

SPANISH TRACES



Volume 21

Spring 2015

No. 1

ALL TRAILS LEAD TO SANTA FE



Three Trails Conference Registration Now Open

The Old Spanish Trail Association and the Santa Fe Trail Association (SFTA) and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (CARTA) present the first joint conference of these historic trails. Field trips to segments of each trail leading out of Santa Fe will be featured. Presentations on Friday and Saturday mornings will highlight the western movement of exploration and trade in the United States. A special children's musical about the trails will be performed on Saturday evening, September 19.

Registration packets were mailed in early February. Complete conference information and online registration, or forms to fill out and mail, are available at www.3trailsconferencesantafe.org. Registration fees increase after May 31, and special hotel rates will be offered until August 1, or until all room blocks are filled, whichever comes first. Make your reservations now to enjoy this unique event. Call 505-920-4970 with any questions.

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THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

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

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

VISIT OUR WEBSITE: www.oldsouthwesttrail.org

The OSTA website has an interactive map highlighting scenic trail locations, and is the place to go for both general background and recent news on the OSNHT and OSTA. The site contains maps, an overview history of the trail including a bibliography, a listing of relevant books with links to sites where they can be purchased, and a regularly updated news page that contains links to government reports, activities of OSTA members and other news related to the trail. The web page also links to National Park Service (NPS) and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) sites that have links to public documents and maps of the OSNHT. Copies of the DVD *Old Spanish Trail Suite*, a CD of back issues of *Spanish Traces*, books and pins can be purchased from the site. Memberships (new or renewal) may also be paid on the OSTA website.

Old Spanish Trail Association Membership Form

Memberships run for twelve months and include three issues per year of our journal, *Spanish Traces*.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Telephone: _____

E-Mail Address: _____

Type of Membership _____ Quantity _____

\$5 of your membership supports your local chapter.

Indicate your chapter affiliation _____

Membership Types

Individual	\$25/year
Family	\$30/year
Sustaining	\$50/year
Student	\$12/year
Institutional	\$30/year
Life (single or couple)	\$250
Corporate	\$100/min

Pay online at www.oldsouthwesttrail.org
or mail your check to:

**Judy Nickle, OSTA Membership
Coordinator
6267 S 157th Way, Gilbert, AZ
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Email Judy with questions to
jnickle367@gmail.com.

Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. *Spanish Traces* welcomes submission of articles, book reviews and OST-related news. OSTA assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions of contributors. *Spanish Traces* is copyrighted to OSTA in its entirety, but copyright to individual articles is retained by the author. The next deadline for submissions is July 17, 2015. All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the OSTA Editor.

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President's Corner

by Ashley J. Hall
OSTA President

Improving the public face of OSTA should be a high priority for all of our members, beginning with the OSTA Board, chapters and individual members. In reviewing the mountain of emails I received from OSTA members and interested parties in 2014, I see that a number of activities that are being recognized in our states and local chapter areas. This is a positive sign that OSTA continues to move forward.

Spanish Traces and social media, local TV, radio, and newspaper provide opportunities for OSTA chapters to communicate their accomplishments to our membership and to the world. Thanks to Paul Ostapuk who manages the web site, Ruth Friesen who serves as editor of OSTA's tri-annual *Spanish Traces*, and Chelsea Bodamer as our Social Media Director. Thanks also to the media in our

states and communities that allow us to tell our story. Hardly a day goes by without someone asking me for information about the Old Spanish Trail, the Association, or about projects or historic events happening along the Trail.

I often review the OSTA website just to update myself on what is happening around the organization. It is important for each member of OSTA to know, understand, and communicate the mission and purpose of OSTA to all around us: "to protect, preserve and interpret the Old Spanish Trail, including all of its related historic routes and branches," and that "OSTA is a charitable and educational" organization.

The daily emails I receive tell me that OSTA is fulfilling our purposes. Becoming more effective in our individual communities is a great goal for both OSTA and for the Old Spanish Trail. The extended Hall family loves nothing more than to be involved in some project or activity along the Trail. We have found that every member of our family has an interest in belonging to, participating in, and nurturing the purpose of OSTA – from the twins at age 1, to grandpa who is just turning 72 in April.

During Nevada's 150th Birthday year – 2014, the Nevada Chapter completed a goal set in 2010, to focus our efforts on hosting the 2014 OSTA Conference in Las Vegas and to begin the process of re-marking the Old Spanish Trail through Southern Nevada. 2014

represented the fifth year in the Chapter's programming to replace 27 of the original 31 Old Spanish Trail markers installed as part of Nevada's 100th Birthday in 1964. It has been amazing to see the number and variety of people who participate with us: participants in individual Eagle Scout projects to re-mark the Old Spanish Trail, those who assisted the Nevada Chapter host a very successful 2014 conference and the sponsors of that conference, the Mayor and City Council of Las Vegas, County Commissioner Susan Brager, Governor Brian Sandoval, senior US Senator from Nevada, Senator Harry Reid, along with hundreds who have turned out to OSTA activities, events and the conference.

The many Eagle Scout projects that have been completed introduced us to many new friends: the Back Country Horsemen, Future Farmers of America, school groups, history groups, community groups, general contractors, doctors, teachers, business owners, Boy Scout leaders, carpenters, plumbers, the Southern Nevada BLM staff, some special ed kids, friends of the Boy Scout who is conducting his Eagle project to obtain the highest rank in scouting. For all those who have accomplished the activities this past year, thank you for your efforts, hard work, and successful planning and execution as we continue to move OSTA forward toward a bright future. ♦



Manager Musings

by *Dennis Ditmanson*
Association Manager

The topic of VOLUNTEERISM has been on my mind lately, for a couple of reasons. First, in this issue of *Spanish Traces* you'll find the ballot for the 2015 election of officers and board members. Ashley Hall has agreed to run for a second term as President – that's good news. Recently appointed Treasurer, Debi Plum, is running for a full term as Treasurer – that's also good news. But, at this writing there are no identified candidates for the positions of State Director in Colorado and New Mexico – that's bad news. For a group like OSTA, volunteers are what keeps the organization vital and functioning, be it at the individual, chapter, state, or national level, and it's critical that candidates be found for these important positions.

Secondly, OSTA not only needs volunteers, we need to keep track

of all the good work that is being done. Each year, we report donated hours, dollars, and activities to both the National Park Service (NPS), and to the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS). These reports are used by the NPS to highlight the level of interest in, and support for, units of the National Park System. For the Partnership, the reports are essential in a more specific way for the work they do in securing ongoing financial support for the National Historic and Scenic Trails. Year after year they remind us how important the reports are to illustrate to Congress how deeply Americans care about the National Trails.

Our system of gathering the data to include in these reports is imprecise at best and I know it's a struggle for folks to keep track of all they do in support of our Trail, especially since the two reports noted above come at different times of the year. For board members, chapter presidents, and committee chairs, I'm now attempting to collect the numbers on a monthly basis in the hope

that I can develop a data base from which I can create a report regardless of when it is due. As an individual member, you can help too. Almost anything you do in the interest of the Old Spanish Trail deserves to be reported:

1. Time spent planning for, traveling to and from, and involved with a trail-related activity, meeting, tour, etc.
2. Vehicle miles driven
3. If you purchased a trail-related book, the cost counts as a donated expense.

Elsewhere in the issue you'll find a blank hours and expense record form. Make copies and whenever there is something of interest to report send it to me – electronically or snail mail – and you'll be doing your part to insure that our records really do reflect the level of personal investment being made in the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

Thank you for all you do for OSTA and the OSNHT.



OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION
VOLUNTEER ACTIVITY REPORTING FORM

NAME OR CHAPTER _____

REPORTING PERIOD _____ TO _____

HOURS _____

MILEAGE _____

UNREIMBURSED EXPENSES _____

ACTIVITIES _____

If this was a chapter or group activity how many people were involved? _____

Please return the form to the Association Manager, osta@desertgate.com or PO Box 909, Las Vegas, NM 87701,
at the end of each month.



Highlights from the Board of Directors Meeting *March 20, 2015, Page, Arizona*

By Dennis Ditmanson

1. Debi Plum, a recently retired educator from Las Vegas, Nevada, was appointed to fill the vacant Treasurer position. As a result of a change in the sequence for filling officer positions – addressed below – Debi will appear on the ballot this year for election to a full term as Treasurer. Debi has more than 20 years of experience as a math instructor and curriculum coordinator. Her husband, Stan, is the District Archaeologist for the BLM in southern Nevada.
2. At present, the sequence for filling officer positions on the Board has the President and Vice-President being elected in the same year and the Treasurer and Secretary elected in the alternate years. In order to provide for better continuity in the leadership positions, the Board voted to change the sequence to provide for the election of the President and Treasurer in one year and the Vice-President and Secretary in the alternate year. The Board further voted to extend the term of the current Vice-President by one year in order to effect the change, so the President and Treasurer will appear on the 2015 ballot.
3. Southern Utah University in Cedar City, Utah, has presented a proposal to OSTA to house Old Spanish Trail-related research materials, including books and other publications, as well as research manuscripts and related materials. It will not be a repository for artifacts. The Board voted to send a positive response to the proposal and to continue to work with the University on the details of this arrangement.

4. The Board heard reports on two exciting proposals related to possible sites for Old Spanish Trail-related facilities. California Director Paul McClure reported on discussions being held with the Bureau of Land Management, and other interested parties, on the possibility of converting the Desert Discovery Center in Barstow, California, to an Old Spanish Trail Interpretive Center. Likewise, Colorado Director Mark Franklin alerted the Board to a project to “repurpose” the Fort Uncompahgre site in Delta, Colorado, being undertaken by the

Interpretive Association of Western Colorado. More information on both of these projects will be forthcoming as plans progress.

5. President Ashley Hall appointed a financial review committee to conduct an overview of the Association’s financial operations. The committee found that the Association is in sound financial condition but recommended several operational changes to further involve the new Treasurer in the tracking and reporting process.
6. Acting on a recommendation from the Salida del Sol Chapter, the Board voted to institute a revenue-sharing practice, whereby any revenues in excess of expenses from OSTA annual conferences would be shared equally between the national organization and the entity, usually a chapter, in charge of organizing the conference.
7. The next Board meeting will be held in Delta, Colorado, in June 2015, with a date yet to be determined.
8. The meeting concluded with a Saturday field trip on Lake Powell to the site of the inscription now attributed to the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition in 1776. The inscription was first discovered by members of the Armijo Chapter. The chapter has been deeply involved in the authentication of the site and, with the National Park Service, plans for future protection and interpretation of the site.



Photo: Frank Talbot

Rob Sweeten, BLM, Rosemary Sucec, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Paul Ostapuk, OSTA, and Aaron Mahr, NPS, pose at the site of the Dominguez-Escalante inscription. The inscription, "paso por Aqui año 1776," is difficult to read because it has been over-inscribed by graffiti.

2015 OSTA Board of Directors Election

Four OSTA Board vacancies to be filled are listed on the 2015 Board election ballot:

For President – Ashley Hall is eligible for a second elected term and has indicated his interest in serving in that capacity. His bio appeared in the Spring 2013 issue of *Spanish Traces*.

For Treasurer – Recently appointed Treasurer Debi Plum will appear on the ballot for election to a first full term.

Debi Plum has recently retired as a high school math teacher in Glendale, Arizona, after 21 years with the school district. In addition to classroom teaching, she served as the district math curriculum coordinator, and provided technology training for faculty. She has made presentations at numerous math-related, school improvement, and technology conferences. She lives in North Las Vegas, Nevada, and is married to Stan Plum, BLM Archaeologist in Southern Nevada.

For Colorado Director – Current Director Mark Franklin has indicated he will not run for a second term. A replacement candidate has not been identified.

For New Mexico Director – Current Director Margaret Sears is not eligible to run for another term. A replacement candidate has not been identified.

Because candidates could not be identified for the vacancies for the two State Directors in time to meet the deadline for publication of the ballot, the Board voted to place these positions on the ballot as “write-in” opportunities. The only restriction for potential nominees is that they reside in the state for which they are being nominated. **The ballot is enclosed with this issue of *Spanish Traces*, and needs to be mailed by June 3 to be counted.**

Anyone interested in more information about the responsibilities of a State Director is urged to contact President Ashley Hall.

Proposed OSTA Bylaw Amendment

Meetings of the Board of Directors of the Old Spanish Trail Association are normally held three times per year. Even with this rather infrequent schedule, however, it is often not possible for all Board members to attend every meeting. This problem was discussed at some length at the meeting held in Las Vegas, Nevada, last October and the Board has proposed the following amendment to the OSTA bylaws to address the issue:

The current bylaw reads: Article V – Governing Board – Officers and Directors

10. Voting

b. Proxy voting is not permitted

The proposed change: Article V(10)(b)

In the event a Director is unable to attend a scheduled Board meeting, he/she may appoint an alternate for that meeting who will have the right to cast votes representing that Director for that meeting only. The request for appointment of an alternate must be made to the Board President at least 10 days prior to the scheduled meeting.

This change will be voted on at the annual meeting to be held in conjunction with the Three Trails Conference set for Santa Fe, New Mexico, September 17-20, 2015.

Comments regarding this proposed change may be forwarded to the respective State Director, or to the Association Manager.

Trail Apprentice Scholarships Available

The Partnership for the National Trail System's (PNTS) Trail Apprentice scholarship application is now available for the 15th National Scenic and Historic Trails Conference. The conference will take place in Franklin, Tennessee, from June 27-July 1, 2015.

Fifteen scholarships are available for youth between the ages of 18 and 25 years with an interest in the National Trails System (NTS). Although it is preferred, no prior experience with the NTS is necessary. Scholarships include the cost of travel, registration, and meals. The application deadline is May 5. Additional information and the application form are available at <http://pnts.org/new/2015conference/youth-scholarships>.

Youth participants will be an active part of the dialogue about outreach and the future of the trails system. Selected participants should come ready to explore, learn, and engage.

Archaeological Conference Features Mark Henderson

The Taos Archaeological Society and the Mesa Prieta Petroglyph Project will host the 2015 Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico on May 1-3. The theme of the conference is "Archaeology in the Rio Grande del Norte: A Collaboration."

OSTA member Mark Henderson will present "The Old Spanish National Historical Trail: Legislative." Registration and more information is available at www.taosarch.org. To contribute a poster, contact admin@taosarch.org.

Moving Forward, Looking Back

Janire Najera is posting photos and excerpts of interviews with the Spanish descendants she met during her journey along the Old Spanish Trail. Read about Corina Gonzales in Santa Fe in Janire's blog at www.movingforwardlookingback.us/corina-gonzales.

Children's Narrative/Musical Slated for Three Trails Conference

The Santa Fe Trail Association and the National Park Service announces that Dolores Valdez de Pong has been selected as the composer/playwright for the Three Trails Children's Narrative/Musical.

