

Juan Bautista de Anza, at the Age of 44, led his New Mexican Spaniards against the Comanche Cuerno Verde, and changed forever the history of this region.

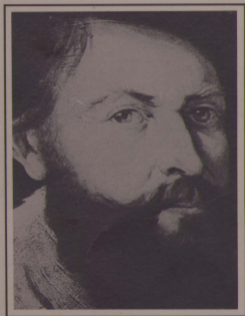
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ANZA'S

1779 COMANCHE CAMPAIGN



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DIARY OF
GOVERNOR JUAN BAUTISTA de ANZA

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ANZA'S

1779 Comanche Campaign

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Ron Kessler

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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PURPOSE

This booklet's intent is to recognize Anza's many accomplishments during and after his 1779 campaign.

The route that Anza used from Santa Fe to Saguache was a well-worn Indian trail that became known as the West fork of the North branch of the Old Spanish Trail, with the exception of a few variations. That is pointed out in this booklet by the author and may differ somewhat from other historians' beliefs.

Anza was a compassionate man who helped create housing and education in farming for the native Americans who had been caught up in the fervor of Cuerno Verde. He did this even though his own father had been killed by the Apaches. These acts were in sharp contrast to other leaders of his time.

The impact of Anza's success cannot be measured.....it was largely responsible for the Colorado-New Mexico territories becoming safe for immigrant travel and homesteading. Anza's contributions to the Southwest were of great significance.

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Contents

| | |
|---|---|
| THE DIARY OF JUAN BAUTISTA de ANZA Campaign of 1779 against the Comanches Translated by Alfred B. Thomas Expounded upon by Ronald E. Kessler | 8 |
|---|---|

| | |
|----------|----|
| GLOSSARY | 36 |
|----------|----|

| | |
|-----------|----|
| END NOTES | 37 |
|-----------|----|

Illustrations

| | |
|--|------------|
| Portrait of Governor Juan Bautista de Anza | Cover |
| Miera y Pacheco Map | 9 |
| 1779 Trail through the San Luis Valley | 15 |
| Sketch of Rock without date | 16 |
| The 1858 AÑO Rock | 17 |
| The Old Spanish Trail | 18 |
| Old Spanish Trail Wagon Ruts | 19 |
| Governor Anza's Campaign Map | 22 & 23 |
| Greenhorn Park | 28 |
| Cuerno Verde Commemorative Plaque erected in Greenhorn Park | 29 |
| Documentary | Back Cover |

About The Author

Ron Kessler, born in 1943 in Monte Vista, Colorado, to Ernest and Lola Kessler, was on horseback as early as he could walk. His home having been a mile or so from the Old Spanish Trail, his colt-breaking rides often had him crossing the trail, beholding the 1858 ANO rock which now rests in the Rio Grande County Museum, all of which whetted his interest in local history.

Ron's early interests were in wrestling, rodeo, hunting and fishing. Vocations included mechanical, electrical, horse and cattle ranching with horseshoeing on the side. Indulging his absorption in historical research came with time gained by retirement from the cattle and farrier business. In 1989 he helped found the San Luis Valley Harness and Saddle Club.

Married to Franis Firkins in 1964, he and his wife have three children (Ron, Jr., Debbie and April) and two grandsons (Mykeal and Kasey). Ron's educational background is graduation from Monte Vista High School and attendance at Southern Colorado State College, Pueblo. A prolific lecturer on such diverse subjects as The Old Spanish Trail, Fremont's Fourth Expedition, Draft Horses and Anza's 1779 Campaign, his schedule included four 1993 engagements with another four thus far on the 1994 calendar.
F.K.

Introduction

My interest in the diary of Don Juan Bautista de Anza was the result of long study of the Old Spanish Trail and its travelers. This was in addition to living near and traveling the Trail myself. The San Lorenzo campsite is a southwest view through my computer room window.

My wife Franis and I explored and photographed the de Anza route from Santa Fe, starting August 15, 1993, a Sunday exactly 214 years after the Governor's trip began in 1779.

First seeing in 1960 the historic 1858 ANO Rock inspired me to inquire from such noted San Luis Valley Historians as Ruth Marie Colville and Patricia Richmond and directed my attention to the de Anza Diary.

A splendid translation of the Anza diaries by Alfred B. Thomas was done in Seville, Spain. Working only with maps and no firsthand knowledge of the territory, Thomas' work is highly credible; however, my wish is to examine the diaries personally after I get a copy from the Seville Archives. Descriptions of the San Luis Valley route are fairly accurate but the front range-cited locations appear to be only approximate.

The reason for my notes is to guide other historians with legal descriptions of campsites and highways which are referenced in the Bibliography. My questions and those of others may lead to other books and articles on "The Old Spanish Trail and The Travelers Who Used It."

May all your trails be pleasant ones. Happy reading.

Ron Kessler

JUAN BAUTISTA de ANZA

Diario de la expedicion que sale a practicar contra la nacion cumancha el infraescrito teniente coronel, Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Gobernador y Comandante de la Provincia de Nuevo Mexico con la tropa, milicianos e Indios.

AS

TRANSLATED BY ALFRED B. THOMAS

EXPOUNDED UPON

BY

RONALD E. KESSLER

BIOGRAPHY

Don Juan Bautista de Anza was born in the town of Fronteras, Sonora, Mexico, in the year of 1735. Anza's father had been a friend and co-worker of the Jesuits. It is from these people that the younger Anza received much of his education. This training must be credited for Anza's learning to keep an excellent diary.

At the age of seventeen, in 1752, Anza was following family tradition when he volunteered for military service. His grandfather had served for thirty years on the Northern Frontier of New Spain. Anza's father served both as Captain at Fronteras and as temporary Governor of Sonora. By the year 1755 the young Anza had achieved the rank of Lieutenant.

In 1758 Anza campaigned against the Apaches at the Gila River. A year later Captain Anza became the Commander of the Presidio of Tubac. In 1766 he again campaigned against Apaches, and during 1768-1771 he played a brilliant part in Elizondo's conquest of Sonora.

On January 8, 1774, Anza set out at the head of thirty-four men to explore a route to San Francisco, California. In November 1774 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. On September 29, 1775, Anza led forth from Sonora an expedition of two hundred and forty people to establish San Francisco. He arrived on March 10, 1776, with 242 people, a proud accomplishment. One woman had died along the way, but three babies were born on the trip. This journey was so difficult that it cost the lives of nearly a hundred head of livestock from hardship along the way. Anza's journey to and from California covered more than two thousand miles. To go to Mexico City to report his work to the Viceroy and return to his post involved a horseback trek of an additional three thousand miles for a total of five thousand miles on horseback.

In 1777 Anza was appointed the Governor and Commander of New Mexico, but he didn't reach Santa Fe until late in 1778. He took census of the province and visited all of the pueblos. He then reorganized the settlers into towns or plazas containing at least twenty families. Each small plaza contained two bastions to give the guns better range. Taos was fortified with four bastions as were all of the larger plazas so that they could be more easily defended. He then ordered the Miera y Pacheco map prepared and made his plans to campaign against the Comanches who had been continually raiding the Spanish settlements.

After successfully dealing with the Indian problems of New Mexico, Anza furnished labor and materials to establish a pueblo on the Arkansas River. The pueblo was built for the Jupe Comanches who had become friendly with the Spanish. Governor Anza left New Mexico in November and arrived in Sonora in the spring of 1788. There he became Provisional Commander of the armed forces of that province and captain of the Presidio of Tucson.

