Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail

Historic Resource Study

July 2012

Prepared by
Peter L. Gough, Ph.D.
Department of History
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

This report has been prepared for the National Park Service pursuant to through Great Basin Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit (CESU) Cooperative Agreement #H8R07060001, Task Agreement #J8AR080022.

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Pacific West Region
Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail
333 Bush Street, Suite 500
San Francisco, California 94104

July 2012

Dear Reader,

Welcome to the Historic Resource Study for the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail. This report is an overview and synthesis of the currently available literature about Anza's overland colonizing expedition in 1775-1776, which was recognized for its historical significance by its designation as a National Historic Trail. The report includes an extensive bibliography which readers are encouraged to explore for primary source materials. The report appendices include a selection of maps and illustrations, as well as a list of settlers on the Anza expedition.

This Historic Resources Study does not offer original scholarly research or propose new theories about the history of the Anza expedition, so it has not been subjected to a traditional academic peer review process. However, the report was reviewed by NPS staff, as well as Anza Trail historians and enthusiasts, and the report has benefitted from their input.

The Historic Resource Study has been prepared for the National Park Service by Peter Gough, Ph.D., at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas History Department. Dr. Gough has previously published research on the Old Spanish Trail. His current interests include scholarly research of twentieth century American cultural and political life, with particular awareness of issues involving multiculturalism, regionalism, and race, class, and gender.

I hope this report serves as an informative introduction to the story of the Anza Trail. If you have questions regarding interpretation of the Anza Trail, please contact Hale Sargent, Interpretive Specialist, at (415) 623-2344.

Sincerely,

Naomi Torres, Superintendent
Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail

Table of Contents

SUMMARY

This Historic Research Study is intended as a general introduction to the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail. The designation of the Anza Trail commemorates the route of the Anza expedition in 1775-1776 that founded a presidio and mission on the northern Pacific coast of the frontier of New Spain. Following an exploratory expedition two years previously, Anza led a group of more than 240 men, women and children over twelve-hundred miles from present-day Horcasitas, Sonora, Mexico to the San Francisco Bay. Anza also explored the east bay of San Francisco before returning to Monterey and then to Mexico City. This study primarily represents a synthesis of existing scholarship and analysis.

List of Key Persons

Anza, Juan Bautista de- (July 1736 – December 19, 1788) was an explorer in the Spanish territories in the Americas and was Governor of New Mexico. His efforts in leading two expeditions (the first exploratory the second with over 240 settlers) to Alta California that settled the San Francisco Bay region remain perhaps his most historically remembered accomplishment.

Anza I, Juan Bautista de- (June 29, 1693 – May 9, 1740) father of the famous son of the same name, the senior Anza was born in the Basque Country and migrated to New Spain in 1712. A renowned soldier, silver miner, and statesman (Anza was Captain of the Presidio at Fronteras) and was killed during an Apache ambush near Santa Maria Suamca.

Bucareli y Ursua, Antonio Maria de- (sometimes spelled *Bucareli y Urzua*) (January 21, 1717, Seville, Spain – April 9, 1779, Mexico City) was a prominent Spanish military officer, Governor of Cuba, and during the two Anza expedition served as the Viceroy of New Spain (from September 23, 1771 to April 9, 1779).

Cabrillo, Juan Rodriguez- (1499 – January 3, 1543) was a Portuguese explorer most remembered for his expedition of the west coast of North America on the behest of the Spanish Crown. Cabrillo was the first European to successfully navigate the coast of Alta California, now part of the United States. Cabrillo was instrumental in the founding of a city which would eventually become Oaxaca in present-day Mexico.

Carlos III- (Charles III of Spain) (January 1716 – December 14, 1788) served as the King of Spain and the Spanish Indies from 1759 to 1788. Carlos was a proponent of enlightened absolutism, and attempted to save the dwindling Spanish empire by promoting science and university research, thus weakening the Church and its monasteries, but increased trade, commerce, and the modernization of agriculture.

Croix, Teodoro de- (June 20, 1730 – 1792, Madrid) was born at the Prevote Castle near Lille, France, and served as a Spanish officer and colonial officer in New Spain and Peru. Teodoro de Croix also served as Commandant of the Spanish fortress in Acapulco until 1770. On May 16, 1776, Croix became the first Commandant of a new fortress in Arizpe, Sonora.

Eixarch, Thomas- was a Franciscan priest and diarist who traveled on the second Anza expedition and remained, with Father Francisco Garces, at the confluence of the Gila and Colorado Rivers.

Font, Pedro- (1737- 1801) a Franciscan priest, born in Catalonia, Spain, was a primary diarist of the Anza expeditions. Font had previously been a missionary at San Jose de Pimas, fifty miles east of Hermosillo. Father Pedro Font was chosen by Anza because of his ability to determine latitudes, and was a geographer, mathematician, and musician. His participation as a chronicler of events was a blessing to historians, as he was in many ways the most perceptive and eloquent of the diarists.

Galvez, Jose de- (1720 – 1787) was a Spanish lawyer, a colonial official in New Spain from 1764 – 1772, and Minister of all of the Spanish West Indies from 1775 – 1787.

Garces, Francisco Hermenegildo de- (April 12, 1738 – July 18, 1781) was a Spanish Franciscan missionary who explored much of the southwestern part of North America, including what is now Arizona, southern California and northeastern Baja California. He also conducted extensive explorations

in the intervening, unsettled region of the Colorado and Mojave deserts and northern Arizona, sometimes on his own and also in 1774 with the Anza Expedition. In July of 1781 Garces was killed in a Quechan Indian uprising.

Kino, Eusebio Francisco- (August 10, 1645 – March 15, 1711) was an Italian priest who became famous in what is now northwestern Mexico and the southwestern United States (primarily northern Sonora and southern Arizona) in the region then known as the Pimaria Alta. He is remembered for his exploration of the region and for his work to convert to Christianity the indigenous population. He also proved that Baja California is not an island by leading an overland expedition there from Arizona. Kino established twenty-four missions and *visitas* ("country chapels" or visiting stations) and was known for his ability to create relationships between indigenous peoples and the religious institutions he represented.

Moraga, Jose Joaquin - (August 22, 1745–1785) was an early explorer to Alta California. Moraga is also known as the founder of El Pueblo de San Jose de Guadalupe, later known as San Jose, California. He is credited with building the Presidio of San Francisco after the site was selected by Juan Bautista de Anza in 1776.

Nieto, Maria Rafela Bezerra- (September, 1700 – October 14, 1760) was the wife of Juan Bautista de Anza I and mother of Juan Bautista de Anza.

Palma, Salvador (*Olleyquotequiebe*)- was one of the principal chiefs of the Yuma Indians. Prior to the second expedition, Palma introduced Sebastian Tarabal to Captain Anza. Palma was instrumental to the success of the mission.

Palou, Francisco- (1723–1789) was a Franciscan missionary, administrator, and historian on the Baja California peninsula and in Alta California. Father Palou's contributions to the Californian and Mexican monastery movement are vast. Along with his mentor, Junipero Serra, Palou worked to build numerous missions throughout Mexico and California, many of which still exist today. Palou is particularly noted for his pious biography of Serra and for his multi-volume early history of the Californias.

Portola, Gaspar de- (1716–1784) was a soldier, governor of Baja and Alta California (1767–1770), explorer and founder of San Diego and Monterey. Gaspar also served as a soldier in the Spanish army in Italy and Portugal.

Serra, Junipero- (November 24, 1713 – August 28, 1784) was a Franciscan friar who founded the mission chain in Alta California—present day California in the United States.

Serrano, Dona Ana Regina – was the wife of Juan Buatista de Anza. The couple had been married 1762, and did not have children or direct descendants.

Serrano, Francisco Perez – was the Father of Dona Ana Regina Serrano, father-in-law of Anza, and a prominent mine owner.

Tarabal, Sebastian- a Cochimi Indian who had fled the Mission San Gabriel and was brought to Anza to serve as a guide on the second expedition and became known as "*El Peregrino"* ("The Pilgrim").

Virgin of Guadalupe- also known as Our Lady of Guadalupe, is a celebrated Catholic icon of the Virgin Mary, and was the Patroness Saint of the Second Anza expedition, as well as the Patroness Saint of Mexico.

Vizcaino, Sebastian- (1548–1624) was a Spanish soldier, entrepreneur, explorer, and diplomat whose varied roles took him to New Spain, the Philippines, the Baja California peninsula, the California coast and Japan.

Glossary of Terms and Translations

Alta California- (English: *Upper California*) was a province and territory of New Spain and later a territory and department in independent Mexico. The territory was created in 1769 and consisted of the present-day states of California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, western Colorado and southwestern Wyoming. The territory passed to United States' control after the Mexican–American War and ceased to exist with the creation of the State of California in 1850.

Alcade/Alcadias- Used in Spain or the Southwestern United States, as well as other sections of Spanish America, refers to the Mayor or Chief Magistrate in a town. "***Alcadias"*** would mean mayoral.

asistencia- assitance

Baja California- Presently is one of the thirty-one Mexican states, it is both the northernmost and westernmost state of Mexico. The state is bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean, on the east by Sonora, the U.S. State of Arizona, and the Gulf of California (also known as the Sea of Cortez), and on the south by Baja California Sur. Its northern limit is the U.S. state of

California. The Jesuits founded a permanent mission colony on the peninsula in 1697. During the following decades, they gradually extended their sway throughout the present state of Baja California Sur. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768, the short-lived Franciscan administration (1768–1773) resulted in one new mission. More importantly, the 1769 expedition to settle Alta California under Gaspar de Portola and Junipero Serra resulted in the first overland exploration of the northwestern portion of the state. The Dominicans took over management of the Baja California missions from the Franciscans in 1773. They established a chain of new missions, first on the coast and subsequently inland, extending from El Rosario (1774) to just south of Tijuana (1817).

Black Legend (*La leyenda negra)-* refers to a style of historical writing (usually by the British) that demonizes Spain and the Spanish Empire in an attempt to morally disqualify Spain and its people, and to incite animosity against Spanish rule. The Black Legend particularly exaggerates the treatment of the indigenous subjects in the territories. The term was coined by Julián Juderías in his 1914 book *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica* ("The Black Legend and Historical Truth"). This is said to have sparked a

reactive history writing that was openly pro-Spanish. The pro-Spanish tradition, which describes the Spanish Empire in a more benevolent manner including the just treatment of its subjects, has sometimes been referred to as the "White legend."

Don- Mr. Sir: a Spanish title; in Spanish-speaking countries, a lord or gentleman.

Dama- Madam, Gentlewoman or Lady.

Fandango- A lively Spanish or Spanish-American dance, especially popular in the Southwest United States. Can also refer to a ball or dance party. In the case of the second Anza expedition, the *fandango* celebrated the crossing of the Colorado River.

Franciscans- Most **Franciscans** are members of Roman Catholic religious orders founded by Saint Francis of Assisi. The Franciscans, under the direction of Father Junipero Serra, replaced the Jesuits as religious pioneers of New Spain in the Americas following the expulsion of the latter. The Franciscans, serving as missionaries and builders of Missions, would greatly aid the northern projects in Alta California.

Fray- Friar

Great Man Theory – was a popular 19th century idea according to which history can be largely explained by the impact of "great men," or heroes: highly influential individuals who, due to either to their personal charisma, intelligence, wisdom, or political skill utilized their power in a way that had a decisive historical impact. The theory was popularized in the 1840s by writer Thomas Carlyle, and in 1860 Herbert Spencer formulated a counter-argument that has remained influential throughout the 20th century to the present; Spencer said that such great men are the products of their societies, ant that their actions would be impossible without the social conditions built before their lifetimes.

Jesuits (Society of Jesus) - is a Catholic male religious order that follows the teachings of the Catholic Church. Also sometimes known colloquially as "God's Marines" because of the role the order played in the conquest of the Americas. Distrust of the Jesuits throughout Europe led to the decision

by the Spanish King Carlos III to expel the Jesuits from the colonies in New Spain in 1768.

League *(Legua)* - a unit of distance that varied at different periods and in different countries. According to several sources, at the time of the Anza expeditions in New Spain the estimated distance was roughly 3 miles (over 4 kilometers).

Padre- Father or Catholic Priest.

Picaroons- a thief or brigand, from the Spanish *picaron* or *picaro.*

Presidio- Translated to English meaning "fortress" or sometimes "penitentiary" as a noun. As a verb, can translate to "preside" or to "act as chairman."

Vaquero- Cowboy

Viceroy- A title originally used by the Aragonese Crown, the Kings of Spain came to appoint numerous Viceroys to rule over various parts of their vast Spanish Empire in Europe, the Americas, and elsewhere overseas.

Visator General- Inspector-General

Visitas- "Country Chapels" or visiting stations.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and Historical Narrative

Juan Bautista de Anza was born July of 1736 in Fronteras, Sonora, along the northern edge of the Spanish empire in the "New World." He died on December 19, 1788, and was buried in Arizpe, Sonora, in the Church of Nuestra Senora de la Asuncion de Arizpe. Anza is arguably most remembered as the first person of European ancestry to establish an overland route from present-day Horcasitas, Mexico, across the Sonoran Desert, to the Pacific Coast of Alta California. The initial Anza-led exploratory expedition began in January of 1774 and the subsequent 1775-76 campaign involving more than 240 participants established a mission and presidio in what would become the city of San Francisco. Anza also traversed the east side of San Francisco Bay before returning to Monterey and eventually to Mexico City.

Anza came from a military family. His father, Juan Bautista de Anza I, had been captain of the garrison at Fronteras until his death on May 9, 1740, which came as the result of an Apache ambush. His mother, Maria Rafaela Bezerra Nieto, was the daughter of the commandant of the presidio at Janos in present-day Chihuahua. The senior Anza had migrated from his birthplace in the Spanish Basque Country and relocated several times in

New Spain before settling in its far northwestern frontier. Just three years old at the time of his father's untimely death, the junior Juan Bautista de Anza was the youngest of six children. He was also the Anza child who most inherited his father's ambition and quest for adventure. In 1752, at just sixteen years old, Anza enlisted in the army at Presidio Fronteras. Two years later he was promoted to a lieutenancy, was made a captain in 1760, and later that same year was elevated to commandant of the presidio at Tubac, on the Santa Cruz River, south of present-day Tucson, Arizona.

To understand and appreciate the motivations behind these two Anza expeditions, it is necessary to place them within an historical context going back at least two centuries prior. Colonial competition and rivalries – primarily between France, Spain, and England – had intensified during the fifteenth century. Following the voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492, Spanish conquest and influence spread swiftly throughout substantial portions of the western hemisphere. The establishment of outposts and the consequent interactions with Native peoples both transformed existing societies and created new communities in the Caribbean, South and Central America, the Floridas, Mexico, and the southwestern portion of the North American continent. These early contacts with the Indians could be violent

and exploitative or – contrastively – result in a convergence of culture and ideas.

England intensified its own overseas explorations in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, resulting in the settlement of Jamestown in present-day Virginia in 1607. Similarly, French colonial influence expanded across Canada, down the Mississippi River, and into the Louisiana territory. The accumulation of wealth and the curtailment of rival expansion lay at the root of all these colonial ambitions. But for Spain – perhaps to a greater degree than other European countries – colonial empire represented more than commercial ambition and acquisition; land holdings across the Atlantic were inextricably tied to sense of nationalist pride and glory for the *Patria* (Mother Country).

Beginning as early as the middle of the sixteenth century officials of New Spain, acting on directives from Madrid, built a succession of presidios, or "frontier forts," along the northern border. The presidios were intended to defend Spanish territorial claims against incursions from both indigenous peoples and the other European groups in the western hemisphere. Yet, the Spanish government – seeking to strengthen imperial control to the south – had made little effort to establish installations along the Pacific Coast during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The

crown also refused to finance (or even permit, in some instances) further exploration of the interior and upper regions. By the late eighteenth century, Spain's empire faced severe challenges that eventually lead to its colonial decline. Financial limitations in the mother country prohibited new imperial settlements, and throughout New Spain existing outposts were threatened by indigenous, Russian, English, Dutch and French rivals. California, however, remained a preoccupation for both Spanish commercial interests as well as religious leaders.

Though not at the time willing or able to settle Alta California, the Spanish crown did show interest in locating navigable ports and water passages in the region. In 1539 Francisco de Ulloa (commissioned by Hernan Cortez) became the first European to enter the Gulf of California. The same year Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo was commissioned by the Viceroy of New Spain to lead an expedition up the Alta California Coast seeking: 1) the mythical Strait of Anian that purportedly connected the Pacific Ocean with the Atlantic Ocean 2) a new route to China, as knowledge of the distance across the Pacific was still unknown 3) to locate suitable ports for future trading. On September 28, 1542, the voyage entered a "very good closed port," which would later be known as San Diego harbor. Cabrillo and his fleet thus became the first Europeans of record to reach Alta California.

The fleet sailed further north to Santa Catalina Island and San Pedro Bay before Cabrillo died from injury and exposure on January 3, 1543.

Another Spanish explorer, Sebastian Vizcaino, was appointed in 1601 by the Spanish Viceroy in Mexico City to locate safe harbors in Alta California. He was given the responsibility of mapping in detail the California coastline that Cabrillo had first surveyed some six decades earlier. In November of 1602 Vizcaino entered and renamed San Diego Bay, and then sailed up the Coast and also named Point Lobos, Carmel Valley, Monterey Bay, Sierra Point, and Coyote Point. The voyage set off a rush of enthusiasm to settle Monterey, but 167 more years would pass before this goal would be realized.

Despite the successes of Cabrillo, Vizcaino, and other explorers, the Spanish made no continued efforts to establish settlements along the Pacific Coast during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Yet, while there was little motivation to actually *settle* Alta California, the quest for navigable ports remained vital. In 1521 Magellan discovered the Philippine Islands, and ever since the Spaniards had sought a route for sea transport from the Islands to North America. The "Manila Galleons" – loaded with precious cargoes of amber, porcelain, musk, and other materials – needed ports along the California coast to refurbish and resupply for the long

voyage to Acapulco. The desire for such ports fueled Spanish excursions into Alta California.

And, the region remained alluring for commercial other interests; even without official sanction mercantile traffic to Baja California continued unabated. Only in 1741, as the expedition of Vitus Bering and the imperial ambitions of the Russian Tsar became better known, did the Spanish Crown recognize the need to settle in California. But the primary impetus for the northward movement from New Spain prior to this period was the desire of both military authorities and religious orders to bring stability and Christianity to the frontier borderlands.

The alliance of these two groups was not as peculiar as it may first seem to present-day sensibilities. The zeal of the missionaries who were determined to save souls clearly augmented the decidedly more earthly objectives of the military and government officials to pacify potentially hostile Natives. And, fearing the onslaught of Dutch, English, Russian or French picaroons, many of the provincial authorities of New Spain began subsidizing the Society of Jesus, or Jesuit Order, in an effort to secure and fortify frontier missions. Jesuit proselytizing and conversions in the Baja and the northern interior hinterlands laid the groundwork for later Spanish advancements into Alta California. The King himself saw the need for an

expanded Spanish-speaking population in the colonies, and thus supported Jesuit efforts in California to convert the Indians to Christianity. The primary goal of the Crown was to create tax paying citizens of the conquered Natives.

Beginning in 1697 the Jesuits would establish a chain of nearly twenty missions and over forty *visitas* ("country chapels" and visiting locations) stretching from the tip of Baja California northward to within several hundred miles of the present U.S.-Mexico border. The Spanish Crown granted unprecedented authority of the Baja territory to the Jesuits, and the missionaries tried to restrict lay immigration to the region in order to shield the Indians from the possibility of morally corruptive influences. But it was earthly rather than spiritual or moral contamination that decimated Native populations; in seventy years the Christianized Indian population of the peninsula had dropped from perhaps 40,000 to some 7,000 – due mostly to the spread of European diseases. The Jesuits had also halted indigenous hunting and gathering practices, and the arid environment could not produce enough food agriculturally to feed the Indians – primarily Pericues, Guaycuras, and Cochimies peoples – thus contributing to Native malnutrition and even starvation.

One individual more than any other – Father Eusebio Francisco Kino – expanded tremendously Jesuit activities in the region. Today Father Kino is most remembered for his explorations of the Spanish North and the Baja and his work among the indigenous populations, primarily the Sobaipuri and Upper Piman groups. Kino also proved that Baja California was not an island – as was then widely believed – by leading an overland expedition from the Sonoran interior. He also suggested the possibility of establishing overland routes from settlements in Sonora to prospective mission fields in both lower *and* upper California. Born in Italy and educated in the best German universities, Kino was a skilled explorer and cartographer and assisted in the establishment of numerous missions on the northern frontiers of New Spain between 1678 and 1712. Historians have generally written sympathetically of Father Kino and his humanitarianism in dealing with Native people, as he consistently fought against the slavery and compulsory hard labor in the silver mines as forced upon them by Spanish decree. Father Kino's convictions in this regard caused considerable rancor with his co-missionaries, most of who acted according to the laws imposed upon the Natives by Spain.

In 1767 Carlos III – the King of Spain and the Spanish Indies – ordered the Jesuits expelled from Spain and all of its colonies. Many of the

King's ministers had advised in favor of this action as they viewed the privilege and wealth accumulated by the religious order as obstacles to secular reforms. Both Portuguese and French monarchs had followed a similar course in 1759 and 1764. In New Spain, the decree incited rioting and other disturbances that were suppressed by Visitador General Jose de Galvez who resorted to summary trials and sentences of perpetual imprisonment to squelch dissent. By February of 1768 the last remaining Jesuits had – after the confiscation of all their property – been expelled from Baja California.

Galvez did not regard the missions favorably and at first did not see them as important in the settlement of Alta California. Like most European and American secular leaders during the Age of Enlightenment he believed that church control of property had, according to historian David J. Weber, "hindered the generation of wealth and that missions had slowed the transformation of Indians into producers and consumers." Further:

> In Baja California, Galvez exceeded the logic of his convictions by trying quixotically to convert the former mission Indians into Spanish townsfolk, residents of utopian communities. Indians, however, declined to follow his script.

In the final evolution of events Galvez was forced to rely upon missionaries in order to control the Native populations in California. With his military committed to other matters in Sonora and the Jesuits recently expelled, the

newly arrived Franciscans were the only group left who could mollify the Indians at minimal expense. Galvez's distaste for the missions did not wane, but he remained a pragmatist; he clearly felt that Franciscan and Native cohabitation could serve to expedite the latter's acculturation into Spanish society.[1]

In March of 1768 Visitador General Galvez engaged the Franciscans, under the direction of Fray Junipero Serra, to take charge of the mission outposts. The *padres* closed or consolidated several of the existing settlements, and also founded *Mision San Fernando Rey de Espana de Velicata* – the only Franciscan Mission in Baja California – as well as nearby *Visita de la Presentacion* in 1769. Authorities of the Franciscan Order in Mexico City sought to promote positive relations between the priests and the inhabitants of these distant communities. According to historian Ramon Gutierrez, these leaders commanded the friars to observe their vows of chastity, to refrain from hiring women as domestics, to hear confessions through some kind of a partition, and to avoid excess in drinking, gambling, and commerce – in short, to observe the rules of the Order. Yet, "the pleas fell largely on deaf ears, for the priests were far from civilization and did virtually as they pleased." Nevertheless, both the King

[1] David J. Weber, *The Spanish in North American* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 242.

and the provincial authorities continued to entrust the Franciscans with the charge of the missions in the Baja.[2]

All of this changed within several months when Galvez received the following orders from Madrid: *"Ocupar y fortificar San Diego y Monterey por Dios y el Rey de Espana."* ("Occupy and fortify San Diego and Monterey for God and the King of Spain.") The decree had come through the Marques de Grimaldi, Prime Minister of Spain, and further directed Galvez to fortify the ports in order to protect California from possible Russian seizure. As a result, the priests of the Dominican Order were called upon to administer the Baja California settlements, and the Franciscans were now dispatched to establish new missions in Alta California. By July of 1769 Galvez ordered expeditions led by Junipero Serra and Gaspar de Portola to first found a mission in San Diego and then construct a presidio in Monterey. The orders were no doubt a reaction to the English triumph in the French and Indian War, as well as increased Russian interest in exploring the Pacific Northwest. Both of these developments were seen as threats to Spanish territorial dominance.