Dolores Valdez de Pong of Santa Fe, New Mexico, is a retired educator who taught 38 years for Santa Fe Public Schools. She has written and produced numerous children's productions about the culture and history of New Mexico, which have been performed in various venues in Santa Fe. Among these was a performance at the kickoff event for Santa Fe's 400th Anniversary. She is the author of *A New Mexican Treasury of Songs and Plays for Children*, which contains many of her original children's songs, plays, and skits. Two of her songs have been used in the soundtrack for "Corazón de Santa Fe," an award winning documentary.

Valdez de Pong has written a script covering Old Spanish, Santa Fe, and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro national historic trails, along with musical scores and songs, which have been reviewed and approved by the Three Trails Conference Steering Committee, National Trails Intermountain Region staff, and New Mexico State Historian Rick Hendricks.

Twenty-two children from Carlos Gilbert Elementary School in grades 2-5 were selected by auditions to perform in The Three Trails Narrative /Musical. Carlos Gilbert Elementary School is located close to historic downtown Santa Fe.

Ms. Valdez de Pong, as the seamstress, will make the costumes. Volunteers are needed to help with some of the props and perhaps with creation of a portable set. Contact Pamela Najdowski at 505-920-4970 or pamnajdowski@yahoo.com to volunteer.

The performance will be held during the Three Trails Conference in Santa Fe on Saturday, September 19, during the evening banquet. It will be videotaped and placed onto National Park Service websites, YouTube, and association websites.

Chapter Reports

William Workman Chapter

All chapter members and honorary members have now received copies of the recent edition of *Spanish Traces* (Winter 2014). This is always much appreciated by us all and is our real lifeline to the Old Spanish Trail itself and the Association.

Members John and Anne Thompson returned to the UK at the end of January, having sojourned in Spain for our two coldest months. I have communicated with Margaret Sears and Pat Kuhlhoff regarding the anticipated attendance of Chapter President Bill Ramsay and me at the Three Trails Conference in Santa Fe, September 17-20. We shall continue to encourage other members to attend. At present there are good prospects of our numbers being at least doubled from 2014.

The visit by OSTA President Ashley Hall and other US members last summer has received two mentions in the quarterly newsletter of the Cumbria Family History Society. In the November 2014 issue there was a report of the 4th July Independence Day reception at Hutton-in-the-Forest, the home of CFHS Patron, Lord Inglewood, together with a photograph of his Lordship with Dr. Donald Rowland. And in the February 2015 issue there is a similar report of the visit, to the one which appeared in *Spanish Traces* (Vol 20, No.2 Autumn 2014) along with the photo of the group at Carlisle Castle.

*--David Fallowfield, Chapter Secretary
for President Bill Ramsay*

San Rafael Chapter

The chapter has been planning for and selecting a site for mule train silhouettes which are to be installed near the Green River crossing. They received a \$600 grant from the Emery County Historical Association for this project.

Salida del Sol Chapter

In October several chapter members and Carol Clark from NPS and her family met for lunch at the Abiquiú Inn. David Lopez, local historian, gave us a wonderful tour of Abiquiú village and the immediate surrounding area, including the Morada. We ended our tour on the plaza, where in the old days the mule pack trains bound for California would join up to start the journey.

In November we noted the passing of Taos historian, Old Spanish Trail North Branch chronicler, and past President of the Salida del Sol Chapter President Peter Mackaness. He will be greatly missed by his family, his community, and by OSTA friends.

February 21st, over 40 members of our chapter met in Santa Fe at the La Farge branch public library to listen to Dr. Jim Jefferson show and tell us about Sacred Ute Prayer Trees and Rock Art in southern Colorado. These special trees are found all over North America and are used to indicate travel directions, locations of water and camping spots, and for spiritual direction.

Plans for the 3 Trails Conference in September are moving along smoothly and registration is now available online or mail in. Check the OSTA website for links.

The Salida del Sol Chapter calendar of events for the rest of the year is:

Saturday April 18 - Annual meeting 1 PM, location TBA, Speaker – Tom Jervis “Naturalist William Gambel and his 1841 travels on The Old Spanish Trail.”

June 20 - Field Trip - Cebolla to El Vado Lake

August 15 - Field Trip - Taos Overlook and Martinez Hacienda, “Trade on the Trail”

September 17 to 20 - 3 Trails Conference, Santa Fe, NM

October 17 - Fall meeting SDS Chapter, location and speaker to be announced

--Pat Kuhlhoff

Fish Lake Chapter

January 14th this year I went to a Richfield Area Chamber of Commerce meeting and sat across the table from fellow OSTA chapter member and Richfield City Mayor Dave Ogden. We discussed Bob Leonard and the Fish-lake Cutoff documentary. I had attended a showing of the film at the Casino Star Theater in Gunnison, Utah, in November, where over 100 people saw the film and met the men who made the documentary.

I asked Dave if he thought there would be interest in our area to see the documentary and hear Bob and Kreig Rasmussen talk about the making of the film. I felt it would be a great opportunity to get people talking about the Old Spanish Trail. Dave took it as a challenge and was off to find a venue.

About 10 days later I got a call from Dave. He had talked with Bob and Kreig. They were onboard. He had also contacted the local theater owner who was willing to give up a Saturday matinee in February to us. We were scheduled for February 28 at 2 p.m. at The Reel Theaters in Richfield. I emailed our chapter members and posted it all over Facebook, including our chapter page. Kreig amended the information on the poster used for the Gunnison event for me to post to our page. Dave made flyers of the poster and plastered the Richfield area with them.

The week before our event, Dave was scheduled to be interviewed by the local radio station and asked me to come along as chapter president. I had another commitment but called in to the show. Dave also made arrangements for an article promoting the presentation. It was a great article.

About this time is where the nerves kicked in. Would anybody come to see something they can view online? Just how many people would there be? If more showed than would fit in the theater, then what?

Saturday morning my husband Gary and I loaded up brochures, membership applications, and a banner and headed to Richfield. We arrived at 1:15 p.m. and set up our table in the theater foyer. Dave had brought the



large color laminated map of the trail. Chapter member Sharon Cowley handed out raffle tickets. Did I mention Dave had prizes to hand out? He's amazing!

Then the people started to arrive. We filled the big upper theater and started seating people in one of the theaters on the main floor. We staggered the live presentation and the movie so that Bob could talk to both crowds. We ended up with over 170 people attending and handed out 150 membership applications. It was over in an hour and a half. Bob, Dave, and Kreig did a great job. We appreciate the generous help of the owners and employees of the movie theater in pulling off this event.

Two regrets. 1. Why didn't I staple my OSTA business card to the applications and brochures? 2. I failed to direct them to our chapter Facebook page. Bob and Dave both remembered to mention the OSTA website, however.

--Stephanie Moulton

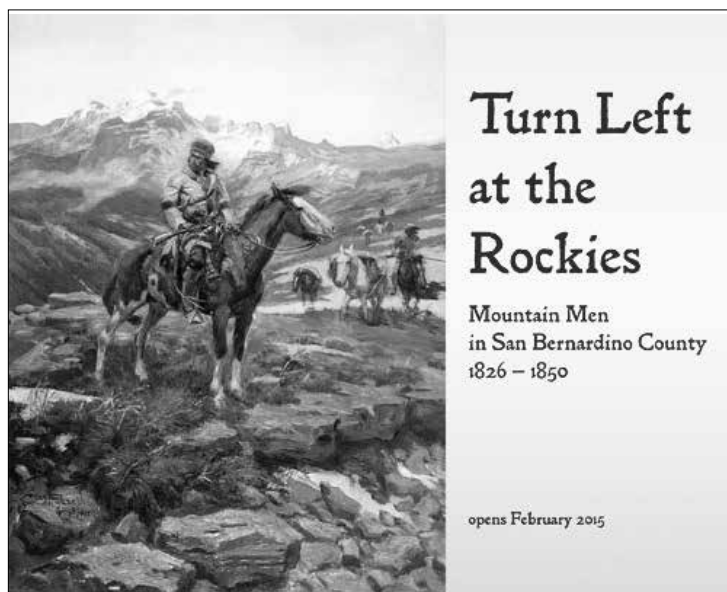
*What has your chapter been working on?
Your activities could be listed here, too.
The submission deadline for the Summer
edition of Spanish Traces is July 17.*

OSTA California

OSTA California members will hold a joint meeting with the Los Angeles Corral of Westerners on Wednesday April 8 at 5 p.m. Speaker Jack Prichett will present a program titled "Identifying and Preserving the Old Spanish Trail." The meeting is at Almansor Court, 700 S. Almansor Street, Alhambra, CA. A social hour will begin at 5 p.m. with the dinner and program at 6 p.m. Cost is \$35 per ticket. Make reservations through Jim Shuttleworth, jimpinxit@gmail.com, 909-595-6655. For info on the Los Angeles Corral, go to www.lawesterners.org.

The San Bernardino County Museum's Hall of History opened an exhibition called "Turn Left at the Rockies" that tells the story of the mountain men, legendary fur traders of the Rocky Mountains, who came to southern California between 1826 and 1850. The exhibition is located at the San Bernardino County Museum, 2024 Orange Tree Lane, at the California Street exit from Interstate 10 in Redlands. The museum is open Tuesdays through Sundays from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. For information, call 909-798-8608 or go to www.sbcoun-tymuseum.org.

--Paul McClure



Armijo Chapter

We conducted an Armijo Chapter meeting on February 7, attended by Rosemary Sucec of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Liz Kolle of Grand Staircase Escalante National Monument, and John Hiscock, Superintendent of Pipe Spring National Monument.

The Armijo Chapter was chosen as a pilot for the new NPS Mobile Tour Application for historic trails by Carol Clark, NPS Park Ranger Interpretive Specialist, National Trails Intermountain Region. Chapter members and local agencies (Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument and Pipe Spring National Monument) are in the process of preparing material for a dozen tour stops between the Carl Hayden Visitor Center and Pipe Spring National Monument. For a Mobile Tour example, visit the Santa Fe National Historic Trail via <http://safe.toursphere.com/en/site-list-69765.html>

--Paul Ostapuk

North Branch Chapter

The opening of Fort Uncompahgre will be held in early June 2015 in Delta, Colorado. The date is pending the completion of the new parking facility. Information can be obtained from Chris Miller with Western Colorado Interpretive Association.

The Fort has a new lease on life as a tourist attraction this year, thanks to the efforts of the WICA and the City of Delta. Emphasis is placed on the original fort's association with the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. The Fort is intended to serve as an information center for all local and federal agencies relating to historic trails.

We have gathered all extant historical information on the North Branch Chapter and placed it in the Loyd Files Library of the Museum of Western Colorado in Grand Junction. We have completed the process of the formal adoption of the North Branch Trail section between Whitewater and Orchard Mesa by the Mesa County Planning Commission.

--Bob and Juanita Moston

Nevada Chapter



Liz Warren surveys the view from Mormon Mesa

On December 6, 2014, a small group traveled from Las Vegas north along the OST to the east side (Halfway Wash) of the Mormon Mesa. In traversing the 20+ miles of bad road on the Mesa, once we left I-15 at the Elgin turnoff, to get to the location of OST markers #3, 4, 5 and 6, we had to survive one high-centering, rolling large boulders out of the roadway, enduring generally rough roads and lots of brush that has grown in the road along the trail.

With us was the BLM Archeologist, Stan Plum, who wanted to see the east side of the Mesa where the OST came from the Virgin River up Halfway Wash, the view of Virgin Peak at marker #3, the large yucca grove and red sand dunes that exist in the middle of the Mesa, and the very unique beauty of the mesa table. Also present were Liz Warren, Nevada State Director, and Sammi Kost, the recent intern who assisted us during the OSTA conference in October, and I.

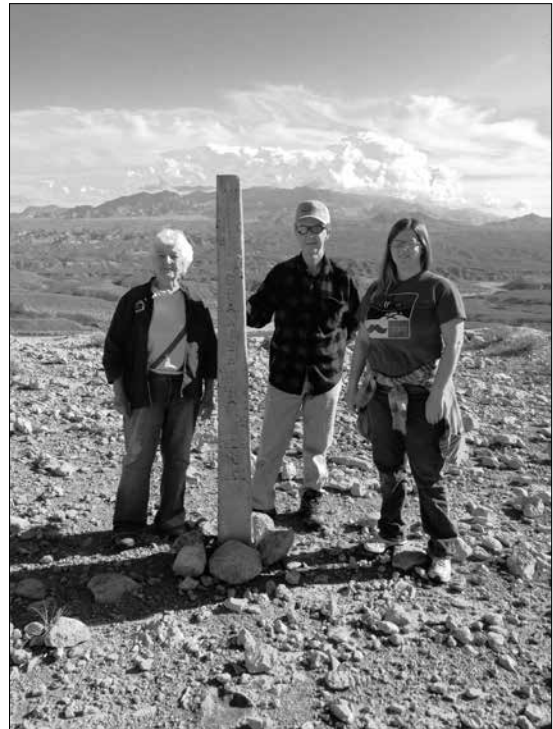
The remains of the old Salt Lake to Los Angeles road can still be seen on the mesa, along with the remains of the dugway that was built to accommodate the initial pioneer companies who traveled via wagon caravans over the mesa following the OST.

We sealed the OST markers to help preserve them for

future generations. (The OST markers on the Mormon Mesa represent five of eight good condition markers of the 31 original markers erected in 1964 as part of Nevada's Centennial celebration. We also placed a small number at the bottom on the north side of each marker so people who find them will know where they are along the OST through their GPS coordinates. All in all, a very productive day, requiring a good car wash at the end of the day.

Four Eagle Scout projects are in the planning/execution stages for the Nevada Chapter along the OST. One recently completed (December 20) Eagle project is on the south end of the OST at Sandy Valley Road at Hwy 160 toward Pahrump and at the second BLM kiosk located along the OST Highway on the way to Tecopa, just before one hits the California state line.

--Ashley Hall, Nicole Dominguez, Liz Warren



OST Marker #3 on the East bench of the Mesa with the Virgin Peak mountain range in the background. Many national publications covering trails and western history have published professional photos from this spot. Pictured are l. to r.: Liz Warren, Ashley Hall and Sammi Kost.

The Hopi and the Old Spanish Trail

By Earl Fosdick

The Armijo Route of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail comes within 15 miles of the Hopi Reservation. But, unlike the Ute and Mohave, the Hopi of northeastern Arizona neither traded nor fought with the Mexican traders who used the trail in the first half of the 19th century. However, the Hopi did play a role in establishing the northerly route of the Old Spanish Trail through Colorado and Utah, rather than a direct one across northern Arizona, between Santa Fe and Los Angeles.

