sup>14</sup> culture could develop in just such a strategic area. The peoples responsible for such a culture could readily display a complex of mixed ethnic, linguistic, and biological attributes not unlike the Gateway tradition seems to do. Such complexes of mixed attributes would, in their entirety, appear atypical of those of the individual parents from which their attributes were drawn.

From an ethnohistorical perspective it is not believed to be at all surprising that such a regionally atypical culture would develop in precisely the strategic crossroads area now ascribed to the Gateway tradition. This perspective also suggests just how culturally complex an area it may have been and how this may have formed a varied archaeological landscape. Against this background a final objective of this paper is to briefly explore, in an initial and inquiring manner, what general mechanisms may have been involved in the development of the atypical Gateway archaeological culture.

The Gateway peoples were well situated to provide buckskins and dried meat to the core of the pueblid populations in the Four Corners region in a manner very similar to the way that the historic pueblos were also supplied (Ford 1983:712–713; Kessell 1987; Sánchez 1997; Weber 1971:18, 22). The initial archaeological data seem to support the notion that big game was heavily relied upon by the Gateway peoples as Alan Reed and others have discussed (Crane 1978; Greubel et al. 2006; Kasper 1977; A. Reed 2004, 2005, 2007). This indicates that they were at the very least drawing significantly upon the local game for their own subsistence. Accumulation of surpluses from this presumed vast resource base for hides and dried meat for trade would not appear to have been a very difficult task.

The still rather limited archaeological data summarized herein has been evaluated at a primary level by researchers other than this writer. As an ethno-

historian and an archaeologist, he can still enter the discussion and venture some general comments for the consideration of his colleagues. The ethnohistory of the region and the involved archaeologists' findings from their data to date suggest some alternative explanations as to the backgrounds of the Gateway peoples. These can ultimately be framed as hypotheses to be tested against data that should be possible to acquire in the future.

One possible explanation is that the Gateway peoples may well have been a hybrid population derived from Anasazi and/or Fremont women who were marrying into or otherwise integrating with non-Anasazi and/or non-Fremont people. It is now known that at least some of the Anasazi pottery present in Gateway sites was locally produced (L. Reed 2007). This persuasively argues for the presence of women steeped in Anasazi traditions. Are locally made Fremont pottery types also present in these sites along with the Anasazi ones? How many of the sites that Alan Reed (1997) has attributed to the Gateway tradition actually show either Anasazi or Fremont pottery and how much of this is locally produced? If the presence of both locally made Anasazi and Fremont pottery could be demonstrated in any of the Gateway components, it would tend to support a notion that at least some women from outside the immediate area were being integrated into the Gateway population at some locations and at some points in time. How many of the Gateway components actually have pottery of any kind present and in what amounts relative to the probable population size? Should one begin to think in terms of the production of a few women potters or many? Are they the exception or the rule throughout the components?

As described and discussed by Reed (1997; Reed and Metcalf 1999) the masonry architecture of the Gateway sites is in some cases at least reminiscent of Anasazi construction and some does not in this writer's view seem to be out of character with some of the highly variable Fremont structures either. Some also seem suggestive of the structures that the Huschers attributed to their "Hogan Builders" (Huscher and Huscher 1943) of western Colorado. Baker, Dean, and Towner (2007) have recommended that the Huschers' data needs to be closely reviewed. This is now obviously dated but their ideas regarding the possibility of a former regional occupation by Athabascan speakers is still intriguing and cannot be dismissed out of hand. It is particularly so now that the Old Wood Calibration Project (Baker, Dean, and Towner 2007, 2008) seems to be moving the appearance of the Numic-speaking peoples of the region forward in time toward the protohistoric period. What other peoples might have been in the region if the Utes were in fact late arrivals in the region? Could they have all been here at the same time? It is hard to imagine that any studies of the Gateway tradition can go forward without dealing with the Huschers' data and ideas. This writer heartily recommends that it be done as part and parcel of future investigations of the Gateway tradition.