As with the later Anza expeditions, the Spanish crown was indeed fortunate to engage such capable individuals as Captain Gaspar de Portola

---

[2] Ramon A. Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 315

and Fray Junipero Serra. Born of Catalan nobility, Portola had nearly three decades of military service in Europe before arriving in Mexico in 1764. Once there, he was assigned governor of the Baja California – what he soon called "this miserable peninsula." Three years later he received sealed orders to arrest and expel the Jesuits, which according Weber and suggested by other historians, was "a task completed with courtesy." (This was no small feat, of course, given that the expulsions were routinely performed at gunpoint, the clergymen summarily stripped of their wealth, and then deported to Spain.) Portola remained less than enthused with his California post, but was determined "either to die or to fulfill my mission."[3]

Junipero Serra remains one of the best known and most controversial priests in American history. Originally from Mallorca, Spain, the diminutive, middle-aged, asthmatic, friar had turned down a professorship of philosophy in Madrid in order to convert the Natives of the New World. With characteristic zeal he had taken charge of the former Jesuit missions in the Baja. At a time when much of the Franciscan clergy had grown fat and content, Serra remained an adherent to and enthusiastic advocate of a physically active lifestyle. Often he employed extravagant means to move the Natives to penance: he would repeatedly strike his breast with rocks

[3] Weber, 242.

while preaching, and even apply a lit torch to his bare chest. To further mortify the flesh he would wear "rough hair shirts, made either of bristles or with points of metal wire," and engage in self-flagellation to the point of bloodletting. The shrewd Portola recognized the charismatic allure of Serra and exploited his sway over the Indian converts to the fullest extent. The appeal of Serra has proven timeless as he was beatified by Pope John Paul II on September 25, 1988, and given the title "Blessed Fray Junipero Serra."[4]

The subsequent campaign to Alta California was wracked with hardships ranging from sporadic and unintended off-course meanderings to shortages of supplies and food to reoccurring inclement weather to earthquakes in the Los Angeles region. (Weber keenly notes that the Portola expedition "provided its members, all of them men, with numerous opportunities to mortify the flesh.") Galvez's master plan – which he designated "The Sacred Expedition" – called for a four-branch movement into Alta California; two components by land and two by sea. All four of these detachments met in San Diego Harbor and established a makeshift camp at the site of present-day Old Town. The respective travelers suffered tremendously; most of the sailors that reached San Diego were ill, primarily

[4] The quote is from Palou, *Palou's Life of Serra*, 285-286, Serra's contemporary and confidant, who describes at length Serra's self-mortification and quest for martyrdom. Perhaps the best contemporary biography comes from Maynard Geiger with *The Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra.*

from scurvy, and many had died. Out of the two hundred and nineteen men leaving Baja for Alta California, just over one hundred survived.

The voyage from Baja to Alta California was also difficult because of the trade winds and currents encountered. Despite such adversities, the Portola-Serra expedition proceeded north in search of Monterey, but because of the thick fog could not recognize the topography as described from earlier accounts. Onward and further northward the expedition traveled, reaching and naming Santa Cruz, California, and by October 31, 1769, finding the San Francisco Bay – the finest natural harbor on the Pacific Coast. Without exaggeration Fray Serra described it as being so vast that **"not only all the navies of our Catholic Monarch, but those of all Europe might lie within the harbor."** From that point forward, the harbor and the entire Bay region became of a region of desired settlement for Spanish colonial ambitions. [5]

In many ways, the "Sacred Expedition" proved a success for the Spaniards; missions and presidios were established at San Diego and also Monterey, where Portola wrote of intentions **"to occupy the port and defend us from attacks by the Russians, who were about to invade us."** But the goal of achieving a strong-hold to stave off colonial competition was precarious at best. And Portola himself reportedly observed several years

[5] "Conversacion" of Portola "con un amigo," Madrid, Sept. 4, 1773, in Boneu, [ed.], *Documentos secretos*, 81-101, as in Weber, 241.

later that the two new settlements in Alta California would be expensive to maintain, and not sufficiently fortified to shield against possible Russian incursions. Further, the small size of the Spanish ships precluded the transport of large numbers of persons, supplies, and livestock up the coast.[6]

Scores of settlers, a standing military presence, as well as more missions to help pacify the Natives, would be needed in the new northern frontier in order to create a functioning safeguard against rival European imperialists. But many obstacles stood in the way of such settlement: The overland journey was difficult, slow and dangerous, and sea travel proved even more treacherous and unpredictable. Supplying the prospective pioneers with food and equipment would be daunting, and the existing settlements in the Baja were barely solvent themselves, far from able to support new colonies in Alta California. Ships departing from the Mexican coastal mainland must navigate the Sea of Cortez, circumvent the Baja peninsula, and then sail north through the unreliable waters.

Despite such impediments – as well as a generally declining imperial authority and restrictive lack of capital – the Spanish Crown still sought to bolster its new frontier in the western hemisphere. In the end, the Portola-Serra expeditions had actually only established two rather modest,

---

[6] "Conversacion" of Portola "con un amigo," Madrid, Sept. 4, 1773, in Boneu, [ed.], *Documentos secretos*, 81-101, as in Weber, 241.

provisional colonies. And things were not going at all well with these new settlements in Monterey and San Diego, separated from each other by over 450 miles. Relations with Native Americans had disintegrated dramatically; often arrogant and abusive, the Spaniards provoked the once curious and affable coastal peoples into revolt. The Spanish responded with brutally repressive measures: floggings, mutilations, burning at the stake. Sexual violation of Native women was pandemic. **"It is,"** bemoaned Junipero Serra, **"as though a plague of immorality had broken out."**[7]

Circumstances deteriorated so desperately that by May of 1769 Visitador General Galvez himself assumed command of the campaign against the Seri and Pima Indians. Within several months, however, he began to show signs of a severe psychological breakdown. Rising from bed one morning at two o'clock Galvez informed another officer that he had just received a letter from St. Francis of Assisi – the founder of the Franciscan Order who had died 500 years previous. Based upon this counsel he devised a complex military strategy to destroy the Indians in three days simply by bringing 600 monkeys from Guatemala, dressing them like soldiers, and sending them into battle against the recalcitrant Natives. General Galvez would alternately believe himself to be the King of Sweden, then

[7] Serra to Bucareli, Mexico, Apr. 22, 1773, in *Writings of Junipero Serra*, Antonine Tibesar, editor, (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955-66), 1:341.

Montezuma, then St. Joseph – and finally God Almighty. Galvez was subsequently called back to Mexico City in order to regain his mental health. Leaders of the Franciscan Orders in San Diego and Monterey were now more than ever convinced of the need to bring non-Indian settlers into the communities. [8]

It was in this milieu that Juan Bautista de Anza, the son, left his primary mark on history. By the 1770s it became irrefutably obvious that in order for the Spanish to settle the Pacific Coast in Alta California, a practicable trail corridor from the South needed to be identified and pioneered. To this end authorities in Madrid financed several exploratory missions. One of these – initiated nearly simultaneously with Anza's second journey – was the highly anticipated Dominguez-Escalante Expedition. Historian Richard White details, however, how the "attempt by Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Fray Atanasio Dominguez to reach Monterey from Santa Fe in 1776 failed." Rather than reaching Monterey, the "Franciscans and their party spent most of their time wandering around Utah." The successes of the Anza expeditions were all the more remarkable

[8] Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 32.

and significant given the misfortunes of similar exploratory missions to Alta California.[9]

By nearly all historical accounts, Juan Bautista de Anza was an extraordinarily capable individual and an excellent choice to lead the expeditions into Alta California. Early histories, certainly, went far in creating and perpetuating the Anza legend. Bolton tells of the "genius and devotion with which he served his country in this time of need" and further describes Anza as "a man of heroic qualities, tough as oak, and silent as the desert from which he sprang." But more recent – and often less grandiose – historians have been no less complimentary. "In 1774, Juan Bautista de Anza succeeded in traveling overland to California from Sonora," writes Richard White, "thus providing the new province with a land link as well as a sea link with older settlements." White continues that "Anza's success led the Spanish in 1779 to attempt to secure the Gila-Colorado route from Sonora to California by erecting a presidio and two missions among the Yuma Indians who lived along the Colorado." And David J. Weber's conclusions are just as emphatic: "Ambitious and unusually able" he writes,

[9] Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 32.

Anza would receive his orders, finish recruiting prospective colonists, and then "proceeded to follow his instructions brilliantly."[10]

Clearly, the Spanish needed a new route to California – and the "unusually able" young army officer Juan Bautista de Anza in Tubac was anxious to assist in its discovery. According to one contemporary, Anza actually had **"inherited"** the aspiration to lead a northward movement into Alta California; his father had proposed just such an expedition from Sonora to the Viceroy as early as 1737. Anza the son had become absolutely committed to such a venture **"just as though it had been required of him in a clause of a will."** Though previous proposals by Anza the younger had been dismissed, circumstances and events had dramatically changed, and Spanish authorities would eventually be receptive to his aspirations.[11]

Anza knew, certainly, that such an expedition would be difficult; the Colorado and Gila Rivers, as well as the inhospitable desert, stood as formidable barriers to overland travel. But he also believed that such a route was within the realm of possibility. Anza maintained trusting relations with many of the Pima Indian residents of Tubac, and several had assured him of the feasibility of such a mission. And in 1769 the Natives informed Anza that white men (assumedly of the Portola expedition) had been seen along

[10] White, 32; Weber, 249, 253.
[11] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (5 vols.: Berkeley, 1930), V, 1-4; also Fray Francisco Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California* (4 vols., 1926: New York1966), III, 134-35.

the California coast. Certainly if news could travel so swiftly across the desert the land route from Sonora to Alta California was not nearly as arduous as once believed. Anza presented this information and his plans for the expedition to General Galvez (who was visiting Sonora following his therapeutic sojourn to Mexico City.) Galvez no doubt found such news exceptionally gratifying, as he had been a strong advocate for opening an inland route to the new but precarious settlements in the Spanish North. Though Galvez was favorable to Anza's proposed expedition, the viceroy Marques de Croix rejected the plan.

Anza was disappointed but not dissuaded, and his confidence was soon reignited by the encouragement of Father Francisco Garces. Assigned to Sonora to administer the former Jesuit missions of Pimeria Alta, Father Garces had himself made an unprecedented succession of incursions – alone or on horseback – into the desert terrain of the Lower Colorado between 1768 and 1771. A solitarian by nature and a fearless explorer, the adventuresome priest had traveled far into the northern frontier of New Spain. During one of these journeys Garces learned from the Yuma Indians that white men lived far to the northwest of the junction of the Colorado and Gila Rivers. From the Colorado River he viewed **"a great mountain chain"** that he thought may have been one **"which our troops skirted when**

they went to Monte Rey." Based upon information gleaned from his Indian friends and Father Garces, as well as his own observations, Anza told the Viceroy that travel from Sonora to Monterey **"can not be so great as formerly has been estimated, or the way so difficult."** If Indians could cross the desert, he argued, why not Spaniards? Fray Junipero Serra and other prominent leaders also spoke in favor of Anza's plans. [12]

After consultation with a variety of experts the new Viceroy – Antonio Maria de Bucareli – approved of Anza's plans and sought permission for the expedition directly from the Crown. Appointed to his position in September of 1771, Bucareli had previously served as governor of Havana. While in this capacity, he witnessed the English conquest and occupation of that city. Thus Bucareli was particularly anxious to see Alta California secured as a Spanish stronghold against both English and Russian expansion and settlement.

The final decision by the Crown concerning the Anza mission was certainly not hasty, as detailed reports were sent to the King from New Spain and elaborate consultation pursued. Galvez, while in Madrid, also expressed his long held view that San Francisco and Monterey must be secured at all costs. Spanish officials, after decades of reluctance, now appeared ready to

[12] Anza to Bucareli, May 2, 1772, in Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, 5:6.

act. Though royal authorities proceeded with their usual languidness, on March 8, 1773, King Carlos III gave his official approval to the expedition. News of the royal authorization reached Anza in early November of 1773. Now possessing the approval of both the King and the Viceroy, Anza gathered his forces in Tubac. He requested and received permission to have Father Garces accompany him.

The campaign also soon acquired the services of another guide – named Sebastian Tarabal – whose importance to the 1774 expedition cannot be overestimated. (His contribution was so substantial that some of Anza's enemies would later argue that Tarabal rather than Anza should be given credit for discovering the route to California.) Tarabal was a Native American Indian originally from the vicinity of Mission Santa Gertrudis in Baja California. In 1773 Sebastian was sent north to help establish Mission San Gabriel in the Los Angeles region. Unhappy and homesick, Tarabal decided – with his wife and a companion – to run away and return to their home in the Baja.

The trio fled east through the San Jacinto Valley, skirted Coyote Canyon and the Borrego Valley, and then headed across the treacherous sand dunes of the Colorado Desert. Tarabal was the only survivor of this perilous journey, as both his wife and companion perished in the torrid

desert terrain. Reaching the Yuma settlements along the Colorado River, Tarabal was well received and able to recuperate from his ordeal. Sebastian Tarabal then traveled to Sonora and, accompanied by Yuma chief Olleyquotequiebe (meaning "Wheezy One," probably because of an asthmatic condition) he met Juan Bautista de Anza for the first time. The Spaniards renamed Yuman chief "Palma," and to Sebastian Tarabal added the first name "Salvador" (Savior). [13]

Anza must have seen the arrival of Tarabal – or "*El Peregrino*" (The Pilgrim) as he became known – as a veritable godsend. From Tarabal's perspective, the welcome reception he received from the authorities in Sonora must have also come as a surprise; he probably anticipated some retaliation, or at least a reprimand, for having run away from Mission San Gabriel. But Anza's reaction was certainly quite understandable. Tarabal ("this ubiquitous Indian," as described by Bolton) had just traveled the very terrain the newly sanctioned expedition was set to explore. Captain Anza no doubt fully appreciated the benefits of the addition of *El Peregrino* to the journey. Based on the advice of Tarabal and others, the wintertime was

[13] Charles E. Chapman. *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1921), 340. Chapman writes that in 1783 commandant-general Felipe de Neve "displayed a venomous temper against Anza that is hard to account for." While drawing up the annual service sheet, "Neve ordered Anza to omit styling himself discoverer of the route to Alta California, on the ground that that honor belonged to the Indian Tarabal!"

chosen the season for the expedition to begin; such a venture would be unthinkable during the sweltering desert summer months.[14]

Thus, during the first week of January, 1774, Anza rallied his expeditionary force at a staging area near Tubac, in what is today the state of Arizona. Events simultaneously unfolding on the other end of the North American continent bear repeating. A mere few weeks prior to the departure of the first Anza expedition an occurrence of equal historical significance took place in Boston, Massachusetts. It was there that two hundred and fifty British colonists disguised as Indians boarded merchant ships and tossed recently arrived cargoes of tea into the Harbor in protest of taxation laws. In time, of course, even the sovereignty of the San Francisco Bay region – which Anza's journeymen were soon to settle – would be affected by these chains of events occurring over 2,300 miles to the east of Tubac.

The group that left with Anza in 1774 was not large – it totaled no more than thirty-four persons. In addition to el Capitan, Garces, and Tarabal there was a soldier named Juan Bautista Valdez who had accompanied Portola and "knows the roads from San Diego to Monterrey," and Father Juan Diaz, a missionary chosen to serve as Garces' companion. Also among the detachment were a Pima interpreter, a carpenter, five muleteers, Anza's

[14] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, 43.

two personal servants, and twenty volunteer soldiers from the Tubac Presidio. Thirty-five pack loads of provisions and supplies included carpenter's tools and tobacco, the latter on Garces' suggestion that it could be used in Indian negotiations en route. Sixty-five cattle and one hundred and forty saddle animals comprised the remainder of the contingent. The varied assemblage set out from Tubac for Monterey, California, just after one o'clock in the afternoon of January 8. "Few episodes in early American history," Bolton points out, "are so well documented as these Anza expeditions." Together with Fathers Diaz and Garces, Anza kept a finely detailed diary of the journey. Because of their conscientious efforts, subsequent generations have been able to evaluate and draw conclusions about these most important travels and travails in American history.[15]

Ironically, the first jaunt of the 1774 Anza exploratory expedition headed not northward but instead toward the already settled Hispanic communities to the south. Having lost scores of horses and mules to an Apache raid a month earlier, Anza felt it necessary to replenish the drove before commencing toward the intended destination. Also, Anza realized the vulnerability to Apache attacks the contingent faced if it went beyond the

[15] Ibid, 90, 114.

northernmost Spanish mission in Tucson. In his diary following the first day's travel, Anza wrote:

> **At eight o'clock in the morning we set out to the south-southwest over the highway for the towns of the Pima tribe … and the presidio of the province of Sonora. It was not necessary to make the journey through these regions, because the port of Monterey or its environs must be sought toward the northwest of the presidio in my charge, and there is doubtless a road to it by way of the Gila and Colorado rivers. However, I was forced to depart from this plan which I always had wanted to adopt.**

It is also rather ironic that Anza headed toward **"the towns of the Pima tribe"** while avoiding the Apaches to the north; twenty-three years earlier, the Spanish fled the area following a bloody Pima uprising, and had made no attempt to resettle there. The decision to head south-southwest also caused the first of many rifts between Anza and Father Garces.[16]

After rounding the tip of the Tumacacor Mountains, the expedition traveled southwardly along the Altar River and reached the presidio of El Altar on Monday, January 17. Anza wrote that **"this presidio has a regular force of fifty men … depending on the government of Sonora. Of all the interior presidios this is the least troubled by the Apaches, who rarely reach this place and who seldom, and less often severely, attack the pueblos which follow down the river."** From El Altar the expedition

[16] Anza, Arivaca Valley, January 9, 1774, in Herbert Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (5 vols.: Berkeley, 1930), V 1-4. Unless otherwise noted, all future diary references will contain the date, primary author, and location if possible, and can be assumed to be from the Bolton series.

moved onward to town and small mission in Caborca, where they arrived on January 20. The group had covered one hundred and twenty-five miles in their first twelve days, but Anza nonetheless expressed disappointment. Though a few of the men were able to trade their horses for **"others in better condition"** while in Caborca, the detour to the south proved largely fruitless; strong livestock was exceedingly rare in this depleted region. The failure to acquire suitable horses and mules no doubt no doubt further emboldened Fr. Garces, who had warned against the route. Indeed, Anza found the several mules available little more than **"stacks of bones."** [17]

On January 22 the expedition left Caborca and, headed northwest, commenced the difficult trek toward the Colorado River. From this point, the terrain grew increasingly treacherous, water and suitable pasturage for the livestock even more infrequent. By January 28, having passed through the land of the Indians known to the Spaniards as the "Papagos," the expedition reached Sonoita. Anza wrote that the site was **"the last and most advanced to the northwest"** of all the Spanish missions in the Baja region. Up to this point, the expedition had traversed familiar territory. To the west of them, however, loomed the ominous desert that had so vexed Father Kino and others who for more than a century had sought to forge a

[17] Anza, Presidio of Altar, January 17, 1774; Anza, Caborca, January 20, 1774.

land route from north-central New Spain to the Pacific Ocean. Captain Anza was well aware of the immense challenges and possible dangers that lay ahead. The travelers were at the very precipice of their frontier, surrounded by the rather eerie terrain of present-day Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument.[18]

The Colorado River was a hundred miles away, and the only water available for the next fifty miles was fit for neither man nor beast. Some twenty miles north of Sonoita the travelers did happen upon water that was **"drinkable only for want of any other,"** and the situation was complicated by a complete **"lack of pasturage."** During the next week the very lives of the explorers was dependent upon residual rainwater drawn from the hollows of rock formations. In order to ensure that the men rather than beasts were the first to reach water, Anza divided the expedition into two groups. The mules and horses now followed a day behind the human travelers. For most of the expedition, however, most of the members had traveled on horseback.

In an effort to avoid the full impact of the brutal desert climate, the group traveled as far northward as practicable, crossing the present-day international border. For several nights the expedition went with no water at

[18] Anza, Sonoita, January 28, 1774.

all before reaching *Agua Escondido* (Hidden Water) where they discovered **"water high up in the mountain."** The flow of the stream, however, was very slight. Adding to Anza's concerns was a warning from a Papago Indian they met named Luis. Traveling down from the region of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, Luis told Anza of the ill-intentions of the Yuma. Anza wrote:

> **Having already learned of my coming to the rivers, he had set out from there the day before to warn me that I should advance to them with caution, saying that some of the people, and especially those living some distance above the junction of the two rivers, had decided to prevent me from crossing the streams, intending to kill me, the priests, and others who were with me, in order to possess our horses and other things.**

Clearly alarmed by the report, Anza directed Luis to return to the Yuma lands and bring back the chief; Anza felt it imperative to address the tribal leader directly. Anza understood that Native animosity could easily unhinge the entire expedition. Indeed, **"the prevention of such unrest was one of … the first aims of the orders of his Excellency the Viceroy, and of the Council of War and Exchequer…"** [19]

The powerful and wily Yuma chief – Salvador Palma – was not unknown to the expedition. Two years earlier Father Garces had traveled to the Colorado River (via a different trail) and met Palma personally. Garces

[19] Anza, Cabeza Prieta, February 5, 1774.

left an impression on the Indian leader, who was taken by the priest's religiosity, enthusiasm, and generosity. Yet, when Luis returned only a day after departing **"on a good horse,"** it was not Palma (who **"was outside the village hunting"**) accompanying him but **"one of the headsman of the Yumas."** The tribal elder assured Anza that "**Palma and all his people had good hearts,"** and that any rumor of Yuma hostility **"had been dispelled by him and his captain."** Anza, satisfied with the assurance, continued the march to the land of the Yuma, and the expedition reached the Gila River several hours prior to sunset on the seventh of February. Since leaving Tubac, Anza and his men had traveled three hundred and sixty-five miles.[20]

Soon after reaching the Gila River, the expedition was greeted by more than two hundred jubilant and cheering Yuma Indians welcoming the Spaniards' arrival. Anza wrote:

> **… all of them overjoyed at our coming, which they celebrated with cheers and smiles, at the same time throwing up fistfuls of earth into the air and with other demonstrations expressing the greatest guilelessness and friendship.**

In about an hour Salvador Palma himself arrived. He personally assured Anza that the Natives who wanted to kill the Spaniards were not members of

[20] Garces, February 7, 1774.

his group, but of another tribe further up the Gila. Chief Palma had rebuked and banished all of these Indians from Yuma lands.[21]

Prior to Palma's arrival, however, some members of the Anza expedition remained less than convinced of the Natives' amiable intentions, and reacted with suspicion when the Yuma drew near to inspect the new arrivals. Indeed, the Indians demonstrated no qualms about groping and scrutinizing the expedition members' belongings, cattle, or even their persons. **"Their affability and familiarity are insufferable for those who do not like them, because they are excessively curious,"** wrote Father Garces. The Yuma, he continued, **"had a keen desire to touch us and examine us, to satisfy their simplicity, and they did so without distinction to sex."** Lamented Garces: **"one can understand what molestation and rudeness I must have suffered in my journey when I went alone."** Also unsettling for the Spaniards was that the Yuma men – but not the women – went naked. And both sexes adorned their faces and bodies with bright red and black paint, displayed large earrings, and sported clusters of palm branches and bird feathers through a piercing in the nasal septum.[22]

[21] Anza, February 7, 1774.
[22] Garces, February 7-8, 1774.