On December 19, 1788, Governor Anza died in Arispe, Sonora, and was buried in the church of Nuestra Señora de la Asuncion. In 1963 the church needed a new floor. At that time, Anza's remains were dug up and reburied in a marble sarcophagus. A celebration was held in honor of Anza's many accomplishments, and a plaque was placed upon his tomb for all who would visit to see. The church also received a tile floor instead of the oak floor originally planned.

* * * * *

Diary of the expedition which the undersigned Lieutenant Colonel, Governor and Commander of New Mexico is setting out to effect against the Comanche nation, with the troop, militia and Indians listed as follows:

STATE OF TROOP MILITIA AND INDIANS
MENTIONED ABOVE

| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|----|-----|-----|-----|
| Veteran Troop | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 85 | | | 103 |
| <i>Idem</i> of Santa Fe Militia | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 3 | | | | 37 | 6 | 49 |
| <i>Idem</i> of Villa of Cañada | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 4 | 12 | | | | 103 | 96 | 246 |
| <i>Idem</i> of the Alcaldia of Las Queres | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 | | | | 16 | 149 | 156 |
| <i>Idem</i> of San Carlos | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | 20 | 8 | 33 |
| Total | 5 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 9 | 27 | 1 | 1 | 85 | 203 | 259 | 600 |

A, Captains; B, Lieutenants; C, Ensigns; D, Chaplain; E, Sergeant
F, Militia Sergeants; G, Cadet; H, Drummer; I, Soldier; J, Militia;
K, Indians; L, Totals.

Even though totals don't add up, it is generally accepted by historians that Juan Bautista de Anza's troops numbered 600.

Ron Kessler

ANZA DIARY

15 August 1779 Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon the march was begun, route to the north on which six leagues were covered on the Camino Real. Halt was made to pass the night in the vicinity of the Pueblo of Pujuaque.

*Anza left Santa Fe at 3:00 p.m. He and his party traveled from Santa Fe, New Mexico, north on the Camino Real (this follows very closely Highway 285) to the vicinity of the pueblo of Pujuaque, where they camped for the night. The present day spelling of this town is Pojuaque, but the pueblo is one of the 61 pueblos that have not survived from the time of Oñate, although there is now a town there by that name. (In 1598 Oñate counted 80 Indian pueblos in what is now New Mexico.)

Why did they choose to leave at 3:00 p.m.? That seems to be an unusual time for departure, especially with 600 men and many head of horses, not to mention the vast amount of food, ammunition, etc. So why didn't they get an early start as seems to be de Anza's habit throughout the days which follow?

Although the circumstances which precede this expedition are not explained in Anza's diary, it is apparent that much preparation had already been made. Anza had obviously been awaiting some signal to begin the march. Taos had been warned by Apache scouts six days prior to their attack that many of the enemy were coming with plans to raid the Spanish settlements again. (This is mentioned on 7 September of Anza's diary.) Thus, there was no time to waste when they became aware that the Comanches were on the move.

16 August 1779 Monday At half-past six in the morning we continued our march on the road, route north, one-quarter to the northwest. On this six leagues were traveled, in the wood of San Juan de los Caballeros. Camped.

This place I designated for the assembling of the combatants mentioned above. Accordingly, I reviewed all on the afternoon of this day. In this review I found the troops provided with three horses to each soldier with arms, munitions of war, and food supplies more than enough for forty days. This was not the case with the settlers and Indians. Because of their well-known poverty and wretchedness, the best equipped presented themselves with two riding beasts, the most of them almost useless; their guns were the same, very few of them having three charges of powder; in everything else the proportion



Plan de la Tierra que se andaba y descubrió en la Compañía que hizo Consta de los Comanches el Sr. Coronel D. Juan Bautista de Anza Gobernador y Comandante en Jefe de esta Provincia del Nuevo Mexico y la Tierra que congo de las Estancias de Santa Fe de Nuevo Mexico por el Sr. Coronel D. Juan Bautista de Anza.

Estancia de Santa Fe de Nuevo Mexico.

Comanche Country north of New Mexico per Miera y Pacheco's 1779 map.
Courtesy of the New Mexico State Records and Archives Center

was similar. In view of this, I supplied the most needy, each with a horse from the two hundred that I have extra in the herd at the presidio and all of them with firearms with ten ball cartridge belts.

I immediately provided for the best arrangement of the people making up the expedition, by forming the whole into three divisions, which can be of advantage to it in any event. I gave each one its respective commander whom I appointed. The divisions understood their position which I also indicated for any affray and for the entire march. The first was the vanguard under my command; the second, the rear guard under the first lieutenant; and the third, under command of the second lieutenant, the center between the two aforesaid and the reserve corps.

At the end of the afternoon I sent two scouts in advance to reconnoiter the points of entrance and departure of the enemy with orders that if they should find no indication or other development not to return until the 20th.

It will not be out of place to note here that I am directing the present expedition along a route and through regions different from those which have been followed previously. Thus I shall not suffer what has always happened so often, that is to be discovered long before reaching the country in which the enemy lives, as they inform me this is very common and is the reason for the failure of most of the campaigns, and so that I may be able to gain the border or boundary of the country indicated for the best success of the undertaking.

*Governor Anza led his troops of militia, Indians, and settlers to San Juan de los Caballeros, still following along present day Highway 285. This settlement was established in 1598 by Don Juan de Oñate and was the first permanent settlement in what is now the State of New Mexico. Extra horses were picked up here from de Anza's presidio, which brought the total to about 1800 head.

It was mentioned in de Anza's diary that his route was different from those followed previously. All earlier expeditions from Santa Fe in pursuit of Comanches went through Pecos or directly east from Taos over the Taos Mountains. Then they proceeded north to the Arkansas River in present-day southern Colorado. (Even though the route of this expedition was altered, de Anza's remarks on August 23 and again on August 27 indicated that not all of this route was entirely virgin.)

17 August 1779 Tuesday At a little after six we proceeded along the same road, the Rio del Norte crossed, route to the north-northwest. On this seven leagues were made as far as the deserted pueblo of Ojo Caliente, where camp

was pitched for the night, having reached the end of the Camino Real that we have been following.

The above mentioned pueblo is one of those abandoned on account of the hostilities of the enemy, as well as one proposed for the establishment of a presidio. For this reason I devoted myself today surveying it. I found it lacking all the conditions and advantages required for such an establishment. Those who have left it can only make this [selection] possible. Altogether they are twenty-five or thirty families scattered over more than four leagues, their houses unfortified. For this reason it is not strange that there were such attacks, as this disorder brought upon them the loss of their poor fields to which in substance the possessions of the inhabitants were reduced.

*The expedition pressed on from San Juan Pueblo to Ojo Caliente, which was the end of the Camino Real, still following Highway 285. The survivors of this settlement had suffered from repeated Indian attacks and had deserted their farms and homes. Anza had been endeavoring to get all of the Spanish settlers in sparsely populated areas to join forces and to fortify themselves against attack. Thus far he had not been particularly successful. Many of the settlers had complained to the Viceroy, and some of them had moved back to Mexico rather than comply.

18 August 1779 Wednesday At seven o'clock we set out again on our way with the route to the north through terrain considerably broken. Through this eight leagues were made up to the Rio de las Nutrias where the journey ended.

