

SPANISH TRACES



Volume 8

Fall 2002

No. 3

Annual Conference 2002 Report – Cedar City, Utah, June 8 & 9

Wow, what a weekend it was! We had beautiful weather the full time, and the activity schedule kept us all hopping. Southern Utah University was an ideal location and the facilities were marvelous for the 86 members and visitors who attended.

The conference and symposium were all wonderfully organized by Steve Heath and Liz Warren, and one of the unique additions to this conference was the panel discussion of Trail issues.

The conference theme was Trails and Topography: Southern Utah's Corridor through time. Dr Hinton of SUU was our keynote speaker, followed by a number of related papers which are included in this issue of *Spanish Traces*.

The reception on Saturday evening was held at the Iron Mission State Park. Colorado artist and OSTA

member Mettje Swift presented a slide show and talk about her unique OST Landform Sculptures in the San Luis Valley, and then an OST Achievement Award was presented to the Cedar Breaks District, BSA, for their years of effort in marking



photo by Doug Knudson

Panel of Experts Discussed Trail Issues; L to R: Janet Seegmiller, Steve Heath, Aaron Mahr (NPS), Susanne Rowe (BLM), and Steve Elkinton (NPS).

the OST in southern Utah. And *then*, what a feast we had—a dutch oven chicken dinner with all the fixin's! Did anyone have seconds? Of course!

The following day we had two field trips, and write-ups *cont'd on pg 2*

Inside this Issue . . .

Cedar City Conf. Summary	1 & 2
President's Corner, <i>Warren</i>	3
Historians: <i>Harley, Robinson</i>	4
Frémont's Effect on Developments Along the Trail, <i>Hinton</i>	6
"Signposts" on the OST, <i>Heath</i>	15
Paiute Life in S. Utah, <i>Roberts</i>	19
Tracking the '49ers, <i>Gilon</i>	25
Boy Scouts Mark OST, <i>Heath</i>	30
Wm. Palmer & First Spanish Trail Association, <i>Seegmiller</i>	31
Hist. of OSTA Awards, <i>Carpenter</i>	33
OST / Mormon Road Nomination for National Register, <i>Rowe</i>	34
Comprehensive Management Plan for Support Groups, <i>Elkinton</i>	37
OSTA Accepted as Affiliate Member in PNTS, <i>Carpenter</i>	39
Conf. Tour, N. to Canyons, <i>Heath</i>	40
OST Lapel Pin - <i>NEW</i>	41
Matheson Amulet Artifact	41
Conf. Tour, W. to Iron Springs and Mountain Meadows, <i>Greene</i>	42
Chapter Reports	44-45
Chapter Contacts List	45
Del Norte Landform Sculpture Project Delay, <i>Swift</i>	46
Annual Meeting Summary, <i>Sec.</i>	47
Annual Treasurer's Report	47
Crampton Award, <i>Lewis</i>	48



2002 Conference

continued from page 1

of both ventures are included on pages 40-43.

Other activities during the conference day were the highly successful retail sales. Over 60 books of a dozen titles were sold that related to trails and history of the southwest. The reprint of the classic Hafens' *Old Spanish Trail* was a hit of course, and *Over the Rim*, edited by the Smarts, was a close second. (A book list, still with conference pricing, is available on request; Christmas once again will be here soon; e-mail to Editors.)



photo by Doug Knudson

The Booksale Table - Managed by Carol Corbett and Marie Greene on the left, discussing choices with historians and enthusiastic readers.



photo by Doug Knudson

Judge James Robb of Grand Junction tells of political moves toward a designated NHT (*above*).



photo by Doug Knudson

Refreshment Tables, two of them, were managed by Judy Knudson (*above*) and by Katherine Nelson. ■

Visit OSTA web site at <http://www.oldspanishtrail.org>

NEW Address – Website upgrade is underway!

All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the Co-Editors and Publisher:

Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter
PO Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270
E-mail: knlcarp@earthlink.net
Telephone: 360-653-5330

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. Inquire for guidelines. The next deadline is December 9, 2002.

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

Membership Dues:

Regular	\$15/year
Student (under 18)	\$12/year
Institutional	\$25/year
Life	\$250
Supporting	\$100+/year

Mail your check to:

OSTA Treasurer
PO Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270

Governing Board of Officers and Directors: 2002-2003

PRESIDENT:

Elizabeth von Till Warren
PO Box 19039
Jean, NV 89019
702-874-1410
Mizlizzard@aol.com

VICE-PRESIDENT:

Richard Greene
PO Box 483
Angel Fire, NM 87710
505-377-6342
ramverde@newmex.com

SECRETARY:

Lorraine Carpenter
PO Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270
360-653-5330
knlcarp@earthlink.net

TREASURER:

Kenn Carpenter
PO Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270
360-653-5330
knlcarp@earthlink.net

DIRECTORS:

Reba Wells Grandrud – AZ
2322 East Cholla Street
Phoenix, AZ 85028
602-992-0339
rgrandrud@cox.net

Ann Deegan – CA
San Bernardino County Museum
2024 Orange Tree Lane
Redlands, CA 92374
909-307-2669
adeegan@sbcm.sbcounty.gov

Doug Knudson – CO
0089 Fir Drive
South Fork, CO 81154-9504
719-873-5239
rosejems@fone.net

Willard E. Lewis, Jr. – NM
PO Box 6073
Santa Fe, NM 87502
505-984-2978
willardlewisjr@msn.com

Carol Corbett – NV
5036 N. Cimarron Rd.
Las Vegas, NV 89149
702-658-0725
lookout@sprintmail.com

Walter Hayward – UT
P.O. Box 420159
Kanarrville, UT 84742-0159
435-867-1498
Mountainman@cedarcity.net

President's Corner

by Liz Warren

Greetings from the Mojave, which is enduring its second consecutive summer of extreme drought. Here in the low desert, even the characteristic shrubs are looking peaked. The Joshua trees and the yuccas are turning yellow and the creosote bushes are mostly brown now. The Mojave has received a total of less than an inch of rain in the past twenty months or so, and while this is most likely a cyclical event, it is hard to look out across such a sere landscape. In the scheme of things, the droughts don't last and life eventually revives, but in the meantime, everything and everyone hunkers down and hopes to hear the peals of thunder that presage a drenching downpour.

As *Spanish Traces* goes to press, there is one bright light shining on the horizon: our chances of achieving National Historic Trail status for the Old Spanish Trail. Just before the Senate adjourned in July for the summer recess, it passed S.1946, the Old Spanish Trail Recognition Bill! The vote was unanimous, from which we should all take heart and inspiration for the next step—lobbying the House. Our committee chair Willard Lewis reminds us that the House of Representatives will have about one month to act on the companion bill, HR.4111, before the end of this session of Congress. Every reader is urged to contact his/her representatives to Congress and secure their pledge to support HR.4111 when the House reconvenes in September. If all goes well, and it will take all of us to accomplish this feat, the bill will be acted upon despite a packed calendar for September. Of course, if we don't succeed this session, we'll be right there when



the next Congress opens, but it will be many months before we can expect any action out of the new House members.

Please do all you can to move this bill out onto the floor for a vote this session.

Welcome to the new Board members, who took office at the annual meeting in June. I hope by now you have settled into your roles as leaders of OSTA. I know how busy you all are, and that agreeing to serve represents an important commitment of your time and talents. The organization could not function without you, and I want all of you to know you have my deepest thanks for all the work that you do and will do on behalf of the Association.

The annual meeting at Cedar City was outstanding, with excellent, thought-provoking presentations attended by a good number of our members and friends. As always, it was good to connect with OSTA members we don't have a chance to see very often, meet new folks, and enjoy some memorable events: the Trail Social, the field trips, the Palmer Collection, the Matheson artifact display, not to mention all of the fine conversation. The climate of southern Utah was ideal for our activities, and the Southern Utah University campus was well suited to our needs. To everyone who helped to make the 2002 conference such a success, and you know who you are, please accept our thanks and deep appreciation. Our experience was so positive that we certainly shall plan

to meet again in southern Utah sometime in the future.

Many people have spoken to me about extending the conference to include more than just one day of papers and on-site events, and one day of field trips. Adding time to the schedule has its pluses and minuses, as all of you are well aware. Would you like to explore this idea further? Ideas and reactions would be most welcome, and if there is sufficient interest, we can put it on the agenda for the next Board meeting, scheduled for November 9 in Phoenix. Hope to hear from you on this and any other issue or idea that you find pressing. Please keep in touch; I welcome your input. Hope the remainder of the dog days of summer pass without untoward effect on all of us! ■

Notice

NPS Requests use of OSTA Mailing List

After the OST is designated as a National Historic Trail, an operating plan will be developed by NPS. Following designation, the NPS intends to publish a series of newsletters, and has requested use of the OSTA mailing list so we can each be included in their newsletter mailing. The OSTA board has agreed to do this. Any member who does **NOT** want their address included must advise the OSTA secretary in writing or by e-mail by October 31, 2002. This is a very special situation; OSTA does not make it a practice of distributing its mailing list.

Know Your Historians –

R. Bruce Harley, Ph.D.

by John Robinson

In 1842 and 1843, a group of Mexican families migrated westward from Abiquiu, New Mexico via the Old Spanish Trail and settled along the banks of the Santa Ana River in California's San Bernardino Valley. The original settlement was on the Lugo's Rancho San Bernardino, just south of present-day Colton, and was known as Politana. In 1844 and 1845, after differences with the Lugo family, the settlers moved three miles down the Santa Ana River to a new tract, on land donated by Juan Bandini of Rancho Jurupa, just north of today's Riverside. The larger community, on the right (northwest) bank of the river, became known as Agua Mansa (Gentle Waters), while the smaller settlement on the left bank was called La Placita (Little Plaza). Together they are known in history as Agua Mansa, the first community in the San Bernardino Valley and the only one to be peopled almost entirely by emigrants on the Old Spanish Trail.

The fact that we know so much about Agua Mansa and its people is due largely to the diligent efforts of OSTA member Dr. R. Bruce Harley of Riverside. Dr. Harley was, and is, particularly qualified to write the Agua Mansa story. He is a trained historian with a keen interest in San Bernardino Valley history, and is the former archivist of the Catholic Diocese of San Bernardino with access to church records. Since 1986, he has written or edited more than fifty scholarly articles on various aspects of Agua Mansa history,

appearing in eight different publications. His *summa cum laude*, published by the Diocese of San Bernardino in 1998, is *The Story of Agua Mansa: Its Settlement, Churches and People: The First Community in San Bernardino Valley, 1842–1893*, destined, in this writer's opinion, to be the definitive study for years to come.

Robert Bruce Harley was born in Albert Lee, Minnesota on April 2, 1918. He developed an interest in history early in life and determined to make this his lifetime profession. He earned his B.A. in history at William Penn University in 1940, and his M.A. from Haverford College in Philadelphia the following year.

World War II interrupted his scholarly studies. He served in the U.S. Army from 1941 to 1945, with tours of duty in Britain, North Africa, and Italy, working as a combat engineer, a landing craft engineer, and a heavy cargo truck driver in support of infantry, artillery, and tank units.

Harley resumed his graduate studies right after the war, enrolling in the University of Iowa's doctorate program, specializing in American Colonial History. He was granted his Ph.D. in 1948, and soon thereafter



Photo used by permission

R. Bruce Harley, Ph.D.

was appointed professor of history at Western Illinois University. In his eleven years at Western Illinois he taught, in his words, "just about everything in the catalogue," although most of his courses were in world and U.S. history.

While teaching at Western Illinois, he met the love of his life, Clara Horcasitas, a lovely Hispanic woman from southern New Mexico, working as a librarian at the university. They were married in 1951 and, out of this union, produced four children: Susan, Margaret, Dorothy, and Robert Bruce, Jr.

The United States Air Force lured him away from Western Illinois in 1959. He was employed as an Air Force historian, serving at March Air

Force Base from 1959 to 1973, in Germany from 1973 to 1977, and back at March Air Force Base from 1977 to 1983. He wrote a history of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War from the Air Force point of view, for which he received a “Special Achievement Accomplishment” award signed by President Gerald Ford in 1976.

It was while he was stationed at March Field near Riverside, California that Bruce Harley became interested in Southern California history. In 1983 he gave up his Air Force duties to become the archivist for the Catholic Diocese of San Bernardino. Suddenly a whole new field opened to him: the early history of the San Bernardino Valley. With access to the extensive diocese records, Dr. Harley began an intense study of the Spanish and Mexican beginnings in the valley. Harley discovered that the standard account, given in Father Juan Caballeria’s *History of San Bernardino Valley* (1902), to the effect that Fray Francisco Dumetz of Mission San Gabriel set up a *capilla* (chapel) in the valley in 1810, rests on a very shaky foundation. Dr. Harley presented his findings in *Rev. Juan Caballeria: Historian or Storyteller? Rethinking the 1810 Dumetz Expedition*, published by the San Bernardino County Museum Association in 1988, in which he points out that Caballeria was no historian and that there is not a shred of documentary evidence to support the latter’s account of the 1810 Dumetz visit. A year later (1989) Dr. Harley’s *Did Mission San Gabriel Have Two Asistencias? The Case of Rancho San Bernardino*, also published by the Museum Association, revealed that the San Bernardino Asistencia, the foremost restored historical landmark in the

San Bernardino Valley, was not an *asistencia* (auxiliary mission) at all, but merely an *estancia* (mission station). These two scholarly papers, along with the first two volumes of *Readings in Diocesan Heritage* — “Hispanic Beginnings, 1774–1834” and “Mission San Gabriel Expands Eastward, 1819–1834” — published by the San Bernardino Diocese in 1989, firmly established Dr. Harley in the front ranks of San Bernardino County historians.

While he was studying the Hispanic beginnings in the San Bernardino Valley, Dr. Harley turned his attention to the earliest Mexican community in the valley, Agua Mansa. Starting in 1985, he wrote, edited, and compiled numerous articles on the San Bernardino Valley settlement peopled almost entirely by emigrants from New Mexico using the Old Spanish Trail. We cannot list them all here, but let it suffice to mention the most prominent. “By the Gentle Waters: Agua Mansa and the San Salvador Parish” was published as Volume III of *Readings in Diocesan Heritage* in 1991. The same year appeared “The Agua Mansa Story: A collection of papers compiled on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the settlement of Agua Mansa,” published in the *San Bernardino County Museum Association Quarterly*. Dr. Harley edited this compilation and personally wrote “Abiquiu, New Mexico: Ancestral Home of the Agua Mansa Pioneers.” “The Agua Mansa History Trail,” a historical tour guide to Agua Mansa, La Placita, the parish church of San Salvador, and other pioneer sites, along with a chronology of the settlements, was published in the *San Bernardino County Museum Association Quarterly* in 1966. *The*

Story of Agua Mansa: Its Settlement, Churches and People was published by the Diocese of San Bernardino Archives in 1998. This, perhaps Dr. Harley’s best work, covers the saga of Agua Mansa and its settlers from Abiquiu over the Old Spanish Trail to the banks of the Santa Ana River, their accomplishments and tribulations, their San Salvador Church, along with mini-biographies of leading settlers. If your library contains only a single book on Agua Mansa, this should be the one. [See note below.] Much of the Agua Mansa story is repeated and expanded upon in Harley’s “From New Mexico to California: San Bernardino Valley’s First Settlers at Agua Mansa,” featured in the *San Bernardino County Museum Association Quarterly*, Volume 47, 2000.

Dr. Harley has been a regular contributor to *Spanish Traces*, with a variety of diverse articles such as “Black Pioneers on the Old Spanish Trail;” “Fort Jurupa, Robidoux Rancho;” “Isaac Slover, First American at Agua Mansa;” “A Teenager on the Old Spanish Trail, Pablo Velarde;” and, of course, Agua Mansa. And he is not finished. He has three publications in the works, the most important being “Women in Agua Mansa History,” to be published this summer by the San Bernardino County Museum.

In his many writings, Dr. Bruce Harley weaves the Agua Mansa story into the fabric of Old Spanish Trail history, and he does it in graceful, informative, and very readable prose. We are fortunate to have such a distinguished historian as an OSTA member. ■

NOTE: This 111 page book available from ST editors, \$11 postpaid.

National Conference Presentations

by

Wayne K. Hinton, Ph.D.
Prof. Steven Heath
Heidi Roberts
Paul Gilon, Ph.D.

Janet B. Seegmiller
Susanne J. Rowe, BLM
Steve Elkinton, NPS

The Old Spanish Trail in Southern Utah: John C. Frémont and the Foundation for Developments Along the Trail

by *Wayne K. Hinton, Ph.D.*
Professor of History and Dept. Head
Southern Utah University

In southern Utah, a multitude of trails overlap and converge, including the misnamed Old Spanish Trail. The route that became the Trail was not in use during the Spanish period. Its first use came when the region was entirely within Mexico, but American travelers came to mistakenly believe that the Spanish opened the Trail and they used the term Old Spanish Trail. In fact, John C. Frémont was one of the first to use that name in print.¹ Because of its long use and its historical implications, the title is perhaps more appropriate today than it was in 1844.

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

John Charles Frémont's return trip during his second western expedition of 1843–44 from California that sought out and detailed much of the Trail in 1844 is central to many developments that

followed in southern Utah, but the Old Spanish Trail had a storied history before Frémont's expedition.

As early as 1765 an expedition led by Juan Maria Antonia Rivera moved north out of Santa Fe and crossed into Utah, traversed the Spanish Valley and scouted in the Moab area.² Rivera had opened a practical route from New Mexico to eastern Utah. After establishing the Monterey Mission in California in 1774, the Spanish determined they needed a more dependable northern trail from Santa Fe to Monterey. Fray Francisco Antanasio Dominguez led a party that included Velez de Escalante as party diarist to open a northern route in 1776. They failed, but they blazed a route into the Great Basin of present day Utah and from Utah Lake to the Colorado River and the "Crossing of the Fathers." Although the party left a remarkable account of its expedition, only in the vicinity of Three Peaks, west of Cedar City, did the Dominguez-Escalante and the Old Spanish Trails touch in Utah.³ Here they crossed each other at right angles as the future Old Spanish Trail went west and Dominguez-Escalante continued south. However, subsequent explorers worked out

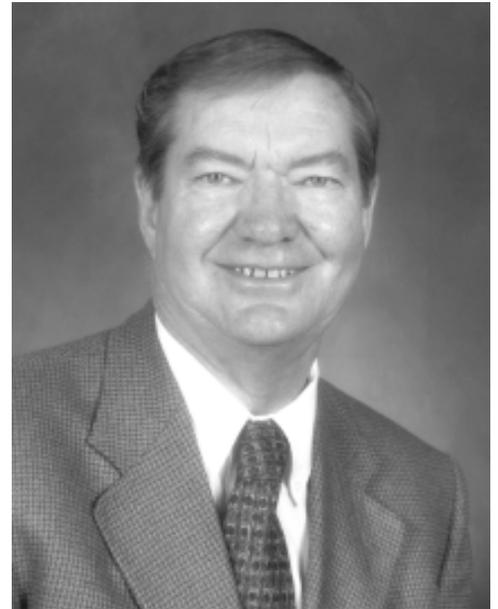


photo courtesy of SUU

Dr. Wayne K. Hinton
Keynote Speaker

much of the route from Santa Fe to California, and parts of it eventually became known as the Old Spanish Trail. For instance, in the winter of 1829, Antonio Armijo's trading company of 60 Mexicans made a round trip from New Mexico to Los Angeles by way of northern New Mexico and Arizona that proved the economic potential of trade. They forded the Colorado River at the "Crossing of the Fathers" and continued west to the Virgin River and southwest to Los Angeles. This was a direct route, but it generally proved too dangerous for reliable trading.⁴ Its path was across slick rock country, arid desert stretches and past hostile Indians, and it included a difficult river crossing.