Despite Salvador Palma's expressions of goodwill and the exuberant welcome accorded the expedition by the Yuma people, Captain Anza remained somewhat wary of the Chief's motivations. The day after their arrival, for example, Palma generously offered to have his tallest men transport the expedition's belongings across the turbulent Gila River. There **"being nothing to cause mistrust,"** Anza wrote, **"I consented to it." "Nevertheless,"** he conceded in his diary, **"I first crossed over with half the soldiers."** [23]

Ever the diplomat and pragmatist, Salvador Palma clearly realized the advantage of remaining in good stead with the Spanish; he consistently curried the favor of and attempted to gain advantage with the colonial leaders. Anza had instructed Palma that the King in Spain desired for the Indians to live in peace, as the Yuma had often found themselves in conflict with other Native peoples. In order to convey to the Spaniards their friendly intentions, the Yuma accorded the Anza members a consistent – and often quite vigorous – hospitality. On their last night in the Yuma territory, for example, the expedition camped on La Santisima Trinidad, a small island **"formed by a branch of the Colorado River which enters the Gilas before it unites with the former, and is the residence of Captain Palma."**

[23] Anza, February 8, 1774.

The Anza members were joined that evening – and bid farewell the next morning – by more than six hundred curious and smiling Yuma Indians of both genders and all ages.[24]

For his part, Anza similarly recognized the advantage of maintaining positive relationships with Indian leaders. Accordingly, Anza made a proclamation to the large congregation of Indians who had come to see the expedition off that Salvador Palma was the chosen representative and subject of the Spanish King to be served by all the Yuma. In a show of solidarity, Anza hugged Palma and then draped a **"red ribbon bearing a coin of his Majesty"** around the Chief's neck. The assemblage was indeed impressed by such a display, as was their Chief. **"With both the medal and the embrace he was pleased,"** wrote Anza, **"and the hundreds of his people marveled at the gift, and at my demonstration of affection, manifesting theirs with unbounded joy."** [25]

For several days, over a hundred of the Indians walked along with Anza and his party. By Friday, February 11, the expedition had advanced beyond Yuma lands. Salvador Palma, however, would accompany the Spaniards for several more days, until the thirteenth of the month. Palma departed and effusively expressed his good-will. The Chief also assured

[24] Anza, February 10, 1774.
[25] Ibid.

Anza that when the expedition returned – expected to be during flood season – the Yuma will have constructed rafts for the Spaniards to cross the Gila River safely. Palma clearly realized the benefits both to himself and the Yuma of pleasing Captain Anza and his expedition.

The Anza expedition's crossing of the Colorado River was truly a monumental occurrence. The immensity and grandeur of the 1,450 mile waterway – called *'Aha Kwahwat* by the Mojave Indians and *Rio Colorado* by the Spaniards – had for centuries fueled countless legends as well as the widely held belief that a river ran the length of the continent to the Pacific Ocean. (As late as the early nineteenth century, the "Corps of Discovery" – led by Lewis and Clark – initially clung to a similar presupposition.) At the time of the first Anza expedition, however, the eventual terminus of the River into the Sea of Cortez was not in question. Rather, the Colorado River represented both a tremendous geographical challenge and a formidable landmark; the Spaniards knew that by heading west from the great river, they would eventually reach the settlements along the Pacific Ocean.

The expedition navigated the River at a ford suggested to them by Palma, to **"the places where they told us it was the shallowest."** In addition to the Yuma Chief's advice, the group was quite fortunate to also cross the River during its lowest level of the year. Regardless, the crossing

required much effort and cooperation, as well as assistance by the local Natives. While the herds of cattle and horses were led across by the Spaniards, the Indians volunteered to transport the cargo. The Indians also carried Fr. Garces in their arms, as the priest could not swim and was fearful of falling off a horse and being washed away in the currents the Colorado. Most of the Spaniards crossed the River on horseback. In celebration Anza that evening **"had a salute given by firing off some rockets,"** a demonstration which, according to Anza, both frightened and amused the Natives.[26]

At this juncture Anza decided – based largely upon the advice of the Mojave Indians – to alter his original plans of heading directly to Monterey. The Indians warned Anza that the route to this destination would grow more arid, and the lack of water would be potentially disastrous for both the animal and human travelers. Fr. Garces believed the Mojave were misleading Anza, wanting only to prevent the Spaniards from forming an alliance with their Indian enemies to the north. He suggested his Captain ignore the admonitions of the Mojave and instead continue northwestwardly to Monterey, as originally planned. History has proven that Garces' recommendation could ultimately have proven quite disastrous for the

[26] Anza, February 11, 1774.

expedition – a portion of this route crossed through present-day Death Valley, so-named by the American settlers and gold-rush emigrants over a century and a half later who found the region so inhospitable and potentially dangerous. Quite fortuitously, Anza decided upon a southwest direction to the Coast.

From their location on the Colorado River the expedition was – as the crow would fly – just over one hundred and seventy five miles to the port in San Diego. Yet, despite the relatively close proximity to their colonial settlements, the journey became increasingly muddled and worrisome for Anza and his men. The new territory through which the Spaniards were now traveling grew progressively barren and formidable. Water suitable for human consumption became increasingly scarce. Shifting dunes made up the changing topography, and directly west of the river sprouted a range of yellow-colored sand mountains, running north and south. A week after leaving the land of the Yuma the Spaniards were now, according to Anza, entirely **"worn-out by hunger and thirst,"** and the mules and horses were in a **"disastrous"** state. Also, a number of the animals had become **"seriously ill from eating an herb which abounds in these parts, for lack**

of grass." Ultimately, as **"a result of starvation and illness"** nearly a dozen of the horses, mules and cattle perished at this juncture.[27]

Captain Anza had an important decision to make. As the wind blew and the sand dunes shifted like waves on the sea, Anza was keenly aware that this was the same region that halted Father Kino's attempt to reach the Pacific coast the better part of a century earlier. Anza believed that changes must be made or the force would face certain catastrophe. Accordingly, he determined that the expedition must be split, as it would be impossible for all them to complete the entire trek to Monterey given the circumstances. Fr. Garces, however, convinced Anza to instead to turn southward toward an Indian village he remembered from his previous journey. After days of travel, however, it was discovered that the village's well had gone dry and been abandoned by the Natives.

Deciding to backtrack, the frustrated Anza dispatched an officer for Salvador Palma to come to the expedition's aid. The Yuma Chief arrived in two days time, and Anza sought to **"entrust to his care a part of the cargoes as well as the animals which would embarrass me in going forward."** Palma took the larger portion of the expedition's belongings and cattle, mules and horses back to the Colorado River until Anza's return from

[27] Anza, February 17, 1774.

Alta California. The importance of the assistance rendered by Chief Palma and the Yuma cannot be overemphasized; indeed, without this help the entire expedition would probably have been terminated.[28]

The Anza party recouped their energies for several nights before proceeding, surrounded by the hundreds of Yuma, Cojat and Quiquima Indians. And the Natives sought little in return for their continued generosity:

> **…They stayed with us in these numbers day and night, not requesting anything except that we should play for them a violin which the soldiers brought for their diversion. They became so attached to it that they gave up their own pastimes, and in their stead learned the customs of our men, particularly the women, who constantly wished to be dancing the *seguidillas* which the soldiers taught them.**

Never one to remain inactive for long, Fr. Garces obtained Anza's consent to travel down the river while the rest of the company rested. Seeking to rekindle friendships with Natives he had met several years earlier during his own travels, Garces also sought advice about water sources and possible routes to the Pacific. The priest brought with him a large canvas adorned on both surfaces with elaborate paintings intended to both charm and impress the Indians he encountered. One side showed the Virgin Mary cradling the

[28] Anza, February 24,1774.

Christ child in her arms; the other depicted a man in horrible agony suffering the flames of hell. As always, Fr. Garces provided his flock with a choice.[29]

The campaign resumed in earnest on March 2, leaving behind **"the greater part of our cargo.**" Anza also entrusted the Yuma with the care of many mules, cattle, and saddle animals and bid temporary *despedida* to three muleteers, three soldiers, and one of the Captain's personal servants. Only twenty-five of the original party remained. Less encumbered, the pace of the expedition accelerated proportionately. The landscape through which they traveled, however, was every bit as treacherous as before; the lack of food for the men, fodder for the animals and water for all continued to threaten the expedition and weaken morale. Leaving behind the River delta, the group now entered the desert of the northern Baja.[30]

By week's end, however, Sebastian Tarabal would prove himself a valuable and inspirational addition to the expedition. Up to this point, the designated guide had been of little assistance to the journey. On March 8, however, Anza wrote that Tarabal **"now was in country … familiar to him"** and, as a result, **"the fear of the unknown began to leave the expedition."** Caguenche Indians recognized Tarabal and celebrated his return and the arrival of his companions. The group's confidence was so

[29] Anza, Santa Olaya, February 25-28, 1774.
[30] Anza, Meadows of the River, March 2, 1774.

inspired by Tarabal's recognition of the terrain and the reception accorded them that **"we now promise ourselves that our expedition will not fail."** Juan Diaz wrote in his diary the next day:

> **Here we were assured by the Indian Sebastian Tarabal that on the next day he would lead us to a watering place at which he stopped when he went to Sonora. This was the first place he was able to recognize, for this is the stretch of country where he was lost for three days, which was the cause of the death of his wife and a relative who were with him, because they did not find any water until they reached the Colorado River.**

The assurances of Sebastian Tarabal resonated throughout the expedition, and all the diarists attest to the importance of the guide's recognition.[31]

The morale of the company improved markedly with Tarabal's unexpected but very welcome announcement. The expedition's immediate travels, however, remained quite challenging and perilous. Anza wrote that the cattle, horses and mules were **"in the most deplorable state that can be imagined."** Yet, if Anza ever harbored fears that the entire mission might fail and need be aborted, these apprehensions were never expressed to his men or in his diary. And with the encouragement the campaign received from Sebastian Tarabal's new recognition of the terrain, the journey continued with a revitalized confidence.[32]

---

[31] Anza, Yuha Wells, March 8, 1774; Diaz, North of Plaster City, March 9, 1774.
[32] Ibid, Anza.

Captain Anza implored the few Yuma still accompanying the expedition to allay with the Caguenche, as the two groups had maintained a longstanding and mutual hostility. On March 10, 1774, Anza wrote that numbers of the Caguenche had assembled, and he:

> **…made them embrace two Yumas who voluntarily have come with me. They have been continually at war, but I gave them to understand that war was ceasing from this day, as the nations farther back had been informed. This news caused them great rejoicing, and they celebrated it by breaking the few arrows which they are carrying. At the same time they promised that they would comply with my precept, never more going to the Colorado River for war, but only to visit, since now the two Yumas were their friends. Before this, however, they informed me by signs, that solely on seeing tracks of the Yumas they were going to cut off their heads, although they were in our company. They were now so completely their over terror that this night they camped with their rivals, and regaled each other with such miserable possessions as these people customarily have.**

To be sure, the diary entries of Captain Anza reveal many of the prevalent ethnocentrisms and stereotypes about Native Americans held by virtually all Spaniards of the day; the Caguenche and other Indians, for example, are routinely referenced as "heathens" and other pejoratives. But, as this passage demonstrates, Anza strove to lessen dissension between the various aboriginal groups as well as toward the Europeans. (The Englishmen to the east – as well as other Spaniards – sometimes encouraged conflict among the Indians in an attempt to "divide and conquer.") Indeed, it was Anza's

continued efforts to act beneficently in his relations with the Indians that represent one of the most exceptional aspects of his character and legacy.[33]

The expedition continued for several more days across what would later be designated the Anza-Borrego Desert. Captain Anza expressed confidence that the journey had endured its most treacherous challenges, and the coming travels would be more hospitable. The desert climate in mid-March was predictably fair, the terrain consistent. Several of the mules died by eating overly salty grass, but this was one of the few hardships. Indeed, the morale of the battalion seemed to increase with the elevation: at this juncture the group was more than five hundred feet above sea level.

Within the week – as the rest of their journey – the Spaniards would encounter Natives of many different tribes. Later generations would deride these California Indians as "diggers," and Fr. Garces viewed the Natives encountered in the Desert were **"degenerate"** and **"cowardly."** Anza seemed to share this assessment, at least in part, because the Natives went without weapons. **"Amongst all those seen today, who must have been more than a hundred,"** he wrote, **"only one was seen with an arrow, but**

[33] Anza, San Sebastian, March 10, 1774; Father Garces became absolutely giddy at the prospect of conquering the Caguenche: "Oh, what a vast heathendom! Oh, what lands so suitable for missions! Oh, what a heathendom so docile!" He foresaw "great progress in the spiritual and temporal conquest" of the Natives once the King was made aware of the situation, certain he would not "permit the obstruction of these great services" to the throne. "Pardon this digression," he writes in his diary, "for my feelings have not allowed me to restrain myself!"

even he had no bow." Anza was apparently more impressed by the Indians ability to hunt:

> **Each one carried a crooked stick something like a sickle, which serves them to hunt hares and rabbits. They throw it from a long distance, and I am informed by the soldiers who saw them hunt, that not one of these animals at which the heathen threw these sticks was missed.**

As he had done with the Yuma and the Caguenche, Anza strove to befriend the Natives encountered in the California deserts. Anza apparently succeeded on March 14 when he wrote that they had alleviated the **"fear which they have for us,"** and many of the Indians remained with the expedition for a period of time.[34]

After breaking camp the next day, the expedition headed through a canyon and a pass which Anza named *Puerto Real de San Carlos* – Royal Pass of San Carlos – in present day Riverside County. Moving out of the strictly desert climate, Anza noted that: **"In the course of the journey made today we have seen an improvement in the country in every way, and have concluded from its moisture that it may be suitable for seasonal crops and the planting of fruit trees, and that there are pastures sufficient for maintaining cattle."** The Commander also made note of the Natives encountered in the region:

---

[34] Anza, March 10, 14, 1774.

> **In the same transit we met more than two hundred heathen, extremely timid, and similar in everything to those farther back except in their language, which we did not recognize. It was laughable to see them when they approached us, because before doing so they delivered a very long harangue in a tone as excited as were the movements of their feet and hands. For this reason they were called the Dancers.**

Father Garces also found the Natives quite amusing, observing that they appeared **"very little different from the Cajuenches, but they are distinct in language and in their method of speaking, for when these people speak they move their feet, raising them high behind, and wave the arms as though complaining and grumbling; and they likewise raise their voices, speaking in tones like some little crows which abound in this region. It certainly is laughable."** The Spaniards' ever-present ethnocentrism deemed the behaviors of the Indians odd or comical to the degree that they were different from their own.[35]

On March 15 the expedition entered the green, fertile region of Southern California and Anza wrote that **"in the course of the journey made today we have seen an improvement in the country in every way."** Heavy rain and snow later in the day impeded travel until late the next afternoon, but the new terrain buoyed the travelers' enthusiasm. **"We were not able to take up the march during the forenoon,"** the Captain wrote,

---

[35] Anza, San Carlos Pass, March 14, 1774; Garces, March 14, 1774.

but the journey commence again at two o'clock on the 16th. The group stopped for the night **"on the banks of a large and pretty lake, to which we gave the name of *El Principe*. It is surrounded by flower-strewn and pleasant valleys and by several snow-covered mountains, by which it filled with water."**[36]

Fathers Garces and Diaz were also both favorably impressed by the new landscape. **"Because we had traveled over roads so dry and lacking in pasturage,"** Garces wrote, **"it caused us much pleasure to see these lands so well grown with pasturage; and it seemed to the men that since it was raining this country must be suitable for all kinds of grain and good for settlements,…"** For his part, Fr. Diaz asserted that **"I think it would be possible to establish here a good-sized settlement which could exist without scarcity."** He further state that: **"the soldiers with us who are versed in metals say that these sierras and others which they have seen in these parts may in time be of great value and richness."**[37]

The continued rain, wind and – in the higher elevations – snow could not contain the high spirits of the Anza group, which continued their journey each of the next several mornings by at least 8 o'clock. Traveling north by northwest the group reached a valley which they called San Jose (the present

[36] Anza, March 15-16, 1774. The lake the Spaniards called *El Principe* is presently called Dry Lake.
[37] Garces, March 15-16, 1774; Diaz, March 15-16, 1774.

day San Jacinto Valley) on March the 18th. Captain Anza wrote that in this "**broad and most beautiful"** valley:

> **…runs a good-sized river, on whose banks are large, shady groves. Likewise in the mountains where the river forms there are seen pines, oaks, and various other trees. All its plain is full of flowers, fertile pastures, and other vegetation, useful for the raising of cattle, of which species as many as one might wish could be raised. And in the same way one could raise good crops, which I judge would be produced with great advantage."**

Father Diaz added that the **"valley is very delightful to the sight"** and also believed the region to be quite fertile as the **"nearby sierras are thickly grown with pines, and all appear to be mineral bearing."**[38]

The final challenge for the expedition before reaching the Pacific coastal missions was the crossing of the Santa Ana River. Although spanning just five yards, its current was swift and was reached by the Anza group **"at high water and much boxed in."** The expedition spent the afternoon of March 20 unsuccessfully seeking a suitable crossing point, eventually camping on the eastern side of the river. Before retiring for the evening, however, Captain Anza had the men construct a bridge in order transport the supplies across the rapid the next morning. Following a morning religious service, the expedition crossed the river and continued its

[38] Anza, San Jacinto Valley, March 18, 1774; Diaz, San Jacinto Valley, March 18, 1774.

journey to the Spanish settlement in San Gabriel, which would be reached the following day – March 22.[39]

The expedition arrived at San Gabriel **"just at sunset,"** wrote Captain Anza, and the first inhabitants he encountered **"immediately made my arrival known to the corporal and the eight soldiers who constitute its guard."** The success of the Anza exploratory expedition in reaching the Spanish settlement along the Alta California coast represents a seminal event in human history. Anza and his troops – like the *conquistadores* before them – were men of courage, imagination and determination. Their accomplishments profoundly impacted the course of human events in North America and around the world. It must not be forgotten, however, that their actions also directly contributed to the further deterioration and eventual conquest of the indigenous societies that inhabited the regions through which the expedition journeyed.[40]

From a topographical perspective, Anza and his men had forged a trail through a region that was previously largely unknown to the Europeans. The group had encountered and interacted with indigenous peoples and bore witness to both the terrestrial splendor and prodigious challenges of the vast landscape through which they had traveled. Gaspar de Portola, of course,

---

[39] Anza, March 20, 1774.
[40] Anza, San Gabriel, March 22, 1774

had pioneered an earlier land expedition from the Baja to Alta California, but the route proved inadequate to transport the large numbers of settlers needed to populate New Spain's northern coastal communities. Prior to the Anza expedition, Spanish claim to the northern section of California was indeed quite dubious; now the ability to strengthen the distant outpost seemed within reach.

The entire journey from Tubac had taken seventy-four days and just over seven hundred miles. Anza wrote that when the group reached San Gabriel on March 22, 1774, he:

> **….announced myself to the corporal of the guard of this new establishment. We found here four friars, its missionaries, from the College of San Fernando de Mexico, who welcomed us with unrestrained jubilation and joy, solemn pealing of bells and chanting of the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for our safe arrival.**

Having received no advance notice about the Anza expedition and believing their journey to be impracticable if not impossible, the mission authorities had not anticipated the contingent. The circumstances at San Gabriel upon Anza's arrival were dire; provisions and food were in dangerous short supply – a situation that again illuminated the Spaniards' need for the overland route from Sonora. Anza dispatched Fathers Garces and Diaz, four soldiers and seven pack animals to San Diego for supplies. Four days after he had left San Gabriel, Garces arrived at the port of San Diego. (Pedro

Fages had opened this road across the desert some time earlier.) The group returned with little in hand but a few bushels of half-spoiled maize and some jerked beef that was "**almost unfit to eat."** The mission in San Diego, it seems, was every bit as depleted as the one in San Gabriel.[41]

Rather than wait until his arrival in Monterey, Anza determined to send news of his completed journey to the Viceroy from San Gabriel. A courier was dispatched to Mexico City – more than 2,300 miles away – replete with the diaries and accounts that had been kept over the course of the journey from Tubac. Always interested in the flow of the mightiest river of the region, Viceroy Bucareli wrote to the Minister of the Indies in Madrid:

> **…Your Excellency will note the report given by one of those natives to the effect that from the Colorado River a branch divides and runs up to the northwest and west. As there was no knowledge of its course to the Gulf of California, and as Anza judged that it emptied into the South Sea, which he called the Sea of the Philippines, it would not be strange if it should be the one which runs to the port of San Francisco, for the sierra which intervene apparently would not permit it to flow in any other direction.**

The route to Monterey from San Gabriel was well known to the Spaniards; accordingly, Anza had only six soldiers and two priests accompany him up

[41] Ibid.

the coast for the final jaunt of the journey. The small group left San Gabriel on April 10, 1774, and arrived in Monterey on April the 18th.[42]

Anza's return trip to Tubac was comparatively uneventful, but nonetheless made valuable topographical assessments that would profoundly influence the course of the subsequent expedition in 1776. Anza, for example, noted a **"good opening"** between the San Gabriel Mountains and San Bernardino Mountains. This divide would later be designated the Cajon Pass, and represent an integral link for nineteenth century Anglo-American settlement of the region. Presently, the Cajon Pass serves an important transportation and economic connection for the greater San Bernardino area in the Los Angeles metropolitan region to Victor Valley and northeast to Las Vegas. In his diary and report to the Viceroy, Anza wrote of the Pass: **"…this I judge to be the most suitable way to go straight to the mission of San Luis and the presidio of Monterey."** (The report failed to mention, however, that Lieutenant Fages of Monterey had previously crossed the Pass himself and indeed suggested that direction to Anza.)[43]

Upon reaching the Colorado River, Anza found that the soldiers he had left there months earlier had returned to Sonora with their supplies; the soldiers had been given misinformation that the entire Anza expedition had

[42] Bucareli to Arriga, Mexico City, May 27, 1774.
[43] Anza, May 1774.

been slaughtered by Indians. Chief Palma provided safe transport for the return expedition through the region, as rumors of an attack on the Spaniards by Cojat Indians had been circulating for some time. The expedition from Monterey arrived safely in Tubac on May 26. In just under five months Anza had traveled more than two thousand miles, much of it through territory previously unknown to the Europeans.

CHAPTER 2

The Second Anza Expedition of 1775-76

Anza was given a hero's welcome upon his arrival in Mexico City, riding upon his steed into the *Plaza Mayor* in the early afternoon on November 13, 1774. He concluded his historic journey at the steps of the *Palacio Nacional* (National Palace), a massive structure dating to the Aztec empire and built in part by Montezuma II. Officials in Mexico City were nothing short of ecstatic about the success of the Captain's mission. The expedition's achievements buttressed plans to further establish settlements in the far north of California, and the Viceroy expressed profound satisfaction with Anza's obvious skill in forging friendly and cooperative alliances with Natives peoples.

Once inside the Palace, Anza told Viceroy Bucareli of his experiences traveling from Tubac to the Pacific and up the coast. He also expressed his desire to organize a party of potential settlers and return to colonize *el Rio de San Francisco* – as well as develop communities along the river that was erroneously believed to reach all the way to the Pacific from the Rocky Mountain ranges. Anza then personally handed the entire diary of his journey to the Viceroy. For his part, the Viceroy of New Spain granted a

monthly monetary award of "one escudo" in perpetuity to all the soldiers who went on the expedition to Monterey and promoted Anza to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.[44]

Simultaneous with the first Anza expedition were equally monumental historical events unfolding on the Atlantic coast of the North American continent. Growing discontent among the British subjects led to open defiance of colonial authority. Though none of the towns of the British colonies in the Americas could challenge the size or importance of Mexico City, Spanish leaders no doubt looked with pleasure upon the difficulties their colonial rival was experiencing in controlling its recalcitrant subjects. It warrants reiteration that events on both the North American coasts represent seminal aspects of human settlement and development; later histories of the United States, of course, often deemphasized the events of the Hispanic explorers along the Pacific.

