

SPANISH TRACES



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Santa Fe Archaeology

Riding the Old Spanish Trail

The OST in Utah

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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 through 1848, traders and pack mules followed the OST on typically 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.oldsouthspanishtrail.org

The OSTA website is the place to go for both general and comprehensive background and recent news on the OSNHT and OSTA. The site contains maps, an overview history of the trail, and a bibliography of relevant books with links for purchases of books and other OSTA merchandise from the Association. There is also 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 links to National Park Service (NPS) and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) sites, where public documents and maps related to the OSNHT can be found. Memberships (new or renewal) may be paid on the OSTA website, and donations, both general and for specific projects, can be made through the OSTA website as well.

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 **February 10, 2016**. All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the OSTA Editor.

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On the Cover: Photo was taken at the Spotted Wolf Viewpoint in the San Rafael Swell on I-70, while researching the book *Driving the Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona*, traversing what the historic travelers on the Old Spanish Trail circumvented by going north around the Swell to present-day Castle Dale.

Photo: Ruth Friesen



President's Corner

by Ashley J. Hall
OSTA President

As I review the challenges, opportunities, and accomplishments of OSTA during my first term as President, I recognize that in order for OSTA to continue to move forward, it will take a focused team effort by all involved in order for us to meet our strategic objectives of protecting, preserving, and interpreting the traces/history of the Trail.

The two major objectives OSTA needs to focus on with all of the transmission lines/pipe lines and solar/wind arrays that are impacting the integrity of the OSNHT are to:

1. identify the resources and develop the methods and means needed to protect and preserve the Trail, and
2. interpret the OSNHT through various educational/media/print and electronic means to educate and attract the public to OSTA.

It will take research (physical, educated, scientific, technical, and legal), analysis, and application to determine the most effective, efficient, and economical means available to realize OSTA's goals.

Over the past year, Lorna and I have visited some of the most significant historical locations along the OST where traces can be identified via the air, land, and water. This has been a fascinating experience for us – viewing, walking, and riding along the traces of the OST from Santa Fe to LA.

I especially wish to recognize the hard work done by all OSTA officers (Paul, Lorna and Debi), chapter presidents, and individual members who continue to make immense contributions as we carry out the mission of OSTA on a daily, weekly, monthly, and annual basis:

1. We welcome our new board members, Vicki Felmlee of Colorado and Dr. Robert (Bob) Hilley of New Mexico, two very accomplished individuals in their professions and very knowledgeable regarding OST issues, history, and goals. We also welcome Dr. Jefferson in his new role as the Native American Director-At-Large.
2. We wish to welcome John Hiscock as the new Manager of the Old Spanish Trail Association. John comes from a focused NPS background where he has successfully moved through the ranks of NPS to retire as the Superintendent of the Pipe Spring National Monument in northern Arizona. John earned a law degree which, cou-

pled with his education and experience with the NPS over the past 39 years, makes him a very valuable asset to OSTA.

3. How can we ever thank Dennis Ditmanson, retired OSTA Manager, who dedicated himself for the past several years to the improvement and operational effectiveness of OSTA, a job well done. We invite Dennis to remain involved in OSTA in the future.

4. How do we ever thank each of the OSTA chapter presidents in Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Great Britain. The chapters are where the rubber meets the road; I know from personal experience.

5. Thanks to Reba Wells Grandrud, Director-At-Large, for serving as the liaison between OSTA and PNTS, to Paul McClure and crew for their efforts in developing the Barstow OSTA Center, and to Pat Kuhlhoff and Margaret Sears for their efforts in organizing the very successful Three Trails Conference in Santa Fe this past September.

6. Thanks to Aaron Mahr, NPS Intermountain Region National Trails System Program Superintendent, and his staff. They are always on top of every issue, assisting as only a good professional NPS staff can do.

7. Thanks also to Rob Sweeten, BLM's Old Spanish Trail Administrator, and his staff. Like the NPS, the BLM staff is superb.

8. Thank you, Ruth Friesen, Editor of *Spanish Traces*. As one can see, this copy of *Traces* takes our

OSTA journal to a new level in quality, appearance, and content. Also thanks to Chelsea Bodamer for her outstanding efforts as our Social Media Specialist.

9. Mark Franklin continues in his critical role as the OSTA Store Master, maintaining an inventory and responding to orders for OSTA books, memorabilia, and related items. Mark does a great balancing act in maintaining the viability of the OSTA store.

10. Thank you, Judy Nickle, for maintaining the OSTA membership records and status through the year. We deeply appreciate your work, Judy, as well as Jerry's assistance.

11. Thank you, Jack Prichett, for your outstanding efforts in researching, photographing, and presenting to OSTA, the State of California, and other public forums information regarding the pluses and minuses of many of the very large renewable energy projects that impact both the OST and

the fragile desert environment for which they are planned. You focus on the need to use wisdom in this area as our national/regional/local energy interests continue forward.

12. Thank you, Lorraine Carpenter and your committee, for assisting in the annual OSTA officers election/ballot reviews and recommendations.

13. We wish to thank each of the OSTA members for their continued hard work on the Trail, along with the special efforts of Debi Plum, Lorna Hall, Paul Ostapuk, Al Matheson, Mark Henderson, Stephanie Moulton, Nicole Dominguez, Dr. Leo Lyman, Chris Miller, Liz Warren, Doug and Deloris Knudson, along with all others who continue to help OSTA respond to our growing concern about projects impacting the OST.

Lastly, I have thought recently about the need for OSTA to research, collect, and archive songs, music, photos, stories, and

poetry originating or focusing on the Old Spanish Trail – past and present. We appreciate your ideas on this and related OSTA items and issues.

In closing, again thanks to all of the OSTA members for your continued support of the great cause we are engaged in: protecting, preserving, interpreting, and educating our citizens on the value of saving, recognizing, and appreciating the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

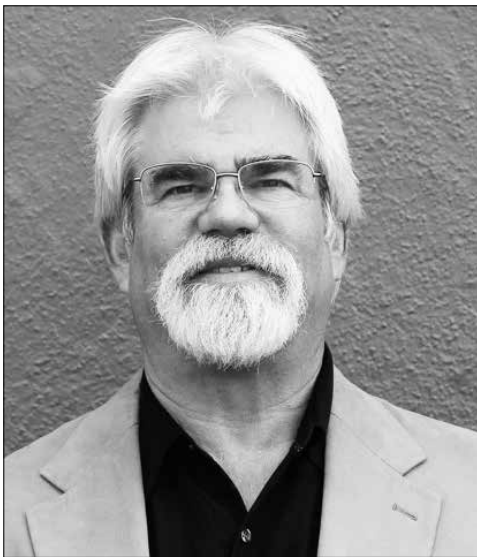
Have a great 2016!

Ashley J. Hall

PNTS Workshop Announced

The Partnership of the National Historic Trails System (PNTS) has announced that the 2016 Historic Trails Workshop will be held during the week of June 6-10 in Kansas City, Missouri. The workshop will be hosted by the Kansas City Historic Trails Association, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Oregon-California Trails Association, Pony Express Trail Association, and Santa Fe Trail Association. For more information, see www.pnts.org or contact OSTA's PNTS representative, Reba Wells Grandrud at rgrandrud@cox.net.

For those who would like to learn more about the routes of the three trails from the recent conference, the Old Spanish Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, and El Camino Real, a waterproof and tear resistant map of the area and its trails was created. The map includes elevation comparisons of the three trails as well as timelines and a number of illustrations of historic sites. To obtain this map, "All Trails Lead to Santa Fe," visit <http://bit.ly/1MSnnmQ>.



by John W. Hiscock
Association Manager

It is an honor to have been selected as the new Association Manager for the Old Spanish Trail Association. I have known and worked with many of you for years, and look forward to meeting as many of the rest of you as possible over the coming months. I am impressed with the accomplishments and many years of work of the Association thus far, and aspire to assist in taking the Association many more miles down the trail.

The past month has been a whirlwind for me. I retired from a 39-year career with the National Park Service, most recently as Superintendent of Pipe Spring National Monument in northern Arizona. (See biographical sketch.) And, immediately, I began a gradual learning process as your new Association Manager, absorbing as much information as possible from past long-term Manager, Dennis Ditmanson (with great thanks), President Ashley Hall,

Stepping Out on the Trail

Vice-President Paul Ostapuk, and many of the rest of you. My first and foremost goal is to clearly grasp and understand the organizational management routines of the Association, and to keep its efforts flowing as smoothly as possible.

Collaterally, I have been familiarizing myself with the existing goals of the Association's strategic plan, and participating in pre-existing and new efforts and projects.

It was good to see many of you, as well as our connected trail partners from the Santa Fe Trail Association and the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Association, at the joint conference in Santa Fe, which was the common touchstone for all three historic trails. The annual conferences of the associations offer great opportunities to re-connect with trail devotees and advocates, absorb presentations on new trail research and reflections, brainstorm and plan trail management efforts, conduct association business, and experience on-the-ground trail resources and landscapes. Led by new Colorado State Director Vicki Felmlee and a conference planning committee, planning has begun for our 2016 annual conference in Grand Junction, Colorado, in July 2016. Committee members include Vicki; North Branch Chapter member Chris Miller and Chapter President Jonathan Carr; La Vereda del Norte Chapter member Suzanne Off and Chapter President Ken Frye; me; advisory members

Nevada State Director Liz Warren, Director-At-Large Reba Grandrud, Salida del Sol Chapter President Pat Kuhlhoff, and other Grand Junction partners and contributors. The committee is energized and moving ahead on a number of planning fronts, and invites your ideas.

On the interpretive and educational front, the Association is proceeding with the printing and initial distribution of the new auto tour guidebook, *Driving The Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona*, authored by members Steven Heath and Ruth Friesen. The project evolved from grant funds provided by the Grand Staircase Escalante Partners (the non-profit support group for Grand Staircase - Escalante National Monument). Copies of the spiral-bound 64-page book will be distributed to all currently-paid members of OSTA, with additional copies made available for sale through the OSTA retail outlet and other Association partners, such as national park, national forest, and public lands natural history association outlets. The Association hopes to continue and expand upon this initial auto guide project and publication through development of similar publications for New Mexico/Colorado and Nevada/California. Grant funding and donation support will be sought for said projects.

The early trail history was connected to mountain men and fur

traders in the Rocky Mountains and Intermountain West. Jedediah Smith's 1826 trek to California will soon be presented and emphasized in a new set of wayside exhibits near Fremont Indian State Park, coordinated by Archeologist Bob Leonard of the Fishlake National Forest. The exhibits will bear the OSTA logo. Credit for support and coordination of this exhibit goes to Utah State Director Al Matheson and Tres Trails Chapter President Leo Lyman.

Continuing and renewed efforts to advocate protection of Trail resources, landscapes, views, and existing and future recreational opportunities are occurring, with Association-wide leadership being provided by Stewardship Committee Chair Mark Henderson, Committee Board Liaison Paul Ostapuk, and the advocacy of state directors and chapter presidents such as Al Matheson of Utah and Jack Prichett of the Tecopa Chapter. The committee, the state directors, and I as Association Manager strongly encourage the participation of chapter members in proximity to proposed federal, state, and local government land management actions, to stay aware of proposals with potential impact on the Trail, and play an active role in commenting in favor of Trail protection. (A review of existing OSTA Stewardship Committee procedures, and current federal actions open to OSTA consultation or receipt of public comments is included on page 14 of this issue of *Spanish Traces*.)

Fundraising via donations has also been the subject of recent discussions amongst myself, Vice-President and webmaster Paul Ostapuk, and President Ashley Hall. New efforts to solicit donations and corporate and business sponsorships and donations will be developed, including direct donation information and links on the Association website.

I am committed to increasing public awareness of the Trail and Association, increasing membership, envisioning new interpretive and educational endeavors, supporting trail research, increasing trail resource monitoring, influencing heightened protection for the trail, and, importantly, keeping the Association's operations and administration healthy.

I am engaged with our federal agency partners, and gradually contacting our far-flung leadership of state directors, chapter presidents, and committee representatives. Again, I look forward to meeting and talking to as many of you as possible. Feel free to get in touch with me by e-mail at ostamgr@gmail.com or by phone at 435-689-1620. ♦



John W. Hiscock Biographical Sketch

I have strong ties to the Southwest, and many experiences with and tracks on the Old Spanish Trail.

I was born in Santa Monica, California, and as a child, like many Angelenos, regularly visited Olvera Street and the Franciscan missions of Southern California.

I attended University of California Santa Barbara where I received my Bachelor of Arts degree in history. I remained at UCSB an additional three years in graduate studies in history, specifically history of the American West and American environmental history. Over these years I also enjoyed working in the Special Collections Unit of the UCSB library.

I began my work with the National Park Service (NPS) and public lands in 1977. I worked as a seasonal interpretive ranger at Jewel Cave National Monument (NM) in South Dakota, Lehman Caves NM in Nevada, Death Valley NM (Scottys Castle) in California, and Great Sand Dunes NM in Colorado. I also worked as the interpretive specialist for the Bridger-Teton National Forest, Wind River District, in Wyoming for one summer season.

Between seasonal and permanent employment with the National Park Service I entered law school at the University of Utah, focusing on public land, environmental, and water law. I earned my Juris

Doctor degree from the U of U in 1985, and became a member of the Utah State Bar Association in 1986. Importantly, I met my wife, Tracy, at the U of U, who also graduated from law school. While attending law school, I served as an editor on the *Journal of Energy Law and Policy*, and wrote legal academic articles on protection standards for Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Wilderness Study Areas, and protection of National Park units from potential threats on adjacent lands. In my “spare” hours I, as a legal clerk for the Department of the Interior Intermountain Solicitors Office in Salt Lake City, addressed issues for the NPS, BLM, and Bureau of Reclamation.