Reed (1997) relied upon the perceived absence of kivas as evidence that the Gateway sites were not Anasazi. There seems to be some line of thought emerging (Mark Varian, personal communication with Steven Baker, 2007) that kivas were not always classic symbols of Anasazi religion as Reed (1997)

implied they were. Cordell (1997:281) does not directly touch on this subject but does briefly touch on the relationship of kivas to more generic pit structures. Even though kivas or similar pit structures may or may not all be related to religion, that argument is of little consequence in this instance because kivas do seem to be part and parcel of the greater Anasazi/Puebloid archaeological tradition. One would think that they would be present either as houses or religious structures if the Gateway phenomena were actually Anasazi. To the extent that kivas may be related to men's roles in religion, the presumed absence of such religious symbols might be taken as evidence that men steeped in Anasazi traditions may have been absent or at least a minor element among the Gateway peoples. If the portion of a hybrid population that derived from Anasazi tradition was primarily women, one should not necessarily anticipate the presence of kivas for whatever purpose they may have been used.

The notion that Anasazi women may have been marrying non-Anasazi men and/or taken by them as slaves might possibly one day be examined through the projectile point styles in the Gateway sites. The common assumption among archaeologists has long been that flint knapping, and particularly projectile point production, is typically a man's activity. This statement is very strongly tempered by the realization that projectile point typologies relative to ethnic identities remains a thorny and very unsettled area of study. If the projectile points truly differ in a way that can be identified, it should really help in coming to understand some of the dynamics involved in the Gateway manifestation. Is it possible that Anasazi women were marrying Fremont men or men of some background other than Anasazi? Slavery among Native Americans is an ancient institution (Schroeder and Steward 1988) throughout much or most of the continent and women were long among the primary commodities. There is no obvious reason to believe that it was not being practiced during Gateway times. It may well have been a significant factor in creation of at least some of the Gateway archaeological assemblages.

The kind of fundamental scenarios that seem likely to this writer would involve men and women of different ethnic backgrounds coming together in individual communities located in this great crossroads area. These people could also involve a vast range of potentially different linguistic and physical/biological backgrounds as well. The idea that the Gateway peoples represented such a hypothesized hybrid society may well be a realistic explanation given the location of the presumed tradition, the ethnohistory of the region, and the archaeological evidence currently in hand.

An alternate line of thought is that the Gateway peoples were nothing more than specialized groups of Anasazi and/or Fremont living in the same general area where they could rely heavily on the local biomass for their subsistence and serve as brokers and suppliers in the salt, skin, and meat trade. In such a case McMahon (2000, 2004, 2007) may well be correct in his view that the Gateway peoples, or at least some of them, derive from Fremont populations. The recent ceramic studies indicating that at least some of the pottery is actually locally made Anasazi wares (L. Reed 2007) argues against Alan Reed's original view (Reed 1997) that the people represented a new archaeological tra-

dition. If the Gateway peoples, or portions of them, are simply a specialized population of Anasazi, then the concept of “tradition” may well be inappropriate. In such an event the Gateway archaeological culture would seem to have to be considered as nothing more than an Anasazi sub-tradition.

This line of thinking supports a notion that at least some of the sites were indeed occupied by people acculturated to at least some Anasazi ways. It remains to be determined whether these people were entire Anasazi families, mixed ones, or perhaps actual hybrid populations. The latter might have grown from populations that once contained some Anasazi and other as yet unidentified peoples living on the fringes of the Anasazi core area. This commences less than 100 miles (161 km) to the south. Such other peoples in this time frame were probably not the Numic-speaking Ute or Paiute who clearly inhabited the region in protohistoric times (Baker, Carrillo, and Späth 2007:45–64; Reed 1994) and who may well be much later arrivals to the area than previously believed (Baker, Dean, and Towner 2007, 2008).

Could there not have been a variety of communities present at the same time in the old Gateway territories? Since it was such a crossroads area one might envision plural though differing communities where each was a somewhat homogeneous people with their own physical, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. It might prove very wise to closely examine each occupational component from such a perspective and not to lump them together so early as one tradition. Here is where the old notion of the archaeological “splitters” may need to be invoked. From the outside looking in there does seem to be a lot of differences among the various components. The notion that all the components were elements in one larger homogeneous community ultimately may have to be discarded.