Not one to rest on his laurels, the ever-ambitious Anza presented the Viceroy in Mexico City not only with his diary but also plans for the expanded settlement of the San Francisco region. **"I beg your Excellency to please issue appropriate orders"** under which he believed he could begin

[44] see Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, V, 202.

to organize such a venture. The Viceroy forwarded Anza's diaries to authorities in Madrid and wrote:

> **This officer here is so eager for this second enterprise that he is only awaiting the instructions under which he is to make it, in order to win this new merit in the service of the King. His presence, good judgment, and talents, which I have now seen close at hand, have confirmed me in the opinion which I have had of him ever since the time when he proposed the exploration, and I do not doubt that he is fit and qualified to carry out the plans upon which we have entered, an undertaking which was without doubt reserved for the glorious reign of his Majesty.**[45]

By the end of November, 1774, the Viceroy issued a formal decree ordering troops to buttress the presidio at Monterey. He also ordered that **"there may be detached from them the soldiers needed for the two new missions projected for the vicinity of the port of San Francisco, establishing there a post to indicate that it is occupied, and that it may be a base or beginning for further explorations."** The decree ordered that the mission should be led by Anza utilizing **"the road which with such glory he explored a few months ago."** [46]

The Viceroy directed Anza to take at least forty families with him, and Anza responded that **"the people whom I consider best suited for the purpose and most easy to get without causing a lack in their country, at**

---

[45] Ibid., 196.
[46] Ibid., 209-214.

the same time that the individuals sought may be benefited, are those of the alcadias of Culiacan, Sinaloa, and [and that of] Fuerte, in the province of Sonora." Anza believed these people would be the best candidates for the expedition because they were **"submerged in the direst poverty and misery, and so I have no doubt they would most willingly and gladly embrace the advantages"** afforded them by relocation to the coastal North Country. Anza also suggested that the group be paid not monetarily but in clothing and supplies; indeed, **"to send their pay in cash will serve no purpose except to afford them more opportunity for prodigality and gambling, to which all the people of the interior districts are excessively given."**[47]

The decisive Anza knew with little contemplation whom he wanted to accompany him on the mission; continued letters between Anza and the Viceroy attest to this confidence. The position of Second Lieutenant was to go to Don Jose Joaquin Moraga, who was stationed at the presidio at Fronteras. A veteran of eighteen years military service to the Crown, Moraga had served **"gallantly"** according to Anza, and **"he deserves**

[47] Ibid; Anza to Bucareli, Mexico City, November 17, 1774.

consideration in that his father died in battle," as had Anza's own father.[48]

Father Garces was again to accompany Anza on the expedition, as well as Father Thomas Eixarch. Rather than continue on to the Pacific coast, however, both priests would remain at the Colorado River in order to salve any anxiety the Yuma may experience as precipitated by the sudden intrusion of such a large number of strangers. Father Pedro Font was also chosen to join the expedition, a decision which Anza at times regretted but for which posterity was richly rewarded. Often ill during the journey – probably as a result of reoccurring malaria – Father Font nonetheless left for the ages the most colorful and perceptive of the expedition diaries. Keenly sensitive and unpredictably excitable, Font's emotional outbursts and hyper-criticism became an irritant to Anza and others on the expedition. The Franciscan friar, however, was a true "renaissance man" of the day: skilled as a geographer, mathematician, and musician, Font could expertly utilize the compass, quadrant, astrolabe, graphometer and level. He also entertained his fellow travelers with his renderings of Spanish hymns on his psaltery, an ancient stringed instrument similar to a lyre.

---

[48] Ibid., 216.

The authorities of New Spain clearly understood the monumental significance – and the need for suitable funding – of the second Anza expedition. A memorandum distributed by Jose de Echeveste in early December, 1774, estimated the total expense of the journey – including such specifics as clothing for the female travelers, baggage, and other equipment – would be nearly two thousand pesos. The Viceroy responded that no monetary restrictions would be placed upon the venture. Captain Anza was generously rewarded for his continued engagement, and the commitment of the Spanish Crown to the fiduciary needs of the expedition reveals once again the vital importance the undertaking held in the minds of both colonial and imperial authorities.

The course of the second expedition would not trace the same route as the first. Anza was offered copious advice as to the course he should take on the coming journey, and many of the suggestions were based upon the assumption that the expedition could locate and follow a transcontinental river to the San Francisco Bay. In the end, however, Anza alone determined the prospective route. Consideration was given, certainly, to the fact that pregnant women and many young children would be among the travelers. Fathers Garces and Serra suggested that the expedition travel northward along the Colorado River, and then head due west toward Monterrey.

Captain Anza, however, decided to head toward the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers as he had done in the exploratory expedition.

But this time, rather than stop at the San Gabriel mission, he sought to find the cut in the mountain range that would later be known as the Cajon Pass. In the towns of Sinaloa, Horcasitas, and Culiacan (settled by the Spaniards in 1531) Anza recruited volunteers for the coming historic campaign. The prospective journeyers had at least one thing in common: they were all quite poor, and were willing to uproot and travel over 1700 miles to a distant place unknown to them in the hope of a better life. Most came from Culiacan or Sinaloa – both in the state of Sinaloa – but some came also from Jalisco to the south or from Sonora to the north. Nearly all were so impoverished they required funding for the most basic necessities; the men recruited were "soldiers" only in that they were issued weaponry – carbines, swords and lances. The parents would carry their small children in their arms. The average family size was six, and two separate families numbered eleven.

Unlike the streams of Anglo-Americans heading west three-quarters of a century later, the expedition would not travel by wagons; rather, all supplies were to be transported atop animals. Tents were to be set up and taken down with each day, the common form of travel in colonial Spain.

Because there were no wagons to offer protection, the people were forced to endure the vagaries of the weather in the open. Cooking, eating, matters of personal hygiene and even child-birth were braved either in the open or in make-shift tents.

The road north-northwest from the staging town of Horcasitas toward the Spanish missions in Alta California was an ancient pathway rife with legend. The noted geographer, historian and naturalist Carl Sauer described it thusly:

> The land passage through northwestern New Spain was mostly by one great arterial highway. From the densely peopled lands of central Mexico a road led by way of the coastal lands of the Mexican northwest to the northern land of the Pueblo Indians, and, at last, to California. It is called the Road to Cibola, since the search for the legendary seven cities was the main reason for its opening by the Spaniards.
>
> Initially the road was a well-used series of Indian trails. Turquoise was carried south over it; the plumage of parrots and other brightly colored birds of subtropical lowlands furnished the most important articles taken north. The successive Spanish explorations blocked out bit by bit the whole route from the plateau of Jalisco to the Zuni country on the Colorado plateau. Mostly these explorations followed one continuous Indian trail. Later the route became the Camino Real of the frontier provinces of Sinaloa, Ostimuri and Sonora, connecting the missions, presidios, mines and ranchos of the northwest with Guadalajara and interior Mexico.

As early as the sixteenth century Coronado and other Spanish explorers traveled the route in search of the "Seven Cities of Gold," and the mythical allure of the corridor remained active during the age of Anza.[49]

The expedition was delayed for a period in Horcasitas as the result of an Apache raid, but eventually commenced in earnest on September 29, 1775. Captain Anza and company would not, however, reach Tubac until October 15 – nearly three weeks later. Having traveled six hundred miles to Tubac's presidio, the journeyers now faced a trek of over a thousand miles across deserts and mountains. While in Tubac the finishing touches, additions and plans, were made for the monumental trek. Both Fathers Garces and Eixarch joined the expedition in Tubac and the total number of travelers reached two hundred and forty; one hundred and fifty-five of them were women and children. The contingent also included three hundred and forty horses, one hundred and sixty-five pack mules and three hundred and two cattle. Twenty muleteers, three *vaqueros* (cowboys), three Indian interpreters, and four personal servants for the priests (including Sebastian Tarabal) were included. The challenges of the venture were clear and monumental, the circumstances and logistics daunting. Yet, for the

[49] Sauer, Carl. *The Road to Cibola* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932), 1-2.

colossally self-assured Anza there appears to have been no hesitation. The group departed Tubac an hour before noon on October 23, 1775.

Father Pedro Font wrote movingly of the mass he performed the night prior to departure, assuring the group of the **"help of God and of our patroness, the Most Holy Virgin of Guadalupe"** and compared **"the children of Israel through the Red Sea to the Promised Land with the journey of the present expedition across the Colorado River to Monterey."** Captain Anza also understood the historic magnitude of the undertaking, as he wrote in his journal a formal statement of purpose which included the following specifics:

PRELIMINARIES – PERSONS INCLUDED IN THE EXPEDITION

The commander, Don Juan Bautista de Anza
……. 1

The father chaplain *de propaganda fide* of the College of Cross of Queretaro,
Fray Pedro Font
…….. 1

Fathers Fray Francisco Garces and Fray Tomas Eixarch, appointed by his Excellency for
the purpose of remaining at the Colorado River to preach and teach the true faith
to its inhabitants until I return
…… 2

Alferez Don Joseph Joachin Moraga
……. 1

Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva
……. 1

Ten soldiers of the presidio named and in my charge, to escort the expedition and to
return with me
……... 10

Twenty-eight soldiers, eight of them, with the commander and sergeant, taken from the
presidios of the province named, the other twenty recruited by the same
commander in the alcaldias of the province
……. 28

Twenty-nine women, wives of the soldiers
…….... 29

One hundred and thirty-six persons of both sexes and all ages, belonging to the same
soldiers and to four other volunteer families who are going to live in California named
…….. 136

Fifteen muleteers
……..... 15

Three cowboys
……..... 3

Three servants of the fathers
…… 3

Four of my servants
…….. 4

Five interpreters of the Pima, Yuma, Cajuenchi, and Nifora languages
……..... 5

A commissary for the expedition
…….... 1

Total Number of Persons
……... 240

One hundred and forty pack mules are being taken to carry provisions, munitions of war, the baggage of all persons going, and other effects of the expedition, and presents brought in the name of his Majesty for the heathen on the way.

Item: Twenty-five pack mules belonging to members of the troop.

Item: Two hundred and twenty saddle animals belonging to the expedition.

Item: One hundred and twenty saddle animals belonging to member of the troops.

Item: Three hundred and two beef cattle to provision the expedition and for the succor of the new establishments. [50]

As the second Anza expedition to the Pacific began, Spain's primary European competitor for control of the North American continent found its colonial authority increasingly threatened. Several months earlier hostilities turned to bloodshed during the battles of Lexington and Concord as the American colonists openly and violently defied British authority. No doubt the enthusiasm accorded Anza and his large contingent was predicated at least partially on the belief that the Spanish could now secure the Pacific coast – and possibly an even *larger* territory – without the threat of its principal imperial rival.

[50] Font, Tubac, October 22, 1775.

The first day out of Tubac the expedition traveled between four and five leagues – or about fourteen to fifteen miles – and set up camp in present-day La Canoa. The optimism and excitement quickly turned to sadness, however, with the untimely death of a young mother during childbirth during that initial stretch from Tubac. (This and similar circumstances are discussed in greater length in chapter five.) Before reaching Monterey – and ultimately San Francisco – many of the expedition members suffered from a host of illnesses. Father Pedro Font wrote regularly in his diary of the health challenges facing the group, and the Font himself remained almost constantly ill, suffering alternately from bouts of fever, chills, and debilitating diarrhea.

During the first portion of the journey the people also endured persistent inclement weather; the diaries all record alternating periods of frigid, overcast, blustery conditions accompanied by sleet, freezing rain or snow. Captain Anza had decided to depart from Tubac a month later in the season than originally scheduled, and the travelers were now paying a price for this decision. By mid-November the potable water would freeze solid in its containers at night, and by the end of the month, Father Font wrote that the weather continued to be **"very raw and cold."** He continued: **"I felt it in my feet and legs very intensely from early morning, after which the cold**

increased…." Captain Anza added that **"…the cold has been so severe that as a result of it and of the ice, six of our saddle animals have died during the last four days."**[51]

By the end of November, the expedition entered the lands of the Yuma Indians. Chief Salvador Palma greeted the group with an extravagant welcome, including a bear hug for Captain Anza himself. The Yuma Chief enquired as to the health of the King and Viceroy and whether and when more Spaniards would be soon arriving to spread the gospel of Christianity. In actuality, the wily Palma was probably most concerned with the protection and weapons the Spaniards could provide in the Yuma's ongoing conflicts with other Indian peoples. Regardless, Anza agreed to take Chief Palma with him to Mexico City on his return trip. Anza was clearly pleased with the impact his previous visit had upon the Yuma. **"Now, when they show us their wives,"** he wrote proudly, **"they boast that they have only one."** Further, the Spaniards found the Natives **"well covered for modesty's sake,"** a development that **"surprised us as much as their nakedness surprised us when they came before us on the first occasion."**

[51] Font, Oatman Flat, November 13, 1775

Captain Anza concluded approvingly: **"I have no doubt that they will embrace our faith and our customs with all complacency."**[52]

On November 28, 1775, the expedition forded the Colorado River just north of the junction with the Gila River; as with the first journey, Chief Palma and his men were of tremendous assistance in this matter. For the lodging and comfort of the group, Salvador Palma provided **"a large house made of branches, in which we were received by his wife and family"** and each member of the Anza party were accorded **"special demonstrations of joy"** upon their arrival. Further, the Natives invited **"all members of the expedition to eat, giving them in abundance beans, calabashes, maize, wheat and other grains which are used by them, and so many watermelons that we estimated that there must have been more than three thousand."** Of the crossing Font wrote:

> **…Father Garces was carried over on the shoulders of three Yumas, two at his head and one at his feet, he lying stretched out face up as though he were dead. I crossed over on horseback, and since I was ill and dizzy headed, three naked servants accompanied me, one in front guiding the horse, and one on each side holding me on in order that I might not fall. Since the train was long, we spent about three hours in fording the river, and in order to dry the things that got wet we halted on its very bank.**

[52] Anza, A Pass in the Gila Range, November 27, 1775.

That afternoon, Captain Anza visited Salvador Palma to determine the location to build a cabin for the two priests who would remain at the Colorado River to instruct the Yuma in the Spaniard's religion.[53]

All of the Anza diarists expressed gratitude for the generous assistance offered by Chief Palma and all of the Yuma people. The Chief's help was all the more appreciated with the news arriving from soldiers Anza had sent ahead to scout the territory. Beyond the Colorado River, the soldiers reported, the availability of water and pasturage were **"in the same condition as when we made our first expedition"** over a year earlier. Of course, this account was not what Anza had hoped. This region just north of the River had proved inhospitable during the first trek because of the extreme scarcity of water and food. This situation reinforced Anza's resolve to maintain friendly relations with the Yuma. Indeed, if the route was to serve as an enduring corridor of travel from the interior to the Pacific, continued good-will was imperative. Anza and his entire group enjoyed the help and security of Palma and his people until leaving the Yuma lands on the sixth of December. Fathers Garces and Eixarch stayed behind with three interpreters, three servants, and three saddle animals.

---

[53] Anza, Colorado River, November 28, 1775; Font, November 30, 1775.

The trek from the area north of the Colorado – where Anza and company bid farewell to their Yuman friends – proved unrelentingly treacherous. The absence of water and pasturage, as well as persistence of inclement weather, plagued the expedition during the entire span to present-day Riverside County. On December 11, 1775, for example, Captain Anza wrote in his journal:

> **All day and tonight the weather has been cruelly cold, and to this is added the fact that this site is lacking in firewood and it has not been possible to gather any through lack of light.**

And several days later he wrote:

> **As soon as day began to dawn it commenced to snow with fierce and extremely cold wind, which continued the entire day, and for this reason it was not possible to march.**

The weather would torment the travelers for some time; on December 14 freezing temperatures killed six cattle, one mule, and five horses, and so adversely effected one of the human journeyers **"that in order to save his life it was necessary to bundle him up for two hours between four fires."** Over the next several weeks, the expedition would continue to lose animals because of the cold: **"Notwithstanding the care which we have tried to**

observe the cattle," wrote Anza, **"it has not been possible to keep down the mortality both from the cold and the injuries."** [54]

On December 19, the group entered the Borrego Valley and camped that night along San Felipe Creek. The small well near their camp was soon drained bone dry by the expedition members and saddle animals, **"but within two hours after we had halted we were left without any, and nearly half of the animals were still to be watered."** Captain Anza demanded that other wells be dug, but the waters in each **"flowed so slowly that we concluded that we should not be able to achieve our purpose during the whole night."** Consequently, **"the greater part of the animals went without drinking, and some from necessity drank some water found farther down that was salty or bitter and caused them great injury."**[55]

The next day, December 20, the expedition settled within Coyote Canyon, on the southern lip of present-day Riverside County. The **"morning it was so frigid and the night before so extremely cold,"** wrote Anza, **"that three saddle animals and five head of cattle were frozen to death."** The captain further wrote that **"the weather was so hard on our people that almost none of them slept, for they spent the night occupied**

[54] Anza, Yuha Wells, December 11, 1775; Anza, December 14, 1775; Anza, Entering Borrego Valley, December 18, 1775.
[55] Anza, San Gregorio, December 19, 1775.

in feeding the fires in order to withstand it." The expedition would remain in the Canyon for several more days, however, and by the time of departure, according to Father Font, the **"day continued very cloudy, although not very cold."** Despite the improving weather, Font **"was all day somewhat troubled"** by his chronically reoccurring diarrhea **"which got much worse"** as the day progressed.[56]

By December 23 the expedition had traveled west-northwest and setup camp next to the natural springs in "Santa Catarina" – or present day Lower Willows. Both Anza and Font provided long accounts of the native peoples encountered there, the former characteristically much more generous in his description than the latter. For Christmas Eve, 1775, the expedition members enjoyed an unexpected amount of food in the form of meat; four of the cattle had been slaughtered and were available for consumption. In an attempt to maintain morale during the Christmas season and celebrate the birth of another child, Anza allowed for each adult member to have a pint of aguardiente – a type of brandy liquor popular in Spain, and made of sugar cane in the New World. Father Font reminded the Captain that **"drunkenness is a sin, and one who cooperates also sins,"** but Anza proceeded with his plans. **"That night,"** Font wrote disapprovingly, **"the**

[56] Anza, Coyote Creek, December 20, 1775; Font, December 22, 1775.

people…were very noisy, singing and dancing from the effects of the liquor." For his Christmas sermon the next morning, the uncompromising Father Font felt compelled to address the development, writing: **"And because of the drunkenness which had occurred I could not do less than say something, reprimanding such noise and disorders."** Font also acknowledged that the lecture **"did not sit well with the commander, judging from the asperity and ungraciousness which he manifested, for he continued angry with me all day…."** [57]

The discord between the two men apparently continued for some time, but within several days a markedly improving climate and terrain no doubt served to also thaw the rift between Father Font and Captain Anza. Arriving within the Royal Pass at San Carlos, even the usually pessimistic Font found reason for optimism:

> **This place has a spring of water and a small arroyo nearby, with plentiful and good grass; and the sierra hereabout appears to be very fertile and moist, quite in contrast with the former, which appeared to be rather mountains of boulders and rocks than a sierra.**

[57] Font, December 24, 25, 1775.

The Captain, also, expressed relief and was encouraged by the changing surrounding, writing: **"With this march the sierra or range which runs to and ends at Baja California is now overcome or passed."** [58]

The further the expedition advanced over the next several days, the more agreeable the weather and surroundings became. The group entered the opening of Bautista Canyon on December 27. **"Here,"** Father Font wrote:

> **…the country is better than the foregoing, for after the Pass of San Carlos this country completely changes its aspect, in contrast with that left behind on the other side. From a height near the place whence we set out, formed by large stones, rocks, and boulders, through which the road runs and which form the Pass of San Carlos, as if the scenery of the theatre were changed, one beholds the Sierra Madre de California now totally different – green and leafy, with good grass and trees, in the distance looking toward the South Sea…."**

The journeyers thankfully found themselves in **"level and good country"** as they entered the Cahuilla Valley, which Father Font described as being **"plentiful and good grass, with shrubs and fragrant herbs."** Some of the team feared the distant sight of the snow capped mountains, but Captain Anza assured them that **"the cold would be moderated when we got to the seacoast and its missions, as had already been experienced."** [59]

---

[58] Anza, San Carlos Pass, December 26, 1775; Font, December 26, 1775.
[59] Font, December 27, 1775; Anza, Bautista Canyon, December 27, 1775.

For several days the travelers experienced alternate periods of cold and rain, but by December 30 the weather became fair and pleasant. They had entered San Jacinto Valley with its **"crystalline and beautiful water"** that flowed through. Father Font waxed nearly poetic in his reaction and description:

> **A valley so leafy that because of its beauty and attractiveness we called it Paradise Valley. Emerging from that valley it flows through the valley of San Joseph for a few leagues quite close to the low mountains or range of hills which is in front of the Sierra Nevada. The Valley of San Joseph is very large and beautiful. Its lands are very good and moist, so that although this was wintertime we saw the grass sprouting almost everywhere in the valley. Finally, it has a very clear sky and a very delightful view.**

On New Years Day, however, the travelers awoke to again find an unexpected frost covering the ground and a dip in temperature. As they approached the Santa Ana River it became clear the current was as treacherously deep and strong as on Anza's earlier exploration. After losing a bull and a horse to the swift currents, the Captain ordered a bridge be built.[60]

When the bridge was completed the next day the women and children – and then the supplies, cargo and livestock – were transported across by the soldiers. Understandably exhausted by the bridge-building and river

[60] Font, San Jacinto Valley, December 30, 1775.

passage, the group rested for the remainder of the day on the other side of the Santa Ana. Font described the area a **"fertile and beautiful country, with rose bushes, grapevines, blackberry bushes, and other plants which by their verdure are pleasing to the sight."** The landscape was **"entirely distinct from the rest of America which I have seen; and in the grasses and the flowers of the fields, and also in the fact that the rainy season is in winter, it is very similar to Spain."** As the group traveled further down through the Los Angeles valley and approached the plains, the climate became more temperate and the snow on the mountains became a distant visage. Ahead of them, Anza told them, lay their final destinations: the Spanish missions along the Pacific coast of Alta California.[61]

The expedition moved beyond the borders of present-day Riverside County during the first week of 1776, and arrived at Mission San Gabriel on the fourth of January. Nearly six hundred miles separated the party from San Xavier, the last Spanish community they had encountered. Captain Anza and Father Font left the group in San Gabriel for several days to explore rumors of an Indian uprising in San Diego. After investigated the situation and sending his report to the Viceroy, Anza decided to return to

[61] Font, December 31, 1775.

San Gabriel, having received reports that food for his people was running quite low.

