

SPANISH TRACES



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The National Park Service Reconsiders!

by NPS Historian Aaron Mahr

In response to public Law 104-333 of November 25, 1996, the National Park Service conducted a trail feasibility study to determine if the Old Spanish Trail would meet the criteria for potential congressional designation as a national historic trail unit of the National Trails System. The history, background, and significance of the Old Spanish Trail was researched and analyzed in accordance with the requirements of the National Trails System Act. *The Draft Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment*, released for public comment in summer 2000, concluded that the Old Spanish Trail met all but one of the criteria for eligibility as a national historic trail. The study found that several themes, such as Immigration, the American Conquest of California, the Development of Western Towns, Military Expeditions and Travel, and Significant Persons, were represented in the uses of portions or all of the trail. In each case these facets of trail use met the criteria for local or state signifi-

cance, but not national significance. As the first overland trade route to connect Mexico's far northern frontier territories of California and New Mexico, the Old Spanish Trail was evaluated for national significance within the theme of trade and commerce. Under this context, the study found that while the trail may be considered to be nationally significant, a firm conclusion could not be reached based on the information that was currently available. Therefore, the draft study recommended that the trail did not meet the criteria for national significance identified in Section 5(b)(11)(B) of the National Trails System Act.

The study team consulted with several recognized subject-matter experts in the preparation of the draft study. None of those consulted could reach a firm conclusion on the national significance of the trail. Nonetheless, since the completion of the draft study, the team has consulted with additional specialists, including historians from Mexico. The study team also conducted a

careful review of the available historical evidence and data, including several new pieces of information that came to light since the distribution of the study. Moreover, extensive public review revealed overwhelming public support for the trail's national significance, although the majority of public comments received were not substantive in terms of National Historic Landmark criteria or new information about trail history and use. Based on these developments, the National Park Service is preparing to revise the *Draft Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment* to con- (Continued overleaf)

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clude that the Old Spanish Trail is **nationally significant** within the theme of the Changing Role of the United States in the World Economy, and the topics of trade and commerce, during the period of 1829-1848.

In applying the context of trade and commerce, the study team was guided by direction in the *National Register Bulletin: How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations* (1999), which states that “NHL themes are not necessarily represented uniformly nationwide. Regional patterns found only in one part of the country may be significant nationally if the pattern they represent reflects an important trend in the history of the United States. (p.21)” The regional distinction of Old Spanish Trail made the review of national significance critical. During the period of significance from 1829-1848, the trail spanned, in its entirety, territory within Mexico. The two decades that immediately preceded the U.S. conquest of this region were crucial years in the development of the Mexican frontier and in the evolution of trade, settlement, communication, and Indian relations. These factors had a direct impact on the manner in which the U.S. would acquire this territory. Within this perspective, several features and activities identified in the evolution of the Old Spanish Trail demonstrate national significance. The revised statement of significance for the Old Spanish Trail will emphasize, in addition to what is already identified in the study, that:

- The New Mexican trader Antonio Armijo was the first Euro-American to blaze this trail for commercial purposes between

the Mexican communities in New Mexico and those in California. The goal had eluded Spanish colonials and Mexican nationals for generations, but his route was informed by information gathered by scores of exploration and trading expeditions that had emanated from New Mexico to the north and west in the preceding centuries and particularly in the previous half-century. Armijo’s feat encouraged other traders to follow his lead, most importantly the William Wolfskill-George Yount expedition of 1830. That group scouted a more northerly variant of the trail, which quickly became the route of choice. During the next twenty years, the Old Spanish Trail became the primary overland trade route between the territories.

- Although the amount of trade appears smaller than that of the Camino Real or the Santa Fe Trail, to which the Old Spanish Trail connected thus completing the first overland trans-continental and international trade route, fragmentary figures suggest that in some years the horse and mule trade over the Old Spanish Trail to Santa Fe may have been as much as 60% or more of the value of the Santa Fe Trail trade.
- The Old Spanish Trail was a multicultural route that brought North American traders overland through New Mexico and into California, and facilitated the transfer and sharing of North American, Mexican, and Native American trade practices.
- Perhaps most important was the impact trail trade had on the Native American populations. Evidence has arisen showing that traders who brought New

Mexico’s woolen goods to trade in California actively encouraged Indian groups to raid the abundant horse and mule herds around California’s ranchos and missions. These animals, gotten either in fair barter or through illicit trade with the Indian groups, formed the bulk of the goods brought eastward over the Old Spanish Trail. Trail trade impacted other Indian groups too. Noteworthy was the rapid adoption the Ute culture made of the horse into its cultural and economic activities. The new mobility empowered the Ute to the detriment of neighboring tribes. Clearly, trade along the trail had a profound effect on the Indian peoples. It drew these peripheral groups into the international economy and changed their ways of life forever.

The National Park Service believes that these new considerations point to a need for revising the draft feasibility study. Nonetheless, the National Park Service also recognizes that there is still a paucity of data on the trail in general and particularly on the highly significant factors of economic value of trade and the impact of trail trade on the indigenous populations. Look for a revised study to appear in spring 2001. For additional information, or if you would like to share your thoughts or perhaps share heretofore unknown information on the trail trade, please contact:

Long Distance Trails Group Office Historian, Aaron Mahr, at National Park Service, P.O. Box 728, Santa Fe, NM, 87504, or call him at 505-988-6736.

VICE PRESIDENT'S CORNER

Much OST and OSTA activity has occurred since our last issue of *Spanish Traces*, and I want to briefly report on some of these activities.

First, as many of you already know, both our President and Past President felt it necessary to resign their OSTA positions. OSTA Bylaws designate the Vice President as principal executive officer if the office of President becomes vacant. So, it is in that role that I write to you.

Fortunately, both Hal Steiner and Charles Querfeld continue to work diligently on behalf of recognition and preservation of the Old Spanish Trail. Each of these men has contributed much to the advancement of the trail and OSTA, and we owe them our thanks and appreciation.

The OSTA Board of Directors will meet in the Phoenix area on January 20 to consider the leadership vacancies, and many other matters of

interest to the association.

Second, we are pleased that the National Park Service (NPS) has revised the recommendation in its Draft National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment, issued in July 2000. The NPS now recommends inclusion of OST in the National Historic Trail system. This favorable recommendation should go to Congress sometime later in 2001. Many of you responded to the NPS draft study, and the outpouring of trail support from OSTA members and others undoubtedly played a significant part in the NPS reconsideration of its earlier position. So, on behalf of the OSTA officers and board, I thank you for your responses.

In order to lend support to NPS as it redrafts its study document, I have established an Ad Hoc Committee for National Park Service Liaison. I will chair this committee, and the other members are Bill Helmer, Judy Querfeld, Hal Steiner, and Liz Warren. This issue of *Traces* also includes an NPS request for help and information. Please respond to this request if you have information that

you think will be helpful to NPS.

Finally, members of our Southern California Chapter are busily preparing for an outstanding national OSTA symposium in Redlands on June 9-10, 2001. Hats off to Chapter President Rick Whitaker and his group for the hard work! I hope to see all of you in Redlands in June!

OSTA's efforts will help preserve one of America's great long distance trade routes and increase appreciation of the West's multi-cultural heritage. Please join us!

Membership Dues:

Institutional	\$25/year
Family/Individual	\$12 year
Student	\$ 5/year

Send your checks to:

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Chapter Reports

North Branch

The North Branch Chapter (its real name when founded several years ago) was just settling in for a long winter's nap when lo and behold it's *Spanish Traces* time again. We should all be very proud of an excellent job to date on the progress achieved on the Trail.

The new marker that is already in place

getting modern directional signs erected. We also must thank the members of OSTA for their generous donation that helped to make the plaque possible.

Finally, we should not let down our guard, for we still have a long rocky trail ahead of us. The Park service is again asking for help from us. Those who have any information are being asked to see what they can contribute about the OST. We have all showed what we could do through a tremen-

De Taos - The East Fork of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail." This segment of the OST is Peter's long time passion and after his "show and tell" we were certainly motivated to request and have Peter agree to lead a field trip in the Spring. Peter will show us traces and sites of the trail that exist in our own backyard.

Dr. Pablo Vigil has a family connection to the OST that he presented to us. Don Francisco Vigil is Dr. Vigil's great-great grand-father's brother and Don Francisco organized two caravans from New Mexico to California in 1841 and 1847. Dr. Vigil's interest in Don Francisco's caravans was initiated by an article in *Spanish Traces*. Dr. Vigil's article that discusses the two caravans is in this issue of *Spanish Traces* on page 8.

The chapter has already made plans for three programs in the Spring, 2001.

Fifty-five people belong to the Chapter. Dues are \$5/year.

The chapter mails copies of its newsletter to all OSTA Officers, Directors and Chapter Presidents.

Richard Greene, President
Angel Fire, New Mexico



**The Crossing of the Grand Marker
in Grand Junction, Colorado**

Photo courtesy of Katherine Nelson

on the historic crossing site of the Grand (Colorado) is shown above. Because of the lateness of the hour, the rush of other more pressing business and recounting chad, we deferred the marker's formal dedication until later. We will provide a date later. We must all commend the Herculean efforts of Dr. Earl Heusser, OSTA life member, for his practically single-handed shepherding of the marker from start to finish. Chapter member Bob Moston used his know-how to track down and mitigate some of the legal pitfalls in placing the marker and in

dous joint effort, so let's hang in there until the job is done.

Jack Nelson, President
Grand Junction, Colorado

Salida del Sol

The Salida del Sol chapter had two programs in the Fall: Peter Mackaness, a colorful local historian and chapter member, gave a presentation on "El Camino Real

Las Vegas Chapter

In September, the Las Vegas Chapter had a meeting at which Greg Seymour and Hal Rager, archaeologists with the Southern Nevada Water Authority, spoke on Las Vegas Springs from the time of the first native Americans to the Old Spanish Trail period. Also local artist Brad

Giles displayed his painting of Raphael Rivera looking over the Las Vegas Valley in 1829. Rivera was a scout with the Armijo trading expedition that is considered to be the first to travel the entire OST. Brad specializes in re-creating landscapes as they looked before development.

In October Hal Steiner and Liz Warren turned in OSTA's rebuttal to the NPS report on the suitability of the OST as a National Historic Trail. As we all know, this contributed to a highly favorable outcome.

In December we hosted Terri McBride, historic preservation specialist/archaeologist with the State of Nevada Historic Preservation Office. Terri was in Southern Nevada mapping the OST in cooperation with the BLM for inclusion in a nomination for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Chapter members assisted her in the field work. The Old Spanish Trail/Mormon Road through Nevada will be nominated for the NRHP. (In 1847 the Mormon Battalion traveled from San Bernardino, California to Salt Lake City so that its members could join their families, then just arrived in Salt Lake City. In 1848 some battalion members started regularly taking wagons on the trail, which began to be known as the Mormon Road in this region.)

**Nick Saines, President
Las Vegas, Nevada**

Workman Chapter

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the William Workman Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association held 30 April 2000 at

the Tufton Arms Hotel, Appleby-in-Westmorland, Cumbria, ENGLAND.

VENUE: The Tufton Arms Hotel is a former coaching inn and was built in 1873 in the Gothic style. (TUFTON is the family name of the Barons of Appleby and they have an Eagle on their "coat of arms.") Appleby was originally the county town of Westmorland and is one of the finest market towns in the North of England and this ancient borough is justly proud of its Royal Charters dating from 1174. The tree lined main street sweeps up to the impressive Norman Castle. Situated astride the river Eden, Appleby is also within easy reach of the magnificent scenery of the Pennine mountain chain. Interestingly, George WASHINGTON's father, uncle and half-brothers all attended Appleby Grammar School. George too was destined to follow his elder half-brothers to this school but his father died in 1743 and his mother preferred to keep him at home in Virginia.

William WORKMAN was born in November 1799 some 6 miles west of Appleby. George WASHINGTON died in December 1799.

BUSINESS: President John Sharpe called the meeting to order and the A.G.M. was preceded by a Board of Directors meeting. There was a full turn out of all Chapter members. The minutes of the AGM held 31 January 1999 were read and confirmed.

