

SPANISH TRACES



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The Disappearing Old Spanish Trail

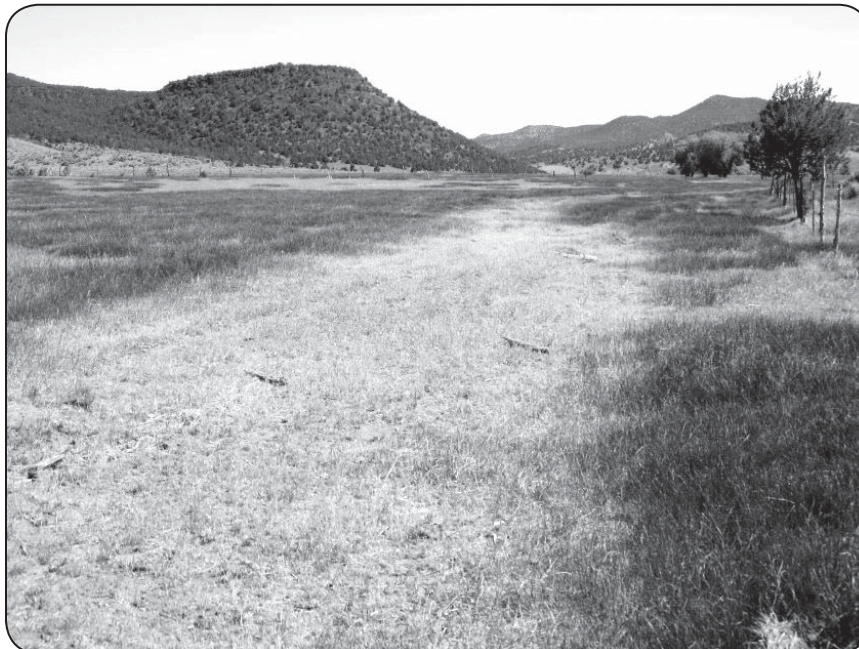
by Al Matheson

I was recently asked by several members of the Southern Utah Chapter of OSTA to visit a lengthy portion of the trail where it crosses the Neck of the Desert and on to Mogotsu Creek in southern Utah. Having been on much of the trail in past years and knowing generally where the trail would have been, based on the fact that

the geology/topography of the area naturally confines the trail to a specific location, I was not prepared for an unexpected trail treasure to be revealed. This time the trail was astonishingly visible for several miles. The reason for the change soon became evident.

For much of the year, the dry soil conditions of the arid southwestern desert make it impossible to distinguish any one portion of the historic OST (or any other pioneer

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The disappearing trail.

photo courtesy of Al Matheson

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THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

The Old Spanish Trail (OST), one of America's great long distance trade routes, is 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.

Visit the OSTA Website

<http://www.oldspanishtrail.org>

The OSTA website now contains a set of maps, including NPS and BLM versions; an overview history of the OST, including a bibliography; a listing of relevant books, with links to sites where they can be purchased; an updated news page, currently containing links to the recently published Report on the OSNHT Public Scoping Meetings, to photos from the Barstow Conference, and to playable excerpts (as well as a downloadable Podcast) of *The Old Spanish Trail Suite*. The web page also links to NPS and BLM webpages, which have further links to public documents (e.g. the OSNHT Feasibility Study, the Scoping Report, and news about the Comprehensive Management Plan) and maps of the OST.

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 December 15, 2007.

All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the Co-editors and Publishers:

Deborah and Jon Lawrence
44 Harvey Court
Irvine, CA 92617
E-mail: dlawrence@fullerton.edu
Telephone: 949-509-1714

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Mail your check to: OSTA
PO Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270

Governing Board of Officers and Directors 2007

PRESIDENT:

Douglas Knudson
89 Fir Drive
South Fork, CO 81154
719-873-5239
rosejems@fone.net

VICE-PRESIDENT:

Mark Henderson
861 Binbrook Drive
Henderson, NV 89052
702-250-6512
markscotthenderson@netzero.net

SECRETARY:

Judy Knudson
89 Fir Drive
South Fork, CO 81154
719-873-5239
ponchapass@fone.net

TREASURER:

Mark Franklin
2914 Junction Street
Durango, CO 81301
970-375-7992
id@animas.net

DIRECTORS:

Paul Ostapuk – AZ
PO Box 3532
Page, AZ 86040
928-645-2558
postapuk@cableone.net

Cliff Walker – CA
1204 Gen Court
Barstow, CA 92311
760-256-5570
cjwalker@mindspring.com

Pat Kuhlhoff – NM
14 Duende Rd.
Santa Fe, NM 87508
505-466-4877
PGLK@earthlink.net

Nick Saines – NV
1587 Figueroa Drive
Las Vegas, NV 89123
702-896-4049
greatunc@aol.com

Al Matheson – UT
8847 West 2200 South
Cedar City, UT 84720
435-586-9762
citabriair@yahoo.com

James Jefferson – Director-at-Large
3258 Highway 172
Durango, CO 81303
970-259-1038
jjefferson@southern-ute.nsn.us





President's Corner

OSTA is poised for positive action. We have enjoyed good fiscal health, steady growth, strong relations with our federal partners, and a talented board of directors. The board recently voted to hire a part-time association manager and to eventually hire an administrative assistant, which will increase our impact. We continue to make progress in our missions of preservation and protection, research, interpretation, and encouragement of appropriate trail use. We have had fine recent national conventions. Thus, the association has a strong basis for growth and excellent service to the public, and should be a source of pride to OSTA members.

I see many exciting opportunities for our members. Progress in meeting our four missions over the next two years should include:

1. Preparation for a strong preservation program as the Comprehensive Management Plan identifies prime trail segments. Chapters can lead the action.
2. Continuation of research and publication. Hopefully this will involve more college faculty and students.

3. Establishment of more interpretive partners, publications, and programs.
4. Marking of the trail for visitors. This should include teaching both potential travelers and tour operators about responsible, ethical trail use of the trail.

Our membership grows steadily. For a "Spanish" trail that went through Indian lands, the Association needs more Hispanic and Tribal members. Positive signs include the election of Ute historian Dr. Jim Jefferson as our first Director-at-Large. At the recent Barstow convention, California Hispanics took leadership roles and there were excellent Chemehuevi and Vanyume speakers. OSTA also needs to seek more youth participation. The involvement of GATE students in the Barstow murals is a good precedent. We hope to develop trail lessons for schools, libraries, and museums. I welcome your ideas.

A number of exciting developments concern interpretation and public education. OSTA and the NPS/BLM, together with Fort Lewis College, will open a major OSNHT exhibit in Durango, Colorado, in October. An interpretive panel will go up soon at Mission San Gabriel. An academic conference in mid-October at Cedar City, Utah, should stimulate further interest in research, protection, and interpretation. Likewise, next year's early June convention near Española, New Mexico, will take us back to where the trail started. It should offer plenty of fun and history for you, the members who make OSTA worthwhile.

Douglas M. Knudson

Contributors

David Fallowfield is the secretary/treasurer of OSTA's Workman Chapter.

Cynthia Fearn is a graduate student at California State University, Fullerton.

Michael González is an Associate Professor of History at the University of San Diego. His publications include *This small city will be a Mexican paradise: Exploring the origins of Mexican culture in Los Angeles, 1821-1846* (University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

Pat Kuhlhoff is the New Mexico Director for OSTA.

Al Matheson is the Utah Director for OSTA.

John Robinson is the past California Director for OSTA and a frequent contributor to *Spanish Traces*. His publications include *Gateways to Southern California* (Big Santa Anita Historical Society, 2005).

Sharone Williams is a student of literature at Claremont Graduate School.

Charles Wood is the Chairman of the Chemehuevi Indian Tribe.

From the Editors

As can be seen from the news article in this issue, OSTAns are very active in new interpretive projects – books, brochures, maps, museum exhibits, markers, and educational classes. All of us who have personally experienced more of the OST than what is in our own backyard recognize the need for good interpretive material. While we have observed interpretive panels and museum exhibits about the Trail at most significant sites, in their current state of development, these exhibits are rudimentary at best. OSTA, the BLM, and the NPS would be well advised to consider the model currently in existence along the Oregon and California Trails.

At the high end are several large museums dedicated to the trail – at Independence, Council Bluffs, Caspar, Baker, and Oregon City. They provide travelers with a destination along the route where they can stop and talk about their historical journey with trail experts. We ourselves have gone to Independence solely for the opportunity to do work in the Merrill Mattes Library and Research Center and to have extended conversations with knowledgeable staff. However, we recognize that for the near future, these types of large-scale museums and research centers are not affordable for the OST. The possibility of a museum at the center of the trail in Utah is quite encouraging.

The second tier is an interpretive exhibit within a museum that is dedicated to a larger agenda. This category includes exhibits at national parks and monuments, state parks, and local museums. For the OST, obvious sites for these are Ghost Ranch Visitor's Center, Durango, Cedar City, Las Vegas,

Barstow, San Bernardino, San Gabriel, and Los Angeles. Many of the OST displays we have come across are only barely informative and need to be redone to modern standards of museum display. The exhibit planned for Fort Lewis College is very exciting and will set the standard.

The next level of exhibit is an interpretive panel along the roadway. Accompanying these should be trail and trail organization brochures in stores, visitor's centers, and hotels along the route. A fine example of this level of outreach is the panel in front of Bode's Store. The new panels planned for the San Gabriel Mission, Castle Creek, and the OST Park in Las Vegas are welcome additions. "Interpretive waysides" should give a brief overview of the trail, as well as information specific to the location.

There should be more of these along the OST. However, although brochures and panels along the trail are necessary, they do not take the place of trail centers. When we stopped by Bode's Store and Ghost Ranch Visitor's Center this summer, there were no OSTA brochures on display. The people behind the counters at each place had never heard of the OST or OSTA, despite the exhibits outside. Finally, local groups along the Oregon and California Trails

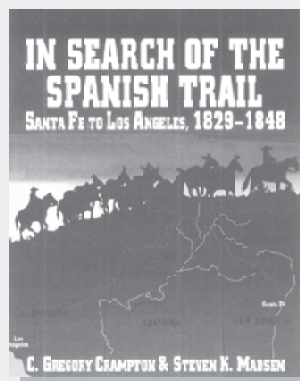
have marked the trail in informative ways. We have in mind the Trails West Organization. They have placed rugged metal markers containing diary quotes and trail descriptions along the emigrant trail through Nevada, and they have published an associated guidebook, *Emigrant Shadows: A History and Guide to the California Trail*, with further information on the sites.

A variety of good interpretive exhibits allows people on many different levels of interest to have a rewarding experience of the trail. Additionally, as an educational outreach to the public, they are a key component of trail preservation.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Reprint Coming Soon

In Search of the Spanish Trail



This classic of the [Old] Spanish Trail was first published in 1994, and when Congress designated the OST as a National Historic Trail in 2002 the book's availability quickly disappeared. Now the reprint is a must-have for all trail enthusiasts. Includes a Preface to the Reprint, 12 maps, 200 photographs, extensive bibliography, and the text serves as both a trail guide and history of our 15th National Historic Trail. Reservations needed before publisher will print.

Reserve your () copies today by e-mail or s-mail to
Old Spanish Trail Assn.
P.O. Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270
nlcarp@earthlink.net



Also see www.oldspanishtrail.org for more information about the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

The Disappearing Old Spanish Trail
(continued from page 1)

trail) from the surrounding area. But in the spring there is sufficient moisture in the ground to sprout latent seeds from a variety of desert grasses, seeds that may have been dormant for years. These include the invasive and much maligned cheat grass and a whole variety of short-lived wheat grasses that emerge to greet an appreciative eye.

The spring grasses initially appear as a soft green mantle over the barren soil, lending hope and color to an otherwise arid desert landscape. Their appearance is understandable enough, but what was unexpected to us was that as the hot winds begin to wither new growth, the grasses in compacted areas lack sufficient moisture to keep up with their surrounding competition. The result is that the trail begins to “develop” right in front of your eyes, just as if it was a photographic plate emerging from a chemical solution. Brown traces of the trail become more and more evident as the grasses die from lack of moisture, revealing an exact pathway through the sparse green growth. Within only a short time, the trail traces disappear with the drying of the surrounding grass.

We were absolutely astounded to find that for a period of several days the trail was perfectly visible, and not just for a few hundred feet, but for miles. The more we learned to look for the distinctive



Aerial view of the disappearing trail
courtesy Al Matheson

margins of the trail, the easier it was to find just the right angle to see them more clearly. Impressive, you bet!

It was time to take to the air. With Dr. Lyman Platt in the back seat as photographer, we undertook an early morning low-level flight of some 40 miles over the OST, from Enoch, Utah, southward to Mountain Meadows. Though the magical transformation was rapidly disappearing as the grasses merged into the brown of the desert, we were still able to find ample opportunity for the shutter to record the event. Much like an eclipse or a solstice event, the “grass show” requires almost perfect timing since it lasts for only one or two days. For a trail junkie like me, it was the show of a lifetime.

Chapter Contacts

Armijo Chapter (AZ)

Jim Page
Page, AZ
435-675-9112
leavenotrace2003@yahoo.com

La Vereda del Norte Chapter (CO)

Pat Richmond
Creede, CO
719-658-2377
patsjoy@netzero.net

Nevada Chapter (NV)

Liz Warren
Jean, NV
702-874-1410
mizlizzard@aol.com

North Branch Chapter (CO)

Bill Chenoweth
Grand Junction, CO
970-242-9062
cheno@bresnan.net

Rancho Chapter (CA)

Rick Whitaker
Garden Grove, CA
714-534-5710
rwhitake@ci.ontario.ca.us

Salida del Sol Chapter (NM)

Pat Kuhlhoff
Santa Fe, NM
505-466-4877
PGLK@earthlink.net

Southern Utah Chapter (UT)

Rob Dotson
Enoch, UT
435-586-6746
rgdotson@hotmail.com

Tecopa Chapter (CA)

Cynthia Kienitz
Tecopa, CA
760-852-4358
ranchhouseinn@earthlink.net

William Workman Chapter (UK)

William Ramsay
Cumbria, England
c/o david.fallowfield@btinternet.com

News from the Trail

Gibbs Smith Publishing has agreed to reprint the Crampton/Madsen classic OST book, *In Search of the Spanish Trail*, with the stipulation that they receive reservations for 6,000 copies before printing. The publisher will be responsible for seeking 3,000 reservations from their usual book store contacts, while OSTA will be responsible for seeking 3,000 from partners and members, including libraries, museums, gift shops, and visitor centers. Several reservations have already been received. All OSTAns are encouraged to help in this project. [See ad in this issue.] **Lorraine Carpenter**

A bulletin on the OST was prepared by Ranger Patrick Myers of the Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve and reviewed by Aaron Mahr, Sharon Brown, Doug Knudson, and the Great Sand Dunes staff. It will be distributed at the interpretive center desk, along with the OSTA general brochure and trail profiles. **Doug Knudson**

The 18"x24" map brochure for the West Fork of the North Branch of the OST in the San Luis Valley is now at the printers. The brochure should be ready for distribution by October. The brochure committee worked to identify the route, write the text, collect photos, and review the brochure format and contents. The La Vereda Chapter is especially grateful

to Doug Simon of the San Luis Valley Public Lands Office for his assistance in preparing the trail map. The San Luis Valley Heritage Tourism Project, which received one of four pilot project grants from the Colorado Tourism Office, is nearing completion. The Old Spanish Trail is featured in one of six theme-based travel itineraries outlined in the San Luis Valley's heritage brochure. The West Fork Trail is also included in a trails brochure developed for the Del Norte, CO, area. **Pat Richmond**

The sandstone marker commemorating the OST and Judge James Robb's contributions to creating the OSNHT was dedicated on May 12, 2007, in Eagle Rim Park in Grand Junction, CO. The Chapter could not have completed this project without the assistance of the Rio Blanco Stone Company, Carlson Memorials Inc., Grand Junction Parks and Recreation Department, and the Western Colorado Community Foundation. **Bill Chenoweth and Mark Franklin**

A large indoor OST exhibit at Fort Lewis College in Durango, CO, will be on display for several months starting in late October, after which it will move to the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe for an extended stay. The exhibit is a joint project of the OSTA Interpretation Committee, the Santa Fe NPS office, and Fort Lewis College. **Doug Knudson and Mark Franklin**

The OSTA board has approved a plan to support the creation of a marker along Highway 91 in the Castle Cliffs area of southern Utah. This area is where the OST came out of the mountains at a spring on the summit of Utah Hill. The site for the marker will be donated by the owner under the condition that OSTA donates the marker. **Al Matheson**

On June 19, 2007, the Enoch City Council passed a resolution designating Enoch's Midvalley Road as the "Old Spanish Trail Historic Road." Utah's Iron County Commission also plans to designate certain roads in the county as "Old Spanish Trail Historic Roads." New Horizons Engineering has donated and completed the surveying of land for a future museum of the Old Spanish Trail. This will be a location for the protection of Old Spanish Trail artifacts and for the education of our youth and future visitors to our region. **Rob Dotson**

The Old Spanish Trail Park at Cimarron and Tara on the west side of Las Vegas is in progress. Liz Warren, Hal Steiner, Ashley Hall, and Nick Saines have been involved in preparing the informational signs. The park plan has been completed and is going out to bid. **Liz Warren and Carol Corbett**

The Tecopa Chapter is in the process of raising money to fund the Emigrant Pass Corridor National Register Nomination Project. This is a protocol that

systematically surveys sites and segments of the trail and then submits documentation for National Register nomination. The project covers a 30-mile segment of the main route from the Nevada border to Tecopa, CA. An archaeology firm has been selected to complete a records search, perform pedestrian surveys, and to prepare and submit the documents to the California Information Centers. The chapter has received a donation from a contributor and is working with the National Park Service on final arrangements for the possible approval of Challenge Cost Share funding. The BLM Barstow Office has received special funding for this project. **Cynthia Kienitz**

The Desert Studies Center of California State University, located in the heart of the Mojave desert in Zzyzx, CA, is offering a class on October 26-28, 2007, on the Old Spanish Trail. Cliff Walker will be the instructor. To register online and view the course description, visit the website cel.csusb.edu or call 909-537-5981 for a course catalogue. **Cliff Walker**

OSTAns Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter, Jean Bruce Poole, John Robinson, and Mark Franklin are working with Father Val of the San Gabriel Mission in Los Angeles, CA, to place an interpretive marker on the OST in the mission's garden. Money for the project will be provided by a donation from Dale Querfeld. **Kenn Carpenter**

OSTA seeks Association Manager

The Old Spanish Trail Association seeks a part-time association manager to help a volunteer working board administer its operations and achieve its missions. The OSTA is a 501(c)(3) not-for-profit organization that seeks to "study, preserve, protect, interpret, and promote appropriate use of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail." The association works in collaboration with the National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management.

The job requires 1) broad policy and development activities, including fund-raising, grant writing, project coordination through volunteer committees and 2) administrative details and communications that service the membership and keep the organization current with day-to-day activities such as mailing leaflets to members and trail partners, handling phone and e-mail requests, notifying members and officers of activities and deadlines, coordinating with federal, tribal, local, and state agencies, and other duties related to OSTA operations. Computer, telephone, written, and verbal report skills and equipment are required. Preference may be given to persons familiar with this or similar organizations.

OSTA will cover expenses such as telephone calls, paper, software, and limited travel to attend board meetings and other events approved by the board of directors.

The employee responds to the Board of Directors, most frequently through the President and the Treasurer. The salary carries no benefits or insurance. The funds come from usually reliable public cooperative agreements. The salary is negotiable, based on experience and ability. The position is based on a renewable contract.