Most of the traffic that was to move

over the developing trail and its variants after 1829 was commercial, dominated by traders carrying trade goods, which required a reliable route. The people of Mexico had large sheep herds. From the wool they made fine *serapes* and *fresadas* (shawls and blankets). Large caravans made annual expeditions with sometimes as many as 200 to 300 men traveling the trail with horses and pack mules. The California bound traffic usually consisted of blankets and dry goods from Santa Fe. The New Mexico eastbound traffic customarily consisted of large herds of horses and mules that California produced in prodigious numbers in those days.⁵

Explorers such as the fur trapper Jedediah Smith helped pioneer portions of an eventual safer traders' trail, especially the western sectors. In 1826 Smith and sixteen trappers left the Cache Valley rendezvous held near Hyrum to come down central Utah to a point southwest of Price and to the Sevier River. He found the Marysvale Canyon pinched closely on the Sevier River just beyond the Sevier Junction, making a passage so narrow and difficult that he decided it was prudent to leave the river and strike west up Clear Creek to cross the more natural pass between the Pavant Range and the Tushar Mountains, a route followed by I-70 today.⁶ The Old Spanish Trail also left the river here, but it turned east to ascend Long Valley and to cross the Antelope Range to return to the Sevier River near Marysvale and come west by way of Bear Valley (Highway 20), then south to follow closely the present route of Interstate 15 to Enoch, north

of Cedar City, and then west and south to the Santa Clara and Virgin Rivers. In 1826, when Jedediah Smith hit the Virgin River he followed it through the Gorge and on to southern California.⁷

After leaving some of his men on the Stanislaus River in north central California, Smith and two companions crossed the Sierra Nevada and the Basin and Ranges of Nevada to the 1827 rendezvous held on the shores of Bear Lake near Laketown. At the conclusion of the rendezvous Smith left again for California taking eighteen men to follow partly the same route as the previous year. This time, however, he avoided the Virgin River Gorge and went by way of the Santa Clara River and over Utah Hill before striking back to the Virgin River.⁸ The Utah Hill Route proved much easier traveling than the Virgin River Gorge and thus became part of the Trail.

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

A party of Santa Fe traders headed by William Wolfskill and George Yount finally completed part of the route that may have been envisioned by the Spanish in 1776 from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, but not to Monterey, in the winter of 1830–31. This party left Santa Fe on September 5 and arrived in Los Angeles on February 5, 1831. They generally followed the Rivera, Dominguez-Escalante route north out of Santa Fe to southwestern Colorado to enter Utah east of Monticello near Paiute Springs. They proceeded to the Lisbon Valley and passed over the southwest spur of the La Sal Mountains to Spanish Valley and the Colorado River crossing at Moab. Fording was only possible at times when the river was at its lowest. At other times the men and animals swam across the river and the goods were rafted across. The Trail crossed the Green River at the Green River Crossing, or what became known as the Gunnison Crossing in 1855, and went west across the San Rafael Swell to Castle Valley and then turned south to the Salina Pass, west to the Sevier River, south to Bear Valley, west to I-15, south over Buckhorn Flat in Iron County and then west to Mountain Meadows, south to the Santa Clara, southwest over Utah Hill, back to the Virgin, on to Las Vegas Springs, and on to Los Angeles.¹¹

This trail became known as the longest, toughest, most crooked pack trail in North America. The Wolfskill and Yount party, the first we know to traverse the entire trail, encountered one of the most terrible snowstorms they had ever experienced. In crossing the >>>

high ranges of Utah's Colorado Plateau they spent several days in camp with no one daring to venture out. "They lay embedded in snow, very deep, animals and men huddled thick as possible together, to husband and enjoy all possible animal warmth, having spread their thick and heavy blankets and piled bark and brush wood around & over them..." After the storm subsided, Wolfskill and Yount ascended a lofty peak for observation and reported "that in every direction, nothing could be discerned, in the least degree encouraging, but only mountains piled on mountains, all capped with cheerless snow"12 Several of the animals perished in the piercing cold.

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

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

rejoined at the confluence of the Sevier River and its East Fork.¹³

Above Salina another cutoff broke off to come back into the main trail above Sigurd. Both routes then passed through Richfield and Elsinore, but the cutoff again left the river near Joseph to go east around the rocky and narrow Marysvale Canyon, to return to the Sevier beyond the Antelope Range and to continue up the Sevier to its confluence with the East Fork about a mile east of the town of Junction near the point where the southern branch emerged. This route was no picnic. In 1848, Orville Pratt described it as "a very hilly & rocky country—sometimes up the steepest of hills, then down places which it would seem almost impossible to descend, again in deep and precipitous canyons."¹⁴ It is amazing that the horses driven by horse traders and horse rustlers made it over some of these portions of the Trail. It was partly to accommodate the horse herds that the Trail left the rough country of the Virgin River Gorge to cross Utah Hill to near Mesquite, Nevada.

During the early days of the Trail, Mexican traders dominated commerce. As the fur-trapping era closed, Americans, many of them former trappers forced into commercial pursuits by the collapse of markets and the trapping out of the beaver, began carrying trade goods over the Trail. Indians such as Chief Walkara, or Chief Walker as he was known among the Mormons, also used parts of the Trail to raid into California, to make his escapes, and to trade in Arizona. His

knowledge and use of the Old Spanish Trail helped Mormons to realize the desirability for settlement in southeastern Utah to interdict the cattle he stole from the Mormons that he took into New Mexico to trade, and also to capitalize on the realistic potential of the area.¹⁵

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

In 1841, a group made up mainly of Americans and known as the Workman-Rowland Party began another chapter in the history of the Trail by making its way from Abiquiu to California to settle as residents there. William Workman and John Rowland were both respected merchants in Mexico when they fell under suspicion of Mexican authorities because of reports of an invasion of New Mexico from the independent Republic of Texas. With twenty-five others, they packed up and moved to California by way of the Old Spanish Trail. They suffered somewhat due to a shortage of food, despite driving a flock of sheep along the Trail. Traveling by horseback with pack animals in two months time, they reached their Los Angeles destination safely.¹⁷

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

Frémont, nicknamed the "Pathfinder," was actually "a path follower." He was a bright, handsome, dashing young man who at age twenty-eight married sixteen-year-old Jessie Benton, daughter of Missouri Senator, Thomas Hart Benton. The Senator was not thrilled about the elopement of his young daughter, but he decided to make the most of the situation and help his son-in-law.¹⁹ Frémont knew the fundamentals and essentials of topographical engineering and scientific observation. Through

Benton's influence, Lieutenant Frémont of the Topographical Engineers was put in charge of an expedition to describe the travel route to Oregon and to survey the position of South Pass in Wyoming.

The actual results of his 1842 expedition were negligible, since the route to Oregon was known. Jessie skillfully edited his report and it became popular reading. Congress soon funded a second expedition that went out in 1843 and returned in 1844. The party consisted of thirty-nine men, including Charles Preuss as mapper, and guides Thomas Fitzpatrick and Kit Carson. After diverting to explore the Great Salt Lake on his outbound trek, Frémont explored the Great Basin, finding no outlet, and after reaching Oregon, he headed to John Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River, where he arrived early in March 1844.²⁰

On the return trip in the spring of 1844 Frémont went south along the San Joaquin Valley, hit the Spanish Trail near Cajon Pass and followed it through Nevada, to Utah and Colorado, and arrived back in St. Louis on August 6, 1844. This trip has been called the most important government expedition since Lewis and Clark.²¹

Frémont has many critics, but he was a trained observer, and he made the first reasonably accurate survey of the region, in the process revealing the nature of the Great Basin, including destroying the myth of the existence of a river, the Rio Buenaventura, that was supposed to flow from the Great Salt Lake to the Pacific. It was Frémont who

concluded that the Great Basin rivers exited nowhere but all flowed into themselves to sink into various spots across its arid expanse. As an explorer with some degree of scientific and technical knowledge, he was able to make known major features of the land along the Old Spanish Trail in Nevada and southern Utah and to make substantial contributions to geographical knowledge of the area.

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

On May 10, 1844 Frémont camped on the Santa Clara Creek. He found the grass good and the water clear and noted that this country was a vast improvement over the desert the party had crossed from Cajon Pass to Utah Hill. He described the Santa Clara as "prettily wooded with sweet cottonwood trees."²² On May 11 the party experienced the first rain in twenty-seven days.²³ The next day the Pine Valley Mountains showed out on the right "handsomely—high and rugged . . . and covered >>>

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mormon settlement altered or disrupted several historical uses of the Trail. The slave trade had produced devastating effects along the Spanish Trail. New Mexican traders setting out for California would carry, in addition to woolens, a few trade goods with which to buy horses from the Utes or Navajos. These horses were then traded to the “poorer Indians” (Paiutes) for children. The horses were often used by the Paiutes for food. This trade was continued into lower California, where the children bought on the down trip would be traded to the Mexican-Californians for horses, goods, or cash. Children bought on the return trip would be taken back to New Mexico and sold, with the males bringing an average of \$100.00 and females from \$150.00 to \$200.00.³⁰ The Mormon settlers, who arrived in 1847, played a large role in ending the slave traffic.³¹ In an attempt to suppress the slave trade, Utah authorities arrested and tried traders out of New Mexico who had licenses from the New Mexican

governor. Brigham Young also urged the territorial legislature to suppress the trade in Indian slaves.

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

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

they brought with them one hundred mules, as well as seeds and fruit tree cuttings, in a wagon that significantly cut the first wheel tracks on the Old Spanish Trail.³³

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

In the interval between Hunt's report and the sending of the Pratt expedition, Americans became aware of the discovery of gold in California that led to the gold rush beginning in 1849. Hundreds of migrants poured into the Salt Lake Valley on their way to the gold fields. Some arrived too late to make a passage by the California Trail across the Sierra Nevadas. Because of his previous trips over the southern route, Jefferson Hunt was hired to pilot about five hundred gold seekers in 108 wagons to California. This party helped build a wagon road that the Pratt party followed for part of its trip. One of the gold seekers, O.K. Smith, claimed that Barney Ward had given him a map that was drawn by mountain man Bill Williams, showing a shortcut to the goldfields.

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

The Pratt party, one of the most unusual exploring expeditions ever, followed, more or less, the Old Spanish Trail after it hit the Sevier River. The men were sent out in winter and suffered from frequent and heavy snowstorms and from temperatures below zero. They were generally chilled, some suffered frostbite, and they faced much exhaustion. The Circleville Canyon seemed impassable to the Pratt party. They were familiar with the Old Spanish Trail from Frémont's report and descriptions published in 1845, but with eight inches of snow on the ground they apparently did not see that the Spanish Trail >>>

continued up the river through the canyon, and so they determined they had to find a way over the mountains to the west. The Spanish Trail route over the mountains was twenty miles further south.³⁶

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

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

The Pratt party faced difficulties on the return north because of storms and cold, so again the company divided. Pratt led twenty-four men while twenty-six remained in camp at Fillmore. Pratt arrived in Provo on January 29, 1850 to alert a rescue party that was sent out immediately

to bring in the others. Those who had been left behind at Fillmore did not all arrive back at Cottonwood, south of Salt Lake City, until March 28, 1850.⁴⁰

In reporting to Brigham Young and the legislature Pratt recommended settlement of twenty-six sites. Eventually the Mormons colonized twenty-five of them, many within two or three years. The most immediate and direct result of the expedition's findings was the dispatching of a mission to settle Parowan and subsequently Cedar City to exploit the iron ore found along the Spanish Trail in the hills to the west.⁴¹ Other sites in southern Utah that were colonized along the reach of the Old Spanish Trail include Salina, Richfield, Marysvale, Circleville, Paragonah, Enoch, and Santa Clara.⁴²

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

Parley P. Pratt's report discussed the richness and the extent of iron ore and the feasibility of establishing an iron industry. The name of Little Salt Lake County was accordingly changed to Iron County. The area became important for future

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

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

As an explorer, Frémont tended to favor dangerous winter mountain crossing that cost the lives of some

of his men in 1848–49 and 1853–54. His fourth expedition was promoted by his father-in-law and financed by St. Louis businessmen. The purpose was to locate a central railroad route across the southern Colorado Rockies. In December 1848 Frémont's mountain man guide, Old Bill Williams, mistook his way and, at an elevation of over 12,000 feet in the San Juan Mountains, the party was caught in a blinding blizzard. First the mules died, then ten members of the party perished from cold, starvation, and exhaustion, and Ute Indians killed two others.⁴⁶

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

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

necessary for protection from inclement weather.

By caching the supplies and packsaddles the party could now ride the pack mules. Three days of wandering in the mountains northwest of Panguitch was especially difficult. They traversed rough country with snow "up to the bellies of the pack mules," with temperatures below zero as they undertook to break trail. None of the men had shoes by now. Some did have rawhide wrapped around their feet, while others had worn out stockings and moccasins. Their only rations consisted of dried horsemeat. The last forty-eight hours before their rescue they were without food of any kind.

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

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

Oliver Fuller, had already died. Rescuers were immediately sent out.⁴⁷

The search party found Frémont's men in a desperate plight. All were totally exhausted. By the morning of February 9, the twenty-one survivors were located in various homes in Parowan. In Frémont's words, "The Mormon's treated us very kindly" Families took in the men, put them into clean, comfortable beds and gave them food. In a letter to his sister, Frémont wrote, "The Mormons saved me and mine from death by starvation."⁴⁸ Indeed they did; Frémont's men were fortunate to be rescued. Ironically, Frémont's descriptions made in 1843–44 were in large part responsible for the Mormon presence in Parowan. Had the community not been there his entire party might well have died in the wilderness in 1854.

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

Two years later the Mormons felt somewhat betrayed when presidential candidate, John C. Frémont, put forth his "twin relics of barbarism" platform that promised to destroy slavery in the South and polygamy in Utah. Ironically, the Mormons of Utah territory could not vote in the election to register their disapproval with candidate Frémont's position on polygamy, but >>>

Frémont lost his bid for presidency anyway to James Buchanan. Nevertheless, there was no denying the fact that Mormons who settled on the Old Spanish Trail saved Frémont's life in 1854.⁴⁹

Frémont, one of the earliest Americans to use the term Old Spanish Trail, did much to describe the Trail through California, Nevada, and Utah. His report was widely used by the Mormons in determining routes of travel and where to settle. It was also widely used and copied by other explorers. Today many highways follow major portions of the Trail, proving the practicality of the route even as difficult as it was; I-70 comes down Salina Canyon and Highway 89 parallels much of the Trail below Salina Canyon, Highway 20 crosses Bear Valley and comes out onto I-15 which parallels much of the old Trail south to Enoch, and Highway 56 west of Cedar also follows a portion of the Trail, as does Highway 18. Besides the towns founded in Sevier, Piute, Iron, and Washington Counties in southeastern Utah the Mormons colonized the Elk Mountain Mission where the city of Moab now sits. To the south and west of Utah, the Mormons also colonized at Las Vegas in 1855. With all of the changes and development that began with Frémont's detailed report of 1845, no wonder there are few visible traces of the Trail remaining today, and many of those who reside in the communities along the Trail have little or no knowledge or understanding of the long, storied history and importance of the Old Spanish Trail or the changes initiated by John C. Frémont's 1844

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

ENDNOTES

1. Crampton, C. Gregory, "Utah's Spanish Trail," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 47, Fall 1979, p. 362.
2. Hinton, Wayne K., *Utah: Unusual Beginning to Unique Present* (Sun Valley, California: American Historical Press, 2000), p. 34.
3. Smart, William B. and Donna T. Smart, Ed., *Over the Rim: The Parley P. Pratt Exploring Expedition to Southern Utah, 1849-50* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1999), p. 103.
4. Hine, Robert V., *The American West: An Interpretive History* (Little Brown and Company, second edition, 1984), p. 109.
5. Peterson, Charles S., *Look To the Mountains: Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), p. 8.
6. Smart, *Over the Rim*, p. 44, 50.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
8. Hinton, p. 38.
9. Templeton, Sardis W., *The Lame Captain: The Life and Adventure of Pegleg Smith* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1965), pp. 55-58.
10. Crampton, p. 383.
11. Smart, p. 48.
12. Camp, Charles L., ed., *George C. Yount and His Chronicles of the West* (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1966), p. 235.
13. Crampton, p. 377.
14. Hafen, LeRoy and Ann W., Ed., "The Journal of Orville C. Pratt, 1848." In *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), p. 353.
15. Peterson, p. 11.
16. Frémont, John C., *Diaries of John C. Frémont, The Daring Adventures of Kit Carson and Frémont* (New York: Hurst and Company, 1885), May 10, 1844.
17. Alexander, Thomas G., *Utah: Still the Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith, 1995), p. 71.
18. Frémont, May 8, 1844.
19. Hine, p. 64.
20. Hinton, Wayne K., *The Dixie National Forest: Managing an Alpine Forest in an Arid Setting* (United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Intermountain Region, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987), p. 13.
21. Steckmesser, Kent Ladd, *The Westward Movement: A Short History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 175.
22. Frémont, May 10, 1844.
23. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1844.
24. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1844.
25. *Ibid.*, May 13 and 14, 1844.
26. Hinton, Wayne K., "Iron Springs," unpublished paper, 2000.
27. Frémont, May 18, 1844.
28. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1844.
29. Hinton, *Utah: Unusual Beginning to Unique Present*, p. 53.
30. Jones, Daniel W., *Forty Years Among the Indians* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1890; Salt Lake City: Reprint Bookcraft, 1960), p. 99.
31. May, Dean L., *Utah: A People's History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), p. 106.
32. Hinton, *The Dixie National Forest: Managing an Alpine Forest in an Arid Setting*, p. 16.
33. Smart, p. 9 & 73.

34. *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Chronological collection of clippings and other information, typescript, Archives of the Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, March 9, 1849 and September 17, 1849.

35. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Journals of the Forty-Niners: Salt Lake to Los Angeles*, Far West and Rockies Series, vol. 2 (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954), p. 51.

36. Smart, p. 56.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-67.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

39. *Ibid.*, 97-99.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

41. Hinton, *The Dixie National Forest: Managing an Alpine Forest in a Desert Setting*, p. 16, and "Report of the Southern Utah Exploring Expedition submitted to the Legislative Council of Deseret" by Parley P. Pratt, February 5, 1850 (located in the Church Historian's Office).

42. Smart, pp. 176 & 178.

43. *The Journal of Orville C. Pratt*, p. 353.

44. Hine, pp. 105-109.

45. Wayne K. Hinton, "Tales of Southwest Utah: Parowan Mormons Rescue the Great Pathfinder," *Southwest Utah Magazine*, Fall 1994, p. 9.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

48. "Letter to Jessie Benton Frémont," quoted in Dalton, Luella Adams, Ed. *History of Iron County Mission and Parowan* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), p. 4.