*This day's journey took leave of Highway 285. This was to avoid the "La Cañada de los Comanches" (Comanche Canyon) which the Comanches frequented on their raids of the Spanish settlements. Anza directed his men from Ojo Caliente to the Tusas River (Rio de los Nutrias on his map) and followed closely to today's road 111.

19 August 1779 Thursday A little before seven we pushed on toward the north. On this we traveled seven leagues through a country similar to that of the preceding day as far as the Rio de San Antonio where we stopped to pass the night.

*Several miles were traveled to the north through the mountainous country along the Tusas Ridge between the Tusas and the San Antonio rivers.

20 August 1779 Friday On this day frost and cold as though it were the days appropriate to this weather. At half-past six we resumed our march

toward the north through broken terrain which lasted as far as the Rio de los Conejos. To this seven leagues were made with which the day's journey ended.

Today the scouts mentioned on the 16th returned to me. They had found no other sign of the enemy than the trail in this very place of the last ones who encroached on our territory.

At the end of the afternoon two hundred men of the Ute and Apache nation also joined me with one of their principal captains. Of the first were those who ever since my assumption of this government have asked me, and who have reiterated incessantly with prayers that they be admitted into my company in confirmation of our friendship, provided I should go on a campaign against the Comanches. I agreed to grant this to them, as much to take advantage of this increase of people as to try in this way to civilize them so that they may at least be more useful to us against the enemy itself than they have been formerly.

With this intent I indicated that they must be at my orders as to what of spoils belonged to them in case of encounters and defeats of the enemy. This, with the exception of personal captures, they would have to agree to divide equally with all my men. To these proposals they consented, promising to observe them.

*On this day the troops were joined near the present day settlement of Ortiz (on the present day Rio de Los Pino) by 200 Apache and Ute Indians who also wished for revenge against the Comanche. Anza did not say that the new troops held him back, so they apparently were adequately supplied with horses, food and ammunition. This brought the total of men to 800 and probably as many as 2400 horses. Again several miles were covered, which took the horse soldiers to the Conejos River. This river (on the Miera y Pacheco map that de Anza used) was in New Mexico. On modern maps it is in Colorado. This is a puzzling fact.

21 August 1779 Saturday At six we again returned to our route to the north-northeast through bad country with many ravines, among which after two leagues, the Rio del Pino was crossed. To these three more leagues were added until Las Jaras was reached where the day's journey ended.

*The arduous excursion of this day took de Anza and his men to the Conejos River and then to La Jara Creek (Sec24, T35N, R7E) where they camped for the night and the next day. Their route took them west of San Antonio Mountain, between Los Mogotes and present day Antonito through the Poso to La Jara Creek. From this point de

Anza made plans to travel at night. The upcoming route placed them one-half mile west of the present day town of Centro.

22 August 1779 Sunday It was necessary to make the next march at night so that the enemy might not desecrate the dust of our troop and horseherd from the sierra, not very distant, which we are keeping on our right. For that reason the march of this day was reserved for the night.

At sunset the journey was taken up with route to the north and after a league was made in that direction, the Rio de las Timbres was crossed; beyond that another six leagues were made in the same direction, upon which the Rio de San Lorenzo was reached at two in the morning.

*It is obvious why de Anza was forced to travel at night through the San Luis Valley. Although there is a fifty mile span between the San Juan Mountains on the west and the Sangre de Cristo Range on the east side, the lucid visibility belies that distance.

The old trail they had followed since La Jara Creek had been in existence since 1000 A.D. or earlier. It later became known as the Old Spanish Trail, of which de Anza used the west fork of the north branch on his nocturnal march. There is no mention of moonlight guiding de Anza along this trail, but whether there was moonlight or not, the trail must have been quite well marked. This trail is approximately one-half mile west of Highway 15 along the foothills of the San Juan Mountains.

Upon leaving La Jara Creek at sundown, de Anza and his men followed the trail three miles to the present day Alamosa River. From there they marched another eighteen miles to Rock Creek (Sec29, T38N, R7E) where they spent the following day. What a welcome sight that good grass must have been to those many horses! And the concealment was of critical importance since this country is so open.

23 August 1779 Monday At nightfall we again held our course toward the north in which direction we traveled four leagues through fairly good country. At the end of this march we inclined toward the north-northwest for two more leagues upon which the march ended at the Rio del Norte where the ford was named El Paso de San Bartolome.

*There is a problem with the diary at this point in that the distances do not work out, unless de Anza would have traveled from the camp on Rock Creek to the north for six miles (along this route is where the 1858 AÑO rock was located) then to the north-northwest for six miles. This would have placed him at the known crossing of the

river which falls in line with his later travels. (This camp is located in Sec36, T40N, R6E, the east end of the Off Ranch.) This is a perfect place for de Anza to have camped, having a channel of the river to the south and to the north which would have helped to contain the 2400 head of horses. There would have been many large old cottonwood trees and willows to aid them in their concealment, not to mention the good grass that there must have been at this camp.

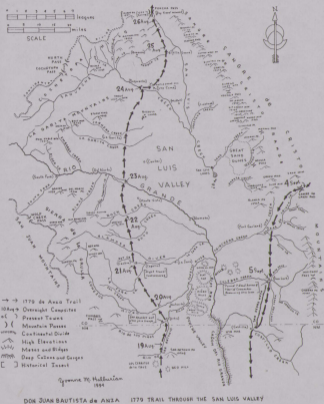
This crossing is at what was known as La Loma Del Norte established in 1861 and is the same that was used by John Lawrence in 1867. Irene Slade, who still resides in the area of this crossing, tells a story about its use. Her grandparents lived across the river on the south side on the old Don Roberts place. Her family lived on the north side. On Sundays Irene's father would harness a team of horses and hook them to a wagon. The whole family would load up and they would use this old crossing to get to her grandparent's home for dinner, returning by the same route. This undoubtedly saved them time and several miles versus travel by road.

23 August 1779 Monday continues This river, as is known, empties into the Mar del Norte and the Bay of Espíritu Santo. It has its own source fifteen leagues more or less from this place in the Sierra de la Grulla, which is that on the skirts of which we have traveled since the 17th, it being the one to the west and closest on this route to the principal villa of this government under my charge.

The Ute nation which is accompanying me, who reside at the said source, and three civilians who have explored it, tell me that the river above proceeds from a great swamp, this having been formed, in addition to its springs, by the continuous melting of snow from some volcanos which are very close.

The same persons also assure me that after fifteen leagues on the breadth of the sierra, one sees seven rivers in a very short distance. These united form in the same way one of considerable size which flows to the west. For this reason and others which I omit, I judge this river to be that which they call the Rio Colorado, which merging with the Gila empties into the Gulf of California. There from the nations who lived on it and with whom I have communicated in my travels along it I have quite detailed information of the Ute nation. From this I infer that the two are not far distanced from each other.

The same settlers mentioned, who explored the seven rivers referred to, by order of Governor Don Thomas Velez, affirm that on all of them, which are very fertile, they observed that in ancient times they were well populated with Indians, this being demonstrated by the large size of the formal pueblos

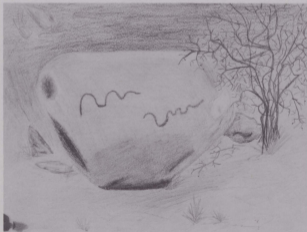


of three stories and other remains. Among these was [evidence] that the settlers themselves had practiced the art of taking out silver, as their ore dumps and other remains of their use were found. They assured me, moreover, they delivered these fragments to the aforesaid governor, who, according to other reports, sent them to the city of Mexico.