The Hopi are the westernmost Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. Their villages are perched on three mesas in the Painted Desert: First Mesa, Second Mesa and Third Mesa. Oraibi, on Third Mesa, is considered the oldest continuously inhabited settlement in the United States, dating back to at least 1150 A.D.

The Hopi call themselves *Hopito-Shinumu*, which can be translated as “little people of peace.” They descended from the Ancestral Pueblo people of the Colorado Plateau, who reached their zenith around AD 1000 to 1150. The Hopi are a deeply religious people who have succeeded in holding onto their ancient ways and customs despite over four centuries of Spanish, Mexican, and American attempts to eradicate their beliefs.

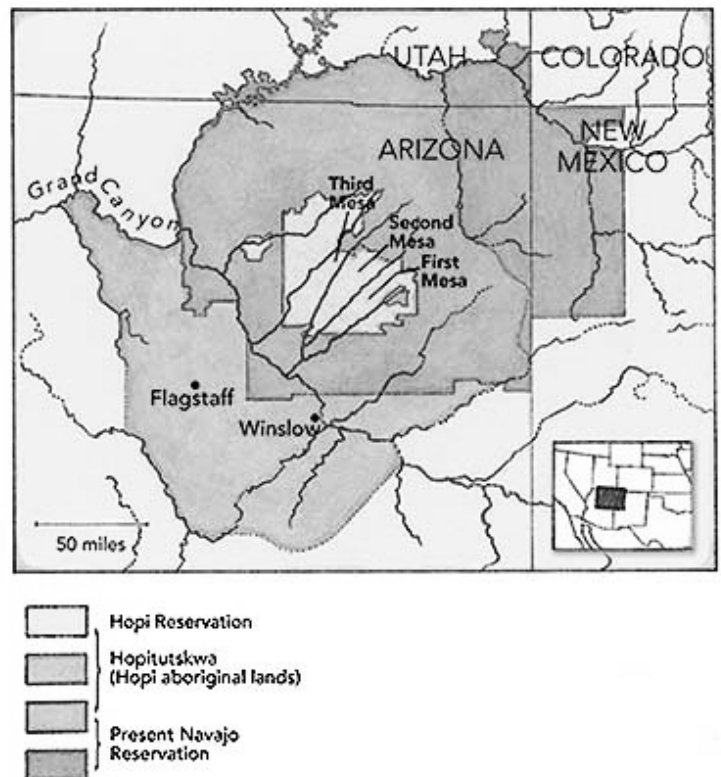
In *Arizona: A History*, Thomas E. Sheridan portrays the Hopi religion as “a vibrant web of enormous complexity” that permeates daily life, connecting each Hopi and family to society and the natural world. Hopi rituals, according to Sheridan, are mostly a plea for rain, “the greatest gift that the supernaturals can bestow on an arid land.”¹

The Hopi have always held a fascination for outsiders, especially the Spanish missionaries, who for four centuries endeavored with great zeal to convert them to Christianity. In particular, the Spanish explorers and missionaries Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Francisco Garcés were strongly attracted

to (and then repulsed by) the Hopi. In 1775 and 1776, when New Spain was searching for a route connecting its northern provinces of New Mexico and California, they made several visits to the Hopi villages while pioneering the western (Garcés) and eastern (Escalante) ends of the Old Spanish Trail.² To understand Hopi-Spanish relations during the formative stages of the Old Spanish Trail, it is necessary to present a brief history of New Spain’s attempts to subjugate the Hopi.

The Hopi’s first encounter with Europeans was in 1540 when a Spanish expeditionary force, under the command of Pedro de Tovar, arrived at the old Hopi pueblo Kawaaioukuk. Tovar had been sent from the Zuni pueblo in northwestern New Mexico to the Hopi villages by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado in search of the fabled “Seven Cities of Cibola.” Upon reaching the Hopi village, Tovar found no gilded city and, according to the Zuni, was so disappointed he nearly annihilated the pueblo.

In 1629, Spanish missionaries began constructing three missions in Hopi country: San Bernardo at Awatovi, east of First Mesa; San Bartolome on Second Mesa; and San Francisco on Third Mesa. The Hopi did



most of the grueling work for the Spaniards, moving stones for the church walls and travelling long distances to cut trees and drag the timber back. Often they were not paid by the Franciscans, who told them their work was “for the God of all the people.”³

According to Henry C. James, author of *Pages from Hopi History*, there was strong opposition to the building of the missions and efforts to convert the Hopi:

*The harsh labor enforced upon the Hopi in building the missions and in supplying food to the missionaries and their soldier guards, the brutal punishments inflicted upon apostates and those who rebelled, the failure of some priests to live up to the vows which the Hopi had learned were expected of them, the determination of Franciscans to obliterate every aspect of Hopi religious belief and practice – all of these sowed the wind only too well for the whirlwind of the Pueblo Rebellion which swept the entire Southwest in 1680.*³

The Pueblo Rebellion began on August 10, 1680, and spread quickly through the eastern Pueblos along the Rio Grande. Within a few days nearly all things Spanish were destroyed, including approximately 400 settlers and missionaries. In the Hopi villages, all four missionaries and their guards were murdered. All the mission churches were destroyed.

By 1696, the pueblos in New Mexico were re-subjugated to the Spanish Crown and re-consecrated to the Catholic Church by General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata. On the other hand, in the Hopi villages, bitter hostilities continued to exist between the minority who remained converted to Christianity and the majority who remained steadfast to the ancient Hopi way of life.

In 1700, the deep antagonism between these two groups led to the destruction of the pueblo of Awatovi, where the Franciscans had begun rebuilding the San Bernardo mission destroyed during the Pueblo Rebellion. The attack on Awatovi was led by the chiefs from

the villages on the three Hopi mesas, and, by most accounts, nearly all of the men in Awatovi were killed. The destruction of Awatovi is considered one of the most important events in Hopi history. It was an unparalleled tragedy that betrayed an intolerance at odds with their self-definition as a people of charity and peace. In *The Fourth World of the Hopi*, Harold Courlander states that to this day Hopi are reluctant to recount the tragedy.⁴

The destruction of Awatovi marked the end of Spanish domination of the Hopi. Throughout most of the 18th century, they enjoyed a period of relative freedom. Nonetheless, they were not entirely left alone by the Spanish. In 1775, a young Franciscan missionary from Zuni arrived in Hopi land to gather information on the feasibility of a route to the newly established California missions and, perhaps more importantly, to persuade them to become Christians and subjects of the King of Spain.

The destruction of Awatovi is considered one of the most important events in Hopi history.

On June 22, 1775, Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante left Zuni, accompanied by an interpreter from the Sandia Pueblo and 18 Zuni. He arrived at Walpi on First Mesa on the 25th and spent four days there before leaving for Oraibi, the largest and most important village of the

Hopi, where he planned to begin his preaching. In a letter following his trip, Escalante writes of his efforts at Oraibi:

*I gave them to understand that I had been sent by God to proclaim for Him the eternal glory to which He was inviting them even though they had offended Him for so long, and the torments with which he would punish them if they did not abandon their abominations, and becoming Christians, keep His commandments.*⁵

In view of the determination of the Hopi to remain true to their religious beliefs in the face of over 200 years of Spanish attempts to convert them to Christianity, it is not surprising that Escalante's exhortations were met with contempt by the Hopi religious leaders at Oraibi. A Hopi captain responded to his words “with

haughtiness and arrogance” that he did not want the Spaniards to live in his land.⁶ Escalante confessed that upon hearing this he erupted into anger “without being able to help myself.”⁶

Escalante returned to Walpi on June 30. The next day he succeeded in meeting a Cosninas (Havasupai) who was willing to discuss the lands west of the Hopi villages and the possibility of opening a direct route to California across northern Arizona. Since Escalante’s arrival on the 25th, both the Hopi and Zuni had attempted to thwart such a meeting. However, after smoking two cigarettes together, the Cosninas, “showing himself serene and happy,” drew a map with charcoal on a saddle “of the road that goes from Oraibi to his lands, indicating turns, stages, watering places, the area his people occupies and inhabits, the distance from the last rancherias to the Rio Grande (Colorado) and the direction in which it flows, and the bordering tribes.”⁷ Unfortunately, Escalante was not able to travel with the Cosninas on his return to his village because of the “constant affliction of my chronic ailment,”⁸ a urinary disease that would cause his death in four years.

To make matters worse, on July 2, he witnessed one of the summer ceremonials at Walpi, a “horrificing spectacle” that “saddened me so that I arranged for my departure for the following day.”⁸ Fray Silvestre’s first encounter with the Hopi clearly overwhelmed him, and his severe urinary pain only added to his misery. Escalante would later write to his superiors:

*It is falsely stated that they are docile and ready for reduction by those who wish to undertake it, and that they will be more easily subdued by gentle methods than by subjecting them first.*⁹

From then on, he was convinced that military conquest was the only way to subdue the Hopi. His strong negative reaction to the Hopi undoubtedly influenced his decision to explore more fertile fields of unconverted tribes on his epic journey through the lands of the Ute the following year.

Nevertheless, the Hopi continued to attract missionaries who believed conversion by persuasion, rather than military might, was possible. On July 2, 1776, almost exactly one year after Escalante departed Hopi country, Father Garcés, from his mission at San Xavier del Bac in southern Arizona, arrived in Oraibi with eight Yavapai guides. Despite earlier warnings from the Mohave that the Hopi might kill him, Garcés believed the Hopi were friends of the Spaniards, and on June 7 he and three guides set out from the Mohave villages along the Colorado River near present-day Needles across northern Arizona to Hopi land. During the month-long trek, Garcés became the first European to set eyes on the western section of the Grand Canyon and visit the tribes living south of the Colorado River in northwestern Arizona – the Hualapai and Havasupai.

The Hopi attitude towards the Spanish had changed little since Escalante’s visit, and as Garcés entered the main plaza of the Oraibi pueblo and dismounted his horse, he was warned not to come up to a house known to one of his Yavapai guides, who told him, “These people don’t like you and they are bad.”¹⁰ After unsaddling, he built a fire from some cornstalks thrown down in the street, where he spent the night. Later that evening, a friendly Zuni visited him and mentioned that his priest had come there a year earlier. Garcés was unaware that the priest spoken of was Escalante. The Zuni invited Garcés to go with him to the Zuni pueblo the next day.

Alas, Garcés decided not to go on to Zuni because his Yavapai companions would not join him and he felt that he would not be able to travel safely back through Hopi land without them. The next day he traveled alone to the other Hopi villages, but decided to return to Oraibi after some Hopi “ran off at my approach.”¹¹ Back at Oraibi, he slept again in his secluded corner of the plaza.

In his journal, Father Garcés recounts what happened the next morning (July 4, 1776) on the plaza:

The Hopi continued to attract missionaries who believed conversion by persuasion...was possible.

When the sun was up a great throng moved towards me and made me fear for my life. In the lead came four of the principal men, the tallest of whom demanded of me, with a smile: "Why have you come here? Don't stay. Go back to your own land." I made signs to them to be seated, but they did not wish to do so. I stood up, crucifix in hand, and partly in Yuma, partly in Yavapai, and partly in Spanish, and with signs, which are the best language, I made known to them the path of my journey, the nations I had seen, and those that had passed the crucifix from hand to hand and had been good to me. I said, moreover, that I cherished the Hopi, and that I came to tell them that God is in Heaven and that the Crucified was God, Jesus Christ, who was good. To this an old man, contorting his features, said in Spanish, "No, no." At that I said, "Fetch my mule." When it was brought and my things were loaded on I mounted and with a smile on my face, praising their pueblo and their dress, I left...¹²

Garcés' reaction to Hopi hostility could not have been more different than Escalante's. With "a smile on my face,"¹² Garcés bowed out graciously, flattering them and their city. Father Garcés was 43 years old at the time, 19 years older than Escalante, and had considerable experience dealing with the harsh deserts of the American Southwest and its native inhabitants, having made four previous explorations since he was stationed at his mission in southern Arizona.

The day before his departure, on the 3rd, Garcés had written a letter describing his travels to the missionaries at the Zuni pueblo. When the letter arrived by a Zuni runner, it created considerable excitement, since it demonstrated the feasibility of a direct route from New Mexico to California. The letter was sent on to Santa Fe, where Fathers Dominguez and Escalante read it as they were preparing for their expedition to Colorado and Utah. For inscrutable reasons, Escalante remained convinced that the best route to California lay far north of Hopi land, and, as it turned out, eliminating a more direct route to California during the Spanish and Mexican periods.

The Hopi refused Escalante's entreaty to submit to the Spanish way of life.

In his letter to the Zuni mission, Garcés also wrote "...to convert these angry Moquis (Hopis), it would be necessary to return here with troops...."¹³ Not surprisingly, the intense Hopi hostility to the "gentle persuasion" of the Franciscans had the same effect on Garcés as it did on Escalante.

At first glance, it seems astonishing that Escalante's 1775 and Garcés' 1776 expeditions ended prematurely at the Hopi villages, considering the explorers other achievements. Both men seemed obsessed with the Hopi, and reacted strongly to their non-violent rejection. If Escalante had continued westward from the Hopi villages, as he originally intended, and encountered more receptive tribes – namely Garcés' friendly Hualapai and Havasupai – would he have overcome his painful experiences with the Hopi and his aversion to finding a direct route to Monterey through their land? Moreover, if Garcés had announced his arrival at the Hopi villages in person, rather than in a letter, to the Zuni missionaries, would the religious and secular authorities in Santa Fe have viewed Escalante's plan to travel a circuitous route to Monterey less favorably?

Three weeks after Garcés' departure from Oraibi, Fathers Dominguez and Escalante, along with ten men including two friars, left Santa Fe to find a route to Monterey, California, and to discover new mission fields among the American Indians north of New Mexico. Two months after leaving Santa Fe, an early snowstorm and bitter cold gripped western Utah, forcing them to cut short their westward advance and turning them back to New Mexico.

On November 19, 1776, on their homeward journey, they reached the Oraibi pueblo on Third Mesa "to exert anew our efforts in behalf of the Light, and meekness of the Gospel, as against their willful blindness and inveterate obstinacy,"¹⁴ which Escalante knew only too well from his first visit to Hopi land the previous year.

Once again, with perfect predictability, the Hopi

refused Escalante's entreaty to submit to the Spanish way of life. This time, however, he maintained his self-possession, and, after spending the night in the home of a friendly Hopi, he left for Second and Third Mesas. The response to his preaching at these pueblos was the same: "they wanted to be our friends but not Christians."¹⁵

However, changes had occurred in Hopi country since his last visit that provided some hope of ending their "inveterate obstinacy." At Walpi, Escalante learned that the Hopi were at war with the Navajo and were hoping that the Spaniards would aid in their defense. Escalante seized the opportunity presented by their need of military support:

*...we would be on their side in everything, because we love them as one does his children, and that we very much sympathized with their troubles, but, since God alone is the one who can do everything and governs all, that they could not rid themselves of their suffering so long as they persisted in their infidelity and did not cease offending Him.*¹⁶

Once again, the Hopi replied they would rather undergo Navajo depredations than become Christians. Escalante writes of his disappointment: "...we withdrew quite crestfallen back to our lodging, after seeing how invincible the obstinacy of these unfortunate Indians was."¹⁷ One has to wonder who was more obstinate.