No fixed place of employment exists, allowing the employee to work at home. OSTA prefers that the employee work in one of the six trail states: AZ, CA, CO, NM, NV, or UT.

Applications may be made until November 5, 2007. Starting date is negotiable, but no later than March 1, 2008. Apply in writing with a curriculum vita and a letter explaining how you can meet the conditions listed above. Mail to D.M. Knudson, Pres., 89 Fir Dr., South Fork, CO 81154 or e-mail to ponchapass@phone.net. For more information, call 719-873-5239.

The 14th—Annual OSTA Conference in Barstow

The 14th-Annual Old Spanish Trail Conference was held from June 7-10 in Barstow, CA. There were six venues – Barstow College, the Mojave River Valley Museum, Paradise Springs, the Ramada Inn, and the Main Street mural site – and there were four field trips. Over 110 people attended. The organizers extend thanks to the groups listed above, as well as the Barstow and Hispanic Chambers of Commerce.

Cliff Walker reports that representatives from five Native American tribes helped make the conference a success. Charles Wood, Chemehuevi Chairman, began the Conference with a convocation on Friday, June 8, at Barstow Community College. Dr. James Jefferson, a Southern Ute, contributed to the program as a member of the OSTA board and as a helper at the Saturday evening banquet. Otis Half Moon, a Nez Perce Indian who represents the National Park Service on a national OST committee, presented an Indian prayer before the OST banquet at the Ramada Inn. At the dedication of the Main Street mural depicting a scene of the Old Spanish Trail, the Martinez family (members of the Cheyenne tribe) of Newberry Springs performed for the crowd. John Valenzuela fascinated the audience on

Saturday morning with his story of how his ancestors, the Vanyume of the Mojave Desert, came back from extinction. DNA proves that there are at least two family lines that survived the tragedies of the early 1800's, and are still alive and well. Valenzuela also gave a poignant benediction after the banquet at the close of the Conference. These Native Americans helped the planners of the conference achieve one of its objectives, namely to help set a pattern of involving several ethnic groups, and allowing them to express their views on the importance and the influence of this National Historic Trail on their own cultures.

Doug Knudson reports on John Valenzuela's talk about his leadership of 750 living members of the "extinct" Vanyume tribe: "The Vanyume people now have genetic proof of their continuing existence. The OST traders surely met the Vanyumes when they bartered woolen goods for horses and mules at the San Fernando Mission, just north of Los Angeles. Even today, their 'other' name is the San Fernando Band of Mission Indians."

Knudson also tells us that "art and culture got a big play at Barstow. The Old Spanish Trail mural is now the newest of about eight murals on downtown walls. The dedication ceremony was one of several peak experiences at the convention. The artist, David Brockhurst, and the project leader, Jane Larman-Brockhurst, spoke, along with OSTA president, Reba Grandrud. Then we watched two families perform – the Martinez family, Native American dancers, and the Mena family, Mexican folk dancers. Before the dedication ceremony, some of the GATE students who helped do the strip along the bottom of the mural spoke on how they enjoyed doing this rather involved study and artwork project about the Old Spanish Trail." A slide show



Martinez family dancers. *courtesy Jane Larman-Brockhurst*



Jane Larman-Brockhurst, David Brockhurst, and Reba Grandrud dedicate the Main street mural on the OST. *courtesy Jane Larman-Brockhurst*

of the murals and the dedication ceremony can be seen on the OSTA website, www.oldspanishtrail.org.

Apparently, the Tecopa Chapter members had a great time at the Barstow conference. "It all really broadened my musings about the trail," writes **Cynthia Kienitz**. "One of my favorite talks was about how currency, banking, credit and gold operated in the 1840's in the outback of Spanish provinces. I suddenly grasped why men would hazard the wild ride on the trail and why others would fund such a gamble. Adventurous humans will do anything to get ahead or risk all for the brass ring. The field trip to two of Fort Irwin's first-rate museum exhibits also really got my imagination going. "

Participants praised the dinner in the desert held at Cliff Walker's Paradise Spring Ranch. The dinner included a folk concert by stringed

instruments and a chance to practice with atlatls. **Al Matheson** writes, "Paradise Spring is now a known entity for those who enjoy good company and great cooking, and we all look forward to a repeat." **Kienitz** felt that "Cliff's hot spring property is absolutely charming. What a great bed-and-breakfast it would make!"

Pat Kuhlhoff is organizing the next OSTA conference, to be held on June 5-8, 2008, at the Ohkay Owingeh Resort and Conference Center north of Española, NM. In his address to the conference **David Fallowfield** proposed that the 2009 conference be held in Cumbria, England, the home of William Workman and of the Workman Chapter of OSTA.



Mena family dancers.

courtesy Jane Larman-Brockhurst

Historic Treatment of the California Indians

by Charles Wood

[*Editor's note:* This article was the opening convocation for the Barstow convention.]

President Millard Fillmore signed a bill for the admission of California on September 9, 1850, a date celebrated forever after as Admission Day. Prior to that date, and prior to any Euro-American contact, there were individual, sovereign nations of people in California. Our view of history is decidedly different than your view of history. What you saw as civilization and war, we saw as extermination of an ancestral way of life and massacres to extinguish our race.

Nowhere in North or South America was there a greater diversity of languages and dialects than in California. Of forty-six native linguistic stocks recognized within the limits of the United States by philologists, twenty-two were represented in California, of which only six extended beyond its borders. Many of those original sovereign nations still exist in California today; but, many were driven into or near to extinction by disease, war, and outright genocide at the hand of the encroaching Euro-Americans.

The discovery of gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada at a sawmill construction site developed by Indian Agent Johann Sutter ushered in one of the darkest episodes of dispossession, widespread sexual assault, and mass murder against native people seen in the history of the United States.

Within a year, adventurers from all over the world descended upon the native peoples of California with catastrophic results. A virtual reign of terror enveloped tribal people. Wanton killings and violence against Indians resisting miners developed into a deadly pattern. Numerous vigilante type paramilitary troops and professional Indian hunters were established whose principal occupation was to track down and indiscriminately kill Indian men, women and children. Groups such as the Humboldt Home Guard, the Eel River Minutemen, the Mariposa Brigade, and the Placer Blades, among a long list of others, terrorized local Indians. The handiwork of these well-armed death squads, combined with the widespread random killing of Indians by individual miners, resulted in the death of at least 100,000 Indians in the first two years of the gold rush. Nothing in American history is even remotely comparable to this massive orgy of theft and mass murder. Stunned survivors, perhaps numbering fewer than 70,000, teetered near the brink of total annihilation.

The examples that I have given occurred in northern California. Prior to those dates, we in the south had the Old Spanish Trail and the Mojave Road to contend with. For Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi people, these roads had the same catastrophic consequences that changed our way of life forever. We retreated from known paths and water locations deeper into the desert in an attempt to protect ourselves. Men, women, and children were often killed. More often they were kidnapped and sold into the lucrative slave trade. Whole families might disappear never to be seen again

and their genealogy lost.

The closure of the Old Spanish Trail in 1849 did not stop the despair of Southern California Indians. In 1850 the "Act for the Government and Protection of Indians" was passed. This gave white settlers the right to forcibly indenture Indian people, including children, into slavery for all intents and purposes by paying a fee of \$25.00. In 1851 the federal government reneged on 18 "peace and friendship" treaties that promised California Indians eight and a half million acres of land. And in 1860 Los Angeles County passed an Ordinance that allowed the auctioning of Indian prisoners to the general public into virtual slavery to the highest bidder.

Prior to Euro-American contact, native sovereign peoples held vast tracts of land as their own. Then through time and legislation those ancestral lands were diminished to mere parcels called reservations and *rancherias* in California. But sovereign peoples do not forget their past and the attachment they have to once-sovereign lands. In the case of the Chemehuevi, it is well documented that we lived throughout the Hesperia, Apple Valley, Victorville, Barstow, and Daggett areas. The 1900 US Federal Census showed 44 Indians living in Victorville; continued research by Dr. David Earle has shown that 37 of those were Chemehuevi and the remaining 7 were Kawaiisu.

Today, through the efforts of people like yourselves, the truth of history is being sought out and brought to the light of day. While many of these memories may be painful to us it is important that the truth be told.

William Workman's Background

by David Fallowfield

[*Editor's note:* This article is an excerpt from the address which Fallowfield gave at the Barstow convention.]

I would like to say a few words about William Workman, to whom, as some of you know, I am distantly related. You cannot write the history of the Old Spanish Trail, or the history of California for that matter, without mentioning his name. I will not revisit the story of William Workman's life in America here; instead, I will touch on his English background, which may help explain his character and personality and how that allowed him to carry the mantle of a pioneer.

First, let me try to remove some of the confusion about where he was born. In the *Old Spanish Trail*, the Hafens have him as "a native of England, having been born in Cumberland in 1800" (205). Workman was actually born in November 1799 in the village of Temple Sowerby in the county of Westmorland. Today that same village is in the county of Cumbria. (Incidentally, all of the members of the William Workman Chapter live in Cumbria.) The modern county of Cumbria came into being with a reorganisation of the local government in 1974, which incorporated the whole of the former counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, together with a small part of Lancashire and an even smaller part of Yorkshire.

If you visit the Workman Temple mausoleum ("El Campo Santo") at

the Homestead Museum in La Puente, you will see that William Workman's memorial states that he was born at Clifton, Westmorland. It is easy to see how these discrepancies crept in. He was born at Temple Sowerby, but he was living with his family at Clifton when he left for the United States in 1821. Clifton, although originally in Westmorland, is two miles south of Penrith, where I live, but Penrith, originally in Cumberland, would have been the postal address for Clifton – hence Clifton, Penrith, Cumberland, England.

I am sure this is how the Hafens got it wrong. And at La Puente, I am sure the origin of the error on the memorial is that Workman would have spoken of "being from Clifton" rather than from Temple Sowerby, which was his actual birthplace. Clifton Parish was also the ancestral home of the Workmans, so spiritually they were from Clifton wherever they happened to be born. Also, it was to Clifton he returned on his only visit back home in 1851.

In my opinion, the geography of his birth has a lot to do with his character. In the days when he was born, the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland had a higher percentage of yeoman farmers than any of the other counties of the United Kingdom. A yeoman farmer was one who owned his own land and was not a tenant of a larger landowner. In 1829 it has been said that there were 7,000 such yeomen in Cumberland alone (Parson and White). They were known in the vernacular as "statesmen," i.e. possessing an estate. These yeoman farmers were very self-sufficient, industrious and independently minded.

Therefore, being descended from a long line of this yeoman stock, William Workman would have inherited these characteristics which would stand him in good stead on the frontier.

It is easy to see how Workman became an entrepreneur. Like his brother David, William did not come to America with the intention of working for anyone. They came to work for themselves as businessmen and readily seized opportunities to make money. A young man of only 21 years, William had the equivalent of approximately \$160,000.00 in today's money with him when he arrived in the United States. His brother had a similar amount. They were definitely not the "tired, poor, huddled masses" mentioned in the Emma Lazarus poem. Those words refer to others who came to the U.S. as immigrants, not to these two yeomen of England.

Another significant aspect of Workman's background is that Cumberland and Westmorland (i.e. Cumbria) even today are rural, with a relatively sparse population distributed in villages and small towns, and with wide open mountainous country with lakes and fast flowing rivers. In Westmorland, agriculture and sheep farming were main industries. For William, the environment in Taos or in Los Angeles would have been familiar, given the size of these towns back in the 1800's.

In conclusion, William Workman was a product of his genetic and geographical background and achieved what he did in his lifetime because of this heritage.

The Old Spanish Trail and Southern California History

by John W. Robinson

[Editor's note: This article is the text of an address that Robinson gave at the Barstow convention.]

My talk this evening is primarily concerned with the significance of the Old Spanish Trail for California from 1829 – the year of Antonio Maria Armijo's initial trade caravan – until 1848, the year of the American conquest and of the trail's demise as a major route of travel. I will show that the trail played an important part in California history during this period in four ways – two of them positive, two negative.

First, a brief description of California at the time of our interest. As the decade of the 1820's opened, California was still a far-flung province of New Spain, owing ultimate allegiance to the King of Spain. The province's economy was based largely on agriculture and livestock, managed by the padres at each of the 21 missions, which extended from San Diego north to San Francisco Bay. Monterey was the provincial capital, with a population of several hundred. Other communities, whose population also ranged in the few hundreds, were San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San José, and San Francisco, then known as Yerba Buena.

In 1821 Mexico gained her independence from Spain, whose

sovereignty over California formally ended on April 11, 1822, when California Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola and his lieutenants swore allegiance to Augustio de Iturbide, emperor of Mexico. So ended 53 years of Spanish California, years when the frontier province was often obliged to rely on its own resources. California would continue to be master of its own fate for most of the 24 years under nominal Mexican sovereignty. Most of California's Mexican governors ruled with little guidance from Mexico City.

The years from the mid-1820s into the early 1830s have been called the "Golden Age" of the California mission system. This prosperity was partly the result of an increase in mission fields under cultivation, but even more by the vast expansion of mission herds. Thousands of horses, cattle and, to a lesser extent, sheep, roamed the plains and hills of coastal California. Mission properties – in land, agriculture and livestock – represented the greater part of the coastal province's wealth.¹

We should say a word about the peoples who lived and worked in the California missions. Each mission had from one to three resident priests. Carmel, the administrative head of the 21 missions, had five or six padres. Most of the missions had a small military force quartered on the grounds, usually in a small barrack close to the mission chapel, consisting of a corporal of the guard and two or three soldiers.

If more soldiers were needed to quell a Native American revolt, they would be summoned from the nearest *presidio*, or military base. In Southern California there were two presidios, at San Diego and Santa Barbara, each with a force numbering from 15 to 25 *soldados*.

The labor force that did almost all the work at the missions – preparing meals, harvesting crops, running the grist mill or the tannery – were Native Americans, forcefully incorporated into the mission communities. The Indians – Gabrieliños, Luiseños, Diegoiños, Chumash – were fed, clothed, and taught Christianity. They lived in dormitory "bunk houses," men and women separately. Married couples, whose ceremony had been performed by a priest, lived together. They could leave the mission only with the padres' permission, which was seldom given.²

To graze the vast mission herds, outlying ranchos were established. Some of them were at great distance from the mission itself. Almost all of the California missions had a number of stock ranchos. We shall focus on Mission San Gabriel, closest to the Old Spanish Trail.

Prior to 1819, San Gabriel's major outlying stock rancho was La Puente, some 4 leagues (12 miles) east of the mission. In 1819, Father Zalvidea, supposedly in response to an appeal from the Guacharra Indians (a Serano tribal group living in

the San Bernardino Valley) for instruction in agriculture and stock raising, established Rancho San Bernardino. Within a few years, the padres of San Gabriel founded other mission ranchos adjoining San Bernardino: Jurupa on the west; Agua Caliente, extending north from the Santa Ana River to Arrowhead Hot Springs; and Yucaipa in the hills to the southeast. The most distant of San Gabriel's ranchos was San Gorgonio, in what today is known as Banning Pass, the gateway to the southern desert.³

Onto this scene came Antonio Maria Armijo, leading a pack train of some 40 to 60 men and a hundred mules. The mules were loaded with woven woolen goods – serapes, blankets, and quilts, products of New Mexico's sheep industry – which Armijo hoped to trade for California horses and mules. Armijo's trading expedition set out from Abiquiu, New Mexico, a small frontier settlement some fifty miles northwest of Santa Fe, on November 7, 1829. We shall not detail Armijo's route via the four corners country, nor the great semi-circular route through central Utah followed by later travelers on the Old Spanish Trail. These routes have been well described by several others. Let it suffice to say that Armijo's caravan crossed Cajon Pass and reached Mission San Gabriel on January 31, 1830.⁴ The *californios* at first were delighted to trade some of their horses and mules, abundant in the coastal province, for the woolen goods from the

Rio Grande Valley. In less than a month, Armijo and his men had disposed of their blankets and serapes, and purchased some 100 horses and mules to sell in New Mexico.

Armijo's caravan inaugurated a yearly trade over what became known as the Old Spanish Trail that lasted through the 1830's and well into the 1840's. The second New Mexican trade caravan was led by Antonio Santi-Estevan. His pack train, loaded with woolen goods, left Santa Fe in January 1831 and reached Los Angeles in April. To quote California authorities, there were "thirty men from New Mexico, merchants in wool, bringing passports." By the middle 1830's the Santa Fe-to-Los Angeles trade routine was fairly well established.

The New Mexican traders dispersed their woolen products all over Mexican California. J.J. Warner, who arrived in Los Angeles with a trapping party led by Ewing Young in 1831, recalled: "Los Angeles was the central point in California of this New Mexican trade. Coming by the northern, or Green and Virgin River routes, the caravans came through the Cajon Pass and reached Los Angeles. From thence they scattered themselves over the country from San Diego to San José, and across the Bay to Sonoma and San Rafael. Having bartered and disposed of the goods brought, and procured such as they wished to carry back, and what mules they could drive, they concentrated

at Los Angeles for their yearly return."⁵

Most sought by the New Mexican traders were California horses and mules, considered bigger and stronger than the New Mexican animals. Also sought, mainly by wealthy Santa Fe merchants, were products of the so-called China trade – luxuries such as silk cloth, jade necklaces and combs, and exotic teas. This "China trade" was carried on by New England trading vessels that plied a three-way circuit between their home port of Boston or New York, around Cape Horn to California, then across the Pacific to Canton, China, and back via Hawaii to California before returning home loaded with California hides and tallow, sea otter pelts, and Chinese luxuries. Many of these oriental luxury items reached Santa Fe via the Old Spanish Trail.⁶

This trade along the Old Spanish Trail was a positive factor in the trail's history, but it should not be exaggerated. Although appreciated by the *californios* at first, there is evidence that later caravans experienced difficulties in disposing of all their woolen goods. The market became saturated. In the 1830's New Mexico had a much greater population than California. The latter's Spanish and Mexican population was dispersed in a few coastal towns with no more than a few hundred residents each. The great California population explosion was decades off.

We shall now return to events in California during the 1830's, years that heralded great change: the decline of the missions and the growth of the large Mexican land grant ranchos. The mission era drew to a rapid close with the enactment by the Mexican government of the Secularization Act of 1833. Over the years 1834 to 1846, the California missions, one by one, were secularized. No longer were the Franciscan padres masters of the vast mission lands or the cattle that roamed them.

The decline of the missions ushered in the misnamed "Golden Age" of the great ranchos, the time, to quote historian Robert Glass Cleland, of "The Cattle on a Thousand Hills."⁷ Five ranchos occupied the San Bernardino valley and surrounding areas. Rancho San José, encompassing the Pomona Valley, was granted to Ygnacio Palomares in 1837. Rancho Jurupa, along the southwestern edge of the valley, was granted to Juan Bandini in 1838. In 1839, Tibucio Tapia received title to Rancho Cucamonga, to the west. Rancho Santa Ana del Chino, south of Cucamonga, was granted to Antonio Maria Lugo in 1841. The most important grant was the huge Rancho San Bernardino, embracing the heart of the valley, which in 1842 became the property of José del Carmen Lugo, José Maria Lugo, Vicente Lugo, and Diego Sepulveda – the three sons and cousin of Antonio Maria Lugo.⁸

The primary economic activity of these sprawling ranchos was cattle and horse raising. Great numbers of animals roamed the plains and drank from the streams, tended by Mexican vaqueros and trusted Native Americans. The opening of the Old Spanish Trail brought the coastal province's abundance of horses and mules to the attention of many who were previously unaware of it. The temptation to steal from the herds became an irresistible lure. Runaway neophytes (mission Indians) had long absconded with mission livestock, but now New Mexican, American, and Indian marauders from as far away as Utah began pilfering animals on a much larger scale. Livestock thievery became a major, unsolvable problem, decimating Southern California mission and rancho herds. Cajon Pass continued to be the entry and egress funnel for most of the horse thieves.