I worked as a permanent park ranger at Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky, and after law school accepted a job as Concessions Management Specialist for Zion National Park in Utah. Our first son, Adam, was born while we were at Zion. I lived and worked under the spectacular Navajo sandstone cliffs for four years and then transferred to the Alaska Regional Office of the National Park Service in Anchorage. I served as program specialist and regulatory and policy manager over legally authorized traditional subsistence use of park resources (hunting, trapping, fishing, and timber use) by native and non-native rural residents. I wrote interagency (NPS, BLM, USFS, BIA, DOD) regulations on culturally-based subsistence use of fish and wildlife, and protective regulations

limiting or prohibiting hunting or fishing in specific areas such as Glacier Bay National Park and by techniques such as “land and shoot” wolf hunting in national preserves. Our second son, Ian, was born in Anchorage.

I became Superintendent of Pipe Spring National Monument on the Kaibab Paiute Indian Reservation in northern Arizona (along the Armijo Route of the Old Spanish Trail) in 1994. At Pipe Spring I built strong relations with the Southern Paiute people and descendants of the primarily Mormon ranching history of the site. In concert with the Tribe, we redeveloped and remodeled the partnership visitor center and cultural museum and trail waysides, and produced a new documentary film on the history and relationships of the Paiute, Navajo, and Mormons. Also, with the Tribe, we developed and built a partnership curatorial storage facility on Reservation lands. I drafted and effectuated many academic agreements for such projects as: an NPS administrative history of Pipe Spring NM; an ethnographic overview of Southern Paiute connections with Pipe Spring and Zion; a historic resource study on the 19th-century contextual history of Pipe Spring; an ethnological documentary film on Southern Paiute basket making traditions; and, a current ethno-

historical study of Navajo “raids” across the Colorado River against Mormon settlements in the 1860s. We pursued improved interpretive information on Antonio Armijo and the Old Spanish Trail and incorporation of these stories in park interpretive programs.

During my management career with the NPS, I also served as a member and chair of the Colorado Plateau Cluster (of parks) Leadership Committee; member and chair of the Intermountain Region Tribal Consultation and Communication Committee; member of the inter-agency (NPS and BLM) formative and planning team for the newly established Grand Canyon - Parashant National Monument; a member and chair of the NPS nationwide Scorecard Advisory Group (measuring park unit budgetary efficiency and effectiveness), and served as Acting Utah State Coordinator for all NPS units in Utah, in Salt Lake City in 2013.

After a grand career with the National Park Service and other federal agencies over some 39 years, I retired from that chapter of my life in October, and accepted this exciting new opportunity with the Association. I am certain that much of my former work, accomplishments, and contacts will yield benefits for the Association and the Trail. ♦



Chapter Reports

Mojave River Chapter

Third Annual Old Spanish Trail Day

Up to 1,000 people attended the third annual Old Spanish Trail Day in Barstow, California, on Saturday, October 3, at the Desert Discovery Center. This was presented by the Old Spanish Trail Association Mojave River Chapter, in cooperation with the BLM Barstow Field Office and the Desert Discovery Center. Paul McClure, California Director for the Old Spanish Trail Association, was instrumental in getting the California State Legislature to recognize the first Saturday in October each year as California Old Spanish Trail Day.

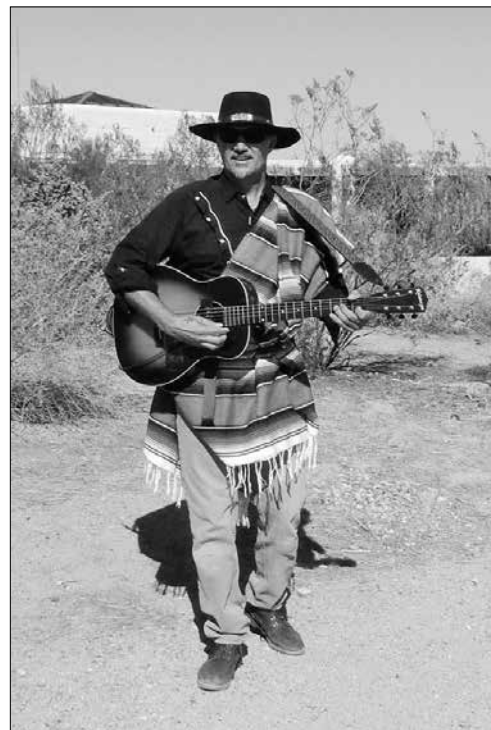
Attendees enjoyed several speakers and a wide range of activities. Speakers included: Zack Pratt, “BLM OST Recreation and Develop Strategy;” Clifford Walker, “Slave Trade on the Old Spanish Trail;” Charles Wood, Chairman of Chemehuevi Tribe and Dr. Jay Cravath, Cultural Director, “Tribal History Along the Old Spanish Trail;” Rob Fulton, “Survival of Animal Life in the Mojave Desert;” and Tom Sutak, “OST, A Route for the Gold Rush and Southern California Development.” The activities included Chemehuevi bird singers, folkloric dancers, mule packing, mountain men camp, pioneer night camp, wool spinning, candle and butter making, flint knapping and atlatl display, digging up the past, tortilla making, corn husk dolls, homestead gardening, a Desert Safety, Conservation and Animal booth, a photo booth, and piñatas for the kids. The Old Spanish Trail Association Mojave River Chapter hosted a booth, greeting attendees and offering information about the Old Spanish Trail and the Association. The Barstow Chamber of Commerce also participated with a booth. A strolling guitar player provided entertainment and accompanied an emcee throughout the day. Mexican food was provided by a couple of food vendors. The Desert Discovery Center hosted a trading post with woven blankets, serapes, jewelry, gift items, and a number of books on the Old Spanish Trail.

Viola Basulto served as chairperson of Old Spanish Trail Day for the Mojave River Chapter for the third year and gathered a cadre of volunteers to publicize and present the activities. Jane Laraman Brockhurst, Director, Desert Discovery Center, was instrumental in planning and coordinating the event, as well as garnering many of the activity presenters. Rose Beardshear, BLM Interpretative Specialist, and Zack Pratt, BLM Recreation Branch Chief, also played key roles in the event.

Mark your calendars for the fourth annual Old Spanish Trail Day on October 1, 2016.

OSTNHT Recreation and Development Strategy

A draft Recreation and Development Strategy for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail has been prepared for the BLM Barstow Field Office by two interns working under the supervision of Rob Sweeten, the BLM National Trails Coordinator for the Old Spanish Trail. The Strategy is similar to the Strategy prepared for Iron County, Utah, and draws heavily on that document. The Strategy is currently under review by the Barstow Field Office. It is anticipated that the Strategy



*Gary West
plays acoustic
guitar at Old
Spanish Trail
Days in Bar-
stow. Photo:
Paul McClure*

will be completed by the end of the year. A draft was circulated to a number of Old Spanish Trail Association members for review. If you have any comments on this draft, please send them ASAP to Zachary Pratt, Recreation Branch Chief, Barstow Office, at zpratt@blm.gov. If you are interested in receiving a copy of the Draft Strategy, please contact Nelson Miller, President, Mojave River Chapter, at Nemiller47@yahoo.com.

Paul McClure, California Director, and members of the Mojave River and Tecopa Chapters, have been working with the BLM, attending workshops and providing information on preparation of the Recreation and Development Strategy since February of this year.

One of the proposals included in the Recreation and Development Strategy is to designate the Desert Discovery Center in Barstow, California, as an interpretive center to provide information about the Old Spanish Trail. Rose Beardshear, BLM, and Jane Laraman Brockhurst of the Desert Discovery Center, have been particularly active in promoting this proposal. Nelson Miller, President of the Mojave River Chapter, has involved a volunteer intern, Andrew Gong, to work with them on developing possibilities for interpretation. Andrew also took advantage of the scholarships publicized through the Old Spanish Trail Association to attend the National Trails Conference in Tennessee last summer, so he has already had some exposure to National Historic Trails. Rose Beardshear and Rob Sweeten of the BLM are actively working on grants to pursue development of interpretive activities and marking of the Old Spanish Trail.

--Nelson Miller

Save the Date!
2016 OSTA Conference
July 29-30
Grand Junction, Colorado

Tecopa Chapter

The summer of 2015, with its record-breaking heat, has finally passed, and the Tecopa chapter has launched its 2015-2016 fieldwork season. The chapter is working to extend its GPS recording and mapping of the Old Spanish Trail mule trace and the later Mormon Road wagon trail in the area from the Nevada state line westward to the Amargosa River basin. The data will add to, and correct errors in, the official OST route map, providing a much more refined and detailed mapping of the trail and its several branches in the area.

Over the Halloween weekend, the trail survey team recorded data for more than two miles of OST/MR, bringing the total recorded to more than 15 miles.

In addition, the chapter is cooperating with the neighboring Mojave River Valley chapter and OSTA's state director, Paul McClure, in working with the Bureau of Land Management on the proposed conversion of the Bureau's Desert Interpretive Center in Barstow to an Old Spanish Trail Interpretive Center. The conversion would greatly increase the OST's—and OSTA's—profile in southern California. The Tecopa chapter also continues its involvement as an Interested Party in the application for construction of the proposed Aurora solar plant in California's Silurian Valley, where it would impact the OST corridor.

Chapter president Jack Prichett spoke at California Senator Diane Feinstein's public hearings on the 2015 California Desert Conservation and Recreation Act, introduced in the U.S. Senate in February. The bill would protect areas of the OST currently at risk from both solar and wind power plants proposed for the Silurian Valley.

---Jack Prichett

La Vereda del Norte Chapter

The Trail Through Time

As President of the La Vereda del Norte Chapter along the North Branch, I [Ken Frye] have a vested interest in the area and have a diverse background in archaeology and history. I spent 20 years with the US Forest Service, Rio Grande National Forest, as an archaeological technician. The San Luis Valley is very rich in archaeology, with many fascinating prehistoric and historic sites located throughout the entire Valley and surrounding mountains. I am fortunate to have walked and surveyed many sections of the Trail on public lands in this high, alpine valley.

This has been a busy year for our local chapter. We started out the year by giving a tour to students from the Crestone Charter School in Crestone, Colorado. We first went to an ancient petroglyph that may be over 3,000 years old. It is thought to be a depiction of a whooping crane or sandhill crane. Many thousands of sandhill cranes migrate through the San Luis Valley each year in the spring and fall. Later that same day, we took the students to the landform sculpture between Del Norte and Monte Vista, near the west fork of the north branch.

A local artist, Mettje Swift, carved the incredible landform sculpture out of local volcanic tuff to bring interest to the Old Spanish Trail and to deter vandalism of

area rock art sites. She said it is better if they vandalize the landform sculpture than vandalize ancient rock art, which is irreplaceable. Vandalism did occur on the sculpture, and Mettje just carved over it, and it was barely noticeable.

Several other tours to sites consisting of ancient rock art, mostly petroglyphs, near the Trail were given this year. Ancient people used the same trail that people used during the time of the Old Spanish Trail in several sections of the San Luis Valley. The rock art is several thousand years old at some sites, but some more recent historic glyphs may have been carved into the stone at the time of the Old Spanish Trail, possibly in the 1830s, especially near the town of San Luis. San Luis is the oldest incorporated town in Colorado, dating to around 1850. We believe the east fork of the north branch of the OST went right through where the present town is located. There are carvings near San Luis of Spanish settlers, wearing sombreros, from the 1850s. The New Mexico Site Stewardship Program, Friends of Fort Garland, the Colorado Rock Art Association, and the Rio Grande Headwaters Land Trust were some of the many organizations that joined chapter visits to ancient rock art in the San Luis Valley.

Stacked stone cairns are at many of the rock art sites, with some cairns reaching a height of over seven feet. Several cairns are easily observed along Colorado Highway 114, west of Saguache, along the Cochetopa corridor. Some researchers believe they were placed there by Native Americans to mark the route of trails, tribal territories, water sources, underground concentrated waterflows, ceremonial sites, signal points, and astronomical markers. Others believe they were built by Spanish sheepherders in the 1860s to designate grazing boundaries or trails leading to high country pastures during the summer. More research into the origin of the cairns is needed to determine who built the cairns, and when and why they were constructed. I would appreciate information and photos of similar cairns along other portions of the Old Spanish Trail in New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California.



Rock cairns. Photo: Ken Frye

Contact me at kennruth@gojade.org or by phone at 719-657-3161. Please visit our Facebook page, Old Spanish Trail - La Vereda del Norte Chapter, for more information about the Old Spanish Trail in this portion of Colorado.

We led a field trip to the Cochetopa Pass corridor west of the small town of Saguache years ago and intended to do another tour in 2015, but couldn't fit it into our busy schedules. We are going to schedule a tour to the Cochetopa Hills in 2016. The drainage of Saguache Creek was a route of the Old Spanish Trail from Saguache to the Cochetopa Hills. It is believed that the Trail went to the west, where Saguache Creek bends to the south and west and continues over to the west end of existing Cochetopa or North Pass. This is a very ancient trail that was used by Native Americans as far back as 12,000 years ago. We know this, because we found Clovis and Folsom points in the corridor during surveys of public lands. In some portions of the Cochetopa Hills area, there is only one corridor or way to travel through and most likely the route of the Trail. The word "Cochetopa" is a Ute word meaning Buffalo Pass or Buffalo Gate. The Ute followed the route, hunting buffalo and other animals hundreds of years ago. Many Ute camp sites are scattered throughout the Cochetopa Hills.