*Governor Anza's brilliance must be noted at this point as he was trying to tie in what he had learned on his trips to San Francisco to what he had learned on the present trip.

24 August 1779 Tuesday As soon as it was night we picked up our route in the same northern direction, by which, and through good land, eight leagues were made. After this we descended four to the north-northwest, upon which we arrived at the break of day following at a pleasant pond named San Luis.

*After sundown on this day the troops marched twelve miles north from the Rio Grande crossing, then twenty-four miles to the northeast. After leaving the river, they proceeded to the north through open country and arrived at an area with a ridge on the left, and a small hill on the right. They traveled thus to La Garita Creek where



This is how the ancient trail marker would have looked in 1779. Sketch by Franis Kessler.

the country is more open. From the present town of La Garita they traveled to the northeast for twenty-four miles. (Not to the northwest as the diary states nor to the north eight leagues then northeast four leagues). This is an obvious error if they were to cross Poncha Pass from the present town of Saguache. They had good level country for traveling since leaving La Jara Creek although in the area of Saguache there was a pond called San Luis (Sec6, T44N, R8E). In an interview with Perry Hazard, who is a native of Saguache, he also confirmed that there was a small pond where the town of Saguache is built today when his great-great-grandfather, James Glann Hazard, arrived in 1870. (James was a market hunter.) Another interesting fact is that there is a bench mark in this area named San Luis.

From the beginning of the march we suffered from bitter cold. When as we ended the journey we promised ourselves relief with fires which we were about to kindle, we discovered many fires to the east of us, and believing them of the enemy, we gave up what we had intended. Later these fires were found to be from a camp of long standing, but the mistake was not learned until eight o'clock in the morning.



The 1858 AÑO Rock in its original location.

Courtesy Ron Kessler

At this place on the 10th of July of the present year, a large number of Comanches attacked a greater force of Utes who were camped there with their families. Although the former succeeded in darkness of the night in capturing all the Ute horses, the latter recovered them, with the added advantage of killing twelve of the robbers, among them a captain. Their bodies with other evidence proved the fact; besides, the very victors themselves pointed it out for us.

*The troops discovered the Ute camp of long-standing at what is now called Rattlesnake Hill. Anza and his men spent the day with the Utes and were probably grateful for their company as well as the news of the Comanches' defeat the previous July. This camp was centered around a spring identified on the Haden survey maps of 1874 and 1875 as Hunt Spring (Sec3, T44N, R8E). This campsite is reckoned for the Indian artifacts that have been found by local people.

25 August 1779 Wednesday At nightfall we began our march, route to the north for one league, at the end of which we inclined for another two to the north. After three more we made to the northwest, we reached an arroyo which was named Santa Xines.

*On this night the men marched north nine miles and then to the



The Old Spanish Trail

Courtesy Ron Kessler

northeast another nine miles. Their camp was in the area of Villa Grove. (Sec15, T46N, R9E) This route follows closely Highway 285.

26 August 1779 Thursday At four o'clock in the afternoon we continued our route to the northeast. Along it four leagues were marched at the end of which we halted to pass the night and wait the following day in order to cross the bad land which follows. This place was named El Aguage de los Yutas.

Since the swamp of San Luis was left, up to the above named water hole, the sierras that we have had to the right and left of us (between which runs the Rio del Norte) have drawn much closer together. Those there conjoined run thus to the northwest, their end being unknown.

*At four in the afternoon on this day, the troops left the San Luis Valley over Poncha Pass, having traversed it in five days. This pass is over the two mountain ranges that merge majestically into one. After twelve miles of ascent, they made night camp at Ute Spring (Sec9, T48N, R8E) and thus ended their night travel. Ute Spring was a favor-



Old Spanish Trail
Wagon Ruts
*Courtesy Sally Crum,
Collbran, Colorado*

ite watering hole and camp for the Utes. The spring is still in evidence today and can be seen traveling over Poncha Pass.

27 August 1779 Friday At seven we forced our way through a very narrow canyon with almost inaccessible sides, and considerable water, the first that runs generally to the northeast and which is the only one that divides the two sierras mentioned. It being very rarely crossed, cost us considerable work to conquer. This accomplished after traveling five leagues, we came out at the union of this stream of water with a good sized river, which was named San Agustín. There the day's journey ended.

"Governor Anza commented that "It being very rarely crossed" in reference to Poncha Pass, ascertainment that the country is not unknown. Upon scrutiny, those fifteen miles to the San Agustín River (now called the South Arkansas River) were surely difficult. The immensity of de Anza's company must have made it even more so.

28 August 1779 Saturday Just before seven o'clock we set out on the road toward the northeast, and after a little more than a league we crossed to the Rio de Napeste which comes from the northwest. It has its rise in the sierra which as already said runs in this direction. After finishing another league we began to cross another medium-sized sierra, which occupied two more leagues. Upon these four more were made to the east through some ranges of hills, where from two in the afternoon until seven we rested the horses. After this, continuing the march in the last named direction, five more leagues were traveled until we arrived at some hills which were named Las Perdidas, because of the trouble we had from the snow and fog which beset us before nightfall.

"This was a day of better traveling with the terrain much improved over the previous day's. His diary states that they traveled to the northeast of the town of Salida, then to the east. Here is what appears to be another error. The diary as translated by Thomas would have taken Anza across the Phantom Cañon from the west to the east, and south of Pike's Peak. I would challenge anyone who believes in this route to take one horse and try to complete this course. Surely it could not have been done with 2400 head. I believe that their trail must have paralleled the Arkansas River to the north, to the area of Johnson Village where they crossed the river. Their route followed Highway 285 then on to Highway 24. Lenthly conversation with Floyd J. Willis (Bus), longtime Southpark rancher, helped me to confirm this route.

29 August 1779 Sunday At eight o'clock, the weather still bad, we forged ahead to the east. In this direction and through a good country four leagues

were made. These over we paused in a good arroyo, as much to refresh the riding beasts as to give time to all people of the expedition to prepare and dress the meat of fifty head of buffalo they had succeeded in killing in less than ten minutes from the great number which broke in on our march.

"Only twelve miles had been marched when de Anza's men found themselves in the middle of a herd of buffalo. Their excitement must have been great, indeed, after dry and probably unsavory rations, the fresh meat must have been very welcome. Although it is not certain, the buffalo may have been encountered in Buffalo Gulch. Aptly named! Another eighteen miles were covered before nightfall with the traveling good. Their night camp was probably at Florissant. Highway 24 follows closely the route taken by de Anza.

A little before twelve, the scouts mentioned on the 26th rejoined us, having found nothing worthy of mention. Twenty others were substituted for them at once with orders to meet me on the 31st if nothing of importance occurred before then.

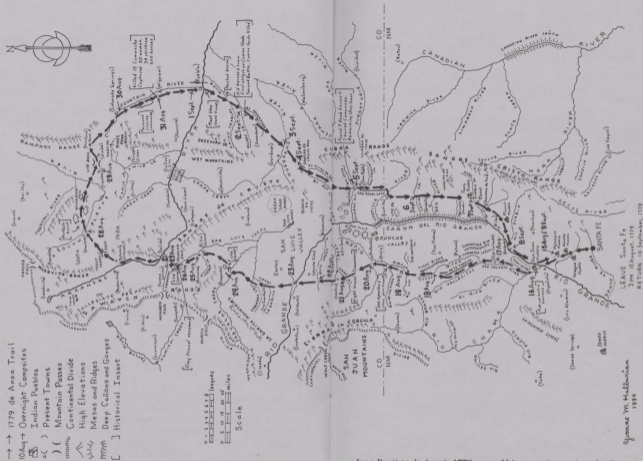
After these scouts had been sent out at the time spoken of, we again took up our route at six in the afternoon to the east-southeast. Along it six leagues were made through good country, with many small streams. The day's journey terminated, the night now being well advanced, at the foot of a hill which was called Los Ojos Ciegos.