49. Hinton, "Tales of Southwest Utah: Parowan Mormons Rescue the Great Pathfinder," *Southwest Utah Magazine*, Fall 1994, p. 10. ■

"Signposts" on the OST In Southern Utah

by Professor Steven Heath, Southern Utah University

(Editor's note: This paper provides a comprehensive introduction to most of the historic sites, monuments and markers in the Cedar City, Utah region that relate to the Old Spanish Trail and to the older Dominguez-Escalante Trail. At the conference it was a wonderful slide presentation and narrative. For publication in *Spanish Traces*, however, we are not printing the slides, but are retaining all of the pertinent remarks by Professor Heath.)

The first fourteen slides deal with the famous Dominguez-Escalante journey in the area in October 1776. The next nineteen slides deal with the Old Spanish Trail and its variants north of Cedar City, and the final fifteen slides take us along the Trail west of the city. The presentation will give those interested in the field trips tomorrow an idea of what they can see on the half-day trip west and the full-day trip north.

The Dominguez-Escalante Trail, and the Old Spanish Trail which is fifty years younger, intersect each other at right angles about five miles north of Cedar City. One of the major themes of this conference is trail marking and historic preservation. Southern Utah has been fortunate that several major efforts have been undertaken to preserve these two historic trails. About 1950, local historian William R. Palmer expended considerable effort to mark the Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, and in 1976 the Four Corner states of

Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah chose to mark the 1776-77 Dominguez-Escalante journey into the Great Basin as their United States Bicentennial project. The celebration of Utah's Statehood Centennial in 1996, the Sesquicentennial of the Mormon Church in 1997, and Iron County's 150th anniversary have created recent opportunities to mark both the Old Spanish Trail and the D-E Trail.

Slide Set D — Dominguez-Escalante Trace in Southern Utah October 8-15, 1776

1D. Thermo Hot Springs Sign: This sign was placed on the D-E Trail in 1976 by the BLM and participating Boy Scouts from the Cedar Breaks District. Incidentally, Boy Scouts and their leaders can earn a Dominguez-Escalante Trail patch and the Lot Casting, Black Ridge, and/or Sand Mountain segments by hiking the various sections of the historic Trail in southern Utah. A guide with maps and journal entries of Escalante can be obtained from the local scout store in Cedar City.

2D. Thermo Hot Springs: This hot spring is one of the important sites on the Trail that confirms that the party passed this way in 1776. The party was at the spring on October 10, 1776. It is located at 38° 10.46' N x 113° 12.22' W.

3D. Casting of the Lots Sign: Very near this location, the Spanish Fathers cast lots and determined >>>

to return to Santa Fe instead of proceeding west to Monterey. In 1994, this sign was moved from private land about two miles north of the present location to this BLM-owned land. It is now closer to the actual spot where the event took place. It is located at 38° 3.06' N x 113° 13.83' W.

4D. A Ranch near the Casting of the Lots Site: The Casting of the Lots sign and historic site are located on the east side of the hill in the background. On the USGS map it is identified as Hill 5343.

5D. End of the Casting of the Lots section, Dominguez-Escalante Trail: The section of the Trail from Thermo Hot Springs to this point was re-marked in 1994 by Troop 379 in Cedar City. The poorly conditioned 1976 concrete markers were removed and new orange carsonite signs replaced them.

6D. Spanish Cross at Three Peaks: This cross was probably carved in the rocks by an Old Spanish Trail traveler in the 19th century since there is no mention of such an activity in the Escalante journal. It is located at 37° 46.08' N x 113° 10.47' W inside the county Three Peaks Recreation Area.

7D. The 1976 Bicentennial Casting of the Lots Monument on Highway 56: This monument gives the public easy access to the Casting of the Lots story. It is near mile post 57 on the north side of the highway.

8D. Spanish Trails Exhibit at Iron Mission State Park: This exhibit, located at 585 North Main,

highlights the D-E Trail and the Old Spanish Trail. The concrete post was one of the few salvageable markers remaining from the 1976 marking of the D-E Trail.

9D. Dominguez-Escalante Bronze Marker: This monument was the first D-E trail sign in the region. It was placed there in the 1930s. It is located on the northeast corner at 200 North and Main Streets in Cedar City.

10D. San Daniel Campsite: This sign located off Exit 33 on I-15 marks the approximate campsite for the D-E party on October 13, 1776. It is located in the Black Ridge section of the D-E boy scout hiking trail.

11D. Concrete Post D-E Trail: This 1976 post is located in the small community of Pintura at Exit 31. The post is about 1/10 of a mile south on Main Street. The 1976 concrete posts are better preserved in the Black Ridge section of the trail which ends on the north end of Toquerville.

12D. Junction of Virgin River with Ash & LaVerkin Creeks: Escalante describes this site in his October 15, 1776 journal entry. It is located on private property just south of the town of Toquerville. There is a move to establish a public park at the site as part of the Virgin River Parkway.

13D. Homeward Bound Monument: This monument is located at the Hurricane City Visitors Center and Historic Park in Hurricane, Utah.

14D. The text of the Homeward Bound Monument: The Sand Mountain section of the D-E boy scout trail begins just south of Hurricane. It is the most difficult to hike because of the sand dunes it passes through. The Sand Mountain section of the trail ends in Warner Valley near the Utah-Arizona border.

Slide Set N — The Spanish Trail North of Cedar City

1N. First Old Spanish Trail Sign in Iron County: This 1948 historic sign highlights the first use of the Old Spanish Trail by the Mormons. It was set along Old Highway 91 near Enoch. It was saved by Ray Christiansen of Enoch and was reset and re-dedicated as part of the Enoch City celebration of the 150th Anniversary of Iron County on July 24, 2001. It is next to the City Office building on Mid Valley Road.

2N. Old Enoch Church Old Spanish Trail Monument: This monument was built by Enoch Ward Boy Scouts in the early 1950s. The church is now a private residence. William R. Palmer directed the effort.

3N. An 1830–1850 Spanish Trail Sign: This is only one of three signs erected by the 1950 Spanish Trail Association that remains in Iron County. It is located directly across the street from the Old Enoch Church. The other two signs are located in Newcastle, Utah and Summit, Utah. Iron Mission State Park also has one on display that it salvaged several years ago.

4N. The Old Johnson Fort

Monument: This monument, erected by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers (# 461) in 1991, is located directly south of the old fort. Johnson Fort, or Elk Horn Spring, was a favorite watering hole along the Old Spanish Trail. A private residence has recently been built at the fort site. It is located 4/10 of a mile west of the Old Enoch Church on Jones Lane.

5N. 1831 Old Spanish Trail Inscription: This historic site is the oldest dated inscription in Iron County. It was probably left by members of the Wolfskill-Yount expedition of 1830–31. Pictures of the inscription were published as early as 1948 and nearby inscriptions indicate it was probably discovered in 1854. To reach the inscription a short walk along a primitive trail in Braffits Canyon is required. It is located at 37° 46.22' N x 112° 57.58' W.

6N. Parley P. Pratt Statue: This statue is located in the Parowan Heritage Park. It was unveiled in January 2001 to commemorate the establishment of Parowan in January 1851. Pratt was the leader of the Mormon exploring party into this region in 1849–50. Pratt's party traveled a section of the Old Spanish Trail in December 1849.

7N. Old Spanish Trail Sign: This Old Spanish Trail sign was erected in 1998 by Tom and Lance Carlisle as an Eagle Scout project. In 1996, the Old Spanish Trail was marked by the Parowan Stake Boy Scouts with wooden signs at two and a half mile intervals from Summit to the head of Little Creek east of Paragonah, Utah.

8N. The Fremont Monument: This monument, located at 100 South Main Street, recalls the 1854 winter visit of John C. Frémont to Parowan. Frémont's choice to leave the Old Spanish Trail in 1844 resulted in his 1854 party not finding the Old Spanish Trail across the mountains to the east. Note the spelling of Frémont on the monument.

9N. The William Knight Inscription: William Knight, an American pioneer in California, traveled the Old Spanish Trail with the Workman-Rowland Party in 1841. This inscription was left by Knight along the banks of Little Creek on his return trip to New Mexico in the spring of 1842 or on his second and final trip to California as a new settler in the fall of 1842.

10N. The 7.5 mile marker: This Old Spanish Trail marker, set by the Parowan Boys Scouts in 1996, indicates that it is 7.5 miles to Parowan.

11N. High Point on Old Spanish Trail: This is the second of Tom & Lance Carlisle's Old Spanish Trail signs for their Eagle project. It sits on the ridge between Little Creek and Bear Creek on the main branch of the Old Spanish Trail between the Sevier River and the Little Salt Lake, and is located on Little Creek Road at 37° 55.27' N x 112° 38.54' W. The benchmark nearby indicates an elevation of 8122 feet.

12N. Old Spanish Trail in Iron County: This sign is part of Iron County's Centennial Circle Tour. It was erected in 1996 at the junction of Little Creek Road and Utah

Highway 20 near milepost 13.

13N. Bear Valley: This picture shows the terrain up Bear Valley along the Old Spanish Trail.

14N. Exit 100 Old Spanish Trail Sign: This sign, erected by the BLM, is situated at the mouth of Frémont Canyon. Frémont came down this canyon in February 1854 in a very perilous condition. His party was saved by the Mormons in Parowan, Utah. Five years earlier the spot was a very busy place since gold seekers and Mormons headed to California along the Old Spanish Trail passed through the pass to the north of this sign..

15N. Exit 100 Old Spanish Trail Sign. This is the reverse side of the sign on slide 14N.

16N. Armstrong Monument: This monument lists all the members of the Southern Utah Expedition of 1849–50. The report of their expedition led to the Mormon settlement of Parowan in January 1851. The monument was erected by the Armstrong family with the approval of the BLM in 2000.

17N. 2001 San Bernardino Wagon Train Re-enactment: This slide shows a few of the 150th Anniversary wagon train participants at the mouth of Frémont Canyon on their way to San Bernardino, California in September 2001. The 1851 San Bernardino pioneers discovered coal south of Parowan, and that discovery led to the establishment of Cedar City on Coal Creek in November 1851.

>>>

18N. The 1849 Armstrong Inscription: This inscription was carved in a layer of volcanic ash by John C. Armstrong on December 21, 1849. The book, *Over the Rim*, edited by William B. and Donna Smart, contains the published journals of members of this historic expedition.

19N. The H. Heth Inscription: Henry Heath, member of the Southern Utah Expedition, was thinking of home when he carved his name and this house next to that of John Armstrong. These two inscriptions are located 3.6 miles east of I-15 on the north side of Frémont Canyon Road at 38° 7.93' N x 112° 33.70' W.

Slide Set W — The Spanish Trail West of Cedar City

1W. Iron Springs East: Iron Springs was a favorite resting spot for travelers on the Old Spanish Trail. The worn area is a result of numerous horse herds which crossed the meadows during the Trail's use.

2W. Iron Springs West: The route west of Iron Springs led to the first of the desert regions which Old Spanish Trail travelers had to cross.

3W. Antelope Springs: Antelope Springs was the first spring along the Old Spanish Trail west of Iron Springs. It is used to water livestock today, and is located at 37° 46.91' N x 113° 25.70' W.

4W. Spanish Trail Sign at Newcastle: This 1950 vintage sign is the best preserved of the first Spanish Trail Association markers along the trail.

5W. Old Spanish Trail Blacksmith Shop: This sign is located next to that pictured in slide 4W and is located between mileposts 32 & 33 on Utah Highway 56.

6W. Jefferson Hunt Monument Direction Sign: This sign located about 7 miles south of Newcastle on Bench Road directs modern-day travelers to the Jefferson Hunt monuments.

7W. Jefferson Hunt Stone Monument: This monument with little information was erected by Alva Matheson in 1956. It indicates that seven '49er wagons stayed with Hunt on the Old Spanish Trail and that 100 chose to go west.

8W. Jefferson Hunt Historic Sign: This monument was set in 1996 as part of Iron County's Centennial Circle Tour. It relates the story of Hunt's troubles with the future Death Valley '49ers. It is located ½ mile from the Bench Road as it turns west.

9W. Holt Canyon: The Old Spanish Trail followed Holt Canyon south as it exited the Great Basin into Mountain Meadows in the Colorado River drainage. Its upper reaches always have water in the stream bed. Remnants of the Old California Road on the Trail are still visible.

10W. Mountain Meadows Dan Sill Hill: Visitors to the Dan Sill Hill site have a wonderful view of the Mountain Meadows. This interpretative site was established in 1990. The plain before you was the last place for Old Spanish Trail travelers to feed livestock and rest

before they tackled the Mojave Desert on their way to California.

11W. California Road/Old Spanish Trail Sign: This sign points out the Old Spanish Trail pack trail through the valley below and the first wagon road through the same region. The Dan Sill Hill site also has a number of historic signs which tell the story of the 1857 Mountain Meadow Massacre. It is located on Utah Highway 18 at 8.8 miles south of Enterprise Junction.

12W. Mountain Meadow Massacre Burial Sites: This interpretative sign discusses the Mountain Meadows burial sites. It is located on the walking path to the top of Dan Sill Hill.

13W. Mountain Meadows Massacre: The massacre is the focal point for most visitors to Mountain Meadows. An understanding of the Old Spanish Trail and its successor, the California Road, helps interpret the site.

14W. Mountain Meadows Burial Site: This site was constructed in 1999 to honor those who died in the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre. During construction several bodies were uncovered. They were re-interred on September 10, 1999. The site was dedicated the next day.

15W. Memorials: This plaque at the grave site explains the history of the various attempts to honor the victims of the Mountain Meadows Massacre from 1859 to 1999. ■



Settlement and Subsistence Strategies of the Southern Paiute in the St. George Basin, Southern Utah

by Heidi Roberts

Introduction

Two years ago, I began a series of investigations on Paiute archaeological sites in the St. George Basin, southwestern Utah.¹ I realized after a cursory look at the ethnographic (Euler 1966; Kelly 1934, 1964; Kelly and Fowler 1986; Knack 1997) and archaeological literature (Fairley 1989; Moffitt et al. 1978; Walling et al. 1986; Westfall et al. 1987) that little is known of the bands in this area prior to Mormon settlement. In fact, when Isabel Kelly did her research in the 1930s she could locate just two individuals from the St. George bands. Archaeologists generally assume that the Paiute people living in the St. George Basin were mobile hunters and gatherers. Ethnographic sources recognize that the Southern Paiute practiced farming, yet they conclude that farming was not “uniformly important” (Steward 1938) or was very limited until it received impetus from the Mormons’ arrival after 1850 (Manners 1974: 40). While anthropological sources conclude the Southern Paiute were primarily hunter/gatherers, historic accounts suggest they were farmers (Brooks 1950; Crampton 1965; Holt 1992; Inter-tribal Council 1976).

To learn more about Southern Paiute subsistence strategies, I turned to ethnohistoric accounts by explorers and Mormon settlers. Accounts by Dominguez and Escalante, Jedediah Smith, Jacob Hamblin, Thomas

Brown, James Bleak, George A. Smith, and John Steele are consistently at odds with the hunting and gathering focus proposed by anthropologists. The ethnohistoric accounts suggest that the Paiute bands living along the Virgin and Santa Clara Rivers, and possibly along other drainages, changed their subsistence focus to hunting and gathering only after Mormon settlement of the region.

To briefly orient you on the study area, this slide² of Washington County shows the primary drainages and mountain ranges. According to the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada (1976: 9) and the accounts of Mormon missionaries (Brown 1972: 53), in the 1850s two bands lived in the Basin. The Santa Clara River was considered the core of the Southern Paiute territory. The band that lived along the Virgin River as far west as where it entered the mountains was called Paroosits (also the name of the river). The Tonoquints, which was one of the largest bands (Inter-Tribal Council 1976), lived along the Santa Clara River. The Shivwits’ original territory was northern Arizona “between the Virgin and Colorado Rivers on the north and south and the Hurricane Cliffs and Virgin Mountains on the east and west” (Inter-Tribal Council 1976).

Key Historic Events

The first written descriptions of the Paiutes in the study area were made

in the fall of 1776 by a group of Spanish explorers led by Francisco Dominguez and Velez de Escalante. Within the St. George Basin, the route that the expedition followed avoided the most populated areas of the Santa Clara and Virgin Rivers. In fact, the expedition leaders suspected that they were being led along a less direct route. Although the Dominguez and Escalante expedition probably did not see the most heavily settled regions of the St. George Basin, they did encounter a small settlement along Ash Creek and made careful observations. On October 15th, Escalante saw near La Verkin a “mat with a large supply of ears and husks of green corn which had been placed on it. Near it, in the small plain and on the bank of the river, there were three small corn patches with their very well made irrigation ditches. The stalks of maize which they had already harvested this year were still untouched” (Bolton 1950: 205). Escalante’s informants told him that from this point downstream and “on the mesas on either side for a long distance, according to what we learned, live Indians who sustain themselves by planting maize and calabashes, and who in their language are called the Parussi” (Bolton 1950: 205).

Between 1776 and 1850, historic descriptions of the Paiutes in the St. George Basin are scanty. One of the first historic descriptions was by the explorer Jedediah Strong Smith. In >>>

1827 he traveled down Ash Creek to the Virgin River near Hurricane and then up the Santa Clara to the Beaver Dam Mountains. He described the region as follows:

Passing down this river some distance, I fell in with a nation of Indians who call themselves Pa-Ulches (those Indians as well as those last mentioned, wear rabbit skin robes) who raise some little corn and pumpkins. The country is nearly destitute of game of any description, except a few hares (Hafen and Hafen 1954a: 115).

New Mexican traders traveled the Old Spanish Trail down the Santa Clara River between 1831 and 1848. Hafen and Hafen report that a French inspector for his government, Duflot de Mofras, described these trading expeditions.

Caravans travel once a year from New Mexico to Los Angeles. These consist of 200 men on horseback, accompanied by mules laden with fabrics and large woolen covers. . . . This merchandise is exchanged for horses and mules. . . . Caravans leave Santa Fe, New Mexico, in October, before the snows sets in, travel west, . . . This trip consumes two and one-half months. Returning caravans leave California in April in order to cross the rivers before the snow melts, taking with them about 2,000 horses (Hafen and Hafen 1954a: 187).

Key resting and feeding locales for these large horse caravans were the Mountain Meadows area and the Santa Clara River. It is likely that herds of 2000 horses would have denuded the native grasses and

damaged agricultural fields. Paiute women and children were probably kidnapped by the caravans for sale as slaves in New Mexico. Although the Indian slave trade was outlawed by the Spanish government in 1812, there was a large demand in New Mexico for Paiute women and children. It is clear that extensive slave raiding reduced the population, imbalanced the sex ratio, and affected Paiute settlement and subsistence strategies by forcing them to move more frequently and camp in more-protected areas (Brooks 1944; Brown 1972; Crampton 1965; Hamblin 1857; Holt 1992; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976: 20; Snow 1929).

