

SPANISH TRACES



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Who Led the Rowland- Workman Party? An Exchange

[Editors: In footnote 25 of John Robinson's article on Antonio María Armijo in the Fall 2005 issue of *Spanish Traces*, Robinson quotes Alex King concerning the issue of who led the Rowland-Workman Expedition from New Mexico to Los Angeles in 1841. In addition to including in this issue a response by John Sharpe, we have

included the following exchange between John Robinson and Paul Spitzzeri on the subject. We collated the responses, edited them for consistency and submitted them to Robinson and Spitzzeri for the final revision.]

Paul Spitzzeri: John Robinson's article on Antonio María Armijo questions whether the 1841 expedition was led by Rowland and Workman or whether Vaca and Peña should be considered the leaders of the group.

I feel that footnote 25 in John's article needs further explanation. Why should it be called the *Vaca-Peña* Expedition? What is there in the Los Angeles *Ayuntamiento* documents or any other primary sources that might shed light on the matter?

John Robinson: After doing some preliminary research, my belief is that neither Rowland-Workman nor Vaca-Peña led the 1841 caravan. According to Hafen



John Rowland
courtesy California Historical Society

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THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

The Old Spanish Trail (OST), one of America's great long distance trade routes, is now our country's fifteenth National Historic Trail. From 1829 to 1848, the OST took traders and pack mules on a six-week trek from northern New Mexico to Southern California, where New Mexico's woolen goods were swapped for horses and pack stock raised on California's ranchos. Many took the trail—traders, frontiersmen and trappers, a handful of hardy families moving West, military expeditions, and Indian guides.

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

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Visit the newly upgraded OSTA Website

<http://www.oldspanishtrail.org>

Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association, a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. *ST* welcomes submission of letters, articles, book reviews, and OST related news. The next deadline for submissions is August 15, 2006.

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From the Editors

We were in Abiquiu recently and visited the OST exhibit at Bode's General Store. The historical marker is fantastic; it is professional and informative. Such interpretive exhibits serve as the front line for public awareness of the trail. We applaud everyone involved in this effort.

Footnote 25 in the article on Antonio Armijo by John Robinson in the Fall 2005 *Traces* raised the question as to who actually led the Workman-Rowland Expedition. In this issue, in addition to an essay by John Sharpe, we include an exchange between John Robinson and Paul Spitzzeri on this topic. The exchange is fascinating, both for its information and for giving the reader a sense of the different approaches of these two historians.

Two articles in this issue are concerned with the topic of names. One is by Bill Chenoweth on the naming of the Colorado River and its forks near Grand Junction. The other is on the history of the word *Mojave* by Cliff Walker.

Kenn Carpenter reports that the mapping workshop, held in Phoenix in March, was a huge success. We have included the text of the talk that Steven K. Madsen gave at the workshop on the methodology that he and the late Dr. C. Gregory Crampton used to locate the historic OST.

The issue of protection of trail resources is raised in three articles. Carol Corbett writes about the Nevada Chapter's success in helping

prevent destruction of the trail in Halfway Wash. Cliff Walker reports concerns of potential damage in the Red Pass area. Doug Knudson emphasizes the importance of protecting rock art along the OST.

Al Matheson reports on a new orchestral suite, which we can't wait to hear. *The Old Spanish Trail Suite* has been scheduled for a command performance at Music City Center at Carnegie Hall.

See you in Green River!

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

OSTA Website Challenge Cost Share Project

Steps are underway to improve the content and function of the existing Old Spanish Trail website (www.oldsouthspanishtrail.org).

The association was awarded a National Park Service Challenge Cost Share Grant to help fund these changes. Procedures now developed allow for more frequent updates of website content by OSTA directors. A *What's New* section and an *Event Calendar* have been added. In addition, a new website was created that will function as a digital library archive for OSTA board members.

Upcoming in May will be the release of a newly formatted public website that will include more in-depth interpretative content, images, and maps.

Paul Ostapuk, Website Manager

Contributors

Jean Chapman, an instructor of literature at Biola University, is the author of *A Novel Tea*.

Bill Chenoweth is a semi-retired geologist who became interested in early expeditions in western Colorado while researching the expeditions' geologic reports.

Steve Madsen is co-author, with C. G. Crampton, of *In Search of the Old Spanish Trail*. He has contributed many articles to *Spanish Traces*.

Judy Querfeld was editor of *Spanish Traces* from 1998-2001.

John Robinson, past California Director for OSTA and a frequent contributor to *Spanish Traces*, has published his book *Gateways to Southern California*, which is reviewed in this issue.

John Sharpe, a member of OCTA from the UK, is working on a biography of William and David Workman.

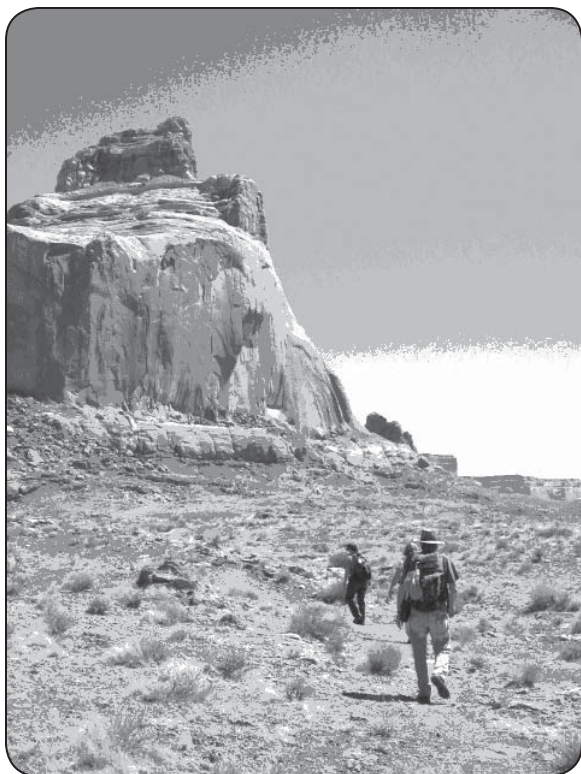
Paul Spitzzeri, the collections manager at the Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum in City of Industry, CA, has written extensively on Southern California history and on the Rowland-Workman Expedition.

Cliff Walker, current California Director for OSTA, is author of *Back Door to California: The Story of the Mojave River Trail*.

News from the Trail

Armijo Route Trail Assessment

A team of Page area interpreters and rangers of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area ventured out in April on Lake Powell to perform a Armijo Route Trail Assessment.



Scouting the Armijo route.
courtesy Paul Ostapuk

The trip was inspired by the recent Arizona community scoping sessions and the Trail Assessment form distributed by OSNHT Team Leader Sarah Schlanger, BLM, at the mapping workshop in Phoenix.

Participating in the event were members of the Powell Museum, the Glen Canyon Natural History

Association, and the National Park Service, who are the federal land managers for the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Paul Ostapuk, OSTA Arizona director, helped to facilitate the meeting.

The field trip destination was Padre Bay and the historic site of El Vado De Los Padres (now underwater), first reported by Domínguez and Escalante in their 1776 travels and previously known as the Ute Ford. This ford offered a rare and important footpath crossing of the Colorado River.

Trail segments leading north and south of the general area were explored by the team for possible interpretative opportunities. Locations were noted for future placement of bronze plaques to help designate the general route corridor. The possibility of marking the underwater segment of the trail with navigational buoys was also considered.

The team discussed various Old Spanish Trail interpretative themes and possible ways to share trail information with the visiting public. Lake Powell receives approximately two million visitors each year.

Paul Ostapuk

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Nevada Chapter Field Trip

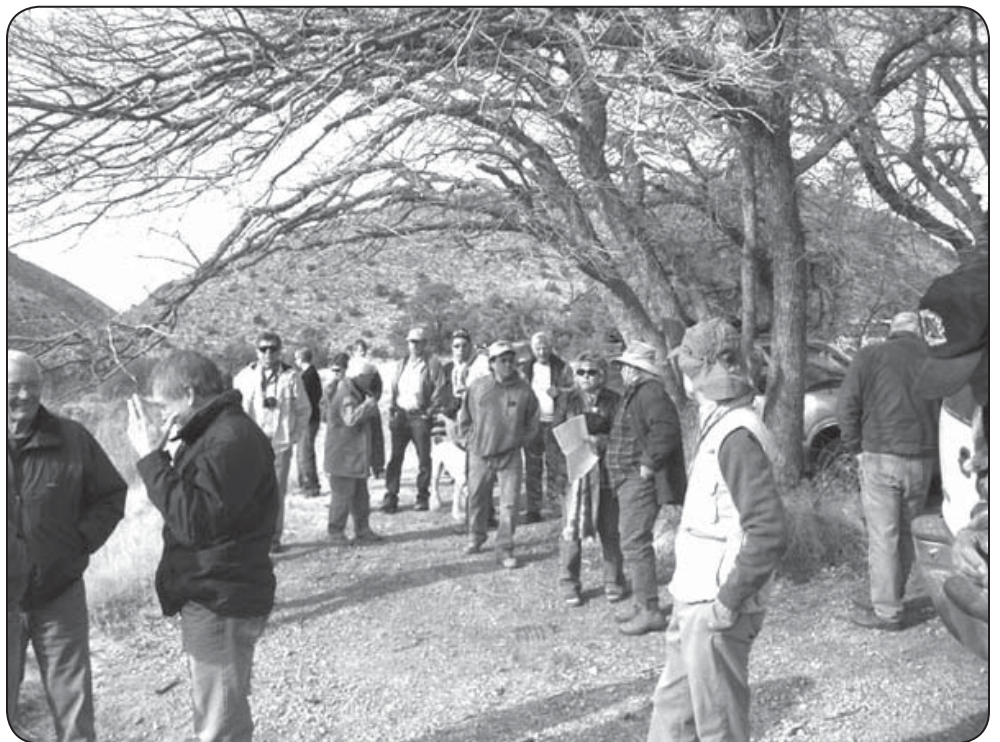
Twenty-nine people showed up on a chilly Saturday for the Nevada Chapter's winter field trip on January 28, 2006. USFS archaeologist Kathleen Sprowl and OSTA Nevada Chapter President Liz Warren met the group gathered at the junction of State Route 160 (the Pahump Highway) and Wilson's Road to Ivanpah. In the 1870s, this wagon road linked the Spring Mountain Ranch in Red Rock Canyon with the silver boom camp of Ivanpah just south of the California border; today it functions as the road over Cottonwood Pass, part of the Red Rock National Conservation Area.

Given the unexpectedly large number of participants, the trip plan was changed to avoid impacting trail resources. We headed first for Mountain Springs, located at the top of the pass over the Spring Mountains, between Cottonwood Springs on the east and Stump Springs on the west. Plentiful water and pinyon pine resources attracted native peoples to use the area over millennia, and Kathleen pointed out some of the cultural remains there, including possible traces of early trails. Spanish Trail users sometimes camped at the site, and other times stayed closer to the path of the modern highway. Some, especially those traveling at night, missed the springs altogether! All of these resources are now just barely inside the Rainbow Mountain Wilderness Area and the USFS is attempting to protect them from damage by off road vehicles.

From Mountain Springs we headed east once more, stopping at the state historical marker at the road to Potosi Mine and Townsite. Liz gave us some background on early roads and travel routes in this area. The road to Potosi, opened by the Mormons in 1856, is a part of the Kingston Cutoff from the Spanish Trail, which Mormon freighters pushed through in 1850. The cutoff allowed teams to cut many miles off the route via Mountain Springs, Stump Springs, and Resting Springs, saving days of travel along the Old Spanish Trail. The Mormons originally located the lead and zinc lode claim with the help of local Southern Paiute headman Kunikaivits, about five years after the Kingston Cutoff was pushed through the area. We followed the cutoff to near the Potosi townsite, but stopped before venturing too far, as the site is now privately owned. We learned about development plans for this

historic site, the location of Potosi, Nevada's oldest lode mine and major producer of zinc in the early twentieth century. The owner is proposing a resort, spa and residential area, and asking the county to build a two-lane road into the site on top of the old wagon road that now provides the only access. Native roasting pits, pottery and chipped stone artifacts offer mute evidence of former native peoples in the area. The Mormons built a few structures there during their mining operations in 1856, and the twentieth-century townsite and mine workings are still present. At this time, no final plans have been filed for development, and some individuals are attempting to interest the state in purchasing this site, so important in Nevada's mining history, using Southern Nevada Public Land Management Act (SNPLMA) funds.

Carol Corbett and Liz Warren



Nevada Chapter at Mountain Springs.

courtesy Carol Corbett

Halfway Wash OST Update

There is much good news to report on the Southern Nevada Water Authority's (SNWA) plan to develop its water rights on the Virgin and Muddy Rivers in southern Nevada. The authority's plan to build a dam on the Virgin River and pump water into a reservoir in Halfway Wash would have inundated a portion of the Old Spanish Trail.

The first good news came as a result of public comment during the scoping period. The Bureau of Land Management responded by proposing that the dam in Halfway Wash be relocated further to the north to avoid inundating a segment of the trail that ascends to Mormon Mesa. This action came as a result of the numerous comments submitted during the scoping period calling for protection of the trail.

This good news got even better in late January when it was announced that an historic agreement had been reached among the Colorado River Basin states. This agreement reshapes the way the river is managed and has a major impact on the SNWA application to develop the dam and reservoir on the Virgin River.

First, the agreement permits SNWA to receive return flow credits from a proposed pipeline that will bring water from groundwater basins in northern Nevada to southern Nevada. After use, this water will be released into Lake Mead and, under this new agreement, SNWA will receive credit for this water

even though it is not Colorado River water, but "new" water into the Colorado River system. Through use of the credits, the water can be taken out of the river at existing SNWA facilities at Lake Mead for re-use.

Secondly, SNWA will be building a new reservoir near the Mexican border to prevent over-delivery of water to Mexico. This water savings allows Nevada to obtain a greater share of Colorado River water. Again, this water will be taken out of the river system using existing facilities in Lake Mead.

These two actions will give southern Nevada enough water to allow SNWA to temporarily set aside their Virgin and Muddy River rights. In doing so the need for the proposed dam on the Virgin and reservoir in Halfway Wash will be eliminated.