On February 9, 1776, Anza set out for San Gabriel, having ordered that a **"large pack train … loaded with provisions, consisting of wormy maize"** be sent to the mission several days previously. On their return trip, Anza again found the rather prickly Father Font a source of annoyance. The padre, inquiring as to the intended campsite one particular evening, was told rather abruptly that they would stop **"…at whatever point we reach."** With this Font whined that he was suffering from profound hunger, as the last morsels he had consumed had been **"a couple of eggs"** early that morning. Wanting to avoid a confrontation, Anza permitted the priest to eat some bread and cheese. As throughout much of the expedition, Father Font proved to be an annoyance to Anza. Yet, Font believed that as a result of his complaining, from that point forward, **"although we might be traveling we would eat a mouthful, which formerly had not been done."** [62]

Upon arriving in San Gabriel in the early afternoon on February 12, Anza was informed that five members of the party – two servants, two muleteers and a soldier – had fled and absconded with more than thirty animals and other items belonging to the expedition. He also learned that

[62] Anza, February 9, 1775; Font, February 9, 1775.

much of the rest of the party had grown **"very much dissatisfied,"** were blaming Anza for their troubles, and were near mutiny:

> **They objected to going any further, saying that, having been promised the pay of three hundred and sixty-four pesos and rations,, now they found themselves without food, dying of hunger, lacking the cows and other things which were promised them when they enlisted, and the salary paid in inferior goods and charged at a hundred and fifty per cent of their value.**

Understandably quite troubled by these developments, Anza almost certainly received no sympathy from Father Font. Two months earlier, when Anza expressed concern over the shortage of food rations and other items, Font:

> **…told him that he ought to remember that in this expedition he was like a ship captain, who, having to make a journey of four months, ought to provide supplies for six; and that he not only ought but might have done so, for they had opened to him the royal chests for anything that might be necessary.**

Though not explicitly confirmed by the journals, it seems more than likely that Font responded to this later shortage with the same manner of "I-told-you-so" condescension.[63]

Truth be told, Captain Anza exhibited quite admirable restraint in his dealings with the prickly Father Font throughout the entire journey. While in San Gabriel, for example, Anza developed a debilitating case of intestinal flu which hampered his activities for several days. Though almost certainly

[63] Anza, February 12, 1775.

caused by the consumption of rancid food, Father Font instead maintained that the Captain's nausea and vomiting were caused by feelings of **"self-guilt and despondency"** resulting from the continued discontent within his ranks. Anza ignored the priest's rather insulting assessments, soon regained his health, and on Wednesday, February 21, continued the journey from San Gabriel to the Pacific coast with seventeen soldiers and their families, as well as Font.[64]

Anza now was quite acquainted with the trail over which they were traveling; he had followed the same course both going and returning during the exploratory expedition. The group arrived at Mission San Luis Obispo on March 2, 1776, and Father Font described **"a shed which serves as a church, and at one side there are some small huts or divisions which serve as another habitation, in which sleep, locked in, the converted girls, whom they call nuns."** He commented that they had been taught to **"sew and keep clean; and they already do so very nicely, as if they were little Spaniards."** [65]

Departing San Luis Obispo the expedition traveled through the Cuesta Pass of the Santa Lucia Mountains, and reached Mission San Antonio de Padua several days later. On a rainy Sunday, March 10, 1776, the weary

[64] Font, February 21, 1775.
[65] Font, Mission San Luis Obispo, March 2, 1776.

travelers reached the presidio Monterey. Their historic trek to the Pacific Ocean completed, wrote rather unceremoniously of their destination and experiences:

> **…It is a very small affair, and for lack of houses the people live in great discomfort. Nor is this for want of materials, for there is lime and timber to spare, but for lack of effort directed to the purpose. The commander, indeed, had to lodge in the storehouse, and I in a dirty little room full of lime, while the rest of the people accommodated themselves in the plaza with their tents as best they could.**

Just after dawn the next day, Father Font said a mass which included Franciscan monks who had come from the mission in Carmel. The priest expressed repeated gratitude for the divine intervention which facilitated the expedition's completion, and was also quite generous in his praise of the expedition's leader:

> **Thank God that he has dealt with us so benignly, heaping us with blessings and favoring us in so long a march, just as he favored his most dearly beloved people of Israel. Let us then give thanks to God. And I, in the name of God and of the King our Lord, give thanks to our commander, Don Juan Bautista de Anza, for the patience, prudence, and good conduct which as chief he has shown in commanding this expedition, and I promise him that God will reward him for his labors.**

For his part, the commander had little time to relax or even fully recover from the gastroenteritis which had plagued him ever since San Gabriel; Juan Bautista de Anza was instructed by the Viceroy **"to explore the port of San**

Francisco, the Rio Grande, and sites suitable for the two missions, the presidio and settlement." [66]

Despite the not infrequent tensions between Font and Anza, the priest again served as companion and assistant on the journey to San Francisco. Father Font described the Bay as **"a marvel of nature, and might well be called the harbor of harbors, because of its great capacity, and of several small bays which it enfolds in its margins or beach and in it islands."** At Fort Point the next morning they mounted a cross **"on a place high enough so that it could be seen from all the entry of the port from a long distance away, and at the foot of it the commander left written on a paper under some stones a notice of his coming and of his exploration on this port."** Anza expressed approval with the beautiful and bountiful surroundings, and personally chose the site where the new community was to be established as San Francisco.[67]

Though the military commander already stationed in Alta California initially resisted his authority, both Anza and Font returned to Monterey on Monday, April 8, 1776, and the waiting colonists **"were pleased with the reports which we gave them of our journey, especially of the beautiful site at the port of San Francisco which we had examined and selected**

[66] Font, Monterey, March 10-11, 1776.
[67] Font, Peninsula of San Francisco, March 28, 1776.

for the settlement and presidio." The two explorers were met **"joyfully"** and the four Franciscans at the settlement announced their arrival **"with many peals of bells."** Captain Anza left Monterey on April 14, again with Father Font as a companion. The evening before his departure, many of his traveling companions from Tubac **"came to me sobbing with tears, which they declared they were shedding more because of my departure than of their exile, filling me with compassion. They showered me with embraces, best wishes, and praises which I do not merit"** wrote the modest Anza. [68]

The expedition departing the Coast was comprised of twenty-nine persons and a menagerie of four-legged animals – including four house cats that had been **"urgently"** requested in both San Diego and San Gabriel **"on account of the great abundance of mice in that region of its missions."** By June 1, 1776, the return party had reached Horcasitas, having last been at the settlement over eight months previously. By late October the group – which now included Chief Salvador Palma and several Yuma travelers – reached Mexico City late in October.[69]

Those of the second Anza expedition still in Monterey – as well as other persons funded by the Crown, and a train of cattle – set out for San

[68] Anza, Monterey, April 8, 14, 1776.
[69] Anza, April 15, 1776.

Francisco in the afternoon of June 17, 1776. The new commander, Lieutenant Jose Joaquin Moraga, altered slightly the location for the presidio earlier chosen by Anza in order that it could be nearer to water and more protected from winds. Just over a year earlier the intrepid group had organized in Sonora near Horcasitas; they had traveled approximately one thousand and seven hundred miles to the tip of the peninsula in San Francisco. The new arrivals of the Anza expedition had nearly doubled the European population of Alta California. During the next five years, at least three hundred more settlers traveled the Anza Trail, and the domestic cattle and horses provided the initial stock for the expanding herds of Northern California. The impact of the 1775-76 expedition on the development of Alta California cannot be overestimated.

A year following the conclusion of the expedition the first pueblo, or town, was founded at San Jose on the south shore of San Francisco Bay. The population was made up primarily of soldiers brought to California by Anza and settlers from Monterey and the new presidio at San Francisco. Perhaps three hundred additional colonists arrived during the next five years over the Anza Trail. The cattle and horses brought by the Anza expedition, as well as those which followed during the next few months and years, became the foundation for the herds of the large ranchos of California. The

Juan Bautista de Anza passed away in 1788. The continued interest from both scholars and the general public surrounding the two Juan Bautista de Anza led journeys to the Pacific Coast remains keen. Certainly, the initial motivation for the Spanish Crown in the late 1800s to strengthen its influence in the Americas was motivated by at least one primary factor: for centuries, the country maintained a continental and colonial rivalry with England, and Spain was clearly concerned about the growth and strengthening of English settlements along the eastern seaboard of North America. And Spanish colonial officials also expressed concern about the Russian threat, as well.

The settlements formed following the completion of the two Juan Bautista de Anza campaigns should be seen – at least in their initial implementation – as both successful and beneficial. Along with the failure of the British to control its thirteen rebellious colonies along the Atlantic and the transfer of Florida to Spain in 1783, the Anza expeditions seemed to portend an era of increased Spanish influence in the region. Eventual turns of history, however, negated many of the accomplishments of Captain Anza. The stunning victory of General George Washington at Yorktown in October of 1781, for example, *should* have been a source of satisfaction for the Spanish. Yet the Yuma Massacre three months earlier closed the Trail

which Anza expeditions had previously secured. These developments, in the final analysis, greatly hampered Spanish colonial activities in the region. And the independence movement of the American colonies unquestionably inspired similar revolts in Latin America.

As an historical figure, Juan Bautista de Anza remains a person of considerable stature. Perhaps the journal accounts of the often irascible Father Pedro Font – though they should be viewed with a measured circumspection – provide the most illuminating commentary of Anza's personality, leadership skills and character. Despite the sometimes contentious and persistently pestering attitude of Font, Captain Anza maintained his composure and authority. His actions as leader of the expeditions proved consistently decisive and clear-headed, and Anza displayed courage and resolve in the face of the missions' greatest challenges. And, as will be discussed in greater detail in coming sections, Juan Bautista de Anza demonstrated sincere compassion and genuine concern for the well-being of those most often relegated to the periphery of the late eighteenth century Hispanic power structure: women, children and Native Americans.

CHAPTER 3

Historiographical Assessment of the American West, Southwest, Spanish North, Pre-Columbia and Trails

An often overlooked but crucial aspect of the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail involves the historical and other scholarly literature pertaining to the regions through which the expeditions traversed. What is now the American West had previously been the Mexican North, prior to this the Spanish North, and in the Pre-Columbian period the territory had been home to dozens of indigenous groups and their divergent societies and cultures. This section provides a *historiography* – the evolving body of techniques, methodologies, theories, and principles of historical research and presentation – as pertinent to a resource study of the Juan Bautista de Anza Trail.

Presently, the primary region through which both Anza expeditions traveled (as recognized by the NPS) is the America West. The father of the historiography of the American West, Frederick Jackson Turner, read and published *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* in 1893. So influential were the ideas expressed in this "Frontier Thesis" that they impacted the writing of all of American histories for the better part of a century. With the resultant border alterations resultant frome the Mexican-

American War in 1848, the region of the former Spanish and Mexican North – as well as the Anza expeditions – also became part of the American West. Though in some histories this "southwestern" section warrants separate attention, more often than not the arid climate and other characteristics of the region connote for most scholars and students an aspect of the American West.

For Frederick Jackson Turner, the entire American experience could be succinctly explicated: "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advancement of American settlement Westward explain American development." The appeal of the Frontier Thesis was broad; it combined the notions of both American exceptionalism and triumphalism, and propagated the popular image of the hearty, westering pioneer – an American prototype that spread around the globe.[70]

The entire profession of American historians, it was later observed, "was converted into one large Turner-*verein*" (union). Following the Second World War, however, the preeminence of Turnerian philosophy began to be questioned; while Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* in 1950 calls Turner's thesis "the most influential piece of writing about the West produced during the 19th century" he also tacitly questions the "ideas of

[70] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* [microform] (From proceedings of the forty-first annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin) Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894.

savagery and civilization that he uses to define his central factor, the frontier."[71]

A decade later in *The Machine in the Garden* Leo Marx called Turner's thesis "myth," and historian Richard Hofstadter argued that while Turner took justifiable pride in the achievements of American history, "he had little countervailing response" to the more shameful aspects of the frontier experience. With the scholars of the New Western History of the 1980s, "Turner Bashing" emerged as a prime participatory sport. Patricia Nelson Limerick, perhaps the most publicly visible of the New West historians, acknowledged her conviction "that the revitalization of Western American history began with the recognition that the Frontier Thesis had become entirely irrelevant to the history of the … West." [72]

In recent years, while contemporary scholars emphasize many of the New West concerns of environmentalism, urbanization and the multi-ethnic reality of the region, the influence of Turner and his Frontier Thesis is far from irrelevant. Certainly, this evolving historiography of the American West impacts scholarly assessment of trails. For Turnerians, trails have

---

[71] Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 1957, c1950), 9, 27-28

[72] Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 63; Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 119; Patricia Nelson Limerick, "The Trail to Santa Fe: The Unleashing of the Western Public Intellectual," in *Trails: Toward a New Western History* eds. Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, Charles Rankin, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991),41-59.

represented an integral aspect of the frontier. For the New Westers, an over-emphasis on frontier could degenerate into ethnocentrism and even racism. Patricia Nelson Limerick has even defined the frontier – what she dubbed "the F-word" – as simply "the area where white people get scarce." To some scholars, trails no doubt could just as easily become the "T-word." But both of these constructs have remained remarkably resilient. What Limerick wrote of Turner's frontier thesis could probably just as easily extend to trail history: "Fighting the thesis was like fighting the Pillsbury Dough Boy; it bent momentarily to absorb challenges and then instantly resumed it previous shape." [73]

For, as Richard White has said, in the New West "everything comes back to trails." Indeed, the "whole relational logic of the New Western History forces attention to movement, to contact, to exchange." White also offers a somewhat droll explanation for the interest in and importance of trails for the Old West histories: for earlier scholars, the land on the far side of the frontier represented "nature" and was by necessity feminine or "virgin land" awaiting its "white American groom" to bring the seed of civilization. "Now with this kind of allocation of the physical space," White comments

---

[73] Patricia Nelson Limerick, "The Adventures of the Frontier in the Twentieth Century," in *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 67-102; Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Turnerians All: The Dream of a Helpful History in an Intelligible World," in *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), 141-166.

wryly "and the rather obvious way historians organized it in gender terms … those long trails entering the West have metaphorical connotations too obvious for comment." Whether as metaphor or corridor, trails certainly continue to evoke some essentialist element about the western experience and historiography. When, in 1989, the National Endowment for the Humanities provided funding for a Western History exhibit and accompanying symposium of which Professor Patricia Nelson Limerick was the principal scholar, she chose as the project title: "Trails: Toward a New Western History."[74]

But the Juan Bautista de Anza Historic Trail, certainly, represents a far different set of historical circumstances than, say, the nineteenth century heydays of the Santa Fe, Oregon, or Bozeman Trails. The 1775-76 Anza expedition predates these Trails by several generations; indeed, it also presages the very existence of the United States and Mexico. And, unlike other trails worn deep by repeated travels, the Anza Trail is remembered primarily for the expeditions that forged the land route which lead to the founding of the city San Francisco. Further, Spain controlled or laid claim to the territory through which the entire Anza Trail traversed, as it did with most of the lands of what would become the American West. And it should

[74] Richard White, "Trashing the Trails," in *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, eds. Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, Charles E. Rankin (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 26-39.

also be recalled that Spain continued to control this region of the present-day American Southwest until 1821, many decades after both England and France had relinquished colonial claim to any portion of the future United States of America.

Historiographically, the region of the Anza Trail also departs dramatically from other aspects of historical writings about the West. Until several decades into the twentieth century, American historians paid scant attention to the sections of the United States which had previously flown under the flag of Mexico or colonial Spain. Indeed, the influence of Turner's Frontier Thesis reinforced the presentation of the nation's history as an unfolding *westward* pageantry emanating from the thirteen original Atlantic seaboard states, entering (via trails) the virgin wilderness, and spreading the benefits of civilization to the Pacific. In 1921, Herbert Bolton published a small book entitled *The Spanish Borderlands* which traces the development of the United States as gauged by the earlier Hispanic control to the south (Florida and all of what would be the American West), stressing that this perspective was essential to an understanding of American history. Though Bolton did little to unseat Turnerian preeminence, his scholarship did reach a level of recognition, particularly in the "Borderland" regions themselves.

Much as Turner's thesis glorified the westward march of Anglo-Americans, Herbert Bolton's history stands as a celebratory account of the northward spread of Hispanic culture and religion into the region of what would be the United States. Also like Turner, Bolton largely ignores the role Native people played in this epoch and the toll which Spanish conquest took on their way of life. In subsequent decades scholars have substantially revised parts of the large picture painted by Bolton, perhaps most effectively by David J. Weber in 1992 with *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. Weber offers a graceful and balanced synthesis of the best contemporary scholarship to produce a wide cultural outlook on Spain in North America. Unlike certain scholars in the New West camp who assail Turnerianism, however, Weber is no "Bolton Basher" and does not engage in polemical assaults on the "Borderlands" legacy. This Historic Resource Study attempts to apply many of the broad and egalitarian perspectives put forth by Weber and other contemporary scholars to a specific history of the Anza Trail.

Despite its faults and limitations, however, the legacy left by Herbert Bolton with *The Spanish Borderlands* remains a relevant aspect of the American historiography. For better or worse, it influenced generations of historians and lay-readers alike. Further, as will be demonstrated in the

annotated bibliography included herein, its author deserves a debt of gratitude from all present-day devotees of the Juan Bautista de Anza Historic Trail. It was, after-all, Herbert Eugene Bolton who first introduced the exploits of Anza and his contingent to a wide audience when he published the painstaking five-volume *Anza's California Expeditions* in 1930.

Yet, as David Weber has astutely observed, Bolton's writings on the *Borderlands* was rendered anachronistic by later generations; indeed, the Boltonians attempted to place an empire's "frontier" experience within the boundaries of a nation that did not then even exist. By the time of the New Western History in the 1980s, the *Borderlands* had been marginalized within most history departments and textbooks. Most scholars of the United States Southwest viewed the Spanish colonial period as an aspect of Latin American history and ignored Bolton's writings. Latin American historians also paid scant attention, believing that it should be viewed as an aspect of the history of the United States.

Following the publication of Weber's 1992 *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, however, there has been growing interest in the Spanish history in what is now the United States. (It should be noted that 1992 was also the 500th anniversary of the Columbus "discovery" of the Americas. This event and the celebrations that followed sparked a renewed interest in

the old Spanish *Borderlands* histories.) David Hurst Thomas, Curator in the Department of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, edited the three-volume *Columbian Consequences* that presented nearly 100 new scholarly articles. Volume 3 of the series was subtitled: *The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective* which included *Archaeological and Historical Perspective on the Spanish Borderlands*. Thomas also edited *The Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks: A Twenty-Seven Volume Set*, which included over 450 reprints and new articles from a variety of sources.

This renewed scholarly interest in the *Borderlands* region was inspired not only in the 500th Columbian anniversary, but also the changing demographic and awareness of the American population. In 1997, Helena Hunt wrote an article descriptively titled "Confessions of a British North Americanist: Borderlands Historiography and Early American History." In this perceptive and finely written piece, the historian Hunt contends that "the changing politics, population, and intellectual climate of the United States demand that we rethink our common past. And the rich field of Spanish-American history helps us to do so." By the 1990s the Mexican-American population, as well as others in the United States of Hispanic ancestry, had expanded tremendously. And many of these young Latinos were now college educated and politically savvy. And, as Weber has noted, as the

population centers drifted to the Sunbelt states Anglo American newcomers discovered that the thirteen colonies represented only part of the story of America's colonial origins. In closing her article, Helena Hunt speaks of "how much we have yet to learn, and how little we can take for granted, as we reconceive our common colonial past." For many Americans, this colonial past was no longer one that originated solely in Great Britain.[75]

Though scholars may have "re-discovered" the *Borderlands* during the 1990s, several earlier histories emphasizing the multicultural reality of the English colonies along the Atlantic Coast paved the way. With *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America* in 1974 Gary Nash emphasizes African and indigenous as well as European influences in early colonial America. Several decades later, the ideas of the New West school began to fuse with the renewed interest in *Borderlands* scholarship. Recent college textbooks and encyclopedic entries clearly reflected this changing historiography; composite histories such as Alan Taylor's *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (2002) and Colin Calloway's *One Vast Winter Count: the Native American West before Lewis and Clark* (2003), Edward Countryman's *Americans: A Collision of Histories* (1997) and *The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast*

[75] Helena M. Wall, "Confessions of a British North Americanist: Borderlands Historiography and Early American History," in *Review in American History*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Mar., 1997), pp. 1-12.

(1997) by James Axtell are notable examples. "To write a history of colonial America used to be easier," wrote Taylor, "because the human cast and the geographic stage were both considered so much smaller."

Somewhat ironically the primary strengths of the early *Borderlands* scholars also manifested one of the central weaknesses for their school. For Bolton and his students the translation and publishing of primary documents remained central – perhaps more so than in any area of historical writings about the North American regions. While admirable and understandable for a field with such a slight historiography, the practice also encouraged antiquarianism unrivaled by any other field of scholarly inquiry. Even to the present, "the tradition of making documents available to a wider Anglophone readership remains central to borderlands scholarship in the United States," writes David Weber.

But the best of the more recent efforts have expanded tremendously our understanding of the *Borderlands* history and – for a host of reasons – proved considerably superior to earlier Boltonian-era histories. According to Weber:

> First, they are more attentive to variant versions of texts, and they provide more faithful transcriptions. Second, they produce the original Spanish documents in the form of either facsimiles or meticulous transcriptions. Third, the editors approach the documents with the sensibilities of contemporary American scholars, whose sympathies are as likely to be with

> Indians as with Spaniards. Finally, the current generation of Borderlands scholars is less prone than were the Boltonians to allow documents to speak for themselves, or to let the documents define the questions.

The studies produced by the new *Borderlands* historians are oftentimes met with resistance outside of the profession by present-day *Borderlands* enthusiasts, including some of the most ardent Trail aficionados. Yet, while these new collections "may be deficient from the point of view of a philological purist who takes palpable pleasure in pointing out the errors of historians' ways," Weber writes, "they represent substantial improvements over earlier works."[76]

---

[76] Some of the most recent examples include Jose Rabasa, *Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier: The Historiography of Sixteenth-Century New Mexico and Florida and the Legacy of Conquest* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); from 1986 to 1997 a group of scholars with the University of Arizona completed four volumes of materials on fortifications of the *Borderlands* – Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, eds. *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain. A Documentary History. Vol. One: 1570–1700* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986); Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, eds. *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain, 1724–1729: A Documentary History of His Frontier Inspection and the Reglamento de 1729* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988); Charles W. Polzer and Thomas E. Sheridan, eds. *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History. Volume 2, Part 1: The Californias and Sinaloa-Sonora, 1700–1765* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); Diana Hadley, Thomas H. Naylor, and Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, eds. *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History. Volume 2, Part 2: The Central Corridor and the Texas Corridor, 1700–1765* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); after more than a decade of work John Kessell and colleagues with the University of New Mexico published a prodigious six volume collection involving the period of Diego de Vargas – John L. Kessell, ed. *Remote Beyond Compare: Letters of don Diego de Vargas to His Family from New Spain and New Mexico, 1675–1706* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); John L. Kessell and Rick Hendricks, eds. *By Force of Arms: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691–93* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, eds. *To the Royal Crown Restored: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1692–1694* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, eds. *Blood on the Boulders: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1694–1697* (2 vols. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller, eds. *That Disturbances Cease: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1697–1700* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000); John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller, eds. *A Settling of Accounts: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1700–1704* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002). They also condensed one volume of Vargas's letters to his family for students

In their day as well as in the present, Bolton and his disciples actually wielded very little influence on the American historiography beyond the borderlands themselves. Some have maintained that the times simply were not right to "actualize" the text. Others have argued, as does David Weber, "that as time went on the Boltonians made themselves irrelevant to new trends in American historiography" by "continuing to emphasize Spaniards over Mexicans, elites over common folk, exploration and institutions over everyday life, the romantic over the realistic, and narrative over analysis."[77]

This is certainly not meant to disparage the early *Borderlands* scholarship or the inspirations of its time period. Unquestionably, the Boltonians made important contributions to the field. In retrospect, however, the efforts of Bolton and his acolytes did not prove enduring among the larger currents at play in the historiography of the West or Southwest. Predicated upon the Great Man analysis and determined to purge the final vestiges of the Black Legend (*La leyenda negra*) from this history, the Boltonians' appeal would soon prove limited among the growing ranks of social and cultural historians. Indeed, even to less knowledgeable

---

and general readers: John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, eds. *Letters from the New World: Selected Correspondence of don Diego de Vargas to His Family, 1675–1706* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); a three volume translation of Cabeza de Vaca was completed in 1999 by Rolena Adorno and Patrick Pautz – Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz, eds. *Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez* (3 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999);

[77] David Weber, "The Spanish Borderlands, Historiography Redux," *The History Teacher,* Southern Methodist University, 13-14.

readers Bolton's incessant glorification of the exploits of Spanish men in the New World could seem rather over-blown. And for some the emphasis on the Anza *Trail* and other supposedly Spanish trails only compounds this weariness.

Many of the newest and best histories of the Southwest and *Borderlands* region expand and significantly diverge from the traditional historiography of translation, the identification of great men, and narration. Certainly one of the best (and most heralded) has been *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*, by Ramon Gutierrez and published in 1991. The book deftly explores the convergence of Spanish, Franciscan and Pueblo Indian culture along the northern border of New Spain and Mexico. Gutierrez writes that his book provides the "historical depth and understanding to the cultural conflicts that would occur in New Mexico in the second half of the nineteenth century – conflicts that are still very much alive in New Mexico to this day." Drawing from literary theory and the range of the social sciences, the book addressed larger questions that had not previously been broached in *Borderlands* histories.