The largest group of horse thieves who terrorized central and Southern California ranchos from about 1835 to 1840 were *Los Chaguanosos*, a motley band of New Mexicans, French Canadians, Americans, and Indians. During these years, literally thousands of horses stolen by this band were driven over Cajon and Tejon passes and across the desert as far as Utah and New Mexico.⁹

The scourge of the rancheros, beginning in 1840, was a bold Ute chieftain named Walkara, the

"Hawk of the Mountains," known as Walker to the Americans. Walkara, a born leader, superb horseman, and an expert with firearms, has been called "The Napoleon of the Desert" because of his talent as a strategist, his daring exploits, and his ability to inspire fierce loyalty from his subordinates. For several years he had levied tribute on the New Mexican trade caravans as they passed through southern Utah. Now, in 1840, he and his band of Ute marauders, augmented by a number of Chaguanosos and American trappers, some 150 heavily-armed men in all, staged the greatest horse stealing raid in California history.

Walkara and his force rode the Old Spanish Trail from their Ute homeland to a rendezvous on the lower Mojave River. Either at the river rendezvous or somewhere along the trail, Walkara's Utes met up with several American mountain men reportedly led by Thomas "Pegleg" Smith. The Ute chieftain led most of his Indian raiders northwest, probably across Tejon Pass, into the San Joaquin Valley, from where they made a lightning foray on San Luis Obispo. During the night the daring Ute leader stole into the corral where the best saddle horses were held and made away with the entire band of choice animals. In all, Walkara and his men absconded with some 1,200 horses, which they quickly drove east into the San Joaquin Valley, then southeast to the rendezvous point of the Mojave River.

Meanwhile, the other half of the raiding force, led by “Pegleg” Smith, headed for Cajon Pass. Pegleg (who had lost one leg in an Indian fight in Colorado in 1827 and replaced it with a wooden peg) and a mixed force of mountain men and Utes thundered south over the pass and divided into several bands to plunder rancho herds from the San Bernardino Valley west almost to San Gabriel and south as far as San Juan Capistrano. In three days and nights, Smith and his men stole upwards of 2,000 horses (one source says 5,000). Most of the stolen animals were driven over Cajon Pass. Pegleg, with his share of pilfered stock, is said to have left via San Geronimo Pass, from where he turned north through Yucca and Lucerne Valleys to the rendezvous on the Mojave River.¹⁰

The Mexican *californio* authorities made a serious effort to recover the stolen horses and capture the thieves. Soldiers from Santa Barbara Presidio, augmented by vaqueros from Tiburcio Tapis’s Rancho Cucamonga and Ygnacio Palomares’ Rancho San José in the Pomona Valley (both heavily victimized by the raids), crossed Cajon Pass and rode far into the desert in a futile pursuit. Only a few of the animals were recovered.

As early as 1833, the theft of horses and mules in Southern California was so extensive that the Los Angeles *ayuntamiento* (town council), whose territory extended to Cajon Pass, enacted a regulation to ensure the legality of

all purchases by the New Mexico traders. The *alcalde* (mayor) at Los Angeles and the commander of the guard at San Gabriel were ordered to inspect the animals supposedly purchased by the New Mexicans, recover stock they believed stolen, and detain any trader or mule packer suspected of thievery. Los Angeles *Alcalde* José Antonio Carillo wrote to California Governor Figueroa that New Mexicans, posing as traders, had stolen at least a thousand animals during the preceding three months.

A nefarious, covert activity that has received far too little attention from historians was the Indian slave trade. There is evidence of an illicit trade in human lives between the Utes and the Spaniards of the Rio Grande Valley as early as 1670. It is said that Ute raiding parties periodically descended on bands of Southern Paiutes and abducted women and children, whom they would sell to New Mexicans for use as domestic slaves. This practice apparently occurred all over the Southwest through the 18th and well into the 19th century. In 1776 the intrepid padre-explorer Francisco Garcés recorded in his diary that he purchased two Paiute women from the Mohaves, who he later released and sent back to their villages.

This practice continued during Old Spanish Trail days. According to biographer Paul Bailey, the great Ute chief Walkara was “the acknowledged and undisputed lord of the Mexican-Indian traffic

in human flesh.” He absconded with women and children from Shoshone and Southern Paiute bands and sold them both in Los Angeles and to New Mexican traders headed for Santa Fe.¹¹ The *californios* were in no way blameless in their treatment of Native Americans. They not only traded for Indian women and children, but neophytes escaping from the missions and ranchos were often pursued into the desert and forcefully returned. This evil practice continued into the 1850’s, despite the fact that Spain outlawed slavery in 1812 and Mexico did the same in 1829. The group most responsible for ending it with the Utes were the Mormons of Utah.

Beginning in the early 1830’s, the Old Spanish Trail was increasingly utilized as a path for immigration, for settlers bound for California – a second positive impact of the Old Spanish trail on California history.

There is strong evidence that Antonio Maria Armijo, leader of the original trade caravan of 1829-1830, was himself one of the first New Mexicans to settle in California. California mission and provincial records reveal that one Antonio Maria Armijo from New Mexico married Maria de los Dolores Engracia Duarte y Peralta at Mission Santa Clara on April 30, 1831, and that the Mexican provincial census placed him in San José, California, in 1841, age 37 years. This census record would indicate that his birth was in 1804.

Seven children of Antonio and Maria were all born in California between 1832 and 1844. Antonio's father, José Francisco Armijo, also born in New Mexico, was granted some 13,000 acres in what is now Solano County, 40 miles northeast of San Francisco, in 1840. This was Rancho Tolenas, which became Antonio Maria's after his father's death. Solano County records indicate Antonio Maria's death as April 10, 1890.¹²

I am aware that some Old Spanish Trail scholars do not fully accept that the California Antonio Maria Armijo was one and the same as the New Mexico Antonio Maria Armijo. I challenge any of you to find documentary evidence in New Mexico provincial and church records that Antonio Maria Armijo lived in New Mexico after 1830. Hafen searched and found nothing. My mind is always open to anyone who can disprove my strong belief that the Armijo of Old Spanish Trail history lived the remainder of his life in California.

The first party to travel over most of the great semi-circular route of the Old Spanish Trail – that is, through central Utah – was led by William Wolfskill and George Yount in the winter of 1830-31. William Wolfskill settled in Los Angeles, became a leading citizen, and planted California's first commercial orange grove. George Yount moved north and became a rancher and prominent citizen of the Napa Valley.¹³

The Slover-Pope party journeyed over the trail in 1837. They were apparently the first immigrants to use the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail through southern Colorado. What is most noteworthy about Slover and Pope is that they apparently traveled with wagons, the first to do so. Isaac Slover settled in the San Bernardino Valley, near the base of the hill that today bears his name. William Pope settled first in Los Angeles where he built a grist mill, and later moved north to the Napa Valley.¹⁴

The largest group of American emigrants to travel from New Mexico to Southern California via the Old Spanish Trail was the Rowland-Workman party of 1841. John Rowland, a native of Pennsylvania, traveled the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico in 1823. For several years he trapped beaver west of Santa Fe and in the Green River country of eastern Utah. Later he married a Mexican woman and settled in Taos, where he went into the mercantile business. William Workman was an Englishman who came to New Mexico as a young man. Like Rowland, he hunted beaver for several years. He was with the Patties on their trapping expedition to the Gila and Colorado Rivers in 1827. He married a Mexican woman, became a naturalized Mexican citizen, and settled in Taos, where he ran a clothing and provisions store. Rowland and Workman were joined by other Americans anxious to leave New Mexico. One of

them was Benjamin Wilson, born in Tennessee in 1811, and a Santa Fe merchant since 1835. Traveling with the Rowland-Workman party were New Mexicans Juan Manuel Vaca and Juan Felipe Peña, along with their large families. Some say they should be equally credited with Rowland and Workman as leaders of the expedition. Peña family tradition holds that the two youngest children of the party, three-year-old Nestoria Peña and two-year-old Appolonia Vaca, rode over the trail in saddle bags balanced on both sides of a trusty mule.

The Rowland-Workman and Vaca-Peña parties reached Los Angeles in November 1841. Most members of the party planned to remain in California. In 1842, John Rowland and William Workman, both of whom had Mexican wives and had applied for Mexican citizenship, applied for 48,000-acre Rancho La Puente, twelve miles southeast of Mission San Gabriel. They were granted the rancho by Governor Pio Pico in 1845. Benjamin Wilson originally intended to continue on to China, but after several unsuccessful attempts to find a ship bound for the Far East, he decided to remain in Southern California. He purchased Rancho Jurupa, located alongside the Santa Ana River just southwest of Rancho San Bernardino (today's Riverside) in 1843. The following year he married Ramona Yorba, daughter of one of the owners of Rancho Santa Ana. "Don Benito," as he became known to his

Spanish-speaking friends, as well as Rowland and Workman, were prominent citizens of Southern California until their deaths in the 1870's. Wilson was the first mayor of Los Angeles and a state senator.¹⁵

The Vacas and Peñas journeyed to northern California and settled in what is today Solano County, 40 miles northeast of San Francisco. Descendents still hold occasional family reunions. Vaca is honored by the town of Vacaville, while the Peña Adobe has been restored as a California state historical landmark.¹⁶

From 1841 on, the Old Spanish Trail increasingly served a dual purpose, both as a route of the annual trade caravans from Santa Fe to Los Angeles and as a path for immigration. The majority of the immigrants using the trail in 1842, '43, and '44 were New Mexican families seeking a home in Southern California. Some of the male family members had previously made the trip with the trade caravans. While in Los Angeles, they learned that Antonio Maria Lugo, owner of Rancho Santa Ana del Chino, his sons José del Carmen and Vicente Lugo of Rancho San Bernardino, and Juan Bandini of Rancho Jurupa were seeking families to settle on their ranchos. They wanted the families to serve as a buffer against stock thieves, who were stealing up to half of their horses every year. Lorenzo Trujillo, a member of the Rowland-Workman party,

and José Antonio Martínez de la Rosa, who came with Vigil's trade caravan, visited the San Bernardino Valley and decided that the well-watered, grassy plain, through which flowed the all-year waters of the Santa Ana River, would be an ideal place to settle with their families.

Trujillo and Martínez returned to New Mexico and began recruiting families to accompany them to Southern California. They had little trouble gaining recruits, who were attracted by descriptions of the lush agricultural and grazing lands in the San Bernardino Valley. Nineteen families accompanied the two leaders over the Old Spanish Trail to Los Angeles in the fall of 1842, and ten more families joined the annual trade caravan the following year. Trujillo and Martínez reached an agreement with the Lugos that provided the New Mexican settlers with a half league of land (about 2,200 acres) bordering the Santa Ana River just south of the present city of Colton. The New Mexican families were "to conduct themselves properly and repel any invasions that might occur."

The New Mexican settlement on the bluff overlooking the Santa Ana River became known as Politana or Apolitana, apparently deriving its name from Hipólito Espinosa who already lived there. They built adobe homes, dug irrigation ditches, and planted crops. A census taken in 1844 revealed that the population

of Politana was 73. The New Mexicans remained at Politana only two years. Disagreements with Vicente Lugo (on one occasion he shut off their irrigation water) caused the settlers to move three miles down the Santa Ana River to land at the northern edge of Rancho Jurupa offered by Juan Bandini and approved by the rancho's new owner, Benjamin Wilson. The New Mexican families were given individual plots of land, which the Lugos had not offered, and plentiful irrigation water. They built their homes on both sides of the river, just north of today's Riverside. The community on the northwest bank became known as Agua Mansa, and the one on the southeast side became La Placita. By 1850 there were about 150 residents.¹⁷

The final Los Angeles to Santa Fe trade caravan departed Los Angeles in April 1848. Two months earlier, the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the U.S.-Mexican War and added almost all of today's Southwest to the United States. A colorful era came to an end.

The Old Spanish Trail played an important part in Southern California history, both as a route of trade and as a path for California-bound settlers. It also served as an avenue for horse thieves and slavers. But the balance lies on the positive side, and it richly deserves its place among the historic trails of the American West.

End notes

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Six members of the William Workman Chapter relaxing at the Ramada in Barstow after attending the conference. Left to right : Thelma Harrison, Anne and John Thompson, Donald Harrison, Bill Ramsay and David Fallowfield.

Photo by Thelma Harrison

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13. Iris Higbee Wilson, *William Wolfskill, 1798 – 1866, Frontier Trapper to California Ranchero* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1965), 64-80.
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16. Jerry Bowen, “The Peña Adobe and the Vacas and Peñas: Settlers Who Followed the Old Spanish Trail to Solano County,” *Spanish Traces*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 2007.
17. R. Bruce Harley, “From New Mexico to California: San Bernardino County’s First Settlers of Agua Mansa,” *San Bernardino County Museum Association Quarterly*, Vol. 47, Nos. 3 and 4, 2000.

Book Reviews

What Wildness Is This: Women Write about the Southwest

Edited by Susan Wittig Albert, Susan Hanson, Jan Epton Seale, and Paula Stallings Yost, introduction by Kathleen Dean Moore.

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.

ISBN: 978-0-292-71630-8

336 pp. Paperback, \$19.95.

Nature writing has been an important genre of American literature since the mid-nineteenth century. However, during the last few decades it has blossomed, especially in the Southwest. *What Wildness Is This*, a collection of close to one hundred original pieces of contemporary writing about the relationship between human beings and nature, furnishes tangible evidence of that flowering. All the writings included in this anthology are written from or to the Southwest. Additionally, until the last few decades, most nature writing has been by Euro-American men. This anthology celebrates women's voices: All the writings in the collection are by women.

From south-central Texas to the Southern California coast, the Southwest is both an ecologically and culturally diverse place. *What Wildness Is This*, edited by Susan Wittig Albert, Susan Hanson, Jan Epton Seale, and Paula Stallings Yost, makes an effort to reflect both of those diversities. Shaped by intentional editorial concern for cultural and ethnic inclusivity, the collection provides works by well-known authors—including Joy Harjo, Denise Chávez, Leslie Marmon

Silko, Terry Tempest Williams, Wendy Rose, Luci Tapahonso, and Barbara Kingsolver—as well as by lesser known writers, such as Mary Bryan Stafford, Lisa Swanstrom, and Marie Unini.

The writings, which include an eclectic blend of prose, poetry, field notes, creative nonfiction, and memoir, are divided into eight sections: the way we live on the land, our journeys through the land, nature that sustains us, our memories of the land, what we leave on the land when we are gone, nature at risk, nature in cities, our kinship with the natural world. They represent a variety of perspectives and diverse backgrounds, and they deal with a range of topics—from hiking, caving, rafting, and camping to Nancy Mairs' description of the landscape's difficulties for the wheelchair-bound.

However, despite their differences, there is also a sense of unity throughout the writings: the women are all writing intimately about the impact of the southwestern landscape on their lives. Many of the writers in this collection tell of their connection to place, and because attachment to place often leads to a sense of responsibility and a desire to protect that particular place, many of the pieces collected here also illuminate environmental injustices.

What Wildness Is This deserves serious attention from readers interested in cultural geography, cultural history, and Southwest studies.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions.

James A. Sandos.

New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

ISBN: 0-300-10100-7

Index, maps, photos. 251 pp. Hardback, \$35.00.

In *Converting California*, James Sandos provides a history of the Franciscan missions in Alta California from 1769-1836. His focus is on the response of California's Indians to Franciscan missionary activity. In so doing, he challenges the assumption that the Indians totally assimilated to Christianity. According to Sandos, the historical record reveals that the Indians were curious about Catholicism and saw it as complementing their traditional beliefs, rather than replacing them.

Examining topics such as the role of music in the conversion of the Indians to Franciscan enterprises, the diseases caused by contact with the missions (especially venereal disease), and the Indian resistance to Christianity, Sandos describes what happened in the missions. And without taking sides, he also explains why it happened. Emphasizing the complexity of the missionization process, he asserts that the "Indians and Franciscans *together* created mission culture" (p. 184). Identifying "heroes and villains is as difficult as it is irrelevant," he writes (184). Sandos

asserts that California mission historiography has for too long been plagued by contentions between pro- and anti-Franciscan factions. Borderlands historian David Weber has termed the pro-mission group “Christophilic Triumphalists” because they portray missionaries as saints. The latter faction Sandos refers to as “Christophobic Nihilists,” writers who consider missionaries as committing genocide against Indians. Refusing to take sides, Sandos attempts to see the missions from the point of view of the Franciscans and the Indians who were missionized. To do this he employs both the methods of ethnohistory and theohistory, a combination which Sandos contends allows readers to understand not only Franciscan conversion strategies, but Indian responses to them.

A professor of history at the University of Redlands, Sandos refutes the notion that the missionaries enslaved Indians and instituted a policy of genocide. Mission labor, according to Sandos, is an extension of Latin American debt peonage. The Spaniards did not want to destroy the Indians, he asserts. Driven by a condescending if sincere, “love for their Indians,” the missionaries wanted to Hispanize Indians in order to make them contributing subjects (64). However, Sandos’ generous reading of Franciscan missionary culture is balanced

by his attention to Indian disease, particularly syphilis, and Spanish cruelty.

The only criticism that this reviewer has is that the book’s organization at times proves problematic as it creates a certain amount of redundancy. Sandos begins with an overview on the California missions as “instruments of social control.” He then backtracks to a chapter on pre-colonial Indian life, which is followed by a chapter on Serra’s medieval worldview and his legacy on the mission system. Chapter 6 examines the Indian “revolt” at mission San Diego and Chapter 7 returns to Serra. The book concludes thematically with chapters on disease, music and conversion, and “resistance,” themes which might have been better addressed chronologically.

A balanced and readable history of a complex topic, *Converting California* will be of interest to students of California history, Native American studies, and mission historiography.

Cynthia Fearn

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Blood and Thunder: An Epic of the American West

Hampton Sides
New York: Doubleday, 2006.
ISBN:-13: 978-0-385-50777-6
Index, bibliography, photos.
Hardback, \$26.95.

Hampton Sides’ *Blood and Thunder* traces Kit Carson’s role in the tumultuous history of the Southwest from 1826 to his death in 1868. It particularly seeks to situate Carson’s involvement within the broader context of American westward expansion as the peoples of the Southwest gave way under the ravaging tide of Manifest Destiny.

In a painstakingly detailed account of Carson’s life, *Blood and Thunder* follows his fascinating personal and professional history as he learns the ways of the mountain men, embarks on scouting trips with John C. Frémont, is conscripted into the Army of the West in the Mexican War, briefly settles into farm life with his family, fights for the Union on the western front of the Civil War, and ultimately heads the U.S. Army’s campaign against the Mescalero Apaches and the Navajo. While focusing primarily on Carson’s various roles in the complicated and treacherous interactions between warring interests in the Southwest, Sides also interweaves in some detail the characters and storylines of the advancing U.S. Army and the Navajo people as they move inexorably toward one another, and provides enough background

information to anchor his narrative comfortably in its historical context.