Finally, SNWA also has older rights on the Virgin River that pre-date the 1922 Colorado River Compact and have never been included in the analysis of Colorado River water. The agreement provides for this water to be brought into the system and taken out at the existing SNWA facility on Lake Mead, further diminishing the need for infrastructure on the Virgin River system.

The agreement will need to be approved by the Secretary of Interior and will then undergo an environmental review. The outlook for approval is optimistic at this time.

The end result of the above provisions of this historic agreement will be that the OST will not be inundated in Halfway Wash, nor will the view shed be destroyed by a reservoir in the vicinity. Thanks to all OSTA members and trail supporters who took the time to make a case for trail protection!

by Carol Corbett

North Branch News

The chapter continues to work on a project to place a marker in Grand Junction's Eagle Rim Park to commemorate the efforts of the late James M. Robb to get the Old Spanish Trail and its North Branch recognized as a National Historic Trail. Eagle Rim Park overlooks the Colorado River approximately one mile downstream from the historic "Crossing of the Grand" on the North Branch.

Bill Chenoweth

The British Are Coming!

The following members of the Workman Chapter will be attending the OSTA Annual Conference in Green River, Utah: Bill Ramsay, President; David Fallowfield, Secretary/Treasurer; Donald Harrison, Director; John and Ann Thompson, new members; and two guests of the Thompsons. All have booked their flights and reservations.

David Fallowfield

Special Exhibit during the Green River Conference

In anticipation of OSTA's 13th Annual Conference in Green River this June, arrangements have been made to move the exhibit of Old Spanish Trail artifacts from the Special Collections repository of Southern Utah University to the Museum of the San Rafael in Castledale, Utah. Previously hosted by Janet Seegmiller, Curator of Special Collection at the university, the exhibit will be under the care of Jan Hansen for the benefit of conference attendees.

The exhibit includes amulets, pendants and paraphernalia of distinctly Spanish origin, Indian fetishes found among the Spanish artifacts, a match-lock pistol, a number of items believed to be Indian trade goods, and a Kentucky rifle carried from Santa Fe across the North Branch of the OST during the Mexican-American War.

The Museum of the San Rafael has graciously consented to be open to conference attendees on Sunday at 1:00 PM, following the field trip from Green River, Utah, along the Old Spanish Trail. Since the museum is generally closed to the public on Sundays, this will be a private showing. Local historians and city representatives will be available to share local points of interest and trail site information with OSTA members at the conclusion of the trip. Persons need not join the field trip to participate in the museum open house.

Al Matheson



Cliff Walker walks next to the OST in the Red Pass area.

Army Expansion Near Red Pass

Taken in March 2006, the photo above shows a portion of the Old Spanish Trail on the east side of Red Pass looking east toward Hwy. 127. The Army has taken over this land, which was previously outside the Fort Irwin boundary, as an expansion area. It has been evaluated by archaeologists hired by the base, but there is growing concern that the Army is not going to protect the historic sites, as required by federal law. Sites include old wagon roads, the OST mule trail shown in

the photo, and old archaeological sites, such as 1000-4000 year-old intaglios, just across the gully from the old mule trail. The photo illustrates the damage already done over the years by wagon and jeep tracks. If, instead of driving on the trail, the Army's tanks drove in the 40-50 foot gully that is nearby, they would preserve this rare remnant of the OST and the ancient Native American sites to the south.

Cliff Walker



The Old Spanish Trail Suite

by Al Matheson, Utah Director

I have been privileged to walk the Old Spanish Trail with some of those most knowledgeable about it, like Hafen, Crampton, Matheson, and Palmer. As an aviator plying the trail from the skies, I have also had the opportunity to escort historians, authors, photographers, and even handicapped “customers,” each of whom seeks a new and different association with the trail. I thought I had heard every possible observation, interpretation or emotion regarding the trail. Each person’s new perspective brings a different interpretation. One person sees trail traces and remarks on toil and strife and tragedy. Another observes lush greenery and thinks of freedom and space. Another views clouds amid the mountains and sees only the evident beauty of the trail.

Therefore I was caught off guard when I received a telephone call from Marshall McDonald, a composer from northern Utah. In itself the call was not a surprise, since I had heard that a similar call had been made to Wayne Hinton, the vice president of OSTA. The surprise was that McDonald had been commissioned to compose an orchestral suite around the theme of the Old Spanish Trail. He was seeking information to allow him to visit portions of the trail, in order to “interpret” the Trail anew and render his insight into a new musical score. Now, that is something different!

“Oh, and by the way, do you know Sara Penny?” he asked. Now, I had

heard of Sara Penny fairly often in community affairs, but I had not made the connection to her as a new neighbor. So I could only reply to Marshall that I knew of her, and that I looked forward to meeting her sometime. Was I in for a treat!

In mid-February, the Iron County Historical Society hosted a standing-room-only gathering at the Iron Mission Museum with an evening of presentations on the Spanish Trail. Leo Lyman, a former classmate of mine, a fellow trails historian and the author of several books on historical trails of the West, was featured. At the gathering, a diminutive and enthusiastic young woman asked for a moment to announce a forthcoming musical presentation of the *Old Spanish Trail Suite*. Her name was Sara Penny. Click!

Sara Penny, a native of southern Utah, is an accomplished musician and violin instructor who works for the local community orchestra. When I enquired as to her association with the Old Spanish Trail, Penny replied,

“In January 2003 there was a front page article in the *Daily News* about the designation of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail by the Congress and President Bush.

I knew there were many activities associated with the Lewis and Clark Trail, and it seemed that there were similar possibilities for historical projects with the Spanish Trail. It is probably the oldest trail in the West and hasn’t had anywhere near the recognition of some of the other historical trails.”

I certainly had to agree with her there. Penny continued,

“It occurred to me that music was a good way to celebrate the three cultures which converge on the trail. In looking for appropriate music, we found little that was pertinent. I wrote a basic outline of a suite honoring the Paiutes with flute and drums, moving to Spanish music, and ending with a pioneer dance in celebration of finding their new home. I see the music as a way to acknowledge the contributions of all three groups in the development of the West, and Cedar City, in particular.”

That was the start of something big. A line in the article, that spoke of the tragedies and adversities of the trail, really impressed her. She thought this needed to be remembered. When Penny met Marshall McDonald she had the feeling that McDonald had the sensitivity and creativity to write a musical score that would do the Old Spanish Trail justice. Fortunately, McDonald was receptive to Penny’s proposal. He enlisted his friend Steve Nelson to help compose and arrange the project. Penny wrote a request for an endowment from the National Foundation for the Performing Arts to support the work. The rest, as they say, is history.

The composers added a movement called “Rainstorm” as a lament that captured the weariness and tragedies on the trail.

“We wanted to include the Paiute dancers because they add reality to the event,” Penny said, “and we also needed an authentic Native American caller, so we enlisted Brent Tom and

Travis Parashonts of the local Paiute band to perform with the orchestra in the first 'sunrise' movement. Other native dancers were also included to help local people to better appreciate Paiute culture."

In the theme of the suite, the composers find that the morning is reluctant to come forth until properly entreated to do so by a chorus of Native tribal chants. The effort of the native chanticleers is so successful that the sun seems to spring forth across the dawn of time. With a thundering of drums, it awakens the day to a relentless desert heat.

The day wears on to reveal a unified rhythm of plodding mules and the trudging of tired feet. Relief seems unlikely, until the oppressive heat of the desert is gently pushed aside by the mercies of a musical rainstorm. This refreshing interlude is brought to life by an innovative combination of plucked strings preceding a thundering background of bass and percussion instruments. And that is just a start... the arrival celebration at journey's end has yet to begin.

On 25 February 2006, the Orchestra of Southern Utah

under the baton of Xun Sun performed the world premiere of The Old Spanish Trail Suite to a packed house in Cedar City's new Heritage Center Theater. Cedar City Mayor Harold Shirley introduced the suite with the poem [given below—eds.]. At the end of the performance, the audience rose for a standing ovation.

Yes, there is yet another interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail. And the latest news: The Old Spanish Trail Suite has been scheduled for a command performance at Music City Center at Carnegie Hall!

The Old Spanish Trail Suite

by Harold Shirley

Time inched leisurely
as Paiutes hunted and trapped and irrigated
enduring droughts, floods, and insects by
drumming and dancing and chanting
imploing Mother Earth
for rain, for crops, for life.
Secure in this sanctuary
their customs and ceremonies imitated
the very rhythms of the earth
bridging generations as they
showed stoic indifference
to pain and hardship
little knowing how the Franciscan Fathers
Escalante and Domínguez
would forever alter their future.

For the Spanish, the trail merely became
a road to somewhere else
as they searched for a better route
to the presidio of Los Angeles.

Traveling over a thousand miles
through the vast solitude
uninterrupted by even a solitary cabin,
their footsteps soon introduced
a cacophony of confusion
into the Paiute's simple symphony of
silence.

Leaving no permanent scars on the land,
marauders followed the missionaries:
as a flood of
trappers, gold seekers, and slave traders
despoiled the desert dwellers
bringing a pizzicato of pain
to peaceful native Americans
forever shattering their tranquility.

A half century later,
another group traveled the trail
not following a pillar of fire
nor looking for gold,
but seeking safety,
finding the rainbow's end
in the valley near the Red Hill,

seeing that the true value
lay in the land itself.

No need of traveling further along the trail,
they put down roots
amidst rock and sand and wind
filling their new haven
with hymns of happiness—
Fiddling, singing, dancing—
no longer wanderers
but warders of the land itself,
their music echoed the
petroglyphs of the past,
giving the feeling that
the only way to go forward
is by looking backwards
where we may discover
that Pow Wows may be
more important than iPods,
that sanity may lie more in siestas
than cell phones
that the fiddling of the pioneers
may be more important
than all this fiddle of the present.

Mapping Workshop Exceeds All Expectations

Sponsored by the NPS and the BLM, a mapping workshop was held from March 30 to April 1 at the Phoenix BLM Field Office. The purpose of the assembly was to examine the complete Old Spanish National Historic Trail, review the documentation that led to the route alignments, and look closely at the detail of the digitized routes as shown on the official “administrative map.” The group totaled twenty-five people with a wide knowledge of the OST: two from the NPS, three from the BLM, eighteen of OSTA’s trail experts, one from the Southern Ute Tribe, and one guest from Arizona State Trails.

Background on the Feasibility Study was presented by Dr. Joseph Sanchez, methods of doing trail research were presented by Steve Madsen, and trail routes were discussed by Hal Steiner, Liz Warren, and by Pat Richmond in absentia. Then Paul Ostapuk facilitated us through the mapping analysis of over 20 questions that the group had collectively prepared prior to the workshop. These were very detailed discussions using topographic maps, digitally projected with the administrative routes overlaid.

When the OST routes were first placed on maps for the Feasibility Study, they were carefully digitized on a 1:500,000 small scale topographic map, and were intended only to graphically depict the Trail’s routes. At that scale, everything

looked fine and those maps served us well at the time.

After National Historic Trail status was achieved, both OSTA and the agency field offices wanted to see more detail—more than just an indication of the corridor—on exactly where the routes were located. To examine this issue at the workshop, we overlaid and projected the administrative map onto large scale 1:24,000 topographic maps. It then became apparent that the routes did not lie on the map exactly where they should, often missing by a mile or more. As the map scale was increased, we realized that we would have to relocate most of the original digitized points. Many parts of the route were examined in this fashion, the consensus being that everything should be realigned using the 1:24,000 scale maps.

Additional questions were raised about short “alternate” route segments that have been shown on the administrative map. These were reviewed on the projected map, detailed concerns were expressed, the documentation was reviewed by the historians present, and several of those segments were eliminated. Questions were raised about the geographical location of other short segments: “Was it in this canyon or that canyon? Did it go to this spring or to that spring?” These, too, were thoughtfully reviewed by the historians present and some adjustments were made by consensus.

Making all these revisions to the shapefile that is used for the administrative map is a huge project. Since the OSTA mapping committee had already completed some of this in preparation for the workshop, the agencies requested that OSTA compile a revised shapefile based on all of the workshop decisions, that it be compatible with 1:24,000 scale maps, and that its format be suitable for importing into the agency ArcInfo mapping program. For normal distribution to the public it will continue to be printed at the 1:500,000 scale, but using the corrected digitizing, and it will be available for agency field work at 1:24,000 with full detail shown. No date was set for completion of the revised shapefile, but it is already in process.

In addition to the mapping, consideration was given to standardization of the route names being used. We all recognized the need for this. We now have the Main Route, the North Branch, the Armijo Route, and the Mojave Route. Everyone should make note of these modifications and use them in their writings.

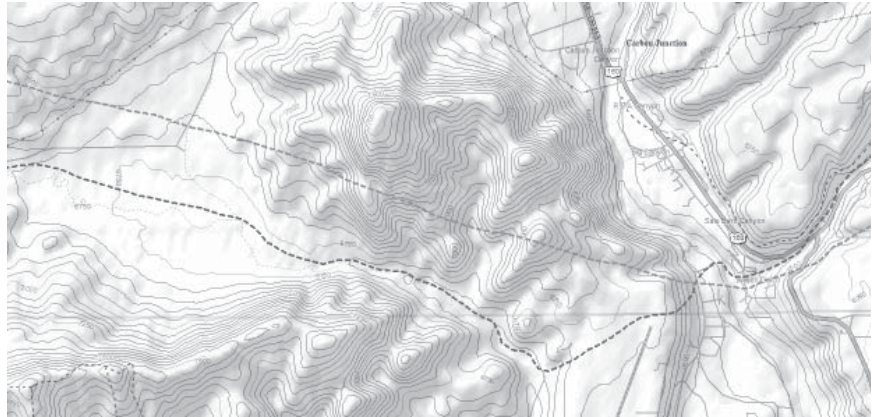
It was June of 2005 at the Las Vegas annual conference that we first had a serious discussion about the need for this workshop. The wait was worthwhile, the participation was outstanding, and the results exceeded our expectations in many ways. Thank you Aaron Mahr of NPS and Sarah Schlanger of BLM!

Kenn Carpenter
Mapping Committee Chairman



Mapping Workshop

Steve Madsen explains a proposed alignment correction.