With the discovery of gold in California in 1848, the Old Spanish Trail became one of the key routes to California. The '49ers noted that Indians along the Santa Clara and Beaver Dam drainages used irrigation ditches to grow corn, beans, melons, squash, sunflower, and wheat (Hafen and Hafen 1954b: 81). Encounters with Paiutes were few, probably because the Paiutes feared that they would be kidnapped. Some travelers described wickiups with pots of boiling food, yet no occupants.

Euroamerican settlement of the region³ occurred rapidly during the 1850s and 1860s by colonists from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints known as the Mormons. A Mormon expedition, led by John D. Lee, began exploration from 1849 to 1850, in preparation for settlement of the area. Journals kept by some of these explorers and later missionaries and settlers provide clear description of the Paiutes

living and farming the region (Bleak n.d.; Brown 1972; Lee 1983). Most of the early visitors remarked that the Paiutes living along the Virgin and Santa Clara Rivers were primarily farmers who grew corn, beans, squash, and wheat. Lee noted the Indians "have quite an idea of husbandry" (Crampton 1965: 50), and he estimated that the Paiutes along the Santa Clara had 100 acres of land under cultivation (letter to the Desert News [2: 11] April 3, 1852). In June of 1852 two other Mormons, J.C.L. Smith and John Steele, noted ". . . a number of Indians raising grain. Their corn was waist high; squash, beans, potatoes, & c., looked well . . . their wheat had got ripe and was cut" (Euler 1966: 55–56).

Actual settlement of the basin began near Santa Clara in 1854. At this time Jacob Hamblin estimated that the Paiutes living along the Santa Clara numbered 800 (Hamblin n.d.). Until 1857, the Mormon efforts at farming had mixed success as a result of illness, flooding, and competition with the Paiutes over water (Brooks 1950; Hamblin n.d.). George A. Smith, noted that "very little farming was done [by the Mormons], and that in a rude way until 1857" (Washington Chapter of the D.U.P. 1950: 32). When he visited the settlement in the summer of 1857 (Washington County Chapter of the D.U.P. 1950: 32), he observed that the Indians had so many dams upstream that not even enough drinking water reached the settlement.

Runoff from the Pine Valley Mountains made farming possible downstream along the Santa Clara. Both the Indians and the Mormons recog-

nized that water used upstream would cause hardships downstream during dry years. In June of 1856, a Paiute Chief complained to Jacob Hamblin, who had been away, that the Mormons were using up all of the Santa Clara's water upstream in the Pine Valley. The Chief reminded Hamblin that the Mormons had promised only to use the trees for wood and they would leave the water alone. In his journal Hamblin expressed his concern for the Paiutes.

I felt somewhat worked up in my feelings when I saw their child like ways & the faith they had in us. I told my white brethren, to let the Red brethren have what water there was to water their corn; to which they readily consented (Journal of Jacob Hamblin n.d.: 24).

In his official journal of the Mormon settlement of Washington County, James G. Bleak placed blame primarily on the Indians for the Mountain Meadow Massacre in 1857. After the massacre, Jacob Hamblin was told by Brigham Young to redirect his missionary efforts toward the Hopi and Navajo, and various incidents hint that Mormon/Paiute relations had soured. Mormon settlers poured into the St. George area. In 1857, 21 wagons brought settlers to Washington City to farm along the Virgin River (Brooks 1992: 200). The first large migration of hundreds of families into the region began in 1861 and 1862. In January 1862 Bleak's records say that 169.5 acres were being farmed by 92 families. That same year the city of St. George was formed and the City Council was given control over all water rights (James Bleak n.d.). By 1865, the Mormons had 450 acres

under cultivation in the St. George and Pine Valley area, 100 acres were under cultivation in the Washington and Harrisburg areas, 50 acres were being farmed in Toquerville, 60 in Virgin City, and 990 in Santa Clara. Clearly, most of the best land had been wrested from the Indians. One of the few mentions of the Indians after 1862 is by Bleak, who said that in 1864 an Indian chief died, and the Indians demanded that a white person be killed to accompany the chief. Arguments arose over the matter, resulting in the Mormons killing five Indians.

Once the Paiute farmlands were taken, the Paiutes survived by begging or working as house servants and field hands (Brooks 1944; Euler 1966; Holt 1992; Knack 1997). The Mormons in St. George also recognized that the Paiutes had no way to make their living, and in 1879 they donated 10 acres of plowed land and water from the "watermaster." In 1891, when the Shivwits reservation was established, Mormon settlers were relieved that the Indian problem had become the federal government's problem (Brooks 1944).

Southern Paiute Subsistence in the St. George Basin

All early historic descriptions of Paiute subsistence practices in the St. George Basin suggest that agriculture, rather than hunting and gathering, was the primary subsistence strategy of the bands living along the rivers. Historic accounts mention Paiute fields along the Virgin River, the Santa Clara River, Ash Creek, Beaver Dam Wash, and

the Muddy River (Bolton 1950: 205; Brown 1972; Holt 1992; Inter-Tribal Council 1976: 13).

One of the best accounts of Paiute agricultural practices can be found in Thomas Brown's 1854 journal. In 1854, Brigham Young, concerned about Indian relations in Southwestern Utah, sent 21 men on an Indian Mission to teach the Indians "Christianity and the arts of civilized life" (Brooks 1950: 24). The mission was also the first step toward Mormon colonization. Thomas Brown, a well-educated Scott, was appointed the official recorder. The mission began with a journey through Washington County in 1854 with "10 wagons, 25 horses and mules, six cattle, seven cows, 4,420 pounds of flour, 20 wheat, 10 corn, 18 axes, one saw, 20 guns, three pistols, two swords, five ploughs, with full ammunition and many 'fixings'" (Brooks 1950: 25). The group traveled down Ash Creek, then west along the Virgin River until it joined the Santa Clara. From the junction of these two rivers the mission traveled northwest and then northeast along the Santa Clara River.

Brown's journal, as published by Juanita Brooks in 1972, contains vivid descriptions of Indian agriculture along the Santa Clara and Virgin Rivers in 1854. This slide⁴ summarizes his accounts of field size, locations of fields, and Paiute agricultural practices that he saw during this journey. (See Table 1.) Brown noted that fields were most plentiful along the Santa Clara. Fields were prepared by burning, and were left fallow when the weeds became too thick. Crops and >>>

fields were in different stages of preparation and harvesting, suggesting that more than one harvest was possible per season. For example, he recorded that wheat was being harvested and eaten in late May, yet other crops such as corn and squash were not yet ripe. As he traveled down the Virgin River he saw fields that were just being burned and prepared for planting.

Brown's journal indicates that virtually all fields were watered with well-made irrigation ditches. Some of the ditches, particularly those along the Santa Clara, were linked to man-made dams. This slide⁵ is a crude drawing by Brown of a dam and irrigation canal on the Santa Clara. Brown (1972: 56–57) described this system as “a good dam 3 rods wide slanting across the Santa Clara . . . a water ditch or irrigating canal runs for ¾ mile, round the base of a rock mountain in some places cut & worn from 6 to 10 feet deep, all this accomplished with their hands and small sticks, no other implements being among them.” George A. Smith, who visited the Mormon settlement on the Santa Clara River in the summer of 1857, saw “13 Indian dams across the stream above the Santa Clara Fort” (Washington County Daughters of the Utah Pioneers 1950: 32). This slide⁶ is an example of an historic Euroamerican dam that we recorded north of Santa Clara at the Kayenta development. This dam closely resembles the one described by Brown with a canal that was actually shorter than the one Brown describes.

Domesticates grown in the St. George Basin when Brown traveled

through the region included corn, squash, beans, pumpkins, wheat, potatoes, melons, and sunflowers (Brown 1972; Inter-Tribal Council 1976). Some of the plants, identified as weeds by the Mormons, were probably amaranth. Brown gives this colorful description of these fields:

There was good crops of wheat ripe in some places which they were cutting and using, and abundance of corn, many beans, and a green substance between the rows which we stooped and wished to pull out, till they told us it was part of their food (Brown 1972: 57).

European domesticates, including watermelons, wheat, and potatoes, appear to have been cultivated before the Mormons arrived (Fowler and Fowler 1981: 139). Elsewhere in the southwest, European domesticates arrived before extensive Euroamerican contact, and it is likely that the Paiutes obtained some of these plants from the Mohave or the Tohono O'odham, who were growing these crops at least as early as the late 1600s (Fowler and Fowler 1981: 139; Roberts and Ahlstrom 1997; Seymour 1999).

Most historic sources suggest that the St. George Paiute agricultural strategies were supplemented by wild plant gathering and hunting (Brown 1972; Inter-Tribal Council 1976: 12–13). Brown (1972: 54–55) observed that the Paiutes made wine out of berries and stored it in pitch-covered baskets. He described other native food stuffs such as “nante” (yucca) as “a very sweet substance made from roasting a shrub 24 hours in a covered fire, it resembles bread

made of flour & molasses in taste, but in eating it, feels as if wheat straw were in the sweet (paegamont) mixture” (Brown 1972: 56).

Paiute Settlement Pattern and Seasonality

The traditional interpretation of the Southern Paiute settlement pattern for this region is that summer camps were near fields, and winter camps were in higher elevations (Inter-Tribal Council 1976: 12–16). After reading the various historic accounts, it is my impression that there were Southern Paiutes living along the primary drainages throughout the year. Although the details are sketchy, it is clear from Hamblin's and Brown's journals that groups of five or more lodges could be found at various points along the Santa Clara River throughout the year. Paiute houses, as described by the Mormons, were fairly impermanent wickiup structures⁷ although Fowler and Kelly noted that some of the winter lodges were covered with dirt. Thomas Brown (1972: 44) described Chief Toker's wickiups, located on Ash Creek, as “composed of long branches of willows, cottonwood and stalks of corn, 3 of them—the willows stuck in the ground slantingly so that they meet at the top, the leaves of these and a neighboring ash tree was all the shelter from wind or rain.” Formal architectural structures, such as masonry rooms, storage features or pit houses, were not mentioned in any of the journals.

continued >>>



Conclusion

Historic accounts offer compelling evidence that the subsistence focus of the Paiutes living along the Virgin and Santa Clara drainages was farming. This focus shifted to hunting and gathering only after 1865 when the Mormons took control of the Basin's water and arable lands. Although the subsistence focus was year-round farming, house structures were impermanent wickiups. I suspect that the impermanence of these structures can be attributed, in part, to Euroamerican impacts. Habitations along the drainages were probably relocated on a frequent basis to evade slave traders and disease outbreaks. Since Native Americans throughout the southwest reacted to new diseases by fleeing and abandoning the sick, habitation would have been relocated as a result.

The first Mormon settlers in the St. George area were constantly ill from what is believed to have been malaria (Brown 1950). Malaria, which is transmitted by mosquitoes, is a good example of a European-introduced disease that reached the St. George Basin prior to Mormon settlement. I believe that malaria arrived via the same trade routes as the European cultigens. I have argued elsewhere (Roberts and Ahlstrom 1997) that diseases like malaria arrived as early as the late 16th century in southern Arizona. When endemic in a population, particularly in settled populations with irrigation canals and pottery, malaria results in high rates of infant mortality. The Mormons clearly introduced other diseases such as chicken pox, cholera, and

measles (Heizer 1954: 7; Gottfredson 1919: 320). In fact, Paiute children who were adopted by Mormon families rarely survived beyond a few years (Brooks 1944).

In conclusion, my research suggests that timing may be responsible for the anthropologists' and historians' different perspectives on the Southern Paiute subsistence focus. Historians emphasize the early accounts of explorers and settlers that indicate that the Southern Paiutes in the St. George Basin were primarily farmers. When anthropological research began, nothing of these lifeways remained. It is clear from the Mormon journals that drastic changes happened at a bewilderingly fast rate. It took less than 10 years from the arrival of the first group of 21 Mormon missionaries for the Mormons to gain total control over water rights and arable lands in the St. George Basin. After 1865, the Paiutes in the St. George Basin were forced to make a living as laborers, beggars, or hunters and foragers (Knack 1997). In 1874, Powell and Ingalls recognized that the Indians "fully understood that the settlement of the country by white man is inevitable. . . . Their hunting-grounds have been spoiled, their favorite valleys are occupied by white men, and they are compelled to scatter in small bands in order to obtain subsistence (Euler 1966: 92)."

ENDNOTES

1. **Slide** of Coral Canyon project area.
2. **Slide** of project area.
3. **Slide** of Mormon settlement.
4. **Slide** of Table of fields.
5. **Slide** of crude drawing by Brown

- of a dam and irrigation canal.
6. **Slide** of example of an historic Euroamerican dam.
7. **Slides** of house structures.

REFERENCES

- Bleak, James G., "Annals of Southern Utah Mission." Manuscript on File, Special Collections, Southern Utah University (Cedar City), n.d.
- Bolton, Herbert E., *Pageant in the Wilderness. The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776, Including the Diary and Itinerary of Father Escalante*. Utah Historical Society (Salt Lake City), 1950.
- Brooks, Juanita, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12: 1–52, 1944.
- Brooks, "The Southern Indian Mission." In *Under the Dixie Sun*, Washington County Chapter of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers (St. George, UT), 1950, pp. 23–24.
- Brooks, John Doyle Lee: *Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapgoat*. Utah State University Press (Logan, UT), 1992.
- Brown, Thomas D., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission, Diary of Thomas D. Brown*, edited by Juanita Brooks. Utah State University Press (Logan, UT), 1972.
- Crampton, C. Gregory, *Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah and Adjacent Parts of Arizona and Nevada 1851–1900*. National Park Service Report for Contract Number 14-10-0333-1050 (Denver), 1965.
- Euler, Robert C., *Southern Paiute Ethnohistory*. University of Utah Anthropological Papers (Salt Lake City), 1966, p. 78.
- Fairley, Helen C., Culture History. In *Man, Models and Management: An Overview of the Archaeology of the Arizona Strip and the Management of Its cultural Resources*, by Jeffrey H. Altschul and Helen C. Fairley. Prepared by Statistical Research, Plateau Archaeology, and Dames and Moore, Inc. for the USDA Forest Service and >>>

Table 1. Paiute Agricultural Fields Reported by Thomas Brown in 1854

Date	Size of Field	Crops	Field Location and other information.
5/27/1854	1 acre	Wheat, corn, pumpkins, squash	Near Quail Creek (?), crops planted in hills.
6/8/1854	3 acres	Corn, potatoes, squash, watermelons	Ash Creek, "they have made a good irregating canal some ½ mile long" (Brown 1972: 49), use digging sticks that resemble axe handles.
6/9/1854	2 patches larger than 3 acres	Fallow	Ash Creek, south of the fields seen on 6/8 and about 2 miles north of Virgin River. Irrigation ditches present.
6/10/1854	?	Corn and fields not planted yet	Virgin River near Washington City (?), Indians were burning field to clear for planting.
6/11/1854	"many fields"	Some fallow, ripe wheat, other crops	1 mile up the Santa Clara from the Virgin River, "There appears many patches of good wheat land on this stream across which Beaver dams are built every few rods." Brown 1972: 55.
6/13/1854	10 acres	Ripe wheat, corn beans, and "a green substance" between rows	6 miles up the Santa Clara (from Virgin River), here a dam was built by the Paiutes on the Santa Clara. It was 3 rods wide.
6/13/1854	2 to 10 acres	Various	6 miles up the Santa Clara (from Virgin River), here a dam was built by the Paiutes on the Santa Clara. It was 3 rods wide.
6/17/1854	"patch of land"	Corn, wheat, potatoes	Upper Santa Clara River, below Mountain Meadows (?), irrigated field.

USDI Bureau of Land Management (St. George, UT), 1989, pp. 85–152.

Fowler, Catherine S. and Don D. Fowler, *The Southern Paiute: A.D. 1400–1776*. In *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest, A.D. 1400–1700*. Edited by David R. Wilcox and Bruce Masse, Arizona State University Anthropological Research Papers 24 (Tempe, AZ), 1981, pp. 129–162.

Gottfredson, Peter, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah*. Skelton Press (Salt Lake City), 1919.

Hafen, LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles. The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series 1820–1875*, vol 1. The Arthur H Clark Company (Glendale, CA) 1954a.

Hafen, Journals of the Forty-Niners: Salt Lake to Los Angeles. *The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series 1820–1875*, vol 2. The Arthur H Clark Company (Glendale, CA), 1954b.

Hamblin, Jacob, Journal from 1854–1857. Manuscript on file, Utah State Historical Society (Salt Lake City), n.d.

Heizer, Roberts F., *Notes on the Utah Utes by Edward Palmer, 1866–1877*. University of Utah Anthropological Papers, no. 17 (Salt Lake City), 1954.

Holt, Ronald L., *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes*. University of New Mexico Press (Albuquerque), 1992.

Inter-tribal Council of Nevada, *Nuwuvi: Southern Paiute History*. University of Utah Printing Service (Provo, UT), 1976.

Kelly, Isabel T., "Southern Paiute Bands," *American Anthropologist* 36: 548–61, 1934.

Southern Paiute Ethnography. University of Utah Anthropological Papers, no. 69, Glen Canyon Series, no. 21 (Salt Lake City), 1964.

Kelly, Isabel T. and Catherine S. Fowler, "Southern Paiute." In *Handbook of North American Indian, vol. 11: Great Basin*,

edited by Warren L. D’Azevedo, Smithsonian Institution (Washington D.C.), 1986, pp. 368–397.

Knack, Martha, "Church and State in the History of Southern Paiutes in Cedar City, Utah." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 19: 159–178, 1997.

Lee, John Doyle, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876*, edited by Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks. University of Utah Press (Salt Lake City), 1983.

Manners, Robert A., *Paiute Indians I, Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi: An Ethnohistorical Report*. Garland Publishing, Inc. (New York), 1974.

Moffit, Kathleen, Sandra Rayl, and Michael Metcalf, *Archaeological Investigations Along the Navajo McCullough Transmission Line, Southern Utah and Northern Arizona*. Museum of Northern Arizona Research Report No. 10 (Flagstaff, AZ), 1978.

Roberts, Heidi and Richard V. N. Ahlstrom,

Tracking the '49ers from the Old Spanish Trail through Southeastern Nevada

by Paul Gilon, Ph.D., Volunteer Historian with the BLM

The following is a summary of my article entitled "Tracking the Death Valley '49ers through southwestern Utah and southeastern Nevada."

That article presents my work (as a volunteer historian for the BLM office of Ely, Nevada) on a project by that name.

The purpose of that project was to enhance our knowledge of the path of the "Death Valley '49ers" as they traveled through southwestern Utah and southeastern Nevada, on their way to Death Valley. The work was under-taken in accord with the Bureau of Land Management's policy of preserving and safeguarding historical trails and landmarks. The objective of the project was to locate the following five critical places along the trail of the '49ers:

1. The "cut-off" place where the Death Valley '49ers separated from the Hunt party on the Old Spanish Trail.

2. The "Rock of Refuge" located in Shoal Canyon between the cut-off and Beaver Dam Wash.

3. Erkson's "Nov. 10, 1849" inscription also located in Shoal Canyon.

4. "Mt Misery" and the place or places of descent into Beaver Dam Wash.

5. The exit route from Beaver Dam Wash as suggested by the "Osborn 49" inscription located in the Wash.

BACKGROUND. Gold was discovered at Sutter's mill in January 1848. Within a short period, literally, hordes of gold-seekers rushed to the new found El Dorado. At that time,



photo used with permission

Paul Gilon, Ph.D.