It is not clear that Reed or anyone else has yet demonstrated temporal continuity among all of the components ascribed to the Gateway tradition. Despite some potential similarities, such as in economies, which might stay somewhat constant through time, if there is much variation among them in other areas it might readily demonstrate that the term “tradition” was in fact a misnomer when applied to the entire group of components. Is it possible that the entire concept of the Gateway tradition failed to recognize important differences among components in favor of looking at the ways in which they were similar, such as in economics? Economics do seem to be a major component in the approaches that Reed and his colleagues are currently pursuing (Emslie et al. 2007; Reed and Emslie 2008). Testing for differences among the components through time may be a very important “splitter’s” approach.

Reed followed an early hunch in his designation of the Gateway tradition. From the combined perspective of ethnohistory and archaeology, including a much better understanding of the magnitude of regional radiocarbon problems, this writer has developed his own hunch. That is that Reed’s tradition likely involved a host, and perhaps a succession, of peoples through time and across environmental changes. There may well be no one tradition involved due to the nature of the great regional gateways as human crossroads. There may however be continuity in economics due to the nature of the natural

resource base and constrained topography. Environmental changes may not have altered this much. Is there evidence of corn horticulture present in all the components that Reed (1997) attributes to the Gateway tradition?

In regard to dating, Baker, Dean, and Towner (2007, 2008) would very strongly recommend that, prior to running radiocarbon assays on wood samples from hearths and structures, an attempt to date such samples by dendrochronology be made if more ephemeral materials are not available. The Old Wood Calibration Project is an initiative of the Uncompahgre Valley Ute Project in collaboration with the Laboratory of Tree Ring Research at the University of Arizona. The findings to date from this effort are substantial and indicate that there is a very significant old wood problem evident in a great many of the regional dating chronologies that have been derived from radiocarbon assays of hearth fuel and structural woods. These commonly substantially exceed the two-sigma calibrations of the assays and correction factors are being developed by the project. Some master dendrochronologies are available and they may well be helpful in dating even small samples of wood charcoal, which can then also be dated by radiocarbon assay when appropriate. One might be surprised by the results and at least some of the Gateway components may very well be much younger than Reed (1997; Reed and Metcalf 1999) and his colleagues have to date anticipated (Baker, Dean, and Towner 2007, 2008).

The test of these lines of thought will require that the involved investigators simply continue on the appropriate course that they have been undertaking and planning with integration of much of the old “splitters” approach in analysis (Emslie, Reed, and Hadden 2007; Reed and Emslie 2008). This involves rigorous investigation of the database with every tool at their disposal, without taking much if anything for granted, in well-organized multidisciplinary team efforts such as was evident in the recent symposium at the annual meeting of the Society of American Archaeology and in the re-evaluation of the Weimer Ranch collections (Amundson 2007; Andrews and Greubel 2007; Greubel 2007; Greubel et al. 2006; A. Reed 2007; L. Reed 2007; Wall 2007). Such efforts will hopefully be enhanced by the availability of this regional ethnohistory context and questions and ideas ventured herein. “Extraregional Relationships” was one of the problem domains that was to have been investigated by the Dolores Archaeological Project (Knudsen, James, Kane et al. 1986:21). That program may well have developed some ideas on the prehistoric populations of the local region that might prove useful to those who will be continuing to wrestle with the Gateway manifestations.

Perhaps the most important aspect in understanding and explaining the Gateway phenomena would, however, appear to be via efforts in biological anthropology, including genetics, in which study of the people themselves would be undertaken. The question of who these people were can hardly be addressed in any other way and one cannot of course recapture linguistic heritages from studies of either human remains or material culture. Linguistics is, however, just how Native American peoples have long been classified in anthropology, including ethnohistory studies. Unfortunately, such biological anthropology studies would prove exceedingly difficult to carry out in the mod-

ern archaeological climate even if individual study specimens could be located. Such studies are no longer encouraged and seldom undertaken, even when skeletal populations are found. Because of this it is quite unlikely that the true nature of the Gateway phenomena will ever be well understood.