-- Ken Frye

OSTA Colorado Launches Website

Colorado's Old Spanish Trail has a new website at www.ostcolorado.org. The website has history, links, pictures, and videos by the two Colorado chapters, La Vereda del Norte and the North Branch, as well as information about OSTA. Links on the site take the viewer to the Facebook pages of the two chapters as well as to OSTA's Facebook page.

Salida del Sol Chapter

By all accounts, the September Three Trails Conference was a big success. The steering committee is wrapping up reports and finances, and soon only the memories of new-found friends, renewed acquaintances, and great trail information will remain. Perhaps attendees will plan a great trip in the future on one of the trails, with that wonderful field guide map that came in the welcome bag. Salida del Sol Chapter now has five new members to welcome to our meetings as a result of the conference.

I hope that many of you out-of-towners and locals were able to see the brand-new and first ever OST/NPS trail signs that went up just in time for the conference. (See photo below.) They are located at the intersection of Washington and Palace Ave., Washington and Paseo de Peralta, and on Bishop's Lodge Road to Tesuque. We are working on several other sign segments for New Mexico, especially near Aztec and Farmington where the NM State Historical Society Conference will be held next April. This will be a great chance to direct more folks from New Mexico to the Old Spanish Trail in that area.



Photo: Pat Kuhlhoff

The 2016 SDS chapter calendar of meetings and field trips is:

- February 20 – meeting
- April 16 - annual meeting
- June 18 – field trip
- August 20 – field trip
- October 15 - meeting
- Locations and speakers to be determined

In September I attended a meeting in Albuquerque of the Navajo Gallup Water Supply Project, which will cross Largo Canyon and affects the corridor of the Old Spanish Trail, running from Cutter Dam through Largo Canyon at a right angle and then paralleling Blanco Wash. The current plan is to run the pipeline underground at Largo Canyon to avoid disturbing the large number of Native American sacred sites located in the canyon. The archeological study found it difficult to find a trace of the OST, and the report said there would be no adverse effect to the trail. It does seem that there will be an effect on the corridor of the trail and that we should be working with these folks to find a way to get some mitigation work done in the Largo Canyon area, in the form of signs and interpretive panels. The process is to be continued.

On October 17, Salida del Sol Chapter members met at the Abiquiu Inn for lunch and an open discussion meeting about plans for future meetings and field trips, and how to increase chapter participation at meetings and on projects. We were joined by Army Corps of Engineers Lead Ranger John Mueller, who, after lunch, took us to the Chama River below Trujillo Hill to see where the trail corridor was, and to talk about changes in water levels from the 1800s to now due to the construction of the dam. There is quite a bit more water in the river now than there would have been when the caravans were leaving for California. We then drove to the visitor's center and got a special tour of the working area and the mechanical equipment that runs the dam. After that, we went out to the Palisades ruins, located on the Corps property above Abiquiú Reservoir. The ruins were inhabited during the 1300s-1400s. It was a beautiful sunny day and we all learned a lot and had a good time. Thank you, John, for a fun and educational day.

--Pat Kuhlhoff

William Workman Chapter

The main activity within the Chapter since our last report was the attendance of Chapter President Bill Ramsay and Secretary David Fallowfield at the Three Trails Conference in Santa Fe (September 17-20). The pair had a really enjoyable time at the Conference and came home full of admiration for the organizers in general and the OSTA officers in particular. When it was noted that Pat Kuhlhoff was part of the organizing team, we knew we were in for a great conference in view of the well-organized annual conference we attended in Espanola in 2008.

Having now attended seven annual conferences, this was the first occasion we were able to be present at a board meeting and were extremely impressed how well President Ashley Hall chaired this lengthy and quite detailed business meeting. Also, Secretary Lorna Hall is to be praised for keeping up with taking the minutes of said meeting. We gave a chapter report to the meeting.

It was good to be back among our OSTA friends, and attending a conference is an inspiration and highly recommended. We also enjoyed the proceedings at the Convention Centre the following day. Comments from Marc Simmons were memorable, followed by two wonderful presentations from New Mexico State Historian Rick Hendricks and our own OSTA Tecopa Chapter President Jack Prichett. The next day we attended the annual meeting of OSTA and again gave a chapter report and stated how pleased we were to be present. We thanked retiring Association Manager Dennis Ditmanson for his help over the years and wished him every success in his retirement. It was also pleasing to meet his replacement as Association Manager, John W. Hiscock, who comes from a NPS background. That evening we attended the banquet and had great company for dinner, being seated with Doug and Judy Knudson, Dennis and Carol Ditmanson, and Don and Jean Rowland. We particularly enjoyed the lively entertainment provided by the students from the Carlos Gilbert Elementary School, Santa Fe.

--David Fallowfield

Advocating Protection of the Trail

by John W. Hiscock, Association Manager and Mark Henderson, Stewardship Committee Chair

As we all know, the Old Spanish Trail crosses some of the most varied, spectacular, and wild landscapes in the West. The vast majority of these lands are federally and publicly owned and managed - by the Bureau of Land Management, the United States Forest Service, and the National Park Service. Lands held in trust for federally recognized Indian Tribes or individual Indians are also subject to federal law, and thus to provisions of the National Trails System Act, National Environmental Policy Act, Archaeological Resources Protection Act, and the National Historic Preservation Act (to name a few of the relevant laws to Trail advocates). Smaller segments of the Trail also cross state lands, local government lands, and private lands. Virtually all of these lands are subject to development proposals, some of which may have trivial impacts. Others have the potential to adversely affect Trail resources, landscapes and views, values, and experiences. Consequently, we as Trail proponents and stewards must be vigilant in tracking such proposals and providing reasoned input to developers and land managers to guide proper decisions.

The Old Spanish Trail Association Strategic Plan, most recently reviewed and approved in March 2013, sets forth the Association goal to: "Provide encouragement, tools and expertise to OSTA chapters and members to **protect** the Old Spanish National Historic Trail," and to establish a Stewardship Committee and Chair for said committee.

The Stewardship Committee grew out of the Mapping Committee and was originally contemplated as a "Preservation Committee." By 2010 the Stewardship Committee was illustrated in an organizational chart in the Trail Steward Manual. The Stewardship Committee has been structured in its present form since adoption of the "role and function statement" in November 2013, with New Mexico member Mark Henderson as Chair, and OSTA Vice-President Paul Ostapuk as Board Liaison. Two of the important objectives of the

Committee explicitly stated were to:

- Conduct review of projects that could threaten trail corridor integrity.
- Review all planned undertakings and actions which may alter the trail, including trail construction for visitor access, and comment on behalf of OSTA membership on these actions to the individual or agency considering actions which might affect the condition of the trail.

The chair of the Stewardship Committee is called upon "to coordinate activities of OSTA within the mission of the Stewardship Committee, promote communication and consensus of OSTA membership on data collection and project reviews, and to assist committee members in acquiring notifications and conducting reviews of planned projects which may affect the condition of the OST, or implemented activities that promote preservation or public access." The committee's membership consists of each state director of OSTA, and/or at least one additional or alternative representative from each state, suggested by state directors in concert with chapter presidents, and concurred on by the chair and board liaison. The association manager also plays an assistive coordinating role. Committee involvement and representation is an area that needs work, currently with few, if any, state representatives other than state directors officially serving on the committee.

In the interim, a stalwart group of OSTA leaders and committed individuals have led the charge in identifying and commenting upon development proposals that need attention.

So, what can you do if you see a federal, state, local, or private proposal that warrants comment in defense of trail resources and values? First of all, alert Committee Chair Henderson, the pertinent state director and chapter president, and the association manager. Be aware that, in some instances, government agencies may contact the Association for "consultation" as part of a scoping process prior to legally required notice to the general public for comment. Such "consultation"

is usually driven by existing agreements between such agencies and the Association and is therefore, a formal, direct invitation for **official participation** of the Association. In these instances, general membership thoughts and information should be communicated to the stewardship chair, board liaison, or state directors for formal response. Direct member or public comment would be premature in such instances.

On the other hand, once a government agency enters the public comment phase of a proposal, any member of the public may personally submit comments on the action under consideration. Under Association policy, however, official/formal comments on behalf of the Association and often developed by the Stewardship Committee are limited to submission by the president, state directors, or chapter presidents. Your input as a member is certainly sought and valued as part of this official process.

Current actions and consultations potentially affecting the Trail and under review by the Committee and Association officers are listed in the chart below.

It is a certainty that the projects listed are just a small fraction of the federal plans for projects that may affect the trail.

Consider this article to be a call for interested members to contact your state director to serve on the committee, and to all members to become engaged in identifying, reviewing, and advancing comments on proposals and actions with consequences for protection of the Trail. In addition to actual committee members, OSTA needs volunteers from its membership who will serve as “points-of-contact” and project reviewers (“case workers”) on behalf of the Association. And, even more importantly, all Trail advocates can take advantage of befriending their local Park Service, Forest Service, and BLM staff responsible for trail management and enhancement in their area, and offering to volunteer on trail management-related projects. Volunteerism and management of designated National Trails through partnerships is the spirit and the letter of the law, and such collegial participation is a starting point for improved understanding and protection of the Trail. ♦

State	Agency	Nature of Action	Comments Due	Web Reference
UT	BLM St. George	Resource Mngmt. Plan	11/16/15	http://www.blm.gov/ut/st/en/fo/st_george/planning2/nca_resource_management.html
UT	BLM Moab	La Sal Mines Operations Plan Amendment	Consult	None
UT	BLM Moab/Monticello	Master Leasing Plan	11/23/15	http://www.blm.gov/ut/st/en/fo/moab/MLP.html
UT	BLM Richfield	Oil and Gas Lease Sales	Consult	http://www.blm.gov/ut/st/en/prog/energy/oil_and_gas/oil_and_gas_lease.html
NM	BLM Farmington	Resource Mngmt Plan Amendment Mancos Shale Oil & Gas	Consult	http://www.blm.gov/nm/st/en/fo/Farmington_Field_Office/ffo_planning/farmington_rmp/rmpa_mancos.html
CA	CA Energy Commission, CA Dept. of Fish & Wildlife, BLM, USFWS	Final EIS and Proposed Land Use Plan Amendment - Desert Renewable Energy Conservation Plan	12/12/15	http://www.drecp.org/

Jack Prichett and Tecopa Chapter Honored with C. Gregory Crampton Award

The C. Gregory Crampton Award 2015 was presented at the Three Trails Conference in Santa Fe in September to Jack Prichett and the Tecopa chapter of the OSTA for outstanding service in the discovery and protection of the OSNHT in the corridor between Pahrump, Nevada, and Tecopa, California. This is OSTA's highest honor, awarded only three times since 1994.

The Tecopa Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association adopted as a group project the locating and identifying of the route of the Old Spanish Trail in the corridor approximately between Pahrump, Nevada and Tecopa, California. Utilizing archival research and ground-truthing investigation, they were able to document some 11 kilometers of the OST "mule trace" as well as portions of the later wagon road in the vicinity. This was/is important work, and the chapter is to be commended for the time and effort that went into this activity, but it pales in comparison to what the chapter subsequently found facing them.

In August 2011, BrightSource Energy, Inc., a multi-national energy development corporation, filed an application with the California Energy Commission for a permit to build the "Hidden Hills Solar Energy Generating System" (HHSEGS) on a tract of private land in the vicinity of the chapter's trail identification activity. As proposed, the facility would consist of two, 750-foot-tall towers surrounded by literally thousands of reflecting mirrors designed to concentrate the sun's rays on the towers. Ground-disturbing activities associated with the construction of



Pictured l. to r.: OSTA President Ashley Hall; Barbara Milliken, wife of Jack Prichett; former Association Manager Dennis Ditmanson; and Jack Prichett.

the site would obliterate any and all evidence of any previous use of the site, including evidence of the Old Spanish Trail. The chapter's previous work had led directly to the boundaries of the site proposed for the facility.

The handful of members of the Tecopa chapter requested and received "Intervenor" status in the proceedings before the California Energy Commission (CEC), and began a process which would require hundreds of hours of research and preparation in order to contest and refute the documentation prepared by the BrightSource army of lawyers and experts. One example will suffice to illustrate the work of the chapter. As a part of the application, BrightSource hired a consulting firm to prepare a cultural resources report on the site. In spite of the wealth of information available regarding the Old Spanish Trail, and in spite of the Congressional designation of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, the report contained only one

paragraph related to what was termed the "Mexican Period" and referenced none of the standard texts related to Trail history. The chapter challenged this report as "woefully inadequate by any reasonable standard" and undertook to prepare its own report in rebuttal. The result was a fully documented, 53-page report with maps and photographs clearly placing the Old Spanish Trail within the boundaries of the proposed project. There was absolutely no comparison between the shoddy work of the applicant's

contractor and the exemplary work of the chapter, and the CEC staff so recognized it.

There followed a long period of briefings, filings, hearings, etc., in which the chapter was held to the same legal standard of evidence preparation and presentation as was the BrightSource legal team. Throughout the process the excellent work of the chapter was recognized by the California Energy Commission staff, who supported their position in both the preliminary and final staff assessments.