30 August 1779 Monday At a little before seven we began to force our way over Sierra Almagre, which is very rough with its ravines and thick woods, route to the east. After eight leagues traveled in this direction, while we were still within the same sierra, halt was made on a river which rises in it, which I called Santa Rosa, to spend the night and await the reports of the spies who should come in tomorrow.

Since from the heights of this place the regions usually inhabited by the enemies may be descried, I had placed lookouts on three eminences to note what might happen until the following day.

"Governor Anza took extra precautions to be on watch for the Comanches because the troops were in enemy territory and could be seen at any time. Twenty-four miles were marched in climbing over the front range, with Highway 24 mimicking their route over Ute Pass.

It is strange that de Anza's diary does not mention "El Capitan" the Spanish name for Pike's Peak. This great mountain was surely a landmark in their travels.



Juan Bautista de Anza's 1779 map of his campaign against the Commanche Cuerno Verde.

31 August 1779 Tuesday At half-past ten one of the aforesaid scouts reported that toward the east of where we were encamped clouds of dust were to be seen three leagues distant, and that in the same direction two [persons] apparently were traveling in search of us. For this reason I ordered that our entire train should be ready to march if necessary.

After eleven o'clock two of the scouts previously mentioned arrived, having been sent by their corporal with the information that a considerable number of enemies were raising the dust. They were encamped about a league and a half from where he was on watch. I proposed to go to this place because the site was still hidden and was nearer those whom he was observing and who he feared might come upon his trail, because he had been at dawn that morning at the very spot where they halted.

With this news I resolved to move to the spot mentioned as a more suitable place. The train of baggage and the horseherd advancing more slowly, I left guarded by two hundred men. To its commander I issued orders I judged necessary, that is to follow me, watching in case of attack, thus not to be unadvised of my whereabouts.

Arrived at this place, the corporal of the scouts informed me that in his opinion, we were discovered by his tracks because a little while after the enemy had halted and set up only six tents, four of the Indians came along the trail that he had made until they were very near the place where he was, and that as soon as those who came went back, he advanced a little to reconnoiter their trail and observed that they had collected their tents and all their horses. Accordingly, he judged the enemy proposed to flee.

Convinced by all that has been said that this would happen and that perhaps they observed everything about us, I resolved to attack without delay. This was made from right, left and center, as because it was daylight, and because of the nature of the plain in which the savages were, we had no opportunity to put them off from the retreat from our front over the same terrain by which they had come. At twelve o'clock more than a half a league away from their camp, it was inevitable that they should discover us. They had already caught all their horses, the mounts as well as the spare ones, but withal they did not sally forth as customarily to meet the troop, whom they observed drawn up in a form they had never before seen. Consequently, all being mounted, even to the women and children, they undertook precipitous flight, notwithstanding that the number of families equalled more than one hundred and twenty tents, whose wooden frames only had been set up. Disregarding this we pursued them in the best order possible. In three leagues we began to overtake the men, who faced us. The fight with them lasted about another league, during which we succeeded in killing eighteen of the most valiant and in wounding many.

It was necessary to take more than thirty women and children, the latter running to where their fathers were. Thirty-four of these were captured, besides all the horse herd, more than five hundred head. This was nearer the last thing done, after the horses could run no further. None escaped except the mounts of the Indians fleeing. They lost all of their goods and baggage; even the most necessary articles they abandoned where they had begun to make their camp. There was so much of this material that it could not be loaded on a hundred horses. The spoil our people seized, dividing it equally. In this matter we had not the least unpleasantness.

It is impossible accurately to state the number of the enemy with whom we fought because the men were clothed as their women with whom they fled and veiled in the dust of the horseherd they sought to save. It is impossible to count them, especially when the slaughter began, for the reason that they scattered widely. Accordingly, there is no way to calculate other than by the number of tents they prepared to raise, and which, as already said, were more than one hundred and twenty. It is well known that in each tent six to eight fighting men live.

At half-past four I returned to the watering place and pasture where the defeated enemy had been encamped. To this place the name of Rio del Sacramento was given, this expedition having been dedicated to this most Holy Mystery. Notwithstanding that from the time when the first prisoners were taken, I asked questions about the rest of their rancherias to ascertain whether I could strike another blow, I drew nothing certain from them until nine o'clock at night when the last two informed me that their chief or captain-general, Cuerno Verde, having gone with four of his principal captains and many of his people on a campaign to our country, had ordered them all to gather at this place to receive him and celebrate the triumph that he flattered himself he would secure; that it had been about sixteen days since he had marched away, and that for this purpose for two days a great number of rancherias were marching in the direction whence they had fled and whence those escaped from us had gone.

With this information and without hope of gaining anything from those since they would have news of us very much in advance, I determined, although the time was propitious for my return, to follow the trail of Cuerno Verde, to see if fortune would grant me an encounter with him. I proposed to seek this by whatever means were possible, as much because his punishment would be quick and opportune, as in order to restore the prisoners that he might be bringing from our country in case he had succeeded in striking a blow. The night of this day was passed with the greatest precautions; and nothing happened worthy of mention.

"After descending from the front range near Colorado Springs, the troops headed south, close to the route of I-25 today which parallels the Fountain River. Before midday a scout reported seeing the enemy and de Anza led 600 of his men into battle, which left 200 men to guard the horseherd and baggage. The helter-skelter war with the Comanche people covered approximately twelve miles. Eighteen valiant Comanches were killed, many were wounded and an additional thirty women and thirty-four children were taken prisoner. The Indians who escaped were thought to have gone in search of Cuerno Verde to warn him of the troops' presence.

The captives were all questioned about their leader, Cuerno Verde. The last two provided information that Cuerno Verde was on his way to the camp that the Comanches had used when discovered by de Anza. Cuerno Verde had planned a victory party to celebrate his latest raids on the Spanish settlements.

The Comanche camp was near Wigwam, Colorado, which is east of I-25 between Colorado Springs and Pueblo. Governor Anza's diary does not say how many miles were traveled on this day.

1 September 1779 Wednesday In prosecution of my intention at seven o'clock in the morning having set out to discover the trail sought, I came upon it at ten o'clock, and having ordered that the advance scouts should always travel to the right and left of it, by day as well as by night, I pressed ahead. After seven leagues in the direction of the east-southeast, night forced a stop the end of the same Sacramento River because many of the settlers' horses were jaded.

"On this day travel was approached with caution so that the trail which Cuerno Verde would use was not marked by the troops' horses. Twenty-one miles were covered to the east-southeast which paralleled the same Fountain River that de Anza referred to as the Sacramento River. Some of the horses were in much need of rest, particularly after the previous day's skirmish.