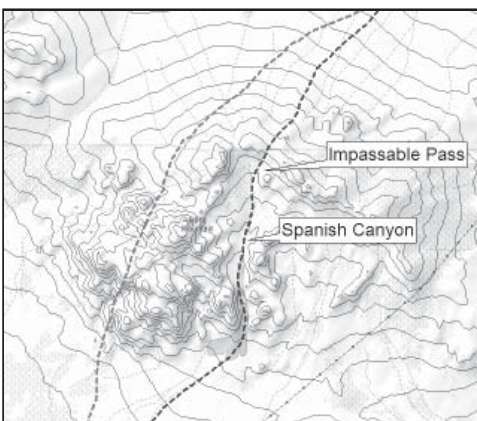
Shown are the alignment adjustments that will be made in Ridges Basin and for the crossing of the Animas River, just south of Durango, Colorado. This is typical of adjustments needed everywhere as the shapefile is correlated to match the 1:24,000 map scale.



Dr. Joseph Sanchez and Cliff Walker confer on interpretation of a historical document.



Dr. James Jefferson of the Southern Ute Tribe describes where his ancestral trails were located.



Alvord Mountains, east of Barstow.



Liz Warren and John Hockaday discuss the Cajon Pass alignment.

photos by Kenn Carpenter

Interpreting Rocks and Cultures Along the Old Spanish National Historic Trail

Doug Knudson

The OST will generate tourism—local, national, and international. It will tell compelling stories of the diverse people that built our complex southwestern culture. It will provide visitors cultural contacts with a half-dozen tribal communities, with still-traditional Hispanic communities, and with chances to explore a wide-ranging sweep of history and commerce. Visitors will travel through some of the most stunning and varied scenery that this nation can offer.

Visitors will also find plenty of rock art near the OST. The rock art tells us clearly that the trail started in antiquity, but also reveals use of the trail in more recent times. Careful interpretative exhibits would be very beneficial.

Utes, Pueblos, Navajos, Apaches, Comanches, Paiutes, and Mojaves can give their stories about the routes. Their ancestors pointed out trail segments to Spanish and Anglo traders in the early 1800s. Of course, they didn't call it the Old Spanish Trail. They marked the rocks along the older Ute and Paiute trails, the Old Pueblo trading roads, and the Comanche raiding routes into northern New Mexico.

Although the legacy of life and conflict sketched on the rock walls can suffer from inconsiderate

tourists who do not follow trail ethics, proactive approaches of preparation and interpretation offer hope for developing a sense of stewardship in all our citizens.

To accomplish this goal we need a three-pronged approach—planning, selection, and effective administration. Planning has begun through the “scoping” process, which allows citizens to address the following issues: management of rock art resources along the trail, selection of the best-protected rock art sites, and the interpretation of the sites in ways that will inspire visitors to love and protect them. We also need to identify which sites should be put off-limits.

There is a lesson to be learned from Petroglyphs National Monument near Albuquerque. The pressure for development there is very strong. The affirmation by nineteen pueblo leaders that the petroglyphs are sacred to them only served to retard the new roads that are penetrating the monument.

Significant rock art and other sites exist on or near several key segments of the Old Spanish Trail. Here are a few examples:
NM – Crow Canyon, a component of Cañon Largo.
CO – Ute Mountain. Tribal Park; west side of San Luis Valley; Cochetopa Hills.
UT – San Rafael Swell; Parowan Canyons and Gap
NV – Valley of Fire St. Park; Sloan Canyon NCA.
CA – Mojave Desert.

Although some of these and other sites enjoy excellent protection or monitoring, many do not. The planners and managers of the OSNHT, in cooperation with groups such as the OSTA and the CRAA, need to answer the following questions:

- How will we manage and protect these sites?
- How can we best interpret these reminders of people who lived off this land for many more centuries than the Spanish and Anglos?
- How can we create significant experiences and messages that deepen understanding within our domestic and foreign visitors?
- How can the OSNHT help inspire stewardship so that people understand, cherish, and guard rock art?

I submit that effective and active interpretation will be a stronger tool than trying to hide these relics of the past.

*Condensation of an address
to the Colorado Rock Art
Association
May 6, 2006*



Book Reviews

On the Edge of Empire: The Taos Hacienda of los Martínez.

David J. Weber. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1996. ISBN 0890133018. 120 pages. Appendix, bibliography, index. Paperback, \$17.50.

David J. Weber is a well-established authority on the history of colonial Hispanic North America. His 1992 book, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. This book on the history of the Martínez Hacienda will not disappoint readers interested in the history of the Southwest.

In 1992 the acting director of the Kit Carson Historic Museums requested Weber “to write an essay that would situate the early years of the Martínez hacienda in time and place.” Weber’s essay became *On the Edge of Empire: The Taos Hacienda of los Martínez*. While most of the book concerns the period from 1804 until his death in 1827, during which don Severino Martínez built and occupied the hacienda, Weber covers a broader time span. He traces the possible ancestry of don Severino to members of Oñate’s 1598 expedition, recounts the Martínez’ family history in Abiquiú, and concludes with the history of the hacienda after don Severino’s death. Despite an extensive bibliography, Weber admits to a scarcity of resources for research due to the destruction of early records during the so-called Taos Rebellion of 1847.

On March 25, 1787, Antonio Severino Martínez married Maria del Carmel. He was twenty-six, and she was fourteen. In 1804, the Martínez family moved from Abiquiú to Taos. The family prospered in the Taos Valley, with its favorable climate and fertile soil. With the growth of his extensive land holdings, Severino and his wife held a “hacienda” in the true Mexican sense. He became one of the most powerful patriarchs in the Taos Valley. He and his wife raised six children in their hacienda. The most famous of these was Padre Antonio José Martínez. The family survived hostile Indians, the entrance of Anglo Americans into New Mexico, and the difficult last years of Spanish rule. Don Severino died in 1827. His last will and testament, translated by Ward Alan Minge and published in 1963 in the *New Mexico Quarterly*, is included as an appendix. According to Minge, “Don Severino’s last will is unusual both in its detail and for the careful accounting of its settlement. None of the few known wills of the time are accompanied with a comparable itemized listing with appraisals” (p 100). This last will and testament provides insight into the culture of the time and place and into the kinds of possessions held by wealthy and influential *vecinos* in the Taos Valley in the early nineteenth century.

Following his death, three of Don Severino’s sons carried on the legacy of their father, gaining economic

and political influence throughout the turbulent 1840s and under the rule of the United States. The Martínez Hacienda belonged to the youngest son, Pascual Bailon, at the time of his death in 1882. Over the next 90 years under various absentee owners, the hacienda fell into disrepair. The Kit Carson Memorial Foundation, which administers the Kit Carson Home and Museum in Taos, acquired the hacienda in 1972. The director of the Kit Carson Memorial Foundation, Jack K. Boyer, began the tedious restoration of the *casa mayor*. Ten years and \$500,000 later, the restoration of what Boyer called La Hacienda de Don Antonio Severino Martínez was completed. The hacienda remains an attraction to thousands of visitors every year.

The book includes a photographic essay by Anthony Richards, with an accompanying text by Skip Miller, co director and curator of the Kit Carson Historic Museums. These photographs and text give a sense of entering into historically important lives in a manor house in colonial New Mexico.

Judy Querfeld



Gateways to Southern California: Indian Footpaths, Horse Trails, Wagon Roads, Railways, and Highways.

John W. Robinson. Arcadia, California: The Big Santa Anita Historical Society, 2005. ISBN 0961542187. 488 pages, photos, maps, bibliography, index. \$69.95.

Historically, the mountains of Southern California posed a tremendous barrier to travel. Almost all overland travel to the populated areas of the region channeled through a small number of mountain passes: the Carrizo-Vallecito Corridor, and San Geronimo, Cajon, San Fernando and Tejon passes. In *Gateways to Southern California*, John Robinson examines the important roles each of these mountain passes played in the history of Southern California. In doing so, he does a fine job of placing trail development in the wider context of the settlement of Southern California.

Following introductory chapters that examine the Native American trading paths that criss-crossed the area and the early expeditions by Spanish explorers of the region, each of the above “gateways” is treated in separate chapters. Robinson reconstructs the history for each corridor chronologically, from the Spanish/Mexican era through the period of American expansion, to the onset of railroads and highways. His generous inclusion of maps provide useful orientation to the geographic format.

Robinson traces the growth of the various trails and roads into Southern California, their varied uses, and their effects on the landscape. Throughout each section, the author weaves a discussion of the colorful individuals and groups associated with each trail. There is something here for everybody: the Anza expedition; the establishment of Californio ranchos and the secularization of the missions; the expeditions of early trappers such as Jedediah Smith and Ewing Young; the development of the Old Spanish Trail, from the Armijo expedition, through the Rowland-Workman expedition and the establishment of the Hispanic Agua Mansa settlement to the Mormon Salt Lake Wagon Road and the growth of San Bernardino; the Mexican War and the entrance of the U.S. Army under Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny and Lt. Philip St. George Cooke with the Mormon Battalion; gold rush travel and cattle drives over the southern emigrant trail; the Jackass Mail and the Butterfield Overland Mail; the story of Edward Beale, the Tejon Indian reservation and Fort Tejon; the Civil War episodes of Carleton’s California Column and of the militarization of the Mojave River Road; and much, much more. The characters who were heavily involved in early Southern California history – Fages, Anza, Garcés, Smith, William Wolfskill, Isaac Williams, Jonathan Trumbull Warner, Pauline Weaver, Lorenzo Trujillo, Rowland, Workman, Benjamin Wilson, the Picos, Cave Coutts, Peter Lebec, Beale, Samuel Bishop, and many others– are treated in detail. For railroad buffs, there are several insightful

sections delineating the growth of the railroads through the passes, with a complete chapter devoted to the surmounting of the Tehachapi Barrier. The discussion of each gateway concludes with the onset of modern highways.

Clearly *Gateways to Southern California* is not designed for a straight-through reading at one sitting. Given the book’s vast scope, a reader without prior knowledge of the subject might become lost in detail. Instead, the book should be viewed as an incredibly thorough reference guide to the history of particular trails and to the role of the trails in the development of Southern California. A reader seeking knowledge of a specific topic, for example Jedediah Smith’s entry into California, will find a very thoroughgoing treatment, put in the context of the history of the area. The research for this book is excellent, and Robinson’s citations enable the reader to turn to other sources for more information, offering an excellent starting point for scholars. The author has done his homework, researching government documents, contemporary newspapers, diaries, letters, and guidebooks, as well as both primary and secondary sources.

John Robinson’s *Gateways to Southern California* is a comprehensive history of the overland routes into Southern California. It is an invaluable source book. No one interested in the history of California and the Southwest should be without it.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Gentle Artist of the San Gabriel Valley: California History Preserved Through the Life and Paintings of Walter P. Temple, Jr.
Josette Laura Temple with Laura W. Brundige. Las Vegas: Stephens Press, 2004. ISBN: 1-932173-31-5. 142 pages. Illustrations, photographs, documents, maps, and bibliography.

In this book, Josette Temple, daughter of Walter Temple, Jr., breathes reality into the heritage of the San Gabriel Valley of Southern California. Harking back to the mid-1800s, Temple relates the histories of the Temple, Gonzalez, Didier, Workman, and Rowland families, who settled the land and established homes, churches, schools, restaurants, and even towns in what is now a densely populated area east of Los Angeles.

The first chapter chronicles the life and heritage of Walter P. Temple, Jr., “The Gentle Artist.” Born in 1909, Wally was the fourth of five children of Walter Sr. and Laura Gonzalez, who melded an Anglo and Spanish heritage and culture that define their descendants to this day. Walter Temple, Jr., was born on Rancho Merced, which had been partly obtained from the Workman family in 1851. After his birth, the family purchased land near Montebello, where oil was discovered 1914. By 1917, over two dozen wells were pumping “black gold” from beneath the Temple family’s property. This new wealth allowed Wally’s parents to begin designing and constructing “La Casa Nueva” on the Workman Homestead in 1917. Laura Gonzalez Temple’s sudden death

in 1922 devastated young Walter. As a tribute to his wife, Walter Sr. continued the renovating of the family home. [Editors’ note: La Casa Nueva can be visited on the grounds of the Workman-Temple Homestead Museum in the City of Industry.]

Wally’s later paintings of the Workman Homestead and Laura Gonzalez’ Home, as well as his velvety-smooth, pastel landscapes of the hillsides of La Puente, portray the affection of the man for the people and places he had loved as a child. Photographs of these paintings permeate this glossy-paged book. Nellie and Walter Jr. were both devout Roman Catholics, and several of Wally’s paintings depict churches where the family worshipped. Others depict the Virgin of Guadalupe. In 1976 Walter was commissioned to create a commemorative medal for the Bicentennial celebration. His design portrayed the Rowland Mansion (built in 1855) on one side, with the Workman Homestead on the other, along with the American Liberty Bell. The historical and biographical significance of the family’s ancestry is summed up by the inclusion of the other dates and symbols on the medallion:

Centered are the Rowland and Workman cattle brands and the year 1841, commemorating the arrival of his great-grandfather’s expedition, the first overland mule train of New Mexican and white pioneers to arrive in the La Puente Valley with the intention of settling. The reverse side of the medallion depicts the Gaspar de Portola Party in 1769, the first European group to explore the La Puente Hills region, and the builders of the fabled bridge over the San Jose Creek.

This scene is superimposed over a faint outline of California, which became a state in 1850. (21)

The medallions, with their varied depictions of covered wagons, national symbols, dates, buildings, and expeditions, sum up even more dramatically than the written descriptions themselves just how significant the Temple-Workman-Gonzalez-Didier family’s contributions were to the settling of the La Puente area. Josette Temple concludes the first chapter by summing up her father’s life as a “gentle artist”—a man whose luminous, colorful paintings transport the reader back in time to a period of unhurried living in a land before transcontinental railroads and freeways.

The book includes a chapter detailing the Rowland family’s contribution to the settling of the area. Southern California residents will be familiar with the names of towns that exist today: El Monte, San Pedro, Boyle Heights, and La Puente. The Workmans, the Temples, and the Rowlands were influential in the development of railroad lines and the founding of cities. A pioneer spirit gave these men a forward-looking mentality that brought about commercial development to the area.