Paradoxically, one of the reasons for the increasing raids by Navajo on the Hopi villages was the escalating Spanish retaliations against the Navajo in western New Mexico, which were pushing the nomadic Athabaskan-speaking people westward into northeastern Arizona.

Conditions in Hopi land continued to deteriorate after Escalante's visit. Besides intensified Navajo raids, drought and disease were decimating the Hopi. In August 1780, Juan Bautista de Anza, governor of New Mexico, set out to escort 40 Hopi families who wanted to relocate along the Rio Grande. Before Anza arrived, the families were forced by hunger to leave their homes, and were later all killed or enslaved by

marauding Navajo.

When Anza and his party arrived at the Hopi villages, they found only 798 Hopi. Escalante had estimated a population of 7,494 during his visit three years earlier. Facing annihilation, the remaining Hopi resolved to die in their villages.

It is unknown exactly what role the Hopi played in Escalante's decision to travel through the lands of the Ute, rather than across northern Arizona, on his epic voyage of 1776. Jim Byrkit asserts that Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, the Governor of New Mexico, strongly supported Escalante's proposal of going into Ute country.¹⁸ Frank Reeve in *Navajo-Spanish Diplomacy* writes that during the early 1770s, a war of attrition existed between the Spanish and the Navajo, who were expelling settlers from their ranches west of the Rio Grande Valley.¹⁹ In 1774, at the height of the conflict, Mendinueta was working to make the Ute allies and "would remain neutral if war should break out between them and the Navajo,"²⁰ a stratagem in Spanish diplomacy that would be used for at least a decade. Thus, it is not farfetched to suppose that Escalante's 1776 expedition was conducted partly to strengthen diplomatic ties with the Ute.

In light of the above, it is perhaps not surprising that Escalante remained committed to his plan to travel through Ute country despite having received news of Garcés' arrival in the Hopi villages. In fact, Garcés' remarkable feat may have convinced Escalante that finding a route to California was superfluous or unnecessary. Leo Lyman has argued that "it was probably never the expedition's major objective to discover and follow a new overland route from New Mexico to the recently-established Franciscan mission at Monterey, California."²¹ The friars, according to Lyman, were "far more committed to the goals of seeking and finding new and promising people among whom they could establish Roman Catholic missions."²¹ Indeed, the Hopi were neither "new" nor "promising" to Spanish attempts at subjugation.

In the waning years of Spanish domination, little is mentioned of the Hopi in the historical records. There

are a few accounts of increasing raids on the Hopi, perhaps exacerbated by the 1819 Navajo/Spanish treaty that pushed the Navajo even further westward to the country around the Hopi villages.

In 1829, Antonio Armijo’s pioneering journey to Los Angeles from Santa Fe traversed northern Arizona in search of the "Crossing of the Fathers," where Dominguez and Escalante forded the Colorado River in 1776. Skirting the northern boundary of the Hopi Reservation, then travelling up Tesgi Canyon, Armijo’s route ran along the foot of Black Mesa near present-day Kayenta and passed the spectacular ruins of Betatakin and Keet Seel, ancestral villages of the Hopi. According to Steve Heath, Armijo made no mention of the ruins, probably because they were located up side canyons concealed from the main trail.²²

Today, the Hopi population is around 8,000, most of which is concentrated in the villages atop the three mesas of the Black Mesa. Oraibi is no longer the dominant village, with about a hundred or more inhabitants. Despite the incursions of mass media and entertainment, the ancient cycle of dances and ceremonies are still performed each year. ♦

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Earl Fosdick is the Arizona Director of the Old Spanish Trail Association. He is also a Trail Steward of the Old Spanish and Arizona Trails. In 2012, he worked on the BLM-funded project to establish long-term field monitoring of high potential trail segments and historic sites along the Armijo Route. Earl lives in Phoenix where he is a licensed electrical contractor.

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PLEASE VOTE

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Red Creek Canyon: The Final Chapter?

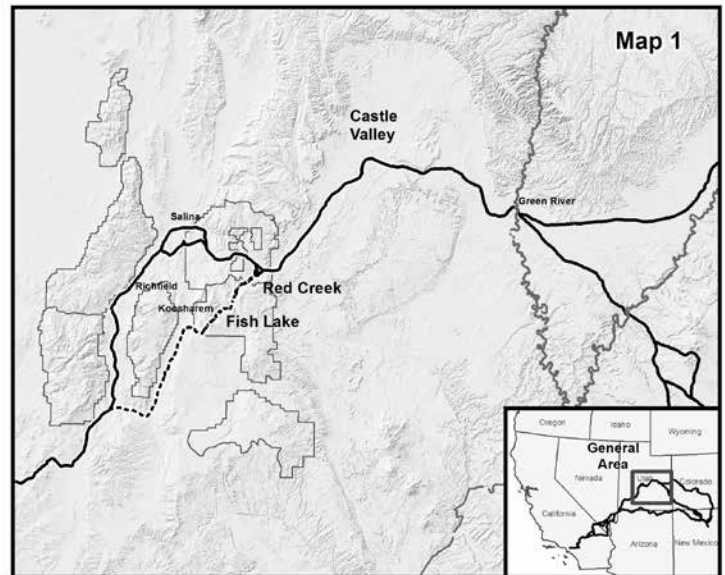
By Bob Leonard

Truth is like the sun. You can shut it out for a time, but it ain't goin' away (Elvis Presley 1935-1977)

Motivated by a hard landing on two miles of the Fish Lake Cutoff (FLCO) (42SV2828) during a Dixie harrow project, I began a voluntary survey in 2009 to delineate any remaining trail remnants. My survey compatriot was Lydia Jakovac, an International Volunteer on sabbatical from a teaching job in British Columbia. We found many traces and swales extending from Grass Valley near Koosharem, Utah that ascended the Fish Lake Plateau to the Quakie Haven Resort south of the lake (Map 1). A year later, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) hired Alpine Archaeology of Montrose, Colorado, to resurvey access points to Fish Lake. Alpine judiciously recorded Government Land Office (GLO) roads and dissected a good number of historic “precursor” roads or roads thought to be in existence before the GLO recorded them. This included what we had considered the main FLCO corridor. However, we remain convinced that this lineal trail feature, characterized by two swales to six or so swales, is intermittently present from the hill above the south end of Fish Lake to State Road 24 and beyond. This corridor meets the criteria, in our opinion, of an “unaltered trail” now used by cattle.

After a year of joint efforts by the Forest Service and the BLM to nominate 90 miles of the Old Spanish Trail (42SV2621) and the FLCO to the National Register of Historic Places, the BLM decided that it no longer wanted to participate in the nomination. We hired a consultant, SWCA of Salt Lake City, Utah, to reformat the nomination and to shorten it to 11 miles of trails on lands managed by the Forest Service. This proved to be the silver lining to a dark cloud (i.e., no

42SV2828, the professional site number developed by the Smithsonian and used by all the states. For example, 42 is Utah, SV is Sevier County and 2828 is the number for the FLCO. The number is referenced in the first mention of the site. For example, “the FLCO (42SV2828) begins 2.5 miles south of. . .”



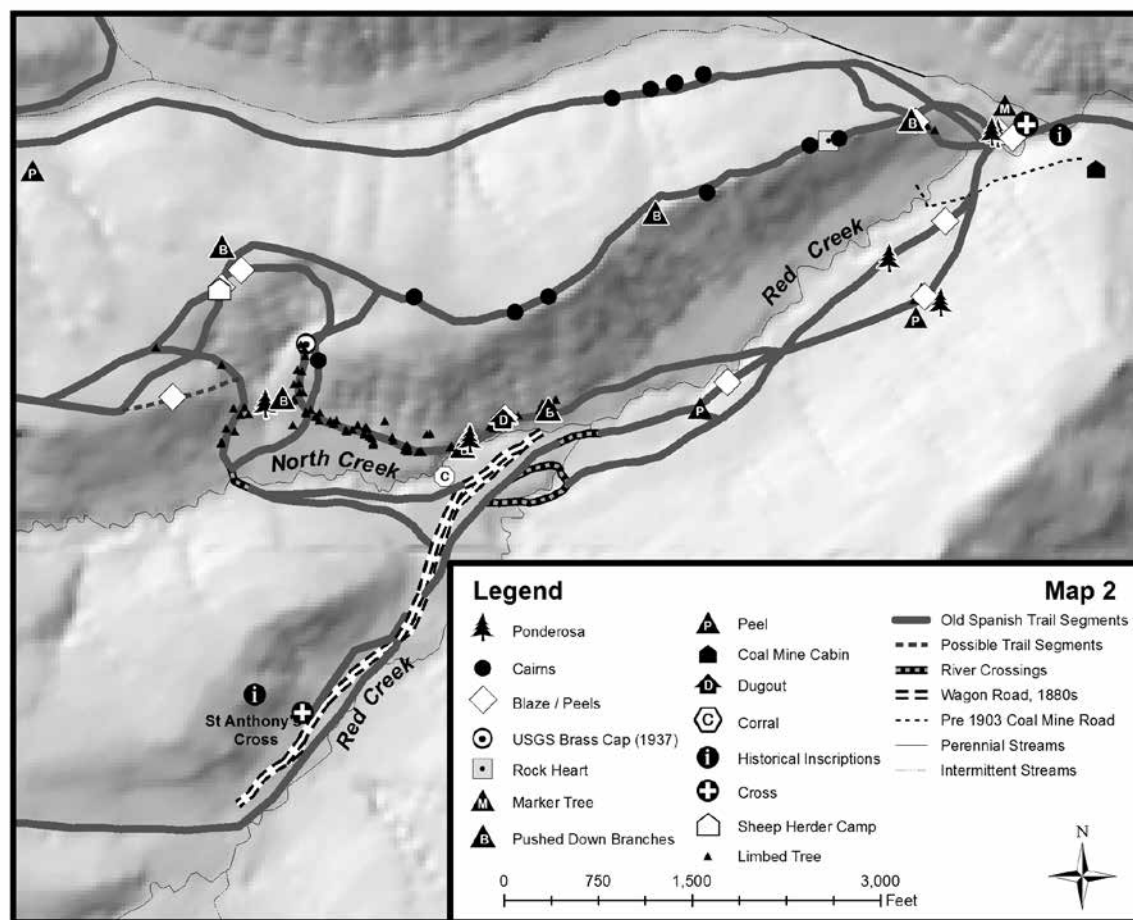
Map 1: Vicinity map showing Red Creek, Fish Lake and the town of Koosharem. The OST is represented by a heavy black line and the Fishlake Cutoff has been dashed. The Fishlake National Forest designated by blocked units.

private land) and the nomination was eventually listed on the National Register of Historic Places (2013). After finishing in the Koosharem area, we landed in Red Creek Canyon where the trail dropped from the wastes of Castle Valley and entered the relatively lush lands of central Utah (Map 1).

The north end of the FLCO and the approximate middle of the Main Branch of the OST are seemingly complex in a landscape cloaked by topographic relief and trees (Photo 1). Red Creek is remote, underutilized by the public and mostly pristine. The trail system was literally hiding in plain sight, although it has taken me the better part of five years to connect all of the dots. I am an historic archaeologist and I began my career at Bent's Old Fort excavating the ice house (Leonard 2013:10-12). This experience did not prepare me for analyzing the linear features in Red Creek, trying to separate the traces of horses, mules, cows, sheep, elk, log skidding, wagon roads, and erosion.

In the beginning we labored under many misconceptions, including one that was dramatic in terms of our mindset. We entered the canyon at its mouth and

Map 2: The east side of the Red Creek area. Features discovered during multiple surveys from 2009-2014 are illustrated.



followed what Crampton and Madsen (1994:61) had described as the FLCO. I assumed that the OST was in back of us and was simply underneath the pavement of I-70 where it climbed Wasatch Pass. When Lydia found a multitude of traces turning from the southwest back to the northwest, only then did we realize that we were on the OST. This roughly horseshoe-shaped dip allowed herders to steer their livestock around the head of a historically deep and impassable gully. Therefore, the junction of the OST and the FLCO is exactly where Capt. Gunnison said it was: 2.5 miles south of the mouth of the canyon and I-70 at the bottom of the horseshoe-shaped dip (Map 2). Of interest, we found the Gunnison (Beckwith 1855) report *after* Lydia had found the trail turning.

Lydia's "trail" wasn't the only one. *Depending upon the decision of the herder*, the major eastbound caravans and westbound trains would have used one of three major corridors present in or near the canyon. One route is on the east bench above Red Creek, another avenue climbs the ridge on the west side of the

creek, and the final skirts the west side of Tommy Hollow. When they were able, herders used benches, ridge tops and the toes of ridge slopes to keep their stock out of the sagebrush and riparian vegetation (Photo 2). In Red Creek, there was a common strategy which reflected the movement of every OST/FLCO pack train or caravan. This was getting around the gully, called Tommy Hollow, which used converging trail corridors that crossed at a single pinch point, a one-hundred-foot-wide ford (Photo 3).

Consider the following observations made by United States military personnel between 1853-1858.

1. In July 1853, Lt. E. F. Beale (Hafen and Hafen 1993: 215) said "we continued to travel parallel to the hills [I-70 corridor] in the south by a west course [from the junction of Interstate 70 and State Road 10], and in seven miles came to a gap, giving issue to a small stream [Red Creek], which we ascended three miles." Beale and his *pack mule train* continued on to the south end of the Sevier Valley

where they turned east up a trail over the Antelope Mountains. This trail was missed by Jedediah Smith in 1826 who rode west. Beale obviously knew where he was going [E. Lyman 2010: personal communication).