Volunteer Historian with the BLM

the established route to California followed the Oregon Trail with a detour through the Humboldt Sink in Northern Nevada and over the Sierras into California. However, with the circulation of the news of the Donner Pass tragedy, fall and winter travelers had two choices: either wait around Salt Lake City until spring for the Sierras' snow to melt, or take the newly so-called "established" southern route to California. By the summer of 1849, several hundred emigrants, packers with mules and horses, and approximately one hundred families with wagons and cattle had gathered in the vicinity of Salt Lake City to make final preparations for the long trip to California. While waiting for the snow to melt, they were advised that "Captain Jefferson Hunt" would guide them to California by a new "southern route," for ten dollars per wagon. Hunt did not promise an easy trip. In fact, he told the >>>

"Malaria, Microbes, and Mechanisms of Change," *Kiva* 63 (2) 117-135, 1997.

Seymour, Gregory R., *Cultural Resource Management Plan for the Las Vegas Springs Preserve, Clark County, Nevada*. Harry Reid Center Report 4-9-3, University of Nevada (Las Vegas), 1999.

Snow, William J., "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2: 1929.

Steward, Julian, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120 (Washington, DC) 1938. (Reprinted : University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1970.)

Walling, Barbara A., Richard A. Thompson, Gardiner F. Dalley, and Dennis G. Weder, *Excavations at Quail Creek*. Bureau of Land Management Cultural Resource Series No. 20, Utah State Office (Salt Lake City), 1986.

Washington County D.U.P., *Under Dixie Sun, a History of Washington County by Those Who Loved Their Forebearers*. Garfield County News (Panguitch, UT), 1950.

Westfall, Deborah A., William E. Davis, and Eric Blinman, *Green Spring: An Anasazi and Southern Paiute Encampment in the St. George Basin*, Utah. Cultural Resource Series No. 21, Bureau of Land Management (Salt Lake City), 1987. ■

emigrants that this route had never been tried with wagons. With one exception, this is about right.

At some time during the first week of October, the Hunt train departed on the “southern route,” from the vicinity of Provo, for California. (Recorded dates range from October 2, 1849, to October 7, 1849.) A week or two later, two more companies caught up with the Hunt train near Beaver, Utah. One company was led by Captain Flake and the other one by Captain O.K. Smith. Among the members of the Flake Company were prolific diarists George Q. Cannon and William Farrer. Later, diarist Henry W. Bigler would also join the Flake Company. William Lewis Manly, the “hero” of Death Valley, wrote his famous book, *Death Valley in '49*, several decades after the trek; he is not considered a diarist.

1. The Cut-Off

Aside from the many difficulties encountered during the trek, the Hunt train would not have made history had it not been for O.K. Smith, who, upon catching up with the Hunt train, waved a waybill or map showing a shortcut to California. The alleged shortcut, which promised to cut off (hence the name for the separation place) about 500 miles from the planned route, was said to be replete with water holes, campsites, and grass. The trail went from the vicinity of Cedar City westward through central Nevada and on to California via (present-day) Walker’s Pass, located at the southern end of the Sierras—hence the occasional misnaming of O.K. Smith’s cut-off as “Walker’s cut-off.” Where and how O.K. Smith

obtained the map is not clear, but the announcement took the train like a storm, ultimately making history. In his scholarly book, *The Journals of George Q. Cannon*, LDS Church Archivist, Michael Landon, states that the map had allegedly been drawn by experienced Mountain Man (Elijah) Barney Ward, and seems to have been derived from one of Frémont’s early hypotheses, which he ultimately rejected, about a river, the Buenaventura, and a great Mountain Range, also by that name, both running east-west across the Great Basin, north of the Cedar City latitude.

Members of the train debated feverishly the pros and cons of taking the cut-off. In *Death Valley in '49*, William Lewis Manly devotes three full pages (pages 109–111) to describe this dramatic episode.

The location of the cut-off. For his pioneering work in establishing the Old Spanish Trail and leading pioneers to California, a monument was recently erected to Hunt on the Old Spanish Trail, ½ mile south of Bench Road, about ten miles ENE of Enterprise, Utah. There are two descriptive plaques on the monument. The front plaque reads: SHORT CUT//(Arrow pointing North)// 118 WAGONS TURNED//WEST HERE// /1849. And the side one reads: SPANISH TRAIL//(Arrow pointing WSW along the OST)//Traveled// by Jefferson Hunt Party// 1849.

The monument is nice, but there is one problem. The fact that the monument is not ornate or polished is not the problem. After all, Hunt, though an accomplished explorer, was a humble and unassuming man;

he probably would not have cared much about any fancy monument. It is the location of the monument that is the problem. Without stating so explicitly, the inscriptions suggest that the monument is located at the cut-off place. However, judging from the description of contemporaneous journals and logs, the cut-off place is most likely located several miles to the southwest in Holt Canyon at its intersection with Junipero Road, the eastern extension of 100 North Street in Enterprise. Here the two trails form a “T” with the long stem, representing the cut-off trail, pointing SW toward Enterprise and Shoal Canyon, and the cross bar, representing the Old Spanish Trail, running approximately NW-SE along Holt Canyon. (Both Professor Steve Heath of Southern Utah University and Lee Bracken, Bishop of Enterprise and owner of Lee Brackens Hardware in Enterprise, concur with this idea.)

From the cut-off place to Beaver Dam Wash. After much deliberation, one hundred wagons, out of one hundred and seven, made a right turn at the cut-off to go on the alleged shortcut to California. Three days later, upon reaching a severe obstacle at Beaver Dam Wash, located on the Utah-Nevada border, all but twenty wagons returned to the Old Spanish Trail and Hunt. Of those who did not return, some would find their way to the Old Spanish Trail and make it to California, while nine men would just vanish or disappear from history, and still others would end up traveling through the Nevada deserts and ultimately into barren Death Valley, from whose claws they

barely managed to escape. In so doing, they would earn the name of “Death Valley ’49ers.”

From reading the various diaries and examining the terrain westward from the cut-off area, it is reasonable to assume that they followed Shoal Canyon westward (Sandy Creek). Though we have no evidence to support this hypothesis, there are two landmarks whose locations would help establish the path or paths west of the cut-off. These are the so-called Rock of Refuge, and Erkson’s inscription, neither of which has been located to date.

2. The Rock of Refuge.

During a heavy rain, some of the travelers found shelter in the caves of a rock formation, referred to by various diarists as the Rock of Refuge. The caves are mentioned by both Cannon and Farrer, who took the cut-off, and not by Addison Pratt and other diarists, who did not take the cut-off. This locates the caves somewhere along the cut-off trail. Old-time Enterprise resident Lamont Huntsman told Leroy Hafen on his visit to the Bigler inscription in 1951 that the caves were located four miles west of Enterprise, and that the rocks of the formation had been used to build houses in Enterprise. Lee Bracken suggests that the caves, which had been located at Cow Hollow, several miles west of Enterprise on the property of Gayle Evans, had since been demolished. Just in case some cave remnants remain, I obtained permission from Mr. Evans to search for them. Not all travelers who went up Shoal Canyon found or used the caves. In all, the diary data suggests that only

the packers, and not the wagons nor the Jayhawkers, visited the caves.

3. The Erkson Inscription.

The publisher of Manly’s *Death Valley in ’49* inserted in Manly’s book several additional narratives or recollections by some of the ’49ers. Among them is a brief statement by Alexander Combs Erkson about the trail between the cut-off and Beaver Dam Wash. Unlike the other pioneers quoted in that book, Erkson is not one of the “Death Valley” ’49ers. According to his testimony he only went as far as “Mt Misery” (a place overlooking the wash) and then turned back to rejoin Hunt. What makes Erkson’s story so interesting is a sentence in his narrative in which he describes engraving the date “Nov. 10 1849” on a rock. NPS Archeologist Marian Jacklin told me that she has climbed many outcrops along Shoal Canyon but failed to find the inscription. I, and apparently many others, have experienced the same failure in our attempts. What complicates the search is the fact that Erkson wrote his description over 40 years after that event.

4. Mt Misery

On about the third day after taking the cut-off, the packers, on mules and horses, and the families, with wagons, came up to the near-vertical brink of a deep wash (Beaver Dam Wash), a thousand feet deep, and could go no further. This place is referred to by some diarists as Poverty Point, Disappointment Point or Devil’s Offset. However, most diarists and historians refer to that place as Mount or Mt Misery. Not all ’49ers refer to that place with a name. William L. Manly, for

example, rather than naming it, just describes it as a “great mountain.” I don’t recall the name of the diarist who refers to the place as Disappointment Point.

Regardless of the name of the brink, promontory or overlook, to this day its location has not been determined. The several names used by the diarists, however, suggest that it is possible that different parties arrived at the edge of the wash at different places, hence the different names. If so, we should be looking for several places instead of one. To complicate matters, not only may we be dealing with different locations for the overlook but, as recorded by Cannon, the overlook and the descent may also be located in different places. (Canon’s party made a three-mile detour to arrive at a descent ramp 100 yards from the overlook.) On this project I concentrated my searches to the large area above Bigler’s inscription. (I also looked at Water Canyon Peak, 10 miles to south, per Leroy Johnson’s suggestion, but concluded that it was most likely not the right place.)

The Bigler Inscription and the location of Mt Misery. Bigler kept copious notes of his travels in several diaries, and over the years he rewrote some of them. As a result, we have more than one source of information from him. His greatest contribution to the story of the ’49ers is the inscription he left on the side of a cliff in Beaver Dam Wash during his passage in 1849. Nearly 100 years later, in a dramatic historical discovery, historian Charles Kelly would locate the inscription, thus laying to rest >>>

any issue about the pioneers' (at least some of them) descent into the abysmal wash. Bigler's entries for Thursday, November 1, 1849, and Saturday, November 3, 1849, state, ". . . we are now encamped in the Canion on a level spot of grass about 50 acres wood and water plenty . . . I cut the 3 first letters of my name on a Rock & the date"

It is interesting to note that, to some packers, including Bigler, the wash did not present itself as a major obstacle. In two terse sentences he covers the descent and exit (to the south) from the wash. The OSbORN inscription and the more famous H.W.B. inscription were shown to me on horseback by brothers Kelton, Herschel and Elden Hafen, long-time ranchers in Barclay, Nevada, and descendents of Lamond Wood, the founder of Barclay, who, sixty five years earlier, helped Charles Kelly find the Bigler inscription.

Some historians, including Charles Kelly, who discovered the inscription in 1938, believe that Bigler's inscription is located immediately below Mt Misery. After visiting the inscription twice, I do not believe that the promontory directly above the inscription is Mt Misery. It is too rocky and steep. I can't see wagons driving up to it from Shoal Canyon and parking while they wait for scouts to find a descent ramp into the wash. There is more to this, however. Kelly published his findings in *Desert Magazine* in 1939. In his article Kelly also states that his guide and founder of Barclay, Lamond Wood, told him that, in 1900, he had seen iron remnants being located on the

overlook. These, Kelly concluded, were left by the '49ers.

About those irons, in *History of Enterprise*, Joseph Fish states that Nephi Johnson found the irons in 1857 or 1858 and took them. If so, why did Lamond Wood tell Kelly that, in 1900, the irons were located on top of the mesa? One explanation to this puzzle is, as I suggested earlier, that the wagons arrived at the wash at different places, where some wagons were abandoned. This appears to be the same Nephi Johnson who accompanied cartographer Martineau on the William Dame "White Mountain Expedition," and for whom the Nephi's Hole (Spring) and Nephi's Draw are named. That part is described in Carl I. Wheat's *Mapping the Transmississippi West*. (Both landmarks are located north of Shoal Canyon and can be seen in the Water Canyon Peak Quadrangle.)

5. The exit to the "north" issue.

Unlike the packers, who were able to descend into the wash, the wagons stayed at Mt Misery while scouts were sent out to search for a way down and out of the wash. Most scouts returned to report that there was no way where wagons could go down into the wash, and once in the wash, no way to come out of it. However, just as the wagons were preparing to turn back, some scouts returned with the news that to the north of Mt Misery they had found a possible way for wagons to either make it in and out of the wash, or to by-pass the wash altogether. Which of these two choices is correct is not known, and, therefore, neither is the exit path. If, as stated earlier, it is

assumed that the H.W. B. inscription is located below Mt Misery, then the claim that the exit route is located to the north of Mt Misery is problematic, since the only potential exit route found thus far is located to the south of Mt Misery, past the "OSbORN 49" inscription.

The exit to the "north" is stated explicitly by Manly and implicitly by Stover, who uses the word "up." Manly's statement is puzzling, as it does not specifically say whether his party went down into the wash. It is not clear from both Stover's and Manly's descriptions where the ox-driven wagons made their crossing. Is it possible that the Death Valley '49er wagons may have circumvented the wash by going as far north as the present Acoma Road and turning westward? If so, one must ask why the whole cut-off group did not do the same and save themselves the anguish of being stuck in the box-like wash. Certainly, the wagons' trail or path around this area must be further investigated.

Referring to the "north" issue, historian George Koenig, in his book, *Beyond This Place There Be Dragons*, calls it "a jump-in-time error of memory." This interesting book offers many ideas. Unfortunately, the author fails to give the references of his numerous quotations!

The "OSbORN 49" Inscription.

I have spent the last six months trying to identify Mt Misery and the descent path or paths. And, as just explained, similarly challenging is the place or places where the Death Valley '49ers went up and out of the

wash and headed west toward California. This assumes that some of the Death Valley '49ers actually went down into the wash.

On a soft rock (tuff or sandstone) at the base of the old Bauer Ranch jeep trail located on the western side of Beaver Dam Wash, an inscription bears the entry "OSbORN 49." The differentially corrected coordinates for the Osborn and Bigler inscriptions are given in my original article. To my knowledge, unlike the H.W.B. inscription, the Osborn inscription has not been analyzed in any publication, nor has it been authenticated by experts, at least not to the same extent that the H.W.B. inscription has been. (This past Thursday, BLM Archeologist Dawna Ferris looked at the picture of the Osborn inscription and made some interesting observations about its authenticity based on the style of the letters.) Specifically, we do not know who Osborn was or if he belonged to any of the cut-off parties, nor do we know if the "1849" date is even authentic. The Hafen authors note its presence on their way to the Bigler inscription, while Kelly assumes that the location of the Osborn inscription designates the exit path of the '49ers. The remainder of my presentation discusses this issue.

If Osborn had been a member of any of the splinter groups of the original cut-off party, including the Death Valley '49ers, his inscription would clearly establish at least one exit point out of the wash. Thus, the identity of the engraver, and hence the authenticity of the incision is a critical issue.

In order to determine the identity of the Osborn engraver, it is necessary to examine the list of the Death Valley '49ers. One of the most reliable such lists was compiled by historian Carl I. Wheat and published in the December 1939 issue of the *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*. It is also available on the web.

I made corrections to Manly's list using two sources: Margaret Long's list, which is given in her book, *The Shadow of the Arrow*, and Cephas Arms' narrative, *The Long Road to California*. (This journal was recently discovered by Janet Seegmiller of the Special Collections Department at SUU.) An examination of these entries reveals that the name "Osborn" does not appear in the list of the Death Valley '49ers. Given that, is it possible that the names of Osborn's traveling companions appear on that list (if he was a Death Valley '49er, and if his companions could be determined)? Toward that end, a second source of names of pioneers who headed to California in 1849, the "Emigrant Rosters 1849," was examined. The list was graciously provided me Michael N. Landon.

This thirty-five page, handwritten roster gives the names of many of the California-bound pioneers who passed through Salt Lake City in 1849. An examination of the Emigrant Roster or list reveals the five occurrences of the name Osborn. I now made the debatable assumption that the travelers who arrived in Salt Lake City on the same day as each Osborn, and who originated from the same place, were traveling companions of each Osborn. Based

on this assumption, I copied the names of the alleged traveling companions of all five Osborn's to an Excel file. Finally, in order to see if any of the various Osborn associates were Death Valley '49ers, the list of the traveling companions was merged and sorted with the list of the Death Valley '49ers.

CONCLUSION. An examination of the resulting merged data (see Endnote) reveals the following similarities or identities between the Osborn's traveling companions shown in the Emigrant list and Death Valley '49ers:

- Emigrant Isham E. Allen vs. Death Valley '49er George Allen
- Emigrant John Rogers from Quincy, Illinois vs. Death Valley '49er John Rogers of Tennessee (this is the famous '49er who, together with Lewis Manly, rescued the Brier and Arcan families in Death Valley)
- Emigrant Robert O. Vance vs. Death Valley '49er Harry Vance
- Emigrant B. Franklin Woods vs. Death Valley '49er James (or Jim) Woods

Of these, the most likely candidate who might classify the Osborn of the inscription as a Death Valley '49er is John Rogers. Unfortunately, this is a difficult case to crack for two reasons. First, Death Valley '49er John Rogers and Lewis William Manly formed a partnership and "attached" themselves to the Bennett family, long before passing through Salt Lake City. (In his book, *Death Valley Heroine*, L. Burr Belden recounts the touching account of the reunion of Manly and Rogers, forty-six years after their trek.) Hence, even neglecting >>>

the difference in their places of origin (Quincy, Illinois, vs. Tennessee), if Emigrant John Rogers and the Death Valley '49er John Rogers are one and the same, one would expect to also find the names of both Lewis William Manly and Asahel Bennett in the same date-of-arrival group with Emigrant John Rogers in the Emigrant Registration sheets. This is not the case. In fact, the names Lewis Manly and Asahel Bennett do not even appear on the hand-written list. Second, even in the highly unlikely event that the two Rogers are one and the same, in spite of his fame, Death Valley '49er John Rogers wrote very little about himself and, unlike some of the other Death Valley '49ers, he did not partake in reunions and letter exchanges. Thus, further research about either name, though desirable, may prove quite difficult.

Given these facts, it appears that the identity of "inscription Osborn" will have to be established through other means than the one presented here.

CLOSING REMARKS. Over 40 years ago, upon graduating from college, I moved to Sacramento, California to work for the Aerojet General Corp. as a computer programmer.

Equipped with the introductory bible to Americana, *Men to Match my Mountains*, by Irving Stone, I spent weekends visiting the gold country and other historical sites. The book took me to Donner Pass and later to Death Valley. For Donner Pass, I read George Steward's *Ordeal by Hunger* and quickly went to look up the various landmarks the book talked about: Jacob Donner's camp,

the Brem Cabin by the black rock, and other places, including where the Reed family might have spent the winter in 8 feet of snow with just a canvas cover for a roof.

As I walked around, a ranger drove by in a truck carrying tree trunks about 8 feet long. I inquired as to their nature. The ranger told me that these were the remnants of the trees the Donner Party has used to set up their tents. At that time the snow was 8 feet deep. (At the pass, it was 13 feet.) I went over to look at the trunks and noticed the splintered-like surface where the trees had been cut. I then remembered that a little hand ax had been used to cut the trees. Naturally, I did not have my camera.

I walked back to the Brem Rock to read the dedication poem to the Donner Pass Pioneers that has been posted on the Brem rock. The poem is brief, terse and harsh. It is devoid of colorful adjectives and fancy adverbs, a fitting metaphor to the experience of the pioneers. I would like to read it to you.