Matters arising: The secretary reported that a copy of the minutes was sent to the National Secretary and appeared in the Spring 1999 edition of "Spanish Traces". Prospective new members had been circulated with OSTA literature. Together with Bill Ramsay he had

made a visit to Arizona Historical Society Museum, Tempe, and there met OSTA Director Dr. Reba Grandrud. During the same U.S. visit both members had made a field trip to "O.S.T" in the Tecopa region, California.

PRESIDENT's COMMENTS: John Sharpe gave a brief outline of his involvement with the Workman/OST history. In November 1999, together with David Fallowfield he had attended the William Workman Bicentenary celebrations at the Homestead Museum, City of Industry, California. He mentioned the visit to Clifton of Richard & Marie Greene, OSTA Treasurer and Secretary in October 1999. In June, 2000 he will be attending the OSTA National Conference in Taos to give a presentation "An Englishman's place in the history of the American West." He spoke at some length on Workman history and Western US history.

SECRETARY's REPORT: David Fallowfield stated that Nat. Conf. held in Las Vegas, June 1999 and he had sent greetings from the Chapter to President Charles Querfeld. All members should have received notice of 2000 Annual Conference and voting papers for officers. It was a pleasure in October '99 to meet Richard & Marie Greene when they visited Clifton. Also, that same month we welcomed new member Donald Harrison. Reminded those members whose dues would fall for renewal in May.

Elections: John Sharpe re-elected President.

David Fallowfield re-elected Secretary/Treasurer.

Board of Directors: Three members

Chapter Reports

(continued)

(in addition to President & Secretary Elected as follows; Lorna Sharpe (of Clifton), Bill Ramsay (of Ulverston), Bruce Alderson (of Appleby).

Future Projects:

- a) Recruit new members.
- b) President J. Sharpe's

WORKMAN book is nearing completion.

Any other business: The next A.G.M. to be held late April 2001.

There being no further business the meeting closed at 3 p.m.

**David Fallowfield, Secretary
Penrith, Cumbria**

You are invited to the:

2001 Annual OSTA Symposium: San Bernardino County Museum June 9 & 10



Southern California

The Chapter plans two field trips in the next two months: The first will be a tour led by Paul Spitzzeri to the Homestead Museum(William Workman Home) and John Rowland Home in the City of Industry and Rowland Heights, on Saturday January 13, 2001. We will have lunch at a nearby Mexican restaurant and then on to the Rowland home. After lunch, Cecilia Victor, a direct descendant of John Rowland, will show us around the remains of the Rowland home.

The second tour will be led by Rick Whitaker and Paul Spitzzeri to the San Gabriel Mission and the Michael White (Miguel Blanco)Adobe in San Gabriel and Pasadena on Saturday, February 10, 2001.

**Rick Whitaker, President
Redlands, California**

The OSTA National Symposium will be held at the Frick Auditorium, San Bernardino County Museum, Redlands, CA. on Saturday and Sunday June 9-10, 2001. Members of the Southern California Chapter are putting together a slate of lectures and field trips dealing with the California portion of the Trail.

Drs. Bruce Harley and Ann Deegan will give talks on Agua Mansa and Agua Mansa Cemetery. This community was created in 1843 by the owners of Rancho San Bernardino and Rancho Jurupa as a buffer to Indian raids on the Ranchos. Free land was given to inhabitants if they would assist in protecting the horse and cattle herds of the ranchos. Some of the inhabitants included Isaac Slover, mountain man; Lorenzo Trujillo, genizaro; and Luis Robidoux, mountain man. Dr. Harley has written several books on the history of the community and the surrounding area. Dr. Deegan is

reviewing the burial records of the cemetery, the Diocese of San Bernardino, and other sources to evaluate grave locations and the names of those interred.

Paul Spitzzeri will give a talk on William Workman's life in California and a tour of his home. In 1841, William Workman, John Rowland, Lorenzo Trujillo, Ben Wilson and their families came over the Old Spanish Trail to settle in California.

Nick Cataldo has also consented to lead one of his popular tours of the Old Spanish Trail through the Cajon Pass.

There will be a tour of the Agua Mansa History Trail that includes Agua Mansa Cemetery, the Lorenzo Trujillo adobe, The Jensen-Alvarado Mansion (Ranch) and other related historic sites in the San Bernardino area.

Submitted by Rick Whitaker

The National Park Service needs your help!

The National Park Service is preparing the final version of the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment. As a result of continued research and consultation with scholars in the United States and Mexico, the final version will contain an important revision to the latest draft that was offered for public review in the summer of 2000. The final version will conclude that the Old Spanish Trail is nationally significant within the theme of the Changing Role of the United States in the World Economy, and the topics of trade and commerce, during the period of 1829-1848. The NPS is confident that the evidence collected thus far on trail trade supports this conclusion. Nonetheless, it wants to ensure that the final feasibility study will withstand professional and congressional scrutiny, and establish a reliable foundation for future trail research. To this end, the NPS is turning to its Old Spanish Trail partners and friends for assistance.

The NPS is asking for public input and help in identifying documented evidence that focuses on two key points. First the NPS hopes to show the contribution of Old Spanish Trail trade to the broader trade network that was evolving in the Hispanic Southwest, which included northern Mexico and the western United States. And second, it needs to eliminate, to the greatest degree possible, any uncertainties on trail locations. The final trail maps included in the feasibility study must show, as closely as can be supported by the evidence, the alignments of the various branches of the Old Spanish Trail within the period of significance.

On the subject of trail trade and trade networks, the NPS seeks any documented information on trail trade between 1829 and 1848 that might supplement the data already identified in the draft feasibility study. Particularly desirable documentation is any material that

- enhances our current knowledge of the connections of Old Spanish Trail trade to that of the Santa Fe Trail and the Camino Real,
- shows the impact of trail trade on prices or supply,
- demonstrates the participation of Indian tribes, notably the Ute, Paiute, and more diverse California tribes, in trail trade, and its impact on them, and
- identifies the use of the Northern Branch by Mexican and American traders, both illegal and legal.

The NPS has benefited from much public input and previous research, and has also conducted a significant amount of study, on the correct alignment of the various branches of the Old Spanish Trail. The results of this work appear in the draft feasibility study and represent the most comprehensive work done to date on the identification of the trail routes. Nonetheless, some ambiguities on route alignments persist. The NPS continues to examine these discrepancies as it prepares to present the trail maps to Congress. Several segments of the trail are under review, and the NPS is soliciting any documentation on route alignments that interested parties can offer. Route segments included

in this review include

- *the central third of Antonio Armijo's route, that is, the segment that runs through Arizona and Utah,
- * the route between Santa Fe and Abiquiu (and any documentation linking this route specifically to Old Spanish Trail usage),
- * the east fork of the North Branch that runs between Santa Fe and Taos,
- * the segment of the Northern Route between Abiquiu and the New Mexico-Colorado state line,
- * the segment of the Northern Route between the Colorado-Utah state line and the crossing of the Colorado River,
- * the segment of the Northern Route in northern Sevier County, Utah, not including the Fishlake Cutoff, and
- * route variants in the Mojave Desert.

If anyone would like to contribute their knowledge of documented evidence that addresses the issues identified above, they're encouraged to contact Aaron Mahr, Long Distance Trails Group Office, National Park Service, P.O. Box 728, Santa Fe, NM 87104, or call him at 505-988-6736, or by email, aaron_mahr@nps.gov.



Four Thousand Horses to Santa Fe, New Mexico: Caravans of 1841 and 1847 over the Old Spanish Trail

By Pablo Vigil

The year was 1841 in New Mexico. The Governor was Gen. Manuel Armijo of the Rio Abajo. He had been governor since 1837. When he came to power, he put down the rebellion of Rio Arriba that saw 1200 or more natives of Santa Cruz de la Canada rise up in rebellion against the government of Albino Perez where he and twenty of his supporters were killed.

1841 was also the year that Texas, after having gained independence from Mexico in 1836, claimed the Rio Grande as its western boundary, which would have included Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Taos as part of Texas. In the summer of that year, President Lamar sent out an expedition of 320 Texans under the command of General McLeod for the purpose of seizing Santa Fe and consolidating its claim and authority over New Mexico. But somewhere close to Anton Chico the ill-prepared company lost its way, ran out of provisions and were captured by a force of New Mexico soldiers who were awaiting their arrival because they knew almost from the onset that the Texans were on their way. The Texans were taken prisoner and marched down to Mexico City where they stayed in prison for several months before they were released.

1841 was also the year that Francisco Estevan Vigil, who was brother to my great-great-grandfather Ramon, petitioned Governor Armijo for a passport to go to California along the Camino de California or

the Old Spanish Trail as it was later named. The purpose of this trip was for trade and commerce. The passport was granted on August 19, 1841. Don Francisco Estevan along with thirty five other merchants left New Mexico, probably Abiquiu, on September 6th. They arrived in San Bernardino on October 15th. The trip took them five weeks and four days.

When Don Francisco Estevan and his company arrived in Los Angeles, he presented his passport to the Perfecto de Los Angeles. This document gives an interesting insight into the duties and responsibilities of a commander of the caravans. To quote the passport which was translated from Spanish to English by Eleanor Lawrence in 1931: "This passport is granted to Francisco Estevan Vigil in order that he may go to transact business in California accompanied by thirty-five merchants and others that may congregate on his departure. He is named commander of the caravan. It is requested that the authorities of his destination give him the aid which he may need to punish insubordinates who lack the proper respect for him.

1. As soon as his party assembles he shall name a second commander. Then make an estimate of the number of men that make up the company, and the arms and ammunition which they carry.

2. Make a survey of the total amount of goods which the members take.

3. He shall lead the caravan with as much order as if it were in national service. No one should be permitted to separate from the company without his knowledge. In such case he should be aware of the business or project in view in order that he may give the necessary aid.

4. They shall travel with as much precaution as if they were traveling through lands of barbarous people. When they come to a tribe friendly to this Department, the Indians should not be harmed or given any cause for complaint.

5. The individuals of the expedition shall maintain all due respect for the commander-in-chief, who is the protector of the lives and property of said persons.

6. The commander may inflict punishment by arrest or by any other means in conformity with the laws.

7. The commander is responsible for any loss of men or goods coming from delay or abandonment.

8. On arriving at the first settlement in California he shall give account of all that has occurred during the journey, and ask for a permit to engage in trade with security.

9. And finally, before the company separates for trading purposes, they shall agree on the place of reunion and the time for departure. Give notice of this to the nearest Justice so that the examination of the herds will be done legally. If there are any

evil doers, they should be handed over to the authorities to be punished. If the commander fails in this, or in anything else provided in the preceding articles, he shall suffer the penalty imposed by said authorities.”

The above passport points out some rather interesting aspects of the character of the people on these caravans. There are three separate mentions of insubordination or lack of respect which to me shows that the New Mexican was a very independent and stubborn sort of person who was not too willing to submit to authority and was quite difficult to govern, which to a great extent, we still are.

The other interesting point made in this article of the passport was the fact that when the caravan met up with Indians, that they should be treated with respect, courtesy and not be harmed. To me, that is the main reason these caravans were so successful in not meeting with danger from hostile Indians. Our people treated the Indians with utmost respect and courtesy.

When Vigil presented his report to the officials on his arrival in California he wrote, “I give you notice that a party of American merchants are coming, and with them are others who have the intention of residing in this country.” This reference was to the company led by William Workman and John Rowland, men who had found it expedient to leave New Mexico for political reasons. They were joined by some thirty Americans with their families who had failed to connect with the Bartleson-Bidwell party that left Missouri for the coast by the northern route. The company was further enlarged by the addition of a number of New Mexican traders and settlers who were also ready to start for California. The total number ap-

proximated 134 persons. It was a motley company, forty of them being considered foreigners, others naturalized citizens with Mexican families, and the rest, the great majority, were native New Mexicans. A herd of sheep was driven along to serve as food, and the company is said to have met with no accidents on the way.

The expedition of John Rowland and William Workman included a New Mexican named Manuel Vaca who founded the village of Vacaville, California about halfway between San Francisco and Sacramento, California.