2. In October 1853, Capt. J. W. Gunnison, giving landmarks and distances, turned into Red Creek Canyon. His second-in-command, Lt. E. G. Beckwith (1855: 66) wrote that “This gorge is cut into deep gullies by streams which pour down from the mountains during storms which gave us some labor to cross; and a small stream [Red Creek] coming in from the south also so detained us a short time. But, after following it for two miles and a half, the Spanish trail branches [OST/FLCO].” Both Beale and Gunnison were military men on an 1853 quest for a route for the railroad. Could they have had the same map?
3. In July 1858, Col. W. W. Loring (1946: 49), commanding three companies of mounted riflemen and three companies of infantry, marched from Camp Floyd, Utah, to Ft. Union, New Mexico, improving the road as he went. On the east side of Wasatch Pass, Loring (p. 57) wrote, “At this creek [Clear Creek] there is a good camp with a good quantity of grass, wood and water, pinyon and cottonwood trees. For $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, cut the road through the canyon, along the creek with no little labor.” [Tommy Hollow, Red Creek, Clear Creek]
4. It is also worth mentioning that for 30 years of my career, I was led to believe that the extensive gullying in the Wasatch Pass vicinity was the result of historic over-grazing from 1875-1905. As Gunnison (Beckwith 1855: 66) describes, deep gullies existed in 1853, 23 years before the introduction of sheep and cattle.

Archaeologists work with two types of data, the absolute and the circumstantial. We consider the Red Creek documentation, taken as a whole, to be as absolute as possible for an historic trails survey. We also have features that are circumstantial, but when grouped together they become very compelling. The swales and traces of the area are consistent with large numbers of livestock being moved across the landscape (i.e., herd-



Photo 1: In comparison to the east and west deserts of Utah, the green plateau and canyon country between I-70 and I-15 is lush. In the center of the photo, a band of disturbed soil and vegetation can be seen just above the sagebrush in the canyon bottom. This is a corridor of the OST.

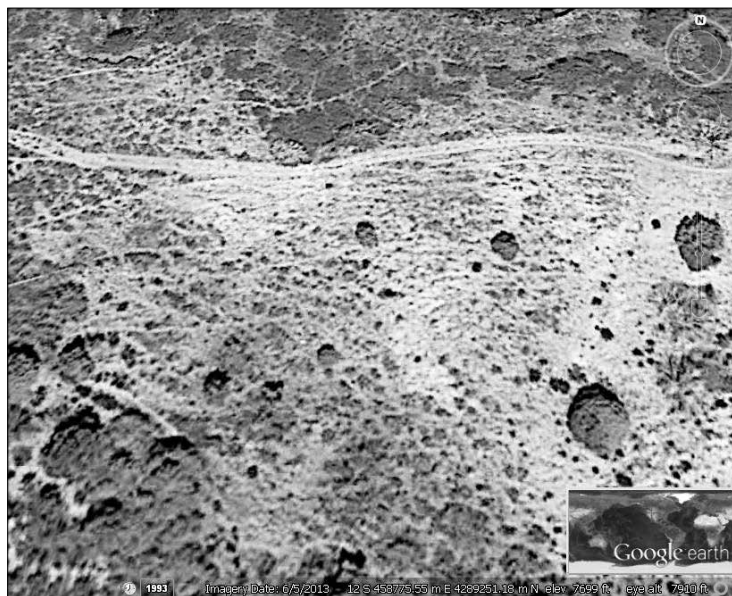


Photo 2: Satellite image of the disturbed band showing traces and swales on a side hill, thus avoiding the sagebrush and creek-side vegetation along North Creek in the upper part of the photo. The trail veers right, crosses a ford and climbs to the west ridge corridor.

ing). Cows and sheep, in contrast, are allowed to drift individually or in small groups, at their own pace, and in whatever direction. Their configuration is scattered (Smith 1998). OST and FLCO traces and swales are straight, parallel and can measure up to 300 feet in width. This is consistent with Beckwith's (1855:65) observations of the OST during the passage of the Gunnison Expedition through Castle Valley.

Other circumstantial features are made of stone: three inscriptions, a system of cairns, and a mystery boulder.



Photo 3: This is the ford where OST traffic was crossing Tommy Hollow, facing north towards the I-70 corridor. The hollow was named for Tommy Simpers, the companion of the Bennion teenagers and their 2,000-head herd (1876).



Photo 4: This is one variation of the cairns in the Red Creek area. This marks the corridor which runs on the slopes to the east of Tommy Hollow. There are five cairns in a short distance, and they define the lineal corridor and also act as a barrier keeping stock from dropping down into the vegetative mess along the hollow.

The inscriptions start at the mouth of the canyon where a cross inside a shield has been incised into a boulder. Two miles into the canyon, a St. Anthony's Cross is pecked into a boulder, and upslope, on the rim rock of the ridge, someone has carefully crafted a "JS". We were sure this was left by Jedediah Smith but according to western rock art historian James Knipmeyer (2011: personal communication), Jed is not known to have left his initials anywhere. Knipmeyer, nonetheless, was impressed with the very ornate style of the inscription, which looks like the margin header out of a Latin Bible, and stated that he had never seen anything like it. As for the cross, the "T" symbol is a character in the Greek alphabet and even dates back to ancient Egypt. The "T", without the bulb on the right arm, is a livestock brand registered by Thomas Davis & Sons of Cleveland, Utah, in 1900 (Division of Animal Industry Brand Books 1849-1930, USDA) Cleveland is 56 miles northeast of Red Creek. Archie Jeffs, a WW II veteran, is known to have scratched his brand, a capital "A" with a "J" hanging from the cross arm (W. Allinson 2015: personal communication). The St. Anthony's Cross could well be a vestige of the OST or it could represent an early 20th century cattle brand. Current archaeological techniques will not allow us to date the inscription or to determine the motives of the inscriber.

The cairns are fascinating. People mark a trail in unfamiliar territory. It is unlikely that early cattlemen or sheepherders built cairns on their own ranges (V. Pace 2012: personal communication). OST parties coming in from wide-open deserts may have been apprehensive about taking a wrong turn in the woods with a pack train or caravan behind them. Cairns define the trail on the west ridge above Red Creek: five cairns prevent stock from dropping off of the slope above Tommy Hollow and into the brush, and three cairns signal the access points to a ridgeline where the FLCO begins (Photo 4).

Two cairns appear to be associated with historic land surveys. They were used to prop up cedar posts. One post sports a 6d. wire nail and suggests that flagging was used to aid surveyors needing a clear line-of-sight. A third, problematic, cairn rests on a stacked rock base

and supports a pillar of stone. It may be a line-of-sight target but does not sit on a section line or corner. It is also oriented magnetic north-south when surveyors use true north. Unfortunately, culturally modified stone is stone and it can't be dated nor can the identity or the motive of the carver be delineated. But the other 13 cairns in the inventory have evenly distributed lichen, "look" old, and all, of significant interest, were found *after* the trail corridors were mapped. Their very specific patterning would *suggest* legitimacy.

The strangest and most mysterious stone feature found in the Red Creek area is on the west ridge corridor. It is a 5-foot wide x 5-foot tall heart in the middle of the trail (Photo 5). The top part of the stone appears to have been hewn to make the boulder look like a heart and the boulder appears to have been placed and blocked at the right toe to prevent it from toppling. The heart must weigh several tons.

There are well over a hundred piñon and juniper trees that have been limbed and some actually cut down. It is thought that cedar posts were used by the early cattlemen and sheepherders to build corrals. However, limbing is an entirely different activity that was apparently done to make a way through the piñon and juniper canopy for livestock larger than sheep. This was a practice at the OST Bunker Campsite on the

North Branch in Colorado (A. Krall 2012: personal communication). The limbing looks to be on the older trees and presents a lineal pattern (see Map 2). One limbed corridor that accesses the west ridge has slopes that look heavily disturbed (Photo 6). This is a ridge without water and even today's cattle spend little to no time up there. We also have branches on juniper trees that have been pushed down (Photo 7). Red Creek is not a heavy snow area so could the branches represent temporary shelters?

One relatively new technique of investigation is the identification of protein residue still present on artifacts even after +1,000 years. I have had arrowheads and spear points, from separate sites, with protein (probably blood) from cougars and porcupines. Recognizing that OST livestock were unshod and that hooves are mostly protein, I had the money to test one rock in a beaten trace for protein. There were elk droppings within a foot of the rock but the analysis by PaleoResearch Institute of Golden, Colorado, came up negative for equus and elk, sheep, cows, and deer. One sample is simply not enough.

And now, the best for last. I have just received my final dendrochronological dates for both the OST and FLCO (see Maps 2 and 3). Tree ring samples were taken and analyzed by Dr. Stan Kitchen of the Shrub

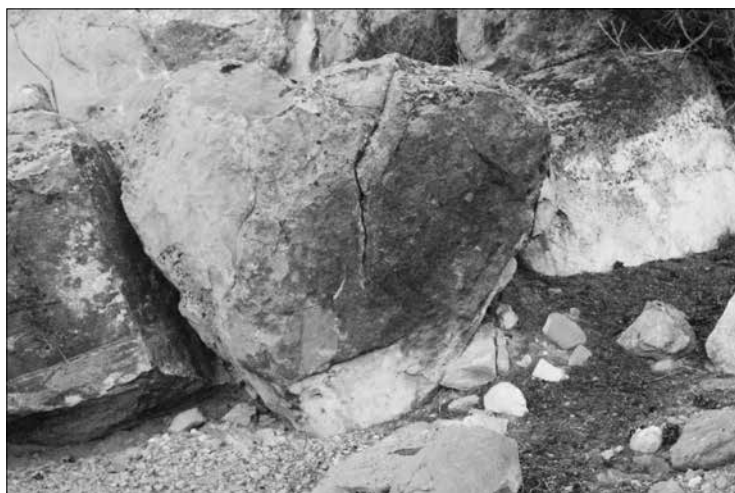
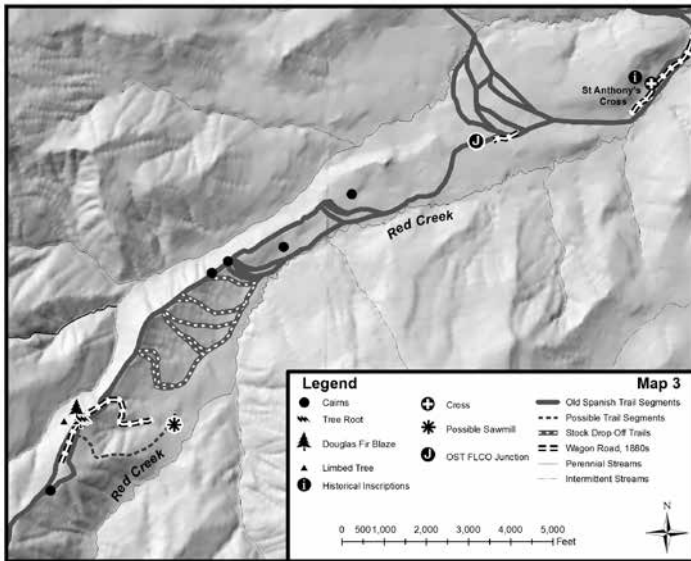


Photo 5: Climbing the west ridge corridor from the mouth of Red Creek Canyon, a seemingly-shaped heart is encountered about halfway to the top. Note the stones at the base of the heart, on the right, which block the object and prevent it from falling over.



Photo 6: Corridor from North Creek up to the summit of the west ridge corridor. This trail access is heavily disturbed and has been limbed.



Map 3: The west side of the Red Creek area. Features discovered during multiple surveys from 2009-2014 are illustrated.

Sciences Laboratory, Rocky Mountain Research Station, U.S. Forest Service, Provo, Utah. We discovered six blazes on the OST. They are shaped like a cross, vertical overgrown scars, and a devil face with horns. The dates, from earliest to latest, are 1795 (west ridge, cross blaze on a piñon pine), 1813-1814 and 1818-1819 (east bench, one blaze marked twice in June or early July on a dead ponderosa), 1836 (east bench, marked in late June or early July on a ponderosa), 1840+/-10 (ax cut ponderosa), 1899-1900 (east bench ponderosa, livestock men?) and 1927 (west ridge, devil face, ax cut limbs, probably livestock men?).



Photo 7: Pushed down limbs, on the older trees, may form the frame for a temporary structure like a modified wikiup.

On the FLCO, there is a large root, 16 inches across, that has been damaged by livestock, wagons and vehicles: the injuries date to 1797-1798, 1806-1807, 1837-1838, 1844-45, 1875-1876, 1889-1890, 1908, 1922, 1926-1927, 1936-1937, 1942-1943 and 1960. There are no damage episodes on the root after 1960 because the Forest Service moved the road away from the 1880s wagon tracks (Nielsen 1903). Uphill, a blazed Douglas fir tree with a pronounced bent limb points to the northeast, away from the root, to pristine swales and traces on a very steep slope (Photo 8). This indicates that the FLCO spreads out on the slope and only the 10-foot road corridor was impacted by wagons and vehicles. The fir tree blaze was dated to 1796-1797 and although Native Americans are *reported* to have used the cambium layer of Douglas fir trees, studies reference the discovery of only modified ponderosa trees in Utah and New Mexico (Allen and Skousen 2009: 3, M. Kyte 2010 and B. Loosle 2010: personal communication).

Native American people, most likely the San Pitch Utes (Loring 1946: 56), were removing the cambium membrane from some ponderosa trees in Red Creek during times of scarcity. The peels date to 1803 or 1804 (east bench), and 1836 (east bench, marked late June, early July when eastbound traffic was in the canyon). Two peels on the slopes of Tommy Hollow were recorded but not analyzed. A single fire-scarred tree, on the north end of the canyon, was also sampled and yielded fire episodes in the canyon of 1653, 1704-



Photo 8: Vertical blaze on the FLCO which points to swales coming uphill from the northeast. This blaze was dated to 1796, marked in late June or early July. Note the cultural bend in the limb in the upper left of the photo.

1705, and 1752-1753.

Final tally is seven datable injuries in the Red Creek area (two post-date the OST and other was not cored), one fallen ponderosa with a double-marked blaze, two piñon pine trees with blazes, one Douglas fir with a blaze, one Douglas fir root with injuries, and one ponderosa, and three junipers felled or limbed in front of a ponderosa blaze. Five ponderosas have been peeled and two ponderosas were fire-scarred.

In reference to interpreting blazes and peels, archaeologists have taken the “if I don’t understand it, it must be ceremonial” approach. A blaze or peel is an injury to a tree by human hands, or “culturally modified trees.” We can tell you when the injury happened although we have absolutely no idea who did it or anything about their motives. Here are an array of interpretations about peels and blazes that Rio Grande archaeologist Angie Krall (2015: personal communication) came up with.

1. The OST followed Indian trails as did earlier Spanish traders. The peels served, in a secondary fashion, as markers for later travelers.
2. Some peels were renovated into blazes by travelers using an ax or simply re-marking them.
3. Some peels were intended as trail markers when oriented towards a trail corridor.
4. Three peels/blazes in Red Creek were marked during June or early July. This is the green-up period at 8,000 feet and alternative food sources were available. Trees marked during this period in the 1830s and 1840s, and regardless of what they were using them for, overlapped with the arrival of east-bound caravans. Were the San Pitch Utes there to trade? Jed Smith, somewhere on “Ashley’s River” in August 1826, encountered another Ute band, “a nation of Indians who call themselves Sampatch.” The Indians received Smith cordially and in turn received of his largess (Morgan 1964:1964).