**Virile to risk and find
Kindly withal and a ready hand
Facing the brunt of fate
Indomitable, unafraid.**

ENDNOTES

A) The 3-page table of merged data, referred to in Gilon's conclusion and elsewhere on page 29, is available on request from the *ST* editors at no cost.

B) See page 41 for photographs of "OSBORN 49" and "H.W.B. 1849." ■

Boy Scouts and Trail Markers in Southern Utah

by Steve Heath
Cedar Breaks District, BSA

The history of Spanish Trail marking in southern Utah began in the late 1940s with the work of Cedar City resident, William R. Palmer. Palmer not only placed signs up in southern Utah, as president of the first Spanish Trail Association he was also responsible for the placing of signs along the Trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. The Dominguez-Escalante Trail of 1776-77 was marked as a United States Bicentennial project in 1976. The signs marking the Trail were installed by local Boy Scout troops. In the last ten years, a number of projects associated with the centennial of Utah statehood, the 150th anniversary of the Mormon emigration to Utah, and the 150th anniversary of the Mormon settling of Iron County have resulted in additional marking of the Trail.

Nearly all of these projects were accomplished with the aid of Boy Scout troops. In the Cedar City area several Eagle Scout projects were completed on such projects. Such projects were an excellent introduction to the history of the Trail for young people. Organizations interested in marking the Trail or highlighting places on the Trail should look to local scout leadership for assistance, and special efforts should be made to make the younger generation aware of the history of the Old Spanish Trail through such projects. ■

William R. Palmer and the Spanish Trail Association

by Janet B. Seegmiller
Special Collections Librarian, Sherratt Library
Southern Utah University

The story of William R. Palmer and the Spanish Trail Association did not start with its organization here in Cedar City on August 22, 1946. I believe that it started with a friendship many years earlier, a friendship between Palmer and Howard R. Driggs, second President of the premier trails organization in America, the American Pioneer Trails Association. APTA started as the Oregon Trail Memorial Association in 1926. It was the first association dedicated to trails and was headed by Ezra Meeker, an Oregon Trail veteran. Associated with him were Driggs and William Henry Jackson, artist and photographer of the pioneer west. What distinguished leadership!

After Ezra Meeker died, Howard R. Driggs succeeded him as President of OTMA, and then organized the National Trails Pioneer Association.

In 1897, Howard R. Driggs came to Cedar City as one of the first teachers at the Southern Branch of the Utah State Normal School, or the BNS as we know it. William R. Palmer was a young man of 20 at that time, and he had completed all the formal education he would receive in 1896 at the Brigham Young Academy in Provo, Utah, essentially a high school. Due to the illness of a brother and sister, he did not complete their high school course, but rather stayed home and became one of the volunteer workers constructing the first

building to be used for the BNS. He learned the trade of a harness and saddle maker working with his brothers, and he repaired the harnesses and saddles of the men who built the Ward Hall. During that time, he received a mission call from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and subsequently left Cedar City to fill this mission in Kansas and Oklahoma. He was there when the BNS opened for classes in the fall of 1897.

When he returned three years later, he undoubtedly thought he was too old to return to school, and found employment in the Co-op Store. But in this small community, he would have become acquainted with Howard R. Driggs, head of the department of English and Literature, also secretary and registrar for the fledgling institution. Driggs was here for three more years, ample time for these two men to discover their mutual love for history. Within a few years, Driggs had become a professor of English at New York University, but he never forgot his rural upbringing when the frontier tradition was alive and well. He began writing books, both for children and students of the westward experience. He became a charter member of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association and in 1928, its President when Meeker died at age 98. It was the custom of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, headquartered in

NYC, to go out West every summer dedicating markers on the Oregon Trail and Pony Express route. They were the missionaries, for want of a better term, for restoration and protection of the Trail and buildings along the Trail. At the OTMA annual meeting in Jackson Hole, Wyoming in 1940, the OTMA members voted to change the name of their organization to the American Pioneer Trails Association. The idea was to branch out and help preserve and mark all the great western trails, like the Santa Fe and the Lewis and Clark. The coming of World War II slowed their effort for a few years, but they kept their long-term goal.

In the meantime, William R. Palmer had become a dedicated public servant and devoted amateur historian for Cedar City, Iron County, and indeed all of Southern Utah. He became involved in many businesses and organizations that fostered the gathering and preservation of records vital to the area's past. He befriended the Paiute Indians and spent many hours listening to them tell their stories and history. He recorded their history. He joined the Utah State Historical Society and wrote articles for its new journal, *Utah Historical Quarterly*. He corresponded widely with other western historians and collected the books sent him by their historian friends. LeRoy Hafen was one of these friends/associates. Another was Howard R. Driggs. Palmer joined the Oregon Trail Memorial Association in the late 1920s. In 1931, he was appointed to the Board of Directors of the Utah State Historical Society and began his volunteer effort to collect records throughout the state, which eventually

became the first acquisitions of the Utah State Archives. He was considered a traveling archivist, and he went from county to county, city to city, locating and reading the county records, also minutes, diaries, journals, letters, etc. He made hundreds of notes from these records and called them "Gleanings." Later he performed the same tasks for the LDS Church (1941–51).

Near the end of World War II came the fortuitous announcement that H. Wayne Driggs, son of Howard R. Driggs, and also a professor of English, had been appointed director of the Branch Agricultural College (formerly the BNS) in Cedar City. Wayne Driggs had been here as a child and now returned to lead the school during one of its most critical periods of growth as the young men returned from service, and enrollment at the junior college skyrocketed.

In August 1946, Howard R. Driggs came to visit Cedar City, and while here, he and Palmer organized the Spanish Trail Association. From the first, its goal was to mark the Spanish Trail, which went through Cedar Valley. While Palmer did record the organizational meeting, he made no comments about Driggs. However, another distinguished trails man, Merrill J. Mattes, Exec. Vice Pres. of the Oregon California Trails Association and author of a paper "A Tribute to the Oregon Trail Memorial Association," wrote of Driggs: "He was a most eloquent and persuasive speaker. On any given occasion he could wave the flag, bring the Oregon Trail cavalcade to life and make the blood of his listeners boil in their ears. He never doubted

that the fate of the nation was inextricably bound up with the recapture of our patriotic ideals and recognition that our pioneer ancestors, both men and women, were of heroic mold."

So Palmer and Driggs were partners here, furthering the goal of the APTA to tell the story of another significant trail and to awaken a spirit of preservation in communities along the Trail.

The members of the STA were also members of the APTA and benefited from this membership, **and** they were almost exclusively members of the communities of Parowan and Cedar City; in fact, they were mostly from Cedar City, i.e. Hugh L. Adams, Roscoe Grover, Gustive O. Larsen, D. Cleo, Dix and Jeanne Bethers, Mrs. Zesta Dalley, John L. Petersen and John H. Pendleton, executive committee.

Although some marking had already taken place along the Spanish Trail, they envisioned marking the entire Trail and decided that it should be done from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, all on one day!! September 29, 1950 was set for the day when markers would be placed along the entire Trail. A marker was created and 100 ordered and distributed to towns, cities and hamlets along the route. Palmer suggested that appropriate ceremonies from city and county officials, public schools children, chambers of commerce and civic and social clubs should be planned and publicity given through the local newspapers and radio stations. In this effort, Palmer desired Cedar City, and indeed the entire county, to set the example. How well did we do?? Sixteen markers were placed in Iron County alone!!

See Table 1 below.

Table 1 – Towns where markers were placed

NEW MEXICO: Santa Fe, Espanola
COLORADO: Pagoda City, Durango, Mancos, Cortez
UTAH:
<i>San Juan County:</i> Monticello and La Sal
<i>Grand County:</i> Moab and Crescent Junction
<i>Emery County:</i> Green River (at east end of bridge), Huntington, Castle Dale, Ferron, and Emery
<i>Sevier County:</i> Salina, Richfield, Elsinore
<i>Piute County:</i> Marysvale, Junction, and Circleville
<i>Garfield County:</i> Spry
<i>Iron County:</i> 16 signs, but some placed earlier than Sept. 1950
<i>Washington County:</i> Central, Veyo, Gunlock, Castle Cliff, and Santa Clara
ARIZONA: Beaver Dam and Littlefield
NEVADA: Moapa, Mesquite, Bunkerville, Riverside, Glendale and three in Las Vegas (Old Fort on N. Main St, at the Union Pacific depot, and at Hotel Last Frontier Western Village)
CALIFORNIA: Baker, Mt. Afton, Yermo, Barstow, Victorville, San Bernardino and Los Angeles

continued >>>>

History of OSTA Awards

by Lorraine Carpenter, Secretary

Eight men had traveled the length of the Trail, making arrangements for the placing of the markers. One hundred markers had been ordered and paid for by the Iron County Commission, which also paid the expenses of the men traveling to make arrangements. The Cedar City Chamber of Commerce joined in covering their expenses. It was hoped that the sales of the markers would allow for reimbursement of county funds for the markers themselves. Some were paid for; others were donated. I believe that Trail location was determined from generally accepted sources; no scholarly work was done to document the exact path, and cities nearby were chosen for marker locations, each hoping to attract tourists due to publicity. One hundred markers were placed, sometimes more than one to a county or community.

Palmer's philosophy and mission statement were expressed in dozens of newspaper articles, most of them printed just prior to the marking. In Palmer's words, "In one day the historic old Spanish Trail will be lifted out of oblivion back into public consciousness. It will open another scenic and historic route to our tradition loving tourists, and its legendry and story will enrich the traditions of the Old West."

It was a huge undertaking, but accomplished with community effort, as is true of all accomplishments in Iron County History, led every step of the way by our amateur historian, William R. Palmer.

Having accomplished that task and with others waiting to be done, the

At the June conference annual meeting it was requested that we include in this issue of *Spanish Traces* some info on past awards. The minutes of all annual meetings and board meetings have been researched and we find mention of seven awards being granted.

In 1998 the board of directors felt a need for an award that would recognize persons within the organization who had contributed greatly to the organization and to the fulfillment of its purposes. At that time the board decided a most suitable name for such a recognition would be the Crampton Award, named for C. Gregory Crampton, a well-known Utah historian and co-author, with Steven Madsen, of the book *In Search of the Spanish Trail*. The name and intent of the award has been carried on ever since.

Spanish Trail Association seems to have disappeared after 1950. APTA and Howard R. Driggs faded into the sunset about 1954. H. Wayne Driggs died of leukemia in 1951. Howard R. Driggs, born 1873, died in 1963 at age 90. Palmer's wife and strongest supporter, Kate Isom Palmer, died in 1953, and Palmer died in 1960. His books, manuscripts, papers, and photographs were given by the family to then College of Southern Utah, providing the foundation for a Special Collection. There are over 120 boxes of historical papers, 2000 photographs, and 400 artifacts, many from the Paiute tribe, and many maps, including those he received as a member of the American Pioneer Trails Association. ■

There have also been other awards made from time to time, and the following is a complete list. If somehow one has been overlooked, the writer apologizes and would like to be advised of the oversight. Cost of all awards is kept to a minimum and is charged to the OSTA General Ledger.

1998: Willard Lewis, received Crampton Award #1. Ref: *Spanish Traces*, vol. 4, no. 2, Fall 1998.

2000: Richard and Marie Greene, Crampton Award #2. Ref: *Spanish Traces*, Special Edition Conference Report, June 10–11, 2000.

2000: Ruth Marie Colville, Special Award. Ref: *Spanish Traces*, Special Edition Conference Report, June 10–11, 2000.

2001: Yvonne Halburian, Crampton Award #3. Ref: *Spanish Traces*, vol. 8, no. 1, Winter 2002.

2001: Querfeld Family: Judy Querfeld, Charles Querfeld, and Charles' father, Dale Querfeld. Crampton Award #4. Ref: *Spanish Traces*, vol. 8, no. 2, Spring 2002.

2002: Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter, Crampton Award #5. Ref: *Spanish Traces*, vol. 8, no. 3, Fall 2002.

2002: Cedar Breaks District (Utah), Boy Scouts of America, Old Spanish Trail Achievement Award, for marking the OST in Iron County. Ref: *Spanish Traces*, vol. 8, no. 3, Fall 2002. ■

Old Spanish Trail / Mormon Road Historic District: A National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Nevada

by Susanne J. Rowe, Archaeologist
Bureau of Land Management, Nevada
Las Vegas Field Office

Introduction

Urban expansion in southern Nevada is rapidly encroaching upon land that was only recently considered isolated desert. Within this once isolated desert, now caught in the web of urban development, is the route of the Old Spanish Trail, which extends from Santa Fe, New Mexico to Southern California and crosses portions of six states. Through southern Nevada, the route covered approximately 152 miles from the Arizona to the California border. After 1850, the Trail was used mainly for transport between Salt Lake City and San Bernardino and became known as the Mormon Road. As an important cultural resource in southern Nevada, the Trail was documented by archaeologists and nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as the historic route mapped by Frémont.

I will discuss how the nomination process worked and how a listing on the National Historic Register differs from a National Historic Trail designation. I will also touch upon future management of the Trail if it is given National Historic Trail status.

Evaluating the Trail

The first step in managing the Trail as a cultural resource is evaluating

its eligibility for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). The Nevada State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) has federal obligations to update and add to the statewide inventory of cultural resources. The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) also has obligations to inventory lands under its administration and protect and preserve important historic and cultural aspects of our national heritage.

Nevada SHPO initiated the National Register nomination process and chose the Old Spanish Trail/Mormon Road (OST/MR) because of imminent threats from explosive development in southern Nevada. Because so much of the land in Nevada is managed by the BLM, Nevada SHPO works very closely with the BLM to preserve worthy cultural resources; thus, Terri McBride, archaeologist at the Nevada SHPO, and Stanton Rolf, District archaeologist at the BLM Las Vegas Field Office, collaborated on the nomination process.

During the 1980s, BLM archaeologists Keith Myhrer and Stanton Rolf intensively surveyed the trail from Las Vegas to the Nevada/California border. Prior to walking the route, library research was conducted to determine chronology and historical accuracy

of Trail accounts. The research design that was subsequently developed utilized historical data and archaeological methodology to conduct the laboratory and fieldwork in a scientific manner.

The route was then identified and plotted on USGS topographic maps, and artifacts were collected along the way. William White, then a BLM graduate intern archaeologist and presently senior archaeologist at the Harry Reid Center in Las Vegas, analyzed a total of 77 artifacts. These artifacts, which included cans and bottles, mule and horseshoes, and wagon parts, indicated the heaviest use of the Trail occurred from the 1860s to the 1900s. The data on the Trail was documented and published in a 1990 BLM Technical Report 17, "Archaeology of the Old Spanish Trail/Mormon Road from Las Vegas, Nevada to the California Border."

As a result of this initial field inventory, three classes of trail preservation were identified. The first class is **Totally Disturbed**; for example, a segment that is now paved over and incorporated into the modern highway system. The second class of preservation is **Partially Disturbed**, such as those portions extensively driven by contemporary off-road vehicles and portions that have been bladed. The third class of

preservation is **Relatively Undisturbed**. Two sections of the Trail showed little evidence of recent vehicular use and retain some degree of integrity. A total of 48.3 miles of the Trail were examined during this survey and segments were evaluated for integrity.

To be eligible to the National Register of Historic Places, a site or property **must** retain integrity of location, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Also, a property or site must have **tangible, physical remains** to be included in the National Register. Small roadside camps and trash dumps are artifactual manifestations of the travelers on Frémont’s OST/MR, as is the “pitch zone”—a 20 foot corridor on either side of the wagon tracks where unnecessary wagon contents and trash were thrown to the side of the road. These features would not exist without the historic travel corridor and are contributing factors in determining site eligibility.

Myhrer and Rolf determined that two segments of the Trail from Las Vegas to California (4.1 and 5.7 miles in length) were considered somewhat pristine. It was determined that 19.0 miles are only partially disturbed. These portions of the Trail still maintain historic integrity in terms of association, feeling, location, and setting. A total of 19.5 miles are considered totally disturbed. These portions are **not** considered eligible for nomination to the National Register but **still** have potential for interpretive and historic/recreational uses.

In-depth research is vitally important to recognize the significance of properties such as the OST/MR and place them in their specific historical context. Using the 1990 BLM report as a springboard, Terri McBride of Nevada SHPO completed additional historic research, which included a site file search at the Harry Reid Center For Environmental Studies at the University of Nevada Las Vegas Campus, archival research at the Nevada Historical Society and the Nevada State Archives and Library, and the BLM Nevada State Office in Reno. In December 2000, Terri spent one week surveying with Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA) volunteers, who were crucial to the field investigations. She reexamined those segments west of Las Vegas that were determined eligible in the 1990 report—10 years of development in southern Nevada can make a big difference to historic resources—and she also documented a major segment of the trail (4.0 mi. long) on Mormon Mesa, east of Las Vegas near the Arizona border.

This recent survey data, along with Terri’s archival research, pinpointed the route as the one Frémont mapped and popularized known as the “Northern Branch.” This route passed through much of southern Nevada, unlike other widely recognized routes that circumvented most of Nevada such as the “Southern Branch,” which followed the Gila River route.

National Register of Historic Places: Criteria Used for Evaluating Segments of the Trail

There are four criteria used to evaluate properties for National Register status:

Criterion A: The property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history. This is determined by background research.

Criterion B: The property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

Criterion C: The property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity.

Criterion D: The property has yielded, or has the potential to yield information important in prehistory or history.

As mentioned previously, sites nominated **must** retain integrity, so those portions relatively undisturbed were evaluated as significant under two of the four National Register criteria—criterion (A) being associated with events that have made a major contribution to the broad patterns of our history **and** criterion (D) having the potential to yield information important in history. The Trail was nominated as an Historic District and is regionally significant under two research themes proposed in the Nevada Comprehensive Preservation Plan (White et al. 1991)—the Transportation Research Theme, and the Exploration and >>>

Settlement Sub-theme. In August 2001, the OST/MR was listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Although several other states also have segments that have been determined eligible for a National Register listing, Nevada was the first to actually go through the nomination process.

The locations of those segments that were nominated **are not disclosed** to the general public to ensure continued preservation of the resource. Which leads to a discussion of the goals of National Register status and National Historic Trail designation and how they differ.

National Register of Historic Places and the National Historic Trails Designation

Extensive historical research is required to identify and document significant trails—whether NRHP or NHT; however, National Register listing is an honorary one **and** is preservation-oriented.

OSTA is currently working with the National Park Service (NPS) on obtaining National Historic Trail status for the OST. There are three criteria that must be met. First, the Trail must be established by historic use and be historically significant as a result of that use. Second, the Trail must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad categories of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement. Finally, the Trail must have significant potential for public recreational use or interest based on historic

interpretation and appreciation.

In contrast to National Historic Register properties, Historic Trails **do not necessarily** show physical manifestations of trail routes. These are *corridors* that generally follow historic routes as determined through maps and journals and may even AVOID pristine segments of a trail. National Historic Trails are used to develop long-distance recreation corridors, a different end result than the National Register listing.

Some of the potential uses allowed on National Historic Trails are bicycling, hiking, horseback riding, and snowmobiling. Certain trails even permit motorcycling and offroading. In contrast, NRHP listings are preserved and protected.