Excerpts from the journals of Alice Ruth Karstens, who married John Rowland III in 1900, record the history of the San Gabriel Valley around the turn of the century. Her observations describe the Spanish culture that permeated their world—the lifestyle, the food,

the rituals, the family gatherings and picnics. In those days, “life was quieter and simpler. Their home, their church, which was the San Gabriel Mission, and their friends were their chief interests. The great outside world held little curiosity for the men and was never of interest to the women” (58). This was the world in which Walter Temple, Jr., grew up; this was the world that Josette Temple writes about with such tenderness. The reader gleans a *feel* for the life of families in turn-of-the-century America, with the journals specifically portraying a life in which Spanish traditions were vitally incorporated. The richness of the melded cultures is undeniable.

If there is a fault with this book, it is the sheer number of family names—a diagram of the entire family tree would be helpful. It is clear, however, that this book was written with great affection of a daughter for a father, whom she dubbed “The Gentle Artist of the San Gabriel Valley.” The book is beautiful—the pictures of Walter’s paintings are a tribute to a man who saw vibrant color in the world around him, a non-commercial rural countryside of yesteryear. The narrative, the family photos and portraits, the names of geographical places and buildings, all convince the reader that without the Temple, Workman, and Rowland families, the San Gabriel Valley would not have the foundation that it stands upon today. It is a nostalgic book about the types of people who founded Southern California.

Jean Chapman

***The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith:
His Personal Account of the
Journey to California, 1826-1827***
Edited by George R. Brooks.
Lincoln: U. of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Written in St. Louis in 1832 shortly before his death, Jedediah Smith’s manuscript, which narrates his expedition from northeast Utah to California by way of what became a major portion of the Old Spanish Trail, was lost and for years remained unpublished. Dale Morgan wrote his biography of Jedediah Smith in 1953; in 1967 in St. Louis he predicted that the manuscript would be found some day. Four months later it turned up in papers that the Ashley family donated to the local historical society. George R. Brooks took on the job of preparing the document with extensive supporting notes. It was published by Arthur H. Clark Company in 1977 and then re-published by the University of Nebraska Press in 1989. It is currently out of print, but is available at reasonable cost through Amazon.com.

Although Dale Morgan’s biography, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (New York, 1953), has information on Smith’s Southwest expedition, this manuscript, accompanied by the helpful editing of Brooks, extends our knowledge of the journey.

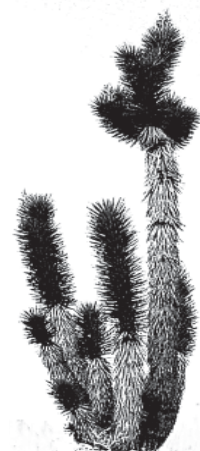
The details of this trip are well known; they have been described, for example, by John Robinson in the Fall 2005 issue of *Spanish Traces*. Smith’s journey from the

August 1826 rendezvous near Salt Lake, Utah, through southern Utah and Nevada, and across the Mojave Desert to Los Angeles, traversed portions of what later became the Old Spanish Trail, much of which had not been previously traveled. In addition to a record of his travels, the book also gives a very interesting picture of early mission life in California after Mexico achieved independence from Spain.

Along with Smith’s manuscript, George Brooks includes the text of Harrison G. Rogers’ “Daybook.” This journal, written by Smith’s clerk, was recovered by Smith from the Umpqua Indians following the death of Rogers in the massacre of July 14, 1828. Rogers’ journal, the excellent maps, and Brooks’s footnotes provide readers with new insights into many aspects of Smith’s 1826-1827 expedition.

A compelling read, *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith* belongs on the book shelf of every history and enthusiast of southwestern history and U.S. exploration

Robert Youker



Who led the Rowland-Workman party? An exchange.

(continued from page 1)

and Hafen¹ the official leader of the mule caravan that left Abiquiu on September 6, 1841, was Francisco Vigil, and he should receive the credit. The Vaca and Peña families, along with Rowland and Workman, and Benjamin Wilson (who should receive equal credit with Rowland and Workman) joined Vigil and stayed close to the mule train most of the way. California-bound travelers “traveled with or followed the regular trade caravan of the year, which was under the licensed leadership of Franco Estevan Vigil.”² However, Rowland, Workman, Vaca, and Peña did not stay with Vigil all the way; they arrived in Los Angeles several days behind the trade caravan.³

The real question is the following: who joined who on the 1841 Spanish Trail expedition? Hafen and Hafen write that J. Manuel Baca and his family (Peña is not mentioned) were included in the list of travelers that Rowland submitted to the *Ayuntamiento*.⁴ But according to Wood Young, the author of a small book on the Vacas and Peñas published in 1971, the Vacas and Peñas were in contact with Comandante-General Mariano Vallejo as early as 1837, and planned their trip well in advance of the 1841 trade caravan.⁵ Hafen and Hafen explain that Rowland and Workman, were under threat from New Mexico Governor Manuel Armijo.⁶ Perhaps they joined the expedition at the last minute.

My overview is as follows. The leader of the 100-mule 1841 trade caravan was Francisco Estevan Vigil. Rowland, Workman, Wilson, Vaca, and Peña all started out with Vigil, but later dropped several days back, probably because traveling with the caravan and camping with a hundred mules every night was too unpleasant. Whether or not Rowland and Workman “led” the emigrant party after they dropped behind Vigil is not known. It appears more likely that that they agreed to travel together for their mutual protection from Utes and Paiutes. I certainly agree with John Sharpe that both Rowland and Workman, who later were the masters of Rancho La Puente, were outstanding figures in Southern California history. But whether they should be credited with “leading” the emigrant group is clearly open to question.

Paul Spitzzeri: I would first like to address the issue of how to interpret the evidence concerning the leadership of the expedition based on two kinds of documentation, personal accounts and contemporaneous reports. Alex King is quoted in footnote 25, as saying that, apart from a small number of contemporaneous reports, all other accounts are “highly colored ‘personal accounts’ done years later by the Anglo-adventurers in the party,” which seems to imply that one must consider the motivations of the tellers. Benjamin D. Wilson’s statement that “we formed a party and were joined by a large number of New Mexicans”⁷ does not reveal a “highly colored”

motivation of assigning leadership other than the very general “we.” In fact, narratives that *do* declare expedition leaders include those of Isaac Given and Albert G. Toomes. Given, Toomes, Wade Hampton, and John McClure⁸ had missed the Bidwell-Bartleson Party, which arrived in northern California from Missouri at about the same time as the southern expedition. Given, therefore, in his Bancroft interview, declared that he and his compatriots led the group.⁹ Toomes, by contrast, found a larger context in his 1868 recollection: there was one 1841 emigrant party with two branches, consisting of Bidwell-Bartleson on the north and the southern one led by William Workman.¹⁰ Were these two narratives constructed in a way that reflected the motivations of the tellers? Absolutely, but, then again, a growing body of literature on the personal narrative concludes that *all* such narratives do this, to greater or lesser degrees.

The first contemporaneous account is that of Francisco Esteban Vigil. In his October 15, 1841, report to the Los Angeles authorities about the coming expedition, he states, “I give you notice that a **party of American merchants** are coming, and **with them are others** who have the intention of residing in your country [my emphasis].”¹¹ There is no reason to believe that Vigil had any prejudices and motivations behind this statement and, yet, it has an obvious implication: there is an organized group of Americans on their way to Los Angeles and others are coming with them. Certainly we could debate who the “others” might be,

but it seems abundantly clear that Vigil not only doesn't include the expedition with his trading caravan but that he identifies it as "a party of American merchants."

Then, there is the February 26, 1842, list of expedition members provided by John Rowland to Manuel Dominguez. Obviously, Los Angeles authorities wanted a written record of the expedition's arrival, and it seems plausible, if not definitive, that they would approach the expedition leader for help in compiling the roster. We know, from prefectural records,¹² that Manuel Baca was in Los Angeles at the time, and, in fact, was in company with Rowland shortly thereafter when they traveled north. So, why was Rowland the one who compiled the list and drafted a statement of intentions? The only reasonable interpretation is that local officials considered him a leader and, as such, asked him to provide the documentation they requested. This is, of course, not an entirely settled point, but is, like the Vigil statement, a highly suggestive, contemporary primary source.

Unless there is some hard evidence or documentation that is exact or suggestive of some other leadership of the expedition, it seems to me that ascribing leadership of it to Rowland and Workman is still warranted based on what the historical record shows.

Outside of the leadership question, I'd like to address the question of whether Rowland and Workman, under threat from New Mexico

Governor Manuel Armijo, joined the expedition at the last minute. Actually, we do know, via Hafen and Hafen,¹³ that Simeon Turley, a distilling competitor, wrote to his brother in April 1841 of Rowland and Workman's plans to go to California, intentions no doubt in the works for some time before the letter, and probably directly related to their connection to the 1840 plans for the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition. Without some evidence or documentation, it is speculative to conclude that Rowland and Workman knew of the plans of Vaca and Peña and joined them. This also applies to the statements about why the emigrants didn't stay with Vigil, if they indeed started with him, and to the effect that the Americans and Europeans traveled with the New Mexicans for mutual protection.

My summary then is as follows: In October and November 1841, a trading caravan and an expedition composed mainly of settlers arrived separately, but in close proximity, in Los Angeles from New Mexico using the Old Spanish Trail. The trading caravan, led by Francisco Esteban Vigil, was the last of the season and was probably quite typical of those that plied the trail from about 1830 until the later 1840s. The expedition, however, was unusual in the annals of the Old Spanish Trail to that date. Historically, it has been denoted the "Workman and Rowland Party" or "Rowland and Workman Expedition" because recollections by American or European expedition members,

compiled years after the fact, assign leadership to John Rowland and William Workman. The few contemporaneous records and reports, particularly Francisco Esteban Vigil's October 15, 1841, report and John Rowland's February 26, 1842, expedition membership list, however, are the closest, if not definitive, in indicating that Rowland and/or Workman had the primary leadership roles. Regardless of this question, however, the Rowland and Workman Expedition, along with that of the Bidwell-Bartleson wagon train of settlers in the north at almost the same time, exemplifies the increased movement of Americans and Europeans into Mexican California immediately preceding the Mexican-American War, the conquest of California, and the establishment of a fully continental United States.

John Robinson: It is probably true that Rowland, Workman, and the other Anglos considered leaving New Mexico as early as April 1841. But their actual departure in September was truly a hurried decision motivated by fear of arrest by a wrathful Governor Manuel Armijo. The governor was angry with them for their alleged involvement in the Texas-Santa Fe affair.

Paul states that evidence is lacking to show that Rowland and Workman knew beforehand of Vaca and Peña's plans to travel to California. But there was no need for the Americans to know this. Francisco Vigil's annual trade

caravan schedule was undoubtedly well known in Santa Fe. Aware of Vigil's plans, the Americans arrived in Abiquiu in time for the September departure.

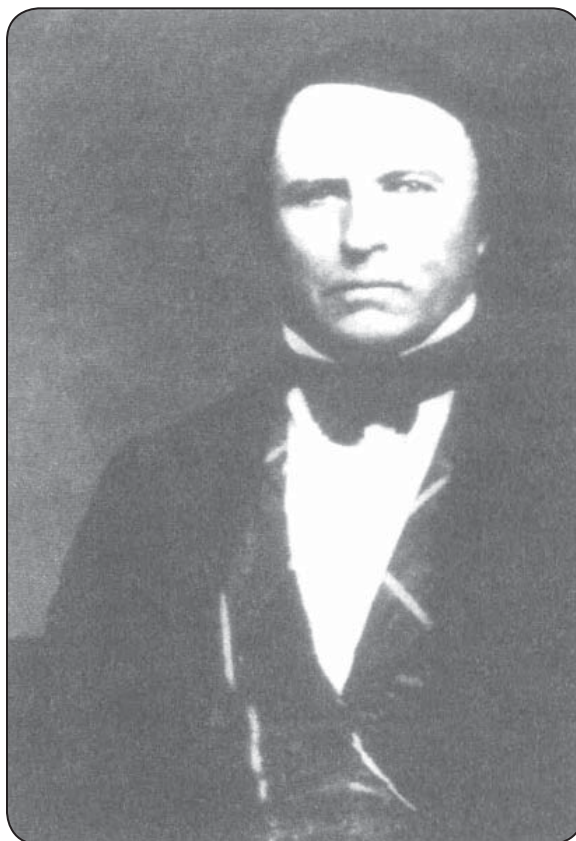
Vigil's message to the Los Angeles *Ayuntamiento* that a party of Americans was enroute to California was probably motivated, at least in part, by suspicion of the latter's motives. Ever since Jedediah Smith's surprise visit to California in 1826-27, Californio officials were very wary of Americans traveling overland to the coastal province. This is likely the reason both for Vigil's warning to the *Ayuntamiento* and for why Rowland later was asked to give his report. The Vaca and Peña families were ethnic Mexicans, and having obtained their passport to travel the trail well in advance, they aroused no such concern.

In summary, the question remains, what do we call the emigrant party that followed some distance behind Vigil's trade caravan to California in the fall of 1841? I have no objection to referring to the American contingent as the Rowland-Workman Party, in view of the fact that many of the participants, then and years later, agreed it should be so-named. It is equally valid to refer to the Hispanic contingent as the Vaca-Peña Party, as these two families planned their trip in advance. Perhaps we should add the name Trujillo. Lorenzo Trujillo, who traveled with the same party, was a founder of the first New Mexican colony in California at

Politana, later Agua Mansa/La Placita, along the Santa Ana River south of today's city of Colton. And with the Anglo contingent was Benjamin Wilson, later the first mayor of Los Angeles and a state senator. Indeed, this 1841 group of emigrants contained a number of distinguished individuals, both Anglo and Hispanic, who made their mark on nineteenth-century California.