Kit Carson is easily one of the most celebrated figures of western American lore, and for good reason; as Sides points out on more than one occasion, many of the tall tales circulated about him were more true than otherwise. However, Sides resists any urge toward mere hagiography, and presents an unflinching, evenhanded, and intensely personal portrait of Carson's paradoxical nature. He thoroughly explores the many awe-inspiring dimensions of Carson's life – Kit the illiterate polyglot, mountain man, hunter, trapper, scout, Indian liaison, negotiator, soldier, commander, husband, and devoted father – but does not shy away from an examination of Kit the merciless avenger and “natural born killer” (7). Sides also investigates the complex and sinister elements of Carson's relationships with John C. Frémont, Stephen Watts Kearny, and James Henry Carleton, the three men to whom he gave his staunch obedience, noting a “dark symbiosis between authority and action” that seemed to render Carson “incapable of resisting an order he personally disagreed with,” even if it was senselessly cruel or violent (96). In taking this multi-dimensional approach to Carson's character, Sides' touch is above all balanced: it is thoughtful, complex, and unfailingly just.

While the most space is devoted to Carson, the rest of Sides' narrative

is vividly populated with Carson's fellow actors, who are no less real than he. The reader is treated to nuanced depictions of the major players, like Frémont, Carleton, and Navajo warrior Narbona, as well as some of the less prominent figures, like Jessie Benton Frémont and Charles Bent; especially enjoyable are the descriptions of Manuel Armijo, Governor of New Mexico prior to the Mexican War, and General Henry Hopkins Sibley of the Confederate Army.

Then, too, Sides proves himself an adept at scene painting and storytelling. The landscape seems to come to life at his hands, almost taking on a character of its own (see the rendering of Canyon de Chelly beginning on p. 229 or the bleak beauty of the Navajo country on p. 211), and his descriptions of army camp life in Chapters 3 and 8 can make the reader fairly taste the “sour musk of a living army” in the air (24) or hear the rustling, clanking, and lowing of hundreds of livestock on the move (54). His extensive use of first-person sources helps in this regard; however, he also has a marvelous skill for turning a phrase, and isn't above coining a word like “rattlesnakey” if the spirit moves him (81). Sides' depictions of Native American, and particularly Navajo, cultures, histories, and ways of life are also imbued with life and color; they have vibrancy and dignity without a hint of condescension. *Blood and Thunder* deserves special notice for its handling of the forced relocation to Bosque Redondo: while such a painful and tragic subject has

the potential to be either over-sentimentalized or under-played, Sides deftly navigates the material without venturing into sermonic or mawkish territory; rather, he allows the history to speak for itself. In this regard, his storytelling is devastating in its simplicity.

When it comes to research and documentation, even the most exacting historian would have difficulty finding fault with Sides' effort here: *Blood and Thunder* is meticulously researched and cited (Sides' note on p. 403 indicates that approximately 500 sources were consulted, and the selected bibliography is extensive), and he has relied heavily on primary sources, whenever possible. However, reference numbers within the text would be helpful for one reading with an eye toward further research.

In crafting *Blood and Thunder*, Hampton Sides has done his homework and then some, creating a vivid rendering of the individuals and peoples that participated (willingly or otherwise) in the formation of the American Southwest. The descriptions of the New Mexico landscape are sheer reading pleasures, so skillfully rendered that they almost made a tourist out of this reader. Ably written and exceptionally well-documented, *Blood and Thunder* is a captivating read sure to gratify the pleasure seeker and the historian alike because it succeeds in being as entertaining as it is informative.

Sharone Williams

Refuting the Myth of *Californio* Indolence: The Test Case of Los Angeles and Environs, 1821-1846

by *Michael J. Gonzáles*

A question beckons: When Mexico ruled California between 1821 and 1846, did the Spanish-speaking settlers deserve to be called “lazy”? Oh dear, sighs the sophisticated reader, the question hardly needs posing.¹ The evidence suggests that the charge of laziness, or indolence, the term favored by many commentators, seemed quite warranted. Anglo-American and European travelers uttered the first accusations in the Spanish era, a period that began in 1769 and ended with Mexican independence fifty-two years later. By the start of Mexican rule, and increasing in the years up to, and after, the American seizure of California in 1847, the complaints about indolence reached their fullest expression.² Indeed, when the Anglo-American Thomas Jefferson Farnham declared in 1844 that the “indolent, mixed race of California” lacked the initiative to “populate, much less govern the country,” he used terms most visitors to California would have found quite familiar.³ Even words of praise conveyed the charge of indolence. Several visitors marveled at the “animal well-being” of California’s populace, but claimed that a temperate climate and fertile land spared the inhabitants a life of toil.⁴ The residents had no need to labor and could while away the days as they wished. Nonetheless, no matter

how convincing they sound, all these criticisms and begrudging remarks still do not decide the question of indolence. To determine if the charge of laziness is accurate, it is important to see how these accusations originated, test their validity, and understand why they became a popular way to describe the efforts of California’s Spanish-speaking inhabitants.

But before saying anything more, we must establish our argument’s frame of reference. First, any reference to indolence requires some discussion of what the Anglo Americans meant by “work.” The Europeans, too, welcomed work and its bracing effects, but it was the Anglo Americans who best expressed the virtues of putting one’s shoulder to the task. Work, by itself, merely describes the performance of some chore or duty. But in the nineteenth century, perhaps more so than at present, work possessed a moral quality that often defined the character of Anglo-American men. When a man purchased property to cultivate or develop into a business, he nurtured his spirit as he labored to find success. More precious still, work defined the Anglo American’s freedom. He had the ability to rise above his station through productive toil. Even if a man had no property, by laboring as an apprentice or farmhand, and earning sufficient wages, he could put himself in a position to purchase the holdings that would aid his enterprise. But work itself did not necessarily bestow the qualities the Anglo Americans treasured. Otherwise a slave, or woman, both of whom

labored, and often labored harder than anyone else, would receive the benefits supposedly granted by work. These unfortunates, because of their bondage or sex, often submitted to the whims of others. They lacked freedom, and became, by virtue of their degraded state, an example to be avoided. Only the Anglo-American man could secure the blessings of work. Conversely, to not work, and be lazy or slow to show alacrity, would suggest that an individual possessed a weak character. The man who refused to improve his circumstances through labor amounted to a failure and deserved scorn.⁵

Next, to see how the notions of indolence and work apply to the history of early California, our examination will center on Los Angeles in the Mexican period. Other settlements figure in our analysis, but Los Angeles will earn the most attention. In the decade prior to the American invasion in 1846, Los Angeles ranked as the largest of California’s settlements. The size of the populace – which at nearly 2000 people surpassed the totals for any other provincial settlement – convinced the inhabitants of Los Angeles that they deserved greater consideration in provincial affairs.⁶ They twice made Los Angeles the capital of California. Even when the site of the capital returned to Monterey in the northern part of the province, the inhabitants remained ambitious and convinced the national government in Mexico City to make Los Angeles a city, a rank no other settlement in California claimed during the Mexican period.⁷

Claiming the provincial capital and improving the status of Los Angeles would seem sufficient reward for a small populace. But it was not enough, as city residents proved to be a restless lot. In the twenty-five years that Mexico governed California, there were at least eight rebellions to seat, displace, or challenge the provincial governor. Los Angeles, at times joined by San Diego and Santa Barbara, served as the site of unrest for at least five of the upheavals.⁸ The city's importance has caught the interest of historians. In the last forty years, many scholars who examine Mexican California have focused on Los Angeles. Leonard Pitt's *Decline of the Californios*, Douglas Monroy's *Thrown Among Strangers*, and Richard Griswold del Castillo's *The Formation of the Los Angeles Barrio* – the list can continue – concentrate on Los Angeles.⁹ No other settlement from the Mexican period has received so much attention. Given its significance, what is said about Los Angeles may also describe other parts of Mexican California. To examine one spot at the expense of others seems unfair, but in the same instance, the importance of Los Angeles suggests that the city may best represent the political and social matters dearest to the residents of Mexican California.

Finally, no discussion on work and indolence can proceed without examining the people known as the *californios*. The significance of the name may seem self-evident – where else would *californios* live but in California? – but their conduct and identity touch on so many aspects of early California, that

more explanation is needed before moving on to other matters. The simplest definition for these people merely holds that the *californios* were non-Indians born in California during the Spanish or Mexican period. Even if some *californios* had Indian ancestry, which was often the case, their profession of the Catholic faith and use of Spanish, among many attributes, supposedly set them apart from the indigenous population. As an aside, one can imagine the anxiety *californios* felt when some Indians proved to be devoted Catholics and spoke Spanish quite well. Perhaps that is why some residents in Los Angeles hoped in 1846 that “venereal disease” would “exterminate” the Indians.¹⁰ But be that as it may, when trying to understand the political and social life of their subjects, many scholars, especially those who study the Mexican period, say that the *californios* had little affection for Mexico. The national government supposedly sent incompetents to sit in the governor's chair and their antics tested *californio* patience. In other instances, Mexico apparently failed to provide for California's defense and the inhabitants suffered the depredations of Indian marauders. Mexico worsened matters when it sent convicts to settle in California or used soldiers recently released from prison to maintain the peace. These indiscretions, in the opinion of some scholars, convinced the *californios* that their fortunes would change if they sought independence. Or, as other scholars maintain, at the very least the *californios* wanted the national government in Mexico City

to let them run their affairs as they saw fit.¹¹

These interpretations, however exaggerated or distorted, nevertheless contain some truth. After all, the scholars who argue the *californios* wished to be rid of Mexico need only read Ygnacio Sepúlveda, the scion of a prominent *californio* family in Los Angeles. When Sepúlveda wrote in 1874 that many *californios* possessed the “blue blood of Spain,” a quality that made some feel “antipathy toward the Mexicans,” it is quite easy to think he presented a popular opinion.¹² The historical record, too, can influence those inclined to discuss *californio* animosity for Mexico. At least twice before 1846, some prominent residents wondered if they could free themselves from Mexico's rule by asking Great Britain or the United States to make California a protectorate.¹³

Nonetheless, the evidence above only amounts to one perspective. Details that speak of *californio* affection for Mexico, outpourings that abound in greater number than any expression of hostility, have yet to gain full consideration from the scholars of California history. Place of origin may confuse the issue and lead to the assumption that most people born and raised in California had no attachment to Mexico. One scholar, for instance, says that the *californios* considered California their *patria*, or homeland, while Mexico loomed as a “foreign place,” the home of strangers.¹⁴ But the accidents of one's birth would not always determine political loyalties. For example, illustrious

settlers like Antonio Maria Osio and Antonio Coronel, individuals born in Mexico, but who moved to California at a young age, had no trouble calling themselves, or being associated with, the *hijos del pais*, or “sons of the country,” one more name identifying a *californio*.¹⁵ Or there is the case of S rbulo Varela (or Varelas, as some sources present the name), a Mexican shoe cobbler who came to California as an adult and apparently seemed quite comfortable calling himself a *californio*.¹⁶ By the same token, some, if not many, *californios* claimed a Mexican identity, or sought the company of Mexicans. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the men of Los Angeles often signed appeals that opened with some variation of the line: “[To the] Mexican citizens residing in the upper territory of the Californias.”¹⁷ During municipal elections, again in Los Angeles, voters frequently selected Mexicans to sit on the municipal council. Between 1821 and 1848, of the sixty-two men who won seats on the municipal council, sixteen came from Mexico. In contrast, only five Americans won elections. And, of this number, only one gained office before in 1844.¹⁸ In later years, a resident of Los Angeles, born and raised in California, exulted that word of Mexico’s beauties “swept” him off his feet.¹⁹

Perhaps, as some scholars have suggested, the residents of southern California felt closer to Mexico than did their contemporaries in Monterey and other northern California settlements.²⁰ Many residents of southern California – like some of

their contemporaries in the northern portion of the province incidentally – descended from settlers who had come years before from Mexico, or New Spain as it was called prior to independence in 1821.²¹ Maybe so, but Antonio Mar a Osio says that after the Americans seized Monterey in 1846 and lowered the Mexican flag to hoist the Stars and Stripes, many *californios* lamented that they had lost “the nationality that they held so dear.”²² Osio was among those who mourned Mexico’s departure. He admitted some time later that he “loved” Mexico and was “Mexican to the four sides of his heart.”²³ Of course it could be that only those *californios* who owed their social or political prominence to Mexico felt sorrow. Among several posts that Osio occupied in California was that of a customs collector, a responsibility that would often go to a man deemed reliable by the national government.²⁴ If true that Osio owed his livelihood, and prestige, to Mexico, he had sufficient reason to regret the American victory. Nonetheless, when the Americans first seized Los Angeles in 1846, more than three hundred men, many of them humble sorts whose loyalty to Mexico brought no material gain, banded together to expel the invaders.²⁵ The city’s defenders signed an appeal in which they promised to “protect the great Mexican nation.”²⁶ (They drove out the Americans in August, but could not hold Los Angeles. The Americans re-captured the city on January 10, 1847.) Again, perhaps only the residents of southern California held Mexico in high regard. But in Monterey some of

the individuals who mourned the lowering of Mexico’s colors no doubt came from the lower ranks. Mexico’s defeat, not the loss of prominence, was cause for tears. Nonetheless, despite these displays of loyalty, it remains difficult to tabulate *californio* sentiments. Some *californios* felt no attachment to Mexico and on occasion they expressed their bitterness. But there is enough reason to say that most inhabitants had no reservations about their sympathies. When they spoke of defending national honor, and shouldered weapons to do so, or cast ballots on election day for Mexicans, many *californios*, if not the majority, confirmed their affection for Mexico.

As we turn to the topic of indolence and work, what we know about the particulars of early California presents some complications. Los Angeles, like other settlements, certainly provided a home for many *californios*, but who they were and what they valued may continue to invite debate. While much of the evidence suggests that the *californios* favored, or, as Osio said, even “loved” Mexico, a good number of scholars continue to disagree. In one college textbook for California history, the author argues that the *californios* found Mexico “backward” and refused to call themselves “Mexicanos.”²⁷ If the loyalty of the inhabitants remains a disputed point, other matters in early California history seem no less settled. The idea of work, for example, obtains such an elusive, diffuse quality that accuracy may be difficult to find. Work is not what witnesses from the nineteenth

century describe when the subject of effort comes up in any telling of California's past, nor is work necessarily the focus of any modern study that examines the *californios'* character. Instead, it is the lack of effort that most fascinates, and the figure on whom the charge of sloth rests is the *californio* cattleman, or to use the Spanish word, *ranchero*. During the nineteenth century, foreign visitors to California often focused on the *rancheros* to show that the *californios* had no initiative. The cattlemen owned huge estates that could comprise upward to thirty thousand acres. To pass the day, they supposedly dashed about on their mounts or reclined on the *ranchos* to recover from their exertions on horseback. The labor arrangements fashioned by the *rancheros* granted them their leisure. They relied on Indian *peones* to manage the estate and bring profit to the household. To some Anglo Americans, the thought of *ranchero* employers served by their Indian vassals no doubt represented the circumstances any conscientious worker wanted to avoid. The Indian, by deferring to the master, and having little chance to improve his position, had lost his freedom. The *rancheros*, meanwhile, by relying on the labor of others, lacked the resolve any man required to prove his vitality.

In the twentieth and twenty-first century, the scorn for the cattleman reverses and becomes a longing for ease and luxury. California, at present, as it has since 1900, beguiles Americans from the east and midwest who wish to escape a cold climate or impoverished

surroundings.²⁸ They head west to begin life anew, and while reality rarely matches the dream, the thought of a *ranchero* at leisure, whether astride a horse or bedecked in glittering raiment, provides an example of the comforts that one can attain. One historian calls the rancho era, "Arcadia," a place from Greek mythology in which all residents lived a "proverbially happy and natural life."²⁹ One can motor through southern California and spot the communities that bear some aspect of the name "rancho" in the title. Places like Rancho Peñasquitos, Rancho Santa Fe, or Rancho Cucamonga, seemingly promise inhabitants that like the cattleman of long ago, they, too, will enjoy comfort. Brochures produced by developers reminisce about "Spanish silver dons and vaqueros" who long ago rode through "idyllic...gently rolling hills" where now sprout new housing tracts.³⁰ Or, community events, as with Santa Barbara's Fiesta Days, rely on the imagery of "Spanish" horsemen to promise that all who attend will have a good time.³¹ While it will take another essay to explain why Spain, more than Mexico, often enjoys a better reputation with modern Californians, the point remains that references to *californio* inactivity or leisure are some of the many ways to define indolence.

But work and its rewards, not laziness, marked *californio* life. And if work brought little profit, then hardship seemed the *californio's* fate. The ranching business in the early 1800s appeared especially taxing. In central and southern California,

many cattlemen, especially those who lived in the interior valleys, often had to contend with Indian raiders.³² Some *rancheros* who dwelled close to Los Angeles, or at least lived a day's ride from Los Angeles, often thought it prudent to live in town, rather than risk residing on the family rancho. They left the responsibility of cattle raising to a foreman, or *mayordomo*. In some cases, rearing a herd seemed so dangerous they left the property vacant and only kept the title to confirm ownership. For those who did ranch, they did not necessarily prosper as much as they wished. José del Carmen Lugo, for instance, a member of a prominent cattle family in the Los Angeles area, admitted in his memoir to Hubert Howe Bancroft that "the house on a little rancho" was of "rough timber roofed with tules [reeds]." The home "rarely had more than two rooms" and was so poorly appointed that it "had nothing worth taking."³³ With such dim prospects, few *californios*, at least in the Los Angeles area, considered ranching their primary occupation. In the 1836 census, seventeen men held title to a rancho. Eight years later, for the 1844 count, the number declined to sixteen.³⁴

Nonetheless, it is incorrect to say that most *californios* refused to raise cattle. A good number did own livestock, but the time in which they lived often determined their approach and chances for success. Before 1840, many reared enough livestock to supplement the family's income or supply meat for the dinner table. Pedro Domínguez, a resident of Los Angeles in 1841, owned

(according to the prefect for southern California) “25 cows, 10 heifers, 16 calves, 1 young cow, 8 steers and 1 bull,” an impressive collection of sixty-one head, but hardly a teeming herd.³⁵ Once or twice a year, the inhabitants of Los Angeles, as well as their compatriots in other parts of California, organized a *matanza*, or slaughter, to harvest the cattle’s hides and tallow. Each proprietor used his share of the kill to trade with merchants in town or Yankee ship captains who exchanged finished goods for cattle products. The meat, meanwhile, did not go to waste. The residents consumed some portions to celebrate the end of the slaughter and laid out the rest to dry for the family larder. After the United States annexed California, the large ranchos became more prominent. The Indian threat, while still formidable, declined, and residents felt secure about devoting vast acres to raising livestock. By the start of the gold rush in 1848, the miners’ demand for beef and leather made the cattle business more lucrative. Witnesses who observed prosperous ranchos in the late 1840s and afterward apparently assumed that the cattle business had always brought success to the *californios*. The evidence, though, suggests otherwise.³⁶

The *californios* might be surprised by the attention we moderns lavish on ranching. The *californios*, apparently, preferred other pursuits. Records from Los Angeles, for instance, suggest that industrious residents had no trouble finding a market for their talents. Merchants abounded, while craftsmen like

silversmiths or shoe cobblers labored alongside. The Mexican census for 1836 noted that thirty-three craftsmen and sixteen merchants, out of a population of 1675 people, worked in Los Angeles. Eight years later for the 1844 count, when the population increased to 1847 individuals, thirty-six craftsmen and fifteen merchants went about their livelihood. The numbers seem static – in 1836 and 1844 we have at least one craftsman and merchant for every thirty to forty residents – but there is sufficient information to envision how the *californios* applied their talents. In Mexico, before moving north, or in California, the craftsmen and merchants started as assistants or apprentices before striking on their own. In time they possibly took on a younger man to train in the business, as others had done for them. (The 1836 and 1844 counts for Los Angeles refer to *empleados* and *sirvientes* – employees and servants – often terms for menials working in a household or business, but perhaps one more way of describing an apprentice attached to craftsman.) The merchants and craftsmen, sometimes with an apprentice alongside, catered to the populace. Of course, the residents of Los Angeles also relied on the merchandise imported by Anglo-American ships. For all we know, the belt or shoes fashioned by Yankee hands in Boston, may have been more popular than locally manufactured goods. But when the ships did not come, or if they had little that the customers wanted, the residents did not go wanting. The merchants and craftsmen provided the items the populace needed for work or comfort.