Future Management Issues

A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), also known as a “handshake” agreement between the NPS and other agencies “encourages long-term interagency coordination and cooperation to further the spirit and intent of the National Trails System Act by preserving and strengthening the visitor satisfaction, administration, management, cooperation, partnerships, and funding of those lands and resources associated with the National Trails.”

If the OST becomes designated as a NHT, the National Park Service would then step in and share jurisdiction of the Trail with the agencies that manage the lands through which the Trail passes. Since BLM manages most of these

lands in southern Nevada, this agency may be designated as lead administrator in the future.

Partnerships with volunteer groups are critical to support efforts to increase public awareness of the OST and to ensure public support for its protection and preservation. An MOU is currently being formalized between the Las Vegas Field Office and members of OSTA. The purpose of this MOU is to promote working relationships between the BLM and OSTA in the identification, development, and maintenance of historically significant segments of the Old Spanish Trail. This MOU establishes a national framework to guide the development of agreements between BLM field offices and OSTA at regional, state, and local levels.

The Las Vegas Field Office and the Nevada SHPO are also in the planning process for interpretive and recreational uses along the Trail. Trailside signs and kiosks are currently being designed that will educate and enhance the public’s appreciation of the Trail. Volunteer groups are encouraged to enter into partnership with the BLM to further preservation efforts; for example, the Boy Scouts of America supports service projects on Historic Trails that earn participants the “Historic Trails Award.” This program encourages young people to learn about the historical roots of their community and the importance of preservation efforts.

To conclude, in this new millennium, as we travel across southern Nevada in a matter of hours, not days, we

What's next for the Old Spanish Trail?

Comprehensive Management Plans and Trail Support Groups

by Steve Elkinton

Program Leader, National Trails System, NPS

Good afternoon, it is a great privilege to address you today.

For this talk, I am going to assume that the Old Spanish Trail will become an NHT in the near future. Making that assumption, I want to get you thinking about what comes next. >>>

might pause to reflect on our historic foundations. The past is ever present with its traces all around us. We must strive to preserve the historic treasures of this past as a legacy for future generations.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the volunteers who willingly gave of their time over the years to help archaeologists survey the Old Spanish Trail/Mormon Road through Nevada. A big thanks goes to Terri McBride, Archaeologist, Nevada SHPO. This paper would have been difficult to write without her suggestions and assistance. Lastly, thanks go to Stanton Rolf, BLM District Archaeologist, who made it possible for me to attend the 2002 Old Spanish Trail Association Conference. ■

First, I want you to consider the central axiom of our office, built on observing hundreds of trails and trail organizations over the past 15 years: **A National Trail without a self-sustaining, independent citizens' organization will not endure.**

Therefore, I stand before you today, challenging this organization to become as strong and large and financially successful as it can be. Without a strong partner, Federal agencies cannot succeed in making a National Trail a success. There will be times when you need to play politics and build budgets. There will be times when you need to invite Congressmen and Senators and the Secretaries of the Interior to come to Trail events. There will be times when you are frustrated with us—and we with you—but we must persevere together. That is the only road to success for a National Trail.

Next, I want to get you thinking at several time perspectives:
— The next 3–5 years, during which the comprehensive management plan (CMP) is being crafted;
— The next 10–20 years, the life of the Trail's advisory council and development phase (getting marked and made available to the public); and
— The long-term, beyond 20–25 years.

Let's look at the next 3–5 years after Congressional designation. This period should see the appointment of a trail advisory council, the establishment of a trail administration office, and the development of the Trail's comprehensive management plan, or "CMP."

What is the CMP process and what should you expect? The agency assigned to administer the Trail prepares the plan, and by law it is to be completed within two complete fiscal years after establishment (but seldom is). Its contents must include, as a minimum:

- A listing of all significant natural, historical, and cultural resources to be preserved (especially "high potential sites and segments")
- Management objectives and practices
- A protection plan for the identified high potential sites and segments
- Signing and marking process
- Carrying capacity and a plan to implement it
- General and site-specific development plans
- Anticipated (estimated) costs
- Sample cooperative agreements

It has become our practice over the past 30 years to structure these plans as a set of alternatives and to conduct them as Environmental Impact Statements, with all of the required compliance review and public involvement that goes with such documents. Be prepared for it to take longer than expected.

Sound complex? Maybe even a little frustrating? Let me suggest >>>

that the best plans go farther than this minimum. Some have laid the foundation for trailwide interpretation by framing out the key interpretive goals, themes and objectives. Some plans that involve large partnerships should define the roles and functions of the major trail partners.

Ideally (because we have nowhere else in the planning process to deal with it), we should also anticipate what I call “visitor use scenarios”—trying to imagine how visitors will hear about the Trail, how they will approach it, how they will experience it, and even how they will be affected by it afterwards. This brainstorming leads to better management actions than those developed more abstractly.

Ideally the CMP is an opportunity to build consensus and shared vision among trail partners. Ideally it should be reviewed and approved by all the major players, not just the trail administering agency. Ideally it should be a living document, used by major trail partners (not set up on a shelf and forgotten).

Now let’s step into our time machine and look ahead to the second period: the next 10 to 20 years. How many of you expect to be still active with OSTA in the year 2020? Who will the members be then? Who will be the leaders? How will OSTA raise money?

By then, let’s hope the Trail is well marked, most of the high potential sites and segments are permanently protected, and the communities along the Trail will know about it and refer people to visit sites along it. By then most of the trail interpretive

facilities (visitor centers, wayside exhibits, etc.) should be in place.

I would call the next 10–20 years the “development phase.” Guess what—we don’t know how this phase ends yet, since all the NHTs established so far are still in it—even some of the oldest and best known, such as the Oregon, Lewis & Clark, and Santa Fe National Historic Trails.

If the CMP is a success, it will have assisted trail partners (including state agencies, Indian Tribes, local landowners, etc.) to carry out their appropriate roles, along with the Federal administering agency.

If it is not a success, 20 years from now we will still be standing around scratching our heads trying to figure out where the Trail is, asking “Who’s on first?” and wondering what we want to do together (and what separately). Many of the Trail’s resources, I predict, may have deteriorated or been lost through inaction. Visitors (if there are any) will be getting lost. Local communities will be unaware that there even is a National Historic Trail nearby.

Today I have no idea what the Old Spanish Trail should be like in 2020. But I challenge you to put your heads together and come up with a vision of what you want this Trail to be like when it is developed and open for public use. And I suggest you do this now, so that the resulting report or vision statement can help the CMP team as they start out, and guide the early years of the Trail after the plan is completed.

In addition, I challenge you to start

marketing the Trail and its stories, its significance, its route, and its prime visitor sites so that it is on the American public’s horizon. Few people are going to visit this Trail, seek to work in a trail office, or join the OSTA if they’ve never heard of this Trail and the stories that go with it. This is not a trail that is very well known across America. Persuading your fellow Americans that that this is something important and attractive is going to be an up-hill struggle. It’s time to get started!

To help with your efforts, I have brought a list of what I call “indicators of a full-performance National Historic Trail.” They are the yellow sheets on the [back table] for you when you go out.

Now, crank the time machine forward for the long-term view (25 years and more). This is much harder to anticipate. How will people travel the Trail then? How much will Americans even be interested in history then? Will the OSTA still exist, or have morphed into something totally different? It is hard for us to anticipate the future so far ahead.

However, the mission of the National Park Service is a perpetual one. We are in this for the long haul, even if we individually serve only a short time. The United States’ public lands are a timeless legacy. Our Native American colleagues speak of planning actions that benefit the seventh generation. It took several hundred years for the Old Spanish Trail to get established across formidable territory. Its era of peak use was short, supplanted by roads and railroads elsewhere.

However, once it becomes a National Historic Trail, our task together—Federal agencies, citizen supporters, state agencies, local land managers and landowners—is a timeless one. We are commemorating the Nation's heritage along the tangible route of this Trail forever. In our partnerships, in our planning, and in our presentation of the Trail's stories we must keep this in mind. Ours is not a short or easy task, but a perpetual and mutual responsibility.

Indicators of a FULL PERFORMANCE (mature) National Historic Trail:

- A vibrant, independent, self-financing citizen partner organization
- A dedicated endowment whose income is devoted to that Trail
- Fully protected natural and cultural resources
- The Trail is considered high priority within the states through which it passes
- The use of GIS and other appropriate high-tech tools to map, analyze, track, and present the Trail corridor and its stories
- Clear, consistent authorities, policies, and regulations which become a platform for sustainable partnerships
- A continuing inflow of new partner organization members and participants, especially through college and university outing clubs and environmental and preservation organizations
- The updating of critical planning documents as needed
- Access to training to keep staff and partner skills current
- Clear identity for the Trail on state and commercial maps and on the ground

OSTA Accepted as Affiliate Member in PNTS



by Kenn Carpenter

OSTA has now been accepted as an Affiliate Member in the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS). Full membership is not possible until the OST has gained National Historic Trail status, and the legislation for that is working its way through Congress. At present there are twelve NHT Organizations with full membership.

The purpose of PNTS is to provide leadership and representation on national issues, to promote communication and mutual assistance among and provide resources and assistance to those organizations striving to protect, develop, commemorate and promote

- Appreciation and support by the public, including local communities and landowners, volunteers, and adequate funding, *even in hard times*
- Periodic measurement of levels of visitor satisfaction and understanding
- Full protection for all the high potential sites and segments

Steve Elkinton, Washington, DC
steve_elkinton@nps.gov ■

Historic and Scenic Trails of the National Trails System. In the big picture, it takes a collective effort of the Trail organizations to be effective in achieving that purpose, especially when it comes to working effectively with Congressional Committees on funding issues for trails.

Achieving NHT status for the OST is just the beginning for us; working with the NPS and BLM on subsequent projects to mark the Trail, provide roadside interpretive sites, design strip-maps for the public, etc. will test us to the limit. Membership growth is a must! OSTA coordination with all chambers of commerce, visitor centers, and libraries along the Trail must be developed for an organized dissemination of information to the public. We have lots to do!

The 8th Conference on National Scenic and Historic Trails is scheduled for next month, October 17–21, at Fort Smith, Arkansas. Conference sponsors are PNTS, NPS, USFS, BLM, Federal Highway Administration, and the American Hiking Society; the host groups are the Trail of Tears Association and the Cherokee Nation. Hopefully OSTA will be represented, and if so then we will have a booth telling the OST story. At last year's conference the OST fridge magnets were a hit, and this year we presume the new OST lapel pins will be equally accepted. This will be a busy five days of presentations and workshops, evening show-and-tells, field trips, and three plenary sessions on system-wide trail issues and tell-it-to-the-agencies. On the final day there will be a meeting of the Partnership Leadership Council. ■

Conference Tour – North of Cedar City to Canyons

by Steve Heath, Leader

Our group of about forty people assembled at the SUU Convention Center parking lot at 8 A.M. for the tour on the Old Spanish Trail north of Cedar City. At the first stop, Steve told the story of the rescue of the OST sign now in front of the Enoch City offices. The original sign was saved by Ray Christiansen about twenty years ago, and restored for Enoch City's Pioneer Day celebration in July 2001. It was the first sign that William R. Palmer, President of the original (Old) Spanish Trail Association, erected and was placed on Highway 91 as it went through town. A duplicate was erected on the same highway as it entered Parowan, on the same day, May 15, 1948.

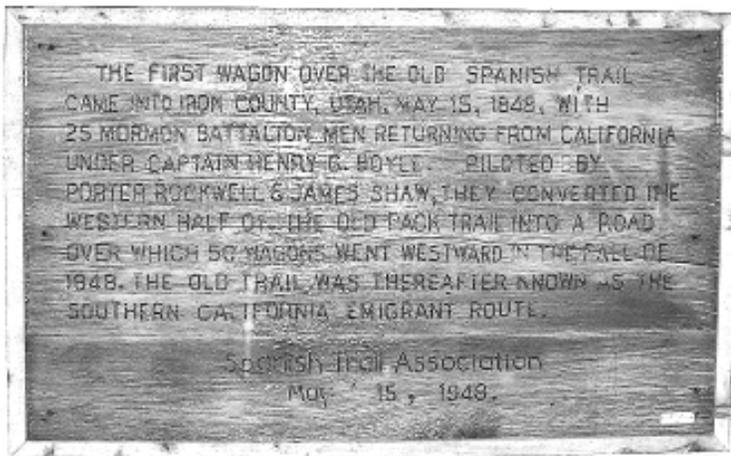


photo by KnL Carpenter

“First Wagon Over OST” sign now in Enoch

The group then visited a series of OST markers near the old Mormon Church in Enoch and on the Trail, followed by a short drive to the mouth of Braffits Canyon just south of Summit, Utah. A short hike up the



photo by Steve Heath

Braffits Canyon, 1831 Inscription

canyon took us to an 1831 inscription that was probably left by the Wolfskill-Yount 1830–31 expedition.

Our modern caravan of fourteen vehicles then drove to the new Heritage Park in Parowan, Utah where we had lunch and viewed several Old Spanish Trail interpretative signs. There we also saw a life-size statue of Mormon explorer Parley P. Pratt. Pratt

traveled the OST in 1849–50 to seek out possible Mormon settlement sites in the southern Utah area. Our group then drove to the site of the Jesse M. Smith home and the “Freemont” monument next to it. Here John C. Frémont and

his men were saved from death in February 1854. Steve told the story of Solomon Carvalho's sketch of a deceased Mormon girl which he made as he passed through Cedar City in the summer of 1854. The

sketch has been prized and preserved privately by the girl's family for nearly 150 years, and was finally exhibited at the Iron County 150th birthday celebration in January 2001.

Our group then drove on to Little Creek, and in the canyon we stopped to see the William Knight inscription of 1842. There Hal Steiner pointed out how easy it was for Walker to extract toll from travelers on the Old Spanish Trail. Janet Austin, docent at the Workman Home and Temple Family Homestead Museum, told the story of the Workman-Rowland Party of 1841. Steve then related the story of Knight and his traverse of the Trail the next year.



photo by Steve Heath

Little Creek, 1842 Inscription

The group drove along the Trail to the pass between Little Creek and Bear Creek. Hal Steiner quickly pointed out the trace of the old Trail at the pass, whose elevation is bench marked at 8122 ft. A Boy Scout sign points out that it is the highest point on the western side of the Spanish Trail. Descending Bear Valley to Hwy 20, we stopped at the Iron County Utah centennial sign describing the route of the OST in the county.

The party then traveled west to I-15, and drove north to Exit 100 where



photo by KnL Carpenter

Looking south through the passway between North Bear Valley and South Bear Valley. The high mountain in the distance is Little Creek Peak, el. 10,142 ft.

they read three Old Spanish Trail signs along a major alternate route of the OST. Here Paul Gilon spoke about the problems of Jefferson Hunt in 1849 as he led anxious gold seekers to California. The last stop on the tour was at the Pratt Party inscriptions in Frémont Canyon about three miles from the freeway. Pratt's exploration group and Frémont's 1854 party both missed the main route of the OST, due to winter weather, and exited via this canyon. The numerous inscriptions indicate that it was in actuality a commonly traveled route.



photo by KnL Carpenter

Frémont Canyon Inscriptions ■



OST Lapel Pin

One inch diameter, \$5 postpaid. Available from ST editors.

This pin was first available at the Cedar City Conference, and there are still some left in inventory. It is a very attractive pin; sorry, but the photo above does not do the pin any justice at all. The backside gripper is excellent quality, and it works fine. The mule logo, originally designed by Yvonne Halburian, is what we hope will eventually be designed into the official National Historic Trail signage. As the saying goes, "use it or lose it," so let's keep the logo showing up everywhere we can. Even the NPS folk wore their pins at the Cedar City Conference. ■

Continued from pages 25–30

The two photos below are thoroughly discussed in Paul Gilon's paper "Tracking the '49ers from the Old Spanish Trail through Southeastern Nevada," pages 25–30.



photo by Paul Gilon

"OSBORN 49" Inscription on the '49ers' Cutoff



photo by Paul Gilon

"H.W.B. 1849" Inscription on the '49ers' Cutoff ■

Spectacular Find at Iron Springs

This amulet, in beautiful condition and still containing residue of the leather thong, was part of the late Alva Matheson artifact display at the conference. Alva found it near the Iron Springs campsite area, thought to have been used by the Dominguez-Escalante party as they passed through there in 1776 heading south. The OST later used the Iron Springs, but headed west. Thank you Alva Matheson, 1903–2001. ■



photo by Ron Archibald

Conference Tour – West of Cedar City to Mountain Meadows

by Richard Greene

By 8:15 A.M. on June 9, eighteen cars had formed a line in the parking lot behind tour leader Caleb Palfreyman, a History major at Southern Utah University. From SUU, Caleb guided us through Cedar City, and then passed under I-15 and headed east on SR-56. Traffic was sparse and parking at the stops was not a problem. The caravan held together and there were minimal delays as the group gathered at each stop. Caleb interpreted each site for us, and others in our group added input as well. Even though it was a sunny day there was a chilly wind and it was good that we brought our coats.

Stop 1 – Dominguez-Escalante Bicentennial Marker

The marker is located on the north side of SR-56, at 3.6 miles west from I-15. The plaque on the marker tells about the “casting of the lots” by members of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition. The result was that the expedition would go no further and would return to Santa Fe. Their expedition failed in its goal of reaching the Monterey Mission in California, but their explorations were the beginning of what was eventually to become part of the Old Spanish Trail.

Stop 2 – Iron Springs

At 4.7 miles from the I-15 underpass and still on SR-56, we left SR-56 and swung right (north) toward Iron Springs, which was now another 4.7

miles. Iron Springs was a key watering spot on the OST and probably a lot more lush than it is today; today there is no water visible and the area is covered with bushes. Based on reports of the Jefferson Hunt travels of 1847 and 1848, the Mormons in 1849 rediscovered iron ore, settled in Parowan and Cedar City in 1851, and soon began mining the iron ore in the Iron Spring area and built an iron smelter.

Stop 3 – 1950 “Spanish Trail” Sign

Returning to the junction back at SR-56, we headed west toward Newcastle, going over a 6000 ft. pass along the way (one reason, at least, that the OST went west from Iron Springs along the south edge of the Escalante Desert to Antelope Spring). At 23.7 miles from the junction and 0.8 miles before Newcastle is street 600 East, and on the southeast corner in the bushes are two signs. The oval Trail sign is one of several put up by the now non-existent Spanish Trail Association founded years ago by William Palmer of Cedar City. The other sign marks the site of a blacksmith shop during those early days and was placed by the community of Newcastle.

Stop 4 – 1849 Jefferson Hunt Party Monument

At the main crossroad in Newcastle, we left SR-56 and headed south on Bench Road to a side road on the left at 4.1 miles, which in 0.5 miles took us to the monument. It was near this marker that Hunt’s wagons and numerous other small wagon groups had their falling out. Many heading for the gold mines wanted to take what was thought to be a short cut to the west; Hunt refused to change his

route and so, with only about 7 wagons, continued south on the OST, while over 100 wagons split off and headed west toward a shortcut that really wasn’t there. Many retraced their tracks to try and rejoin Hunt, but a very few did force their way through and survived the ordeal through the land they named “Death Valley.” The name stuck.