On the return trip to New Mexico which occurred in April of 1842 Antonio Avial and a Captain Palomares of the California military authorities, along with twenty men, went to Cajon Pass to inspect the two returning caravans. One was the Rowland Expedition, who, on April 7th, left with 300 head of stock. When the Vigil company came up for inspection, seven men were found missing and a number of stolen horses were seized. But, finally, on April 18th 194 New Mexicans made their departure from La Puerta del Cajon with 4150 animals legally acquired leaving nine which lacked the mark of sale. The inspection took 11 days to complete. That means that of the 35 men who left New Mexico with Vigil in September the year before, 28 returned with him. But he had apparently recruited 166 more men to go back with him, for having to drive 4150 horses and mules would require at least that many men to accomplish the task.

But the point I would like to bring up concerns the extra 166 men who were recruited in California. They were reported to be New Mexicans.

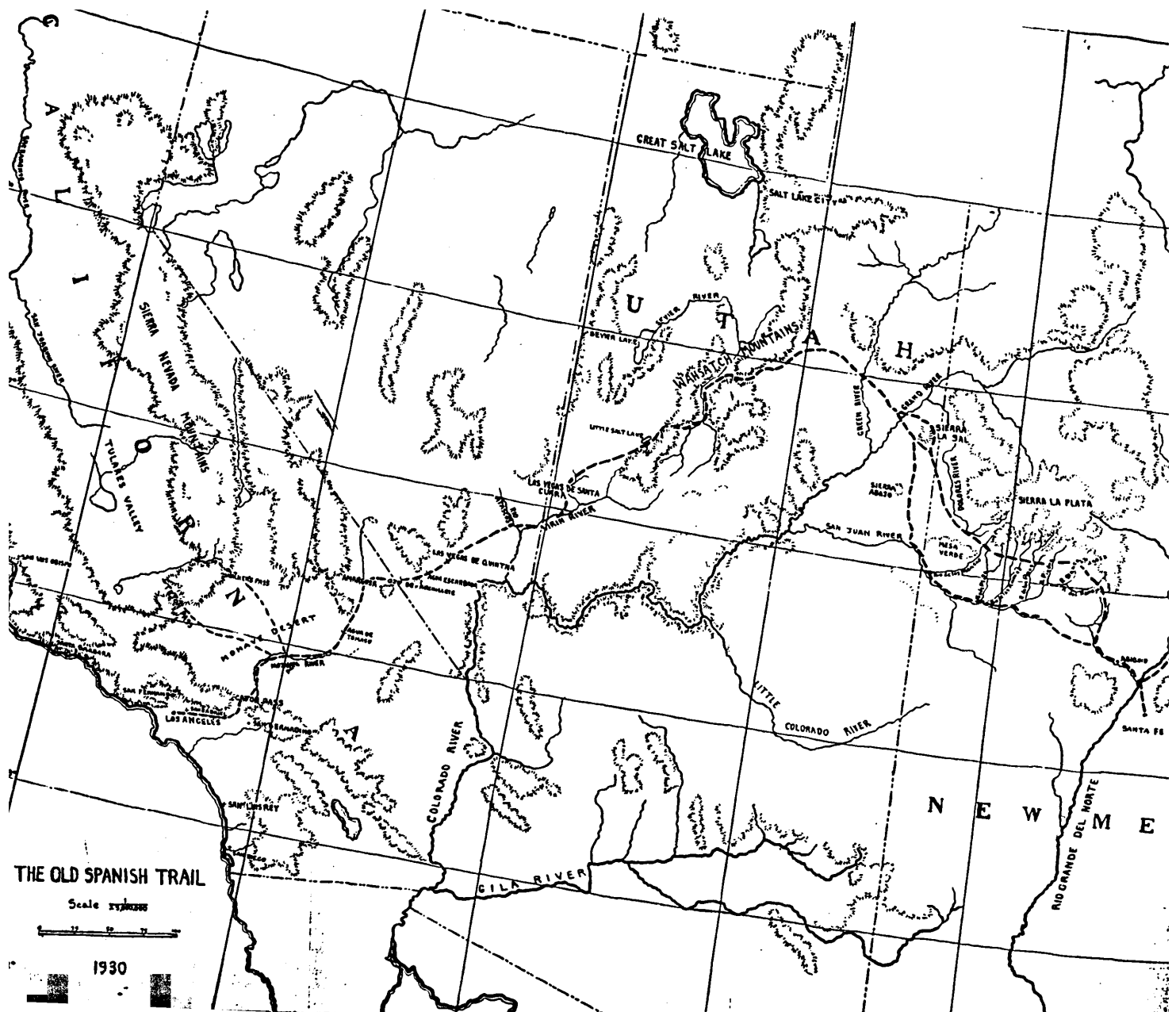
This shows that there was a constant flow of New Mexicans to and from California along the Spanish Trail.

The estimated purchase price for each horse or mule in California was cinco pesos (\$5.00). When they arrived in New Mexico, these animals could sell for veinte pesos (\$20.00). Those that were sold to Missouri traders for their trip back to Missouri on the Santa Fe Trail were sold for approximately \$100.00 back in Missouri.

The next time that Francisco Estevan Vigil organized another trading caravan over the Old Spanish Trail was in 1847. Between 1842 and 1847 the most significant event that had occurred in the lives of all New Mexicans, Californians and Americans was the Mexican-American War which was declared against Mexico by the United States in the Spring of 1846. In August of 1846, General Steven Kearny with the Army of the West took possession of New Mexico and a short time later also took possession of California and all lands in between. When the war was finally over in 1848, Mexico had been divested of over half of its territory.

But in November of 1847 Francisco Estevan Vigil organized yet another caravan to go to California for the purpose of trade and commerce. He took with him 209 men and boys, 50 of whom were under the age of 16. The bulk of their goods/products were carried by 150 to 160 pack mules and were estimated to value between \$8,000.00 to \$10,000.00. Between 70 to 80 men were named as being owners of the merchandise, but there were as many more with interests in the enterprise.

They arrived in California in December of 1847 and this caravan was



known by many as the last of its kind conducted by New Mexican traders over the Old Spanish Trail. California was under U.S. military rule as was New Mexico. When word of this expedition reached the military authorities, it was cause for much alarm, because initially it was reported that a force of 225 Mexicans, well-armed, were on their way from New Mexico. Col. Richard Mason was military governor at Monterey, the capital. The Southern District headquarters in Los Angeles was under the command of Col.

Jonathan Stevenson of the New York volunteers. The prospect of having such a large number of armed Mexican roaming the territory did not sit too well with military authorities and also the question of whether these incoming goods were subject to duties needed to be addressed.

Therefore, Col. Stevenson sent Lt. John Davidson with Stephen Foster as interpreter along with sixteen dragoons to meet the traders at Cajon Pass. Steven Foster had been a physician in Missouri, but was

now a trader in New Mexico and Sonora. He came to California as an interpreter with the Mormon Battalion. He had been appointed Alcalde and Juez de Paz of Los Angeles on December 10, 1847 by Governor Mason.

Juan Ignacio Martinez of Taos was elected by the traders to be their spokesman. He was brother-in-law to John Rowland who had been a trader in New Mexico for 16 years and had married Juan Ignacio's sister, Encarnacion. Apparently, Juan

Ignacio Martinez was taken into Los Angeles by Lt. Davidson because, in a letter from Col. Stevenson to Governor Mason, he stated that Kit Carson, who was now a Lieutenant in the U.S. Army, recognized Mr. Martinez and vouched for his good character. Carson told Col. Stevenson that "Mr. Martinez was a person who was a staunch and unwavering friend of the American Authorities at Tows (Taos) at the time of the outbreak at that place and saved the lives of Americans at the peril of his own and such was the character of all the chief men of the caravan." The outbreak, of course, was the Taos Revolt of January of 1847 that not only killed Governor Charles Bent and quite a number of Americans, but also required quite an effort by the Americans to finally put down.

The New Mexicans told the American authorities that they considered themselves American citizens, that they had a valid passport given to them by Lt. Col. Easton, Commandant in Santa Fe, that he had told them that they would not have to pay any duties or tariffs and, further, that because the caravan generally included poor men, that duties would ruin them financially.

Apparently, based on the recommendation of Kit Carson and the report by Lt. Davidson that the caravan was made up of mostly poor men whose weapons were not in very good condition, the caravan was allowed to go into Los Angeles. They commenced their barter and trade as was their usual custom of years past. The question of duty was not entirely resolved but Governor Mason required that the principal men of the caravan be endorsed or have a co-signer by two or more men of Los Angeles as a bond. Further, they were to reassemble on or about the

1st of April to return back to New Mexico. If during their stay in California the men of the caravan acted in good faith and in no manner violated any laws, their bond would be returned to them.

In February, Governor Mason reported that several New Mexicans had been up as far as Monterey "trafficking (sic) in blankets" and appeared "quiet and well disposed." When April 1, 1848 arrived, the party was still in the process of assembling in the region of Los Angeles, but the military authorities did not pressure them to leave on the first as previously stated. On April 3rd, Vigil and Martinez wrote the Alcalde of Los Angeles, Dr. Foster, that they would assemble on the 15th of April at San Bernardino. Alcalde Foster directed 20 men to accompany the proper authorities for the customary examination of the animals of the New Mexicans. The inspection was completed on the 26th of April. Once again, the inspection took 11 days to complete.

The party consisted of 209 men and one woman. Out of 4628 animals, it was found that 46 were not legally vented, therefore, the party left with 4582 horses and mules.

On May 4th, Kit Carson and approximately 30 men, along with Lt. George Douglas Brewerton, left the vicinity of Los Angeles for Washington, D.C. carrying very important dispatches by way of the the Old Spanish Trail. After about eight days on the trail, they overtook the New Mexican caravan, spent one night with them and pushed ahead. In the vicinity of present day Cedar City, Utah, Carson and Brewerton met Wacarra (Walker as his name was known to the White people), the noted Utah Indian leader, there camped with a large band of Indians

who were awaiting the arrival of the Mexican caravan with its tremendous caballada so as to exact tribute in horses as safe passage through their lands.

Exact details of the rest of this caravan's trip are unknown to me nor do I know how long it took it to return to New Mexico. But this is believed to be the last caravan of its kind conducted for the purpose of bringing back horses and mules to New Mexico. Because political and military circumstances were no longer the same as before, it seems that these caravans were done away with. When they were at their peak they were quite lucrative for everyone involved. Considering that there were 70 to 80 owners with shares in 4600 horses, there were an average of sixty five horses per owner, a very lucrative asset.

The adventure and romance of traveling with one of these caravans is extremely fascinating to me and to think that my ancestors accomplished this task is very gratifying.

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The Mountain Meadows Massacre

By Michael T. Johnson, DDS

The story of the Mountain Meadows Massacre is of great significance to anyone interested in the history of the American West. It involves elements that make up the very fabric of western history: emigrant wagon trains, the Mormon Church, and the American Indian. It is a complex story that must be understood in the context of its time, one that engenders strong feelings on both sides up to the present day. There is much that can never be known about events in southern Utah in the fall of 1857, but this article will attempt to put forth the essentials in an impartial and unbiased manner.

In order to understand the Mountain Meadows Massacre, one must have at least a basic grasp of the history of the Mormon Church. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was founded on April 6, 1830 at Fayette, New York by a group of six young men headed by Joseph Smith, who had seen a vision calling him to this task. The term "Mormon" derives from *The Book of Mormon*, published by Smith and laying out the spiritual basis of the church.

Mormon headquarters moved westward to Kirtland, Ohio, near Cleveland, then branched out in 1831 to Independence, Missouri, which was then at the edge of the western frontier. Within two years, more than a thousand Mormons had moved to the Independence area, and friction between them and the local settlers over both spiritual and temporal matters festered and grew into open

conflict. Mormon citizens were driven from their homes and sometimes tarred and feathered. In November of 1833, the governor of Missouri called out the state militia, demanding that the Mormons surrender their arms and that their leaders stand trial for various crimes, including polygamy. When the Mormons complied, the locals sacked the Mormon towns and in one night drove 1,200 people from their homes.