Farming held even more appeal. Tilling the soil enjoyed so much prestige that the *californios* often spoke of agriculture to describe the pursuits and behaviors they valued the most. Ranching rarely, if at all, emerged as a way to measure *californio* effort. To some *californios* agriculture improved character. In 1841, the prefect for southern California said that Indians needed to cultivate a plot of land so they would “emerge from the obscure condition of poverty.” Around the same time, a speaker in Los Angeles told the municipal council that it had the responsibility “to promote agriculture and protect the farmers.”³⁷ He added that the municipal council should also “punish vagrants.” Pleas to promote cultivation, references to responsibility, a call to discipline lazy louts – rarely have indolent people seemed so vigorous.

On other occasions, the *californios* referred to agriculture to convey some serious intent. When Governor José María Figueroa died in 1835, his secretary, Juan Bautista Alvarado, used images of cultivation to commemorate the loss. Alvarado explained that the governor “planted the olive branch of peace and cultivated it in all manner of virtues which are presently unfolding in the loyal breasts of these inhabitants; he to whom our agriculture owes its security and our commerce its protection.”³⁸ When a smallpox outbreak threatened Los Angeles in 1844, two citizens warned the municipal council that the disease “would decimate the population of laborers who work in agriculture – the only industry in the country.”³⁹

Another resident of the city added that smallpox was a “destructive power...that...preys upon agriculture.”⁴⁰

In Los Angeles (and perhaps in other locales in Mexican California as well) many men tilled the soil. (Given the prejudice of the times, few women held title to farming plots. Between 1821 and 1846, only twenty-five women held title to a plot of land.⁴¹) According to the 1836 census for Los Angeles, of the 603 men counted by the surveyor, 105 farmed for a living. Eight years later for the next survey, 229 men, out of a total of 627, cultivated crops.⁴² A good number had success and apparently earned the notice of their peers. Of those sixty-two men who served on the municipal council for Los Angeles, twenty-nine claimed farming as their primary occupation. Meanwhile, only five men who held title to a *rancho* won a seat.⁴³

Admittedly no account book in Los Angeles, or anyplace else in Mexican California, tabulates the value of the crops cultivated by the *californios*, nor is there any sense about the number of fruits or vegetables they cultivated. Nonetheless, witnesses from the period suggest that the *californios* reaped quite a harvest. Juan Bandini, the son of a successful *californio* family, remembered that around Los Angeles in the 1840s, “cotton, sugar cane, and flax have been seen to grow favorably.” He added “there is also an abundant growth of oats, mustard, and other grains.” More delectable items rolled out of the California

cornucopia. Bandini counted the “peaches, figs, pears, apples, and diverse other [fruits which ripen] from May to October.”⁴⁴ The land’s bounty found customers the world over. Henry Delano Fitch, a Yankee merchant in San Diego, said that the produce of southern California pleased palates as far away as Honolulu. He reported that traders in the “Sandwich Islands” wanted California’s “mustard seed and beans.”⁴⁵ José Fernández, a merchant in Los Angeles, noted that *californio* wheat often filled ships bound for Peru.⁴⁶ The secretary for the Los Angeles municipal council added that in 1843 ships laden with fresh fruit lumbered off to various ports up and down the Pacific Coast. He noted that the figs of Los Angeles were especially popular in Monterey and Peru.⁴⁷ The evidence suggests that the farmers’ productivity continued into the American era. In 1847, Rosalia Ochoa asked Juan Apalbasa to help maintain her 643 vine stocks, two large fruit trees, “twelve small ones,” and a “wall hedge.”⁴⁸ Nearly a decade later, E.O.C. Ord, an American Army captain, reported that when he approached Los Angeles in a carriage, he saw “flowing water perling thro (sic) the fields of corn, the long rows of vines, [and] the almond and orange groves.” “All around,” he exclaimed, “was a refreshing green.”⁴⁹ Again, we lack a precise accounting of *californio* harvests, but various witnesses suggest that cultivating the land occupied many individuals.

Any effort to bring forth the land’s riches required work. The farmers

worked to clear the land. They worked to sow seed, tend the sprouts, and harvest the crops—and if need be, they made others, usually Indians, work for them. The farmers worked to build a channel to the *zanja*, the main irrigation canal that provided water for property owners. When deer, bears, coyotes or some other beasts drew too close – the records of Los Angeles speak of some unspecified animals that threatened the harvests – they built a fence of wood or stone to protect their work. They even asked for permission to shoot the trespassers with firearms.⁵⁰ They minded the passage of the seasons, knew what kind of crops to plant in spring, summer, or any other time, and no doubt kept stock of what price the harvest would bring at market. As for the cattlemen, they, too, showed industry. Contrary to the fabulists who find romance amongst cattle, ranching life often promised much work and nothing more. The cattlemen minded the herds, roped them for branding or slaughter, and wielded the knife at the *matanza* to collect the cattle’s beef, hides, and tallow. Even if prosperous, and able to hire others to manage the rancho, the successful cattlemen knew the burdens of their calling. They started with a few head of cattle and worked hard to advance. This is not to say that lazy people did not exist in early California. Some surely preferred sloth to labor, but there were no more indolent souls in California than anyplace else.

The above accounts of *californio* effort do not always make it into the historical literature. The scholars who say that work did not concern

the *californios* deserve gentle treatment. By only consulting European or Anglo-American records, and rarely reading *californio* sources, academics conclude that work seemed a rare activity in Spanish and Mexican California. Perhaps, then, the question should not be why the *californios* were lazy – the conclusion sometimes expressed by a modern scholar – but why did visitors not recognize *californio* effort?

The impressions of European commentators seem especially suspect. Observers from the Old World often peered at California with an eye that projected their own aspirations and compulsions rather than recorded what unfolded before them. Working as agents for trading companies or serving on navy ships dispatched into the Pacific, many had received instructions to see how best to take advantage of California's political and economic opportunities. If the Europeans visited California as part of a scientific expedition, imperial ambitions remained paramount. In an era when European powers sought every advantage, the naturalist who came to collect plant and animal samples knew that superiors would evaluate the commercial potential of his findings. All in all, any number of things could affect an observer's opinion. As a consequence, concludes one scholar, "virtually all" European visitors in the eighteenth and nineteenth century complained that the indolent *californios* had accomplished little. Only a new regime, the European observers suggested, would make California flourish.⁵¹ The French

who sailed along the Pacific coast were among the first to imply that California suffered from Spanish and Mexican rule.⁵² With France in control, the languid *californios* would learn diligence and develop the land's riches. English visitors employed a similar conceit. By lambasting the *californios*, they suggested California would prosper once the inhabitants experienced the benefits of English law and custom. That Russians criticized the quality of Spanish or Mexican rule also should not be surprising; they occupied the northern reaches of California until 1841 and wished to disparage their Spanish-speaking rivals. The Russians who criticized the *californios* apparently had great experience in judging the effort of others. With serfs forming a great part of the Russian population, any person in the Czar's employ no doubt had contempt for the *californio* farmers and cattlemen who dirtied their hands during the day's labors. Such work was best left to a servile class. The odd Swede, German, or any other European who frowned on the *californios* did not necessarily express the imperial ambitions of their respective nations. Sweden and Germany, for instance, did not covet California. But each nation could reflect the European hubris that only the denizens of the Old World knew how to exercise diligence. Some Spaniards, as well, succumbed to Old World arrogance and condemned *californio* efforts. Before 1810 when Mexico and other territories rebelled against the Crown, Spaniards controlled every important political and religious office in the Americas. Only a *peninsular*, someone from

Spain, had the capacity to handle important affairs. The American, that is the individual born in the New World, lacked the qualities to discharge his responsibilities.⁵³ Thus, some Spaniards who passed through California repeated the accusations that their New World compatriots had little ability.

The Anglo-Americans who visited, and sometimes stayed in, California, often had different reasons for seeing, or claiming to see, indolent *californios*. No doubt a few traders and military men, like their European counterparts, felt some urgency to tell superiors that California would prosper if a different nation were in power. But there were some Americans who did not come to California in some professional or official capacity. They came on their own volition, but seemed just as willing to criticize *californio* indolence. It might be possible that these individuals, however few they were, best represented the views of the other Americans in California, trader and military man alike. If the independent individual with no mercantile or military obligations, and feeling no compulsion to issue disparaging remarks, provides a better testament of Anglo-American attitudes, then we must see why so many insisted on seeing lazy *californios*.

One can say, as some scholars do, that industrialization had accelerated the pace of American life in the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ Because the *californios* supposedly preferred to graze cattle, they moved more slowly, and appeared indolent to

Americans accustomed to a faster, quicker means to conduct business. But if by industrialization we mean an economic activity that relies on machinery to convert raw materials into a finished product – a process that often occurs within a factory – then the definition may be inappropriate and even anachronistic. According to the 1850 census for the United States, a tabulation that would measure all economic activity from the previous decade (a span of time that also included the annexation of California), industrialization comprised a small part of the American economy. There were 123,000 industrial establishments in the United States, an impressive figure, but far less than the 1.5 million farms counted by surveyors. These industrial establishments, among which we find factories or any other enterprise that relied on a mechanical means to make a product, employed about 1.5 million workers, a total less than the 4.5 million individuals who toiled in agriculture.⁵⁵ The numbers change even more if we consider apprentices, the individuals who trained with a master craftsman and did not necessarily labor in a factory. The 1850 census put apprentices in the category of “manufacturing and hand trades,” occupations that counted as industrial establishments. The evidence does not provide a precise number, but if apprentices even made up a fifth or quarter of the total, the workers in a factory would make up an even smaller proportion of the American economy.⁵⁶ In any event, with agriculture, not industry, providing the chief means of employment in the United States

and California – if the descriptions of farming in Los Angeles are any proof – many Americans and *californios* shared the same livelihood.

On the other hand, it could be that factories, though small in number, influenced American life by serving as examples of efficiency and increased productivity. The assumption sounds plausible, but it is off the mark. The historian Christopher Lasch explains that in the ante-bellum period many Americans believed they would find more success by working as a craftsman or farmer. When laboring for an industrialist, as would happen when an individual entered a factory, the worker lost his independence and jeopardized any chance of learning a trade or purchasing land to cultivate.⁵⁷ Even if a farmhand or apprentice toiled for another, and seemingly surrendered his independence to a boss, the hope remained that the employee would still amass enough funds to acquire his own property. The worker in a factory or any other industrial establishment, at least as many Americans in the era believed, would have fewer opportunities to prosper. He would never earn enough money to be independent, much less purchase the equipment necessary to run his own operation.⁵⁸ Once more, the Americans and *californios* stand on common ground. With their appeals to the salubrious qualities of agriculture, in Los Angeles and possibly elsewhere, the *californios* seemed as convinced as any American that relying on one’s own labors benefited the spirit as well as the purse.

But, if not a reference to a mechanical process, it could be that industrialization described the Anglo-American’s reverence for time in which employers and workers devoted every waking moment to profit. The *californios*, however, supposedly did not mind the clock. When at play or lazing about as they were wont to do (as stated by their detractors), they squandered their chances to earn a tidy sum. The record, though, presents a different view. True enough, it is not known whether the *californios* looked at time as a way to measure profit and success, as would be the case of for an aspiring industrialist in the United States. But even so, they used the sweep of the minute hand to plot and set the course of the day. In one sense, honoring time brought stability to what could be a dangerous, unpredictable existence. Indian raiders would flow out of mountain hideaways to attack ranchos and make off with the livestock. On occasion, the raiders seized women and children to keep or to sell to tribes deeper in the interior.⁵⁹ From the sky, especially around Los Angeles, came rain that would swell waterways and flood surrounding homes. If rain did not come, the sun’s glare browned the hills and deprived crops and livestock of nourishment.⁶⁰

Amidst the uncertainty, the *californios* kept time. They relied on the clock to prepare for their labors. José del Carmen Lugo remembered that families in Los Angeles supposedly went to bed at eight o’clock in the evening and rose the next morning at three. “The women

attended to the kitchen and the men went to the field,” he explained.⁶¹ During fights against Indians, *californio* commanders depended on time. Punctuality brought victory, while any delay threatened defeat. In 1829, a young Mariano Vallejo described a campaign against Indian raiders who lived along the Stanislaus River. The *californios* attacked at “5:00 in the afternoon.” The Indians retreated, and the *californios* followed, hot on the trail. “The following day at 9:00” in the morning, the *californios* renewed the assault and scattered their foes. They caught the last stragglers the next day at “4:00 in the morning.”⁶² Time established the moments to handle political affairs. The municipal council of Los Angeles met each Tuesday and Wednesday, wrote the secretary, “at ten o’clock in the morning.”⁶³ Time reminded the faithful of their obligations. Pancho Rangel, a resident of Los Angeles, remembered that residents prayed four times a day, in the morning, at noon, once more at six in the evening, and finally, at eight, before bed.⁶⁴ Nothing interfered with the time to pray. Antonio Coronel, another inhabitant of Los Angeles, claimed that at balls and parties, when the clock struck eight, all in attendance knelt to pray the rosary.⁶⁵ When they finished, the celebration resumed.

If the *californios* seemed diligent and punctual, then what made the Anglo Americans complain of indolence? Perhaps above and beyond any approach to work, the very way the *californios* conducted their lives could disturb the Anglo Americans.

One scholar speculates, for instance, that the largely Protestant Anglo Americans did not think fondly of the *californios* and their Catholic devotions.⁶⁶ But such dislike, while certainly harbored by many throughout the United States, seems more muted in Mexican California. Some American men apparently converted to Catholicism in the years before 1846 to wed a *californio* bride.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, other Americans served as witnesses for a compatriot who took the hand of his beloved during a Catholic ceremony. They may not have become Catholic, but any sentiment about papists and the machinations of Rome did not prevent them from joining their friend at the altar.⁶⁸

Other scholars suggest that the Indian and, in some cases, black heritage of the *californios* rankled the Anglo Americans. The argument has some merit. Thomas Jefferson Farnham, whose remarks opened this essay, expressed a popular prejudice about the depravity of “mixed-race” *californios*. After California entered the Union, Anglo Americans continued to complain about the racial background of the *californios* and Mexicans. Nonetheless, racial animosity may not always account for Anglo-American hostility. As we just saw, Anglo-American men, and on occasion, Anglo-American women, wed *californios*. After 1850, especially in Los Angeles, *californios* and men born in Mexico won elections with Anglo-American support.⁶⁹ The *californio* and Mexican officeholders were few, and by the 1880s, their numbers grew sparser, but it is worth

considering that prejudice did not always influence Anglo-American voters when they cast their ballots. It could be, of course, that the white *californio* or Mexican enjoyed favor with the Americans on election day or when searching for a mate. Such an attitude was common. Anglo-American witnesses from the period make much of the distinctions between “white” or upper-class Spanish speakers and their poorer, presumably darker brethren.⁷⁰ But all the same, trying to determine who was, or was not, white, and at what point complexion gives offense, is a difficult proposition. In daily interactions, some Anglo Americans did not always trouble themselves with making classifications as they associated with their Spanish-speaking neighbors. According to one scholar, in the early years of the gold rush it was not odd to see Anglo-American and Mexican miners working together in the diggings.⁷¹ (The cooperative spirit did not last long, however.⁷²) Around the same time, Anglo Americans in Los Angeles enjoyed Mexican and *californio* pastimes. James Woods, a Methodist minister, noted to his dismay that “Americans” attended the horse races the *californios* staged on Sundays.⁷³ The “Americans...bet, curse, and blaspheme” in this “nominally christian (sic) town,” he lamented.⁷⁴ Woods, already perturbed, would have become more agitated if he knew – and it could be he already knew quite well – that color or cultural barriers did not discourage Anglo dalliances with Mexicans and *californios* in any number of activities.

The shared taste for various pursuits, scandalous, or otherwise, also possessed a darker, more violent side. The Anglo Americans mistreated the Indians of California, as has been well discussed by scholars, but the *californio* preference for similar outrages needs also to be considered.⁷⁵ The *californios* sometimes enslaved Indian women and children for domestic service, while a captive male – rare, considering that the *californios* did not always welcome warriors living in their midst – worked in the fields. Not all Indians who labored for the *californios* were captives, but taking into account the rough treatment some received at the hands of farmers or *rancheros*, it probably made little difference how a Native man, woman, or child entered an employer's household. Beyond the workplace, the *californios* sometimes contrived even crueler fates for Indians. To avenge a real or imagined attack on a town or outlying home, the *californios* shot Indians with impunity, gouged out their eyes, or, in what can only be called a diabolical accomplishment, strung up prisoners along a rope tied from one tree to another.⁷⁶ It is not recorded how long the Indians dangled for the *californios*' pleasure.

As these examples of marriage and cooperation suggest – if a passion for punishing Indians could count as cooperation – perhaps it is not physical appearance or the conduct of the *californios* that annoyed the Anglo Americans. Rather it was the similarities the two groups shared that could have accounted for Anglo-American hostility. In

the nineteenth century, as in earlier years, many Anglo American felt convinced that they were a superior people whose acumen and appetite for work surpassed the efforts of any other people. From John Winthrop's claim in 1630 that New England, and perhaps by association, all the English colonies along the eastern seaboard, was a "city on a hill," to John L. O'Sullivan's insistence in 1839 it was the "manifest destiny" of the United States to expand, many Anglo Americans had little doubt that fate and providence had made them supreme.⁷⁷ Yet upon arriving in California, they encountered another populace very much like themselves.

If the case of Los Angeles holds true, and there is no reason to think differently, the *californios* proved just as industrious as their Anglo-American counterparts. The Anglo Americans farmed, but so did the *californios*. The Anglo Americans honored the clock, but no more reverently than the *californios*. The Anglo Americans may have thought their Protestant faith and abstemious habits removed them from the supposedly craven ways of the *californios*, but once more, perhaps to their dismay, the differences did not hold. Anglo Americans married into the Catholic faith and, on occasion, relished the vices supposedly favored by the *californios*. The Anglo Americans may have even thought themselves better able to dispatch Indians, but the *californios* could make the dubious boast, if they felt so inclined, that they could treat, or mistreat, their Native rivals with equal rigor. The only difference

that the Anglo Americans could emphasize was that they were more moral. The charge of "indolence," for instance, amounts to nothing more than a comment on one's observance of the difference between right and wrong, a balance that reveals a moral sensibility. The Anglo Americans, by claiming diligence, and, in the same instance, insisting they had a better nature, or simply, were more moral, removed themselves from their *californio* counterparts.