Paul Spitzzeri: John states in his last comments that "their actual departure in September was truly a hurried decision motivated by fear of arrest by a wrathful Governor Manuel Armijo." To the contrary, their plans for departure were made as early as April. Workman

and Rowland's *guias* were issued in July and August and, as Hafen and Hafen very reasonably state, "It had taken some resolution and considerable planning for them to dispose of holdings, convert real property into cash or livestock, and make necessary arrangements for the journey."¹⁴ Moreover, recall what Hafen and Hafen quote from Armijo when he authorized Vigil's trading caravan in early August: "In the opinion of this Government the news received regarding the Texans is exaggerated and even suppositious."¹⁵ Whatever animated Armijo's "wrathful" denunciation of Rowland and Workman in a letter of 22 September, this has no relation to their previous carefully-laid plans.¹⁶ It is worth adding that the enmity shared between Armijo and Rowland and Workman goes back to, at least, the Taoséño revolt of 1837, when Rowland and Workman were said to have been forced to swear loyalty to the usurpers, and the subsequent arrests of the two men for smuggling.¹⁷ Their inclusion in April 1840 by Texas President Lamar on a commission promoting Lamar's scheme was soon followed by their replacement by two others in 1841, but the groundwork was laid for removal to California. Finally, there is a April 25, 1834 bill of sale from the Rowland family papers. Jose Ramon Copaz, or Cooper, acting as an agent for Rowland, purchased six horses from the La Puente ranch and on the reverse wrote: "The Rancho La Puente of the department of California is near



William Workman, ca 1852.
courtesy Los Angeles Public Library

the pueblo of Los Angeles . . . [and] there is no better place like the said pueblo of Los Angeles in all the department.” This glowing recommendation may have planted, eight years in advance, a seed in Rowland’s mind when troubles in New Mexico led him and others in the expedition to head west.¹⁸

Then, concerning John’s contention that Rowland and Workman and their fellow Americans and Europeans gathered in September “in time for the September departure” of Vigil’s caravan, there is no way of knowing whether there was a joining of the latter by the former. All we know is that, by mid October, Vigil is ahead of the others.

So, to restate: The assignation of a name to the group gives it an identity, but not its significance. In three recent articles on the subject, my core summation is that what will keep the expedition relevant is its place in the transformation of Mexican California in the years before American conquest.¹⁹ Still, the Vigil report and the list provided by Rowland are the sources that come closest in validating the term “Rowland and Workman Expedition.” One refers to a “party of American merchants,” denoting a separate organization and the other has Rowland as signatory. There is nothing on record to reasonably suggest otherwise. But, it is only a name. As long as we remember the diversity of the expedition, the settlement of many of its members throughout Alta California, and the symbolic significance of it in the years leading up to the American

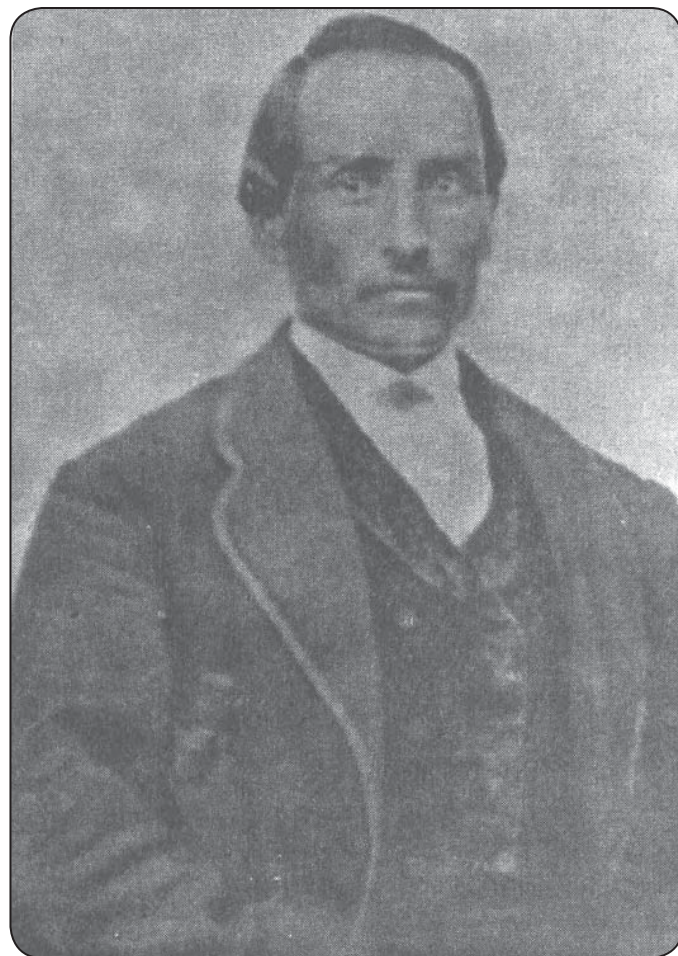
conquest, then the expedition will be worth remembering.

John Robinson:

Paul is correct that Rowland, Workman, and other Americans prepared to leave New Mexico several months in advance. However, their actual departure appears to me to have been somewhat hurried. According to Benjamin Wilson, “Rowland, Workman and myself, together with about twenty other Americans, . . . concluded it was not safe for us to remain longer in New Mexico.”²⁰

Their fears were based largely on suspicion on the part of New Mexican authorities that the Americans were involved in the ill-fated Texas-Santa Fe Expedition. They also probably feared the wrath and often irrational behavior of Governor Manuel Armijo, well illustrated by his “barbarous cruelty, . . . among the most bestial ever meted out” that Armijo exacted on the captured Texans.²¹ The Governor’s brutal treatment of the Texans suggests a similar fate for the Americans had they lingered even a week or two longer in New Mexico.

Governor Armijo appears to have been somewhat unstable mentally and given to rapid



Juan Manuel Vaca
courtesy Jerry Bowen

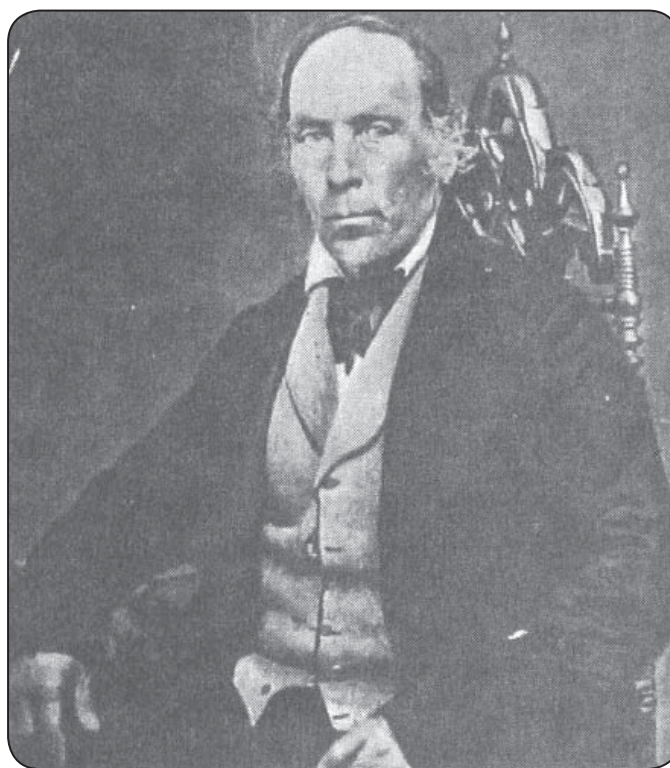
changes of mood. Examples are the statement made by Armijo’s assistant on September 14 that “foreigners would be protected if they did not take part in the Texan trouble,” followed a few days later by an order prohibiting foreigners from leaving the towns of their residence.²² A week later Armijo specifically denounced Rowland and Workman as “traitors” who had gone to California “to seduce and confuse.”²³ These conflicting messages, along with many other incidents in the governor’s long career, appear to illustrate a pattern of irrational behavior.

Regarding the date of departure from Abiquiu, we know that Francisco Vigil's trade caravan left for California on September 6. Writing years later, Wilson stated that the Rowland-Workman party departed "in the first week of September."²⁴ This strongly implies that they all started together, or possibly within a day or two of each other.

It also needs to be emphasized that, while Rowland and Workman prepared for their departure several months in advance, the Vaca and Peña families evidently planned their move to California several *years* beforehand. According to Vaca-Peña biographer Wood Young, "by 1837 Senor Vaca had been in touch with [California comandante-general] Vallejo to give him land for colonization, and it is possible that some of the Vacas may have been shown their future lands by General Vallejo in 1838-1839."²⁵

All of this bears no relation to the leadership, or non-leadership, of the 1841 emigrant group, long known as the Rowland-Workman Party. My main concern is the slighting of the Vacas and Peñas in almost all accounts of the 1841 emigrants. While Rowland and Workman, and even more so Wilson, were important in the development of Southern California, Juan Manuel Vaca and Juan Felipe Peña were equally significant in the settlement of

northern California. Rowland and Workman are remembered today in the Workman-Temple Homestead Museum in City of Industry, the community of Rowland Heights, and two major streets in West Covina. Vaca and Peña are honored by the northern California city of Vacaville and the Peña Adobe, restored as California Historical Landmark #534. Today's students of the Old Spanish Trail are very familiar with the names Rowland



Juan Felipe Peña, circa 1860.
courtesy Jerry Bowen

and Workman, but the names Vaca and Peña remain virtually unknown. One of my purposes in contributing to this exchange is to give these two courageous pioneers their just due.

Paul Spitzzeri: I'll extend John's point to say that there should be no

slighting of *anyone* who came with the expedition to California. It is the widespread settlement pattern of expedition members throughout Alta California that made it most historically significant. In addition to raising more awareness about the Vacas and Peñas, we should be doing the same for Lorenzo Trujillo and the New Mexicans who settled at La Politana/San Salvador/Agua Mansa in Riverside County, for William Gordon and his family in Yolo County, for Thomas Lindsey at Stockton, for William Knight at Knight's Ferry and Knight's Landing, and so on.²⁶

This leads to a larger contextual slight. Because it was the first American wagon train to cross to California, the Bidwell-Bartleson Party has always been highlighted as the "pioneer immigrant group of 1841," while the "other" expedition got comparatively short shrift. This is certainly the reason why Albert Toomes was so keen, however fancifully, to link the Rowland and Workman Expedition with Bidwell-Bartleson when he gave his 1868 reminiscence.

For my part, assigning leadership to Rowland and Workman (the former more so than the latter) is not to diminish the participation of any other individuals or groups in the expedition, whatever earlier historical accounts may suggest. The scanty, sparse historical record leaves two contemporary

documents that come closest, if not definitively so, to identifying leadership: Vigil's mention of "a party of American merchants" and the list of expedition members subscribed by Rowland. Still, I think we'd all agree that the promotion of the significance of the expedition trumps the identification of its leadership.

End Notes

1. Leroy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles*. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954), p. 185.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 210-211
3. *Ibid*, p. 213.
4. *Ibid*, p. 208.
5. Wood Young, *Vaca-Peña Los Putos Rancho and the Peña Adobe*. (Vallejo: Wheeler Printing and Publishing, 1971).
6. Hafen and Hafen, pp. 199-204.
7. Benjamin D. Wilson, "The Narrative of Benjamin D. Wilson," in Robert G. Cleland, *Pathfinders* (Los Angeles: Powell Publishing Company, 1929), pp. 382-383.
8. All four are listed in Rowland's report to the *Ayuntamiento*, Hafen and Hafen, p. 207-8.
9. Isaac Given, "An Immigrant of '41," no date [ca. 1877], MS, Box C-D, folder 246, p. 10, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
10. Albert G. Toomes, "The Pioneer Overlanders of 1841," *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, July 27, 1868, p. 2 and *Los Angeles Republican*, November 28, 1868, p. 3. Also reprinted in Oscar T. Schuck, comp., *The California Scrap-Book*. (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft and Company, 1869), pp. 180-184.
11. Eleanor Lawrence, "Mexican Trade between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, 1830-1848," *California Historical Society Quarterly* X (March 1931) p. 34.
12. "Archives of Prefecture of Los Angeles, 1840 to 1850, Los Angeles County, Translation, Part II," Book II [WPA translation ca. 1937], p. 334.
13. Hafen and Hafen, p. 210.
14. *Ibid*, p. 210. Workman's travel permit, dated 14 July 1841, is in the possession of his great-great granddaughter here in Southern California. Rowland's 11 August 1841 permit, along with a 6 December 1841 verification by Ignacio Palomares of the expedition's arrival in the Los Angeles district and a 28 February 1842 permit by Manuel Dominguez allowing Rowland to travel to Monterey, which Rowland made to seek a land grant, is at the Huntington Library. It is noteworthy that the list of expedition members and the travel permit to Monterey, both subscribed by Dominguez, were dated only two days apart.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
17. David J. Weber, "John Rowland," in LeRoy Hafen, ed., *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1966,) 4, p. 381, note 3, quoting the *Missouri Republican*, 15 November 1837; Judicial Proceedings Against John Rowland for Contraband, Ist Court of Santa Fe, 18-22 July 1837 (MANM R-23, F-951) and Judicial Proceedings in the Arraignment of Julian Workman, 20-24 July 1837 (MANM R-23, F-963), New Mexico State Records and Archives, Santa Fe.
18. Hafen and Hafen, p. 204, reasonably state that "to what extent [they] . . . were sympathetic towards Texas or involved in revolutionary schemes has never been definitely determined." A Mexican official named Bustamente alleged that Workman was part of a conspiracy to assassinate Armijo, Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*, from *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889), XVII, p. 321-22, note 21. The bill of sale for California horses is owned by the La Puente Valley Historical Society. The quote from Copaz is from a rough translation done in August 1998.
19. "To Seduce and Confuse: The Rowland-Workman Expedition of 1841," *Southern California Quarterly* 80, v. 1 (Spring 1998), 31-46; "The Rowland-Workman Expedition of 1841 and the Peopling of Alta California," *Spanish Traces*, v. 7 no. 3 (Fall 2001), 20-28; "Extranjeros: The Rowland and Workman Expedition of 1841 and Migration in the American West," Gordon Morris Bakken, ed., *An Encyclopedia of Migration and Immigration in the American West* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006).
20. Warren A. Beck, *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 126-127.
21. Hafen and Hafen, p. 204.
22. *Ibid*, p. 206.
23. *Ibid*, p. 207. Historians have not been kind to Governor Armijo. Beck, among other derogatory comments, writes "Manuel Armijo had always been distinguished as a braggadocio. He had never effectively led troops in battle and was widely suspected of being a coward personally." Beck, op. cit., p. 131.
24. "The Narrative of Benjamin D. Wilson," in Robert Glass Cleland, *Pathfinders* (Los Angeles: Powell Publishing Co., 1929), pp. 382-383.
25. Wood Young, p. 1.
26. The broad reach of Expedition members in California was a central point to the articles cited in Ref. 19.