Although Alan Reed did not name his Gateway tradition after the great gateways to travel and trade discussed herein, he seems to have quite by chance happened on a name for the complex manifestations that was perhaps far more appropriate than any of us might ever have initially recognized.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Paradox Basin is a part of the Colorado Plateau geomorphic province. It is more formally known to geologists as the Paradox Salt Basin of southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado. The basin lies west of and generally parallel to the Uncompahgre Plateau and is a rectangular tract some 150 miles long and 60–70 miles wide. The La Sal Mountains lie a bit west of the center of the basin. Other than these mountains the major topographic and structural features are related to flowage or solution of masses of salt and gypsum. The structures in the area are mainly anticlines and synclines. There are eight major anticlinal structures or valleys that characterize this area. The best known of these are the Salt, Paradox, and Gypsum valleys. Disappointment and Dry Creek valleys are also obvious features amid this rugged landscape of valleys and mesas (Baars 1972; Thornbury 1965). It is necessary to bear in mind that there is both a Paradox Basin and Paradox Valley in this area.

<sup>2</sup>The reviewers of this paper suggested that the terms “ethnohistory” or “ethnohistorical” were not universally understood by archaeologists and that the author needed to define the terms as he has used them herein. The following definition and description is relied upon for that purpose and is quoted directly from W. Raymond Wood (Wood 1990:81–82), who believes the practice of ethnohistory is something of an art. *“Here I minimally define the term ethnohistory, as it has been refined among those practitioners of the art who have remained in the original tradition of the field, as the use of historical documents and historical method in anthropological research. I stress the use of ‘historical method,’ discussed later at length, because it is—or should be—an integral part of ethnohistory, this rarely is made explicit. Ethnohistorical studies, therefore, are based on historical documents, but they are written with anthropological insight: Their goal may be culture history, the reconstruction of past lifeways, or understanding cultural processes. Although most works that are overtly labeled ethnohistory concern the ‘twilight zone’ between prehistory and history, study may focus on any topic for which documents exist, whether in history or anthropology.”* As Wood further discusses it is to be noted that there is no such thing as “ethnohistorical documents.” There are only historical documents that may be useful in ethnohistorical

studies, and documents are only artifacts and not authorities. They have to be read very carefully and always with a very careful and critical eye toward, among other things: who prepared the document, why they did so, when they did so, what was happening in the context in which they prepared it, and where the preparation was done (such as firsthand field observation or a post-event such as in production of memoirs). Some of these issues are also discussed in Baker, Carrillo, and Späth (2007).

<sup>3</sup>The terms “protohistory” and “protohistorical” have in recent years at times been misunderstood and misused in relation to the archaeological taxonomies of Colorado’s Native American peoples. This unfortunate situation is discussed at some length in Baker, Carrillo, and Späth (2007:30–31), who provide a definition in keeping with the traditional and routinely used meanings of the terms. The definition they give is: “Protohistory . . . refers to archaeological assemblages that contain European-derived goods but for which there is no written record or other evidence of direct face-to-face contact between the Native American occupants and Europeans. At its heart the concept of protohistory implies no specific time frames. . . . By any definition, protohistory does not refer to any prehistoric time frames or the documented portion of any group’s historic experience. . . . At a practical level in ethnohistory, protohistory means 1) that groups can learn of one another (e.g., the Spanish know there are Utes out there and the Utes know there are strangers settled in the region) yet they have yet to meet face-to-face and 2) that there is as yet no meaningful written documentation specifically about the native groups. No one has yet met them or written about them. Until someone writes about a group, it is still protohistoric.”