But that Farnham and others spoke loudly and often about the *californios*' indolence, or what we can call their lack of morality, may say more about the anxieties and flaws of the Americans. If they were no longer superior, at least in their own estimation, to their *californio* or Mexican counterparts, the Americans thought the worst and feared they were inferior. To recover their dominance, some Americans claimed to have a more pristine character. The wish to be the best is admirable, but the quest to stand supreme and separate from all others may reflect the attitude that if Americans do not dominate then they must be weak. The fear of inferiority, in relation to the *californios* and Mexicans of the nineteenth century, or any other populace in a different age, may say more about American insecurity than the class of people they confront. As with so many other comments on human folly, the Bard best sums up the temptation to look at others when the blame lies elsewhere: "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves."⁷⁸

Endnotes

¹ When critiquing this writer's book, *This Small City Will Be a Mexican Paradise: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1821-1846* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), a reviewer was less than impressed with the argument that the people of Mexican Los Angeles were an industrious lot who valued hard work. In the reviewer's opinion, indolence, not industry, marked *californio* effort. See *The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* vol. 23, no. 1, 2006, 126.

² For an overview of laziness in Spanish and Mexican California, see David Langum, "Californios and the Image of Indolence," *The Western Historical Quarterly* vol. 9, no. 2 (April 1978), 181-196.

³ Farnham's quotation is from Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press), 21. Farnham visited California in 1840, but presented his opinions in 1844 when he published *Travels in California and Scenes in the Pacific Ocean*. For an even more thorough description of the *californios*' character, see Thomas Larkin's commentaries. Larkin was the American consul in Monterey in the years before the Mexican-American War. *The Larkin Papers*, ed. George P. Hammond, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 4:313-5.

⁴ Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 25.

⁵ For more on work and masculinity, see David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness, Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso Press, 1991), esp. 13, 95-96.

⁶ This is a rough estimate, but calculations do bear out our reasoning. Between 1844-1845, there were nearly 4,000 non-Indian residents in the northern half of California, an area stretching from San Luis Obispo to

the present-day Oregon border. In Monterey there were roughly 750 residents. San Francisco had 300 inhabitants, while San Jose claimed 900 souls. The rest of the non-Indian populace lived in communities like Branciforte (near present-day Santa Cruz) or in places like Napa Valley. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1883-1886), 4:649-87. As for southern California, Bancroft suggests that the non-Indian populace collected in three spots. San Diego, says Bancroft may have had 350 non-Indian residents. See *The History*, 4:618. Santa Barbara, the other significant settlement in the southern portion of the province, may have had 1000 residents. See Bancroft, *The History*, 4:639. Los Angeles, meanwhile, in roughly the same time period, had approximately 1,847 non-Indian residents. See "The Los Angeles Padrón of 1844," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, 42 (December 1960), 60-414. It is harder to estimate the number of Indians. Between 1832 and 1848, the Indians hovered between 88,000 to 100,000 people. See Sherburne Cook, "The Indian versus the California Mission" in *The Conflict Between the Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), Table 1, p. 4.

⁷ Dora Crouch, Daniel Garr, and Axel Munding, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 156-173.

⁸ These figures come from my own estimates.

⁹ See Leonard Pitt, *Decline of the Californios, A Social History of the Spanish-speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, A Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); and Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers, The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University

of California Press, 1991). Also consult Antonio Rios-Bustamante, *Mexican Los Angeles: A Narrative and Pictorial History* (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1992); Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); Miroslava Chávez, *Negotiating the Conquest, Gender and Power in California 1770s to 1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004); and Howard Nelson, "The Two Pueblos of Los Angeles, Agricultural Village and Embryo Town," *Southern California Quarterly* 59, no. 1, 1977. For the greater Los Angeles area, see Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) and Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).

¹⁰ "Petition to Governor Pio Pico," Los Angeles City Archives, vol. 1, February 19, 1846, 527-31, Sp. The Los Angeles City Archives for the Mexican period sit in the Los Angeles city clerk's office. I have used the Spanish originals – so designated by the letters "Sp." – but when the handwriting was confusing I turned to the translations. Also note that I use the Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives that are found in the Bancroft Library. The Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives are Spanish transcriptions of the originals.

¹¹ Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio*, 10-13; Haas, *Historical Identities*, 34-6; and Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 136. For more thorough interpretations of *californio* political culture, see C. Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969) and Woodrow Hansen, *The Search for Authority in California* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1960).

- ¹² Ygnacio Sepúlveda, "Historical Memorandum to Hubert Howe Bancroft," 1874, trans. Earl Hewitt, 3, 6. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Sepúlveda actually uses the term "sangre azul" rather than "blue blood." Also see Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 136 and "Creation and Re-creation of Californio Society" in *Contested Eden, California Before the Gold Rush*, eds. Ramón Gutiérrez and Richard Orsi, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 173-95.
- ¹³ Leonard Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 23-4.
- ¹⁴ Monroy, "Creation and Re-Creation of Californio Society," 180.
- ¹⁵ Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California, A Memoir of Mexican California*, ed. and trans. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996) and Antonio Coronel, *Cosas de California*, or *Tales of Mexican California*, trans. Dianne de Avalle-Arce, ed. Doyce Nunis (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Books 1994). Osio was born in Baja California; Coronel was born in or near Mexico City. Both men seem quite comfortable associating with the *californios*. Of course, with Osio claiming Baja California as his birthplace, one could say he was a *californio*. Maybe so, but the point is that someone born outside of Alta California, which today comprises modern-day California, presumably had no difficulties being accepted by his *californio* peers.
- ¹⁶ *Pronunciamiento de Varela y otros Californios contra los Americanos*, 24 de Set. 1846, Bancroft, *The History* 5:310n. 22.
- ¹⁷ See the *Pronunciamiento de San Diego contra el Gefé Politico y Comandante General de California Don Manuel Victoria en 29 de Noviembre y 1 de Diciembre de 1831*, in Bancroft, *The History* 3:202n.39. See also Varela's *Pronunciamiento* in which he addresses the people of Los Angeles as "Mexicans." Bancroft, *The History*, 5:310n. 22.
- ¹⁸ This assessment is made by looking at the Los Angeles City Archives and reading Bancroft's *History of California*.
- ¹⁹ Pablo Vejar, "Recuerdo de un viejo" as told to Thomas Savage, 1877. Spanish copy of the original in the Bancroft Library. Thomas Temple Collection, Box 2, File #30, 2, Seaver Center for Western History, Los Angeles County Museum for Natural History.
- ²⁰ Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities, Californio testimonios* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), esp., 229-267.
- ²¹ For more on Mexico, or New Spain, serving as a source for California's settlers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see William Mason, "Alta California's Colonial and Mexican Era Population," in *Regions of La Raza: Changing Interpretations of Mexican American Regional History and Culture*, ed. Antonio Ríos-Bustamante (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1993), 169-187.
- ²² Osio, *The History of Alta California*, 256n. 48.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 236.
- ²⁴ Osio, *The History of California*, 6-7.
- ²⁵ The 1844 Mexican census for Los Angeles says that 627 non-Indian men lived in the city. "The Los Angeles Padrón of 1844," ed. Marie Northrop, *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, 42:4 (1960), 360-414.
- ²⁶ See the *Pronunciamiento de Varela* in Bancroft, *The History of California* 5:310n. 22.
- ²⁷ Andrew Rolle, *California, A History* (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan-Davidson, Inc., 2003), 82.
- ²⁸ Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream, California through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), esp. 3-63.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.
- ³⁰ Brochure for *Madeira at Del Sur*, a housing development in northern San Diego County (Shea Homes, 2007), n.p.
- ³¹ Rolle, *California, A History*, 67.
- ³² See George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers, Indian Resistance in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) and *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).
- ³³ José del Carmen Lugo, "Life of a Rancher" 214-17.
- ³⁴ Nelson, "The Two Pueblos of Los Angeles," 10.
- ³⁵ Archives for the Prefecture, Book "A," 1825-1852, part 1, August 3, '1841, 119. Los Angeles city clerk's office.
- ³⁶ For more on the rise of the rancho system, see Antonio Ríos Bustamante, "Nineteenth-Century Mexican Californians, A Conquered Race, From Landowners to Laborers to 'Tenants at Will'" in *Regions of La Raza: Varying Interpretations of Mexican California*, ed. Antonio Ríos Bustamante (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1993), 237-265.
- ³⁷ Los Angeles City Archives, July 3, 1838, v. 7. 567-7, Sp.
- ³⁸ José María Figueroa, *Manifesto to the Mexican Republic*, ed. and trans. C. Alan Hutchinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 76.
- ³⁹ Los Angeles Ayuntamiento Archives, vol. 5, n.d., 1844, 7-11, Sp. Bancroft Library.
- ⁴⁰ J.W. Guinn, "Muy Ilustre Ayuntamiento," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 4, no. 3, (1899): 206-12.
- ⁴¹ *This Small City Will Be a Mexican Paradise*, esp. 167-9.
- ⁴² Nelson, "The Two Pueblos of Los Angeles," 10.
- ⁴³ This information comes from the author's own tabulations. See *This Small City Will Be a Mexican Paradise*, esp. 73-7, and 210-13.
- ⁴⁴ Bancroft Research Notes, "Agriculture, 1841-1854" Heading 1845, from Juan Bandini, "Historia de la Alta California." 260-271, 290. All the Bancroft Research Notes are deposited in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

- ⁴⁵ Bancroft Research Notes, "Commerce, 1839-1870," Heading 1840, from Henry Delano Fitch, "Documentos para la historia de California," p. 18.
- ⁴⁶ Bancroft Research Notes, "Commerce 1839-1870, Heading 1843, from the Los Angeles Archives, vol. II. 356-361.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Archives of the Prefecture, Book "A" 1825-1850, December 10, 1847, 423-426, Los Angeles city clerk's office.
- ⁴⁹ Captain E.O.C. Ord, *City of Angels, City of Saints* (Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1971), 9.
- ⁵⁰ Los Angeles City Archives, vol. 1, January 19, 1836, 595, Sp.
- ⁵¹ David J. Weber and David Langum, "Here Rests Juan Espinosa: Toward a Clearer Look at the Image of the 'Indolent' Californios," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 10, no. 1, (Jan, 1979), 69.
- ⁵² I rely on the European visitors presented in David Langum's essay, "Californios and the Image of Indolence," to draw my conclusions.
- ⁵³ For a quick review of Mexico's racial and social policies, see Jaime Rodríguez, *Down From Colonialism* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center, UCLA, 1983).
- ⁵⁴ See the conclusions in David Langum's essay, "Californios and the Image of Indolence," esp. 195-6.
- ⁵⁵ *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition*, 5 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 4:574 and *Bicentennial Edition, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970. Parts One and Two* (Washington D.C: US Department of Congress, 1975), Table Series D 152-166, 138 and Table Series D 167-181, 139. The *Historical Statistics* say that 1.5 million workers worked in industrial establishments. The *Bicentennial Edition* gives the figure of 1,260,000. I have not reconciled the different totals.
- ⁵⁶ *Bicentennial Edition, Historical Statistics of the United States*, Table Series D 152-166, 138.
- ⁵⁷ Christopher Lasch, *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of American Democracy* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1995), 50-79.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ For more on Indian attacks and captives, see Gerald Smith and Clifford Walker, *The Indian Slave Trade Along the Mohave Trail* (San Bernardino County Museum of Natural History, 1965), 10-11 and Bancroft, *The History*, 4:68.
- ⁶⁰ For a tabulation on the vicissitudes of nature in southern California, see Bancroft, *The History*, 2:550n. 19.
- ⁶¹ José del Carmen Lugo, "Life of a Rancher," trans. and ed. Helen Pruitt Beattie, *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, 32, no. 3 (1950): 185-236.
- ⁶² Mariano Vallejo to the commandant at the port of San Francisco, San José, June 4, 1829, in *Expeditions to the Interior of California, Central Valley, 1820-1840*, ed., Sherburne Cook, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 176.
- ⁶³ Los Angeles City Archives, vol. 2, January 5, 1833, 16; November 13, 1836, 196, January 8, 1838, 514-5, trans.
- ⁶⁴ Don Pancho Rangel, "Vida de un ranchero," Thomas Temple Collection, Box 2, File #23, 33, trans. Seaver Center for Western History, Los Angeles County Museum for Natural History.
- ⁶⁵ Antonio Coronel, *Cosas de California*, trans. Dianne de Avalue-Arce, ed. Doyce Nunis, (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Books 1994), 79.
- ⁶⁶ Weber, "Here Rests Juan Espinosa," 61-8.
- ⁶⁷ The feminine form for *californio* would be *californiana*. For the sake of simplicity, I use the masculine form, *californio*.
- ⁶⁸ Admittedly the exact figures are difficult to find, but to get a sense of how often Anglo Americans took a *californio* as a spouse see the wedding *diligencias* (petitions) transcribed by Thomas Temple II. The Thomas Temple II Collection, Box 9, Files M-2, M-3. The Seaver Center for Western History at the Los Angeles County Museum for Natural History.
- ⁶⁹ Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, esp. 130-147.
- ⁷⁰ See the debates during the state constitutional convention in which Anglo Americans tried to draw racial distinctions amongst the *californio* and Mexican populace. J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the State Constitution in September and October, 1849* (Washington D.C, 1850), esp, 10-12.
- ⁷¹ For a discussion of Anglo American and Mexican/*californio* cooperation in the early years of the gold rush, see Rodman Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 65.
- ⁷² Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 53-63. Coronel describes racial and ethnic conflict in the mines.
- ⁷³ "Los Angeles in 1854-5, The Diary of James Woods, ed. Lindley Bynum, *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, 23:2 (June 1941), 84.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist, *The Other Californians, Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 23-64.
- ⁷⁶ For one eyewitness account of *californio* brutality against Indians, see José Palomares' "Memoria" in Cook, *Expeditions*, 202-3.
- ⁷⁷ For brief, but thorough, discussions, on what we can call the origins of American exceptionalism, see Samuel Eliot Morrison, *The Oxford History of the American People*, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965). For Winthrop's remarks, see 1:106. For a discussion of manifest destiny, see 2: 319-329. O'Sullivan's article which mentions for the first time "manifest destiny," or as he says, the greatness of the United States "was destined to manifest," can be found at http://www.civics-online.org/library/formatted/texts/manifest_destiny.html
- ⁷⁸ *Julius Caesar*, Act I, Scene II, 146.

Santa Fe Historical Tour

*conducted by Pat Kuhlhoff
transcribed, edited and
photographed by Deborah and
Jon Lawrence*

[Editor's note: Raised in Michigan, Pat Kuhlhoff is a thirteenth-generation North American. She is a docent at the Palace of the Governors, at Rancho Golondrinas, and at the Santa Fe Opera. Her memberships include the Santa Fe Corral of Westerners, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Santa Fe Trail Association, the Old Spanish Trail Association, and the Civil War Memorial Organization.]

In the Santa Fe Plaza: Historical Introduction

We are standing in the Santa Fe plaza. To begin our tour, let me give you an overview of the people who lived here. The first people here were the Native Americans – the Indians, the indigenous people. They have been here for at

least 12,000 years. We know that because out on the eastern plains there are two towns, Clovis and Folsom, where early archeologists found large spear points for hunting large animals in the days after the last ice age.¹ On today's tour, I will be talking mostly about sedentary Indians, whom the Spanish called "Puebloans." They lived in permanent homes and practiced agriculture. They grew corn, beans, and squash. They built their homes near sources of water, along the river valleys. They were frequently raided by the nomadic Indians – the Apache, the Navaho, the Utes, the Comanches, Paiutes, and the Kiowas. The raiders wanted the Pueblo people's corn, beans, and squash, as well as their women and children. So life here was quite dangerous for many centuries.

Leading a remarkable exploration into the Southwest, Coronado² came into what was later to become New Mexico in 1540. He claimed this part of North America

for the Spanish crown. The first European settlers who arrived here in 1598 were soldiers, priests, and civilians.³ The king of Spain, acting under the advice of his religious leaders, had declared that the people in the Americas that the Spanish were meeting in

their explorations were "whole human beings." That meant that they had souls. Those souls had to be converted to Christianity. As a consequence, every expedition had priests to convert souls, as well as soldiers to keep the peace and civilians to bring the Spanish culture to the new world.

The first Spanish settlement was twenty-five miles north of today's Santa Fe in an Indian pueblo.⁴ The soldiers removed the native people from their homes so that the Spanish settlers could have a warm place to live in the winter time. The priests had trouble converting unhappy Indians to Christianity, probably in large part because they caused them so much suffering. The priests wrote letters to the king of Spain, who issued an edict that prohibited putting a Spanish village within "x" number of leagues of an Indian village. So the men gathered up their wives, their children, their horses and cows, their sheep, their goats, their chickens, and they came down here to this valley, which the Indians called the "Valley of the Dancing Sun." The Santa Fe River is two blocks from the plaza; in those days it flowed continuously, and this was a very nice place to build a little Spanish villa.

According to Spanish documents, the plaza of Santa Fe was actually established in 1607. In the same year, 1607, the English founded the colony of Jamestown, the Spanish founded the colony of Santa Fe, and the French



Santa Fe Plaza with the Civil War Monument.

established the colony of Québec, all in North America. There is an exhibit going round the country on that topic.⁵ It's going to be in Albuquerque next year.

Although there were Spanish people living here before 1610, Santa Fe wasn't really organized as a village until then. When the Spanish sent out their explorers, their priests, and their civilians, they also sent out building plans. These plans called for a series of buildings around a central plaza. All the plans looked the same whether they were for towns in the Philippines or South America or here in New Mexico.

New Mexico remained part of the Spanish empire from 1540 until 1821, almost 300 years. In 1821, the Mexican people gained their independence from Spain. From 1821 until 1846, a very short twenty-five year period, New Mexico was part of the Republic of Mexico. In 1846, under United States President Polk and the policy of eminent domain, the U.S. started the Mexican-American War. Two years later in 1848, at the end of that war, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. The northern half of Mexico, that today comprises the states of California, Arizona, and New Mexico, and the southern portions of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, became part of the United States. New Mexico had territorial status for a little over 60 years, until January of 1912 when it became a state of the Union.

The Trails to Santa Fe

Under Spanish rule, New Mexico was part of a colonial empire. Colonialism is about the exploitation of people and natural resources for the benefit of the mother country. The colonists were only allowed to trade with Spain. Trade goods went from here in Santa Fe to Mexico City to Vera Cruz and then on boats back to Spain. The trail from here to Mexico City was called *El Camino Real*, the King's Road or the Royal Road.⁶ Established in 1598 when Oñate led his expedition north to San Juan Pueblo, the road was about 1800 miles long, and it took a year and a half to go round trip. Ladies who wanted new Easter dresses had to get their husbands to trade some of their woolen goods to the Plains Indians for buffalo hides. The hides were brought here to the plaza where they were given to a wagon master along with a list of things wanted from Spain and Mexico City. This list might include a little pottery, a couple of bolts of cloth, some saw blades, some ax heads and other things that they didn't have here. They didn't mine ore in New Mexico, so they had to get metal objects from far away. And then, about a year and a half later – it took about six months to get to Mexico City, several months of trading, and about six months to get back – one day, the children were running around the plaza yelling, "The wagon train is in! The wagon train is in!" Folks came down to the plaza and as they were unloading, pretty soon a

bolt of cloth came out of the back of the wagon and the ladies knew what color their Easter dress was going to be. It was difficult living here.

The other two trails that were very important were east-west trails, as opposed to the north-south *Camino Real*. The first one opened in 1821, at the beginning of Mexican rule. It is called the Santa Fe Trail.⁷ It ran from here to very near St. Louis, Missouri, which was about half the distance of the *Camino Real* and which took about a third of the time that it took to get to Mexico City. The third trail was the Old Spanish Trail.⁸ The 1,100-mile trail ran from Santa Fe out to Los Angeles, California. All three were mercantile trails.