Formal hearings on the application were held in the spring of 2013, at which time the chapter, along with other intervenors and interested parties, presented formal testimony on the project, and in April, BrightSource formally suspended the application ending, at least for the present, some 21 months of intense, diligent attention to preserving a portion of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. ♦

Crossroads at the Edge of Empire: Economy and Livelihood in Santa Fe during the Spanish Colonial Period

By Stephen S. Post

Presented at the 2015 Three Trails Conference, September 18-20, 2015, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Santa Fe has been at the crossroads of Pueblo, Spanish, and American cultures for centuries, serving as the northernmost capital of the Spanish Empire in the New World for more than two hundred years. Central to imperial expansion and stability in the far north were roads. The lifeblood of the colony, they carried people, goods, news, technology, and cultural trends. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro was the macro-regional link to the markets and viceregal government to the south. Early alignments of the Santa Fe and Old Spanish Trails were locally and regionally important to the movement of people and goods between isolated settlements and as avenues of external contact with the Plains Indians and beyond.

Since the seventeenth century, El Camino Real has entered Santa Fe from the west and south along what today is called Agua Fria Street. Today's Old Pecos Trail and Galisteo Street were the main wagon roads of the Caminos de Pecos network, and what became the Santa Fe Trail was a secondary road. In the eighteenth-century, these roads carried people and goods between settlements, military campaigns against raiding tribes, and intrepid *ciboleros* and *comancheros* en route to the Plains. What became the Old Spanish Trail

network served regional commerce bringing local and trade goods to Santa Fe for transport to the Chihuahua markets, and people and goods north to the Taos trade fairs.

Limited to the reliance on a barter/trade economy in a vast, arid, and often hostile land, New Mexico's colonial and indigenous populations were inextricably dependent on trade with one another for simple survival. Economic gain by the governor and the landed elite relied on trade with Plains tribes for hides, meat, by-products of buffalo and elk, and captive slaves, which brought the highest value in the Chihuahua trade. For most New Mexicans and Pueblo people, the short supply of durable goods was barely sufficient to support their daily lives, yet they often traded them away for high value goods from the plains. In a colony fraught with economic inequality and very limited access to minted specie, the primary currency was products of the land, or the services or products from trades such as blacksmithing, weaving, masonry, and woodworking. When the governor's orders periodically interrupted trade fairs, it affected the elites' profit margins and denied the lower classes their meager shot at some economic advancement. Droughts, disease, and other calamities negatively affected everyone.

New Mexico in the eighteenth-century has been a popular subject for historians. Archaeological studies are less well-represented in the literature. The discarded debris of everyday life, especially Pueblo-made pottery and domesticated animal bone, is abundant in archaeological deposits. Wills, as our colleague Dedie Snow has long reminded us, contain lists of household, luxury, hardware, and construction goods, and livestock that provide windows into economic status and stratification within the villa. Many of these trappings of wealth and prestige were heirlooms or prized possessions, which were rarely broken, worn out, or lost, or they were perishable and not detectable in archaeological deposits. For most households, such prized items were only discarded when used or broken beyond repair. By comparison, higher status or more affluent households possessed, used, and discarded a wider variety and higher frequency of goods, foods, and implements, which they could afford to replace. For economically advantaged or prosperous households, high replacement value goods and tools were used in normal daily activities, reflecting production or mercantile pursuits.

Thanks to excavations at two major sites and a smaller site between 2002 and 2008 in Santa Fe by the New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies, and Euroamerican artifact analysis

conducted by our colleague Matt Barbour, I can talk to you about the archaeology of Santa Fe's eighteenth-century economy. The three sites represent a cross-section of Santa Fe's socio-economic strata from the economic disadvantaged to the elite. The archaeological sites are the presidial barracks behind the Palace of the Governors, an elite household located here at the Convention Center where we sit today, and a residential refuse pit from a household along El Camino Real, close to where it enters Santa Fe from the southwest.

The Convention Center site excavation revealed evidence of the earliest agricultural site in Santa Fe, the remains of a thirteenth-fifteenth-century Pueblo village, an elite Colonial household, the Presidio, Fort Marcy, and use for Santa Fe High School. Historical sources indicated that during the eighteenth century, the site was owned and lived in by members of the Baca and Garvisu families, both influential in Santa Fe and the region. Archival information indi-

cates their adobe house had two stories with two enclosed placitas. My 2008 study of roof plans shown on the Urrutia map identified it as one of the largest houses in Santa Fe at the time. The land was purchased from the Baca-Garvisu by the crown for the expansion of the presidio in 1791. Archaeological excavations revealed cobble foundations from three walls of the house, two large refuse pits filled with household, construction, and cottage industry debris, a forge or blacksmithing area consisting of heavily oxidized pits and platform of cobbles and mixed debris containing slag and burned adobe, and a well. The Baca-Garvisu house and grounds were well outfitted for taking full advantage of economic opportunities derived from its location in Santa Fe's urban core at the crossroads of northern trade and commerce.

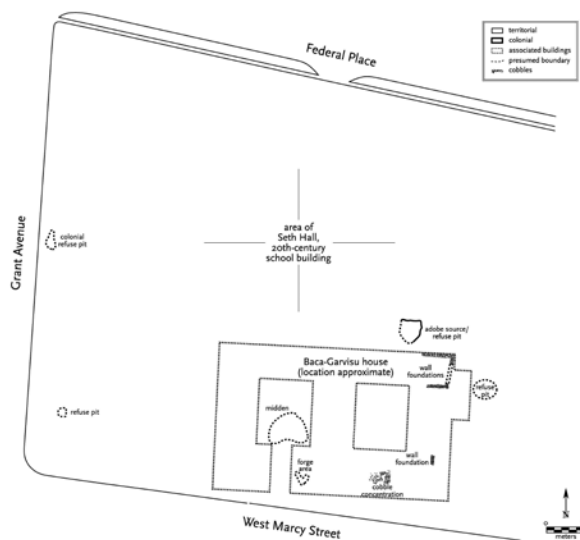
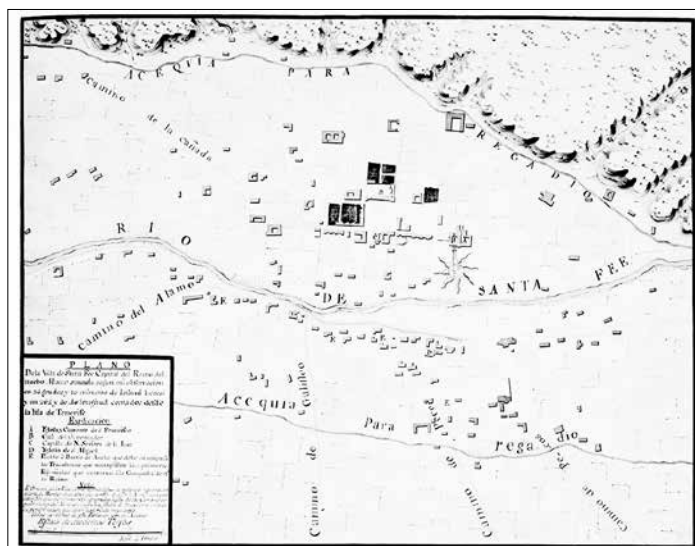


Fig. 2. Site map showing the Baca-Garvisu components at LA 1051. Drafted by Robert Turner. Courtesy New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies.

The New Mexico History Museum site is located directly north of the Palace of the Governors. Within the 6,200 square foot study area, 198 archaeological features spanning from 1610 to the 1930s were found in deposits five to six feet thick. An estimated 800,000 artifacts and samples were recovered. Of major importance were the buried remnants of eighteenth-century barracks represented by 45 features, which included architectural remains, refuse and processing pits and dumps, post-holes, irrigation features, and miscellaneous work areas. During this period, the Palace's backyard changed from open space with gardens and orchards and an informal cemetery to a military installation with barracks, stables or workshops, and the possible quarters of American Indian interpreters or scouts. Based on the cobble foundation alignments and construction

Fig. 1. 1767 Map of the Villa of Santa Fe by Joseph de Urrutia showing the three eighteenth-century archaeological site locations.



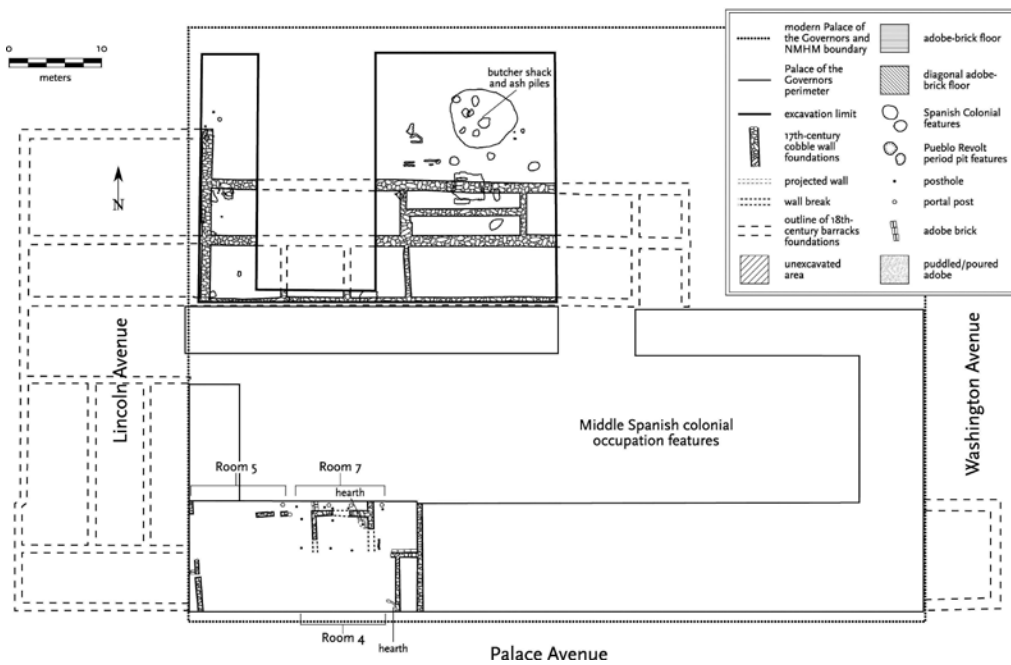


Fig. 4. Site map showing the eighteenth-century barracks behind the Palace of the Governors with associated features and facilities. Drafted by Scott Jaquith. Courtesy New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies

sequence, we posited the presence of at least 10,640 square feet of eight previously undocumented Presidio buildings. For much of the period between 1729 and 1791, many of the 50 to 100 presidial soldiers resided in homes spread throughout the *villa* of Santa Fe. Unmarried or unpropertied soldiers made up a smaller contingent liv-

ing in the barracks behind the Palace of the Governors. These adobe-walled barracks were rudimentary, covering 400 square feet with adobe or packed-dirt floors and small corner fireplaces. Even with the improved 1791 presidio, many soldiers continued to live with their families, comfortably integrated into the local community. Our record documents the unfortunate soldiers who did not find lodging elsewhere.

The late eighteenth-century site at the Santa Fe Railyard was located south of the Santa Fe River within the Guadalupe Church parish and south of El Camino Real, near its entrance into the core of the villa. At this location, archaeologists found no architecture, but encountered an unexpected, well-used refuse pit

near the transition between residential and agricultural space. The immediate area was served by two acequias which brought water to crops and diverted floodwaters away from fields and houses.

What did we learn about the economic status of Santa Fe residents in the eighteenth century from these projects? Locally, everyone had farm products, sheep, goat, and cattle hides, skins, meats and by-products. Pottery was made and traded at a very low value by Pueblo potters. Skilled trades and specialized cottage industry provided opportunities for economic gain, creating a small middle class between a prosperous elite and the less fortunate majority. Contradictions abounded as complaints about the scarcity of iron tools and weapons were intertwined with a trade strategy that sent those same items to the trade fairs. Claims of widespread poverty and misery are tempered by the fact that New



Fig. 3. Cobble foundation segment from the Baca-Garvisu house, LA 1051. Photograph courtesy of New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies

Mexicans operated under the tax and tariff radar and did not want a perception of prosperity to affect the status quo.

First looking at the Pueblo-made ceramic assemblages, we see the well-documented pattern of a variety of micaceous, smudged and polished red, brown, black, and gray utility and table wares available to everyone regardless of economic status. Tewa, Ogapoge, and Powhoge polychrome-decorated bowls and jars are unequally present with 12 percent at the Railyard site, 18 percent at the barracks, and as high as 30 percent at the Baca-Garvisu site. While all site occupants had ready access to daily cooking, kitchen, and table wares, the Baca-Garvisu household was using and breaking significantly greater amounts of decorated pottery, indicating a high level of integration into the local and regional economy. The low numbers found at the other two sites support the observation that laborer and subsistence farming households were at a similar economic level as soldiers living in the barracks. Pueblo ceramics reflect a local economy that emphasized acquisition and exchange of goods between Santa Fe's residents and northern Tewa villages, with the movement of goods following the southernmost extent of [what became]the Old Spanish Trail or the northernmost extent of El Camino Real.

Metal objects, Mexican majolica and unrefined earthen wares, and Oriental porcelains are artifact classes that were less valuable in Mexico, but expensive for New Mexicans to own. The assemblage distributions across



Fig. 5. Overview of eighteenth-century barracks excavation in progress, LA 111322. Photograph courtesy of Carol Price.

the three sites display strong contrasts. These goods entered Santa Fe through El Camino Real trade.