Sympathetic Missourians took in the displaced Mormons, whose new settlements began to spread into neighboring counties. In 1838, Mormons were again driven from their homes, and 18 of them were killed. The governor stated that "The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary for the public peace." [1] As a result, they removed to Nauvoo, Illinois on the bank of the Mississippi.

Within five years, Nauvoo boasted a population of 15,000, the largest of any city in Illinois. Conflict again occurred, and when Joseph Smith closed down a newspaper that had violently attacked the church, the Mormon leaders were taken into custody in Carthage, Illinois and held for trial. Unwilling to wait for the court, a mob attacked the jail and killed Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum on June 27, 1844.

Instead of scattering as their enemies had hoped, the Mormons fought back and resolved to stand their

ground. Both sides sought redress in the legal system even as the violence continued. In October of 1845, a compromise was reached between the state government and Brigham Young, successor to Joseph Smith. Under the agreement, Young would move his people away as soon as travel was possible in the spring. In the meantime, the anti-Mormon element agreed not to molest the Mormons.

Despite assurances to the contrary, depredations against the Saints, as the Mormons often called themselves, continued. The Mormons became more fearful of their neighbors, and with the coming of the spring thaw, they commenced their journey 400 miles across Iowa to Council Bluffs on the Missouri River. They moved in stages, getting the majority of their people out as quickly as possible, setting up temporary settlements, then coming back for those who needed more time to make the move. This migration inflicted a heavy toll, with many falling ill and dying along the way.

As these events were taking place, Brigham Young sought advice from explorers and trappers who had traveled to the far west as to where the Saints might be able to live unmolested. In the spring of 1847, a Mormon advance party left to mark out a route and determine a location which would fulfill these requirements. In July of that year, when he looked out over the Great Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young knew he had found the place.

Mormon officials in Washington sought out every possible means of raising cash for the expedition, such as carrying mail, building forts, or providing other services. In an ironic twist of fate, plans were made for 500 Mormons to join the Army being raised to fight in the Mexican War. Although the loss of this many young men would weaken the Mormons to some degree, the Army pay would provide hard cash to help finance the forced migration, and 500 of the Mormons could travel west at government expense. When a recruiting officer approached the Mormons, they were so unhappy with the treatment they had received in Illinois and Missouri and with the failure of the government to protect their rights that not a single man would enlist. Only when Young ordered them did they agree to do so. Thus was born the storied Mormon Battalion.

As Salt Lake City was laid out, houses built and crops planted, guides headed back east to bring on the rest of the Mormons left behind on the Missouri. Salt Lake City grew by leaps and bounds, and was well established by the time the Forty-Niners passed through during the Gold Rush. The new Mormon city became a stop for travelers going west to the goldfields, as well as those heading south on the Old Spanish Trail. The latter route, as well as roads to the north, became well-populated with small Mormon settlements at frequent intervals. The numerous villages helped preclude the settlement of outsiders who would undoubtedly cause trouble for the Mormons, just as they had done back east.

In 1850, a territorial government was set up in Utah. Brigham Young was

named governor, assisted by a commission of three other Mormons and six gentiles, or non-Mormons. From the start there was suspicion, resentment and distrust between the two sides. In the fall of 1856, Young initiated a religious movement called the Reformation. Although it was meant as a call to repentance and rededication to the church, to some of those who had lived through the persecutions in Illinois and Missouri it came to represent a hope for revenge and a sentiment that the Mormon Zion must stand alone against all interlopers.

As a result of these continuing problems, Washington came to feel that affairs in Utah had deteriorated to a state of treason. U.S. officials in Utah made scathing reports to their superiors, and the Mormons filed letters of protest against the treatment they were receiving from the federal government. To say that feelings were running high is a great understatement. Shortly after assuming office in 1857, President Buchanan decided to replace Brigham Young with a non-Mormon governor. When the Mormons made it clear that they would resist any such change, the stage was set for trouble. Buchanan decided to send the U.S. Army to Salt Lake City to quell the Mormon "rebellion," and in July a force of 2,500 men under Albert Sidney Johnston (later a Confederate general killed at the Battle of Shiloh in 1862) left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas to begin the 1,200 mile march to Utah. Winter overtook the troops along the way, creating great hardships. The Mormons prepared to retreat into the mountains and desert as the soldiers approached, and adopted aggressive guerilla tactics against the advancing column. They destroyed roads,

practiced a "scorched-earth" policy, and captured and destroyed government wagons and supplies. Eventually a compromise would be reached that would avoid actual bloodshed, but this would not occur for another year. In was in this climate of total war that the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred.

News of the approaching army understandably caused great consternation in Utah Territory. The alarm was raised, and the Mormon militia, called the Nauvoo Legion, was reactivated. The Mormon faithful from outlying areas, including the colony in San Bernardino, were ordered to sell their homes and goods and return to the Salt Lake Valley to help repel the invaders. Orders went out prohibiting the sale of grain, animals, or anything else of use to gentile wagon parties, and encouraging the procurement of guns and ammunition from any available source. Trading with passing emigrants came to be seen as giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Oratory became more inflammatory, and it was made clear that it was not only acceptable but mandatory to defend oneself at a moment's notice against the approaching army. Sentiment in southern Utah was particularly pro-war, as many of the settlers here had been with the church throughout the persecutions in Illinois and Missouri. There was a general feeling among the Mormons that they had been driven from their homes before, but would not be driven again.

Another factor in this already volatile mix was the Indians. The Mormons had long adopted a conciliatory policy toward them, feeling that it was better to feed, educate and clothe them than to fight them. In

fight of the impending battle with the United States Army, Brigham Young began to consider using the Indians as allies. In these desperate times, no potential source of help could be overlooked. In the words of one Mormon official, the Indians might be thought of as “the battle-ax of the Lord” a weapon the Mormons could use to their advantage in the coming struggle. [2]

Accordingly, a group of chiefs was called to Salt Lake City on September 1, 1857 for a conference with Brigham Young. In a departure from his previous policy of urging the Indians to leave emigrant parties unmolested, he told the chiefs that “they must learn that they have either got to help us or the United States will kill us both.” [3] This probably was not too distasteful to the tribesmen, who had had to be continually restrained from such actions in the past. Although there is no proof that Brigham Young gave any instructions to harm passing travelers, a climate had been created that was conducive to just such events. Mormon Apostle George A. Smith traveled south from Salt Lake City, carrying a message to the settlers of southern Utah as well as the local Indians. While not counseling violence, he informed the Mormons that they must stand ready to defend themselves against the U.S. Army, and the Indians were freed from previous constraints against attacking white travelers so they could

help the Mormons in their fight against other white men. There was such a fervor that local residents were primed to take matters into their own hands and act on their own initiative without waiting for orders from higher up. They felt they knew what was expected of them, and they were prepared to do their duty. Into this charged environment in August of 1857 marched an unsuspecting wagon train consisting of about 140 people with a large herd of cattle, led

had been joined by a party from Missouri. There were many emigrants that had no particular hatred for the Mormons, but as loyal Americans were upset with their perceived rebellion against the United States. Adding to the tension, beloved Mormon Apostle Parley Pratt had recently been stabbed to death in Arkansas.

Travelers often expected to stock up on food and provisions in the Mormon capital, but there was little surplus available even in the best of times. Now, with strict orders from the church not to sell or barter goods of any type to the emigrants, tempers flared. As with any large group, there was an element of ruffraff within the Fancher party. These so-called “Missouri Wildcats” insulted the Mormons by naming their oxen after Brigham Young, then cursing and whipping them through the streets of

Salt Lake City. They called the Mormon women whores, and generally provoked the populace. There were reports (probably unfounded) that they had poisoned an Indian well and given poisoned beef to the Indians. One of the emigrants is said to have displayed the actual gun that had killed Joseph Smith back in Carthage and boasted of his involvement in the killing.

The Fancher train, with the fate of the Donner party fresh in their minds, decided that because of the

THE BURIAL SITES

The Baker-Fancher emigrants buried the bodies of ten men killed during the siege somewhere within the circled wagons of the encampment located west of the current monument in the valley. Most of the Baker-Fancher party died at various locations northeast of the encampment. In May 1859, Brevet Major James H. Carleton, commanding some eighty soldiers of the First Dragoons from Ft. Tejon, California, gathered scattered bones representing the partial remains of thirty-six of the emigrants, interred them near the wagon camp, and erected a stone cairn at the site. Before Carleton's arrival, Captains Reuben T. Campbell and Charles Brewer along with 207 men from Camp Floyd, Utah, collected and buried the remains of twenty-six emigrants in three different graves on the west side of the California road about one and one-half miles north of the original encampment. Brewer reported that “the remains of [an additional] 18 were buried in one grave, 12 in another and 6 in another.”

Since the erection of the memorial by Major Carleton, several local families, including the Platts, Lytles, and Burgesses, have preserved and protected the graves in this area from being desecrated by souvenir hunters, land developers, curiosity seekers, and other intruders. In 1999, the Mountain Meadows Association collaborated with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in erecting the new monument over the spot of the original 1859 grave. On August 3rd, 1999, workers excavating for the footings for a wall around the new monument accidentally uncovered the Carleton grave. On September 10th, 1999, the remains recovered from that grave were reinterred in a burial vault inside the new wall. The monument was dedicated the following day, September 11th, 1999.

Burial Site Marker on Dan Sill Hill

Photo courtesy of C. W. Querfeld © 2000

by a man named Fancher.

The Fancher party, bound for California, was made up of mostly family groups, all gentiles from Arkansas. The wagon train left from northwest Arkansas, and, like many other parties, had passed through Salt Lake City after branching off from the Oregon Trail at Fort Bridger. Many of the trains were from Independence and Saint Joseph, and therefore contained a high proportion of the hated Missourians. Along the way, the Fancher company

lateness of the season they would not try to cross the Sierras to California. This left two options open to them. They could winter over in Salt Lake City, which at this point in time was not a realistic choice, or they could travel southward over the Old Spanish Trail and travel to California via Cajon Pass and Los Angeles. They opted for the latter, and thus became the first wagon train to go over the southern route that season. It would prove to be an ill-fated decision.

As mentioned previously, the Mormons were under orders to sell no food or supplies to the travelers. When their money was refused, the emigrants may have helped themselves to Mormon property, further provoking the local citizenry. The wagon train continued south, now hounded by a large group of Indians who were eager for plunder and felt they had been given a free hand by the Mormons. In Cedar City, after a regular church service, the local officials called on the Mormon hierarchy and the militia for help in dealing with the emigrants. Attempts to detain or arrest members of the train had been mockingly repulsed, and some felt that the wagon company should not be allowed to get away with such defiant and arrogant behavior. Accordingly, a resolution was passed to “deal with this situation now, so that our hands will be free to meet the army when it comes.” [4]

Exactly what was meant by this statement was open to interpretation. Did it mean to arrest and punish the offenders? This would simply mean more fighting men tied up in guarding the prisoners and additional mouths to feed. Somewhere in the meeting the discussion took a more

deadly turn. It was suggested that the emigrants be done away with. There was a widespread sentiment to avenge the blood of the Mormon prophets, and it was decided to wreak this vengeance on the Fancher party. Some of the Mormons were against such precipitate action, and they sponsored a second resolution to send a courier to Brigham Young for instructions and take no action until word was received. As it turned out, events rapidly outpaced advice from the Mormon leader.

There was the additional problem of the Indians, who outnumbered the settlers four to one. The tribesmen were aware that the Mormons were at war with the “Americans,” and since the Mormon chief wanted their help, this would be a good place to begin. They were conscious of trying to gain the approval of the Mormons, with whom they had long been on friendly terms. Therefore, they began to follow and harass the Fancher outfit as it made its way south, at the same time sending messengers to nearby tribes to obtain reinforcements for this deadly new game.

On Sunday afternoon, September 6, 1857, the wagon train camped at a spot called Mountain Meadows. The Meadows, as it was also known, boasted abundant grass, running water, and cool mountain air. It was a favorite place to stop, rest the stock, and prepare for the arduous desert crossing ahead. As the emigrants set up camp, a party of perhaps 200 warriors encircled the camp. At daybreak on Tuesday, September 8, the Indians attacked.