The Workman-Rowland Party of 1841

by John Sharpe

John Robinson suggests in his article in *Spanish Traces* (Fall 2005) that William Workman and John Rowland may not have instigated the well-known expedition over the Old Spanish Trail that bears their names. Robinson may be correct in thinking that the Vacas and Peñas began planning for their trip to California well before the Anglo-American business partners initiated their preparations. And Rowland and Workman certainly left New Mexico in some haste. But one man surely would have stood out as leader when that diverse party saddled up for their hazardous 1,200-mile trek in September 1841.

William Workman arrived in Philadelphia from his home in England on September 3, 1822. Early in 1823 he joined his elder brother David in a saddlery business in Franklin, Missouri. Soon after, they hired the fourteen-year-old Kit Carson as an apprentice. William was only 25 when he joined one of the first wagon trains over the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico.

Workman settled in Taos, a rough Mexican town at the foot of the lofty Sangre de Cristo Mountains. He quickly made a name for himself as a distiller of the fiery *aguardiente* known as “Taos Lightning” and then as a leading trapper among legendary figures

of the fur trade such as George C. Yount and James Ohio Pattie.

A hard man who was not always on the right side of the law, Workman stood accused in 1840 of siding with the hostile Republic of Texas. Mirabeau Lamar, President of Texas, had named him and John Rowland as his agents in New Mexico. Later, Workman was accused of plotting to assassinate New Mexico’s anti-American governor, Manuel Armijo, who vented his rage at Workman and Rowland’s “torrent of evils” in his fragile domain. By then, however, the intrepid Englishman and his partner were well on their way over the trail to Los Angeles.

In addition to the Mexican contingent, there were some 20 stalwart Anglo Americans in the Workman-Rowland Party of 1841, including the Boston-born physician Dr. L. Lyman and the trader Benjamin Davis Wilson from Tennessee. The latter was destined for prominence in California as an early mayor of Los Angeles and a state senator. These men would hardly have been thrown in their lot with Workman and Rowland for the daunting trek over the Old Spanish Trail if the pair had not known what they were doing.

The expedition arrived at Mission San Gabriel on November 5, 1841. Workman and Rowland soon owned California’s 18,000-acre Rancho La Puente. Early in 1845 Workman led Pío Pico’s contingent at the battle at Cahuenga Pass

near Los Angeles, which ousted the unpopular Governor Manuel Micheltoreno. Unerring loyalty to Governor Pico earned William the respectful title “Don Julian.”

William Workman was a natural leader. He assumed a conspicuous role as a mediator in the final stages of the U.S.-Mexican War in the Los Angeles area. His Rancho La Puente grew to nearly 50,000 acres. By the time he died at Rancho La Puente in 1876, William and a flamboyant son-in-law had founded Los Angeles’ second bank. A decade later the heroic Englishman’s nephew, William Henry, became mayor of Los Angeles.

I would respectfully argue the case for this adventurer’s claim to be the acknowledged leader of that 1841 expedition. Indeed, I would go so far as to suggest that William Workman was the very personification of early America’s concept of Manifest Destiny.



Rivers of the Grand Valley

by William L Chenoweth

The Colorado and the Gunnison Rivers have not always been called by their current names. In order to understand the maps and journals of the early explorers of western Colorado, the names that they used for the rivers they encountered are summarized in this essay, as well as in the accompanying table.

The first map of western Colorado showing the major rivers was prepared in 1778 by Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco of the 1776 Domínguez-Escalante expedition. On this map, the Colorado is shown as the *Rio de San Raphael* and the Gunnison as the *Rio de San Xavier* (Warner 144-145). In the text of the expedition, it was stated that the San Xavier was known as the *Tomichi* by the Utes (Warner 31) and the San Raphael was called the *Red River* by the Utes (Warner 45). The fur trappers, traders and mountain men who passed through the Grand Valley after Domínguez and Escalante were in western Colorado no doubt had names for the river but did not keep journals or make maps.

Captain John C. Frémont of the U.S. Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers explored the Rocky Mountains, Oregon Territory and northern California in 1842-1844, but not this part of Colorado. A map published in 1845 (Frémont) showed all of the Colorado, west of the Continental Divide, as unmapped.

The Grand River, with its source in "Old Park," was shown flowing in a southwesterly direction for several miles.

In 1848, Charles Preuss, Frémont's topographer, published a map compiled mainly from Frémont's expeditions. This map (Preuss) showed the Grand River as originating in the Continental Divide, east of Middle Park, and joining the Green River to form the Rio Colorado. Today's Gunnison River was shown as the *Eagle River*. This was the first map to show the features of western Colorado.



Also in 1848, Kit Carson accompanied Lieutenant George D. Brewerton from Los Angeles to Taos over the Old Spanish Trail and its Northern Branch. As the result of his travels in the west, several with Frémont, Carson knew that the Colorado River was formed by the junction of the Green and Grand Rivers. However, Carson got confused and Brewerton recorded in his journal that the Green River was the *Grand* and the Grand was the *Green River* (Brewerton 113, 122).

In the spring of 1853, Navy Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the state of California, was directed by Congress to take the shortest route possible to California to select lands for Indian reservations. West of the Missouri River, he chose a route along the 38th and 39th parallels, one of the routes being considered for a Pacific railroad. Lt. Beale's cousin, Gwenn Harris Heap, kept the journal of the expedition. Felipe (Pegleg) Archilete, Sr., served as guide and interpreter in western Colorado. He pointed out features to Heap,

who recorded that the river they had crossed below the mouth of the Uncompahgre River was the "Grand River Fork of the Great Colorado" (Heap 11). Today's Colorado was recorded as the *Avonkarea*, "which is Blue River in Ute tongue" (Heap 79). Heap named the main river below the confluence as the *Grand* (Heap 81).

The U.S. Government's survey of the Pacific railroad route along the 38th and 39th parallels was led by Captain John W. Gunnison of the Army's Corp of Topographical Engineers. In western Colorado, Antoine Leroux was the expedition's guide and interpreter. Since Captain Gunnison and seven men were killed by Paiutes in the Sevier Valley, Utah, on October 26, 1853, the second in command, Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith, wrote the report of

the expedition, using Gunnison's journal. A map of the expedition's route was prepared by the expedition's topographer, Richard H. Kern. The map of western Colorado and eastern Utah (Gunnison and Beckwith) shows today's Gunnison River as the *Grand*, and the Colorado as the *Nan - un - kah - rea*, or *Blue* in Ute (Beckwith 61). These names were probably pointed out to Gunnison by Leroux. West of the confluence, the river was mapped as the *Grand*.

A third group to explore the "central route" for a Pacific railroad in 1853 was led by Colonel John C. Frémont. His was a privately-funded expedition to examine winter conditions along the same route that Lieutenant Beale and Captain Gunnison had taken. Frémont kept no journal, but a member of the expedition, Solomon Nunes Carvalho, kept some notes. Carvalho refers to today's Gunnison River as the *Eagle Tail River* and the Colorado as the "Grand River, the eastern fork of the Colorado" (Carvalho 161-165).

In 1857, Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren of the Corps of Topographical Engineers compiled a map of the western United States from all the maps of the different Pacific Railroad Surveys (Warren). This was the first detailed map of the United States west of the Mississippi River. Unfortunately, Warren used Gunnison's and Beckwith's information and incorrectly showed the *Grand* and *Blue* Rivers.

While at Fort Bridger in Utah Territory, Captain Randolph B. Marcy, 5th Infantry, was directed to

cross the Rocky Mountains by the most direct route into New Mexico to procure supplies. On November 24, 1857, Captain Marcy with a party of 40 enlisted men, 25 mountain men, packers and guides left Fort Bridger. Jim Baker was the expedition's interpreter. Marcy mentions the Grand River Valley but gives no details on crossing the river (Marcy 202). When camped near the ruins of Robidoux's trading fort on December 8, 1857, Marcy recorded that the Grand River was formed by "its two principal branches, the Uncompadre and the Bunkara," the latter referring to today's Gunnison River (Marcy 203). *Bunkara* could be another spelling of the Ute word for *Blue*.

In 1860, Captain John N. Macomb of the Corps of Topographical Engineers prepared a map of

portions of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado for the War Department. This map (1860) showed the topography, drainages, and routes taken by previous expeditions. The name *Grand River* was only used for the segment of today's Colorado River between the confluence of the Gunnison and the confluence with the Green River. Apparently he was not sure which report, Frémont's or Warren's, was correct as to where the real Grand River originated.

In November 1861, Francis M. Case, Surveyor General of the Colorado Territory, prepared a map of Colorado (Case). This map showed the Colorado River as the *Grand* and the Gunnison as the *Eagle Tail River*, no doubt based on Frémont's explorations.

Ford at 28 1/4 road

Sketched by Henrt Gannett, 1875

Noth Side

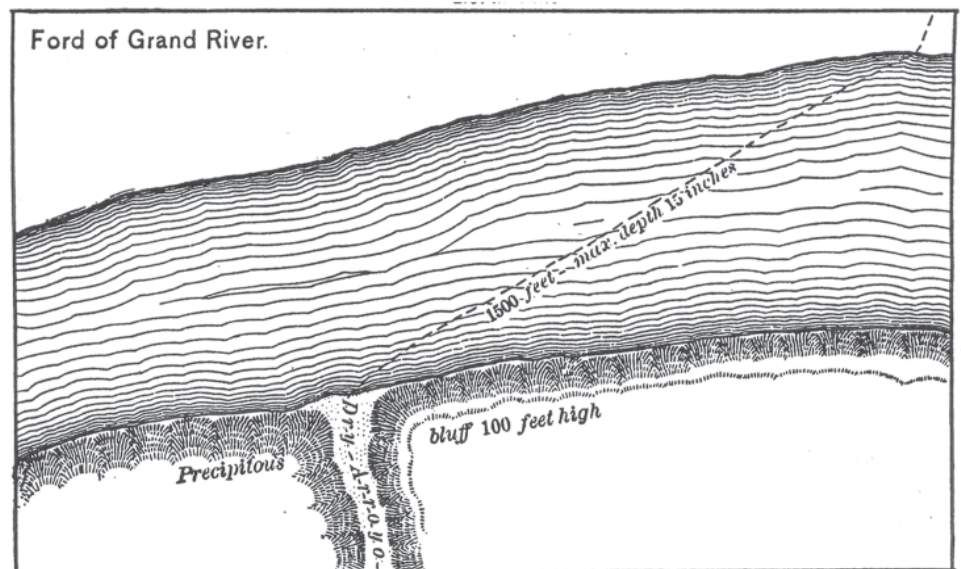


TABLE OF NAMES GIVEN THE GUNNISON AND COLORADO RIVERS

Year	Expedition or Person	Type of Record	Name given the Colorado, below the confluence with the Gunnison	Name given the Colorado above the confluence with the Gunnison	Name given the Gunnison
1848	Preuss	Map	Grand	Grand	Eagle
1848	Carson and Brewerton	Journal	Not recorded	Green*	Not recorded
1853	Beale	Journal	Grand	Avonkarea or Blue	Grand
1853	Gunnison and Beckwith	Map and Journal	Grand	Nah-un-kah-rea or Blue	Grand
1853	Frémont	Journal	Grand	Grand	Eagle Tail
1858	Warren	Map	Grand	Blue	Grand
1860	Macomb	Map	Grand	Not shown	Not shown
1861	Case	Map	Grand	Grand	Eagle Tail
1873	Hayden	Map	Grand	Grand	Gunnison

*On this trip, Kit Carson got the Green and the Grand Rivers confused, as he called the Green *the Grand*.

Once the location of the Grand River was correctly recognized, this left Gunnison's *Grand River* without an official name. In the mid-1860s this problem was resolved and, at the suggestion of Lieutenant Beckwith, the major tributary of the Grand River in western Colorado was called the *Gunnison River* (Page 30). This name was not officially adopted by the U.S. Board on Geographic Names until 1931 (U.S. Board on Geographic Names, written communication, 1997).

Maps of the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories prepared in the 1870's, commonly called the "Hayden Survey," showed the correct location of the Grand and Gunnison Rivers. A map of west central Colorado, prepared in 1873 and 1874, published in 1876 showed the drainages and topography of this area in great detail (Hayden 412).

While mapping in western Colorado in 1875, Henry Gannett named the area between the Book Cliffs and the Uncompahgre Plateau, the *Grand River Valley* (Gannett 345).

The Grand River was renamed the *Colorado River* by an act of the Colorado State Legislature approved March 24, 1921, and by an act of Congress approved July 25, 1921. In spite of this change, the city is still named *Grand Junction* and the valley is called the *Grand Valley*. There is the Grand Mesa and Grand County, Utah, to the west, as well as Grand Lake in Grand County, Colorado.

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The Name *Mojave*

by Clifford J. Walker

The name *Mojave* for the California desert came from the Mojave Indians in a rather circuitous fashion. Their name is *hamakhá·v* or *hamakave*, pronounced "ha-ma-ka-ve." The *k* is probably quite soft. According to Bertha Dutton, the name *hamakhave* means "three mountains," referring to the Needles, but that is probably just a guess.¹ "At the beginning of the world..." the Mojave god-creator Mastamho created the Mojave people, the Colorado River and the mountains on both sides. Mastamho taught the Mojave everything about life, how to live and how to survive. The spirit named the people *Aha Macav*, "the people who live along the river." Another Mojave source states that *Pipa Aha Macav* meant "the people along the river." The word *Aví*, the name for the Mojave casino in Laughlin, means "mountain."²

Name confusion can arise because people often cut off part of a word, either the beginning or the ending. For example, *supposed* is sometimes pronounced "posed." The pronunciation of *hamakave* would sometimes have been cut to "makave," from four syllables to three syllables, and heard as such.