2 September 1779 Thursday A little before seven we forged ahead to the south, and after traveling three leagues recrossed the Rio de Napestle where we found horses of the enemy whom we were following. Those were caught. After this, without giving any notice, most of the Ute nation left for their country. Along the same route five more leagues were made. At the end of these in a rocky arroyo we rested the horses until four in the afternoon. At this hour we again took up our route, and a league ahead, one of the advance scouts returned with the information that the enemies approaching were unaware of us. So that they should not discover us at a great distance away, I

had hid our horseherd and train, and the entire troop, which I placed where it seemed to me most advantageous for surprising the rebels who in a quite large force, although considerably scattered, were skirting some fairly heavily wooded mountains. Intervening between us was a little narrow valley which I had not time to examine.

At sunset the barbarians reached the valley, and we were forced to attack them with the column under my command, which it seems they were expecting. However, noting the other two columns about united to surround them, they gave themselves up to a blind and headlong flight. Although eight were killed and a considerable number wounded, not many perished as we had the misfortune to waste considerable time in crossing one by one the bottom of a boggy gully which the valley hid. Our advance was more than half a league on the other side. During that time they scattered completely. Because night was falling they had been able to escape as much because of this as well as from the previously mentioned loss [of time on our part]. If they had held firm on the side of the gully opposite us, then we might not have been able to cross if they had succeeded in defending it under cover of its woods. From this I infer that they had no knowledge of the gully or that because of the surprise did not think of doing so.

At half-past eight at night I withdrew to this gully which I crossed again with great trouble in the darkness to the place ordered for our horseherd and baggage to pass the rest of the night.

Those acquainted with the country and the mode of war usually practiced in it advised me to abandon the spot, as they had always done so, warning me that those recently routed could retaliate in the darkness of the night, especially if they should succeed in uniting. Judging this as difficult according to the knowledge that I have of other Indians, as well as this proposal might have something of cowardice in it, I replied that the very thing that they feared I desired; that they should understand that even in case the encounter had not decided so much in our favor, we ought for the honor of our arms to wait on the spot until dawn of the following day, and that until then, it was proper that we should remain under arms. This was done. We passed the night in great inconvenience because of rain and severe cold which prevailed during the greater part of it, but without any other disturbance whatever.

"Headed south, nine miles were marched by Anza and his troops to the Arkansas River where some of the enemy horses were caught. Most of the Ute Indians who had accompanied de Anza left at this point without farewell. This was likely in the area of the present town of Pueblo which is on I-25. Another eighteen miles were covered before evening. Anza traveled along a portion of the historic Taos Trail, which skirted the southeastern edge of the Greenhorn Mountains.

The scouts who always ranged ahead came back to report that they had seen the enemy. With the horseherd hidden, the troops also hid in order to surprise the Comanches. There was only a gully, unexamined by de Anza, between the troops and the scattered Comanches. Daylight was rapidly disintegrating. Cuerno Verde and his warriors apparently expected the Spanish attack but ran from the fight when they saw de Anza's tactics to have his units surround them so only eight Indians were killed and a number wounded. Cuerno Verde and many of his warriors escaped in the darkness.

The gully had slowed de Anza's charge because of its boggy bottom. And even though the New Mexico Governor was warned that Cuerno Verde might retaliate during the night, de Anza stood his ground and they were not attacked. Anza surely was anxious for the coming day so that he might again have a chance to confront Cuerno Verde.

3 September 1779 Friday Accordingly at daylight I had the immediate neighborhood reconnoitered. Nothing of any consequence having been found, I ordered the whole troop to prepare to march. This was begun at seven o'clock.

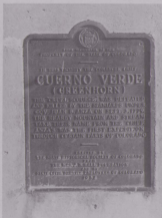


Greenhorn Park near where the battle between de Anza and Cuerno Verde transpired.
Courtesy Ron Kessler

At the beginning of our march a few of the enemy showed themselves, apparently wishing to cross the region that we were leaving through the very place which we had opened a road over the gully spoken of above. These few were joined by a great number. Accordingly, lest something untoward should happen, I remained with the first and second column on the rear and ordered the third and reserve corps, as vanguard, and that all should continue the march. For this purpose I required that the first two columns should hold some fair-sized woods on our right and left through which we had to pass for a distance of half a league.

At the wood the enemy had already increased to more than forty, and they drew almost within gunshot, firing off their own muskets. In this way was recognized from his insignia and devices the famous chief Cuerno Verde, who, his spirit proud and superior to all his followers, left them and came ahead, his horse curvetting spiritedly. Accordingly, I determined to have his life and his pride and arrogance precipitated him to this end.

To accomplish this I ordered the vanguard on coming out of the woods which concealed their formation to join battle with two hundred lightly burdened men, that the cavalry and loaded animals with their guards should aid the vanguard for the purpose of forcing the enemy against this body if I succeeded in enclosing them as I planned with a half circle I was considering



Plaque in Greenhorn Park to commemorate the victory of Juan Bautista de Anza over Cuerno Verde.

*Courtesy
Ron Kessler*

forming with the columns of the rear guard, and in order that the rear guard need not remain on watch over the horsered and train while it was precipitating the enemy into the gully already mentioned. Thus should perish there those most important to us, that is, the party immediately behind the leader of the barbarians, cut off from their right and left flank.

In order to execute both purposes and to fatigue as much as possible the horses of the enemy, in whose swiftness he placed his confidence for attacking and escaping, I withdrew swiftly apart from our Indian auxiliaries as though in retreat, but when my first plan was about to take effect the principal chieftain understood it and ordered all his men to retire. In view of this I proceeded to my second purpose and succeeded at once in cutting off from the larger body Cuerno Verde with his leading followers and they fell into the trap and the said gully. There without other recourse they sprang to the ground and entrenched behind their horses made in this manner a defense as brave as it was glorious. Notwithstanding, the aforesaid Cuerno Verde perished, with his firstborn son, the heir to his command, four of his most famous captains, a medicine man who preached that he was immortal, and ten more who were able to get in the place indicated.

A larger number might have been killed, but I preferred the death of this chief even to more of those who escaped, because of his being constantly in this region the cruel scourge of this kingdom, and because he had exterminated many pueblos, killing hundreds and making as many prisoners whom he afterwards sacrificed in cold blood. His own nation accused him, ever since he took command, of forcing them to take up arms and volunteer against the Spaniards, a hatred of whom has dominated him because his father, who also held the same command and power, met death at our hands.

I infer that his death was caused by his own intrepidity and the contempt that he wished to show for our people, being vaunted by the many successes that they have always obtained over us because of the irregularities with which they have always warred. He feared for the main body of his people who were defeated the afternoon before. This defeat had not been unknown to him for a musket lost in the battle by our Indian auxiliaries was in his possession, and withal, he had the temerity with fifty men of his daily and personal guard, to attack six hundred men in good formation. From this should be deduced the arrogance, presumption and pride which characterized this barbarian, and which he manifested until the last moment in various ways, disdainning even to load his own musket, which was done for him three times by another, while in the interval he was in danger.

All of our people and the prisoners say that his death will be greatly lamented but I believe that their regret will not exceed the pleasure our people have had in it. Among our force we had no greater disaster than a slight bullet wound received by a light-horse soldier. From some of the dead were taken five muskets, today an article which is plentiful among these heathen.

Although I tarried in this place which was named Los Dolores de Maria Santissima, until half-past ten to observe if there be any return of the barbarians, nothing was seen but the dust and smoke of their retreat which was made out for a distance of twelve leagues. From this it is inferred that those are the same who were defeated on the previous afternoon.

At the hour mentioned, after much cheering by our people in the name of the king and the superior chief who commands us, I set out toward the south. In this direction through good country, five leagues were made until we reached the first stream and arroyo of La Sangre de Cristo where passed the night.