The Spanish Trail was a pack mule trail. Once traders left Abiquiú, New Mexico, which is about an hour north of here, they were in Indian country. Because they were not in country that was ruled over by any European power, the trail life was very precarious. Traders took woolen goods from here in New Mexico out to sell in Los Angeles where they bought horses and mules, which they brought back to Santa Fe. They sold them to people who had lost their animals in Indian raids. Whatever they had left over, they drove back across the Santa Fe Trail to the Midwest where the farmers bought them to pull their plows, or they drove them as far as the East Coast where they would pull the barges on the canal systems.

The wool taken over the trail was from Churro sheep, a breed that the Spanish first imported to North America in the sixteenth century. These sheep have long fibers and not much lanolin. They are very easy to clean, which is an asset in this part of the country because we don't have much water here for cleaning. Also they have good mutton, so you can eat them as well as make blankets from them. They have a very sturdy hoof and need less water. The territory between here and California is rough. When gold was discovered in California in the mid 1800's, the sheep herders in New Mexico decided it was economical to drive whole herds to California, and they literally drove herds by the tens of thousands from here to California. The Churro sheep made the trip very well. Eventually, however, people wanted a better quality meat or a different quality yarn, so there was a good deal of interbreeding. Today we have several programs around New Mexico and southern Colorado that are "back-breeding" Churro sheep to return them to the pure strain.⁹

So even in the 1800's there was coast-to-coast commerce that came right through here. Santa Fe was a definite hub of activity in the Southwest.

The Palace of the Governors

We are now standing on the north side of the plaza, facing the Palace of the Governors,¹⁰ which currently houses the state's history museum. This building is the last

remnant of the buildings that were originally built around the plaza. Because they started construction in 1610, the city of Santa Fe has adopted 1610 as its founding date. In 2010 we are going to have a big celebration. This year we're having a small celebration. The original plaza was rectangular and the church was on the plaza where the cathedral is now.

Under the portal on the south side of the palace sit Native American artists and craftspeople who sell their handmade goods to tourists and local Santa Feans almost every day of the year, rain or shine. Items for sale include pottery, metalwork, stone and shell jewelry, beadwork, sand paintings, and leatherwork. There are about 4,000 authorized participants in the Native American Vendors Program. They are overseen by a committee of ten that they elect every year. There are 68 slots under the portal to sell from, so if more than 68 people show up, they draw numbered poker chips out of an old cowboy hat to see who gets which spot. We are very casual here. They don't charge any tax because the museum is a nonprofit organization. Everything that is being sold under the portal



Palace of the Governors.

has been made by the person selling it. You should feel free to ask questions about the work. The sellers love to talk to potential buyers. Please ask if you wish to take a picture of anyone—some of the older folks are sensitive regarding photographs.

An archeological survey is required to dig on any public land in New Mexico. When they did some renovation on the parking lot behind the Palace of the Governors a while back, they dug square-meter sized holes to different depths for almost two years. They actually got down to the 1610 foundation of the original building, which was much bigger than the building that is there now. They pulled out over 800,000 objects that indicated human habitation. Mostly they found bones of cattle, sheep, and chickens, as well as pot shards. The shards were from native pottery but also from glazed pottery, brought over on the Manila galleons from China. Objects from the 1800's include whiskey bottles and snake oil

bottles. We will see some of these items on display when we get to the Seña Plaza.

Pueblo Architecture.

We are now walking up East Palace Avenue. This is where I like to talk about Pueblo Style architecture, which is called “Pueblo Revival” style.¹¹ If you go out to an Indian pueblo, it won’t look quite like this. Tradition pueblos are made with adobe. Adobe is dirt, some straw, and water. Before the Europeans came, the Indians built with what is called puddled adobe, where they just piled up the mud, let it dry, and then put some more mud on top. When I first came here, I attended a lecture where they said that 70% of the people in the world build with dirt/earth in some form. I was at another lecture last year where they said that it is now down to 50% because concrete is taking over. Mud looks prettier. It comes in hundreds of shades of brown, and you’ll see all of the shades here. It’s a post and lintel style of architecture with adobe walls. The Spanish brought a wooden square framework that you moosh the mud into to make the bricks; the Indians picked up on this very quickly.

The original Native Americans’ pueblos did not have windows and doors on the ground floor. It was too dangerous, too easy for

enemies to attack. The ground floor rooms were usually storage rooms. When nomadic Indians appeared on the horizon, the Puebloans gathered inside, climbed up a ladder to the top of the first floor and pulled the ladder up behind them. The tops of the walls were parapets. The actual roof line was much lower, at the level of the canales. They used the parapet to hide behind and to shoot



Pueblo revival architecture on East Palace.

bows and arrows at the incoming enemy Indians.

The trough that runs the snow melt and the rainwater off of the flat roof is called a *canale*. The beams that go across to hold up the ceiling and the roof are called *vigas*. And the smaller pieces that go at right angles to the *vigas* are called *latillas*. They are made out of a variety of materials: aspen poles, willow sticks, or even boards. The traditional pueblo posts are round, as close to the tree trunk as you can get. Also pueblo

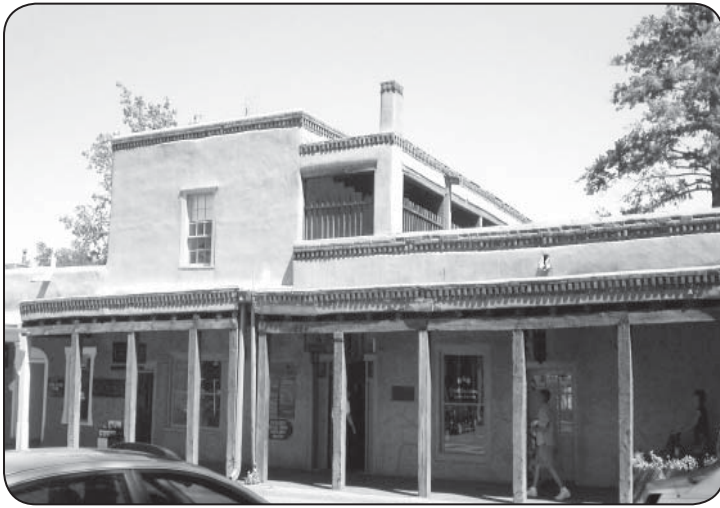
rooms were very small, only as wide as the tree was tall. Rooms were added as the family grew in size.

We have Napoleon to thank for the pounded tin work that you see around the mirrors. He asked his engineers to find a way for the army to carry their food with them. They had raided and traded and bought and stolen from the

European farmers and could no longer use farms as a source of food. Ultimately the engineers came up with tin cans. By the time the Santa Fe Trail opened up in the early 1820s, goods were coming across the trail in tin cans. Because they didn’t mine ore here, any metal was very valuable, so the tin from the cans was recycled into retablos,

candle sconces, and picture and mirror frames. It was also used to cover holes in wooden roofs and floors.

Adobe requires a lot of maintenance because the bricks are only sun-dried. Whenever the bricks get wet with rain or snow, they melt or disintegrate. In the old days, they put a smooth layer over the bricks that caused the water to run off. In modern times, we have something called “amended adobe,” which utilizes concrete with adobe. Also, today they cant the roof below the parapet so that the rain water runs off



Exterior of Sena Plaza, showing the Territorial style.

ways to keep the evil spirits out. You will notice that there aren't many screens on the windows and doors. When they are opened to let the air in, spirits can get in. But because evil spirits can only travel in straight lines, if you have a door sill, the

spirits can't get in. Between door sills and blue paint, the houses are well protected.

Sena Plaza

This is the Sena Plaza.¹² It belonged to Major José Sena in part of the Mexican period and then during the Territorial period.¹³

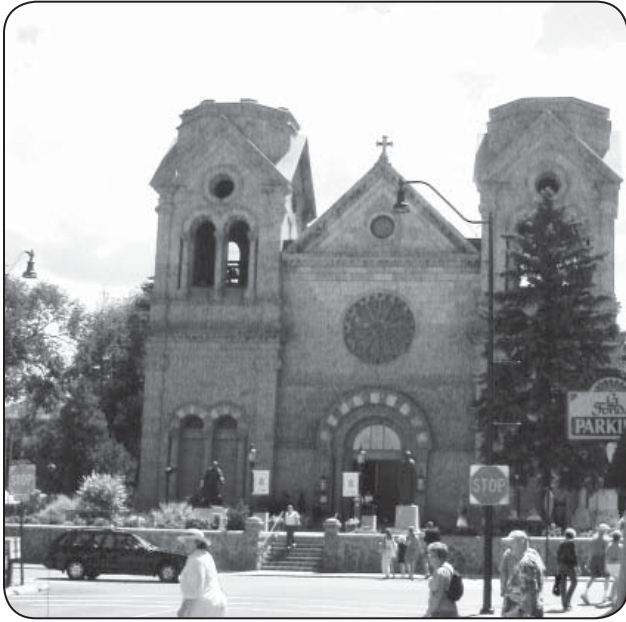
The front building here would have been the living quarters for the family – mom and dad and the kids and maybe some aunts and uncles. It was built in a square form around a courtyard. There would have been a well, and they would have grown herbs around the well. They would have raised their beef, corn, and beans outside. This was an agricultural community. The back part of the building would have been where they kept their carriages, wagons, and surplus goods. On the second floor, Major Sena had a ballroom. When New Mexico became a territory, there was a fire in the territorial government building, and the legislature had to meet in Major Sena's ballroom because

it was the only room in town big enough to hold that many people.

The building represents a different type of architecture that evolved when New Mexico became a territory and especially later when the railroads came to the vicinity of Santa Fe in 1880.¹⁴ You will notice that the windows and doors are larger, the posts are square, and there are fire bricks on the roof line. Milled lumber and fired brick were two of the items that came into New Mexico on the railroad. It changed the look of the architecture of the town. Also by the late 1800s, the marauding Indians were not much of a danger, so they could put bigger windows and doors in their homes and lower the walls.

The St. Francis Cathedral

We are now in front of the Cathedral Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi, commonly known as Saint Francis Cathedral. When New Mexico became a territory of the United States in the mid 1800's, the American Catholic Church decided that the Roman Catholic Church here in New Mexico needed some shaping up. Jean Baptiste Lamy,¹⁵ a French priest back in Cincinnati, was made an Archbishop and sent out to New Mexico in 1850. His bronze statue is there in front of the cathedral. Lamy immediately sent for some nuns from the motherhouse of Loretto in Kentucky.¹⁶ They built the Loretto Academy and the Loretto Chapel, where we will be in just a few minutes.



St. Francis Cathedral.

Bishop Lamy did not like Pueblo Style architecture. Since this was the seat of the Archdiocese, he felt that it needed a more appropriate church. So he had yellow limestone quarried from the vicinity of Santa Fe, and in 1869, he started construction on the cathedral. They built the cathedral around La Parroquia,¹⁷ the older adobe church that was here. When they got the roof on the cathedral they started dismantling the adobe church. They chucked the bricks out the front door of the cathedral. Under these steps that you come up to get in to the cathedral are the old adobe bricks.

The Archdiocese borrowed funds from some of the merchants in town. In the middle 1800's, as a result of persecution in Europe, there was a large Jewish emigration into the United States. Many of those people came west and set up mercantile stores and

trading posts. The pueblo of Acoma actually had a Jewish governor¹⁸ for a few years – you don't find that in most of the history books. The Jewish merchants here in Santa Fe made loans to the Archdiocese to build the cathedral. When those loans came due, the Archdiocese couldn't repay them, so the merchants forgave the loans and they became donations. The spires were originally planned to be topped with dramatic

160-foot steeples, but due to lack of funds, as well as soft ground, a high water table, and too much weight, they were never built. Look closely, and you will notice that the left tower is taller than the right tower.

The doors on the cathedral are patterned after Lorenzo Ghiberti's doors on the Baptistry in Florence, Italy.¹⁹ Instead of depicting bible stories, they depict stories of New Mexico's religious history. Most of them have Bishop Lamy in the panel. And on the left hand door, the two panels that are third down from the top have images of La Conquistadora.

La Conquistadora and the Reconquest

La Conquistadora is an image of the Virgin Mary. She was created in Spain in the 1400s and brought into northern New Mexico by Fray Alonso de Benavides²⁰ in 1625.

In the 1680s, the most successful Indian revolt against any European colonizing power in all of North America took place in New Mexico.²¹ The Pueblo Indians, who spoke five different languages, banded together under a leader named Popé²² from San Juan Pueblo. They evicted the Spanish for twelve years from northern New Mexico. The Spanish settlers took La Conquistadora with them when they abandoned Santa Fe. They went down to El Paso del Norte, which at that time was in what today is Juarez, Mexico.

Some Pueblo Indians went to El Paso and said Diego de Vargas²³, "If you would rule a little more gently, we wouldn't mind having you return." The nomad Indians were very aggressive without Spanish military there. De Vargas listened to that, and he brought the settlers back up into northern New Mexico in 1692-93. He said prayers to La Conquistadora, promising her a mass and a procession every year if a peaceful resettlement could be achieved. When the settlers got here some of the Indians changed their minds and there was some blood shed. The king of Spain did issue an edict that ended the *encomienda* system.²⁴ So in the end, the Indian people achieved something really quite important.

In June each year La Conquistadora is carried in procession from the cathedral, down San Francisco Street, and up Guadalupe Street to the Rosario Cemetery, which is about a half

a mile away. She stays there for nine days; they have early masses every morning. And then she is brought back to the cathedral. It is the only time she leaves her place in the cathedrals' north chapel, which is the sole remaining part of La Parroquia church. La Conquistadora has a wardrobe of elaborate dresses, most of them having been given as offerings for answered prayer or in hopes of an answer to prayer. She wears different garments for the different holy and social days of the year.

Return to the Plaza: the Civil War in New Mexico

Here in the center of the plaza is our Civil War monument. New Mexico was very important to the Confederate Army. The northern states had blockaded Confederate ports in the Gulf of Mexico and on the East Coast, so they couldn't trade their cotton to the English cotton mills. The Confederates were carrying on conversations with Mexico, and they were looking for seaports in the West. They also hoped to get the gold that was being mined in Colorado, which would have given them hard specie to help fight their war. Jefferson Davis authorized a contingent of Confederate soldiers from Texas to come into New Mexico, where they remained for about two years. They were here in Santa Fe for about two weeks. In March of 1862, they fought a two days of battles in Apache Canyon and Glorieta Pass,²⁵ east of Santa Fe. A Colorado volunteer army came down to

help hold New Mexico against the Confederate soldiers; they destroyed the Confederates' supply wagons, and the Confederate forces ended up going back to Texas. Consequently, New Mexico remained part of the Union. The Confederate states were never able to gain control of the trail system, and they were denied access to western seaports and to the Colorado goldfields. While there were not a lot of people involved in the battles out here, the battles were economically very important. And indeed, we have a historian here who refers to the battle at Glorieta Pass as the Gettysburg of the West.

The Railroads, the Harvey Houses, and La Fonda

When the railroads came in they had difficulty making it up the incline from Albuquerque, where the elevation is 5000 feet, to Santa Fe, which is at 7000 feet. So although the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway is often abbreviated as "the Santa Fe," its main line never reached town. They ran the tracks south of Santa Fe and travelers coming here got off in the town of Lamy, which is sixteen miles from Santa Fe. Santa

Fe was ultimately served by spur lines: the Denver and Rio Grande, the New Mexico Central and the spur line of AT & SF. The historic Railway Depots are on the corner of Guadalupe Street and Montezuma Avenue, about a mile from the plaza. Next to one of the old depots and alongside the tracks is a well-known restaurant, Tomasitas.

The railroad company built hotels to attract people to the West. The Santa Fe Railroad signed a contract with Fred Harvey²⁶ to run the dining rooms, the kitchens and the work staff in the hotels along the line. Railroad officials and passengers alike were impressed with Harvey's high standards and Harvey soon set up dining facilities along most of the entire route. The ladies who worked for Harvey were not referred to as "waitresses." Instead, they were called "Harvey Girls."²⁷ The Harvey Company put advertisements in newspapers in the Midwest for young, attractive,



La Fonda Hotel.

intelligent, and single women. They were trained to the nth degree. Wearing black dresses with white pinafores, Harvey Girls went to work whenever the train came in, whatever time of the day that was. They had to pass inspection and those white pinafores had to be absolutely clean. And the customer was always right!

Fred Harvey used to ride the trains and do unannounced inspections at his hotels. If he came in and found that the manager in the kitchen was cutting the size of the portions, that manager was immediately fired. When you got in off the train, the wait staff was

there and ready to serve you. A lady would come down and take your order. When she took your coffee order, she put the cup on the saucer with the handle in one direction if you wanted cream and in another direction if you wanted sugar. If you didn't want any coffee, the cup was left upside down. So the lady who then came to pour the coffee didn't have to take time to ask you a second time; she already knew by how the place was set.

If you were taking the Southwest Chief from Chicago to Los Angeles, you would get off at Harvey Hotels and spend the night and have dinner. You would have a five-course meal every night for four nights, and you would never have the same food twice.

Here we are at the historic La Fonda Hotel. The current La Fonda was begun in 1919. In 1925 it was acquired by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, which leased it to Fred Harvey, and for over forty years, La Fonda was a Harvey House. The location itself has been home to some kind of inn or "*fonda*" since Santa Fe's beginning. It became an important destination for Santa Fe Trail travelers. Soon after New Mexico became a U.S. Territory, the inn was purchased by Anglo-American owners who changed its name to

the U. S. Hotel. Later, it was sold again and became The Exchange Hotel, the name under which it operated for almost six decades. In the 1870s, Billy the Kid²⁸ was supposed to have washed dishes in this hotel. Billy's mother married her second husband at the First Presbyterian Church here in Santa Fe, which is west of the plaza down near the O'Keefe Museum.

One of the things tourists did after breakfast was to take a tour bus out to the Indian pueblos to buy souvenirs. They were called "Harvey Indian tours." However, it was really hard to get fragile objects such as pottery home without breaking. So the tour guides began to say to the Indians, "Can't you make something a little more appropriate for the tourists?" In the 1920's, 30's, and 40's, there was a huge change in the type of goods that were made by the Pueblo Indians to sell to the tourists. One souvenir that you will see around town today is the story teller doll: ceramic figures of storytellers with many babies attached to them. They come mostly from Cochiti Pueblo, and they were developed in the 1940's to sell to the tourists.

Loretto Chapel

Now we are going down the Old Santa Fe Trail to the Loretto Chapel. Bishop Lamy was very interested in education. When he retired in 1888, there were over 200 schools within the Archdiocese. Where the Loretto Hotel now stands, the Sisters of



Loretto Chapel.

Loretto built the Loretto Academy. It was a boarding school and a day school for girls. Several people, including Marion Russell,²⁹ have written about their memories of coming down the Santa Fe Trail and attending school at the Loretto Academy. The school finally closed down in 1968, and the hotel was built in 1971.

Work began on the Loretto Chapel in 1873. As the work was nearing completion in 1878, the Sisters realized that there was no staircase from the ground floor to the choir loft. It was considered inappropriate for young girls in skirts and dresses to climb ladders to the choir loft, so the Sisters said a novena of prayers, and on the ninth day a carpenter appeared on a burro as if by magic.³⁰ For several months he built a staircase to the choir loft. It did not have the banister on it initially. The staircase has two full 360 degree turns with no central support. And it was put together with wooden dowels, not metal nails. The Sisters were overjoyed and planned a fine dinner to honor the carpenter. But he had mysteriously disappeared. Finding no trace of him, they concluded he was St. Joseph himself.

When the Sisters closed down the school, they offered the chapel to the Archdiocese, but it was turned down, probably for economic reasons. The host was removed from the chapel, which is now a private museum that only costs a small amount to visit. You can take pictures. Over 500 weddings

each year take place in the chapel. They also hold small musical performances here. It is a lovely setting.