The Baca-Garvisu site has by far the greatest number and variety of metal artifacts. More than 200 metal artifacts representing 30 artifact types, including hand-forged nails, hooks, awls, a griddle handle, fasteners, and worn or cut straps point to a well-provisioned household. Excavations uncovered evidence of forge bases, as well, indicating metal-working on the property. The Palace Barracks yielded 83 metal artifacts representing 16 types, including a variety of small fasteners or personal items with a single *espada ancha* associated with meat-processing. There is variety, but not the sheer numbers and conspicuous discard of iron objects, which were more likely recycled by soldiers living behind the Palace of the Governors. The absence of metal artifacts from the Railyard site illustrates how closely their use and discard was managed by less affluent or lower class households.

A similar pattern of variety and abundance holds true for the majolica, porcelain, and unrefined earthen wares. The Baca-Garvisu site had 576 Mexican majolica and unrefined earthenware sherds and 108 sherds of Japanese and Chinese porcelains. Two types, Puebla Blue-on-white and San Elizario polychrome majolica, had vessel forms representing full table settings, while other types combined for mixed table settings of bowls, plates, cups and saucers. This is unlike any other site in the American Southwest from that period. The Palace Barracks and Railyard sites pale in comparison. The Palace Barracks yielded 107 majolica sherds with limited type and form variability suggesting occasional use, but certainly not affluence. The Railyard site had very few sherds of majolica and higher frequencies of unrefined earthen wares reflecting, perhaps, accidental breakage of heirlooms. The Railyard site household had trappings of a more affluent lifestyle, but, in comparison with other sites, the assemblage is meager.

From the archaeological data and historical sources, there is no doubt social and economic stratification played a significant role in who benefitted most from the road networks in eighteenth-century society in Santa Fe and northern New Mexico. At the Baca-Gar-

visu site, we see a well-provisioned household at the top of the social and economic ladder. The household accumulated, processed, and refined high and moderate value goods acquired in regional and Plains trade for transport to Chihuahua in exchange for quantities of majolica and porcelain unmatched at other sites throughout the southwest. The Baca-Garvisu family took full advantage of the benefits derived from goods transported by regional networks, while tapping into the macro-regional economy through Camino Real commerce.

At the Palace barracks, as might be expected, presidial soldiers had little means with which to participate in regional and Plains or macro-regional trade. Considering the barracks were occupied for more than 70 years, the accumulation of goods that could be interpreted as tapping into larger markets is negligible. The soldiers were supplied by the governor, who used cash surpluses gained from inequitable buying and selling for his own financial gain. The stark and harsh realities of presidial life were punctuated by the small rooms, with dirt floors and small corner fireplaces, that soldiers called home. Soldiers, at best, participated minimally in local commerce, where food and subsistence goods supplemented their presidial allotments. Finally, the household deposits from the residence along El Camino Real poignantly illustrates the realities that the majority of eighteenth-century New Mexicans faced. The road that passed their home and that they traveled for local business was a path to prosperity that they could aspire to, but likely never achieve. The larger economy of El Camino Real was embodied in the few table wares of majolica and Mexican earthen wares prized and treasured, but unlikely to be replaced when broken beyond repair. Their survival depended on the products of their gardens and corrals and the occasional ability to purchase beyond their usual means during years of plenty.

With the change in government [in 1821] that followed Mexican independence, El Camino Real was linked with the Santa Fe Trail extending commerce from Independence, Missouri, to Mexico City. The Old Spanish Trail became an important route for livestock trade between California and New Mexico. The elite

continued to benefit from the expanded market opportunities, while those on the lower economic scale maintained a subsistence standard of living. Their lives did not change significantly for better or worse until the arrival of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad in 1880.

I would like to express my gratitude to the more than 150 archaeological professionals and crew and volunteers that worked on these projects; to Dedie Snow for more than 30 years of mentoring and support; and to Matt Barbour for his dedicated work during his tenure at the New Mexico Office of Archaeological Studies (OAS); to OAS, the New Mexico History Museum, the City of Santa Fe, and the Santa Fe Railyard Corporation for their financial support of these projects; and to the organizers of the Three Trails Conference for bringing scholars and trail enthusiasts together to share their knowledge and experiences.

This talk was mostly based on results reported in three OAS reports. Please go to the OAS website publications link to obtain digital copies. www.nmarchaeology.org/publications.html

Sources

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Continued on next page

In Memoriam: Jack Nelson

John W. Nelson, better known as Jack, was born on December 31, 1921, in Chicago, Illinois. Jack's parents were immigrants from Koge, Denmark, a town south of Copenhagen. When he enlisted in the Navy, early in 1942, his occupation was that of a cowpuncher. Serving as a Pharmacist Mate attached to the 2nd Marine Division, he saw fighting in the Pacific Theater. Later in 1942 he met Katherine Lewis of Riverside, California, at a USO dance. They were married for 65 years until Katherine died in 2008.

It was the Lewis family connection that brought Jack to the University of Redlands and the influence of Dr. Gilbert Becker, a Professor of History. The BA degree led to the MA in 1950, and with Becker's guidance Jack discovered Louis Robidoux, his history and family. His master's thesis, "Louis Robidoux, the Man Behind the Legend" still stands as the first concrete investigation into the life and times of Louis Robidoux. This research into Louis led Jack to discover the fur trade, the Old Spanish Trail, and the opening of the American West to settlement in the 19th century.

Professionally Jack spent his work years first as a school teacher in Riverside, and later he stepped into administration for the remainder of his working life.

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Stephen Post was the project director and principal investigator for the NM Office of Archaeological Studies for the past 30 years. He is now an independent consultant. ♦

The friendship of Gilbert Becker led into field archaeological surveys in the Mojave Desert of Southern California. At least six to eight times a year Jack would be on site with Gil doing field work for the San Bernardino County Museum.

In 1978 Jack retired and he and Katherine moved to Colorado, ultimately residing in Grand Junction. Once there, they unpacked the old notebooks, resulting in a renewed interest in the Old Spanish Trail. The Robidoux clan with their involvement in early commerce, both in Alta California and in the province of New Mexico, was a key factor in Jack's research. That spark of reinterest developed into joining a network of like-minded folks and involvement in the Old Spanish Trail Association. Jack was instrumental in the founding of the North Branch Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association, and worked closely with Sen. Ben "Night-horse" Campbell on Trail recognition. Further research on the North Branch of the Trail was the basis for *Forgotten Pathfinders, Along the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail, 1650-1850*. Mesa State College's [now Colorado Mesa University] publication *Journal of the Western Slope*, vol. 11, no. 4, Fall 1996 devoted the entire issue to Jack's "The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail." Jack's research also contributed to the detailed mapping of the OST in his area. His wife Katherine was honored by the local OSTA chapter with a stone memorial for her OSTA research and advocacy work: it is in a major park overlooking the Old Spanish Trail crossing in Grand Junction, Colorado.

After Katherine's passing in 2008, Jack relocated to Montrose and spent his last years with the support of his son Jon. Jack died on August 15, 2015, leaving behind his children, Jon Nelson of Montrose, Colorado, and Elizabeth Anderson of Parker, Colorado. ♦



Scouting the Old Spanish Trail: Feasibility for a Modern Lone Rider

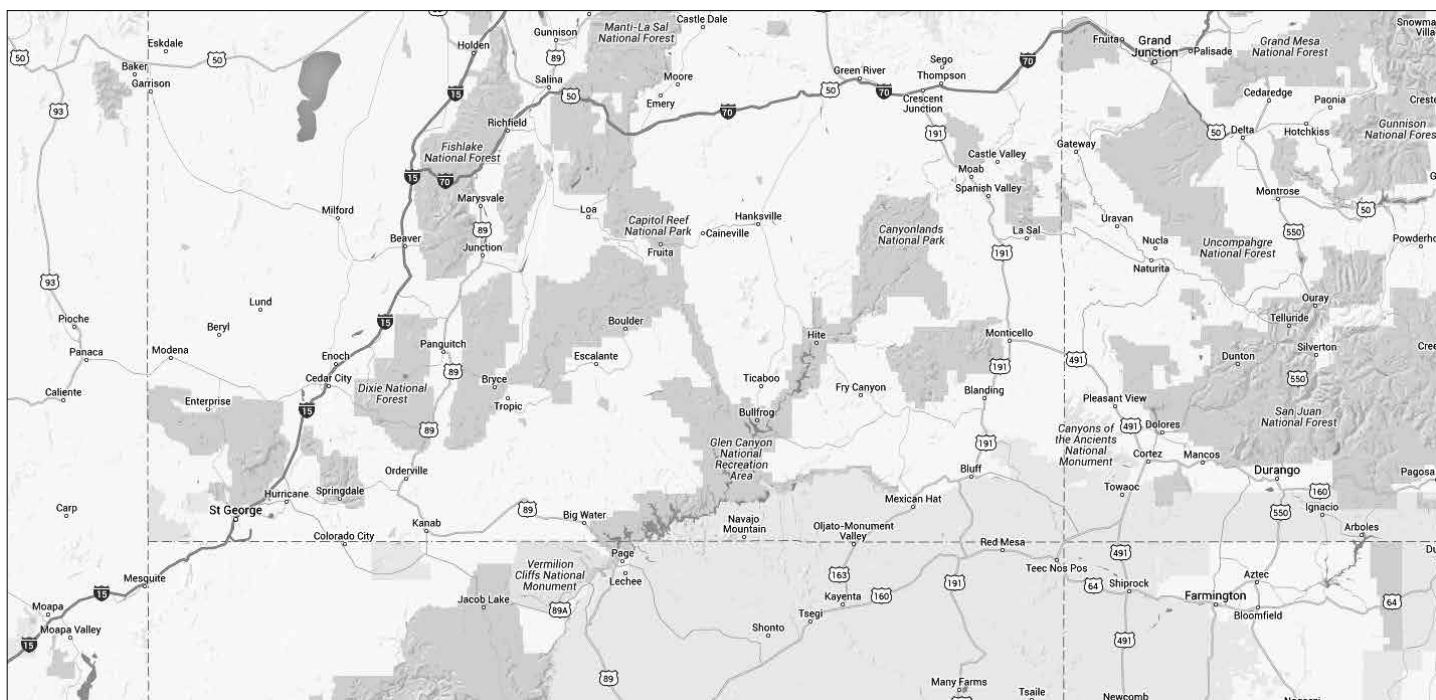
By Lisa Wood

In 2014 I attended my first Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA) conference in Las Vegas. After the stimulating sessions, I set out in a rented three-cylinder Chevy Sprint to see a bit of the trail. Surely almost everyone in the OST Association knows the trail better than I do; I was so impressed with the knowledge of the OSTA membership. But you may be interested in what I saw from a “long rider’s” perspective. I felt an odd combination of elation at the geological delights, but also keen appreciation for the hardships of the trail, as will become apparent in the following narrative.

As I wound the little car into the Virgin River Gorge, I felt like an overwhelmed, tiny ant entering a grand cathedral. The magnificent stone edifices took my breath away. The little green dots on an Auto Club map designating the highway as “scenic” seemed a severe understatement. The Gorge was stunning to drive, but would be too hazardous to ride on a horse. However, highway 91, to the west, along the main OST align-

ment, would likely provide a suitable equestrian alternative. In planning how to ride the OST, one option I had considered was to ride a loop. I could stage somewhere in the vicinity of Littlefield, Arizona, where the “main” OST merges with the “Armijo” trail. From there I might ride east on the Armijo trail. I could cut north once I reached Colorado, to the main OST route. On the main OST I might ride north, turning west, and then finally head south, returning to Littlefield. Logistically that was an elegant solution to the problem of getting my horse trailer from my staging area to my destination; my start and end points could be one and the same.

On my reconnoitering trip, I stocked up on water and snacks, throwing them in the back seat with my sleeping bag, prepared to camp along the road, as needed. The first night I found a hotel in Hurricane, Utah. After checking in, I walked around town, visited a museum, and generally enjoyed the warm, clear evening. Though Hurricane is about 15 miles from the Armijo route, and a bit more from the main branch of the OST, I thought happily, “This historic town could make a fine staging spot.”



Google Earth

Early the next morning I pointed the car southeast on highway 59. The exit from town looked a bit hazardous: narrow and no shoulder. Traffic is a serious peril and must be carefully considered, but if the problem area is relatively short, I have found that I can often overcome this particular danger by traveling in the early morning, before there is any traffic to speak of, just at dawn.

Once I was up on the “Little Plain” the area appeared quite horse-friendly. The Shinarump Cliffs, just east of Fredonia, provided a scenic western backdrop, as I imagined myself traversing the area on my dun-colored gelding, Moki. A bit dry, and some long stretches, but it seemed doable. The Buckskin Mountains, though not an especially formidable range, proved too much for the three-cylinder rental car. Before backtracking to the highway from the dirt road, I got out and walked around a bit, quite sure I could ride that way on horseback, possibly crossing to Sandhill Ranch. Although less true to the designated trail, another choice could be to connect up with highway 89 via House Rock Valley Road. (Never, in my experiences long riding, have I selected historical authenticity over safety and practicality. Plus, not every historical detour is known, so some of my side trips may, in fact, be authentic.)

Lake Powell, of course, covers several miles of the Armijo route – a reach that provided water and graze for horses and mules at the confluence of the Colorado and San Juan rivers. For me, there would be no such respite, although I could certainly get water and probably feed in Page.