Bottom line, every tree with a blaze or peel does not necessarily represent some Native American carving a tree trunk for food or whatever. The profession

may have assumed way too much (Allen and Skousen 2009:10-11).

If you were to *loosely* correlate the dendrochronological dates with activities and travelers in Red Creek Canyon, here are some suggestions to the historical context.

1795-1797: Spanish travelers, probably traders, San Pitch Utes

1806-1807: Manuel Metas, trader

1813-1819: Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia, traders

1837-1838, 1844-1845: OST and FLCO, San Pitch Utes

1875-1876: Bennion brothers, Tommy Simpser, cowboys, geologist Karl Grove Gilbert

1889-1890: cows and sheep, Emery to Wayne County wagon road

1908: U.S. Forest Service begins management

1960s: Forest Road 141 renovated with switchbacks, FLCO avoided

The presentation of these dates is not meant to suggest that they were left by the travelers mentioned above but only attempts to familiarize the reader with the historic activities in the canyon around the time of the tree ring dates.



Photo 9: Passport in Time volunteer kneels near a large cairn on the FLCO. The marker is still intact on the right but looks to have spilled to the left. This feature is located at one of the access points for the trail on a ridge spine.

Combining information gleaned from interviews with specialists and advocates, historical accounts, dendrochronology, and archaeological survey, we can conclude the following.

1. Mules travelling in a *train* were not tied head to tail. Brewerton (1855) referred to their mules as a “mob”. They were loose but followed a bell mare (B. Hooverson 2011: personal communication). Pack trains can easily leave a trail 50 feet wide although, according to Richard Waller (2015: personal correspondence), there are times when mules are prone to single-file it. Where pack trains and caravans were using the same corridor, it should be difficult to separate the traces of the two groups. To see a short video of a U.S. Army pack train from the Spanish American War go to www.criticalpast.com/video/65675065296_army-mules-Spanish-American-War_mules-carry-ammunition-mule-skinners. If you haven’t seen the new video with the pack train scouts (“exploradores”), go to www.youtube.com/watch?v=b_IaZnzl-Ig
2. When not constricted by the landscape, large horse and mule herds were shaped like a tear drop, with the boss mare in front, the dominate animals in the middle, and the sub-dominate stock on the outside with the stallion. Animals were herded at their natural pace, about 3.3 mph and they spread out. Some of our traces are 250 to 300 feet wide. “Expresses” were faster and Carson’s 1848 party made Santa Fe in six weeks. Caravans could take months and Carson, finding himself behind a 1,000 head herd stretched out for a mile on the trail, made a dash around the behemoth (Brewerton 1855: 35-6).
3. Herders made decisions on the trail which dictated their routes across and through landscapes. Decision variables might include terrain, trail conditions, weather, water, forage, sustenance, and defense. In Red Creek, they seem to have preferred ridge tops and slopes which allowed the livestock to stay out of the brushy vegetation in the bottom of the canyon. In the fall, and with good weather, California-bound pack trains may well have turned south on the FLCO. The trail to Fish Lake is markedly less arduous, if we can believe Gunnison

(Beckwith 1855: 68) and Loring (1946: 56), than the OST route to the Sevier Valley. And of course, the abundance of fish protein at Fish Lake would have been an incentive in a region where deer, elk, and antelope were scarce (Kay 2009: personal communication).

4. Herders marked their way through this timbered region. They used cairns and blazes as trail guides. Cairns can be as simple as two large stacked stones with one pointed end. Cairns can be carefully stacked or appear to be a jumble of rocks. Some cairns are so subtle that in Red Creek, I walked by one for years. It is a large slab of rock on top of an outcrop and balanced with a small wedge stone (Photo 9). It was pointed out to me by one of my Passport in Time volunteers, who explored the area with metal detectors.
5. It is well documented that Native Americans peeled the cambium membrane from ponderosa trees for starvation food and medicines (Allen and Skousen 2009: 1-2) and we have documented at least five. However, one blaze, which or may not have started as a peel, has been classified as a blaze on the basis of significant attributes (Photo 10). The blaze is located at the convergence of two major trail corridors, the west ridge and the east bench. The bottom of the ponderosa blaze is four

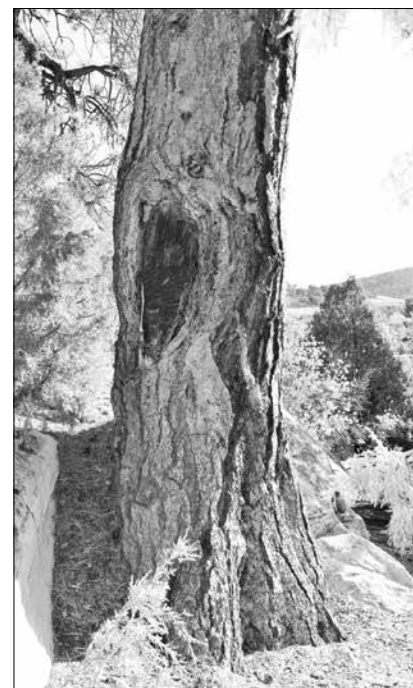


Photo 10: Most archaeologists would call this a peel but because of its orientation, and delimbing of obstructing trees, I believe that it is a blaze facing the traffic descending from the west ridge corridor.



Photo 11: “Marker” tree above the blazed ponderosa. This may have directed travelers into Red Creek Canyon. Not post-cutting, note that the roots have been cut, killing the tree and preventing regrowth from obscuring the marker.

feet from the ground and is high enough to clear a ledge of rock that would have obscured it from travelers coming down off the west ridge. The blaze is oriented to a high point on the ridge trail. Three cedar trees and one small ponderosa, cloaking the blaze, were cut down or severely limbed with an ax. Cross-dating these trees, unfortunately, was not successful. However, the blaze was cored and dates to 1840 $\pm$ 10 years. Above the blazed ponderosa on a bench, a cedar tree has been cut into the shape of a notch and all of its roots have been severed thus killing the tree and preventing regrowth (Photo 11). The bare trunk tree is visible from Ivie Creek and may have signaled the turn into Red Creek.

6. People who may have traveled through the Red Creek Canyon include Manuel Metas (1805), Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia (1813), Jedediah Smith (1826), Denis Julien (1832), Wakara (1840s), Benjamin Choteau (1848), Kit Carson (1848), George Brewerton (1848), Old Bill Williams (1848), Orville Pratt (1849), E. F. Beale (1853) John Gunnison (1853), Alfred Billings (1855), William Loring (1858), Blackhawk (1860s), and Carl Gilbert (1875).

Conclusions

We all realize that trails, made by animals and humans, are used and reused over time, but Red Creek was a surprise. I never thought that the OST would dip to the southwest from I-70 and I certainly didn't expect Spanish traffic on both the OST and the FLCO during the late 18th century. Two blazes and a damaged root (Douglas firs and a piñon pine) document this travel and suggest that Jed Smith, when he dropped out of Castle Valley, was simply following established trails. Travel, confirmed by additional blazes and damage episodes on the root, documents that traffic continues in the 1830s and 1840s. Ground disturbance suggests that the passage of stock was “massive”.

The human mind is a mysterious contraption. One of its many functions is to put different pieces of information into different boxes. Psychologists call this “compartmentalization.” In the early 1990s, I arranged to have Lincoln Land Community College of Springfield, Illinois, survey the Fish Lake Basin. On the north end of the lake, they discovered an area with ashy soils and apparent rock alignments (42SV2229). In 1995, Dr. Joel Janetski of BYU partnered with the Forest Service and the Paiute Tribe of Utah to excavate the site. What they found was a fishing village consisting of wikiups that had been intermittently used from AD 200 to the Late Prehistoric Period. In two separate areas of the encampment they found an iron moccasin awl, two metal arrowpoints, a tinkler and glass trade beads dating to c. 1840 (DeVore 1992). The fact that there is a native, albeit *seasonal*, population at Fish Lake, coupled with European use of the FLCO dating from 1795 to 1848, makes a good argument for commercialism.

I will be retired by August of this year. However, the Fishlake National Forest has been exceptionally supportive of the Old Spanish Trail project. I am confident that they would issue permits to trails-oriented consultants, not focused on wagon roads or 3-foot-wide pack trails, to review Red Creek. And of course, as a private citizen, you are welcome to do your own “Leave No Trace” survey without permits. Consider this a standing invitation. ♦

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Bob Leonard began his Forest Service career as an historic archaeologist in 1975. Since 1980 he has been the Heritage Program Manager on the Fishlake National Forest, and in 1996 he was named the National Forest Interpreter of the Year. He will retire this August.

William And David Workman: Their English Background

By David Fallowfield

Penrith, Cumbria, England

This article was originally written for presentation at the OSTA Annual Conference at Pomona, California, held in June 2011. It was to have been accompanied by many suitable photographs and even a piece of music. However, because of circumstances which prevailed at that time, the author was unable to attend. During the recent visit to Cumbria by OSTA members, the original paper was presented at Penrith on June 27, 2014, together with the slide presentation. Dr. Reba Wells Grandrud suggested to the author that it was worthy of publication in Spanish Traces. Therefore, it has been adapted for the journal.

The history written in *Spanish Traces* is almost always about aspects of American history. This paper will be an overview of England's geography and history with particular reference to families, like the Workmans, living in the county of Cumbria in North West England. I will also explore the social, cultural, economic, and political environment they grew up in and how it might have prepared them for success as pioneers in the United States. In giving these facts I have to assume that you either know what the Workmans achieved in their lives in America or you are planning to read about it elsewhere.

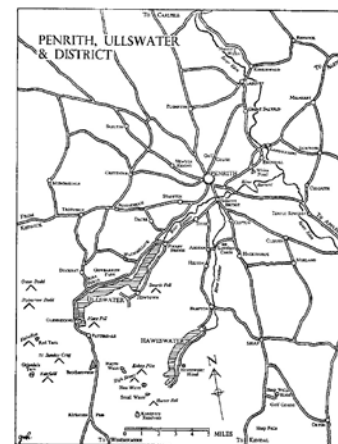
When Milo Milton Quaife wrote the historical introduction to *Kit Carson's Autobiography* in 1935, he said, "In the final analysis, Carson's principal asset was his character." I believe the same was true of the Workman brothers and we are talking here about strong characters. So, what is it that shapes a man's character? In my view it is a combination of his genes and his upbringing. Therefore, let me set out for you my view on the brothers' English background.

GEOGRAPHY

Cumbria, formerly known as Cumberland and Westmorland, is a maritime county situated around Latitude 55 degrees N, in northwest England, adjacent to the



England counties, with Cumbria circled, and Penrith area



border with Scotland and surrounded by the English counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland. Occupying an area of 2,629 square miles, it has two main mountainous regions, the Central Lake District Mountains which contain the highest mountains in England and its largest lakes, and to the east lies the Pennine Mountain chain, known as "the backbone of England," which acts as a natural barrier equivalent to the Sierra Nevada in California but on a smaller scale. The highest point in this 200-mile-long Pennine range, Cross Fell, lies within Cumbria. Due to the complex geology of the county and rich resource environment, historically mining was very important and the area was an important source of lead, cop-

per, silver, barites, gypsum, anhydrite, tungsten, zinc, graphite, coal, and iron ore in the form of hematite. Also, limestone, slate, granite, and sandstone were quarried in vast quantities. From the coastal ports, particularly Whitehaven, which in the 18th century ranked third in the Kingdom, there was trade with the Isle of Man, Ireland, Africa, the American Colonies (especially Virginia for tobacco), and the West Indies for sugar and rum.

The county contains many fast-flowing rivers and some excellent fertile lowland valleys conducive to arable and dairy farming. The upland regions are more suitable for sheep farming and this industry has a 1,000-year history. The immediate area surrounding Clifton, where the Workmans grew up, would be considered lowland and has three important rivers nearby. The closest, the River Lowther, was 400 yards from their home, and perhaps would have been where David and William Workman first tickled trout as boys. The Lowther is a tributary of the River Eamont which flows out of Ullswater Lake, England's second largest lake only five miles away. The Eamont, one mile from Clifton, is in turn a tributary of the county's largest river, the River Eden, only four miles away. These rivers also contain Atlantic salmon.

The weather was and is very changeable due to the British Isles' situation at a "crossroads" of weather systems. Personally, when asked, I describe it as unpredictable. Long recognised as the wettest place in England, following the torrential downpour of November 2009, the region now holds the UK rainfall record. Extremes are part and parcel of the British climate.

HISTORY

A brief history of the area where the Workmans lived would start with the Neolithic/Bronze Age people who built the stone circles, of which we have about 50 in Cumbria, incidentally one quarter of all the stone circles in England. The largest is "Long Meg and her daughters," about seven miles from Clifton, or the large henge monument called Mayburgh just one mile away. The British Celts founded Penrith, which in their language means *red hill*, at least 2,000 years

ago and it has been continuously occupied ever since. When the Romans arrived in the area in 79 AD, the local opposition was the Celtic Brigante tribe who occupied hill-forts like Dunmallet, some four miles west of Clifton. The Romans built a large fort called Brocavum only two miles from Clifton and the Roman road from Brocavum to York ran through Temple Sowerby where the Workman brothers were born. A Roman milestone can still be found there today at the side of the road. The Romans farmed the valley north of Penrith to supply hay and oats for the cavalry horses garrisoned along Hadrian's Wall 20 miles further north.

Around 410 AD the Roman legions departed, leaving the Romano-British Celts to organise their own defence. During these so-called Dark Ages, the area was visited by various Christian holy men such as St. Ninian, St. Kentigern, St. Cuthbert and St. Patrick, and the legend of King Arthur and his knights has strong associations with Cumbria. Saxon and Anglian invaders from the east settled throughout the Eden valley. Danish Vikings sacked Carlisle and plundered Cumbria in the 870s. All these settlers brought new place names – Clifton is an Anglian settlement, whereas Askham two miles away is Saxon with a Saxon church (the oldest in Cumbria) four miles away at Morland. The Workman's ancestral farm, Brown Howe, was at Melkinthorpe, only 1.5 miles from Clifton; the name indicates it is a Viking settlement.

There was a battle in 945 AD between the Northumbrian Angles under King Edmund and the Celts under King Dunmail (Cumbria still was an independent Kingdom at that time). The Celts were defeated and



Stone circles

many left to join their kinsfolk in Wales. The Angles being arable farmers had no use for the mountainous regions of Cumbria which became depopulated. At about that time in the 10th century, more Viking settlers arrived on the West coast of Cumbria and sailed up the rivers. The land looked suitable for sheep farming and was unoccupied so they claimed it. They were Norwegians but had come via Iceland and Ireland. These pastoral Scandinavians gave us many of the place-names of Cumbria and many of our dialect words are of Norse origin. Examples are: *fell* for mountain, *mere* for lake, *beck* for stream, *thwaite* for a clearing of the forest.