Other books followed *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mother Went Away* that also explored issues surrounding the *Borderlands* region, one of

these being James F. Brooks' *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002). Herein the author perceptively explores the "intercultural exchange network" that was the *Borderlands* in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Unlike the Boltonians, both the Brooks and Gutierrez histories do not end in 1821 but continue into the era when the region was controlled by Mexico and United States. An exception is *The Indian Southwest, 1580-1830: Ethno-genesis and Reinvention*, published in 1999 by ethno-historian Gary Anderson. As with other more recent studies, however, Anderson also distinguishes his book from the "Bolton school of history" in that he portrays Native Americans "as actors rather than as perpetrators or victims."

Yet, as David Weber aptly points out: "Where the Boltonians sympathized with the Spaniards to a fault, some ethno-historians sympathize excessively with Indians." In a sense, both of them can and have obscured our understanding of the *Borderlands* and, more specifically, the Anza expeditions. While some contemporary scholars have readily depicted all Native Americans of the post-Columbian period as victims and Europeans and their ancestors as villains, traditional histories of the Southwest and West often left just the opposite impression. As mentioned, many recent historians have reacted to these older writings by rejecting what they

believed to be their primary ingredients: Eurocentrism and Triumphalism, as well as an undo emphasis on Frontier and Trails.

But tales about the adventures and trails of the Old West – including the Anza expeditions and resultant corridor – have held an allure throughout the twentieth and now twenty-first centuries. As historian Elliott West writes: "Trails haunt the American memory. They run through our songs and folktales. We walk them in our movies, follow them to the horizon in countless paintings, and celebrate them as history." Many Trails – such as the Oregon, Santa Fe, and Lewis and Clark – are identified and designated on national interstates as symbolic of the human spirit. Also, the human tragedy of the Trail of Tears is similarly marked. The trails of old continue to capture the imagination of present-day Americans, most of a considerably more comfortable circumstance than those who traversed them in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Elliott West writes: "As we motor beside them along a modern highway, we might find ourselves humming Roy Roger's 'Happy trails to you,' and during the trip we might stay at the Wagon Trail Motel or Trails West Dude Ranch."[78]

Despite the voluminous amount of ink spilled over many generations dealing with trails of the American West, relatively few of the related books

[78] Elliot West, "American Pathways," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, October 1, 2001.

and articles are of widespread interest or can withstand serious scholarly scrutiny. A large number of these works simply attempt to pinpoint the exact course followed by specific western trails, providing chronology and anecdotal material for the "peak" years of Anglo-American travel during the 1840s. And many of the western overland chronicles are relentlessly nationalistic and ethnocentric. Typical of these is Agnes C. Laut's *The Overland Trail*, published in 1929. Herein the Trail becomes a "racial highway," and the emigrants symbolize the "Children of Israel" in the racial march of progress towards the Pacific. Laut continues that this westward emigration was the "culmination of that movement, the Overland Trail stands without parallel in racial history; and that is why it is held in honor today."[79]

Several recent histories do offer a generally more balanced and wide-ranging presentation of the overland experience, most notably *The Plains Across* by John D. Unruh and *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* by John Mack Faragher; both were published in 1979. Both books are exceptional from earlier histories in that the groups already inhabiting the West are granted equal importance to the Anglo-Americans venturing

[79] Agnes C. Laut, *The Overland Trail: The Epic Path of Pioneers to Oregon* (New York: 1929); quoted in John D. Unruh, *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-60* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 12-3

toward the Pacific during the 1800s. And in Faragher's book, particular emphasis is placed upon analysis of gender and familial relationships.[80]

Quite often, traditional histories of the American West have ignored the Anza Trail, as well as the Pre-Columbian indigenous trails which predated the Spaniards. In many ways, the Anza Trail confounds the frontier mythology of traditional western histories. Because of this, a series of misconceptions concerning the early overland contacts of Europeans in California continues to persist. For example, a widely used California history text states that in 1826, "at the age of twenty-eight, [Jedediah] Smith became the first white person to reach California overland." In fact, Father Francisco Garces and his Indian guides had entered California along a pre-existing trail in the Mojave Desert over a half century earlier. Also incorrect is the belief that the first emigrant trail to California followed along the Humboldt River and crossed the Sierra Nevada west of Reno, Nevada. A popular contemporary textbook repeats a widely held misconception that the Bidwell-Bartleson journey along this route in 1841 was "the first overland migration to California." Actually, the expedition lead by Captain Juan

[80] John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

Bautista de Anza in 1774 entered California from Mexico, preceding the Bidwell-Bartleson emigration by over sixty-five years.[81]

In his exquisitely written thirty-page essay, "American Pathways," Elliott West provides an overview of the significance of trails in American history and myth, and the reader is directed to this fine piece. "A trail," writes West, "seems to speak of an intimate relationship with us, both as humans and Americans." The article acknowledges that trails mean more to Americans and their history than they do to other nationalities; and West is not referring only to a physical corridor. Rather, the word itself – *trail* – has a significance of its own. Early Euro-Americans created *roads* such as the Wilderness Road forged by Daniel Boone through Appalachia. A *path* or a *trace*, on the other hand, was created by Indians and animals, never by white people. In James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pathfinder*, for example, the white protagonist Natty Bumppo always follows pre-existing paths.

The word *trail* actually arrived relatively late in the vernacular. In English speaking Europe a "trail" represented a short-lived occurrence, such as when one item was dragged behind another or a mark was left behind by an animal. But in North America, and particularly the United States, a *trail* soon came to suggest an old track or corridor, a derivative of *path* or *trace*.

---

[81] Andrew F. Rolle, *California* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963), 144; Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1982), 482.

"A trail, I must tell you," a British writer informed his readers in 1835, "is an Indian footpath that has been traveled perhaps for centuries." At the time, there was nothing necessarily heroic about a trail; this elevated connotation would emerge sometime later when they were produced by courageous "great men" – of exclusively European ancestry.

For the remainder of the nineteenth century a *trail* represented the "wonderful sagacity" (according to Lewis and Clark) and the "traditionary knowledge" (as Washington Irving writes) of the bison and other wild animals. If created by white men, the passage in question was instead called a *road*. By mid-century both Washington Irving's travel books and Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Plains* identified *trails*, but always in reference to a corridor that had been worn long before to the arrival of the Anglo Americans.[82]

Sometime during the early years of the twentieth century the use and meaning of the word *trail* experienced a profound metamorphosis in American language, myth, and memory. The term now applied to routes that were blazed across the frontier by the pioneers, and the mere mention of

[82] According to Elliott West: "Unfortunately for these natural historians, few if any of these routes had been used by bison or other animal herds. Bison paths, in fact, were a major frustration for those using the trails. Overland routes typically ran parallel to rivers. Bison moving to and from the highlands to the streams wore deep ruts perpendicular to the direction of immigrant travel. Overlanders rattled crosswise over these ruts, breaking wheels and axles and coloring the air with curses. The 'wonderful sagacity' used to discover the the most usable routes was that of Indians, not animals." For a longer discussion, see Frank G. Roe, "The 'Wild Animal Path': Origin of Ancient Roads," *Antiquity*, 3 (September 1929), 299-311.

trails nearly always conjured associative attributes: male, heroic, white, idealistic, courageous, and always, of course, westward moving. "Long after the last emigrants had walked them and called them *roads*," writes Elliott West, "westward routes became *trails* and typically were fused with images of a quest. Jim Bridger nosed through the mountain pass; the California-bound Bidwell party first pushed across this desert stretch; John Bozeman marked this passage to the Montana goldfields."

At about the same time the public imagination came to associate a *trail* as both a relic of past triumphs *and* as a concept suggesting a host of much more lofty aspects of the nation's history. With the onslaught of industrialization and urbanization, nostalgia of a rural past and a renewed explanation of a national exceptionalism – satiated several generations earlier by notions of a Manifest Destiny – Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" found an anxious and receptive audience. In describing the importance of *frontier* in the development of the United States, Turner wrote:

> Stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the process of civilization, marching single-file – the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer – and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between.

Clearly, the new designation of *trail* could not be expunged from this larger chain of events; indeed, it became an integral aspect of the westward pageantry of American history. Further, this "procession" of animal to Indian to pioneer suggests a Darwinian evolution of events upon which so much of the intellectual trappings of the age were predicated. [83]

Within a decade or so of the 1893 "Frontier Thesis" this designation would develop and then again transform. Increasingly, historical attention focused on the rugged individual pioneer who braved the dangers of westward travel to forge a trail, to go where no man had gone before. The *trail* had been raised to the level of legend, and accordingly the "t" would now be capitalized as well, as in Oregon ***T***rail, Mormon ***T***rail, Santa Fe ***T***rail, and Bozeman ***T***rail. The story of *trails* had become more mythical than historical, a differentiation too complicated to here delineate.

In popular culture, the trail had surpassed even the cowboy as the primary symbol of the frontier and the Old West. The first "westerns" of the silver screen centered on trails and overland adventures: *Wagon Tracks* in 1919 with William S. Hart and James Cruze's 1923 *The Covered Wagon*. Scores of other commercial films followed, many with the word "Trail" in the title; *Big Trail* starring John Wayne in 1929, for example, was in 2006

[83] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 1893.

designated by the Library of Congress a "culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant" film and selected for preservation in the National Film Registry. Two years later "The Duke" also starred in another film in the western genre titled *The Telegraph Trail*. And *Santa Fe Trail*, the top grossing film of 1940, starred Errol Flynn and Olivia de Havilland with Ronald Reagan playing George Armstrong Custer and Raymond Massey as the abolitionist John Brown.

Frontier and trail allusions in American popular and political culture endured during the second half of the twentieth century. Sen. John Kennedy, at the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles in the summer of 1960 to accept his party's nomination, spoke of facing "west on what was once the last frontier." Recounting the lessons of the Frontier Thesis given by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893, the soon-to-be president told of the nation's past:

> From the lands that stretch three thousand miles behind me, the pioneers of old gave up their safety, their comfort, and sometimes their lives to build a new world here in the West. They were determined to make that new world strong and free, to overcome its hazards and its hardships, to conquer the enemies that threatened from within and without.

Kennedy spoke often about the *New* Frontier, of how the nation's "problems are not all solved, and the battles are not all won – and we stand today on the

edge of a New Frontier – the frontier of the 1960s – a frontier of unknown opportunities and perils – a frontier of unfulfilled hopes and threats."

A generation later President Ronald Reagan also spoke to the memory of Turner's Frontier Thesis. "The conquest of new frontiers for the betterment of our homes and families," he said in 1982 to welcome the return of the space shuttle, "is a crucial part of our national character." He continued that while "there are those who thought the closing of the Western frontier marked an end to America's greatest period of vitality" the nation was nonetheless "crossing new frontiers every day." The return to earth of the space shuttle, the president concluded, served to "reaffirm to all of us that as long as there are frontiers to be explored and conquered, Americans will lead the way." More recent televisions programs and Hollywood movies have also continued the trail/frontier theme; a 2006 mini-series starring Robert Duvall entitled *Broken Trail* and a 2001 cable movie called *Crossfire Trail* starred Tom Selleck and was based on a 1954 Western novel of the same name by popular western writer Louis L'amour.

So does an insurmountable schism exist between the scholars of the New Western History and those who strive to move beyond this "frontier and trail" analysis and the larger public in whom such references maintain such an enduring appeal? Not at all! "Remarkably," writes Elliott West,

"western trails are as beautifully suited to teaching how history works as they are to capturing the essence of national myth." There are, however, several aspects of this history that present-day teachers and students of the Anza Trail, and all trails of the West, should be cognizant. Indeed, much of what was identified as the "New Western History" in the 1980s is today simply recognized as "Western History," and sophisticated readers would be well advised to interpret western trails accordingly.

Firstly, western trails moved in all directions, almost like spaghetti on a plate. As late as 1980 Ray Allen Billington – perhaps Frederick Jackson Turner's most loyal and devoted acolyte – wrote of the "long-standing love affair [we Americans have] with the trails that led our westering ancestors toward the sunset." Far better conceived and historically accurate is Richard White's depiction of trails that were "more a maze than a simple line from one point to another." They often looked "…more like modern Los Angeles than the Santa Fe Trail." Also, it is important to remember that the trails pre-dated the arrival of the Europeans. Further, the West is the region of the United States that witnessed the earliest human migration and habitation. The American West had previously been the Mexican North, and before Spanish colonial interests struggled to gain control of the area, aboriginal peoples had developed complex and diverse societies.

The pre-Columbian trails of the West played a significant role in facilitating the political and social transformations of the region. From their earliest derivation, the trails joined through time the diverse inhabitants of the region. The fossil record reveals that all major divisions of modern North American mammals appeared on the continent over 54 million years ago, well before the arrival of humans, and as these creatures roamed the expanse of the Americas, they created and left well-defined paths in the process. Among these was the forerunner of the modern horse, which originated somewhere in the present-day central United States and then mysteriously vanished between ten and thirty-five thousand years ago, only to be reintroduced by the Spaniards in the early 16th century. Western writer Ralph Moody accurately concludes: "From fossil discoveries it is known that horses traveled to every part of this hemisphere, from the tip of South America to the Arctic Circle, and wherever horses travel they wear trails along the main routes of migration."[84]

Curiously, the appearance of the first humans in the Western Hemisphere coincides precisely with the disappearance of the horse. Although many Native American legends suggest that their ancestors originated on the American continents, the contemporary scientific

[84] Ralph Moody, *The Old Trails West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963), 3; A. L. Panchen, *The Terrestrial Environment and the Origin of Land Vertebrates* (San Francisco: Academic Press, 1980), 431.

community now generally agrees that the first humans arrived from Asia during the Pleistocene era, or late Ice Age, via the Bering Strait land bridge. As with the prehistoric horse migrations, precise routes of these ancient wanderings are speculative. Geological and archaeological evidence "points to an ice-free corridor along the spine of the Rockies" that provided a natural passageway through the glaciers. Archaeologist Carl Waldman writes that "early Indians could have dispersed westward through the South Pass of the Rockies to the Great Basin, southeastward in Middle America, or southward around the heel of the Rockies to southern California, the Northwest Coast not being reached until much later." Waldman is describing routes suggestively identical to several western trails, including portions of the Juan Bautista de Anza Trail.[85]

For countless millennia prior to the arrival of the Europeans literally thousands of different Indian societies evolved within the American continents, and trails provided a vital means of unifying these diverse cultures. The Native American tribes which inhabited what would become the American West grew particularly reliant upon these corridors, as the arid climate that developed following the Ice Age substantially limited the number of navigable rivers. Though these cultures left no written record,

[85] Francis Jennings, *The Founders of America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993), 25; Carl Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indian* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985), 2.

various sources – such as song and orally transmitted legend – often reveal the importance the indigenous peoples of the Americas placed upon trails. One of these ageless songs was left by one of the Yuman tribes, whose assistance proved essential to the success of both Anza missions:

AROWP: SONG OF THE MOCKING-BIRD

Hunya kwa pai va	I go up the mesa.
Hunya kwa hul pa	I go up the straight trail.
Mai ariwa	Thin little clouds are spread
'riwa	Across the blue sky,
Mai ariwa	Thin little clouds are spread.
'riwa	Oh, happy am I as I sing,
	I sing of the clouds in the sky.
Shakwa tza mi na hi	Then up the hill,
Shakwa tza mi n	Up the hill I go on my straight road,
	The road of good—
	Up the hill I go on my straight road,
	The happy road and good.
Hunya kwa pai va	I go up the mesa.
Hunya kwa hul pa	I go up the straight trail.

This lyrics celebrates the value of trails to the southern Yuman people, as the paths represented links to wider cultural and material exchanges. No doubt the Anza participants followed such trails in both of their journeys to the Pacific.[86]

[86] Natalie Curtis, ed., *The Indians Book: An Offering by the American Indians of Indian Lore, Musical and Narrative, To Form a Record of the Songs and Legends of Their Race* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1923; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1968), 341.

Despite an abundance of archeological evidence affirming the existence of indigenous pre-Columbian trails, the popular twentieth century perception that trails were blazed during the era of the American frontier found genesis in a variety of sources. Walter Prescott Webb, one of the primary figures of the early historiography of the West, endorsed the presumption of Anglo-created trails. In his influential book, *The Great Plains*, under a section entitled "Marking the Trails," Webb states that during the nineteenth century "two famous trails were established, beaten wide by numerous caravans of the Santa Fe trade and the increasing trains of immigrants to Oregon and later to California." Webb continues that the "history of these trails is too well known to need repeating here," suggesting the wide acceptance of the belief that the western trails have a post-Columbian origin.[87]

Frederick Jackson Turner actually acknowledges the importance of Indian trails, noting the westerly moving white American "fit himself into the Indian clearings and follow[ed] the Indian trails." But it is his description of "a continually advancing frontier line" that served as the "meeting point between savagery and civilization" which left a substantially deeper impression. The prevalent Eurocentrism of the late nineteenth

[87] Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), 148.

century tended to obscure portions of Turner's writings while accentuating and sometimes misinterpreting other aspects. Certainly, as the general wisdom of the day asserted, nothing as consequential as the construction of transportation thoroughfares could have evolved from the efforts of mere "savages," much less the wanderings of wild animals.[88]

The conclusions of scores of social scientists, however, confirm the physical existence of a prehistoric complex trail network throughout much of the West. Anthropologist Malcolm J. Rogers maintains that these "ancient highways are imposing in number and extent." And in a passage suggesting the route of what would become a section of the western portion of the Anza Trail, Rogers writes:

> The most important and probably most ancient trail of this nature crossed the desert in the latitude of the Mohave Sink. It crossed the desert, and ended at the west on the Pacific Coast. Over the route both the Yuma and Mohaves for hundreds of years brought sea-shells to trade. Early white explorers and military expeditions often followed this route in later days.

And separate archaeological reports by James Davis and L.L. Sample that examine trade routes and trails of aboriginal Californians serve to compliment and substantiate Rogers' claims. Both of these studies map

[88] Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier*, 2.

similar trails, and along the California coast and east of the Colorado River the surveys detail an intricate web of Indian paths.[89]

Though a popular belief emerged in the early twentieth century that the western trails were the creation of Anglo-Americans, even some histories of that same time period openly contradicted the notion. For example, western historian Archer Butler Hulbert in 1902 published the first installment of his exhaustive seventeen-volume *Historic Highways of America*; Hulbert presents what is perhaps the first comprehensive history of these "beaten paths" which extended from "ocean to ocean, from the southern point of Patagonia to the country of the Eskimos." *Historic Highways* confirms that both Indian and animal trails covered the landscape of the American West in the pre-Columbian period: "…it is quite sufficient for us to know that the earliest [European] travelers in the West found Indian trails and buffalo traces and spoke of each as distinct thoroughfares…." Many writers of the day, of course, discounted Hulbert's narrative; it was during this time that the image of the courageous white pioneer "blazing" a

[89] Malcolm J. Rogers, "The Aborigines of the Desert," in Edmund C. Jaeger, *The California Deserts*, 3rd ed. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1955), 128; James T. Davis, *Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California* (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1974), 4-7 and map; L.L. Sample, "Trade and Trails in Aboriginal California," in *Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey* (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Survey, Department of Anthropology, 1950), 3-6 and map.

trail through the wilderness became etched in the popular imagination – and not only in the United States, but around the world.[90]

Some contemporary historians, perhaps most prominently the late Stephen Ambrose, have been critical of the New West historians and their de-emphasis of the frontier and trails. Ambrose advocated "the primal story of western trailblazing" – such as the 1803 Lewis and Clark Expedition – as a means to showcase the heroes of America's colorful and courageous past. The well-known historian felt many of the young scholars of his day overlooked the importance of this aspect of the discipline.

Others would argue that the position of Ambrose and other scholars places mythology on a plane of higher importance than history. Elliott West writes, however, that in relation to western trails:

> The trick is to respect both myth and history while doing our best not to jumble the two together. Like all myths, that of American trails was made by trimming down a wealth of past events into a lean story that speaks of one particular people – in this case European Americans whose ancestors came into the continent from east to west. By contrast the trails of history are found, not by trimming, but by expanding our grasp to include as many events and participants as possible. A myth draws its force from its focus and crystalline clarity. History is most fulfilling when it show us a multitude of meanings, demands more questions of itself, and compels us to read it from as many angles as we can.

---

[90] Archer Butler Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, vol. 2, *Indian Thoroughfares* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1902), 80.

With this in mind, it is important for present-day devotees and students of the Anza and other western trails to be cognizant of both the Old and New histories of the West. Indeed, the New West history can teach us many important things about the trails that traditional histories have often ignored. It demonstrates that the traffic heading east on the trails, as well as north and south, was just as significant as the traffic going west. It emphasizes the role of Indians as well as Europeans, Mexicans as well as Americans, women as well as men. It shows that Indian paths and animal traces are as much a part of the story as Spanish exploratory expeditions. The New West histories help to further explain the complex struggles and developments in a region that is still evolving.

"Each age writes the history of the past anew," observed Frederick Jackson Turner in 1891, "with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time." The oft-quoted passage continues:

> The aim of history, then, is to know the elements of the present by understanding what came into the present from the past. For the present is simply the developing past, the past the undeveloped present. The antiquarian strives to bring back the past for the sake of the past; the historian strives to show the present to itself by revealing its origin from the past. The goal of the antiquarian is the dead past; the goal of the historian the living present.

Quite unfortunately, much of the continued interest in trails today is of an antiquarian nature. Trails – especially the Anza Trail – can tell us so much

more about our shared past and present. Preoccupation with determining precise locations of campsites, pinpointing the exact time of day that the Anza expeditions may have crossed the Colorado River, or near obsessive concern with similar largely unanswerable questions are all examples of exceedingly esoteric antiquarian pursuits. Though a number of recent historians have found the Anza journeys of interest, their concerns have been motivated by such issues as gender, familial and especially ethnic and class interrelationships – topics that reflect the increased awareness of the multicultural reality of the American Southwest.

The historiography specific to the Juan Bautista de Anza Expeditions and Trail reflects the changing sensibilities of the discipline and the Borderlands region, and many of these volumes are discussed in greater detail in the final section of this project. There were several specific periods of keen scholarly and public interest in the Anza expeditions, the first coming with the appearance of the Bolton five-volume *Anza's California Expeditions* in 1930. Considerable public interest also attended the discovery of Anza's remains at Arizpe, Sonora, Mexico, in February of 1963. The locating and identification work was carried out under the commission of the University of California, Berkeley, and eventually led to

the re-exhumation and ritual reburial of the coffin in May of that year; the events inspired official reports as well as discussion in the popular media.

And the year of 1976 saw another resurgence of interest, with perhaps a dozen or more Anza-themed books published during the year – from popular accounts to theatrical plays to children's picture books to scholarly local histories. The year commemorated both the bicentennial of the declared independence of the thirteen British colonies along the Atlantic coast as well as the completion of the second Anza expedition in San Francisco. The increased interest in the Hispanic heritage of California was abetted, certainly, by the burgeoning Chicano/a Movement as well as support from then-Governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown who told one audience in February of 1976:

> I share your concern that so little attention has been given to the Spanish and Mexican heritage of California. As we recall the achievements of Jefferson and Franklin and the other founding fathers in this bicentennial year, we should not ignore the contributions of De Anza, the Franciscans, and those bold explorers who pioneered California. They are our "founding fathers."

Brown's highly publicized relationship with celebrity girlfriend Linda Ronstadt, arguably the most internationally famous Mexican-American of the day, further increased the public interest and curiosity about California's Hispanic past.

The first substantial publication to address the Anza expeditions was *The Beginnings of San Francisco from the Expedition of Anza, 1774 to the City Charter of April 15, 1850.* Written by one Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, the first volume appeared in 1912. Eldredge was a banker and amateur historian of his adopted state of California, having been born in Buffalo, New York. Eldredge was not a professional historian, but a successful businessman who brought to his writing an eye for the grandeur and romance of his subject. Though clearly inspired by notions of pageantry and gallantry, the author professes primarily to remedy "misconceptions of history" that have elevated "to the rank of heroes men of very ordinary attainments" while "overlooking men whose character and achievement entitle them to the highest place in the respect and esteem of the people."