Taken by surprise, the travelers gathered their wagons into a circle and fought back. They dug shallow

holes for the wagon wheels and piled dirt under the wagon boxes to create secure entrenchments. It is believed that seven men of the company were killed and three badly wounded in this initial encounter. Despite the element of surprise, the first attack was soundly repulsed, and the Indians, who had greatly underestimated the fighting ability of the wagon party, now stayed in concealment and shot at anyone who showed himself. On Wednesday evening, three men of the wagon train decided to go back to Cedar City for help. Even though they were at odds with the Mormons, they felt that their fellow whites would certainly aid them against the Indians. The attempt failed when one of them was killed outright by a white man, the other two a little later by Indians.

The next day, the Mormons devised a brutal plan. Although the motivation was complex, the plan itself was very simple. The Mormons and their Indian allies would kill the entire party camped at Mountain Meadows. This would at once cover up the shooting of the three white men, avenge the insults perpetrated against the Mormons, and even the accounting for innocent Saints murdered back east. The whites could then claim that the Indians had acted alone, relieving themselves of any official guilt in the matter. This was a harsh plan, but after praying for guidance and strength, it was decided to implement it. One of the Saints, John Doyle Lee, was to decoy the whites from their breastworks. Each member of the Mormon militia would be responsible for killing one emigrant man, and the tribesmen would dispatch the women and children. In this way, it was reasoned, no Mormon would

have to shed innocent blood.

On September 11, 1857, Lee and another man went in to the emigrant party under a white flag. The terms presented to them were as follows: They must give up their guns, wagons, and stock to appease the Indians, who far outnumbered the whites. If this was done, the Mormons would protect them from the Indians, providing those accused of crimes would return to the Mormon settlements to stand trial. The travelers must have felt themselves in desperate straits indeed to agree to such harsh terms. They probably thought they simply had no other choice.

Two wagons were driven into the makeshift fortress. The young children were loaded into the first wagon, while into the second went some of the wounded. After the wagons pulled out, the women and older children marched out in a loose column. About a quarter mile behind came the men, single file, with a Mormon "guard" next to each one. When the women were out of sight, the fateful signal was given: "Halt! Do your duty!" [5] Each Mormon shot the man at his side, while the Indians finished off the women and children. Lee and the wagon drivers finished off the wounded in the wagon. Any Mormon with qualms about the killing had orders to fire his gun in the air,

then sit down and allow the Indians to finish the job. Several availed themselves of this option.

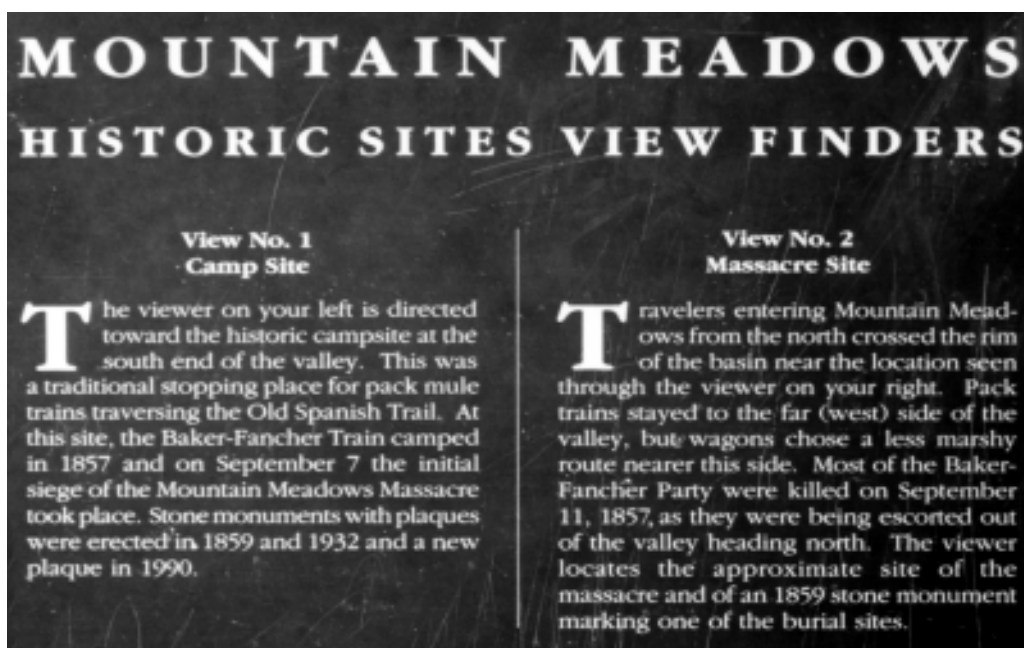
It was over very quickly, with all the emigrant party dead except 17 of the youngest children, who were felt to be too young to remember or to speak about what had happened. The bodies were taken a short distance off the road and unloaded. The young children were carried to the nearby home of Mormon official

Although he had not ordered the attack and felt that it had been a mistake, the main perpetrators were still his best and strongest men in southern Utah. Their mistake had been one of overzealousness for the cause, and Young did not hesitate to use the great powers at his command to protect them.

Once the terrible deed had been done, there came the inevitable recriminations and denials of respon-

sibility. Although no one denied that the massacre had taken place, it was widely felt that it was a military matter, part of the larger "Mormon War," and must be judged as a military campaign. It would seem that the largest share of the blame would fall on the Militia commanders, Isaac Haight and William Dame.

The two men, however, were able to escape much of the censure by stating that although their orders were to compromise with the Indians if possible, the natives were in such a fury over the wounding and killing of their warriors that they threatened to kill the Mormons as well if they did not help in destroying the wagon party. Indian emotions were at a fever pitch, and they wanted to attack other wagon trains along the Old Spanish Trail. The Mormons were able to appease the Indians, partly with the cattle and goods from the Fancher party, and prevent



View Finder Captions on Dan Sill Hill

Photo courtesy of the Editor

Jacob Hamblin, and were taken in by Mormon families to be raised as their own. Much of the emigrants' property was distributed among the Mormon participants.

Some believed that the attack had been ordered by Brigham Young. After receiving the dispatch from the church leaders at Cedar City, he sent back notice that the wagon party was to be left unmolested. Aside from the humanitarian aspects, he considered an attack to be poor military strategy. Unfortunately, the letter did not arrive until two days after the fact.



Dan Sill Hill View No. 1, Camp Site

Photo courtesy of C. W. Querfeld © 2000

D. Lee, who had been sealed in a church ceremony as Brigham Young's adopted son, considered a very high honor. Like many of the other fugitives, he seemed to always slip away just ahead of the law.

Actual armed conflict between the Mormons and the Army was avoided by a last minute compromise in which the Mormons agreed to the appointment of the new territorial governor in exchange for a promise that soldiers would not be stationed in Salt Lake City. The military expedition of 1857 resulted in nothing more than the further poisoning of relations between the citizens of Utah and the government in Washington. There was continuing bad blood between Saints and the soldiers who remained posted nearby until 1859, but actual fighting was avoided and, in time, tempers began to cool.

attacks on subsequent trains. The Indians, having been stirred to violence, proved difficult to restrain.

In the aftermath of the massacre, Mormons guides were provided to protect other companies from the Indians, as well as to lead them over trails that bypassed the site of the battle to prevent the news from leaking out. Nonetheless, word did get out, and spread throughout the country. Participants in the massacre moved to distant locations or lived quietly among neighbors they knew would not turn them over to the hated U.S. authorities. The federal judge for Utah Territory sought to bring the responsible parties to justice, but of 36 writs issued, not a single one could be served. One of those singled out for attention was John



Dan Sill Hill View No. 2, Massacre Site

Photo courtesy of C. W. Querfeld © 2000

In 1859, Major James H. Carleton came to Utah to investigate the events surrounding the massacre. His command buried the remains of the emigrants, which were by now scattered across the meadows. Carleton reported that bones, pieces of clothing and locks of women's hair were strewn over the ground and caught in the brush. Carleton's men constructed a pile of stones

be handed out for almost twenty years. Although the Mormon leaders in southern Utah might be reproved by their superiors in private, they would not be turned over to their enemies for judgement, and local leaders were not dressed down in front of their flocks. This was the official policy on Mountain Meadows, and so it was to remain for many years.

their positions in the church. Lee, however, who was not present to defend himself, was left under a cloud of suspicion. Newer converts, unaware of the height of passions in 1857, found it difficult to understand his fanaticism and began to shy away from him. The finger of guilt began to point unmistakably at Lee. In 1870, in light of an increasing body of evidence and heightened public disapproval of those involved in the massacre, Lee was formally excommunicated from the Mormon Church. Official blame for the Mountain Meadows Massacre had been placed fully on the shoulders of John D. Lee. In 1872, under orders from Brigham Young, he moved to the junction of the Paria River and the Colorado, running a ferry service at a spot he called Lonely Dell and establishing a ranch nearby. Here, hounded by the authorities, cut off from the church, and shunned by people formerly numbered as friends, he prepared to live out his days.

During his exile, he occasionally visited with family that had remained true to him. Although he felt secure from capture, he was increasingly avoided by his fellow Mormons. In 1874, Congress passed legislation that gave more power to the federal courts in Utah Territory, and Lee's status under the law changed. United States, rather than territorial officials, had jurisdiction in the matter of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Lee was now a hunted man, wanted for federal crimes.

In the summer of 1874, while visiting family in Panguitch, Lee was arrested for his part in the massacre by a United States deputy marshal. Because of obvious difficulty in



The New Grave Site Memorial near the OST Camp Site

Photo courtesy of C. W. Querfeld © 2000

about 12 feet high and 50 feet in circumference, surmounted by a wooden cross. Written on the cross were the words "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord," and on a piece of rock at the base was inscribed "Here 120 men, women, and children were massacred in cold blood early in September, 1857. They were from Arkansas." [6] The Army took possession of the young survivors, who were returned to their homes in Arkansas. Despite the investigation, no punishment would

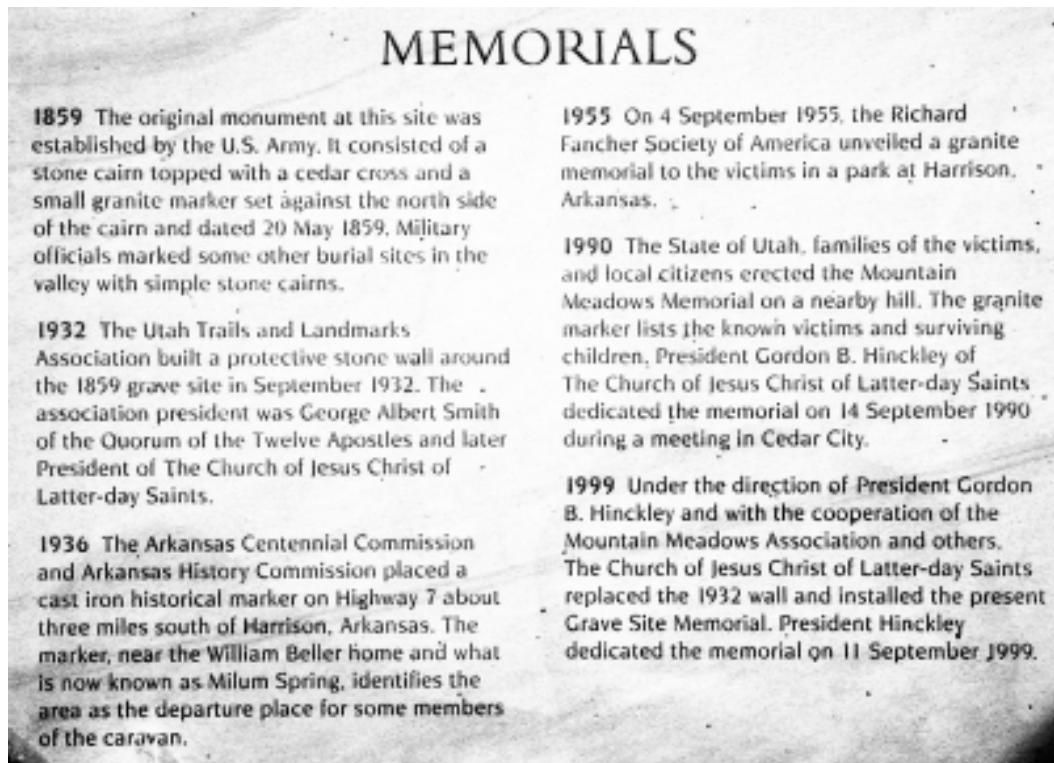
After the massacre, John D. Lee lived for 14 years in southern Utah in a climate of increasing isolation from his neighbors. Although he had done what he had felt was right, and was supported by his colleagues in the immediate aftermath of the massacre, the group guilt for the attack gradually, but inexorably, began to shift onto Lee. In a church council in August of 1858, after much buck-passing, most of the participants were officially cleared of blame, although some did lose

obtaining witnesses, he was held in the Beaver city Jail until the following summer. His trial began in July, 1875, and lasted about two months. The Mormons wanted guilt for the events of September 11, 1857 to stop with Lee, while prosecutors wished to prove a much wider involvement, up to and including Brigham Young. Some of Lee's attorneys portrayed him as simply following orders issued by the church, while others wanted the inquiry to begin and end with Lee and not involve church officials, thus weakening the defense. Some of the Mormon witnesses turned state's evidence in order to save themselves. Many Mormon settlers who had come to Utah after the massacre were shocked at the revelations that came out of the trial, not having experienced the highly-charged feelings present at the time of the massacre. The trial ended in a hung jury, eight Mormons for acquittal and four gentiles against. Lee was taken to the State Penitentiary in Salt Lake City to await a new trial.