In 1066 the Normans arrived in England, and William the Conqueror became King of England, but his conquest did not include Cumbria, which by then had become part of Scotland. It was down to his son William Rufus (William II) to come north and claim Cumbria for England in 1092, building a strong castle at Carlisle to defend his claim. The Normans also built a fine castle at Brougham next to the old Roman fort of Brocavum, two miles from Clifton, and even re-used many of the Roman stones in the process. During the period 1092 to 1263, the north of Cumbria changed hands several times between England and Scotland. Churches at Penrith, Dacre, and Greystoke are dedicated to St Andrew, patron saint of Scotland, showing that at the time of dedication these churches were considered Scottish. The Normans also set aside the land north of Penrith towards Carlisle as a royal hunting forest where only the King and his family and

guests were allowed to hunt the deer and other game. Inglewood Forest, as it was called, covered roughly 200 square miles and was second only to the New Forest in Hampshire. Just as Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire had outlaws like the famous Robin Hood, so too did Inglewood Forest, and William Shakespeare refers to these outlaws in *Much Ado About Nothing*.

England and Scotland continued to fight wars and the counties adjacent to the border were often laid waste. It was an extremely dangerous place and lords of manors were forced to build fortified tower houses called Pele Towers for protection. There are 58 surviving Pele Towers in the north of Cumbria similar to the one in Clifton village. However, there was an even worse problem for these northern folk to live with. Not only were the two nations frequently at war, there were also nefarious clans living in the border region, variously called reivers, freebooters, or moss-troopers whose whole way of life existed around the constant cross-border raiding for cattle, horses, and prisoners to ransom. The term *reiver* is obsolete today but survives in the word *bereave*: I think you get the message.

This problem continued unabated for about 400 years until the death of Elizabeth I and the crowning of King James VI of Scotland as King James I of England in 1603. He ordered the Reivers, who were identified by their surnames, to be executed or transported to Ulster. However, many, except those who were hung of course, returned to their border homeland. Those who remained in Ulster would become the so-called “Scots-Irish” who emigrated to the United States in droves in the 18th century and I dare-say there will be some of their descendants reading this article. They were people with strong characters and it takes a person with a strong character to become the first man on the moon and our Anglo-Scottish border is exactly where Neil Armstrong traces his ancestry. The Armstrongs were, in fact, one of the principal Reiver clans.

Another subject I have not, as yet, touched on and now slightly out of chronological order, was the closing of the monasteries during the Reformation. In 1534 Henry VIII broke with Rome and dissolved the monasteries, most of which had been established under Norman



The Norman castle at Brougham with the River Eamont in flood (Nov 2009) 2 miles from Clifton

rule like the one at Shap, seven miles from Clifton. The monasteries functioned in a manner very similar to the missions in California, although monasteries in England before the Reformation far outnumbered the missions; there were over 800 before the Reformation. Although secularisation was initially seen as a negative act, it eventually proved beneficial as it stimulated the economy when a new merchant class evolved. The 1640s saw the English Civil War between the Royalists (Cavaliers) and the Parliamentarians (Roundheads). Cumbria was largely Royalist and with the victory of the Roundheads, Cromwell ordered many Cumbrian castles to be dismantled – Penrith Castle for example.

King Charles I was executed in 1649 followed by the Commonwealth until the restoration of Charles II in 1660. The Stuart dynasty eventually came to an end in 1714 with the crowning of the first Hanoverian monarch King George I. There followed two Jacobite Rebellions in 1715 and 1745, both of which involved invasions of England by Scottish Highlanders supporting the Stuart cause. In 1715, the rebel army passed through Clifton, plundered and damaged Lowther Hall two miles from Clifton.

In December 1745, what is considered the last battle on English soil occurred in and around Clifton when Bonnie Prince Charlie's retreating highlanders were overtaken by the British Army under the Duke of Cumberland (3rd son of George II). About a dozen troops on each side were killed in the skirmish. The finale was a month later at Culloden in Inverness when the Jacobites were finally defeated. One of the Scottish prisoners from the campaign was given the medieval punishment of being hung, drawn and quartered at Penrith, as a warning to others, in 1746 – only 53 years before William Workman was born.

All that history, though only an outline, gives some idea of the complexity of England's story and what happened in the centuries before the Workman brothers were born. The result of all that warfare in which Cumbria suffered being the anvil on which the two nations beat out their hatred, combined with the interesting mix of ethnic ancestry, resulted in a unique

Cumbrian character or identity. They were self-reliant and fiercely independent, tough, stubborn, tenacious, adaptable, somewhat isolated and generally intolerant of strangers, surprisingly honest---in fact, honesty was a man's best credential---hard-working yet fun-loving, respectful of authority but not in awe of rank and fortune.

In its largely rural isolation, Cumbria was, in the main, an agrarian society and had the highest percentage of yeoman farmers of any county in England. Indeed, it still has the highest percentage of self-employed people in the UK. The term *yeoman* indicated he owned his own farm and was not a tenant of some larger landowner. The term *statesman* was also used and meant someone with an estate. However, it must be stressed that the parcels of land were relatively small. Also, throughout the 18th century, the number of yeoman farmers was in decline. Larger landowners were buying out the smallholders as it became harder to eke out a living from a small farm of, say, 10 acres. Many yeomen readily diversified their farm business with some other occupation or trade.

If situated by a busy road, they might turn the house into an inn or alehouse. If close to some mineral-rich rocks they could be part-time miners. A son might take up the trade of carpenter, wheelwright, butcher, or baker, something useful. The Workman family and their kith and kin were most definitely classified as yeoman and had occupied their ancestral farm for several centuries. We are now up to about 1750 and so are getting relatively close to David and William's arrival in the world.

Before they were born, apart from the loss of the English colonies in America and the establishment of a colony in Australia, two other significant processes were happening in England. Perhaps the most important was the start of the Industrial Revolution in the 1780s of which I will say more shortly. Secondly, there was a new wave of Enclosures by Act of Parliament commencing around 1760, whereby common land was converted into private property. This process was ongoing up to 1820 and greatly affected agricultural communities. Under this system, much new

agricultural land was created north of Penrith due to the enclosure of Inglewood Forest. This would have provided evidence of what could be done with virgin territory to those contemplating emigrating to an undeveloped area of America.

At the time of their births, 1797 for David Workman and 1799 for William Workman, the Industrial Revolution was in full swing. It was a time of great change, people were ready for change and change was accepted. The Enlightenment played a part in that. England was the first country in the world to industrialise and this saw manufacturing, of a whole range of products in factories, develop exponentially. However, Cumbria where the Workmans lived, was not one of the areas most affected by the new technology. This was more heavily concentrated further south, but still in the north of England, for example, Lancashire (cotton textiles), Yorkshire (coal, steel, woollen textiles), and Staffordshire (potteries). Many of the mountain men searching the Rocky Mountains in search of beaver were carrying butcher knives made in Sheffield and Birmingham, England. Later, many thousands of such products travelled as trade goods down the Santa Fe Trail.

This is not to say that Cumbria did not have any industry. It certainly did, but it was not nearly so important and agriculture remained the principal industry. However, the existence of extensive coal mines on the west coast of Cumbria did impact the yeoman farmer communities in the area around Clifton where the Workmans grew up. The local aristocrat, the Earl of Lonsdale, of Lowther Castle, also owned the coal mines and the port of Whitehaven on the coast. As coal was a major driving force of the Industrial Revolution, he was able to use the vast profits from the mines to acquire more and more land in the Penrith area and squeeze out other smaller yeoman landowners. A successful yeoman who wanted to expand his estate would find he was in competition with someone with virtually unlimited resources and would therefore be unsuccessful in acquiring additional land in the area. By the end of the 19th century, the then Earl of Lonsdale was considered the richest man in England and had an estate of about 100,000 acres. Other classes

of people engaged in agriculture, affected by the Enclosures, like cottagers and labourers, were attracted to the new centres of industry and the urban population grew at the expense of the rural population.

I want to mention a little story about the birth of the Industrial Revolution which not only supports my arguments about yeoman families but also has American connections and concludes with why I find history so fascinating, which is the link to the present.

Jedediah Strutt, the son of a yeoman farmer, was born in Derbyshire in 1726. He was later apprenticed as a wheelwright but inherited a farm from an uncle and also ran a business carrying coal. Strutt made money and got involved in the textile trade. He was introduced to Richard Arkwright, who had invented a patent spinning machine and needed capital to develop it. The two men went into business and built the world's first water-powered cotton spinning mill in 1771. Strutt went on to build eight such textile mills around Belper, Derbyshire, on his own account and he even invented the iron frame structure which allowed the mills to be several stories high.

One of the mills was close to a farm owned by another yeoman called Slater, who was a friend of Strutt. In 1782, Samuel Slater, third son of the yeoman farmer, was given a job in the mill by Strutt. He was a bright lad and learned everything there was to know about this new cotton spinning technology. By the time he finished his apprenticeship in 1788 he was a supervisor. Unfortunately for him, Strutt had three sons in the business, so there was no chance of him becoming manager. In 1789 he took a ship from London to New York after seeing an advertisement for textile workers wanted in Providence, Rhode Island. To cut the story short, his arrival revolutionised the American cotton industry because he carried with him, in his head, the secrets of the new technology which in turn kick-started America's own Industrial Revolution. By the time of his death in 1835, in Massachusetts, he had amassed a fortune of \$1.2 million. Today, Belper in Derbyshire is twinned with Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and one of Jedediah Strutt's (4x) great grandchildren is a client of mine and another was, up to his death in 2010.

The two Workman subjects of this article were born almost at the commencement of the Napoleonic Wars. The War with France soon affected food prices and these increased prices benefited the yeoman farmers and reversed the trend of decline of their numbers until the end of the war in 1815. Then prices tumbled to about half their wartime peak.

The Napoleonic Wars dragged on throughout David and William Workman's boyhood. England was Napoleon Bonaparte's major adversary and the English saw it as a fight for survival. As you well know, to pay for his warmongering, Napoleon sold Louisiana in 1803 to the United States at a bargain basement price of three cents an acre. This prompted the Lewis and Clark expedition and all that followed. Invasion of England was always a possibility and the system of warning beacons was updated. There were successes. The Royal Navy, under Admiral Lord Nelson, engaged and defeated the combined fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar in 1805. This victory led to the supremacy of British naval power for the next 100 years or more and "gun-boat" diplomacy became an over-riding part of Britain's Foreign Policy. Hence the song "*Rule Britannia, Britannia Rules the Waves*."

The Peninsular War (1808-1814) was a long campaign fought against Napoleon. An incident in this campaign which occurred in December 1808 may well have come to the Workman brothers' attention. A yeoman farmer's son, Levi Grisedale, from Greystoke, six miles from Clifton, who was serving in the 10th Hussars, captured the French General Lefebvre at the Battle of Benevente in Spain and was decorated for his actions. A side-issue to the main war in Europe was the falling out between Britain and the United States over the actions of the Royal Navy. The USA declared war on Britain in 1812 resulting in several actions by both parties.

The final defeat of Napoleon was at Waterloo, in present day Belgium, in 1815, and it is surely of interest that the same Cumbrian yeoman farmer's son, Levi Grisedale, had an important role in that decisive battle. Some of the historians among you may know that the tipping point of the Battle of Waterloo was the arrival

of the Prussians, under Blucher, who were allies of the British commanded by the Duke of Wellington. On being told the Prussians were approaching, Wellington asked for an experienced trooper to be sent to meet the Prussians on the road and bring them on to the field of battle at precisely the key place. Sergeant Major Grisedale, battle-hardened after 40 engagements with the enemy in 15 years with the cavalry, was the man selected to perform this duty, which he did assiduously, and that is surely his place in history. Why do I mention Levi Grisedale? Simply because he is another example of the type of solid, courageous, reliable individual produced from the gene pool of Cumbrian yeoman families. Our county produced many cavalrymen; Penrithian trooper William Pearson survived the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava in the Crimean War. My own father (b.1885), who trained in Lowther Park close to Clifton, was a cavalryman before and during World War I. Cumbrians were good with horses and that was surely an advantage out on the plains and trails of the Old West.

It has been suggested that the Workman brothers inherited their wanderlust from their father, Thomas, who had journeyed to London in pursuit of his trade as a glass artisan. If that is true, I have to ask from where did Thomas derive his wanderlust? I would suggest that all Cumbrians at that time, descended from several generations of the native stock of that part of England, are descended from the Viking settlers of the 10th century. Therefore, the desire to travel and see what lies beyond the horizon may be characteristic in all such Cumbrians.

Another myth is the suggestion that the Workmans were extraordinary in travelling to America – the belief that at that time most folk died in the village of their birth. It could well be that there were many who died in their birth-village but they were the ones who had stayed put and the émigrés were invisible. After all, England was settling the 13 states on the eastern seaboard up to two centuries before the Workmans made their trip; the Hudson's Bay Company was founded in 1670; England was also settling Canada, India, the Caribbean Islands, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. At least two members of my own

family from a village five miles from Clifton were in Pennsylvania in the first decade of the 1700s and my first cousin 7 x removed, Lancelot Fallowfield, bought land from William Penn in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1683, and East and West Fallowfield Townships are named for him.

It was not that uncommon to emigrate in pursuit of a better life. The thing was that when an Englishman (or woman) went to America they were not going to a foreign country. They were going to a country which was an extension of England overseas. The language was the same, the religions were basically the same, the laws were very similar, and even English money was recognised currency up to about the middle of the 19th century. What perhaps was extraordinary about the Workmans was that, considering they were emigrants, they did extremely well on the frontier in competition with the majority of their Anglo contemporaries who were native-born. Most emigrants stayed behind the lines, as it were, in a safer environment and avoided the dangers of the frontier, like their sister Agnes, for instance, who emigrated to Baltimore in 1820. For David and William, however, their strength of character acted in the Darwinian sense of the “survival of the fittest.”

Around 1800, Cumbrians could be divided into three classes or sorts of people; those towards the border with Scotland were descended from the Reivers who you have already heard about. Now peaceful, with their violent past behind them, many were, not surprisingly, engaged as dealers in cattle and horses, a case of “poachers turned gamekeepers.”

The second class, and we could include the Workmans and my own family in this category, were living in more fertile cultivated lowland areas, close to main roads and market towns. Thus they were rather more civil and not quite so rough and better informed than the former class. The third class were the shepherd farmers of the isolated valleys in the mountains and were largely directly descended from the Norwegian Vikings. Their landholdings for grazing sheep would have been larger than those in the second category because it included areas of upland fell. There was of

course intermarriage between these three classes over the years but the structure as outlined persisted for a long period.