Eldredge clearly places Juan Bautista de Anza in the latter category. Introduced as "a gallant soldier" who "manifested the liveliest interest in the undertaking" of the "conquest of California," Anza emerges as a hero of unparalleled bravery, determination and foresight. "He was by nature simple and kindly, responsive to the call of duty and true to the chivalrous traditions of heroic Spain," Eldredge writes, and "it is not easy to estimate the value of the services" of the intrepid Anza. Indeed, he had "taken his people through in safety to Monterey, meeting with skill and courage the

perils of the way." He encountered "deserts as dreadful, fierce savages warring against each other and hostile to the invader, and without guides, wandered amid sandy wastes in search of water."

In this pre-Boltonian era, Eldredge emerged as an unyielding advocate for the historical recognition of Juan Bautista de Anza. (One review at the time criticized his book for the "disproportionate space given to the details of the Anza expeditions.") With over ninety pages of text and nearly sixty pages of notes devoted to the topic, Eldredge argues that "the monument erected in San Francisco to the Pioneers of California is incomplete without [Anza's] name." To be sure, most of the space devoted to Anza amounts to a highly romanticized narrative drawn largely from the eighteenth century explorer's own diary accounts. Yet, given that nearly two decades would pass before the first of Herbert Eugene Bolton's expansive five-volume *Anza's California Expeditions* was published in 1930, the Eldredge telling can be viewed as almost visionary in treatment and scope.

Bolton, however, stands as the father of the "Borderlands" historiography as well as the initial driving force of subsequent later scholarship. Though some of his work has been revised and challenged by subsequent generations of historians, his legacy and influence endures. And, in specific reference to the study of the Anza expeditions, Herbert Bolton is

the progenitor of field. The primary title of his five volume work is *Anza's California Expeditions* and contains thirteen of the fourteen diaries written during or involving the Anza journeys which resulted in the Spanish claim of San Francisco as the northernmost outpost in its expansive but rapidly threatened empire. Supplementing the diaries is a volume of correspondence as well as a synthetic volume, all offered in the inimitable Bolton style, reflecting the more than twenty years the historian dedicated to completing his study.

Volume one of the series, subtitled *An Outpost of Empire*, provides an engagingly written narrative of both Anza marches from Sonora northward to the Pacific coast. The colorful cast of personages is here introduced, including Fray Pedro Font, the scholarly, frail but tenacious master diarist and mathematician, as well as Juan Diaz, Fray Thomas Eixarch, and the intrepid Father Garces, who joined the expedition as chronicler, missionary, and chief diplomat. As many historians of the day Bolton is clearly a "great man" theorist, and the account characterizes Anza as the "tireless horseman" who "bridged the desert and brought the detached ends of the trail together." Further, Anza proved himself "the comfort of the frontier" and the one official "who shed the light of hope in a remote corner of the world." The second volume, *Opening a Land Route to California*, contains the records of

the first expedition sent to mark out the land route from Sonora to California. Eight diaries preserve the accounts of the movement including those of Anza, Diaz, and Garces and Bolton has also added a diary of Father Francisco Palou, which chronicles the exploration of San Francisco bay in preparation for the colonization of the site.

Volume three, *The San Francisco Colony*, contains diaries recorded on the second expedition: one each by Anza, Font and Eixarch. Also, Bolton includes the accounts of the founding of San Francisco by both Palou and Lieutenant Moraga who were the primary figures in the organization of the colony following Juan Bautista de Anza's return to Mexico City. The fourth volume, appropriately subtitled *Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition*, is rich with observations of human virtues and frailties. The verbose and perceptive Father Font records much that is passed over by the other chroniclers, especially his keen (but subtly Eurocentric) observations concerning cultural differences and tribal customs. The fifth and final volume – *Correspondence* – stands as a unit, containing communications pertaining to both the first and second Anza expeditions. Two major sections divide the book, and each contains interrelated and annotated groupings of letters, council decisions, declarations, commissions, and certificates. The five volume *Anza's California Expeditions* remains a

remarkable achievement and a standard for all those interested in Anza and the Spanish settlement in California.

As demonstrated in the annotated bibliography at the end of this study, curiosity about the Anza expeditions has remained keen – at least episodically – for scholars, travel writers, and the general public. One period of interest followed the discovery of Juan Bautista de Anza's remains in February of 1963. The requisite locating and identification work was carried out under the commission of the University of California, Berkeley, and eventually led to the re-exhumation and ritual reburial of the coffin in May of that year. The event resulted in a series of ceremonies involving the church of Arizpe, the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the city of San Francisco, and a number of private citizens and commercial organizations of San Francisco. As discussed in the bibliography, several books addressed the events surrounding the events, some providing analysis about the Anza expeditions of myth and reality.

And in the years leading up to the nation's bicentennial celebration in 1776 – which, of course, coincided with the completion of the second Anza edition – witnessed a new interest in all things Anza, particularly in the popular press. As mentioned above, the growing awareness of the Hispanic heritage of California and the Southwest augmented this fascination.

Further, the growing influence of the Chicano/a rights movement only increased the interest. More than a dozen books and scores of articles addressed the Anza expeditions, either directly or indirectly, during this period.

Perhaps the best of these comes from John R. Brumgardt with *From Sonora to San Francisco Bay: The Expeditions of Juan Bautista de Anza 1774-1776* published in 1976. The introduction informs the readers that the author: "writes of the Anza expeditions as a local historian in the best sense – not as a mere antiquarian straining to connect his locality with celebrated events but as an historian concerned with major currents viewed from a local perspective." Other Anza-themed publications appearing during the bicentennial years included coffee-table books, travelogues and a host of magazine and newspaper articles. In recent years, the literature has benefited significantly by the addition of Vladimir Guerro's 2006 *The Anza Trail and the Settling of California* as well as *Juan Bautista de Anza: Basque Explorer in the New World* (2003) by Donald Garate. And, as discussed in much greater detail in a later chapter, several recent studies concerning gender relationships found much about the Anza journeys of scholarly interest; *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840* by Virginia Marie Bouvier (2001) and an article by feminist Chicano/a historian

Antonia I. Castaneda "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family" (1998) are but two fine and important examples.

Those wishing to learn more about the Juan Bautista de Anza Trail should be discerning about the sources they choose to read and explore. The most rewarding additions to the somewhat limited Anza-specific literature have been thoughtful and meaningful histories of the two expeditions and their consequences – not the strictly antiquarian endeavors that strive simply to recreate events of the past for the sake of the past. National Park Service historians and employees should encourage interest in the life of Juan Bautista de Anza, his exploits, and the corresponding Trail, by attempting to link the events and relevant questions of today to the accomplishments and frustrations of this earlier period.

CHAPTER 4

Natural Geography, Plant and Animal Life, and Climate of Anza Trail

The aspect of the Juan Bautista de Anza expeditions addressing the natural geography, plant and animal life along the course of the expedition has elicited much interest from both the general public and writers; accordingly, this section of the research study shall represent a synthesis of prior efforts to identify and recreate the course of the two Anza expeditions. Herbert Bolton's 1930 series, various National Park Service publications, a fine re-telling by Riverside (California) County Historian John Brumgardt in 1976, as well as Vladimir Guerro's recent book all provide sources for this section. Also, a reader seeking a much more in depth and technical study should consult the "Comprehensive Management and Use Plan Final Environmental Impact Statement" for the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, published by the National Park Service in April, 1996.

The historic route of the late eighteenth century Anza expeditions traversed terrain of dramatically contrasting geography and topography. The extended trail included both the treacherous, inhospitable, barren – yet starkly compelling – terrain of the Sonoran Desert as well as the temperate, Mediterranean climate of the craggy Pacific coast of Alta California. Along

the more than 1200 mile route, the travelers passed mountainous peaks of over 9000 feet (the highest point the expedition ascended was over 4000 feet) and desert basins below sea level. The trail passes through both the Basin and Range Province and the Pacific Border Physiographic Province.

The Basin and Range Province is a large region in what is today northwestern Mexico and southwestern United States. The province spans several desert and arid regions, as well as numerous eco-regions. The historic Anza route through Arizona and a small portion of Southern California traversed through the Basin and Range Province. Most of the topography of this region consists of numbers of north-south adjoining mountain ranges with alluvial fan basins of various widths distributed throughout the course. Geologists ascribe volcanic activity as well as faulting and lifting to the primary contributing factors to the formation and subsequent appearance of the Basin and Range Province.

The route of the historic Juan Bautista de Anza Trail passes through two separate sections of the Basin and Range Province – the Sonoran Desert and the Salton Trough. The Sonoran Desert is one of the largest and hottest deserts in North America, and contains a variety of animals and plants unique to the region, such as the saguaro cactus. The section of the Desert through which the Anza expeditions traveled consists of widely separated

short ranges across the desert plains. The Salton Trough region – which includes sections of present-day southern California and northwestern Mexico -- is an area of intense geological activity. The area constitutes a complex transitional zone between the right-lateral motion of the San Andreas transform fault system, and the northwestward progressing "spreading ridge complex" of the Gulf of California segment of the Eastern Pacific Rise. The Salton Trough includes both desert alluvial slopes and the delta plain of the Gulf of California.

The Anza route then traversed through the Pacific Border Province, a physiographic portion of the much larger Pacific Mountain System. The Anza expedition sections of the Pacific Border Province include both the California Coast Ranges and the Los Angeles Ranges. The Los Angeles Ranges are distinguished by broad fault blocks and narrow ranges, as well as sedimentary lowlands. The California Coast Ranges, approximating the expedition's route from present-day San Luis Obispo northward to the San Francisco Bay area, are typified by a series of coextending ranges and alluvial depressions on folded, faulted, and metamorphosed strata.

The eventual routes of the Anza expeditions were influenced and altered by topographical and climatic considerations. Indeed, the seasonal climate changes of the regions through which the 1775-76 expedition

traversed impacted not only its departure date, but even the eventual course of the extended journey. The expedition commenced in late September to avert the torrid heat of the desert summer. Similarly, the eventual route corridor was forged with consideration to the availability of water, fodder and fuel along its course. The predominating climate in the Sonoran Desert was and is hot and dry, and summer temperatures exceedingly so; between April and September, strenuous activity was limited to the brief dusk and dawn periods.

Due to storms originating in the Sea of Cortez, the majority of the limited precipitation of the eastern Sonoran Desert – through which the Anza expeditions traveled – occurred primarily during the summer months. As the expedition proceeded westward, however, rain also occurred sporadically during the winter months as a result of storms coming in off the Pacific Ocean. While yearly precipitation in the desert is quite low, the seasonal timing of what precipitation does occur varies rather dramatically between eastern and western sections of the Sonora. As a result, the region in eastern section of the Sonora displays a unique and wide-range of flora and fauna, not found elsewhere in the desert. In contrast, the western sections of the Sonoran Desert experiences most of its rainfall in the months of December, January, and February.

The atmospheric and seasonal weather conditions along the coastal Alta California portion of the route are shielded from the extremes of temperature because of the effect of the Pacific Ocean. As a result, the year round climate remains temperate, with winters rarely reaching freezing and summers usually mild. The winter and early spring months experience most of the region's rainfall, ranging from as low as eight inches in more inland locations to as much as 25 inches in some coastal locations.

The flora and fauna of the Sonoran Desert varies dramatically across the landscape. One consistent phenomenon throughout the region, however, is the growth of the creosote bush which is located in most areas of the Desert. Often it is found interspersed among other plants, but the creosote bush does grow singularly in other parts of the desert. Other shrubs peculiar to the Sonora Desert include Burro Brush (or Cheeseweed), Brittlebush (also called *incienso* because the early Spanish settlers burned its dried stems for incense), and Crucifixion Thorn (sometimes called *Holocantha* or *corona de Cristo*).

Another characteristic of the region that distinguishes it from the deserts to the north is the presence of a rather remarkable diversity of tree species. Included among these are the Smoke Tree, the Desert Willow, the Palo Verde, the Ironwood, the Elephant Tree (aka torote or copal), the

Screwbean Mesquite, (or *Tornillo*), and the Honey Mesquite. In the areas that receive more water runoff can be found Willows, Cottonwoods, and Salt Cedars. The Salt Cedar is an exotic variety; it was not present when the Anza expeditions traveled across the landscape in the late eighteenth century, and is today considered an undesirable part of regional eco-systems. The California Fan Palm (aka the Desert Palm and the California Washingtonia) is native to the region, however, and several sections of the Anza route contain groves of the species.

Cacti are found throughout the Sonoran Desert as well as along substantial portions of the Anza corridor. Several of the expedition diarists noted the "glorious presentation" of cacti in the highland regions of present-day Arizona – particularly along the most intensely watered, naturally irrigated ridges. The magnificent Saguaro Cactus, flowering and fruit-bearing, can reach heights of up to 50 feet (flowering and fruit bearing, the blossom of the Saguaro is the State Wildflower of Arizona). A wide variety of smaller cacti, including the Cholla, the Buckthorn Cholla, and the Beavertail can be found – as well as a smaller variety of the also present Prickly Pear Cactus. A wide variety of Ocotillos, Yuccas, Agaves and of seasonally flowering plants abound that provide a distinct character to the desert region of the Anza expeditions.

Though not always obvious to the casual observer, the animal life of the Sonoran Desert is also quite diverse. Both migratory and resident species of birds dwell in the Sonora Desert. Perhaps the one species that induces the most curiosity is the roadrunner, presently the state bird of New Mexico. Rodents constitute the primary mammalian inhabitants of the region – including a variety of rats, mice, and ground squirrels. Larger species of mammals are made up of coyote, kit fox, gray fox, bobcat, mule deer, and desert bighorn sheep.

Other animal species of special note are the endangered Sonoran Pronghorn and the pig-like Javelina. Though common at the time of the Anza expeditions, the Sonora Pronghorn is today limited to less than 100 animals in the far southwestern corner of Arizona. Known as the "prairie ghosts," the Pronghorn is the fastest land animal in North America. The Javelina (aka the Collared Peccary) of the Sonora Desert evolved uniquely to the region. Though not technically part of the pig family, the Javelina is of New World origin and migrated northward from South America in the pre-Columbian period. The Javelina was given its name by earlier Spanish colonizers because of its sharp "javelin-like" tusks. The varied menagerie of reptiles and amphibians also includes the Desert Tortoise and the poisonous Gila Monster. Though the Desert Tortoises once roamed throughout the

Sonoran and Mojave Deserts, they are today a federally threatened species under the Endangered Species Act (the number of Desert Tortoise has decreased 90% since the 1950s.) The many snake species include several varieties of Rattlesnake, the Sidewinder, and the Coral Snake.

Varieties of vegetation along the Anza corridor section of the Pacific Coast includes an assortment of chaparral, grassland, oak woodland, and – along river shores -- numerous riparian plants. Presently, the majority of these native plant communities have been altered because of urbanization, various irrigation strategies and the effects of ranching. Exotic (non-native) trees such as eucalyptus have been introduced and many perennial native grasses (plants that have live roots year round) have been almost entirely replaced by introduced annuals (plants which grow from seed each year). In the more remote sections of the trail route, native plant associations still persist largely as they did during the time of the Anza expeditions.

Most of the plant communities along the Anza Trail establish themselves in relationship to water availability, and are further influenced by such other factors as elevation and slope. Along streams at lower elevations is found the riparian (waterside) plants including Willow, Alder, Poplar, and Sycamore. This dense growth of shrubs beneath the main canopy of trees and vegetation provides a vital habitat for a variety of wildlife. On the more

arid, higher slopes, the oak woodland vegetation is found. Species include Blue Oak, White Oak, Interior Live Oak, and Coast Live Oak. Acorns and similar ovoid fruit and nuts provide food for wildlife. Natural wildfires have significantly influenced this oak woodland. On the driest slopes of the highest altitudes grow the dense chaparral. Primary species include the Toyon, Scrub Oak, Coyote Brush, Chamise, Sage, Buckwheat, Manzanita, Ceanothus, Monkey Flowers, and Poison Oak. This vegetation remains – as at the time of the Anza expeditions – highly flammable.[91]

Since the late eighteenth century Anza journeys, much of the Oak woodland and Chaparral vegetation growth has been transformed by ranching and agricultural interests or been cleared away entirely for residential development. The native understory bunch grasses such as Deer Grass, Purple Needlegrass, California Oatgrass, and Nodding Stipa have been replaced by mostly exotic European varieties such as Softchess, Red Brome, Italian Ryegrass, Foxtail, and Annual Bluegrass. Various flora and fauna species inhabiting the urbanized portions of the Anza route have been significantly altered from their earlier conditions. In those areas less impacted by Euro-American activities, wildlife includes bear, deer, cougar, coyotes, possum, raccoons, and foxes. In addition, there is a variety of

[91] Timothy O'Keefe, "Trees and Habitat, De Anza Historic Trail, North San Luis Obispo County Area," April, 1993; typescript on file at the NPS Pacific Great Basin System Support Office, Planning and Partnership Team San Francisco, California, 38.

amphibious creatures, including an assortment of frogs and snakes. Large birds such as turkey vultures, owls, and hawks, and smaller birds such as quail and redwing, are other creatures indigenous to what was – at the time of Anza – the Spanish North, soon to become the Mexican North, and eventually the American Southwest.[92]

Of course, much of the natural habitat has changed since the Anza expeditions. Indigenous people of the pre-Columbian Americas altered their environments, also, but usually not as dramatically as during the period beginning with the arrival of the Europeans. For example, dramatically more marshes, bogs and wetland area were present at the time of the Anza journeys in the late eighteenth century. Often these regions were later diminished or entirely drained in order for use for farming or, later, application for urban expansion.

The decline and even complete dissolution of freshwater marshes and other wetlands in the American Southwest has been recorded for decades. Though never abundant in the California deserts, the protection of remaining wetlands in the region is considered of critical importance. Several marshes and other wetlands along the route of the Anza expeditions have acquired some level of guardianship against the onslaught of modernity; these include

[92] Bill Weitkamp, "Effect of Spanish Colonization Native Vegetation," May 6, 1993, typescript on file at NPS Pacific Great Basin System Support Office, Planning and Partnerships Team, San Francisco, California.

the San Sebastian Marsh at the convergence of the Carrizo Wash and San Felipe Creek; Mystic Lake, which is part of the San Jacinto Wildlife Area, and most of the San Francisco Bay which is protected by a combination of efforts by local and federal agencies and private interests.

In respect to the San Sebastian Marsh, the San Felipe Creek, and other wetlands of the region are critical to the survival of a wider variety of many rare, threatened or endangered species recognized by both state and federal governments. Among these are: Desert Pupfish, Peninsular Bighorn Sheep, Yellow-billed Cuckoo, Southwester Willow Flycatcher, unarmored three-spined Stickleback, Black Rail, and Arroyo Toad. There are other species, such as Yellow-breasted Chat, Yellow Warbler, Loggerhead Shrike, Vaux's Swift, Summer Tanager, Lowland Leopard Frog, California Red-Legged Frog, Orcutt's Aster, which are not presently designated as endangered but nonetheless garner the concern of environmentalists.

The descriptions of the climate, general environment, flora and fauna played a significant part of the diaries left on the second, much larger expedition. Anza viewed the landscape from primarily a settlement or military perspective. On the second day out of Tubac – October 24, 1775, in Sahuarita – Captain Anza wrote of **"the meadows of the river continuing most abundant in good pasturage and other growths."** Six days later he

described how the expedition **"arrived at the Gila River at a site with abundant pasturage and water."** Father Font added that six days later that **"the climate appears to me to be very cold in winter and very hot in the summer"** and that **"only on the banks of the river and by the use of much water can harvest such as the Indians reap be obtained; and for cattle and horses the land is very short of pasturage."**[93]

For most of the next month of November, the expedition was plagued with continued illness, and the climate proved to be a constant peril. The accounts from Anza and each of the priests tell of continued battles with inclement weather: frigid, overcast, blustery gales, and a combination of ice, freezing rain and snow. Because the Captain left Tubac a month later than originally intended, the entire expedition was forced to endure the elements of the winter season. By the middle of the month, the water collected from the local hot springs would freeze in the container bags, and on November 20 Father Font recorded that **"we experienced very raw and cold weather. I felt it in my feet and legs and very intensely from early morning, after which the cold increased."**[94]

When the weather conditions were not as harsh, the diaries often describe the terrain of the rivers and valley through which the expedition

[93] Anza, October 24, 1775; Font, October 30, 1775.
[94] Font, November 20, 1775.

found traveled. Father Font details, for example, how on one afternoon while in the territory of the Pima Indians along the Gila River he **"went with Father Garces, accompanied by the Papago governor of Cojat, to visit the pueblo and see the fields."** The fields were fenced in with poles and laid off in divisions, **"with very good irrigating ditches, and are very clean. They are close to the pueblo and on the banks of the river."** The river, he continued, was **"large only in the season of floods, and now it carries so little water that when an Indian waded in and crossed it the water only reached halfway up his legs."** And the desert climate provided more problems than precipitation; on November 7 Font wrote that the **"road today has been through level country and without so much dust as before, which was so bad, especially when the wind blew, that one could scarcely breathe, and whatever the cause it formed a cloud so thick that we were not able to see each other a short distance away."**[95]

By the middle of the month of November, the expedition continued its **"march down the river … about a league and a half"** according to Captain Anza. The location was named the *Rancherias de San Martin* and Anza wrote that while **"there was no pasturage here, advantage was taken of some stubble of maize or wheat sown by the heathen**

[95] Font, November 1, 1775.

inhabitants of the place." He also noted that the **"rain continued all day and with greater force all the following night."** The next day, however, Anza wrote: **"At half past nine we raised our camp, now being free from rain, which stopped at daylight. Continuing down the bottom lands of the river to the west-southwest, we traveled four leagues in the same number of hours, until we came to the foot of some hills near the river, on whose bank there is a good field of stubble, where camp was made for the night."** Anza added that **"this place was called San Diego."**[96]

Much of the terrain and weather the expedition experienced while traveling along the Gila River in November of 1775 was not unexpected; Captain Anza had followed or closely paralleled much of this route on his earlier return journey, and was aware of the difficult terrain, as well as the dryness of the region. Somewhat unexpected, however, was the continued rain, snow and frigid climate. By the thirteenth of November, 1775, the group would re-cross the river and follow along the southern corridor of the somewhat unpredictable waterway. By the second half of November, Anza decided that Father Font should go ahead for reconnaissance, along with **"two soldiers, my servant, and my two pack loads. With me came**

[96] Anza, November 11, 1775.

Father Fray Thomas." The small party traveled **"to a place which during the last expedition they called San Bernardino."**[97]

Upon arriving in San Bernardino, Father Font described **"a little island formed by the river however slightly it rises, where there is plenty of grass and some Rancherias of Indians."** Soon there also arrived **"the three soldiers sent ahead by the commander to reconnoiter the Colorado River and the bad roads of the sand dunes which follow on the other side of the river."** The priest described the journey: **"All the way is very level, but through a miserable country with much dust and without pasturage. The groves of the river are now heavier and more extended, and according to signs left by the river, when in flood the stream must be a league wide and even more in places; but it is very lacking in fish, for it has only very bony matelote and not much of that."**[98]

At San Bernardino the entirety of the Anza expedition rejoined Pedro Font and his smaller group. The next day the journeyers reached Mohawk Peak and camped at its base at a place they named San Pasquel. For nearly two weeks the entire Anza expedition traveled and camped as they followed the course of the Gila River. Following the Gila River westward toward the Colorado, the group met up with the Yuma Chief Salvador Palma, who Anza

[97] Font, November 16, 1775.
[98] Ibid.

and Garces had both met previously. Father Font wrote that: **"From here a very rough sierra is seen in the distance, but this vicinity is very level for the most part."** Yet, the weather remained a formidable foe. **"In the days just past, especially yesterday and today,"** Anza recorded on November 21, **"the cold has been so severe that as a result of it and of the ice, six of our saddle animals have died during the last four days."** The same day Font wrote:

> **…Today a soldier found on the other side of the river a saline of foamy white salt like snow, from which, together with that found on the previous day, which was granulated, the soldiers supplied themselves with an abundance of salt. This shows how salty the river and all the country is.**

The priest's entry for the day concluded: **"In fact, it does not produce another thing, not even enough firewood to relieve the cold, which is here very intense."**[99]

On November 28, 1775, the expedition reached the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers. Scouts were sent to check the Trail beyond the Colorado River, and reported back that water and pasture in that territory were **"in the same condition as when we made our first expeditions."** Unfortunately, this meant that they were in quite short supply. To compound the situation, Anza was informed by the scouts **"as well as by the**

[99] Font, November 19, 1775; Anza, November 21, 1775; Font, November 21, 1775.