In his diary and map, Father Francisco Garcés in 1776 used *Jamajabs* to refer to the Mojave. (It would appear that the vowel "e" that normally comes between

the *b* and the *s* in Spanish was left out.) He named a spot in the upper Mojave Valley *San Pedro de los Jamajabs* and placed it on his map of 1776. He named the Mojave River *Río de las Martires*, "River of the Martyrs." When Garcés went from the Colorado River to San Gabriel he had "3 Indios Jamajabs" as guides. Since in Spanish the *j* is silent or has an *h* sound, the pronunciation would be "Ah-ma-ha-bais." Since the *b* in Spanish is similar to *v*, as in *Habana* or *Havana*, what Garcés might have heard was "Ah-ma-ha-vais."³

Jamaja appears on the Father Font's 1777 Spanish map. The Spanish and church officials at San Gabriel, San Fernando, San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara used the word *Amajaba*—a four-syllable name similar to that used by Father Garcés.

Another padre, Jose Maria Zalvidea, who left Santa Barbara and entered the San Joaquin Valley, wrote, "After three leagues we stopped. The Indians relate that from a village called *Majagua* on the Colorado River other Indians continually come to trade with them."⁴ Zalvidea hit the Mojave River west of present-day Victorville and baptized about 10 Indians.

In 1819 Lt. Gabriel Moraga and Father Pasquel Nuez went into the Mojave Desert for a punitive expedition to the Mojave villages on the Colorado River. Defeated by the harshness of the desert, Moraga found, in several spots,

the bodies of native Vanyume and some runaway Christian Indians. Nuez wrote: “The Indians of the Ranchería (village) of Amajaba had the audacity to come and commit deeds of violence on the pagan Indians of the Ranchería of Atongaibit and others of the region, and Christians who fled from the Mission of San Fernando and this one of San Gabriel.” West of Victorville on the Mojave River, Nuez held a burial ceremony, put up a cross and a monument, and named the Mojave River *Río de las Animas*, “River of the Souls,” in honor of the “blessed lost souls” of these victims of the Mojave.⁵

In 1826, in the journal his secretary kept, the American trapper Jedediah Smith used the four-syllable name *Ammuchabas* for the tribe he visited on the Colorado River. The Mojave River itself Smith called *Inconstant* because it kept disappearing and reappearing in the sandy riverbed. In his narrative of his contact and fight with the Mojave in 1827, trapper James Ohio Pattie wrote *Mohawa*. Trapper George Yount visited the *Mahauvies* and *Mahavies* in 1830.⁶

New Mexican trader Antonio Armijo, on his 1829-30 mule caravan trip to California which opened what we now call The Old Spanish Trail, called the Mojave River *Arroyo de los Hayatas*. *Hayatas* was either the New Mexican name or a Paiute name for Mojave.⁷

The Mojave use of trading routes was partly responsible for the

naming of the Mojave Desert and the Mojave River. When John C. Frémont was in the San Joaquin Valley in 1844, he met a Christian Indian guide⁸ who told him that six Indians had come from a great river in the eastern part of the desert to the San Joaquin Valley to trade Hopi blankets to Native Americans of the California interior. These six Indians later met Frémont about where Hodge is now on the Rio de las Animas, which as mentioned had been the Spanish name for the Mojave River since 1819. “They proved to be the Mojave Indians mentioned by our recent guide,” wrote Frémont.⁹ One of these Indians could speak fluent Spanish and was either an adopted Mojave or a slave. When the missions broke up after secularization in 1833, this Christian Indian went to the mountains where he was found by the Mojave, with whom he had subsequently lived. He called his Mojave leader *me amo*, or “my master.” He related to Frémont that at one time part of the Mojave lived on the Rio de las Animas and in the mountains to the north where they used to grow vegetables. This story corresponds somewhat to the Mojave’s lengthy Moses-like epic narrating the evacuation of the Colorado River, five years of living at Kahoye (which was a Mojave village supposedly west of Barstow), wandering in the desert, and the eventual re-conquest of their present Colorado River location. It also ties in with archeology and stories of the pre-historic Desert Mojave, who were eventually expelled from the Mojave Desert

by Chemehuevi around 1600 AD.¹⁰ Because of these five Mojave and one Spanish-speaking Indian, Frémont placed *Mohahve River* on his famous exploration map.¹¹ Although Frémont missed the first syllable, he did hear the other three syllables when he recorded *Mohahve* for the Indians he talked to.

The Spanish spelling *Mojave* was a corruption during the late 1850’s. It was first used by Lt. A. Whipple in the railway survey of 1853-4. This spelling eventually became the official place name of both the river and the desert.¹² The first Spanish appellation for the river, *Río de las Martires*, given by Garcés in 1776, disappeared as did the Spanish *Río de las Animas* of 1819, Jedediah Smith’s *Inconstant River* of 1826, and the New Mexican *Arroyo de los Hayatas* of 1830.

Bancroft’s 1863 map, “Colorado Mines,” used *Mohave* for the river, and the same for the Indians and Arizona sites. Bancroft did not use *Mojave Desert* in this map. John W. Teal, a soldier on patrol in 1864, used *Mohave* in his daily log.¹³

In 1873, the San Bernardino *Guardian* had a set of letters from a politician-businessman of a detailed account of a trip from San Bernardino to the Ivanpah mines. The author uses *Mojave* for the river and also *Ft. Mojave* for the camp set up north of Needles on the Arizona side. This camp was officially spelled *Mohave*.¹⁴

According to the *Handbook of North American Indians, Southwest*,¹⁵ the Fort Mojave and Colorado River tribal councils officially adopted *Mojave* as their name. *Mohave* is used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. According to Liz Warren, anthropologists use *h* for the Indians and *j* for the place names.¹⁶ In my book *Back Door to California: The Story of the Mojave River Trail*, I used *Mohave* for the Indians and Arizona place names, which is how they are spelled on Arizona maps (e.g. Mohave County), and *Mojave* for the California names, including the desert and the river, which is how they are spelled on California maps. In the second edition of that book, I will use *Mojave* as the spelling for the *Hamakhá·v* people.

End Notes

1. Bertha P. Dutton, *American Indians of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), p. 168; Clifford J. Walker, *Back Door to California: The Story of the Mojave River Trail* (Barstow: Backdoor Publishing, 1986), pp. x, 53.
2. William C. Sturtevant, series editor, Alfonso Ortiz, volume editor, *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 10: Southwest* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), p. 69.
3. Walker, pp. 77-81, with diary in English and Spanish, pp. 234-241.
4. S.F. Cook, "Colonial Expeditions to the Interior of California: Central Valley, 1800-1820," *Anthropological Records*, XVI, No. 6 (University of California at Berkeley, May 1960), p. 247.
5. Walker, pp. 89, 262-267.
6. Walker, pp. 96-107.
7. Walker, pp. 107-8; see Appendix D, 268-270, for a copy of Armijo's trip by Elizabeth Warren.
8. John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* (New York: Belford, Clarke and Company, 1887), I, 362; Brevet Col. J. C. Frémont, *The Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains, Oregon and California* (Buffalo: Geo. H. Derby & Co., 1849), pp. 376-77; Brevet Capt. J. C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 to Oregon and North California in Year 1843-44*, in Public Documents, by Order of the Senate of the U. S., 2nd session of 28th Congress XI (Washington: 1845), 260-2. The elevation of the wooded camp where Frémont met the Mojave was 2250 feet, which would be the present Hodge area (Walker, p. 53).
9. John C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Santa Barbara: The Narrative Press, 2002), pp. 344, 352.
10. A.L. Kroeber, "A Mojave Historical Epic," *Anthropological Records*, XVI, No. 6 (University of California at Berkeley, 1951), 74, 111, 151; Major Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger or Early Times in Southern California* (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebbard, 1927), pp. 362-6. Bell has an interesting account of the Phantom City of Kercheval in the Mojave Desert, once a land of perpetual bloom until winds turned it into a barren desert.
11. See the following maps for more information on Mojave place names: George H. Goddard, *Brittan and Rey's Map of the State of California* (San Francisco, 1857); H. H. Bancroft, *Map of the Western United States* (San Francisco, 1868); *Los Angeles Star*, January 15, 1853, August 11, 1860, and September 1, 1860; and *Daily Morning Call* (San Francisco), November 25, 1858.
12. Grant Foreman ed., *A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A.W. Whipple During His Explorations for a Railroad Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Year 1853 and 1854*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), pp. 236-241; in *Back Door to California*, Whipple's map on page 201 labeled "Mojaves" and "A moh a va" in parenthesis underneath on the eastern side of the Colorado River.
13. Walker, Appendix F, pp. 277-280.
14. Walker, Appendix G, pp. 280-306.
15. Kenneth Stewart, "Mohave" in *Handbook of North American Indians*. Stewart used *Mohave* for the tribe, yet the Fort Mojave Indians used *Mojave* in *Mojave National Preserve: Mojave Indians—Beginnings*, 2004.
16. Elizabeth Warren. Personal communication, 2006.



Old Spanish Trail Methodology

by *Steven K. Madsen*

I pay tribute to Dr. Joseph Sanchez and his team for plowing untilled ground. I am excited to learn of their research findings. I also acknowledge the tremendous work of the presenters and Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA) members in exploring the often-overlooked historical characters and trail alignments of the Old Spanish Trail. And I wish to recognize the primary planners of this conference – Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter – who have bicycled the main trail four times, all the way from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. I wish to contribute documented evidence and insights into the OST alignments, including photocopies of historic maps, to the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Old Spanish Trail Association

Walter Prescott Webb once wrote of history as high adventure. I believe many of us have experienced high adventure while exploring the Old Spanish Trail (OST). You will find places on the OST where there is no WiFi access, no broadband communication, no radio signal, and no cell phone service. And the experience is absolutely wonderful.

Today, I will explain the methodology that the late Dr. C. Gregory Crampton and I used in trailing the historic Old

Spanish Trail adventurers. I hope you leave today with a better understanding of our approach to the complexities of trail research. I will begin with a short biography of Dr. Crampton and move on to explain what motivated us to look for the fleeting traces of the main, or northern route of the trail, *where* and *how* we carried out our searches, the resources we used, and *what* we found.

Dr. Crampton was a professor of history for more than 30 years at the University of Utah. When I met him in 1975 he was a towering figure in the academic world. He'd already authored the prize-winning book, *Standing Up Country*, and he had edited or authored a dozen other books and monographs on the Southwest. He had directed the national Duke Program in Indian Oral History, helped found and edit *The American West* magazine, directed the University of Utah's American West Center, taught occasional terms at a number of universities in Europe and Latin America, including the University of Panama, and published dozens of articles in academic journals.

During World War II, Professor Crampton had served as an FBI agent, which helped him hone his skills in scientific deduction and detective work. He applied these skills to his historical studies, tracking down virtually every lead and scrutinizing the evidence to solve historical riddles. After seeking out and examining a wide variety of sources, he launched into field work to make firsthand observations.

His work as a hands-on field historian is noteworthy. Between 1957 and 1963, he directed the historical salvage studies for the National Park Service in Glen Canyon – a canyon destined to be flooded by Lake Powell. Crampton and his research assistants made 13 trips through Glen Canyon identifying, recording, and photographing the evidence of human experience there. He and his team explored in detail the canyons of the Colorado, including the Crossing of the Fathers area. His field notes, including grains of sand that he collected and photographs of the crossing, are deposited in the Marriott Library, University of Utah.

When I met Crampton he was researching and mapping the exact route followed by the Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776. The trail study, conducted under the auspices of the Four Corners Regional Commission, was published by the Utah State Historical Society. I approached him with the possibility of working with him on that project. He was working at the time at the American West Center on the University of Utah campus, where I became a researcher under his direction and coauthored a number of government reports with him.

Crampton's own researches in the region had made him keenly aware of the historical significance of the Old Spanish Trail. In June 1976 he and I drove out to Cedar Mountain on the northern fringes of the rugged San Rafael Swell south of Price, Utah. As we gazed

down on the Old Spanish Trail a thousand feet below us, we looked at each other and said, “Wouldn’t this be an interesting topic to research?” Unaware of the magnitude of the project, we could not resist the challenge. We were about to follow, in the words of LeRoy and Ann Hafen, “the longest, crookedest, most arduous pack mule route in the history of America.”

Despite its historical importance, no detailed study had yet been made of the Old Spanish Trail. The Hafens’ outstanding work had placed the trail in the perspective of western history. They located the trail generally, but they made little attempt through field study to identify the exact route beyond a few rather obvious places. (For one thing, the Hafens were hampered in their research because they lacked adequate maps to guide them in the field. But by the time we began our study, USGS topographic maps blanketed the entire trail.)

During the 1950s, a marking program of the trail between Green River and Cedar City, Utah, and beyond was carried out by the energetic William R. Palmer of Cedar City, but no detailed study of the route was made beyond the more obvious spots, mostly near towns, where markers were placed, and no published work resulted from this program.

Crampton and I felt an archaeological urgency in making this study. Profound

changes reflecting the onrush of modern development threatened to obliterate the trail. New roads were covering old trails. Energy-related mining, farming, reclamation and power projects, gas line construction, and ever increasing use of off-road and recreation vehicles were rapidly eroding the fragile route in those sections that were still visible. Heavy off-road vehicle use in the Mojave Desert section of eastern California and in the San Rafael Swell area of central Utah had badly scarred the trail environs in those areas. In addition, the ever expanding cities of Santa Fe, Los Angeles, and Las Vegas threatened the trail.

The initial phases of our study were funded by the University of Utah Research Fund, of Salt Lake City. Funding helped pay for maps, film, photocopies, salary and wages, flight costs, and other travel expenses. Later, expenses came out of our own pockets.

Before going into the field, we did a tremendous amount of homework. We combed the holdings of research institutions, universities, national and state archives, tribal headquarters, county land records offices (we visited county courthouses all along the OST route), federal government offices (including Bureau of Land Management, National Forest Service, National Park Service, and Reclamation Service), LDS Church Archives, private collections, museums and libraries in search of original sources, printed and

manuscript. We looked for diary accounts, military expedition records, government reports, old surveys, emigrant guides and logs, publications of railroad survey expeditions, Corps of Topographical Engineers maps, and General Land Office plats and survey notes. In addition to contemporary eyewitness accounts, we searched out emigrant recollections, mining records, archaeological reports, USGS water supply papers, and later maps and surveys, both public and private as well as commercial.

Finding contemporary documents that recorded precise trail locations proved challenging. Most records of travel over the OST are so fragmentary that we were unable to locate the exact routes they must have taken. One example is Frémont’s fifth expedition of 1853-54. His survey party followed only short segments of the trail and produced no detailed account of the route. Another example is Kit Carson’s travels over the OST. He left behind only fragmentary accounts. Several other travelers merely produced thumbnail sketches of their overland trips.