Sites outside central Santa Fe:

Barrio de Analco

Across the Santa Fe River on Old Santa Fe Trail is the oldest neighborhood of Santa Fe called the *Barrio de Analco*. It was first settled in the early 1600's by the Tlaxcalan Indians, who had been brought here from Mexico by the Spaniards. At the corner of Old Santa Fe Trail and East de Vargas is San Miguel Mission Church.³¹ One of the oldest churches in continuous use in the United States, it was built in the early 1600s for the people that lived in that part of Santa Fe to worship. Next to the church is the oldest house in the United States. It is now a museum, shop, and gallery.

Canyon Road and the Santa Fe Art Scene

Just past Paseo de Peralta is Canyon Road, which used to be the woodcutters' and shepherders' neighborhood. Today it contains a cluster of many art galleries, shops, and restaurants. In the galleries you will find traditional art, pottery, jewelry, oil paintings, and water colors, as well as the ever increasing contemporary art.

In the early 1900's, people who were in art school often went to Europe to finish their education in fine art. But there were many

artists who couldn't afford to go to Europe; some of them came to the Southwest. They were very impressed with its multicultural society, blue skies, incredible light, and landscape, and consequently, some of them stayed.³² Other artists visited off and on and then returned east and painted southwestern themes. This was the beginning of the Santa Fe and Taos art colonies.

Georgia O'Keeffe's first visit to Santa Fe was in 1917. She taught school in Canyon, Texas, near Amarillo, and did water colors of Palo Duro Canyon.³³ A friend of hers³⁴ gave some of her paintings to Alfred Stieglitz without her permission. Stieglitz put them in his gallery in New York and she became quite famous. She married Stieglitz in 1924, and until his death in 1946, he worked to promote O'Keeffe's work. She used to come to New Mexico in the summer and stay at Ghost Ranch in the Abiquiu area. After her husband's death, she moved out here permanently.

Mabel Dodge Lujan³⁵ also came west and fell in love with Taos. She invited a lot of philosophers, writers, painters, and artists to come visit her. Among them were Ansel Adams, Willa Cather, Georgia O'Keeffe and D. H. Lawrence. And that helped to found a Taos art colony.

Indian Pueblos

Traditionally, Pueblo Indians lived in apartment-like complexes

around a central plaza. Many of the current pueblos remain very traditional. They don't bring electricity in and they don't all have running water. But the Indians like washing machines, electric ranges, stereos, televisions, and inside plumbing, the same as we do, so often they build freestanding homes someplace else on the pueblo land where they can have all of the modern amenities. They return to their plaza area for ceremonials. The old adobes around the plazas are still owned by the families that used to own them, but they aren't necessarily lived in year round.

When the pueblos have ceremonials that are open to the public, they are usually on a Spanish feast day or a saint's day. Traditional pueblo ceremonials are not open to the general public, and they are usually held on days that are inconvenient for the public to get there.

When you build a pueblo, the dirt, the water, and the straw are free. When you built a modern home, you generally have to take out a mortgage. It is housing and mortgages that have brought the Native American population into the Anglo value system, with eight-to-five jobs, jeans and tennis shoes – far more than the Indian schools that were established in the 1800's for the same purpose.

It was government policy to send Native American children to special boarding schools to

assimilate them to white society. There were many people who disagreed with this policy, but there were a lot of Indian children that were taken from their homes and put into such schools. Their hair was cut, they were forbidden to speak their native language, and they had to wear American clothing. They could not practice their traditional skills as they had done in the pueblos. Some of those children grew up to be very famous artists, and some of them will say that their experiences in the Indian school were among the best they have ever had. But some will say it was the worst, most miserable time of their lives. Nowadays we still have Indian schools, but they are voluntary. The kids come and go as they want to.

Land Issues in New Mexico

When the Spanish came, they acknowledged the Indians' rights to their pueblo lands. That acknowledgement came in the form of an ebony cane with a silver handle that was given by the king of Spain to the governors of the pueblo. When the Spanish came, they needed to have somebody in the pueblo to act as a go-between between the pueblo leadership and the outside world. The Spanish set up a system whereby there is an elected governor and about three or four levels of people underneath that. When any information comes out of the pueblo today, it is given by the governor. Governors are elected.

From 1821 to 1848, the Mexican government also acknowledged the pueblo people's rights to their land. The president of Mexico again gave an ebony cane with a silver handle on it to each pueblo governor. When New Mexico became part of the United States, Abraham Lincoln acknowledged the pueblo people's rights to their traditional lands, and he gave each of the governors an ebony cane with a silver handle on it. Most of the pueblo governors still have all three canes. In the 1960's, President Johnson also gave canes to some of the pueblo governors, who now have four. But most of them have three: Spanish, Mexican, and United States' canes.

Since the American takeover, there have been real problems with land issues in New Mexico. When New Mexico became part of the United States, articles 7 and 9 of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was approved by the Senate, agreed to honor the land grants issued by the Spanish and Mexican governments. The Spanish and Mexican people did not have deeds to their land. They had land grants and a lot of the grant papers were destroyed over time. Their ownership came because they lived on the land and worked it. In the United States, it was different. We are still working out those differences in the courts today.

The Native American people see themselves as stewards of the land. There are more Native Americans living on the same land that their ancestors lived on before European

contact than in any other state in the lower 48. There are 19 pueblo tribes, two Apache reservations, and a portion of the Navaho reservation here in New Mexico. For the Hispanic people, the land is very important. It's a part of who they are. For the Anglos – and this is a broad statement – the value of land comes when you buy it and sell it and make money. So we have three different values for the same piece of dirt in New Mexico.

This concludes our tour. I hope you take the time to explore Santa Fe on your own. This is a very special place and there is a lot to see and do here.

Endnotes

1. A prehistoric Native American culture, the Clovis culture first appears in the archaeological record of North America around 11,000 years ago, at the end of the last ice age. The culture is named for artifacts found near Clovis, New Mexico. The Folsom culture is thought to have derived from the earlier Clovis culture and dates between 9000 BC and 8000 BC. It was known through artifacts first excavated near Folsom, New Mexico.
2. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (ca. 1510-1554) explored the Southwest between 1540 and 1542. He sent out parties that ranged all the way to the Colorado River on the present border between California and Arizona, exploring much of what is now New Mexico. He also led a party in search of the city of Quivira and its mythic riches, into what is now Kansas.
3. Don Juan de Oñate Salazar (1552-1626) led a colonizing expedition to northern

- New Mexico in 1598 at the request of King Philip II. His stated objective was to spread Roman Catholicism and establish missions. He founded the province of *Santa Fé de Nuevo México* and became its first governor. For a biography of Oñate, see Marc Simmons' *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest*.
4. In July 1598, Oñate and his colonists established their headquarters at the Tewa pueblo of San Juan (Ohkay Owingeh). In so doing, he extended the Camino Real by more than 600 miles, and for several centuries following, it became the longest road in North America.
 5. This traveling exhibition, *Jamestown, Québec, Santa Fe: Three North American Beginnings*, is co-organized by the National Museum of American History and the Virginia Historical Society. It tells the story of the alliances and conflicts between the Europeans (English, Spanish, French) and the Native Americans from 1600 to 1700. Topics discussed include the societies that formed from the three settlements, spiritual life, trade, Indian dispossession, religious tolerance, slavery and rebellions (including the Pueblo Revolt). It is scheduled to be at the Albuquerque Museum from October 25, 2008, through March 29, 2009. The book that accompanies the exhibition is *Jamestown, Québec, Santa Fe: Three North American Beginnings* by James C. Kelly and Barbara Clark Smith.
 6. *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* (The Royal Road of the Interior Lands) is North America's longest (1550 miles) and oldest (1598) route. It stretches from Mexico City to San Juan Pueblo, north of Santa Fe, New Mexico. The Camino Real is now a National Historic Trail in the portions traversing the states of

New Mexico and Texas. For a guide to the route, see Hal Jackson's *Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*.

7. The Santa Fe Trail was a historic nineteenth-century highway from Missouri to Santa Fe. First used in 1821 by William Becknell, it served as an important commercial and military route until the coming of the railroad in 1880.
8. Used by pack trains from about 1829 until the mid-1850's, the Old Spanish Trail connected Los Angeles, California, and the New Mexican settlement of Santa Fe. In 1841, the Rowland-Workman expedition was the first group consisting largely of emigrants to enter California from a southern land route by traveling this trail.
9. Oñate and his colonists brought the Churro sheep with them into New Mexico in 1598. A series of U.S. government sponsored flock reductions and "improvements" by cross breeding nearly caused the Churro sheep to go extinct. In the 1970's attempts began to preserve and promote the original breed.
10. Arguably the oldest continuously occupied public building in the United States, the Palace of the Governors served as the seat of government in New Mexico for centuries. Pedro de Peralta, governor of the Spanish territory covering most of the American Southwest, began construction on the Palace in 1610. It is a single-storied, earth-colored building with a long front portal.
11. Inspired by the Pueblos and Spanish missions in New Mexico, Pueblo Revival or "Santa Fe Style" architecture developed at the turn of the twentieth century and was promoted by Santa Fe's town fathers as a tourist draw as early as 1910. In 1957 a committee led by architect John Gaw Meem drafted

- the Historical Zoning Ordinance, which mandated the use of the Pueblo Style or related Territorial Style on all new buildings in central Santa Fe. This ordinance is still in effect.
12. Just north of the Santa Fe Plaza on East Palace Avenue is Sena Plaza. The property was originally part of a land grant from Don Diego de Vargas to one of his captains, Arias de Quiros. In 1844, the property was bequeathed to Arias de Quiros, the mother of José D. Sena, a major in the U. S. Civil War. When Major Sena inherited the property, he expanded it to thirty-three rooms in order to house his wife and their twenty-three children. The plaza area is now a contemplative garden surrounded by specialty shops, two restaurants, and offices.
 13. The Mexican Period (1821 to 1846) came to a close in 1846 when Stephen Watts Kearny and the Army of the West took over Santa Fe, ushering in the Territorial Period (1846 to 1912).
 14. After 1850, a Territorial architectural style emerged. Influenced by the eastern Greek Revival style, details included wood casings around windows and doors topped with pediments, square post porches, and brick parapets to stabilize the adobe construction. In the 1930's, architect John Gaw Meem developed the Territorial Revival Style, which included larger windows and classical woodwork.
 15. Born in the Auvergne region of France, Jean-Baptiste Lamy (1814-1888) was the first Archbishop of Santa Fe. He was responsible for the construction of St. Francis Cathedral and Loretto Chapel, both built in the style of the Romanesque churches of France familiar to Lamy. Lamy is buried under the sanctuary floor of the Basilica. For an excellent biography of Lamy, see Paul Horgan's *Lamy of Santa Fe*. Also, see Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, which is based loosely on Lamy's life in the Southwest.
 16. In 1852, a small group of Sisters left the Loretto Motherhouse in Kentucky for Santa Fe. Under the direction of Jean Baptiste Lamy, they opened the town's first academy for girls, the Loretto Academy of our Lady of Light.
 17. La Parroquia (1714-1717) was constructed on the site of a church that was destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt. A remaining portion of La Parroquia is the Chapel of Our lady of the Rosary, which houses a wooden statue of the Virgin known as La Conquistadora.
 18. A German Jewish American, Solomon Bibo was a white trader who won the trust of the Acoma Pueblo Indians. He learned the Acoma language and helped the tribe fight its legal battles to restore its traditional lands. In 1888, he became governor of the Acoma Pueblo. He was the only Jewish-Indian ever to serve as a governor of an Indian Pueblo.
 19. An Italian artist of the early Renaissance, Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455) won his first major commission, the making of the second pair of bronze doors for the baptistery of the cathedral of Florence, in 1403. Aided by his students, he spent more than 20 years completing the doors. Each door contains fourteen scenes from the lives of Christ, the Evangelists, and the church fathers. Installed in 1424, the doors were highly praised.
 20. Fray Alonso was the head of a missionary program in New Mexico. He traveled with his caravan up the Camino Real from Mexico City and on January 24, 1626, reached Santa Fe. Among the goods that he brought with him was a small shipping box carrying a carving of the Virgin later called La Conquistadora.
 21. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was an uprising of many pueblo people against Spanish colonists in the New Spain province of New Mexico. Approximately 21 of the province's 33 Franciscans, and 380 Spaniards, counting men, women and children, were killed. Spanish settlers fled to Santa Fe and Isleta Pueblo, one of the few Pueblos that did not participate in the rebellion. Believing themselves the only survivors, the refugees at Isleta fled to El Paso del Norte. Meanwhile Popé's insurgents besieged Santa Fe and cut off its water supply. Defeated, the Spanish settlers also retreated to El Paso del Norte. For an interesting discussion of the Pueblo Revolt, see David Roberts' *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion that Drove the Spaniards Out of the Southwest*.
 22. Popé (ca. 1630-ca 1688) was a Tewa religious leader from San Juan Pueblo. In 1680, he led the Pueblo Revolt against Spanish colonial rule. In 1692 Spanish control was reasserted, but under terms more lenient to the Native Americans. For this reason, New Mexicans have honored Popé by erecting his statue in the rotunda of the Capitol in Washington D. C.
 23. Diego de Vargas (1643-1704) was appointed governor of New Mexico in 1690. He is most famous for leading the reconquest of the territory for Spain following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. After meeting with de Vargas in Santa Fe, the pueblo leaders agreed to peace, and on September 14, 1692, de Vargas proclaimed a formal act of repossession. Although this repossession of New Mexico is often called a "bloodless reconquest" since the territory was initially retaken without any use of force, in 1696 a second pueblo revolt

was attempted and warfare continued between both sides until the end of the century.

24. The *encomienda* system was a trusteeship labor system used during the Spanish colonization of the Americas. Developed as a means to secure an adequate and cheap labor supply, the *encomienda* gave conquistadors control over the native people by requiring them to work and pay tribute from their lands. In return the conquistador was theoretically obligated to protect his wards, to instruct them in the Christian faith, and to defend their right to use the land for their own subsistence.
25. Fought on March 26 to 28, 1862, the Battle of Glorieta Pass was the decisive battle of the New Mexico Campaign during the Civil War. It put a stop to the Confederate invasion of the West along the base of the Rocky Mountains. The battle is described in the historical novel *Glorieta Pass* by P. G. Nagle.
26. Frederick Henry Harvey (1835-1901) developed the Harvey House restaurants and hotels, which served rail passengers on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, the gulf Coast and Santa Fe Railway, the Kansas Pacific Railway, and the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway. Harvey's partnership with the Santa Fe began in 1876, and at its peak, there were 84 Harvey Houses. Before he died, his last words to his sons were reported to be "Don't cut the ham too thin, boys." There is a Fred Harvey museum in Leavenworth, Kansas.
27. For more information on the Harvey Girls, see Leslie Poling-Kempes' *The Harvey Girls: Women Who Opened the West*. Starring Judy Garland, Cyd Charisse, and Angela Lansbury, a movie musical entitled *The Harvey Girls* (1946) won the Academy Award for Best Song for "On the Atchison, Topeka and the Santa Fe."
28. Henry McCarty (1859-1881), better known as Billy the Kid, was a nineteenth-century frontier outlaw who despite his short life managed to capture the imagination of many of our leading authors, including Larry McMurtry, Michael Ondaatje, N. Scott Momaday, and Oakley Hall. Numerous historians—William Kelleher, Maurice Garland Fulton, Frederick Nolan, Robert Utley, Paul Andrew Hutton, Marc Simmons, and Jon Tuska—have also fallen under his spell. For a recent biography, see *Billy The Kid: The Endless Ride* by Michael Wallis.
29. Marion Sloan Russell's *Land of Enchantment - Memoirs of Marian Russell Along the Santa Fe Trail* is a first-hand account of her journeys on the Santa Fe Trail and life in Santa Fe. With her mother and brother, Russell (1845-1936) made her first journey on the trail in 1851. Her mother ran a boarding house on the corner of the plaza, where the Fine Arts Museum stands now.
30. The CBS television movie *The Staircase* (1998) is a take-off on the legend of the mysterious stairway at the Sisters of Loretto Chapel. It stars Barbara Hershey as the terminally ill mother superior and William Peterson as carpenter of the unique staircase.
31. The San Miguel Church was originally used as a church for the Tlaxcalan Indian servants in the *Barrio de Analco*. Much of it was destroyed during the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. When the Spanish rebuilt the chapel in 1710, they put up new walls outside those that were still standing.
32. Among the artists who came to Santa Fe in the 1920's were *Los Cinco Pintores*--Fremont Ellis, Willard Nash, Wladyslaw Mruk, Jozef Bakos, and Will Shuster.
33. In 1916, O'Keeffe accepted a teaching position at West Texas State Normal College. She often visited nearby Palo Duro Canyon.
34. Georgia O'Keeffe's friend Anita Pollitzer appreciated O'Keeffe's works and took some samples to show Alfred Steiglitz at the 291 Gallery in New York. Some sources say that she did so without O'Keeffe's permission.
35. Mabel Dodge Stern Luhan (1879-1962) was a wealthy American patron of the arts. Her Taos hacienda is today a bed-and-breakfast and retreat /conference center.

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Spanish Trails Symposium, Cedar City, October 11-13, 2007

A symposium, *Spanish Trails of the American West*, will be held on Friday, October 12, 2007, at the Adams Auditorium on the campus of Southern Utah University, 300 West Center Street, in Cedar City, Utah. The Symposium will be organized and sponsored by the Southern Utah Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA).

Events will begin with a “chuck wagon” trail dinner with Dutch-oven cooking by the Sons of Utah Pioneers at 6 p.m. on Thursday, October 11, 2007. The meal will cost \$10.00 per person, and will be held at the Cedar City Park pavilion on 200 North Main Street.

The symposium will be opened on Friday morning at 8:00 a.m. in the Adams Theatre, 310 West Center Street, by SUU and OSTA representatives, followed by featured speakers on a variety of Spanish trails topics throughout the day. Two venues will accommodate ample opportunity for participants to select from some 16 academic presentations, beginning at 9 a.m. The focus will be on the D’Anza, the Armijo, the Old Spanish, and the Domínguez/Escalante trails, with presentations on a variety of topics ranging from events on the historical trails, personalities, trails navigation, petroglyphs, trail signs and markers. Government officials will address the status of these trails and management initiatives throughout the western states.

On Friday evening at 7 p.m., a semi-formal banquet with keynote speakers and a concert by Marshall McDonald and Steve Nelson, composers and arrangers of the *Old Spanish Trail Suite* will be held in the Great Hall of Southern Utah University.

Saturday morning the conference will reconvene at the Great Hall of the Hunter Conference Center at 9:00 a.m. Attendees can choose between a no-host equestrian trail ride to historic trail sites, or one of two hosted vehicle treks along Spanish trails. One group will travel along the Old Spanish Trail from Enoch to Mountain Meadows, with lunch at a recently discovered trail site. The second group will travel along the Domínguez/Escalante Trail to the monument where the expedition cast lots and decided to return to Santa Fe. From there they will proceed to the Thermo Hot Springs camp site, and then back to Cedar City by way of the Parowan Gap petroglyphs and Enoch historic trail sites.

Admission is tentatively set at \$80.00 per person (\$60.00 for OSTA members and students); this cost includes a copy of the publication of papers from the symposium. The Friday night banquet is \$25.00 per person. Trail excursions on Saturday are free to OSTA members or \$10.00 per person in advance. Additional information and reservations may be obtained from Al Matheson at Citabriair@yahoo.com.



P.O. Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270