*Governor Anza was surely not disappointed in that Cuerno Verde and his men did not try to escape in the cover of darkness. In the course of the day's battle, the hostile Indians were drawn into the boggy ground of the little valley. Somewhere near the eastern base of Greenhorn Mountain itself, the Spaniards managed to cut off Cuerno Verde and a score of his closest followers from the main Comanche force and trap them in the gully. It was there that Cuerno Verde put up his last fight and died along with his own son and fifteen others. His arrogance and false sense of immortality surely hastened his end even though he died valiantly. How exuberant de Anza must have been to finally defeat that, "scourge of the kingdom", Cuerno Verde! No deaths were suffered by the troops, and only one man was wounded.

To follow de Anza's route today, one would stay west of I-25 from Pueblo to the Greenhorn Valley, where the battle with Cuerno Verde was fought.

It is very troubling that de Anza does not mention the Huerfano River in his diary. This must have been the arroyo of La Sangre de Cristo to which he refers. He could not help but have crossed it on his way back to the Sangre de Cristo range, at which point Road 69 would have crossed the de Anza route.

4 September 1779 Saturday A little before seven we continued our route along the same direction, and from the first we began to recross the sierra that we had on our right in going. It was extremely fatiguing from its constant alterations of ascents and descents and to this was added a violent wind and fog. At five in the afternoon we came down to its foot, after eight leagues of travel to the place of the Ciénega.

*On this day, twenty-four miles are traveled to the south crossing

Sangre de Cristo pass. The ciénega which he mentions must be in the area just to the east of present day Fort Garland which they reached by night fall. From this point to the village of Santa Fe they traveled on what later became known as the east form of the north branch of the Old Spanish Trail.

5 September 1779 Sunday At half-past seven we again set out on our march on the said route through good country, during which we progressed ten leagues in the whole day. At the end of this, we arrived at the Rio de la Culebra and the day's journey was ended.

Because on reaching this place we found seven horses killed by the enemies whom we had met on the third, and other signs of treatment of wounds, I had it examined with great care. This resulted in the discovery of a grave in which were the same number of bodies [seven] which proved to us that they perished in the attack which we suppose they made on the pueblo of Taos, whence it appears the trail comes.

On this same day, before twelve o'clock, that part of the Ute nation which had remained, left for their country enriched and satisfied, and without farewells, for their barbarity and desire again to see their country did not admit this civility.

"The troops covered thirty miles on their journey to the south. At their camp on the Culebra River, near present day San Pablo, they found seven dead horses and a grave that contained the bodies of seven Comanche warriors. Governor Anza felt certain that this had been Cuerno Verde's camp. And since there was also evidence of wounds having been cared for here, it was apparent that the Comanches had not fared well against the Spanish Settlement.

The remainder of the Indian people who had joined the expedition on the Rio de Los Pino on the 20th of August left for their homes on this day.

To follow de Anza's route back into New Mexico, follow Road 159 to San Luis, east to San Pablo, then take Road 21 (between the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and San Pedro Mesa) to Costilla. At Costilla travel to Road 522 to Taos.

6 September 1779 Monday At seven o'clock we continued our route with destination for the pueblo of Taos to obtain information of what had happened there. We traveled to the south and after making ten leagues during the entire day, the journey came to an end at the Rio del Datil.

"Upon leaving the Culebra River, the troops continued their journey to the south and camped on the Rio Datil. This must have been in the vicinity of the present day town of Costilla.

7 September 1779 Tuesday A little before seven we proceeded and after concluding three leagues, forded the Rio Colorado. Up to this we had had good country. From here we began to skirt the sierra which we had on our left. Along this route and with its many difficulties, another five leagues were marched until we arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon at the pueblo of Taos, which is the most northern one of all those of this kingdom.

Before reaching the pueblo, its alcalde, with whom I had communicated in advance my coming in order to not to cause him surprise, came out to meet me. He informed me that having been notified by our Apache friends six days before they attacked the pueblo under his command, which occurred on the 31st of the last month, that many enemies were coming, he prepared to receive them. He even advised the interior of the kingdom to do the same, in case the attack should turn in another direction. In consequence of this, he placed scouts on the usual roads of the barbarians. In this way it was possible on the night of the 30th for the scouts to signal him with fires that the enemy was marching on the pueblo which he then put under arms. They found it so on the day mentioned.

The first attack of the enemy, made at twilight, he assured me was vigorous, but as soon as they recognized the new state of defense which the place has because it is one of those I had made into a square with triangular fortification on the corners, their surprise was so great that he was able to fire on them sallying forth from the wall, [tactics] which from [within] they could not attempt, nor attack the enemy. With this foray he succeeded in killing three, wounding many and frightening off all whom he judged to number two hundred and fifty. They then took the prudent part of retiring to much greater distance, to examine the town in this way. There they remained until nine in the morning when their retreat began, preceded by a great havoc which they wrought in the cornfields.

The only loss this pueblo sustained was that of a young man, although he was inside at the time of the attack, went out unknown to the alcalde to see if he could save a horse which he saw in a cornfield, judging it to be his own. He found that it belonged to the enemy who killed him.

The enemy's loss, from what the alcalde states from what is related on the 6th, amounts to ten deaths in this attack alone, a disaster which in the many attacks they have made has never been experienced. This is attributed to the fact that as all its inhabitants were not needed as before to defend the seven

corners and as many other salient or exposed parts it had. They employed themselves in attacking the assailants, being able to sally out for the purpose for more than seventy varas from the new wall.

"Twenty-four miles were marched on this day, with Taos being reached by 4:00 p.m. How relieved they all must have been to get back to civilization! Governor Anza and the Alcalde of the Taos Pueblo had much to discuss. The fortification and tactics that de Anza had required had worked exceptionally well. The Comanches had done what they could to ruin the settlers' cornfields but the only loss of life was the death of a young man, caused by his disobeying orders to stay within the fortification. The Comanche losses were three dead and many wounded. It is likely that seven of those wounded were among the dead found at the Culebra River.

8 September 1779 Wednesday At half-past seven we continued our march along the Camino Real to Santa Fe, which in general runs toward the south. After ten leagues were made on it we arrived at the pueblo of Embudo.

"Back on the Camino Real, de Anza and his men traveled thirty miles to reach the pueblo of Embudo.

9 September 1779 Thursday At half-past seven we again set out over the above mentioned route and direction. On this nine leagues were traveled. The march ended at the Pueblo of Pujuaque.

"On this day twenty-seven miles are traveled to reach the pueblo of Pojoaque.

10 September 1779 Friday At seven o'clock we continued our way by the aforesaid direction and course, and then after six leagues arrived at the villa of Santa Fe. There I received information communicated by the Ute nation from those who, as recorded, left us on the 2nd at the Rio de Napestle, that they had the good fortune to surprise seven Comanches in their houses with their families, the latter being nine, women and children, who perished at their hands with the men, with the exception of one child who surrendered alive to them. At the same time they seized forty saddle horses the barbarians had with the rest of the articles of their use and service.

With this loss, those which have been referred to, which the Comanches suffered on the 31st, 2nd, and 3rd, with that which is stated at the pueblo of Taos amount to fifty-eight men and sixty-three women and children, making a total of one hundred and thirty-one persons. With this information, and the statement that the sum of leagues amounted to two hundred and five covered on this expedition, ends the diary which it relates.