We found information previously gleaned by others in the archives of Spain and Mexico that had led to important discoveries of pre-OST period exploring and trading expeditions. But our primary focus was to describe and map the main OST route as it was known during the peak years of its use, about 1840 – the

main trail between the upper Rio Grande in New Mexico and the Hispanic settlements in southern California, which formed a long arc as it looped northward through Colorado's San Juan basin and into central Utah then south into Las Vegas and crossed the Mojave Desert to the Los Angeles basin.

We were aware that the Hispanic archives in New Mexico and California contained many references to commercial use of the OST. The fragmentary records found in these archives had been mainly explored by the Hafens, Eleanor F. Lawrence, and R. E. Twitchell. There was very little information in these archival resources, as developed by the Hafens and other historians, to help us in tracing the caravan route from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. These sources described the annual caravans, as well as the arrival of certain of the American trappers. They referred to punitive expeditions sent out over the trail in an attempt to capture caravans driving herds of stolen animals. Precise trail locations, however, were seldom given.

We relied on the Hafens' research and that of other historians, including Dr. David J. Weber and Dr. Donald C. Cutter, for answers – for useful source materials in the Hispanic archives. At the time of our research, we believed it was possible that more significant material, either church or state, could be uncovered, but that it was quite unlikely anything would be found giving us trail locations.

As we examined the documentary evidence, we focused on records that provided us with specific trail data. The greatest help came from those who followed long stretches of the trail during its period of significance, 1829 to 1848, and recorded clearly in detail their course of travel. But we were dealing with a trail more than a thousand miles in length, each part with its own literature. We found trail research vastly different in California than in Colorado, and in other states. As we narrowed our sights on each trail unit we had to return to the historical record and do more homework.

Trail research is like solving a giant jigsaw puzzle. All of the pieces must fit neatly together. One trail segment must align with another trail segment at each end of the line. There must be solid documentary and physical or artifact evidence to verify the trail's authenticity. And all of the evidence must be found mutually supporting.

We employed the historical method of using several sources to verify our findings. Generally speaking, we considered older primary documents more reliable than newer evidence. A technique we often used was to plot out a trail segment on blank paper, roughly sketching the route with relevant landmarks and recording the travel distances, dates, and eyewitness descriptions of each traveler on separate sheets.

Then we compared the various descriptions of trail landmarks and the mileage logs to the known distances and topography shown on modern maps to narrow the scope of our search.

With notes and maps in hand, we began field reconnaissance with the objective of laying down the route on modern topographic maps with a very high degree of accuracy. This was accomplished through on-the-ground studies of the route mile by mile. We made several return trips to the trail area to confirm our findings. In the field it was necessary at times to backtrack, detour, and cover ground more than once. Seeking out informants along the way was also costly in mileage. We used passenger cars, pickups, four-wheel drives. (Crampton routinely disregarded no trespassing signs and barking dogs – to my chagrin.) On a few occasions we chartered light aircraft to get an overview of portions of the trail not easily visible from the ground. Often we hiked long distances of the trail. Other valuable resources, in the field and in the office, included a map measurer, orienteering compass, binoculars, camera, emergency gear, camping equipment and supplies. I might also add pith helmets, metal detector, and sufficient provisions of water, fuel and food. An important staple was corn chips, and "El Grego" hot sauce, a savory concoction produced by Dr. Crampton.

A useful tool we used in deciphering the archaic Spanish language was Ruben Cobos' *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish*, issued in Santa Fe by the Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983. In addition, we used *Vox New College Spanish and English Dictionary* (Lincolnwood, Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1984). I relied on Crampton who had a fluent command of the language.

Our field research included camping under the stars with good companions who assisted us in locating physical evidence and identifying artifacts of the old passageway. Traveling companions included Professor Henry J. Webb, W. L. "Bud" Rusho, Don Cecala, Gibbs M. Smith, Piute Springs homesteader Herman U. Butt, Dennis L. Jenkins and Carolyn Grattan of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, S. Alva Matheson, John W. Rockwell, Moab freighting pioneer C. S. Cecil Thomson, and our wives and family members.

Dr. Crampton sometimes brought along his pet beagle, Sam, who would race about sniffing and exploring every object and stretch of earth within a safe range of our research team. In the mid-afternoon sunlight, we'd set up camp on high, flat ground. With maps in hand, as well as canteens and cameras, we then launched into our field work. To help orient us, we examined contour lines, USGS benchmarks, and obvious landmarks. Crampton

would remind us as we set out across hot desert terrain that it was better to take large drinks of water from our canteens than several small gulps. We hiked to remote locations and recorded important trail discoveries on field maps and scratch pads, and with photographs. We took numerous photographs of the trail sections and present-day cultural elements, and landscapes along the way. Photographs allowed us to document the trail in its natural setting and record the intrusion of man over time.

Our investigations were carried out during vacations and holiday weekends over a period of nearly 20 years. Our research materials, field notes and field maps have been deposited in Special Collections at the University of Utah where today they are open to use by serious investigators. (I might add that in 2003 I donated some 500 maps to the National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office in Salt Lake City. Included in the donation were more than 200 topographic maps that delineate the OST route. Historian Roy D. Tea marked the entire trail route on the maps using photocopies of the Crampton/Madsen maps deposited at the University of Utah. Kay Threlkeld of the Salt Lake office subsequently made digital copies of the OST maps and burned them on CDs.)

We laid down the most probable route on topographic maps and went into the field to check our preliminary findings. In Utah's

Castle Valley, government surveyors, notably Augustus D. Ferron, had very carefully charted "Gunnison's Road" on their township plats, further identified in their notes as the "old Spanish Trail." Early in our investigations we drove to Castle Valley, parked alongside Utah Highway 10 on Walker Flat, and walked out through sagebrush and stunted vegetation to find the Old Spanish Trail running in the exact location where we had penciled it on the map. Using Ferron's township plats we also located trail sections in the Black Hills, on Cottonwood Creek, and on Ferron Creek.

In some sections local informants were immensely helpful in confirming our findings developed in the field. A good example is at Tierra Blanca (White Land), a watering place on the OST listed in B. Choteau's trail log of 1848. Later travelers, including the Macomb expedition, welcomed these reliable waters. In the late 1870s, it appears to have been a major stopping place for cattle drovers moving animals from Texas onto the ranges of the Abajo and La Sal Mountains in southeastern Utah. In addition, it became a regular stop on the Dolores-Monticello Road, which followed the OST. Tierra Blanca today sits in Cross Canyon, just south of Dove Creek, Colorado. The name *Tierra Blanca* comes from the presence of alkali in a tributary stream.

We had used a number of sources, including the Hayden Survey maps and early General Land

Office township plats to locate the historic spot. Then we met a settler in the area who in 1912 had homesteaded Piute Spring, an important water source on the Old Spanish Trail, fifteen miles east of Monticello, Utah. He had traveled the trail as early as 1900. When taken to the field he pointed out the trail's course from Piute Spring to Dolores, Colorado, via Tierra Blanca. With his help, we reached the site by way of Alkali Canyon, a Cross Canyon tributary. Here the water issued from the base of a low sandstone cliff, whitened by mineral salts.

We found field research in rough mountainous places somewhat easier to complete than in open terrain. In rough areas, intricate topography guided us. We knew that a pack train didn't climb a steep mountain if it could go around it. In open areas, we had to look for trail signs between known landmarks. At times, we employed aerial reconnaissance in isolated and difficult sections to locate the trail where the surface had been little disturbed since 1848. We found many places where the old trail, pounded deep in the desert floor by literally thousands of horses and pack animals, was still plainly visible.

Some of our investigations turned up a lot of negative information about the trail's location. When tracking down a lead, negative information proved helpful, because it narrowed the choices. Although dead ends were disappointing, they also were useful. One of the problems facing us

at the outset was having to wade through the literature of El Dorado – the countless tales of lost mines and buried treasures ascribed to Spanish discoverers. Since the Spanish discovered so many big bonanzas in South and North America, many people assume that the Spaniards must have found rich mines of silver and gold wherever they trod. Many people have followed the OST to look for them. [1] Nevertheless we found no credible evidence of trail riders carrying gold doubloons, nor evidence of them prospecting along the trail. And we didn't find reliable evidence of contemporary OST gold mines. For us, finding the OST itself was more fascinating than the legends. To actually walk pristine sections of the OST motivated us. And we always believed that the OST would someday become a National Historic Trail.

To locate the Green River crossing posed a challenge for us. We rigorously evaluated the information gleaned from local informants but found much of their evidence lacking. In addition, the river channel itself had changed course over time. Even John C. Frémont's historic account proved misleading. When Frémont passed through the area in 1854, he forded the Green River at its junction with the San Rafael River some 20 miles south of the old trail crossing. We finally discovered the site using Captain John W. Gunnison's log of travel and the accounts of John Wesley Powell's river expeditions. And R. H. Kern's 1853 sketch of the Old

Spanish Trail ford gave us a view of the skyline above the crossing that roughly matched modern topography. In the field, we approached the stream, thrashing about through thick stands of tamarisks to find the famous fording place.

The final maps produced by the Great Surveys – Ferdinand Hayden's and George Wheeler's, notably – labeled the OST in a number of locations. The early maps issued by the General Land Office were also helpful. The surveyors in the field often turned up data on old trails, and several of the township plats we examined showed the OST crossing the maps. Where we found the trail platted, we easily transferred the data to our topographic maps, thereby annotating our work. Maps published in recent times by the BLM, the Army Mapping Service, and the U.S. Forest Service provided bits of information. Highway maps published by the states and automobile associations were helpful in guiding us over back-country roads to reach the environs of the OST. As the automobile came of age, the USGS published a number of papers on the routes to desert watering places in the Mojave Desert region. These were particularly valuable to us in locating sections of the OST and, most notably, the springs in the Mojave.

We were unable to locate any inscriptions that could be identified with contemporary use of the Spanish Trail, but at a petroglyph site carved by American Indians

in southern Nevada, we found representations of men wearing broad-brimmed hats, riding on horseback. Other men were leading horses by ropes. We found very few objects that could be identified with the Old Spanish Trail, but we interviewed a number of people who did find artifacts on the trail. S. Alva Matheson of Cedar City discovered a powder horn, a castle key pistol, and an amulet at a place which he identified as an OST campsite in Cedar Valley. Sherwin "Scoop" Garside of Las Vegas found a Mexican packsaddle on the OST in southern Nevada. Mike Hartless found horseshoes and muleshoes on the trail in Cajon Pass.

In two main locations of cobblestone slopes, we were able to identify the trail through rust-stained rocks. When shod animals crossed such areas, thin layers of iron rubbed off when they slipped on the cobbles. One such area was at the Animas Crossing; the other was on the Virgin River near Mesquite, Nevada.

We learned that dozens of heavily-loaded pack animals following overland paths through mountain grasses would leave little long-term trace of their passage. But in desert country, tracks made across the desert remained. Where the tracks go downhill or uphill, they often become waterways. When such a waterway developed, we could trace the trail by following the subsequent arroyo. The best

example of this is on Utah Hill above Camp Spring where water flowing downhill funneled into the ruts of the trail carving a deeper channel. The arroyo that developed over the trail is clearly visible today.

You might ask, "How do you follow an old caravan trail through the maze of freeways in the Los Angeles area?" The answer is that you won't find any old ruts, beaten trail, or horse manure. Travelers took advantage of the existence of prior roads. Many of the earlier roads connected given points, an example being the present highway that is now called Mission Boulevard. It is undoubtedly a pre-Spanish road connecting San Gabriel and the plaza of Los Angeles. That would have been the most direct route for the caravans that stopped off in the mission first before going on into the city, nine miles away.

Roads that antedate the OST are also to be found in New Mexico. The trade caravans followed existing roads between the capital and Abiquiu. Some of the modern highways are right on top of the caravan route. Charles Dimmock of the Macomb military expedition found it unnecessary to start his diary before leaving Abiquiu. That's where they left the existing road pattern and headed out into the wilderness.

In conclusion, Dr. Crampton and I had the good fortune to work in the field in the tradition of the

nineteenth-century government expeditions, validating our findings in the libraries and archives. For us it was a grand adventure. As we set out on our adventure to map the OST alignments at this conference I hope we achieve success by following proven historical methods. Thank you. [2]

1. According to reports, prospectors still search Potosi Mountain for evidence of legendary Spanish mines. The Potosi lead-silver-zinc mine on Potosi Mountain, about five miles south of the OST on Mountain Springs Summit, was the earliest mining camp in southern Nevada, opened in 1856. The name comes to us from the fabulously rich sixteenth-century mining town discovered by the Spaniards in colonial Peru, now Bolivia. The fact that the Potosi mine was close to the OST probably gave rise to the legend that Potosi Mountain had been discovered and worked by Spaniards in the sixteenth century. When it was reported that rich silver ore had been found a Potosi, there was something of a mining rush to the spot by California prospectors who were always on the lookout for big bonanzas in the interior West.

2. This presentation is based in part on manuscript sources by C. Gregory Crampton and Steven K. Madsen.





The OSTA 13th Annual Conference and Symposium
June 9-11, 2006
Green River, Utah

OSTA's 13th Annual Conference and Symposium will be held in Green River, Utah, from June 9 to 11, 2006. The conference theme will be "Scoping and Interpreting the Old Spanish Trail." On Friday, June 9, following the OSTA Board Meeting, there will be an evening reception. Three sessions will be held on Saturday in the John Wesley Powell Museum. Steve Madsen will talk on the 1859 Topographical Engineers' Expedition, Leo Lyman will speak on the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition, and the BLM/NPS Comprehensive Management Team will speak on scoping the Old Spanish Trail. Saturday afternoon, participants will have the choice of a float trip on the Green River or an auto tour of the Green River area. Dr. Phil Notarianni of the Utah State Historical Society will address the Saturday evening banquet. On Sunday, there will be an all-day field trip to OST sites in the Green River area. Further details and the registration packet can be found on the OSTA website at <http://www.oldspanishtrail.org/packet.pdf>.



The Old Spanish Trail near Lake Powell.
courtesy Paul Ostapuk



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