In May of 1876, Lee was released on bond. His second trial began on September 13, 1876. Much had transpired in the preceding year. It is said that the Mormon Church made an agreement with the district attorney in which Lee would be tried by an all-Mormon jury that would bring in a guilty verdict. In exchange for his conviction and execution, there would be no mention of the other parties involved in the massacre. Witnesses were now plentiful, and to a man they stated that Lee had acted on his own to incite the Indians to commit the heinous crime. Prominent Mormons gave damning testi-

mony, all pointing to Lee as the mastermind. The trial moved swiftly, and Lee, who had never denied his own involvement, was quickly convicted as the perpetrator of the massacre at Mountain Meadows. He appealed to the Territorial Supreme Court, but, unsurprisingly, the appeal was denied. He remained in prison until March 23, 1877, the date set for his execution.

His body was placed in the casket and borne by wagon to Parowan. There it was given to members of his family who took it to Panguitch for burial. For 80 years his grave was marked by a simple stone monument. In 1960, family members had a reunion and placed a stone slab over the grave inscribed with the words "Know the Truth, and the Truth will make you free." [7]



Plaque at the New Grave Site Memorial

Photo courtesy of C. W. Querfeld © 2000

On that day, Lee was taken to Mountain Meadows. Witnesses and spectators were present as Lee sat on the edge of his coffin awaiting his fate. He was given an opportunity to speak, and in a moving speech he denounced the church officials who had given him up as a scapegoat for the sins of many. He was blindfolded, but his hands were left free. He asked the firing squad to aim for his heart so as not to mangle his body. As the shots rang out he fell back on his coffin without a sound.

With Lee's execution as a sop to justice, the case of the Mountain Meadows Massacre was considered officially closed. People were once again free to go about their business, the guilty party having been punished for his crimes. Even so, others involved in the killings suffered some degree of stigma the rest of their lives. For 50 years the official story stood, except among the dwindling few who had personal knowledge of the actual events.

By the 1930s, there was increasing sentiment to mark the graves of the hapless emigrants. The Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association became involved, and with the blessing of the Mormon Church the local people built a rock wall around the grave where the bones of most of the emigrants were finally interred. A bronze plaque was placed. For many years the road to the site was poorly maintained and not well marked. In 1961, after years of effort by family members, John Doyle Lee was posthumously restored to full membership in the Mormon Church.

In 1990, a granite monument listing the names of the deceased emigrants was erected near the site. It is well-marked and easily accessible by paved road. An article in the *Boone County Headlight*, the local newspaper in Boone County, Arkansas, near where the wagon train originated, discussed the dedication of the monument. It featured a picture of Mormon descendants and descendants of children who had been spared shaking hands in front of the monument. On September 11, 1999, the 142nd anniversary of the tragic events at Mountain Meadows, the Mormon Church dedicated a new stone and wrought-iron monument that encloses the burial site on the bank of Mogatsu Creek and provides much expanded commemorative and interpretive features. The Mountain Meadows Massacre, once a closely guarded secret has been acknowledged and brought out into the open. These actions mark the beginning of a new era in the understanding of this momentous event in the history of the American West.

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Endnotes

- [1] Brooks, Mountain Meadows Massacre, page 5.
- [2] Brooks, Mountain Meadows Massacre, page 33.
- [3] Brooks, Mountain Meadows Massacre, page 41.
- [4] Brooks, Mountain Meadows Massacre, page 53.
- [5] Horn, *The Pioneers*, page 180.
- [6] Carleton, *Special Report on the Mountain Meadows Massacre*.
- [7] Brooks, Mountain Meadows Massacre, page 210.

Into Mormon Country

By Lou McCombs

On July 24, 1847, a small group of Mormon pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. They were the forerunners of a migration that over the next two decades would bring 70,000 of the faithful to Utah - the land they called Deseret. An idea as well as a place, Deseret included all of what is now Utah, Arizona and Nevada, and parts of California, New Mexico, Colorado, Idaho and Wyoming.

Within a year, scouts were sent out to explore the land. They found high mountains, red rock deserts, monumental geologic wonders and fertile river valleys where pioneers later established hardscrabble settlements.

Much of this exploration and settlement took place along the Spanish Trail. How that happened is probably just a quirky historical accident, but it's why I call this section, "Into Mormon Country." More than 650 miles of highway and back road follow the mule trail through old Deseret. Towns from San Bernardino, through Las Vegas, Cedar City, Green River, Moab and Durango are all tied together by this common thread.

Today, besides the great views, there're lots of the really interesting personal contacts to be experienced in the many small towns along the route.

East of Las Vegas Springs, the mule trail crossed the valley on a route that ran just a little bit south of Las Vegas Boulevard. It then angled up and over the same low pass now crossed by the boulevard, I- 15, and the railroad. On the other side of the pass, it generally followed I- 15 to the ford of the Muddy River near

Dam. Leaving the Virgin River at Littlefield, it climbed the long incline to the pass through the Castle Cliffs now traversed by old US 91 before dropping down to Camp Spring on its way to the Santa Clara River. It then went up the Santa Clara River to the confluence with Mogotsu Creek and on to Mountain Meadows.

At the northeast end of the meadows, it intersected Holt Creek, dropped into Meadow Valley Canyon and turned northeast along the base of the foothills to Pinto Creek near Newcastle. Rounding the point of the mountain at Antelope Spring,



Elephant Rock, Valley of Fire State Park

Photo by the Author

modern Glendale, and then climbed up onto Mormon Mesa. After several miles on the mesa, it dropped down to the Virgin River at Halfway Wash.

Continuing upriver, it stayed mostly to the south bank on the way to open meadows near Littlefield and Beaver

it went almost directly east to Iron Spring, and then crossed the low divide between Three Peaks and Iron Mountain before again making a turn to the north. Staying to the west of the marshland in Cedar Valley, it passed St. Joseph Spring near Enoch.

To continue our tour, head east on Las Vegas Boulevard. At the US 93 junction, mile 20.9, motorists must take to the freeway. Cyclists have to make a decision. They may continue on Frontage Road, which is a more interesting route where derelict buildings, train sidings, the rusted hulks of abandoned cars and other remains of bygone days are encountered.

The pavement ends at mile 28.8, just before the railroad tracks. Turn left onto the dirt maintenance road. In about .4 mile there's another Trail monument on your left. At mile 32.9, across the tracks, is SR 169, the road to Valley of Fire State Park. You've just entered the Moapa Indian Reservation. Their tribe-operated casino and convenience store is just on the other side of the freeway underpass. Carefully look both ways, cross the railroad tracks and lift your bike over the fence. Just above the westbound on-ramp is another cement Trail monument.

From here, the Spanish Trail pretty much followed 1-15. But we're heading to Valley of Fire State Park along the route of the Arrowhead Highway. The Arrowhead, constructed in the 1920's, was one of the first alignments of US 91. The park derives its name from the bright red sandstone formations formed over 150 million years ago and now exposed due to faulting and uplifting. The area was the homeland of Native Americans who left behind thousands of petroglyphs and pictographs. Two campgrounds provide plenty of space with 51 sites, shaded tables, water and restrooms.

Just down the road is the Lost City

Museum in Overton. It has fascinating displays of Indian and Mormon artifacts and reconstructed pit houses similar to those lived in by early pueblo tribes in the Moapa Valley. It's a must stop. Continue north on SR 169 to the freeway. Take exit 100 (mile 83.0) for a ride across Mormon Mesa on now abandoned US 91. At the bottom of the off-ramp turn right and cross the cattle guard. In about fifty yards intersect the old highway. You could continue on the interstate, but taking the old road gives you a better feel for the rugged country endured by the traders and pioneers.



The Mesquite Museum

Photo by the Author

Halfway Wash is at mile 88.6. A Jeep road used by ranchers and four-wheelers drops into and climbs out of the wash near a deep pour off. At the edge of the mesa, mile 94.2, there are switchbacks down the sheer face of the cliff. Be careful. Erosion of the road makes some parts dangerous. From the top,

there's an inspiring view of the Virgin River valley. There's another Trail marker near the bridge in Riverside. Continue through Bunkerville to Main Street in Mesquite across from the Oasis Casino at mile 107.

Mesquite and Bunkerville are two of several Mormon settlements along the Virgin and Muddy Rivers pioneered in the 1870's. Farming has traditionally been, and continues to be, the primary industry in the region. However, climate, casinos and nearby Lake Mead have made it

increasingly popular as a tourist destination.

While in town, be sure to visit the Desert Valley Museum. It has a great collection of valley memorabilia and is housed in one of the original settlement homes. There are several photo albums with great historical

pictures of the area. It's open 9-5, Monday through Saturday.

Out of Mesquite, take Main Street east to Hillside Drive and turn right past the Peppertree Inn Golf Course. Cross the Nevada/Arizona border. At mile 120.1 is Beaver Dam mini-mart. It's a good place to get a snack and water. There's no drinking water available at Gunlock Lake State Park, the cyclists' next overnight, so stock up at the market. There's also a resort, motel, RV Park and golf course. That's the good news. The bad news is that during

mile 132.0 are the ruins of the Castle Cliffs gas station/cafe/motel, once a popular rest stop. The summit is another 4.5 miles. From the top, there's an exhilarating downhill ride to the turn off to Camp Spring.

Turn onto Gold Strike Mine Road at mile 143.2. About a mile before the turn off, begin to cross a wide sage covered plain running diagonally uphill from east to west is a badly eroded section of the Spanish Trail. It looks a lot like just another small wash, but from your vantage point on the highway, you can see it goes

Road, it's .5 mile to Camp Spring. As far as I know, there's always a small stream of water here. In just a few hundred feet the road crosses a wash where the stream enters a rocky canyon leading off to the right. The mule trail passed through this canyon. Continue on the dirt road bearing to the right for about another mile to the intersection with SR 18. Then turn left. It's another 5 miles north to the turn off to Gunlock Lake SP at mile 149.7. Camping is \$7.00 per night.

Next, from the state park, it's a couple of miles into Gunlock (no services.) There's an interesting historic monument near the church. Continue on past the confluence of Mogotsu Creek and up the several hundred feet of switchbacks to Veyo at mile 159. Veyo has a gas station/mini-mart/restaurant. You'll have to pick up water here for a campout in the desert on the way to Cedar City. There is a CG at Baker Dam Reservoir at mile 163.5 if you want to make a short day of it. There's no water at the CG, but there are real nice camping spots and brand new toilets.