CUSTOMS

I know it will help you to understand the Workman brothers background better if I relate how the folk of their general class were living at that time.

Nearly all houses were stone built with slate roofs, both materials being readily available and excellent for purpose. Thatched dwellings were a rarity in the north due to the higher rainfall and the abundance of slates. Coal, peat, and logs were used for heating and cooking. Water was obtained from a pump connected to a ground spring. Lavatories consisted of earth closets.

The diet was simple but wholesome and peculiar to Cumbria. Bread was made from barley, or barley and rye, generally leavened and baked in large loaves, but towards the border, unleavened scones were more common. Breakfast was hasty pudding (flour boiled in water or milk) or thick pottage (soup), both of which could be eaten for supper in the evening. Oatmeal, boiled and eaten with a little butter, milk, treacle or beer, or porridge (milk boiled with oatmeal) could be eaten cold with bread and butter or cheese, which were the principal items of Cumbria. Common vegetables were potatoes, cabbage, turnips, carrots, peas, and beans. Tea was drunk, especially with breakfast. It was a healthy diet and longevity was not uncommon.

Farmers would have a more generous amount of beef or mutton. Pigs were kept and hams permanently hung from the beams of farm kitchens. Wild rabbits would have been on the menu as would hares. Venison was a possibility but might have to be poached at some risk of prosecution. Eggs would be obtained from domestic hens or wild wood-pigeons or gulls, when in season. The domestic goose was the main source of fowl for food, but duck and partridge might also find their way into the larder.

Clothing would often be homespun and mainly woolen. The main item of footwear for daytime working purpose was clogs, which consisted of a wooden sole with upper leather parts and the sole usually had an iron rim nailed to it. Cotton was increasingly becoming available with the Industrial Revolution; checks were popular and manufactured in Penrith using linen cloth. Women spent the evenings knitting, darning, and weaving.

Undoubtedly, fox hunting was the chief pursuit of the rural dwellers. This activity was not simply to control that wily vermin and enemy of young lambs, geese and chickens, it was great entertainment and exercise. Hunts were very much social occasions of great camaraderie as hunts were followed by drinking and feasting sessions in the inn with the singing of hunting songs. Failure to understand the importance of hunting in this society would represent failure to understand the Cumbrian character. Hunts were of two types. There was the traditional mounted hunt with riders and a pack of hounds chasing the fox over the lowland countryside. The most famous Cumbrian huntsman of all time was a contemporary of the Workman brothers. His name was John Peel (1776-1854) of Caldbeck, 15 miles from Clifton, another yeoman. The second type, fell packs of the mountain valleys, hunted on foot due to the rugged terrain.

The fiddle was undoubtedly the instrument of choice in Cumbria. The music was a product of the geographical location of the county – it was an amalgam of Scottish and Irish tunes mixed with sea shanties and hornpipes. If you wondered where the origins of bluegrass music are to be found, I would suggest Cumbria was a better bet than Kentucky. The Cumbrians took their music to Virginia and into the Appalachian Mountains and from there to Kentucky through the aptly named “Cumberland Gap.” Recently, some 200-year-old music was discovered in Cumbria which when played on string instruments sounds distinctly “country.”

For centuries the roads in Cumbria were in a terrible state and even in the 17th century the best roads were still those built by the Romans. The main reason that

Whitehaven declined from being the third major port and was surpassed by Liverpool was the lack of good interior communications.

Pack horse tracks criss-crossed the county going over the mountains and difficult terrain. The beast of burden was not the mule but the native Fell pony – a strong hardy animal which had been around since prehistoric times. Things started to improve in the 18th century when by the mid-1750s Turnpike Trusts were formed to improve the main routes, including the 26-mile Kendal to Penrith road which ran through Clifton. The first stage coach to use this road was in 1763, and it became more and more important as the route between London and Scotland. However, even the two Workman brothers would have seen pack horse trains carrying peat, slate, wool, and other trade goods along roads near their home. Being on a main road also meant that the community was better informed of matters occurring in far-off cities, as news was imparted by the travellers passing through. Canals were being built all over England but there were none close to Clifton and only two in Cumbria before the brothers departed for America, namely Ulverston (then part of Lancashire) built 1795 and Kendal 1819.

CONCLUSION

Finally, I hope the information contained in this article will be sufficient to show that the Workman brothers were well suited to take advantage of the opportunities the opening of the West presented. They came from a country which was experiencing profound change at that time and they were able to adapt to change. They came from a region which was both rural and relatively hard, where the residents needed to be tough and hard-working to progress. Their family background of self-sufficient yeoman heritage meant they were used to taking decisions themselves affecting their lives. They were not peasants, but people with access to family capital, who had ideas and dreams of self-improvement by entrepreneurial activity. They knew that to advance in the world required courage, and they showed that courage because it was in their genes from a long line of ancestors who had lived for centuries on the wild, dangerous frontier of northern Eng-

land. In my opinion, they were remarkably well-suited candidates for Manifest Destiny and were perfectly fitted to become citizens of California and the United States of America. ♦

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Since originally writing this article I have come across the following remarkable book: *Albion's Seed, Four British Folkways in America* by David Hackett Fischer who wrote an almost one- thousand page book while Professor of America History at Oxford. His book has many similar facts and conclusions to my own piece, even to suggesting that the music of the Appalachians originated in our Borderland.

David Fallowfield was born and raised in Cumberland County (now Cumbria County). He is descended from several old families which have lived in Cumbria for almost 1000 years. His Fallowfield ancestors have lived in the area of Penrith since around 1400 and they intermarried with the Workman family. He is descended from Mary Workman (died 1812) who was sister of David and William Workman's grandfather, Thomas (b.1733 d.1781). He has been a member of the Cumbria Family History Society since 1985 and has had several research papers published in their journal. In January 1998 he joined with others to form the first and only OSTA international chapter. He is the author of a book about his aunts, Go West Young Girl: California Dreaming How It Started (2000). For the past 21 years he has run his own chauffeur/tour guide business. He has made twenty visits to the US: so far his travels have taken him to 36 states, and he has attended six OSTA annual conferences.

PNTS Trail Apprentice Program Inspires Emerging Leaders

By Reba Wells Grandrud

Director at Large/OSTA, Executive Committee/PNTS

" . . Their presence and passion was a proud testament to the positive impact that a trail, the Pacific Crest Trail, can have on people's lives. When they spoke, their words and feelings represented every one of us in the room, affirming the power of place and how trails can transform and transport us all to a better place."

Powerful words, sincerely expressed by Gregory Miller, President of the American Hiking Society, and spoken with reference to four high school students (Jayrlin Molina, Paolo Juarez, Andrew Nguyen, Ariane Buckenmeyer) who were at the 2015 Hike the Hill event in Washington, D. C. in February. The young people and their Environmental Charter High School (ECHS) principal, Mandy Breuer, were part of a large contingent of Pacific Coast Trail Association volunteers showing enthusiasm and support for the National Trails System.

The Partnership for the National Trails System initiated its popular scholarship-based Trail Apprentice program at the National Scenic and Historic Trails Conference in



Students l. to r.: Jayrlin Molina, Paolo Juarez, Andrew Nguyen, Ariane Buckenmeyer. In the middle is Mandy Breuer, ECHS principal. (Environmental Charter High School, Lawndale, CA)

Trail Apprentice, continued

the summer of 2009 in Missoula, Montana. It is designed for hopeful professionals (18 to 25) and is one of the first of its kind in the nation. Since it began, Trail Apprentices have participated in all of PNTS trainings, conferences, and workshops; many are now working in jobs related to the National Trails System.

The Program's goals are to:

1. Provide opportunities to develop technical skills, leadership skills, and create a network for future engagement in the Trail community.
2. Inspire emerging leaders for developing relevant connections to National Scenic and Historic Trails.
3. Inspire emerging leaders to develop new ideas and commit to future challenges facing our National Trails system, or trail organizations, and our land management agencies.

For information on how to participate in future Trail Apprentice Programs, contact Teresa Martinez, PNTS Trail Apprentice Program Leader, at trailmgmt@continentaldividetrial.org. Enjoy a documentary made during the 14th Biennial NSHT Conference in Tucson (November 2013) on the PNTS Trail Apprentice Program: <http://youtu.be/800Nw8RR7YM>.

PNTS youth involvement will continue with this summer's 15th Biennial National Scenic and Historic Trails Conference in Franklin, Tennessee, from June 27 to July 1. The Natchez Trace Parkway Association and the Overmountain Victory Trail Association will host this year's conference, "Find Your Trail: Planning Pathways into the 21st Century." Educational sessions, mobile workshops, keynote speakers, and networking with other trail experts and volunteers will be fresh and relevant, and planned for the comfort, enjoyment, and enrichment of attendees. Continue to visit the PNTS website www.pnts.org for conference details.

BOOKS

Juan Bautista de Anza: The King's Governor in New Mexico. By Carlos R. Herrera. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. Maps, illus., notes, biblio., index, 397 pages. ISBN 978-0-8061-4644-7, (hardcover, alk. paper).

By Reba Wells Grandrud

The author's publishers call this book the first comprehensive biography of Juan Bautista de Anza. Early reviewers have described Dr. Herrera's effort with strong phrases: exhaustive archival research, comprehensive, cradle-to-grave, highly significant, penetrating, and most thorough. Herrera makes an acceptable case for Governor Anza as a pivotal administrative figure for the Spanish Crown in making peace with hostile Comanche and Apache and gaining more security for Spaniards and their Pueblo allies.

The book is worthy of those accolades and will, without doubt, become a welcome addition to many libraries, from individual collectors to schools, colleges, and universities. Proponents of the National Trails System

will be gratified by mention of the 1990 Congressional designation of the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, commemorating Hispanic contributions to U. S. national history. Special tribute is paid to the work of the late Don T. Garate, of Tumacácori, Arizona, NPS interpreter, scholar, historian who brought Anza to life for many through living history reenactments before his death in 2010.

Herrera cites the appropriate references, past and present, and in addition to the very readable chapters, fascinating information is found in the notes. Of particular interest is one that sheds light on the controversy that has surrounded a portrait of Anza since 1921 when an Anza family member (James Ainsa, as spelling of the name has evolved) allowed Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton to publish the painting in his 1921 book, *The Spanish Borderlands*. The painting may or may not be Anza; it may or may not have been painted in Mexico City in late 1776 when Anza arrived there, "a famous and celebrated man," just prior to his appointment as Governor of New Mexico. Passed on in the Anza family, the portrait was donated by a descendant in 1970 to the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. In 1994, the painting was taken to Mexico City for x-ray and pigment analysis of the portrait, but that was inconclusive. Current thinking places

the date of the painting in the late 1880s or early 1900s, possibly done as a copy of a lost 18th century original. The familiar portrait serves well as the dust jacket cover of the book.

Herrera provides logical divisions of the book: Part I with three chapters that provide setting, background, life, and accomplishments in Sonora, present-day Arizona and California; Part II with five chapters detailing Anza's ten-year stint serving the Spanish King, Carlos III; and Part III with four chapters devoted to the continuous conflict between Anza and the heavily-entrenched Franciscans and factions within that religious order. Chapter 10 is titled "The Withering Vine," an apt title that Herrera explains. He borrowed the phrase from John Kessell, Ph.D., his UNM professor and mentor, who had used it in reference to a sub-order of Franciscans, the Custody of the Conversion of Saint Paul. Several members, newly arrived in Mexico from Spain (peninsulares), were assigned to New Mexico and were part of Anza's continuous conflict with the friars. Kessell characterized them as members of what had been a "dynamic, vibrant, and overly zealous order," but in Anza's time (toward the end of the colonial period), the order was "gasping for life like 'a withering vine.'"

Opening chapters titled "Anza's Sonora," "Child of the Desert," and "Servant of the Crown" offer basic information about Anza's first four decades in Sonora and Arizona—his birth in 1736 near Fronteras, his elite Basque ancestry, marriage with Ana María Pérez Serrano (no children), and as a sixteen-year-old, following in the military career path of his late father, Juan Bautista de Anza I. Indeed, the governorship of New Mexico in 1777 came as a result of Anza's achieving between 1774 and 1776 his father's unrealized dream of finding an overland route from Sonora to the Pacific coast. To date, that is still Anza's best-known accomplishment: opening a 1200-mile route in 1774 from present-day southern Arizona to the Bay Area of coastal California, and the next year (late October 1775 to late March 1776), leading a "fully equipped colony of Sonorans" from Tubac with soldiers and colonists and almost a thousand head of livestock to Monterey to establish what eventually became San Francisco.

As a result of that feat, the Viceroy in Mexico City rewarded Anza with an appointment as Governor of New Mexico in 1778. The nine chapters of Part II and Part

III aptly described Anza's successes and failures there as a true instrument of the reigning Spanish king, Carlos III of the Bourbon Dynasty, and are the meat of the book. After the stunning defeat of the Comanche chief in 1779, Anza was not able to finalize Comanche-Spanish relations until November of 1785, when delegations of the main Comanche tribes—the Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchaneca—came to a site on the Arkansas River.

The two most powerful chiefs of the Cuchanec Comanches, Ecueraacapa and Canaquaipe, served as hosts and Ecueraacapa was chosen by the Horse Lords (band leaders) to represent them in treaty negotiations with Anza and New Mexico Spaniards. Coupled with their grudging respect for Anza's prowess in killing Green Horn, the Comanches agreed that Anza's "peace by purchase" policy made sense—goods and increased trade to the Indians would be possible if they stopped raiding Spanish settlements and the pueblos of the Pueblo people. So a treaty was signed, and other peace pacts followed with the Navajo and the Gila Apache, though a lasting peace did not come before the demise of the Spanish empire in the New World. Other chapters deal with Anza's reformist administration in New Mexico.

Scattered throughout the book are numerous intriguing incidents that may cause readers to follow up with the books and articles listed in the bibliography. For example: Anza I (the father) and his dealing with the *Planchas de Plata* (chunks of silver) that caused a 1736 silver rush to *Arizonac*; Anza II (the famous son) and the story of his stunning defeat of the legendary Comanche war chief, *Cuerno Verde*, so called because of his green-horned headdress. Even Anza's attempts to subjugate New Mexico's friars to the will of the state, especially after he received official patronage power over the church in New Mexico in 1783, was called "meddling," by members of the religious order who had derogatory names for Anza, such as "despotic prelate."

Anza's request to be re-assigned was granted and in August 1787, he returned to Arizpe, the capital of Sonora, happy to be home. But his health was poor, it deteriorated through 1788, and on December 20, 1788, Juan Bautista de Anza died. He was buried in a side chapel of Arizpe mission Nuestra Señora de la Asunción (Our Lady of the Ascension). ♦