Continuing east on highway 98 through the Navajo Reservation, however, it is a long, grassless 36 miles to Kaibito. The road runs five to ten miles south of the OST. It seemed unlikely that the members of Navajo Nation would allow me access to the genuine OST. Even if they did, the actual OST would probably not provide more graze for my horse than did the road shoulder. In fact, there could be LESS grass, since the highway shoulder was outside of the heavily grazed (by sheep) fenced areas. From Kaibito to Kayenta would be worse: 63 dry, almost grassless miles.

In 2001 I rode my mustang Shawnee 3,000 miles from California to Virginia. On that ride, over the course of two days, I traveled 56 miles with no water on dry, grassless BLM land along the Kearny Trail. Shawnee fared well on that trip, but, reflecting on my experience, I did not want to exceed that mileage. I wasn’t young in 2001, and am not any younger in 2015. Being older, weaker, and wiser, I want to keep the inhospitable miles below the 56-mile threshold.

From Kayenta to Dennehosta and on to the Mexican Water Trading Post would be another challenging 44 miles. From there to Tec Nos Pos lies a hard 31 miles. From there on highway 160, it is yet another challenging 44 miles to Cortez. In total, there would be nearly 220 miles of truly challenging riding along the Armijo route, eleven hard days at 20 miles per day. I considered that enough to endanger Moki’s very life.

Temperatures dropped dramatically as I pulled into Cortez. Massive blue-black bruised clouds darkened the skies. Hail crackled against my windshield. I shunned the sleeping bag in the back seat and checked into a hotel, feeling beaten by the terrain I had just explored. I fantasized about pre-driving the trail and caching water and feed along the way. Even as I mulled this option, the reality sank in that I did not feel I could safely cover the terrain if I was unsupported, which is my preferred method of travel.

The morning dawned clear and chilly. Over the next couple of days I retraced my drive, stopping in at a few visitors’ centers, optimistically buying topo maps here and there. I returned to Las Vegas, flying home to San Diego in a quiet, contemplative mood.

Months passed, but in 2015 my thoughts turned to the OST again. I attended my second OST conference in Santa Fe. Again, the camaraderie of fellow trail enthusiasts, the informative sessions, and the original play performed to a standing ovation by local elementary school children left me enthusiastic to persevere in my efforts to find a way to ride the OST. Once more I rented a small car and filled the back seat with snacks and bottled water.

Highway 84 extending north from Santa Fe looked a bit narrow. A phone conversation with Richard Waller of Back Country Horsemen confirmed unpleasant/un-safe proximity to traffic. However, starting at Abiquiu is historically accurate, as many expeditions did stage from there.

Richard and others described challenges associated with the Jicarilla Apache reservation, not far from Abiquiu, so I steered my bright red Chevy north, going through Chama, which is 15 to 20 miles north of the OST through El Vado. This alternate route would keep me off the actual OST for a few days, but the graze, topography, road shoulder, and water situation seemed fine, and there even seemed to be the possibility of getting off the roadway.

Continuing north on highway 84 into Colorado, the San Juan National Forest beckoned invitingly. I could picture myself riding through the ponderosa pines and Douglas firs of this beautiful landscape. Turning west on highway 160, eventually the National Forest gave way to private land. Durango provided a welcome bridge over the Animas River, but unwelcome urban noise and traffic. However, again, I imagined sneaking through town at dawn to deal with this obstacle.

From highway 160 at Mancos I turned north onto



San Juan National Forest

www.fs.usda.gov/sanjuan

highway 184, finding myself a few miles from Cortez, where I had dejectedly concluded my Armijo route scouting excursion in 2014. So far in 2015 I had not found insurmountable challenges along the main route. "So far, so good," I thought, feeling optimistic.

Highway 184 follows the OST pretty closely, ending at highway 491, which then picks up the trail. However, each mile west became a bit drier, with less grass. The last 25 miles from Dove Creek to Monticello is a long, dry haul, but certainly within my abilities. Next, however, is a 57 mile stretch to Moab, with a narrow, dangerous portion, no reliable graze, and only one reliable water source. Daunting, but if that was the worst of it, I could press on.

From Moab, however, it is 26 dry miles, barren of grass, to Crescent Junction, where there is water but no graze, then 24 grassless, waterless miles to Green River. From Green River it is 58 miles with unpredictable water along the San Rafael River to Castle Dale. Richard said there was no water at the time he rode through. Further, he reports that heavy trucks make the 38 miles from Castle Dale to Interstate 70 perilous. Once at Interstate 70, Bob Leonard provided help with Richard's journey via the Fish Lake Cutoff, but even with assistance from Bob and Back Country Horsemen, Richard opted to trailer parts of the trail.

Somber and discouraged, I headed to the airport at Salt Lake City, paying a destination charge to the car rental company. I have come to the unhappy conclusion that riding the OST unsupported is beyond my abilities. I will consider whether to continue plans that include having support. However, in my mind, having a trailer full of hay and water greet me in the evening presents a very different relationship to the countryside than the one I have when my horse and I travel unsupported.

The OST is a fascinating, breathtaking trail, but it is a rugged, difficult route that requires a skilled trailblazer to safely navigate. The difficulties associated with this trail have not diminished over time. They appear to be more than I can handle. ♦

The Old Spanish Trail in Southern Utah:

John C. Frémont and the Foundation of Developments along the Trail

by **Wayne K. Hinton, Ph.D**

retired Professor of History and Dept. Head, Southern Utah University

Keynote speech presented at the OSTA annual conference 2002, Reprinted from the Fall 2002 issue of Spanish Traces

[This history addresses the region covered by *Driving the Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona*. See item below.]

In southern Utah, a multitude of trails overlap and converge, including the misnamed Old Spanish Trail. The route that became the Trail was not in use during the Spanish period. Its first use came when the region was entirely within Mexico, but American

travelers came to mistakenly believe that the Spanish opened the Trail and they used the term Old Spanish Trail. In fact, John C. Frémont was one of the first to use that name in print.¹ Because of its long use and its historical implications, the title is perhaps more appropriate today than it was in 1844.

Overlapping this trail were Indian routes, the Dominguez-Escalante Trail of 1776, Jedediah Smith's routes to California in 1826 and 1827, Peg Leg Smith's fur trapping expedition trail of 1827–28, and later several other roads and trails explored by Mormons and others that created a sometimes confusing layering of trails over the terrain.

John Charles Frémont's return trip

during his second western expedition of 1843–44 from California that sought out and detailed much of the Trail in 1844 is central to many developments that followed in southern Utah, but the Old Spanish Trail had a storied history before Frémont's expedition.

As early as 1765, an expedition led by Juan Maria Antonia Rivera moved north out of Santa Fe and crossed into Utah, traversed the Spanish Valley and scouted in the Moab area.² Rivera had opened a practical route from New Mexico to eastern Utah. After establishing the Monterey Mission in California in 1774, the Spanish determined they needed a more dependable northern trail from Santa Fe to Monterey. Fray Francisco Antanasio

Utah Guidebook Published

By **Ruth Friesen**

If you are a paid-up member of the Old Spanish Trail Association, you should have received your complimentary copy of *Driving the Old Spanish Trail Through Utah and Arizona* in the mail recently. Sponsored by OSTA, and funded by a grant from the Grand Staircase Escalante Partners, the book was authored by Steven Heath and Ruth Friesen.

When the project began, Steven Heath was the Utah Director, and he volunteered to write the initial manuscript. In late 2014, Dennis Ditmanson approached me and asked if I would be willing to ground-proof the manuscript and put the book together. I had not driven the route, so my travels would be a good test to see whether the sites Steven listed

could be found.

Steven's manuscript did an excellent job of leading me around the states, finding routes and signs erected by previous Old Spanish Trail enthusiasts. I and my driver, my husband Dee, had a few challenging moments, hunting for signs hidden in weeds or behind gates, and looking for a street in Paragonah that was named differently depending on which direction you were coming from. I added GPS coordinates for locations that might be a bit difficult to find. We developed a hearty appreciation for the challenges that the early travelers faced, while enjoying magnificent scenery.

Input was solicited from several OSTA members in Utah, and we thank Paul Ostapuk for his input on the Armijo route, Ed Geary on Buckhorn Wash, and Leo Lyman on the Bear Valley/Little Creek road.

Bernice Payne's photo of metal silhouettes at the Buckhorn Information Center was ideal for the front cover, and Al Matheson's photo of Green River became the back cover. Ed Geary provided a photo of the Buckhorn Information Center, and Christopher Eaton, a professional landscape photographer, graciously donated his photo of Horseshoe Bend. He and I met while we were both trying to get sunset photos of Cedar Breaks National Monument, and as we struck up a conversation, we found we both knew Paul Ostapuk, and Chris is very familiar with the Old Spanish Trail. It's a small world.

The book can be purchased online at www.oldspanishtrail.org. If you have questions regarding distribution, please contact OST Association Manager John Hiscock at ostmgr@gmail.com or 435-689-1620. ♦

Dominguez led a party that included Velez de Escalante as party diarist to open a northern route in 1776. They failed, but they blazed a route into the Great Basin of present day Utah and from Utah Lake to the Colorado River and the “Crossing of the Fathers.”

Although the party left a remarkable account of its expedition, only in the vicinity of Three Peaks, west of Cedar City, did the Dominguez-Escalante and the Old Spanish Trails touch in Utah.³ Here they crossed each other at right angles as the future Old Spanish Trail went west and Dominguez-Escalante continued south. However, subsequent explorers worked out much of the route from Santa Fe to California, and parts of it eventually became known as the Old Spanish Trail. For instance, in the winter of 1829, Antonio Armijo’s trading company of 60 Mexicans made a round trip from New Mexico to Los Angeles by way of northern New Mexico and Arizona that proved the economic potential of trade. They forded the Colorado River at the “Crossing of the Fathers” and continued west to the Virgin River and southwest to Los Angeles. This was a direct route, but it generally proved too dangerous for reliable trading.⁴ Its path was across slickrock country, arid desert stretches, and past hostile Indians, and it included a difficult river crossing.

Most of the traffic that was to move over the developing trail and its variants after 1829 was commercial, dominated by traders carrying trade goods, which required a reliable route. The people of Mexico had large sheep herds. From the wool they made fine *serapes* and *fresadas* (shawls and blankets). Large caravans made annual expeditions with sometimes as many as 200 to 300 men traveling the trail with horses and pack mules. The California-bound traffic usually

consisted of blankets and dry goods from Santa Fe. The New Mexico east-bound traffic customarily consisted of large herds of horses and mules that California produced in prodigious numbers in those days.⁵

Explorers such as the fur trapper Jedediah Smith helped pioneer portions of an eventual safer traders’ trail, especially the western sectors. In 1826 Smith and sixteen trappers left the Cache Valley rendezvous held near Hyrum to come down central Utah to a point southwest of Price and to the Sevier River. He found the Marysvale Canyon pinched closely on the Sevier River just beyond the Sevier Junction, making a passage so narrow and difficult that he decided it was prudent to leave the river and strike west up Clear Creek to cross the more natural pass between the Pavant Range and the Tushar Mountains, a route followed by I-70 today.⁶

Most of the traffic that was to move over the developing trail and its variants after 1829 was commercial.

The Old Spanish Trail also left the river here, but it turned east to ascend Long Valley and to cross the Antelope Range to return to the Sevier River near Marysvale and come west by way of Bear Valley (Highway 20), then south to follow closely the present route of Interstate 15 to Enoch, north of Cedar City, and then west and south to the Santa Clara and Virgin Rivers. In 1826, when Jedediah Smith hit the Virgin River he followed it through the Gorge and onto southern California.⁷

After leaving some of his men on the Stanislaus River in north central California, Smith and two compan-

ions crossed the Sierra Nevada and the basins and ranges of Nevada to the 1827 rendezvous held on the shores of Bear Lake near Laketown. At the conclusion of the rendezvous, Smith left again for California, taking 18 men to follow partly the same route as the previous year. This time, however, he avoided the Virgin River Gorge and went by way of the Santa Clara River and over Utah Hill before striking back to the Virgin River.⁸ The Utah Hill Route proved much easier traveling than the Virgin River Gorge and thus became part of the Trail.

In 1827 trapper Thomas “Pegleg” Smith crossed the Colorado River to trap on the Virgin River in 1827 and 1828. His party alone among trappers secured enough skins to make a cargo from trapping in southern Utah. After a confrontation with Indians, his party left the Virgin heading north through Iron County and returning to Santa Fe over major sections of the emerging eventual Old Spanish Trail.⁹ The looping course that became the nearly 1,200-mile Old Spanish Trail in 1831, traversing six states, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California, was being set. The longest portion of the Trail was to be within Utah, about 450 – 475 miles.¹⁰

A party of Santa Fe traders headed by William Wolfskill and George Yount finally completed part of the route that may have been envisioned by the Spanish in 1776 from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, but not to Monterey, in the winter of 1830–31. This party left Santa Fe on September 5 and arrived in Los Angeles on February 5, 1831. They generally followed the Rivera, Dominguez-Escalante route north out of Santa Fe to southwestern Colorado to enter Utah east of Monticello near Paiute Springs. They proceeded to the Lisbon Valley and passed over the southwest spur of the

La Sal Mountains to Spanish Valley and the Colorado River crossing at Moab. Fording was only possible at times when the river was at its lowest. At other times the men and animals swam across the river and the goods were rafted across. The Trail crossed the Green River at the Green River Crossing, or what became known as the Gunnison Crossing in 1855, and went west across the San Rafael Swell to Castle Valley and then turned south to the Salina Pass, west to the Sevier River, south to Bear Valley, west to I-15, south over Buckhorn Flat in Iron County and then west to Mountain Meadows, south to the Santa Clara, southwest over Utah Hill, back to the Virgin, on to Las Vegas Springs, and on to Los Angeles.¹¹

This trail became known as the longest, toughest, most crooked pack trail in North America. The Wolfskill and Yount party, the first we know to traverse the entire trail, encountered one of the most terrible snowstorms they had ever experienced. In crossing the high ranges of Utah's Colorado Plateau they spent several days in camp with no one daring to venture out. "They lay embedded in snow, very deep, animals and men huddled thick as possible together, to husband and enjoy all possible animal warmth, having spread their thick and heavy blankets and piled bark and brush wood around & over them...." After the storm subsided, Wolfskill and Yount ascended a lofty peak for observation and reported "that in every direction, nothing could be discerned, in the least degree encouraging, but only mountains piled on mountains, all capped with cheerless snow . . ."¹² Several of the animals perished in the piercing cold.