Continuing up SR 18, you come first to Kane Spring, an important water stop on the wagon road and then, at mile 171, Mountain Meadows, or Las Vegas de la Santa Clara in caravan days. Mountain Meadows was the site of a bloody massacre in 1857. After a battle of several days, Mormon militiamen and Indian allies gunned down more than 127 men, women and older children of an immigrant group from Kansas and Missouri known as the Fancher-Baker party. A new memorial recounts the event. A small plaque



No Trespassing Sign and Bike Tires

Photo by the Author

the 40', 50's and 60's, the long grade out of Beaver Dam was known as "radiator hill," testimony to the many cars that overheated on the way to the summit in the Beaver Dam Mountains at 4,600 feet. For the cyclist, it's a hard climb through a stand of beautiful Joshua Trees into a juniper and pinyon forest. At

straight to the tall cottonwoods and other green shrubbery near Camp Spring. NOTE: Camp Spring and the surrounding area are all part of the Shivwits Indian Reservation. Stay on designated roads. Respect their property rights.

From the turn onto Gold Strike Mine

denotes the “Vegas” as an important camping place on the Spanish Trail.

From the meadows, turn onto gravelled Pinto Road at mile 173.4 and go 3 miles to the signed Holt Valley turn off. Here’s another choice. Pinto road follows an old Indian trail Mormons turned into a wagon Road. You can intersect SR 56 near the top of the pass and get to Cedar City through Pinto, too. It’s about 17 miles shorter than the caravan route.



Jefferson Hunt Monument/Death Valley Monument

Photo by the Author

For the dedicated, turn left to take the Trail along Holt Creek. During the 1860’s there were three small towns along here that served the Salt Lake Road. At all turns follow the creek to the blacktop road and turn right. It’s then 2.5 miles to the turn to the Jefferson Hunt monument at mile 185.2. This commemorates the spot where the ill-fated Death Valley party separated from the rest of Hunt’s wagons in 1849. From the monument, continue north on the

blacktop to New Castle at the junction with SR 56 at mile 190.8.

At New Castle is another gas station/mini-mart for hot snacks, drinks and water. From the station, go east on SR 56 to 800 east. On the way is another OST marker. It’s on the right at 600 East. At 800 East turn left and follow the power lines to Antelope Road at mile 210 and turn right toward Cedar City. On the way, you’ll be going through several stock control gates. The rule of thumb here

is if you find them open, leave them open; if you find them closed, close them again after you pass through. Antelope Spring, a little further out into the desert from this point, was another important stop on the Trail. At the RR tracks and Iron Spring Road turn toward Cedar City. As you do, you’ll be looking at Three Peaks, another important Trail landmark. From here, just follow the road through Iron Spring to SR 56 and on to Cedar City. The junction of SR 56

and Main Street is mile 227. Just north is Iron Mission SP and a KOA. There are also motels, mini-marts, fast food places and restaurants nearby.

On the Trail miles from L.A. Plaza 595.

MAPS AAA Guide to Indian Country Utah Travel Council: Southwestern Utah.

CONTACTS Cedar City - www.travelwest.net/cities/cedarcity/ Utah Travel Council -- www.utah.com/, or 801-533-5681
Next: Moccasins and Mule Shoes

CORRECTION:

In the Fall 2000 issue of Spanish Traces, John Carson was identified as the great-great grandson of Kit Carson. There were just too many “greats.” We were very pleased to have John Carson attend the Annual OSTA Conference in Taos, NM in June 2000, and wish to correctly identify him as the great grandson of Kit Carson. We apologize to both John and our keynote speaker Dr. Marc Simmons who introduced John at the Conference.



John Carson

Photo courtesy of John Coffman

Noticias



With Dale Irish watching, Utah OSTA Director Ron Jewkes and Mayor Carla Hancock unveil a plaque to the Old Spanish Trail. The plaque is in the Old City Park in Moab. The dedication was in Spring, 2000.

Members of the OSTA who are also members of the Southwest Chapter of the Oregon-California Trails Association joined SWOCTA members at the dedication of a Southern Trail Marker, "Emigrant Trail at Apache Pass." This was a SWOCTA chapter outing in February, 2000.



The Heritage Trails Celebration
During the week of April 25, 2001, the tri-state Heritage Trails Celebration will begin marking the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the first colonists in Southern California after statehood. The celebration will begin with the departure of the Heritage Wagon Train from the Salt Lake area. Up to 60 wagons will be able to join the trek as well as walk-a-longs through the states of Utah, Nevada and California. Several historic trails will be part of the trek, Spanish, Mormon, Fremont and Mojave Indian Trail, thus the name "Heritage Trails."

"Welcome parties," firesides, and educational programs are planned

for communities along the trails. The finale will be the three-day Heritage Festival at the Glen Helen Regional Park in Cajon Pass on June 28 to honor the multi-ethnic groups who settled Southern California.

Contact: Marilyn Mills, Co-chairman at 909-949-8453 or MarilynDPA@aol.com.

California-Nevada Chapter
Oregon-California Trails Association
SPRING SYMPOSIUM
March 10-11, 2001
Temecula Community Recreation
Center
20875 Rancho Vista Road
Temecula, CA
Contact: Joanne Hinchliff
909-925-7068

Book Reviews

Something in the Soil. By Patricia Nelson Limerick. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, 384 pp., Introduction, notes, index. Cloth, \$27.95)

Patricia Limerick is a pleasure to read. On the cover jacket of her most recent book, *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West* Garry Wills identifies her as “simply one of the best writers alive.” This is not mere hyperbole. Though one may disagree with her observations (and some, of course, vehemently oppose them,) Professor Limerick’s ideas seem always provocative, always original, always deserving of attention - and one of the primary reasons this reviewer, and certainly many others, have found the study of Western History so engaging and important during the past several decades.

Limerick, along with Richard White, William Cronon, Donald Worster and others, is a proponent of what has become known as the “New Western History.” For these scholars issues such as urbanization, the environment, multi-culturalism and the role of women in the West are areas of concern, largely because earlier histories so often ignored these topics. Traditional histories of the West nearly always hinge upon the late nineteenth-century “frontier thesis” of Frederick Jackson Turner, through which the defining moments of the burgeoning American culture evolved largely because of the “existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward.” For a variety of reasons the Turnerian emphasis on a westward-moving frontier line has become problematic for many of the New Westers, but has nonetheless

remained deeply etched in the popular imagination.

With *Something in the Soil*, mostly a compilation of her various articles over the last decade, Limerick discusses the endurance of the ‘frontier thesis’ in a chapter aptly titled *Turnerians All*. Though not a doctrinaire Turner-basher - in her 1987 book *The Legacy of Conquest* she describes Turner as “a scholar with intellectual courage, an innovative spirit, and a forceful writing style.” Limerick nonetheless bemoaned that “respect for the individual flowed over into excessive deference to the individual’s ideas.” Limerick acknowledges in her current book that at one time she was “convinced that the revitalization of Western American history began with the recognition that the Frontier Thesis had become, entirely irrelevant to the history of the Trans-Mississippi West,” Yet, ironically, the “New Western History’s” campaign to declare Turner irrelevant revitalized Turner’s reputation.” Refuting the thesis was “like fighting the Pillsbury Dough Boy; it bent momentarily to absorb challenges and then instantly resumed its previous shape.” In the end, Limerick reaches a somewhat conciliatory conclusion. She recognizes Turner’s shortcomings, as have numerous historians for several decades, particularly his “general flatness of curiosity when it came to the histories of nonwhites.” But now she asks of her contemporaries, “What are our blind spots? What are the elements of our social identity that limit our vision as sternly as racial assumptions limited Turner’s vision?” *Turnerians all*, indeed.

Throughout the sixteen eclectic essays that constitute *Something in the Soil*, Professor Limerick’s blind spots are impossible to detect.

Topics include a thirteen-part analysis of the patterns of the Modoc Indian War of 1872-1873, a discussion of claims of western authenticity (“Will the Real Californian Please Stand Up?”), advice to contemporary western environmentalists (example: Reward restraint; “encourage the Boy Scouts to give merit badges for not camping.”) Printed in its entirety is the popular “Dancing with Professors: The Trouble with Academic Prose” from a 1993 article in *The New York Times Book Review*. Here Limerick repeats what she considers the single most important thing she has ever learned about the professorate: “Professors, are the ones nobody wanted to dance with in high school,” the repercussions of which go far in explaining the “pompous and pedantic tone ... the classically academic writer conveys.”

So what interest would Professor Limerick’s book and the *New Western History* be to students and scholars of the Old Spanish Trail? Plenty! To begin with, perhaps part of the initial resistance to having the Old Spanish Trail recognized stems from the fact that for some historians the study of western trails has become an area of much fatigue. For example, Limerick discusses the conference that initiated the traveling “Trails through Time” exhibit in 1989: “To fit in the funding request, the title of the launching conference had to use the word ‘trails.’ And yet all of us who had worked on the conference were already suffering from overexposure to the history of trails, and the prospect of sitting through two days of trails talk was discouraging.” The subsequent title of the conference, “Trails: Toward a New Western History,” offered a more general appraisal of the field’s changes.

In the introduction to *Something in the Soil* the author provides a four-word summary of the New Western History: continuity, convergence, conquest, and complexity. Applying those perspectives to a study of the Old Spanish Trail (which I did in a Master's thesis several years ago) allows for a fresh and illuminating examination of the old mule train route. Traditional histories as well as public perception often hold to the idea of a great discontinuity between the frontier and the Western present. Nowhere is this more evident than in the study of western trails, which tend to be associated with a brief span of several decades during the middle 1800s. Conversely, the Old Spanish Trail represents, both physically and symbolically, an historical continuity that brought together various aspects of Western development. The OST began almost certainly as an animal trace, and developed into a primary trade route during the subsequent Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and American periods. The impact of the Trail continues to the present, as roads, highways and airplane routes often trace the old paths today.

The notion of a "convergence" is also an important perspective of the New Western History. "In earlier versions of Western history," writes Limerick, "the doings of white people, especially white men, controlled center stage." Older Western history "could only recognize Indian people as obstacles or barriers to the big process of frontier expansion, while Chinese and Mexican workers could find relevance only as they contributed to the building of railroads and, the developing of agriculture." The Old Spanish Trail experienced the interweaving of Mexican, Spanish, Asian, African-American, and varied Native American and European cultures. The meeting of

these diverse peoples occurred most often at points of intersection, and the Old Spanish Trail served to facilitate this convergence.

Of the four words she uses to describe the New Western History none is more associated with Patricia Limerick than "conquest." Contemporary Western historians have grown more uncomfortable with the problems built into the term "frontier," and Limerick's preference is to "place Western American history back into global history with an explicit and honest use of the word 'conquest.'" With a study of the Old Spanish Trail, however, the idea of conquest can be quite vexing. The word often seems to connote both a lack of complexity in social conflict as well as a certain cultural finality. In fact, the battles that occurred on the Old Spanish Trail were often the result of a muddle of divergent hostilities and allegiances. Rarely were the wars a matter of Anglos versus Indians. Conflict in the region of the Old Spanish Trail took the form of Anglo against Indian, Anglo against Anglo, or Indian against Indian, with any combination of the varied allegiances. Thrown into this cultural potpourri were diverse Indian tribes, Mexicans, Spaniards, French Canadians, and (later) Asians and African Americans. Yet, to take a macro-historical perspective of the Old Spanish Trail, no analysis applies as precisely as conquest. Certainly "when you stand at a distance," writes Limerick, "this proposition appears in stark outline: Europeans and their descendants, took North America from Indians, and took it with violence."

Some New Western historians have also been critical of the Turnerian word "frontier" in that it depicted the West as a "process" rather than a specific "place" or region. Yet, "if

there is an answer to the complaint against the restricted outlook of western historians," noted scholar Earl Pomeroy wrote nearly fifty years ago, "it is not likely to be found in decrying Turner's mistakes and the inspiration of his time." Turner was certainly a progressive, who firmly believed his discipline should bring one closer to "the great mass of the people" instead of "the brilliant annals of the few." And it is likely that Turner would find common ground with many of the New Western historians, as he believed that "no historian can say the ultimate word." And Turner's thesis, if not overtly presented in terms of "frontier," remains very much alive in the thought of many contemporary histories. When we discuss the continuity of history along the Old Spanish Trail, or the convergence of varied ethnic groups along its pathways, or even the conquest of the region through which it traveled, we are emphasizing "process" rather than "place" in the strictest Turnerian sense.