<sup>4</sup>The degree to which most of the trails in western Colorado were unsuitable for horses is well illustrated by the way that the Ute Indians were, despite by then being highly equestrian, still carrying important messages by foot as late as the 1870s. Chief Ouray, titular Head Chief of the Confederated Ute Nations, was then still using pedestrian couriers to communicate from his home in the Uncompahgre Valley throughout and beyond his own mountainous western Colorado dominions. Fleet-footed runners, such as his nephew, Antelope, rather than horse-mounted couriers, still followed an ancient Indian practice and speedily carried critical communications by rugged paths across the dizzying heights of La Sierra de las Grullas (the San Juan Mountains) and other regional ranges (Baker 2004a: 4–15, 5–11; *Harpers Weekly*, Oct. 25, 1879; Nabakov 1981; Thomas 1937).

<sup>5</sup>The legendary Native American province of el Gran Teguayo commenced on the west side of the Wasatch Front in northwestern Utah. The size and boundaries of the province have never been determined but it appears to have been quite a substantial area that included the Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake. The classic description of Teguayo/Copala was written by Father Alonso Posada in the seventeenth century and is found in Thomas (1982). Also see Zárate Salmeron (1966), Sánchez (1997), Tyler (1952), Tyler and Taylor (1958), and the detailed account of the Juan Rivera entradas currently being prepared by Baker (2008) and his colleagues. By 1765 a long and consistent tradition of both ancient and modern accounts had sustained intriguing and commonly rumored details of el Gran Teguayo in the lore of New Mexico. Teguayo is believed to be a Tewa Indian word. In that Tanoan Indian language it is pronounced “tewaYO” and is thought to mean something like “the land of the Tewas” (David Brugge, personal communication with Steven Baker, 2007). In the Uto-Aztec Indian languages of Mexico Teguayo was known as “Copala,” which meant a “congregation of many different peoples and nations” as noted in Father Posada’s report of 1686 (Thomas 1982:42–44). Like all good stories the legend of Teguayo evolved through time and was interwoven with tales of the famed Lake of Copala, which was said to be located in Teguayo/Copala.

Like the fabled Quivera, Teguayo has generally been considered to be a myth by most scholars. As this author’s ongoing research is demonstrating (Baker 2008), Teguayo was not a myth as commonly presumed and had once been some manner of reality on the ancient Native American landscape. The challenge for modern



ethnohistorians and archaeologists is to determine just what it was and where it was located, just as Rivera had been charged to do in 1765 via his express orders from Governor Cachupín to go there and investigate the rumors about heavily bearded people living there. They were said to look more like Spaniards than Indians. Rivera's travel account is, however, only a small but very critical link in the evolution of the legend of Teguayo. It helps support the notion that Teguayo not only once existed but that such a notion was still held by the Spanish officials in New Mexico in the latter eighteenth century.

<sup>6</sup>The Gunnison drainage basin commences on the immediate west side of the Continental Divide in west-central Colorado. While the primary topographic gateways for north-to-south travel on the west side of the divide are quite obviously on the Gunnison at Delta, Colorado; at the confluence of the Colorado and Dolores rivers; and the Colorado at Moab, Utah; there are a few other far more difficult north-to-south routes that are secondary ways to reach these great gates. These include the trail that passed northward from the Gunnison near Gunnison, Colorado, by way of the Gunnison and then the East River Valley (Baker 2004b). This ultimately led to Crested Butte and then over high mountain passes into either the Crystal River Valley above Carbondale or the valley of the North Fork of the Gunnison above Paonia on the south side of Grand Mesa. The other is an essentially undocumented and difficult and essentially pedestrian trail that once led from the San Miguel River below Naturita to the Dolores Canyon and then northeasterly into Unaweep Canyon and thence to the lower Gunnison at White Water near Grand Junction. Both of these secondary routes feed into the great gate on the Gunnison at or below Delta. When compared to the north branch of the Spanish Trail or the Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail they would have been very difficult ways by which to reach the Gunnison gate in the Delta vicinity.

<sup>7</sup>The Big Bend of the Dolores was such a critical travel junction for mounted expeditions that in 1879 it became a strategic consideration for the Negro "Buffalo Soldiers" of the 9th U. S. Cavalry on the eve of the then threatened Ute War. The Army feared that the Indian cavalry, made up of mounted Ute and allied hostiles, might beat them to the Big Bend of the Dolores. If that occurred the Army believed that it would never be able to dislodge them from this strategic location. The Indians could thus control all travel, including that of the Army, into the western slope from the Dolores junction point. This led the Buffalo Soldiers to make a mad dash to reach the Dolores ahead of the Utes (Baker 2004a:4–17 to 4–19; U.S. Army 1871–1880).