Of course, numerous variants of the Trail came to exist. Forces of nature have covered most of them today.

Many segments of the Trail have been ploughed under, and wildlife and domestic herds that pastured along the route in more recent years have trampled some parts. Although there were several branches, alternate routes, cutoffs, and shortcuts at several places along the Trail, the general route with its variants became the most traveled and the best-known trail in Utah between 1831 and 1848.

The southern branch split off at the mouth of Red Creek and went by way of Fish Lake, down Otter Creek to join the main trail at the East Fork of the Sevier River. This was the shortest route, but since it reached elevations in excess of 9,000 feet, it saw less use than the longer northern branch that had the highest elevations of about 8,100 feet. The two forks rejoined at the confluence of the Sevier River and its East Fork.¹³

***This trail became known
as the longest, toughest,
most crooked pack trail in
North America.***

Above Salina, another cutoff broke off to come back into the main trail above Sigurd. Both routes then passed through Richfield and Elsinore, but the cutoff again left the river near Joseph to go east around the rocky and narrow Marysville Canyon, to return to the Sevier beyond the Antelope Range and to continue up the Sevier to its confluence with the East Fork about a mile east of the town of Junction near the point where the southern branch emerged. This route was no picnic. In 1848, Orville Pratt described it as "a very hilly & rocky country—sometimes up the steepest of hills, then down places which it would seem almost impossible to

descend, again in deep and precipitous canyons."¹⁴ It is amazing that the horses driven by horse traders and horse rustlers made it over some of these portions of the Trail. It was partly to accommodate the horse herds that the Trail left the rough country of the Virgin River Gorge to cross Utah Hill near Mesquite, Nevada.

During the early days of the Trail, Mexican traders dominated commerce. As the fur-trapping era closed, Americans, many of them former trappers forced into commercial pursuits by the collapse of markets and the trapping out of the beaver, began carrying trade goods over the Trail. Indians such as Chief Walkara, or Chief Walker as he was known among the Mormons, also used parts of the Trail to raid into California, to make his escapes, and to trade in Arizona. His knowledge and use of the Old Spanish Trail helped Mormons to realize the desirability for settlement in southeastern Utah, to interdict the cattle he stole from the Mormons that he took into New Mexico to trade, and also to capitalize on the realistic potential of the area.¹⁵

On May 20, 1844, John C. Frémont met a band of Utes headed by Chief Walker. He described them as well armed with rifles that Frémont said they knew how to use. Their destination was a point on the Spanish Trail where they could levy tribute on California caravans. To Frémont, these Utes were "robbers of a higher order" than those of the Mohave Desert area who had killed one of his men. The Utes, according to Frémont, "affected to purchase—taking horses they liked, and giving something nominal in return."¹⁶

In 1841, a group made up mainly of Americans and known as the Workman-Rowland Party began another

chapter in the history of the Trail by making its way from Abiquiú to California to settle as residents there. William Workman and John Rowland were both respected merchants in Mexico when they fell under suspicion of Mexican authorities because of reports of an invasion of New Mexico from the independent Republic of Texas. With 25 others, they packed up and moved to California by way of the Old Spanish Trail. They suffered somewhat due to a shortage of food, despite driving a flock of sheep along the Trail. Traveling by horseback with pack animals, in two months time they reached their Los Angeles destination safely.¹⁷

John Charles Frémont's passage over the Trail as he completed his exploration of 1843–44 was, in several ways, even more momentous. He crossed the Mojave Desert, arriving at Las Vegas in early May. From there he proceeded on a waterless journey to the Muddy River, a distance of fifty or sixty miles, then he turned east until he struck what he called, “the most dreary river I have seen—a deep rapid stream, almost a torrent, passing swiftly by and roaring at obstructions.” Frémont had reached the Virgin River. He followed this “dreary” river to its confluence with Beaver Dam Creek, then ascended the hills and passed through the Beaver Dam Mountains to the Santa Clara which he followed to the point where the Trail left the Santa Clara to go north to Mountain Meadows, a spot where the annual caravans from New Mexico stopped to rest and gather strength for the grueling journey either across the deserts to California or to recuperate from the strain of the crossing before continuing to New Mexico if traveling in the reverse direction.¹⁸

Frémont, nicknamed the “Pathfinder,”

was actually “a path follower.” He was a bright, handsome, dashing young man who at age 28 married 16-year-old Jessie Benton, daughter of Missouri Senator, Thomas Hart Benton. The Senator was not thrilled about the elopement of his young daughter, but he decided to make the most of the situation and help his son-in-law.¹⁹ Frémont knew the fundamentals and essentials of topographical engineering and scientific observation. Through Benton's influence, Lieutenant Frémont of the Topographical Engineers was put in charge of an expedition to describe the travel route to Oregon and to survey the position of South Pass in Wyoming.

The actual results of his 1842 expedition were negligible, since the route to Oregon was known. Jessie skillfully edited his report, and it became popular reading. Congress soon funded a second expedition that went out in 1843 and returned in 1844. The

Frémont made the first reasonably accurate survey of the region.

party consisted of 39 men, including Charles Preuss as mapper and guides Thomas Fitzpatrick and Kit Carson. After diverting to explore the Great Salt Lake on his outbound trek, Frémont explored the Great Basin, finding no outlet, and after reaching Oregon, he headed to John Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River, where he arrived early in March 1844.²⁰ On the return trip in the spring of 1844 Frémont went south along the San Joaquin Valley, hit the Spanish Trail near Cajon Pass and followed it through Nevada, to Utah and Colorado, and arrived back in St. Louis on August 6, 1844. This trip has been

called the most important government expedition since Lewis and Clark.²¹

Frémont has many critics, but he was a trained observer, and he made the first reasonably accurate survey of the region, in the process revealing the nature of the Great Basin, including destroying the myth of the existence of a river, the Rio Buenaventura, that was supposed to flow from the Great Salt Lake to the Pacific. It was Frémont who concluded that the Great Basin rivers exited nowhere but all flowed into themselves to sink into various spots across its arid expanse. As an explorer with some degree of scientific and technical knowledge, he was able to make known major features of the land along the Old Spanish Trail in Nevada and southern Utah, and to make substantial contributions to geographical knowledge of the area.

Frémont's trip represented a far different and more significant encounter with the landscape of southern Utah than any previous one. The report of his expedition was published in 1845 as a government document. As a careful observer, enormously interested in the plants and animals of the regions he passed through, measuring, mapping, and describing in romantic language the western landscape, it did not matter much that he discovered little that was really unknown. He provided written documentation of the nature of the land that other travelers along the trail had neglected to record for public consumption.

On May 10, 1844, Frémont camped on the Santa Clara Creek. He found the grass good and the water clear and noted that this country was a vast improvement over the desert the party had crossed from Cajon Pass to Utah Hill. He described the Santa Clara as “prettily wooded with sweet

cottonwood trees.”²² On May 11 the party experienced the first rain in twenty-seven days.²³ The next day the Pine Valley Mountains showed out on the right “handsomely—high and rugged . . . and covered with snow.” That night they found an excellent campground on the summit of a ridge at Mountain Meadows. The mention of Mountain Meadows, of course, will always evoke memories of and be associated with the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857. Frémont noted that this campsite formed the dividing line between the Great Basin and the Colorado Plateau, that region where the rivers flow to the Colorado River system and onto the Pacific. He found the extensive “mountain meadow rich in bunch grass, fresh with numerous streams of clear water all refreshing and delightful to look upon.” Frémont noted that annual trade caravans between California and New Mexico halted and rested here, sometimes for weeks. It was a suitable place to recover because it was a mile high, ten miles long, and bordered by grassy hills. At this campsite the Frémont party was joined briefly by hunter, trapper, and mountain man Joseph R. Walker, who was a great western trail blazer in his own right.²⁴ It would be interesting to know of their conversation.

On the 13th, Frémont’s party resumed its trek in a northeasterly direction descending into a “grand valley.” On the 14th they sighted what he called the “Wahsatch Mountains” on their right. He was wrong in spelling and geography. This was actually the Markagunt Plateau or the Cedar Mountain. He described it as being “white with snow.”²⁵ As they traveled north the next several days, they crossed little streams, and he noted the country was clear of desert and generally good. They passed Iron Springs, a gap connecting Cedar

Valley with the Escalante Desert that provided a natural travel route for the Old Spanish Trail. This spring was another campsite where travelers could rest, graze and water their stock, and lay in water supplies until the next water site was reached.²⁶ They shortly met a few mounted Ute Indians before reaching the Little Salt Lake near Parowan. The party camped on the north shore of the seven-mile long, one-mile wide lake.²⁷

As they proceeded north, their course was along the foot of a mountain range that was wooded with pine and cedar (Juniper). Frémont judged this region as one of “great pastoral promise, abounding with fine streams, rich bunch grass, soil that would produce wheat and indigenous flax growing as if it had been sown.”²⁸ On the 23rd the Fremont party reached

***Frémont’s report was a
major factor in the
Mormon decision to settle
in the Great Basin.***

the Sevier River to proceed eastward along the Trail to exit Utah into Colorado.

In many ways Frémont’s second expedition to the west represented the end of one era and the beginning of another. For example, over the years slave traders, marauders, rustlers, fur trappers, and commercial parties had used the Trail. Now, due to Frémont’s description, serious American attention was drawn to the area. It would soon be fought over and taken by the United States, then settled, and what remained of the Trail would be converted into an emigrant road known variously as the Mormon Road or the California Road. Mormons

preparing to leave Nauvoo, Illinois, studied Frémont’s report. By the time they crossed the Mississippi River early in 1846, Brigham Young, seeking an uninhabited place where his people could practice their religion unmolested, had decided to migrate to the Great Basin Country west of the Rocky Mountains. Frémont’s report was a major factor in the Mormon decision to settle in the Great Basin. Published in 1845, with its positive description, the report served to strengthen the inclination of Mormon leaders to colonize the Great Basin and to solidify their ultimate decision to settle in what is now Utah.²⁹

Mormon settlement altered or disrupted several historical uses of the Trail. The slave trade had produced devastating effects along the Spanish Trail. New Mexican traders setting out for California would carry, in addition to woolens, a few trade goods with which to buy horses from the Utes or Navajos. These horses were then traded to the “poorer Indians” (Paiutes) for children. The horses were often used by the Paiutes for food. This trade was continued into lower California, where the children bought on the down trip would be traded to the Mexican-Californians for horses, goods, or cash. Children bought on the return trip would be taken back to New Mexico and sold, with the males bringing an average of \$100.00 and females from \$150.00 to \$200.00.³⁰

The Mormon settlers, who arrived in 1847, played a large role in ending the slave traffic.³¹ In an attempt to suppress the slave trade, Utah authorities arrested and tried traders out of New Mexico who had licenses from the New Mexican governor. Brigham Young also urged the territorial legislature to suppress the trade in Indian slaves. Legislators passed

an act outlawing Indian slavery but legitimizing indentured servitude for a twenty-year term in Utah. Ironically, under this law, Mormon families purchased Paiute children who had been kidnapped or traded and raised and educated them in local communities. They, of course, put them to work in various ways.

Soon, other developments brought changes in use of the Trail. In 1847 Jefferson Hunt, senior Mormon officer of the Mormon Battalion, had led a small group of Battalion members who had mustered out at San Diego over the California Trail to Salt Lake City. In the fall of 1847 Hunt was assigned to lead a small party southward through Utah to California to secure provisions and livestock and to carry instructions to other Mormons in California. His party followed approximately the route of present I-15 from Salt Lake City to the Little Salt Lake in Iron County where they picked up the Old Spanish Trail. Relying in part on Fremont's description of the route and realizing they had intercepted the Spanish Trail, they followed it to southern California, completed the assigned task, and returned by mid-February—though with only one bull and 100 cows of the 40 bulls and 200 cows they had purchased,³² thereby proving again how difficult the Trail could be. A month later 25 veterans of the Mormon Battalion led by Captain

H.G. Boyle left San Diego for the Salt Lake Valley; they were joined by Porter Rockwell and they brought with them 100 mules, as well as seeds and fruit tree cuttings, in a wagon that, significantly, cut the first wheel tracks on the Old Spanish Trail.³³

When Jefferson Hunt returned in the spring of 1848, he carried impressions of the settlement potential of southern Utah. Brigham Young visited him at his home in Provo in September 1848 to discuss Hunt's observations. He described flowing water, the presence of minerals, and other positive features of the terrain. However, for settlement Brigham Young desired much more specific information. In order to obtain it, he decided to send the Southern Exploring Company, made up of fifty men directed by Parley P. Pratt, to southern Utah during the winter of 1849–50.³⁴

In the interval between Hunt's report and the sending of the Pratt expedition, Americans became aware of the discovery of gold in California that led to the gold rush beginning in 1849. Hundreds of migrants poured into the Salt Lake Valley on their way to the goldfields. Some arrived too late to make a passage by the California Trail across the Sierra Nevadas. Because of his previous trips over the southern route, Jefferson Hunt was hired to pilot about five hundred gold

seekers in 108 wagons to California. This party helped build a wagon road that the Pratt party followed for part of its trip.