An interesting feature of the monument is the *manos/metates* (rocks used by Indians for grinding) that are embedded in the monument. See page 26 in this issue for more info on the cutoff route. Also see *Death Valley & the Amargosa; A Land of Illusion*, by Richard E. Lingenfelter, pp. 32–51 for a great summary of this complicated bit of history.

Stop 5 – Mountain Meadows

Continuing west on Bench Road we soon reached SR-18, and then another 2.7 miles to Enterprise Junction. Continuing left (south) on SR-18 for 8.8 miles we arrived at the entrance on the right to the upper parking area. From here we took the short walk to the summit memorial site, and then drove the one-mile dirt road down to the Grave Site Memorial.

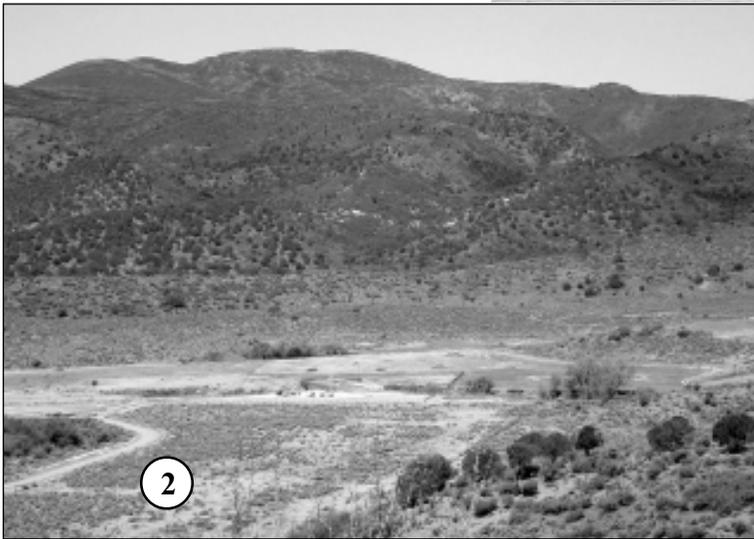
For most of us this was surely the main attraction for taking this tour. There is no doubt that Mountain Meadows was a great place to rest on the OST, a valley of grass and water between high hills. However, it was the massacre that occurred here that probably drew most of us to this location. For a great summary of the event, read “The Mountain Meadows Massacre” by Michael T. Johnson, DDS, *SpanishTraces*, vol. 7, no. 1, Winter 2001, pp. 12–20.



Caleb Palfreyman
our field trip leader



1



2



3



4

all photos by Rose Ann Tompkins

1. The Dan Sill Hill summit memorial site; a place to contemplate history. The wall lists the names of all those massacred, and of the surviving children that were returned to families in Arkansas.
2. The one mile dirt road seen from the summit, leads down to the Meadows and the Grave Site Memorial.
3. An overview of the Grave Site Memorial area.
4. The Grave Site Memorial

In 1857 the Baker-Fancher wagon train left Arkansas for California. On arrival in Utah, the train encountered a situation that was a product of past Mormon persecution, present mistrust with U.S. officials, and a U.S. Army marching to pacify rebellious Mormons; there was no love lost between the wagon train and the Mormons. Also, local Indian tribes had become allies of the Mormons and together they decided

to attack the train that had stopped at Mountain Meadows and leave no witnesses. The wagon train repulsed initial attacks but surrendered when promised safe passage. After giving up their weapons and leaving their wagons, everybody was killed (120 people) except for seventeen children under seven years of age.

The Mountain Meadows Memorial

Park is well worth the visit. There are many signs detailing the history of the event, and a remarkable memorial was dedicated in 1999.

Caleb Palfreyman ended the tour here. A great tour! Thanks, Caleb. ■

Chapter Reports

Southern California

California Director Dr. Ann Deegan, Rick Whitaker, Bill and Claire Stone, and John Robinson met at the home of Jane Stewart in Big Bear Lake the weekend of August 3–4 to discuss ways to revitalize the California Chapter. We have a tentative schedule for chapter activities as follows:

Sat., Oct. 26: Los Angeles Plaza and Olvera Street. Leader: John Robinson (714-528-8609).

Sat., Jan. 18: Pico Mansion and Workman-Temple Museum. Leader: Bill Stone (626-339-9695).

Sat., Mar. 15: Mojave Desert tour, possible joint outing with Las Vegas Chapter. Leader: Jane Stewart (714-970-6232).

Sat., May 17: Yorba-Slaughter Adobe and Agua Mansa Cemetery. Leaders: Ann Deegan and Rick Whitaker (Ann at 909-307-2669 and Rick at 909-395-2454).

We are also considering a possible trip to follow the Old Spanish Trail in the lower Virgin River area of Nevada.

We are making a strong effort to get our chapter going again. We invite and encourage all of our California members to join us for some very informative and fun field trips. Of course all OSTA members are welcome to join us, and we hope some of you are in our area at the right time.

Prepared by John Robinson
Fullerton, California ■

Nevada Chapter

On September 2 we'll be having our fall chapter meeting, and hope for a large turnout. Important things are happening, not just at the national level, but also near to home at the state and county level concerning the Old Spanish Trail. The agenda is full of important items for discussion and action:

- Establish the goals, objectives and future activities of the Chapter.
- Plan Field Trips, including joint trips with the Southern California Chapter.
- Discuss status and plans for the proposed Old Spanish Trail County Park in SW Las Vegas.
- Discuss ramifications of Congressional approval of the OST for National Historic Trail status.
- Discuss development plans for the Blue Diamond area and their impact on the corridor of the OST through the proposed Blue Diamond Recreation Area.
- Maintain active liaison and participation with other trail-oriented organizations such as the Southern Nevada Regional Trails Partnership (SNRTP) and the Outside Las Vegas Foundation (OLVF).

Harold A Steiner, President
Las Vegas, Nevada ■



North Branch Chap.

We here at the North Branch have had some real historic excitement: The ford at the “Crossing of the Grand” has bared its bosom with the drought-caused lowering of the Colorado River. One of our members took a stroll across the moss-covered bottom and discovered it was exactly as described in extant journals of the 1850s. Needless to say, several rolls of film have recorded this sad situation.

We also had our semi-annual highway cleanup day recently at the conference and were asked to describe the process for other OSTA groups interested. One faithful member, Bob Moston, recently retired executive with the Colorado Highway Department, was the leading light to ramrod our Chapter's role in the highway cleanup project. An initial approach was made to the local highway/state road office. All roads in the state are laid out on a grid map to enable anyone interested to locate a specific area by number. This is vital for any type of emergency, maintenance or whatever. Bob described our desire to do any needed cleanup work along a stretch of the documented OST route. We were fortunate to be assigned two different areas along the Trail, sections of two miles in length. One stretch contains remnants of later documented wagon wheel ruts and has been reserved for our crew upon completion of present roadwork. The other section is a two-mile stretch of Trail well documented by the Gunnison Survey expedition in

1853. We recently suggested it was time for a cleanup day, we were assigned a date, given needed plastic bags, vital orange vests, and went to work. Filled debris-laden bags were picked up by highway crews very shortly after our completion of the project. It is vital to coordinate all these efforts to meet highway crews' schedules. It is fascinating to discover all kinds of flotsam discarded along the wayside. The whole operation took just a few hours of time and was well worth the effort. We received some free publicity and nice highway signs, and met some grateful ranchers.

(One stopped his tractor and asked if we had found his favorite jackknife? He regaled us with a few trail stories, knew all about the North Branch Trail, had driven cattle over sections of the route, and was an all-around great guy.)

We are still staying in touch with every contact we can to urge positive action on the Trail. Hopefully this can really be the "Year of the Trail" in Colorado, as proclaimed by our governor.



photos by Jack Nelson

Our 2-mile cleanup section of the OST.

In west Colorado at I-70 Exit #11, by the town of Mack, our 2-mile road cleanup starts here and heads northwest under the I-70 overpass, towards the Book Cliffs.

Jack Nelson, President
Grand Junction, Colorado ■

Workman Chapter

No meetings here since April, but Chapter president Bill Ramsay and Secretary David Fallowfield are getting itchy feet for another trip to the Western U.S.A., starting from Salt Lake City in 2003 and getting as far west as California. Looking for-

ward to meeting OSTA members along the way. Our US-based Chapter members, Gary & Jennifer McIntosh, have recently left their home in Spanish Trail city of Las Vegas and relocated back to Connecticut.

David Fallowfield, Secretary
Penrith, Cumbria, England ■

Chapter Contacts

North Branch Chapter

Jack Nelson—Pres.
 2276 Windwood Court
 Grand Junction, CO 81503
 970-241-8143

Nevada Chapter

Hal Steiner—Pres.
 P.O. Box 12354
 Las Vegas, NV 89112-0354
 702-458-1723
 hsteiner@anv.net

Saguache County Chapter

Doug Knudson—Dir. CO
 0089 Fir Drive
 South Fork, CO 81154-9504
 719-873-5239
 rosejems@fone.net

Southern California Chapter

Nick Cataldo
 6804 N Ventura Court
 San Bernardino, CA 92407
 909-887-0567
 yankeenut@excite.com

Salida del Sol Chapter

Peter Mackaness—Pres.
 P.O. Box AA
 Valdez, NM 87580
 505-776-1831

William Workman Chapter – UK

William Ramsay—Pres.
 83A Urswick Rd
 Ulverston
 Cumbria, LA 12 9LJ England
 david.fallowfield@btinternet.co



Del Norte Landform Sculpture Project Suffers Delay

by *Mettje Swift*

In February of this year, the OSTA was approached by artist Mettje Swift regarding administering a proposed grant from the US Forest Service for the completion of a series of massive stone sculptures and carvings that commemorate and designate the actual Old Spanish Trail route through the San Luis Valley of south central Colorado. Artists of the Rio Grande bioregion are creating this monument to celebrate the history of the trail and the people and cultures of the area.

The Old Spanish Trail Monument Landform Sculpture began as the brainchild of local fiber artist Mettje Swift, sculptor Ross Martin, and SUFS archaeologist Ken Frye. The San Luis Valley chapter of the OSTA wanted to commemorate the early settlers to the area and to mark the wagon tracks embedded deeply in the stone south of what is now US Highway 160, Caminos Antiguos, and west to the Continental Divide. Petroglyphs and ancient signage of the earliest travelers along the Rio Grande corridor are located a few miles south of the monument site. The location designates a long history of travel along the Rio Grande corridor throughout tens of thousands of years.

Sculptural representations of life experiences and images are traditional along the Rio Grande Corridor. The northern branch of the

Old Spanish Trail is an area identified by historians nationwide, and has been studied locally for many years. Public knowledge of and pride in this deeply multicultural region of rugged adventurers can be achieved through artistic stone representations and symbols that honor and signify the courage of those that traveled this way.

The monument currently consists of three or four relief carvings completed out of seven contemplated. The carvings are made on three large slabs (two faces each) which are mounted on a triangle of large blocks. The artists have selected native plant species to encircle the base. The monument is erected at the edge of a graveled rest area along US-160, five miles SE of Del Norte. The prominent placement of the monument, and its beauty, attract considerable interest from the traveling public, many of whom stop and examine the sculptures. The complex includes a sign indicating the Old Spanish Trail is nearby, and a BLM road leads south from the sculpture to wheel ruts, left by the wagons that used the OST pack route for many decades after 1848. Interpretive panels are to be erected at the site; text for and fabrication of these panels has not begun.

PROJECT DELAYED

The grant proposal for Phase 2 of this project has unfortunately been turned down. OSTA had agreed to act as the fiscal agent if this grant proposal had been approved, and as a group we were raring to go. However, another USFS grant will be available next spring, and another application for grant monies for this

project will be submitted. Phase 2 focuses on the second interpretive landform that marks the location of historic wagon tracks which are deeply rutted into stone about one mile south of the highway site. These tracks were incised into the stone road by the travelers on the Old Spanish Trail. Additional large stones will be hauled from the old stone quarry near the site and erected at a junction of the existing BLM road and the trail to the wagon tracks. These sculptural stones will be set to allow a kind of proscenium arch to welcome visitors and indicate the direction to the tracks. This sculpture of carved, set stones, interprets, in deep relief carving, the historic importance of the wagon tracks.

Unfortunately, drought conditions this summer have made it impossible to do the planned plantings of Phase 1, and so we are currently waiting for moisture or winter! Despite these setbacks, we look forward to seeing the completed landform sculpture in place on the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail in the near future.



Sculptors Ross Martin and Mettje Swift at work in the summer of '99. ■

OSTA Annual General Membership Meeting

The 2002 Old Spanish Trail Association Annual General Membership business meeting was held in the Sharwan Smith Conference Center, S.U.U., in Cedar City, Utah on June 8, 2002 following the Conference. President Elizabeth Warren called the meeting to order at 3:45 p.m. and greeted all those present. The minutes of last year's annual general membership business meeting were read and accepted. Treasurer Carpenter gave a short description of OSTA's assets and liabilities, with a discussion of expenditures for membership maintenance. Secretary Carpenter reported on membership activity during the past year.

Vice President Greene encouraged the membership to actively participate in the running of OSTA and its related projects. We have a great need for an infusion of new talents and ideas in all areas of the organization as OSTA continues to grow and develop.

President Warren summarized the past year's activities:

1. National Historic Trail Project – The NPS Liaison Committee, chaired by W. Lewis, has worked closely with the Santa Fe Long Distance Trails Office in tracking congressional activity and contacting government representatives working on this action. The Colorado North Branch Chapter, led by J. Nelson, has also been extremely active in contacting congressional leaders. There will be a special celebration event when National Historic Trail designation is awarded to the Old Spanish Trail. OSTA will need to expand its public and community education efforts to include local school districts.

2. OSTA Website – Many thanks to Carol Corbett for her success in updating the website and developing a Website Plan. This project is continuing to move ahead.

3. Archive Plan – Again, many thanks to Carol Corbett and the Carpenters for their work on the Archive Policy and Records Retention Plan. OSTA now has a permanent archive repository in the Denver Public Library, Western History Department, and a plan for submission of our permanent records.

4. Del Norte Marker – Colorado Artist, Mettje Swift is working on a Monumental Markers Project.

Most of our energies this year have gone into the National Historic Trail designation

efforts and the planning of this year's annual conference. Warren stated that the OSTA needs to have more national activity and events, in addition to the annual conference, and she encouraged input from the membership.

The Crampton Award is given to OSTA members who have contributed outstanding service to the organization, and this year it was awarded to Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter for their contributions as Treasurer and Secretary from 2000–2002, and for their willingness to also take on the vacated job of editing *Spanish Traces*. A plaque was prepared for this year's recipients, and a permanent plaque is being designed and prepared which will show the names of all Crampton Award recipients and be displayed at annual conferences.

Secretary Carpenter gave the results of the mail ballot for the following positions:

- Elizabeth Warren, President, 2002–'03, elected
 - Richard Greene, Vice President, 2002–'03, elected
 - Ann Deegan, Director CA, 2002–'05, elected
 - Walt Hayward, Director UT, 2002–'05, elected
-
- Doug Knudson, Director CO, 2002–'03, appointed by the board in Jan '02 to complete Pat Richmond's term
 - There were no nominees for Sec and Treas; present officers will continue temporarily, positions will be filled by appointment as soon as possible.

President Warren introduced the new directors to the members.

There was a brief question and answer period, following which the 2003 Annual Conference Coordinator, Doug Knudson, was introduced. Knudson will be working with his Conference Chairman, Mark Franklin in planning the conference for June 21, 2003 in Durango, Colorado.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:00 P.M., following which the new board met briefly to ratify their actions at yesterday's board meeting.

The OSTA reception was held at the Iron Mission State Park. Colorado artist Mettje Swift presented a slide show on her Monument Landform Sculptures trail-marking project in the San Luis Valley, Colorado. And an OST Achievement Award was presented to the Cedar Breaks District, BSA, accepted by Garth Green, for the Boy Scout marking of the OST in southern Utah. Dinner will follow at 7:00.

Respectfully submitted,
Lorraine Carpenter, Sec.

Treasurer's Report June 9, 2001 to June 8, 2002

Assets	06/09/01	06/08/02
Checking Act	3,628	4,801
T.R.Price Act	7,989	8,20
Total	11,617	13,006

Liabilities – 06/08/02		
Cedar City Conf (estimate)		1,173
UK Chapter Cash Act		10
UK J.Sharpe Cah Act		23
Website transfer cost, est		100
Misc. other		22
Total		1,328

Net Assets 11,678

Allocation of Assets		
Operating Account (General Ledger)	2,867	
Redlands Conf Act (now closed)	0	
Cedar City Conf Act	1,276	
Retail Sales Act	600	
Marker Fund Act	4,750	
Operating Reserve	2,185	
Total		11,678

Financial Detail

Revenues		
T.R.Price Dividends (reinvested)	197	
Cedar City Conf Registrations	1,810	
Donations	110	
New Memberships (33)	502	
Corp Membership (1)	100	
Membership Renewals (173)	2,686	
[net loss 27 members]		
Retail Sales	962	
Other	255	
Total Revenues		6,622

Expenses		
Redlands 2001 Conf	1,547	
Cedar City 2002 Conf todate	643	
<i>Spanish Traces</i> printing (3 issues)	1,461	
Permits & bulk mail <i>STraces</i>	652	
Roster printing	130	
Election info/ballots printing	116	
Brochure printing	150	
Postage, memberships & misc	385	
OSTA dues to PNTS	100	
Office supplies,	180	
Copy service	89	
Misc	89	
Liabilities estimate	1,328	
Total Expenses		6,870

Cash Flow Summary		
Revenues	6,622	
Expenses	6,870	
Cash Flow Loss		– 248

Crampton Awards Presented to the Carpenters

by Willard Lewis

Well deserved Crampton Awards were given at the Cedar City conference to two very busy members, secretary Lorraine Carpenter and treasurer Kenn Carpenter. Neither has missed a meeting since their election in June 2000. When no willing candidates were found in 2002, each agreed to continue as “default” secretary and treasurer until new replacements are found. In addition to the routine of their official jobs they have instigated and influenced several board actions, systemized the retail book sales procedures for conferences, and improved bookkeeping procedures for OSTA finances overall and especially for conference costs and for retail sales. They continue to work on documenting and formalizing OSTA policies.



photo by Doug Knudson

The Carpenters, Kenn and Lorraine, commonly referred to as KnL, were presented their Crampton Awards by President Elizabeth Warren at the annual meeting.

Following the June 2001 conference, *Spanish Traces* was without an editor. The Carpenters stepped up,

offered to learn the ropes of editing and publishing *ST*, and their offer was accepted. They quickly purchased the proper page-layout program, and within eight weeks had the next issue off of their laptops and at the printers on the normal schedule. The Carpenters are very quick to remind us that they could not have accomplished it without the great help from the previous editor, Judy Querfeld, and especially from the authors of articles who were so supportive and responded quickly to various e-mail questions.

Their latest endeavor was to develop Yvonne Halburian’s mule logo into the very attractive OST lapel pin first available at the Cedar City conference.

By giving this award, OSTA thanks the Carpenters for *making a difference*.



P.O. Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270



Mark your calendar now !
2003 OSTA Conference June 21–22
Durango, Colorado