"Governor Anza and his troops reached Santa Fe after marching the last few miles. There de Anza learned that the Ute people, who left their expedition at the Fountain River on September 2, had succeeded in killing or capturing sixteen Comanches. This brought the total to 133 Comanche people who had been killed or taken prisoner in the course of the twenty-six day expedition. The distance traveled in that span of time was 615 miles.

To retrace the trail of these troops from Taos, stay on Highway 522 to Embudo, then take Highway 68 to Pojoaque. From Pojoaque, take Highway 285 back to Santa Fe.

In reviewing this incredible undertaking, we see that de Anza's accomplishments show his military genius. He had managed to succeed where others had failed and he did so brilliantly.

JUAN BAUTISTA de ANZA
SEPTEMBER 10, 1779

Gunnison County Library
307 N. Wisconsin
Gunnison, CO 81230

GLOSSARY

- Alcalde* - Ruler or Mayor
Año - Year
Arroyo de La Sangre de Cristo - Arroyo of Blood of Christ
Camino Real - Main Road
Ciénega - Marsh
Cuerno Verde - Green Horn
El Aguaje de Los Yutas - Ute watering hole
El Paso de San Bartolome - San Bartolome passage or crossing
Embudo - Hollow or Funnel
La Ciénega de San Luis - The village of San Luis
La Ciénega - Village or Settlement
Las Lomas Perdidas - The Lost Hills
League - Three miles (by Anza standards)
Los Dolores de Maria Santissima - The Agonies of the Blessed Mary
Los Ojos Ciegos - The Blind Eyes
Ojo Caliente - Hot Spring
Presidio - Fortress
Rio de La Culebra - River of the Snake
Rio de Las Nutrias - River of the Beaver
Rio de Las Timbres - Timber River (Alamosa River)
Rio de Las Xaras - River of the Willows
Rio de Los Conejos - River of the Rabbits
Rio de Napestle - Napestle River (present day Arkansas River)
Rio de Sacramento - Sacramento River
Rio de Antonio - San Antonio River
Rio de San Agustín - Saint Agustín River
Rio de San Lorenzo - Lawrence River (Piedra or Rock Creek)
Rio de Santa Rosa - Saint Rosa River
Rio del Datil - Date (or fruit of date palm) River
Rio del Norte - North River
Rio del Pino - Pine River
San Juan de Los Caballeros - Saint John of the Horseman
Santa Xines - Saint Xines
Sierra Almagre - Hardship Mountains
Sierra de La Grulla - Mountains of the Crane
Vara - A yard in distance

Translation is compliments of Willie Maestas, Monte Vista, Colorado

END NOTES

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BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT
PLAT MAPS

| TOWNSHIP | RANGE | ANZA OR OLD SPANISH TRAIL ROUTE |
|----------|-------|---------------------------------|
| 33 N | 9 E | Plaza de Guadalupe |
| 34 N | 9 E | Del Norte-Conejos Road |
| 35 N | 8 E | Old La Jara |
| 35 N | 9 E | Del Norte-Conejos Road |
| 36 N | 8 E | Del Norte-Conejos Road |
| 37 N | 7 E | Greenie Mountain |
| 38 N | 7 E | Lucero Plaza |
| 39 N | 6 E | San Jose-John's Creek |
| 39 N | 7 E | Lucero Plaza |
| 40 N | 6 E | Del Norte-Conejos Road |
| 41 N | 6 E | Old Del Norte-Saguache Road |
| 42 N | 7 E | Royal's House |
| | | Del Norte-Saguache Road |
| 43 N | 7 E | Russell Springs |
| 45 N | 7 E | Old California Road |

MAPS

- Miera y Pacheco, Don Bernardo. Map of Northern New Mexico, the San Luis Valley, & Colorado. Anza map for Comanche Campaign (Santa Fe, New Mexico) 1779 (Courtesy of New Mexico State Records and Archives Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico)
- Humboldt, Alexander de Map of New Spain From: 16 to 38 North Latitude, 1804
- U.S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian Part of South Western Colorado Atlas Sheet No. 61(D) Expeditions of 1873, 74, 75, & 76. Under the Command of: 1st. Lieutenant George M. Wheeler Corp. of Engineers, U.S. Army
Topographical Assistants: J.C. Spiller, Louis Nell
Executive Officers & Field Astronomers: 1st. Lieutenant W.L. Marshall, 1st. Lieutenant Eric Bergland
- U.S. Geological & Geographical Survey of the Territories. Surveyed in 1874 and 1875 South Central Colorado and part of New Mexico. F. V. Hayden in Charge. Topographical Assistants: A. D. Wilson, G. R. Bechler, H. Garnett, G. B. Chittenden
- Colorado and New Mexico Atlas, sheet number 69(B). Map made by Wheeler Expedition, Corp of Engineers, U.S. Army, during 1874, 1875, and 1877. (From Ruth Marie Colville collection)
- U.S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian Economical Features of Parts of Southern Colorado & Northern New Mexico Atlas Sheet No.69(B) Expeditions of 1874-1875 & 1877 Under the Command of: 1st Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, Corp. of Engineers U.S. Army
- Nell's Topographical and Township Map of the State of Colorado. (Washington, D.C.) 1885
- San Isabel National Forest Service Map. United States Department of Agriculture, 1972. Forest Supervisor's Office, 1920 Valley Drive Pueblo, Colorado 81008, (719) 545-8737
- Rio Grande National Forest Service Map. Compiled in the Regional Office, Denver, Colorado, in 1974 from U.S. Forest Service, and U.S. Geological Survey quadrangles
- Carson National Forest Service Map. United States Department of Agriculture, 1991. Forest Supervisor's Office, Carson National Forest, Forest Service Building, P.O. Box 558, 208 Cruz Alta Road, Taos, New Mexico (505) 758-6200
- Pike National Forest Service Map. United States Department of Agriculture, 1992. Forest Supervisor's Office, 1920 Valley Drive, Pueblo, Colorado
- Colorado Atlas & Gazetteer (DeLorme Mapping), P.O. Box 298, Freeport, Maine 04032. (207) 865-4171
- The Roads of New Mexico, 1990. Shearer Publishing, 406 Post Oak Road, Fredericksburg, Texas 78624. (512) 997-6529
- San Luis Valley Historian, Vol. VI, No. 1, Page 80. La Loma Settlements

AIRPLANE RIDES TO PHOTOGRAPH AND CHECK ROUTE

- January 27, 1992* Rio Grande to New Mexico State line 800 ft. altitude
November 27, 1992 Rio Grande to New Mexico State line 800 ft. altitude
September 18, 1993 Saguache to New Mexico State line at 1000 feet altitude
October 23, 1993 Rio Grande to Saguache; to La Garita; to Rio Grande.
November 15, 1993 Colorado State line to Alamosa at 35000 feet elevation through La Veta Pass
The airplane trips at lower elevation were made possible by pilot, Ron Taylor, from Monte Vista, Colorado.

INTERVIEWS

- Irene Slade, Del Norte, Colorado, 1988
 Patricia Joy Richmond, Historian, Crestone, Colorado, January 17, 1993
 Ruth Marie Colville, Historian, Del Norte, Colorado, January 17, 1993
 Perry Hazard, Saguache, Colorado, March 23, 1993
 Floyd J. Willis, longtime rancher in Southpark area, September 5, 1993
 Phil Carson, Freelance Writer, Pueblo, Colorado, October 4, 1993