One of the gold seekers, O.K. Smith, claimed that Barney Ward had given him a map that was drawn by mountain man Bill Williams, showing a shortcut to the goldfields. Divided by dissension and beguiled by the map, all but six wagons were persuaded by Smith to leave Hunt near present Newcastle to strike out on the shortcut that he said would save 500 miles. Today a monument near the mouth of Holt Canyon represents the spot of this split. Hunt may have been happy to see them go because they had caused him no end of trouble, and some had even threatened his life. Nevertheless, he warned that the shortcut was too difficult and too dry, and predicted they would "get into the jaws of hell." Some of the deserters did return to follow the Old Spanish Trail; the rest pushed on and suffered terribly in the waterless desert expanses of Nevada and California. The few wagons that stayed with Hunt were safely piloted through to California. The supposed cutoff eventually took the Sand Walkers, who pursued it, through Death Valley where they suffered additional hardship and 13 deaths.³⁵

The Pratt party, one of the most unusual exploring expeditions ever, followed, more or less, the Old Spanish Trail after it hit the Sevier River. The men were sent out in winter and suffered from frequent and heavy snowstorms and from temperatures below zero. They were generally chilled, some suffered frostbite, and they faced much exhaustion. The Circleville Canyon seemed impassable to the Pratt party. They were familiar with the Old Spanish Trail from Frémont's report and descrip-

Photo: Ruth Friesen



*Jefferson Hunt
Monument*

tions published in 1845, but with eight inches of snow on the ground they apparently did not see that the Spanish Trail continued up the river through the canyon, and so they determined they had to find a way over the mountains to the west. The Spanish Trail route over the mountains was 20 miles farther south.³⁶

To accomplish their crossing, the Pratt party had to shovel head-high snow, climb steep ridges, and haul oxen up by ropes tied to their yokes so the oxen could then pull the 12 wagons and a carriage up the grades.³⁷

As the party broke out of the challenging mountains, the men found a wagon track made a few weeks earlier by the wagons being directed by Jefferson Hunt and a preceeding party of 23 wagons known as the Gruell-Derr party, which either could not or would not pay Hunt's fee of ten dollars a wagon. They left the Utah Valley a week or two before the Hunt train.³⁸ The Pratt party crossed Little Creek, down which the Spanish Trail descended into the Little Salt Lake Valley, and followed the wagon tracks to present day Parowan, where 30 men remained to conduct exploration of the Cedar Valley to the south and west, and 20 men rode horseback across Ash Creek to the Virgin and Santa Clara rivers and back by way of the Old Spanish Trail to Parowan.³⁹

The Pratt party faced difficulties on the return north because of storms and cold, so again the company divided. Pratt led 24 men while 26 remained in camp at Fillmore. Pratt arrived in Provo on January 29, 1850 to alert a rescue party that was sent out immediately to bring in the others. Those who had been left behind at Fillmore did not all arrive back at Cottonwood, south of Salt Lake City, until March 28, 1850.⁴⁰

In reporting to Brigham Young and the legislature, Pratt recommended settlement of 26 sites. Eventually the Mormons colonized 25 of them, many within two or three years. The most immediate and direct result of the expedition's findings was the dispatching of a mission to settle Parowan and subsequently Cedar City to exploit the iron ore found along the Spanish Trail in the hills to the west.⁴¹ Other sites in southern Utah that were colonized along the reach of the Old Spanish Trail include Salina, Richfield, Marys-

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Old Spanish Trail.*

vale, Circleville, Paragonah, Enoch, and Santa Clara.⁴²

Enoch, located south of the well-known landmark, the Little Salt Lake, was considered one of the finest and most extensive valleys along the Trail. The spring at Enoch was a favorite campsite on the Spanish Trail. In 1848 Orville Pratt called the spring "one of the finest fountains and streams of water on the entire route."⁴³ From here the Spanish Trail swung west through Cedar Valley, past Iron Springs, into the Escalante Desert and on to Mountain Meadows.

Parley P. Pratt's report discussed the richness and the extent of iron ore and the feasibility of establishing an iron industry. The name of Little Salt Lake County was accordingly changed to Iron County. The area became important for future immigrant travel by wagon over the California or Mormon Road. The settlement of the area helped dry up the springs at

Enoch and turned travelers from the Spanish Trail to alternate routes to avoid swampy bogs and other obstacles that the horses and mules could easily negotiate on the pack trail, but wagons could not. Mormon settlement also changed the economy along the Trail, doing much to end slave trade, horse rustling, and even some of the pack trade over the Trail. Other major factors in curtailing the commerce of the Trail included the Mexican War of 1846–48 and the gold rush beginning in 1849. The gold rush altered trade routes and the demand for trade goods. It also spurred significant local economic development.

For John C. Frémont, whose 1843–44 expedition was so instrumental in the changes of the next six years on the Trail, there were many difficulties and disappointments after 1844, mostly of his own making.⁴⁴ On Frémont's third expedition of 1845–46 he became involved in fomenting the Bear Flag Rebellion in California of 1846, after which he quarreled with General Stephen Watts Kearny over who was to be military governor of California. As a result, he was court-martialed and resigned as an army officer. Thus his last two expeditions were privately financed rather than army-sponsored, and both ended in tragedy.⁴⁵

As an explorer, Frémont tended to favor dangerous winter mountain crossings that cost the lives of some of his men in 1848–49 and 1853–54. His fourth expedition was promoted by his father-in-law and financed by St. Louis businessmen. The purpose was to locate a central railroad route across the southern Colorado Rockies. In December 1848, Frémont's mountain-man guide, Old Bill Williams, mistook his way and, at an elevation of over 12,000 feet in the San Juan Mountains, the party was caught in a blinding blizzard. First the

mules died, then ten members of the party perished from cold, starvation, and exhaustion, and Ute Indians killed two others.⁴⁶

Frémont's fifth and final expedition in 1853–54 was undertaken at private expense again in order to locate "a central route" for a railroad to the Pacific. The party crossed the Green River south of previous crossings to follow the San Rafael River, then it crossed the front of the San Rafael Swell to an unknown river that is today known as the Frémont River, to Rabbit Valley, then south of Fish Lake and down Otter Creek to the East Fork of the Sevier River, which they followed to Circle Valley, then across the mountains to the Salt Lake - California Road.

Before they crossed the Green River in late December, their food supplies were exhausted. As the horses were eaten, the party was left afoot. By the time they reached the Sevier River, they had survived on horsemeat for 50 days. All the surplus baggage was now cached, including packsaddles, traveling bags, extra clothing, scientific instruments, gunpowder, and lead. All they retained was the clothing necessary for protection from inclement weather.

By caching the supplies and packsaddles the party could now ride the pack mules. Three days of wandering in the mountains northwest of Panquitch was especially difficult. They traversed rough country with snow "up to the bellies of the pack mules," with temperatures below zero as they undertook to break trail. None of the men had shoes by now. Some did have rawhide wrapped around their feet, while others had wornout stockings and moccasins. Their only rations consisted of dried horsemeat. The last 48 hours before their rescue they were

without food of any kind.

On February 7, 1854, the party entered a defile through the mountains that is now known as Frémont Pass. Here they found a dry streambed with wagon wheel ruts that led to the plain at Buckhorn Flat. By following the ruts, they hoped to find a settlement or ranch.

That night, as Parowan Stake President John Calvin Lazell Smith sat in his living room, he heard someone calling faintly for help. Fearing for his safety due to the ongoing Indian conflict known as the Walker War, he blew out the light before stepping onto his porch to see who was there. At the side of his house stood a lone stranger, weak from hunger, cold, and exhaustion. The man was helped into the house where he explained that he was John C. Frémont and his party

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after 1844.*

was back near the hills starving, and, in fact, one man, Oliver Fuller, had already died. Rescuers were immediately sent out.⁴⁷

The search party found Frémont's men in a desperate plight. All were totally exhausted. By the morning of February 9, the 21 survivors were located in various homes in Parowan. In Frémont's words, "The Mormon's treated us very kindly . . ." Families took in the men, put them into clean, comfortable beds and gave them food. In a letter to his sister, Frémont wrote, "The Mormons saved me and mine from death by starvation."⁴⁸ Indeed they did; Frémont's men were fortunate to be rescued. Ironically, Fré-

mont's descriptions made in 1843–44 were in large part responsible for the Mormon presence in Parowan. Had the community not been there his entire party might well have died in the wilderness in 1854.

On February 21, 1854, with food and new horses obtained in Parowan, Frémont continued his journey to California with the members of his party who were able to travel. The sickest and weakest remained at Parowan, some for several months. Those needing special care were even taken by wagon to Salt Lake City.

Two years later the Mormons felt somewhat betrayed when presidential candidate John Frémont put forth his "twin relics of barbarism" platform that promised to destroy slavery in the South and polygamy in Utah. Ironically, the Mormons of Utah territory could not vote in the election to register their disapproval with candidate Frémont's position on polygamy, but Frémont lost his bid for presidency anyway to James Buchanan. Nevertheless, there was no denying the fact that Mormons who settled on the Old Spanish Trail saved Frémont's life in 1854.⁴⁹

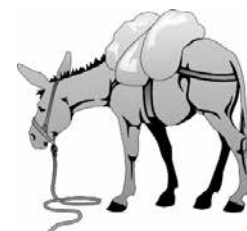
Frémont, one of the earliest Americans to use the term Old Spanish Trail, did much to describe the Trail through California, Nevada, and Utah. His report was widely used by the Mormons in determining routes of travel and where to settle. It was also widely used and copied by other explorers. Today many highways follow major portions of the Trail, proving the practicality of the route even as difficult as it was; I-70 comes down Salina Canyon and Highway 89 parallels much of the Trail below Salina Canyon, Highway 20 crosses Bear Valley and comes out onto I-15 which parallels much of the old Trail

south to Enoch, and Highway 56 west of Cedar also follows a portion of the Trail, as does Highway 18. Besides the towns founded in Sevier, Piute, Iron, and Washington Counties in southeastern Utah the Mormons colonized the Elk Mountain Mission where the city of Moab now sits. To the south and west of Utah, the Mormons also colonized at Las Vegas in 1855. With all of the changes and development that began with Frémont's detailed report of 1845, no wonder there are few visible traces of the Trail remaining today, and many of those who reside in the communities along the Trail have little or no knowledge or understanding of the long, storied history and importance of the Old Spanish Trail or the changes initiated by John C. Frémont's 1844 trek on the Trail.

Hopefully, through the efforts of such organizations as the Old Spanish Trail Association, the Trail will never completely die, despite the many changes that have taken place since 1844.

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THREE TRAILS CONFERENCE

The first joint conference of the Santa Fe Trail Association, the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (CARTA) attracted 370 registrants, including 40 walk-ins. SFTA had the most attendees, followed by OSTA and then CARTA.

Presentations included a rare appearance by renowned Southwest historian Marc Simmons and the keynote address by New Mexico State Historian Rick Hendricks. Jack Prichett (OSTA) spoke on trail preservation; Steve Post, Matt Barbour, and Cordelia Snow gave presentations on archaeology and goods along the trails. Henrietta Martinez Christmas spoke of several New Mexico families in the era of 1598-1850, and Jose de la Cruz Pacheco Rojas, through an interpreter, presented the Mexican perspective on the creation of roads to Santa Fe. Mike Olsen presided over a group of trail travelers, reenactors representing characters along the three trails. VanAnn Moore portrayed Mary (Mamie) Aguirre in a musical theater performance Friday night.

Conference chairs were Pat Kuhlhoff (OSTA), Pam Najdowski (SFTA), and Troy Ainsworth (CARTA). A multitude of volunteers and professional partners made the conference possible.



*Photos and text
by Ruth Friesen*

The OST field trips were the most popular. Attendees observed a weaving demonstration (above) in Chimayó—textiles were an important trade item—and traveled through narrow, curvy roads which followed the original trail from Santa Fe and headed northwest toward the rugged terrain of northern Arizona and southern Utah.



Kicking off the conference was the arrival of three Backcountry Horsemen and their mules at the Santa Fe Plaza, who, over the course of two years, had ridden from Los Angeles to Santa Fe following the Old Spanish Trail (OST). Watch a video done by the *Santa Fe New Mexican* at <http://sfnm.co/1gszY4k>



The El Camino Real bus tour went south of Santa Fe to see a section of El Camino Real, (left) still visible via a difference in vegetation beginning in 1598.



The SFT tour traveled north along I-25, tracing the Santa Fe Trail past Glorieta Pass, up to Pecos National Historic Park, (above) and continuing to San Miguel del Vado, where attendees walked in swales of the trail.