From another perspective, though, a New Western History of the Old Spanish Trail teaches us many important things about the West that traditional histories have often ignored. It demonstrates that the traffic heading east on the Trail, as well as north and south, was just as significant as the traffic going west. It emphasizes the role of Indians as well as Europeans, Mexicans as well as Americans, women as well as men, cities as well as rural areas. It shows that airplane routes, train tracks, and super highways are as much a part of the story as covered wagons, Indian trails, and animal traces. It accepts conquest as a starting point rather than a finish line. A New Western History of the Old Spanish Trail helps explain the complex struggles and developments

in the rapidly changing and continuously evolving American West.

Reviewed by Peter Gough
Chicago, Illinois

The Trial of Don Pedro León Luján: The Attack Against Indian Slavery and Mexican Traders in Utah. By Sondra Jones. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999. vii + 182 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50 cloth).

When American West history enters the Spanish Borderlands region, Hispanic voices are progressively muted in the historiography much as they were in history. The first impressions of the Southwest to be widely read in the United States were those of Anglo-American traders, settlers, and soldiers. The historiography of the region for that period continues to be dominated by the interpretation of events as seen through the eyes of the same Anglo newcomers and conquerors. The result is an account of a multi-cultural area that is dominated by the perspective of one ethnic group.

The 1851 Utah conviction of New Mexican trader Don Pedro León Luján has often been cited to contrast Mormon opposition to Indian slavery with the long-standing Spanish and Indian tradition of trade in captives. Sondra Jones explores the slave trading trial in context, presenting, for the first time, perspectives beyond those of the prosecutors. Jones begins with a critical reading of the historiography on the Luján trial and relations between Mormons, New Mexicans, and

Indians in general. She goes on to examine the Indian slave trade as viewed and practiced by all the involved parties and then dissects the events and trial of 1851 in detail. The story, she finds, is not exactly what has been summarized in the history books.

With this work, Sondra Jones shifts away from Utah histories that uncritically accept accounts by Mormon settlers as objective fact. At times, she allows that Mormon scripture guided Indian relations in Utah while bringing appropriate skepticism to the correlation between Catholic doctrine, Hispanic legality, and practice. However, she emphasizes racism against both Indians and Hispanics in Utah and points out that, despite similar goals of assimilation, Indians were regularly integrated into New Mexican, but not Mormon, society.

The Trial of Don Pedro León Luján is, in the end, an important book. Jones shows that the Mormons did not oppose slavery as a general principal so much as they needed the trial for political reasons. She does not justify Hispanic, or any other, trade in slaves, but confirms that on the frontiers of multiple cultures all perspectives must be considered before historical events can be fully understood.

Reviewed by Bruce A. Erickson
University of New Mexico

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Antoine Robidoux and Fort Uncompahgre (The Story of a Western Colorado Fur Trader)

By Ken Reyher, 88 pages. Published by Western Reflections Inc., PO Box 710, Ouray, Colorado, 81427
ISBN 1-890437-13-1

Antoine Robidoux (1795-1860) lead many different lives. He pioneered the mountain (northern) branch of the Old Spanish Trail and followed the main (southern branch) trail to California several times. He is most noted for establishing the first trading post with the Ute Indian tribe in 1828 called Fort Uncompahgre near present day Delta, Colorado at the junction of the Uncompahgre and Gunnison Rivers. This fort was reconstructed in 1990 and serves as an introduction to the days of the fur trader and trapper in the old west.

The Robidoux family came to Quebec, Canada in the early 1700s and as years passed members of the family gradually moved west. Antoine's father Joseph was an early settler St Louis and active in the fur trade. In the spring of 1824 after Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, Antoine and his brother Louis made the trip to Santa Fe to develop the fur trade business in what is now western Colorado and eastern Utah. The Mexican Government would not allow Americans to trap or trade in their territory. However the French culture was a better match with the Spanish culture and if one became a Mexican citizen then a license for trading could be obtained. Antoine fit in well in Santa Fe, married the daughter of the Mexican Governor, became a citizen and received an exclusive license to trade and trap in western Colorado

and eastern Utah, the home lands of the Ute Indian tribe.

The author, Ken Reyher, sets the scene with this sentence, "Antoine's future in the Southwest depended on a system of trails that connected New Mexico with not only St Louis and points east but Mexico City and the California settlements." This latter trail to California was the Old Spanish Trail (OST) that was in active use by the 1820s for moving goods by pack animals and especially horses between Santa Fe and California. To establish his trading post among the Utes, Antoine in 1828 took his pack animals with trade goods north out of Taos and thru the San Luis valley and across Cochetopa Pass into the Gunnison River valley and down to its junction with the Uncompahgre River while avoiding the Black Canyon of the Gunnison. This route became known as the Mountain (Northern) Branch of the OST. Cochetopa is a Ute Indian word meaning pass of the Buffalo. Robidoux also developed an additional variation of the OST that skipped Santa Fe and Mexican custom officials by leaving the Santa Fe trail near Pueblo, Colorado and heading west to Cochetopa Pass.

The trading post was successful for several years until the price of beaver trapped by the Utes dropped drastically because of changes in fashion in Europe. The Utes were upset by several factors and burned the Fort in 1844. Antoine returned to St. Joseph, Missouri, a town started by his family. Between 1828 and 1844 Antoine had made several trips west on the OST and had become a friend of Kit Carson. In 1846 when war with Mexico started, Robidoux

became a guide and interpreter for the Colonel Stephen Kearny expedition to New Mexico and California. He was seriously wounded in the battle of San Pasqual near San Diego and then returned to St. Joseph, Missouri. In 1849 he lead an immigrant train to California and spent the next few years doing trading along the Oregon Trail. The book ends with the story of the Captain John Gunnison expedition of 1853 that followed Antoine's mountain route of the OST and viewed the ruins of Fort Uncompahgre while looking for a transcontinental route for the railroad.

This is an interesting and well-done book on a little known early explorer of the mountain west. It has a useful three page Bibliography. It is an important addition to the story of the Old Spanish Trail.

Reviewed by Robert Youker
Bethesda, Maryland

Kit Carson & The Indians. By Tom Dunlay. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000, 525 pp., photos, notes, index, \$45 hardcover)

Through time, Kit Carson and his role in the development of the Great West have been depicted in many ways. Most recently, he has become a favorite whipping boy of the "politically correct crowd," which includes the so-called New Western Historians. They have chosen to portray Carson as an arch-villain who delighted in slaughtering Indians without provocation. That is the view of him held by the majority of the public today.

Now comes Tom Dunlay in this hefty volume, urging readers to reconsider Kit Carson based on the mountain of evidence assembled here. Kit's reputation should be judged in the context of his own time, not our time, he wisely declares.

Carson's entire career was involved to a greater or lesser extent with Indians, and the author digs deeply to understand and explain his actions and attitudes towards them. By much reference to eye-witness observers who knew and admired Kit, Dunlay is able to present a fair and accurate appraisal of his true character. He draws heavily, for instance, upon the memoir of George D. Brewerton who became familiar with Kit in his prime, during their courier mission over the Old Spanish Trail in 1848.

One of the most useful of Dunlay's chapters is that dealing with Carson's tenure as government agent for the Utes and Jicarilla Apaches, beginning in 1854. From his agency at Taos, Kit was often in the field dealing with problems presented by both tribes. He seems to have had a greater sympathy for and a higher opinion of the Utes.

Students of the Old Spanish Trail will find much of interest and value in this reliable narrative. It is beautifully written, honest, and devoid of pretension. And the pages are studded with choice nuggets, such as this statement by Kit in 1859: "I do not know whether I done rite or wrong, but I done what I thought was best."

Reviewed by Marc Simmons
Cerrillos, New Mexico

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[a] All publications are archived.

[b] For info, 1st annual meeting was June 1994 at Del Norte, CO;
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[c] Includes 2nd annual conference of May 1995 at Monte Vista and Del Norte, CO.

[d] Includes 3rd annual conference of June 1996 at Grand Junction, CO.

[e] Includes 4th annual conference of June 1997 at Saguache, CO.

[f] 5th annual conference of May 1998 at Santa Fe, NM.

[g] 6th annual conference of June 1999 at Las Vegas, NV.

[h] 7th annual conference of June 2000 at Taos, NM.

Compiled by Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter, OSTA Treasurer and OSTA Secretary, November, 2000

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4	Jan 1995	1	9	Carson, Phil	Dusting off the Spanish Trail: Historians at Work
5	Fall 1995	2	4	SpTraces, ed.	Professor Crampton Passes Away: Prolific historian capped career with Spanish Trail Work.
6	Fall 1995	2	5	Carson, Phil	From Footpaths to Mule Trains: Origins of the Old Spanish Trail (Part 2 of 3)
7	Fall 1995	2	7	Richmond, Pat	Fieldtrip at National Meeting Visits Trails and Cultural Sites
8	Fall 1995	2	10	SpTraces, ed.	Author Interview: Steve Madsen, co-author of In Search of the Spanish Trail
9	Spr 1996	3	4	Madsen, Steven K.	Retracing the Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to the San Juan River
10	Spr 1996	3	9	SpTraces, ed.	Far to the West: a brief review of BLM Technical Report No. 17, OST from LV to CA border
11	Spr 1996	3	10	Carson, Phil	From Footpaths to Mule Trains: Origins of the Old Spanish Trail (Part 3 of 3)
12	Fall 1996	4	1	Madsen, Steven K.	Retracing the Spanish Trail: Across Colorado's San Juan Basin
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22	Spr 1999	10	19	Harley, Dr. R. Bruce	Agua Mansa: First California Town on the Old Spanish Trail
23	Fall 1999	12	7	Sánchez, Dr. Joseph	The Old Spanish Trail Mosaic: History and Concept

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27 Fall 1999	12	32	Harley, Dr. R. Bruce	Lorenzo Trujillo: Founder of Ague Mansa, California
28 Fall 1999	12	38	Helmer, Bill and Pauline Esteves	Old Spanish Trail Impacts: Timbisha Shoshone and Other Native Americans
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30 Wntr 2000	13	9	Robinson, John W.	Celebrating Jedediah Smith's Bicentennial, 1799-1999: A Bibliohistory
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32 Wntr 2000	13	22	Madsen, Steven K.	Communications from Elder P. P. Pratt, G. S. L. City, Nov. 21, 1853
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56	Fall 2000	16	19	Parker,Dr.Dorothy R.	Four Legs Over and Four Legs Back on the Trails to California
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5	Fall 1995	2	14	Thompson, George A.	Lost Treasures on the Old Spanish Trail	[b]
6	Fall 1995	2	15	Weber, David J.	The Spanish Frontier in North America	[b]
7	Spr 1996	3	13	Colville, Ruth Marie	La Vereda: A Trail Through Time (includes "Trail Guide" insert)	[b]
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30	Fall 1999	12	49	Etter, Patricia A.	To California on the Southern Route, 1849 - A History and Annotated Bibliography	RoseAnn Tompkins
31	Fall 1999	12	50	Bailey, Paul	Walkara: Hawk of the Mountains	Willard Lewis
32	Fall 1999	12	50	Templeton, Sardis W.	The Lame Captain: The Life and Adventures of Pegleg Smith	Willard Lewis
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34	Wntr 2000	13	34	Lamar, Howard R., ed.	The New Encyclopedia of the American West	Reprinted review
35	Wntr 2000	13	35	Steiner, Harold Austin	The Old Spanish Trail across the Mojave Desert - A History and Guide	Clifford J. Walker

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[b] Phil Carson, ed., notes: (This) book is not being reviewed critically, but merely described for the reader's information.

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The Northern (Cajon Pass) Approaches to the 2001 OSTA Symposium in Redlands, California

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