<sup>8</sup>The Navajo-Uncompahgre Trail is documented as the "Navajo" trail leading south from the Uncompahgre Valley in Hayden (1877a) and shown in his various other map coverage of western Colorado. It is also shown and named in the Hatch Map of 1879 shown herein in Figure 5 (U.S. Office of Indian Affairs 1863–1880). Also see Baker (2004a:1–10, 4–18 to 4–19; 2005).

<sup>9</sup>The term "Genízaro" refers to a specific social class in the New Mexico colony. This class consisted of Indians who had been taken from their own peoples and reared among the Spanish where they served as slaves, servants, and herders. These peoples were often baptized in the Catholic Church and spoke Spanish, their native tongues, and sometimes multiple Indian languages. In time they could earn their freedom. Many did and returned to their original peoples while others stayed in residence on the fringes of the Spanish colony in special Genízaro communities such as Plaza de Belén or Abiquiú. From these bases they served as mercenaries in defense of the colony, as interpreters, guides, and so forth. They also had their own sociopolitical structures, including leadership positions that were sometimes within chains of military-like command (Chávez 1979; Ebright and Hendricks 2006; Horvath 1977, 1979).

<sup>10</sup>From: "Instructions that must be followed by Juan María de Rivera, Antonio Martín, and Gregorio Sandoval, along with the interpreter Joaquín, a Genízaro Indian of the Pueblo de Abiquiú during the mission which has been entrusted to them because of their experience." by Don Tomás Vélez Cachupin, Governor of New Mexico, 1765. Transcription of the original Juan Rivera Diaries, Archivo del Ejército, Madrid.

Translated by Donald C. Cutter, Albuquerque, New Mexico (1968), copy on file Centuries Research, Inc., Montrose, Colorado.

<sup>11</sup>The term “Cosninas” refers to the people initially known to the Spaniards as Havasupis. In the eighteenth century Francis Garces is said to have Hispanicized the name as “Payuches” or Paiutes (Kelly and Fowler 1986:393). These are apparently also the people whom Domínguez and Escalante refer to as the “Yutes Cobardes” or “timid Utes” (Bolton 1950:227; Chavez and Warner 1976:71, 87). It is important that Rivera’s description of the people, as provided by his Paiute informants, referred to them as a friendly naked people. This is in keeping with the fathers’ description of them as timid Utes.

<sup>12</sup>Anyone who works in or around oil and gas fields that have appreciable quantities of naturally occurring H<sub>2</sub>S (hydrogen sulfide gas) are usually given training in the considerable dangers inherent in this foul smelling but colorless gas. This author received his safety training in the subject from Chevron Inc. when he was directing archaeological work in the Rangely Field just west of Rangely, Colorado, in 1983–84. That training essentially informs a person that by the time one smells this gas he will die since only trace amounts can be fatal. About all that one can do is react to warnings of its presence and don protective gear at the first alarm. In keeping with formal corporate policy the author was required to shave his beard when working with Chevron so that he could get his rescue mask to fit tightly. The trail to Teguayo followed by Domínguez and Escalante passed directly through Rangely Field. The author has not yet been able to determine if the gas can naturally seep to the surface from underground but it would certainly seem possible under some circumstances. Thus, the account of the Paiutes may or may not refer to H<sub>2</sub>S gas but it seems to be a plausible explanation for what some would consider to be nothing more than a entirely mythical account. There are thousands of accounts of the dangers and occurrence of this gas on the Internet.

<sup>13</sup>See footnote 3.

<sup>14</sup>The term “hybrid” is used here in the general sense to refer to prehistoric populations and their cultures which descended from mixed origins. These origins might have involved any mixture of ethnicity, biological backgrounds, or language.

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