Yumas that the Colorado River has no ford, it being necessary to swim for a long stretch." The Captain began to make arrangements that logs be brought to make rafts in order to transport the women and the pack loads. But to this **"the Indians raised the objection that it was not possible because the water was too cold, and that at best it would require a whole day to take over a single raft load, and even then at the risk of its being lost."** Anza eventually located a suitable ford, and ordered a road opened across the river. **"All received the orders with the more pleasure because they did not have to cross on rafts,"** he wrote, **"being frightened by what they had heard the Indians say in regard to the coldness of the water."** [100]

On Monday, February 7, 1774, during the early afternoon, the first Anza exploratory expedition reached the Gila River just north of the junction with the Colorado River. Sometimes called the "Nile of America," the Colorado River turns and flows through immense, arid valleys and rises to majestic peaks in the Rocky Mountains of the present-day state of Colorado. The river dwarfs all the waterways in Spain, flowing over one-thousand-seven-hundred miles from its source to the Sea of Cortez. The section of the River in Yuma territory where the 1774 Anza expedition forded its waters

[100] Anza, November 28, 1775; Anza, November 29, 1775.

was about four hundred feet above sea level. Even at this juncture the Spaniards had hoped to find a tributary that reached all the way to the Pacific. Anza and his group discovered that this was not the case with the lower Colorado River, but generations to come would hope to find just such a branch that flowed endlessly to the ocean.

Though following a waterway to the Pacific was not possible, the Anza Trail nonetheless follows major river corridors for most of its route; it frequently traverses floodplains and skirts the edges of various wetland areas. In Arizona, the majority of the Trail follows the Gila River or Santa Cruz River. The Anza Trail through California aligns with a number of river corridors and waterways such as the San Felipe Wash and San Felipe Creek, Los Angeles River, San Jacinto River, San Antonio River, Salinas River, as well as the Coyote Creek through present-day Santa Clara County.

Also, the Trail crossed several other large rivers in addition to the Colorado: the Santa Ana River, San Gabriel River, the Rio Hondo River, the Santa Clara River, the Santa Ynez River, and the Santa Maria, Guadalupe and Pajaro Rivers. Many of these waterways have been altered drastically by changes in land use and management during the pre-Columbian period, and especially during the Spanish, Mexican and Anglo-American periods. Livestock and agricultural considerations and the corresponding ground

water pumping, as well as flood control and water storage for both residential and commercial uses, have all impacted these rivers by redefining channels and also reducing flow.

The successful crossing of the Colorado River did not, however, alleviate the problems the expedition encountered with the elements. **"Today we had a very hard time,"** wrote Father Font on December 1, 1775, **"because as soon as day dawned a northwest wind arose which was so strong that we could hardly keep the tents up, and wherever we walked a cloud of dust blew into the air."** To further compound the situation, **"since it was a very fine, dirty, and sticky sand, from the fine powder of dry silt which the river leaves, it made it impossible for us to breathe or see, our clothing and everything becoming soiled with it. This trouble continued until sunset…."**[101]

During the next week, perhaps the primary obstacle would be the overgrowth and vegetation that rendered the existing trail nearly untraceable. **"The road, although nearly all level,"** wrote Font on December 4, **"was very difficult, because it was so thick with brush that in many places not more than a little trail was to be seen, the rest being densely grown with mesquite, *tornillo* [** what the Spaniards called Screw Bean plant, a spirally

[101] Font, December 1, 1775.

twisted pod growing on a mesquite tree**], and thickets of a shrub which they call *cachanilla*. For these reasons the pack trains, the saddle, animals, and the cattle arrived after great delays and with some animals missing."** Father Font's journal entry the next day from "A Cojat Village" reveals that the temperature extremes still represented a formidable obstacle: **"In the morning,"** the priest wrote, **"a mule and a horse were found dead from the cold…."** Font also noted that the **"road has thick groves of cachanilla, tornillo, and mesquite, but it was not half so difficult as yesterday…."** And Captain Anza wrote a day later, on December 6, 1775, **"Having traveled four leagues in as many hours, we arrived at the Laguna de Santa Olaya, where a halt was made for the night, but the horned cattle were not able to reach the place during the whole day because of the hindrance of the thickets."** [102]

By December 9, 1775, the expedition reached present-day New River, a flood channel of the Colorado River which flows into the Imperial Valley. The Spaniards called this channel Arroyo Hondo. Though barren and dry as the expedition passed in December of 1775, its banks provided a resting spot and kindling and wood for fire to protect them from the frigid temperatures. Father Font, always perceptive, wrote:

---

[102] Font, December 4, 1775; Font, December 5, 1775; Anza, December 6, 1775.

> **On the road about a league after starting there is a salty lagoon without pasturage, and at about four leagues a little well of salty water which Father Garces called El Rosario. The road is level, but over bad, saline, and sterile country. On account of the unfruitfulness of these lands, so level, and of the aspect of the sand dunes, and especially of the abundance of shells of mussels and sea snails which I saw today in piles in some places, and which are so old and ancient that they easily crumble on pressing them with the fingers, I have come to surmise that in olden time the sea spread over all this land, and that in some of the great recessions which the histories tell us about it left these salty and sandy wastes uncovered.**

The Salton Sea did not exist at the time of the Anza expeditions, as it did not form until the twentieth century.[103]

Departing from New River on December 10, 1775, the group **"traveled about five leagues in a little more that five hours"** until coming upon **"a deep arroyo which offered nothing except an abundance of firewood,"** but this was very much needed **"as a protection from the severe cold."** The journey from the land of the Yuma to present day

[103] Font, December 9, 1775. In March of 1905, it was the New River which received most of the flood waters of the Colorado Rivers, carrying the rush of water into the Imperial Valley and forming the Salton Sea. The spring flooding season that year increased by April, and the Colorado River eventually broke through a second canal, and a small lake began to form in the Salton Sea. As more and more water accumulated, the Salton Sink became the Salton Sea covering about 150 square miles in sixty feet of water. By November of 1905, matters worsened. By this time more than 150,000 cubic feet per second flowed through the canal. The Colorado River began flowing into the Imperial Valley instead of the Gulf of Mexico. At the time of the Anza journey in the late eighteenth century, the channel was far more slender and restricted than it is today. As a consequence of the 1905 flood and subsequent flooding widened the waterway to an extent that some points were over a half mile across and eighty feet deep. A further result of the flooding is that the present-day town of Mexicali is divided into two distinct sections.

Riverside County remained constantly subject to vagaries of the natural world. Water remained scarce, suitable pastureland was limited, and inclement weather tormented the group.[104]

Monday, December 11, for example was **"cruelly cold,"** freezing temperatures proved **"severe"** the following day, and on December 13 Captain Anza recorded that the far-off sierras through which **"we had to travel were more deeply covered with snow than we had ever imagined would be the case."** During a brief respite from the wind and snow, Anza **"had all the firewood gathered that was possible, though it was not much because the region is lacking in it, in order to withstand the cold wind which came up again with great force … with preludes of rain and snow."** The Captain acknowledged that **"the strong wind … had been very hard on our people, especially the women and children."**[105]

For weeks, inclement weather remained the primary obstacle for the Anza expedition to overcome. **"As soon as day began to dawn,"** wrote Anza on December 14, **"it commenced to snow with fierce and extremely cold wind, which continued the entire day, and for this reason it was not possible to march."** Further, **"the mountains and plains continued to be so covered with snow that it looked like daylight, and there now**

[104] Anza, December 19, 1775.
[105] Anza, December 10, 11, and 13, 1775.

followed a very severe freeze, as a consequence of which this was a night of extreme hardship."[106]

The next day the Captain recorded in his journal: **"At daybreak it was very windy, and the snow which had fallen the day and the night before was very hard from the freezing weather which had proceeded, as a result of which six of our cattle and one mule died."** Also as a consequence of the frigid temperature **"several persons were frozen, one of them so badly that in order to save his life it was necessary to bundle him up for two hours between four fires."** Father Font wrote that **"we found ourselves in this plain surrounded by snow, and the weather quite cold"** and wrote at length of the **"cruel weather."** On both the 16th and 17th of December descriptions of the weather dominated Anza's journal entries, and revealed that **"as a result several persons were frozen to the point of being in danger of death."** One officer **"so exposed himself that he contracted very severe pains in his ears, and … the weather is so bad that he has been left totally deaf in both ears."**[107]

On the eighteenth Anza wrote: **"Notwithstanding the care which we have tried to observe with the cattle, it has not been possible to keep down the mortality … from the cold."** In addition to the continued frigid

[106] Anza, December 14, 1775.
[107] Anza, December 14, 15 and 17, 1775.

temperatures, the continued dryness of the region continued to hector the expedition. Traveling across **"sandy country with bad footing"** the Anza travelers arrived in the Borrego Valley on December 19, 1775, and camped near San Felipe Creek designated San Gregorio by the diarists. Father Font wrote: **"This watering place appeared at first to have enough water for our saddle animals, but within two hours after we had halted we were left without any, and nearly half of the animals were still to be watered, notwithstanding that for greater economy we had led the first ones by the halters to drink."** Because of this situation, Font himself went to have other wells opened, **"which was done in various places, digging them to the depth of more than an estado."** Water was found in all of the newly dug wells, but **"it flowed so slowly that we concluded that we should not be able to achieve our purpose during the whole night, which in fact proved to be the case."**[108]

On December 20 the expedition had entered Coyote Canyon and reached Coyote Creek by nightfall; the location is just south of present-day Riverside County. **"This morning it was so frigid and the night before was so extremely cold,"** wrote Anza, **"that three saddle animals and five head of cattle were frozen to death."** And the weather **"was so hard on**

[108] Anza, December 18, 1775; Font, December 19, 1775.

our people that almost none of them slept, for they spent the night occupied in feeding the fires in order to withstand it." Within several days, however, Father Font wrote that **"the day continued very cloudy, although not very cold."** The milder weather did nothing, however, relieve the priest of his interminable diarrhea: **"I arose and was all day … troubled with my flux, which got much worse."**[109]

By Christmas Eve of 1775 the weather was dreary and cloudy, with a **"fog so dense that one could hardly see anything twelve yards away,"** according to Captain Anza. Father Font concurred, writing that while **"it has not rained on us at all, … it has been so cloudy, and the fog so low and thick that it was not possible to see the hills of the canyon which were right at hand, or the road a short distance away."** And, entering the edge of the temperate coastal climate, the weather was not cold but **"there has been a great deal of humidity."** Font wrote on Christmas evening that **"because the day was very raw and foggy, it was decided that we should remain here today."**[110]

Despite the continued inclement weather, Christmas of 1775 did bring good tidings for the Anza expedition. **"A little before midnight on this Holy night of Nativity,"** wrote Father Font, **"the wife of a soldier …**

[109] Anza, December 20, 1775; Font, December 22, 1775.
[110] Anza, December 24, 1775; Font, December 25, 1775.

happily gave birth to a boy, naming him Salvador Ygnacio." Soon thereafter the skies began to clear, and by 9 o'clock the next morning the group again began its journey. **"Today having dawned fair," recorded Anza, "at the regular hour the sun came out bright. For this reason and because the mother was better and had the pluck to march, we prepared to break camp, ascending the valley for about three-quarters of a league."** The campaign arrived that afternoon at the Royal Pass of San Carlos, (near present-day Anza, CA) by way of Coyote Canyon to the fork near the convergence of Nance Canyon, Horse Canyon, and Tule Canyon. Later in the day, however, the rain again commenced, and **"continued until half past four"** in the afternoon; accordingly, Anza halted the march because if the rain increased it **"might injure the woman who was delivered night before last."** Later, at dusk, **"a heavy, distant thunder was heard, and this was followed by an earthquake which lasted four minutes."** Font wrote of the earthquake, also, writing that:

> **It must have been about five in the afternoon when we felt a tremor of very short duration that appeared to be an earthquake, accompanied by a short, sharp rumbling. After a short time it was repeated very distinctly.**

The padre did, however, recognize the changing terrain from the earlier strictly desert landscape, noting that the **"place has a spring of water and a small arroyo nearby, with plentiful and good grass"** and the **"sierra**

hereabout appears to be very fertile and moist, quite in contrast with the former…."[111]

The further the expedition traveled the more pleasant and appealing the climate and terrain grew. On Wednesday, December 27, the group entered Bautista Canyon at the end of a day in which they had traveled over five leagues. **"Here,"** recorded Father Font:

> **…the country is better than the foregoing, for after leaving the Pass of San Carlos this country completely changes its aspect, in contrast with that left behind on the other side. From a height near the place whence we set out, formed by large stones, rocks, and boulders, through which the road runs and which form the Pass of San Carlos, as if the scenery of the theatre were changed, one beholds the Sierra Madre de California now totally different – green and leafy, with good grass and trees, in the distance looking toward the South Sea,…"**

Font wrote that they now traveled across **"level and good country,"** as the expedition had entered the present-day Cahuilla Valley in the south-eastern section of Riverside County. [112]

The region was characterized by **"plentiful and good grass, with shrubs and fragrant herbs."** Yet, the snowcapped mountains in the distance proved worrisome to many travelers, causing such **"melancholy that some of the women had to weep."** Indeed, the **"sight has been**

---

[111] Font, December 25, 1775; Anza, December 26, 1775; Font, December 26, 1775.
[112] Font, December 27, 1775.

terrifying to most of the people of our expedition who, since they were born in the Tierra Caliente, have never seen such a thing before." Fearful of a return of a frigid, snowy climate, Captain Anza assured them that **"the cold would be moderated when we got to the seacoast and its missions, as had already been experienced."** The expedition camped that night near the opening of Bautista Canyon, just next to Tripp Flat. Father Font was quite satisfied with the surroundings. The canyon, he wrote, was filled with **"pretty and fragrant plants,"** including both rosebushes and variety of flower with was small and had five petals. According to Font the plants not only smelled good but were also quite delicious.[113]

Despite Captain Anza's assurances that the climate would remain mild, the frigid temperatures did return the evening of December 27 – and Gertrudis Linaris and several others fell sick from the effects of the weather changes and the continued stresses of travel. Subsequently, the entire venture was halted several days allowing them to recover. By the thirtieth the march had continued, passing through Bautista Canyon by way of present-day Valle Vista and stopping at 4:30 pm and settling on the banks of the San Jacinto River near the present-day community of San Jacinto. **"In the morning the weather was fair and not so cold,"** wrote Father Font,

[113] Ibid; Anza, December 27, 1775.

"and I was very well pleased by the crystalline and beautiful water of the Arroyo de San Joseph, which runs from the Sierra Nevada and comes through a valley so leafy that because of its beauty and attractiveness we called it Paradise Valley." They emerged from that rather narrow gorge and entered the valley of the San Joseph River; the expedition followed quite closely to the low mountain along the Sierra Nevada. **"The arroyo has on its banks thick groves of cottonwoods until it is lost in a large lake which is formed in the valley,"** Font continued, and the **"camp site appeared to me to be very good for a settlement."** [114]

In the extended journal entry, Father Font nearly waxed poetic in description of the new region in which the expedition found itself:

> **The Valley of San Joseph is very large and beautiful. Its lands are very good and moist, so that although this was wintertime we saw the grass sprouting almost everywhere in the valley. The land is very soft and when it rains it is somewhat miry. Here and there in the valley there are some hills with rocks and shrubby growths but without any trees, though the soil of the hills is soft like that of the valley. In all the valley there are no other trees than the cottonwoods of the river bottoms. In the high and snow-covered sierras one sees pines and live oak, and it may be that on their skirts and in their canyons they may have other trees, because they are very moist. There are vast numbers of geese which at a distance are seen in large white flocks. Finally, it has a very clear sky and a very delightful view.**

[114] Font, December 27, 1775.

As Anza and his group followed the trail deeper into the valley of Los Angeles, the colder temperatures ceased almost entirely. The promise of reaching the missions was now within their grasp, and the improved weather condition no doubt further bolstered their spirits and resolve. On the final day of 1775, Font wrote: **"I saw an abundance of rosemary and other fragrant plants, and in the second long canyon many sunflowers in bloom, and grapevines and wild grapes of such good stock that it looked like a vineyard; and perhaps with a little cultivation they would yield good grapes."**[115]

The next day was New Year's Day, and Father Font said Mass and exhorted the people **"to renew their good resolutions, since we were now beginning a new year."** Of the landscape in which the group was camped, Font reported approvingly that:

> **"All this country from the pass of San Carlos forward is a region which does not produce thorns or cactus. In fact I did not see in all the district which I traveled as far as the port of San Francisco any spinous trees or shrubs such as there are in the interior … nor are any thorns encountered on the plants except on the blackberries and rose bushes. Finally, this country is entirely distinct from the rest of America which I have seen.**

Captain Anza recorded that they departed the next morning at half past eight and **"set forth on the march toward the west-northwest over level**

[115] Ibid; Font, December 31, 1775.

country with good pasturage and fair weather." And Father Font, clearly in good spirits, wrote: **"…After leaving the valley of San Joseph I heard some birds somewhat larger than sparrows singing along the road. They say that they are larks, but they did not look like them to me. Their song is not long but is sweet. From here forward I afterwards saw a great many birds in all places."** On the trunk of a large Sycamore Tree the priest carved: **"In the year 1776 came the San Francisco Expedition."** [116]

The expedition arrived at the Mission San Gabriel on January 4, 1776 – nearly six-hundred miles from the last Spanish community they had encountered in San Xavier. The most harrowing aspects of the venture were now behind them, as the route they would be traveling to San Francisco was well-known and less challenging. Father Font described eloquently the Mission of San Gabriel:

> **The mission of San Gabriel is situated about eight leagues from the sea in a site of most beautiful qualities, with plentiful water and very fine lands. The site is level and open, and is about two leagues from the Sierra Nevada to the north, which from hither is called the Sierra de San Marcos. On setting out from camp we crossed the bed of a large river which was without water and has a thick grove of small cottonwoods.**

[116] Font, January 1, 1776; Anza, January 2, 1776; Font, January 2, 1776.

The next day, still impressed by the pleasant landscape and terrain of San Gabriel, Font continued his description:

> **…The mission has plentiful live oaks and other trees for building timber, and consequently there is abundant firewood. In the creek, celery and other plants which look like lettuce, and some roots like parsnips, grow naturally; and nearby there are many turnips, which from a little seed which was scattered took possession of the land. And near the site of the old mission … there is grown a great abundance of watercress, of which I ate liberally. In short, this is a country which … looks like the Promised Land.**

As discussed in the opening chapter, Captain Anza and a small army of soldiers at this point left the larger expedition to head to San Diego to retaliate against the Indians who were said to have attacked the mission there. Returning to Mission San Gabriel over a month later and on Wednesday, February 21, 1776, Anza and a much smaller contingent (seventeen soldiers and their families) continued with their journey to Monterey. The trail was familiar to Anza, who had traveled it twice on his previous expedition. The group reached Monterey on Sunday, March 10 – and the sky was overcast and drizzling. The long journey had been completed.

Two weeks later Juan Bautista de Anza would be surveying the territory surrounding San Francisco Bay, as ordered by the Viceroy. Father Font accompanied him, and the priest's description of San Francisco

captures the awe-inspiring panorama of the Bay and surrounding area. Font wrote that the port **"is a marvel of nature, and might well be called the harbor of harbors, because of its great capacity, and of several small bays which it enfolds in its margins or beach and in its islands."** The next day, he expanded his observations of the territory he was sent to survey with Captain Anza. From the Peninsula of San Francisco, now the location of the Golden Gate Bridge, Font wrote:

> **…This mesa affords a most delightful view, for from it one sees a large part of the port and its islands, as far as the other side, the mouth of the harbor, and of the sea all that the sight can take in as far as beyond the farallones [Spanish for "the pillars"]. Indeed, although in my travels I saw very good sites and beautiful country, I saw none which pleased me so much as this. And I think that if it could be well settled like Europe there would not be anything more beautiful in all the world, for it has the best advantages for founding in it a most beautiful city, with all the conveniences desired, by land as well as by sea, with that harbor so remarkable and so spacious, in which may be established shipyards, docks, and anything that might be wished.**

The allure and other-worldly beauty of the San Francisco Bay region, described here by Pedro Font, served as an appropriate terminus to the second journey led by Captain Juan Bautista de Anza. [117]

The Trail they followed wound its way nearly twelve hundred miles through some of the most dramatically diverse and compelling territory of

[117] Font, March 26 and 27, 1776.

the North American continent. Before the journey ended the travelers encountered mountains and valleys, pine forests and barren deserts, flowing rivers and extended expanses of waterless terrain. The climate along the Trail could fluctuate drastically and dangerously, from the sub-freezing temperatures of the winters in higher elevations to torrid summer heat of the desert – the latter, thankfully, the expedition was largely able to avoid. The wildlife of the area included rattlesnakes, coyotes, roadrunners, grizzly bears, mountain lions, and deer. The unusual land formations of the region created an atmosphere of incomparable physical beauty, and several National Parks have subsequently been designated on or near the Trail.

CHAPTER 5

Race, Class, and Gender on the Anza Expedition

Perhaps the most striking single aspect of the second Anza expedition was the human diversity of the nearly three hundred men, women and children who made the arduous trek from Tubac to San Francisco in 1775 and 1776. Over the last several decades scholars of numerous disciplines have recognized the importance of societal constructions of race, class and gender as interlocking categories that affect all aspects of social life. Seeing these interrelationships among various groups is vital to an historical understanding of the Anza epoch. This section analyzes the relationships between the expedition's participants and the indigenous people encountered along the Trail corridor, as well as the interrelationships of the emigrants themselves.

It is truly difficult to understand the social order of the region of the Anza expeditions – or, for that matter, the later development of Arizona, California, and the entire American Southwest – without acknowledging what Richard White calls "the seemingly obsessive concern with racial ancestry" that dominated late eighteenth century perceptions in New Spain. The notion of "race" was (and is) a social concoction with little grounding in

biology, and even less in ancestral reality; indeed, such ideas proved so arbitrary that children of the same two parents were sometimes placed in diametrically opposite racial categories. Class and race were inextricably linked in the Spanish colonial imagination, however. And the social consequences of these fervently held ideas proved capricious at best. For example, if an individual of indigenous background – or of mixed European and indigenous ancestry – gained land, wealth, or status, he could also acquire "whiteness" in the eyes of society.[118]

In the over two and a half centuries since Coronado explored the North until the first journey of Anza, a caste system predicated upon these ideas of race became entrenched. At the top of the pyramid was the noble class – the *dons* and *donas* – who were theoretically *espanol* (Spanish) in ancestry. (In the northern "borderland" territories, those of a 100% Spanish lineage actually constituted a very, very small minority.) At the bottom were the *genizaros* – captive or released Indian slaves and other indigenous people who had fled, for a variety of reasons, their tribal communities and adopted aspects of Spanish culture. In the middle of this structure were: *mulattos*, individuals of Spanish and African ancestry; *mestizos*, of Spanish

[118] White, 14. In recent years, "Whiteness studies" has emerged as an interdisciplinary field of study that focuses on the cultural, historical and sociological aspects of people identified as "white" and the social construction of "whiteness" as an ideology tied to social status. See Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, 1992, and David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 1991.

and Mexican Indian heritage; *pardos* or *color quebrados*, those of mixed African, Indian, and Spanish descent, and; *coyotes*, people of the northern frontier – New Mexico – of Indian and Spanish descent. These designations varied by locale and convenience, but existed throughout the northern frontier. *Indios*, or Native Americans who had retained their tribal identities, existed largely on the outside of this complex structure.

Though the Spanish leadership of the northern frontier was consumed with matters of race, such concerns were based more upon fantasy than any societal reality. Theoretically "race determined place" within this milieu; as suggested above, however, actual practice often proved otherwise. Race did not determine caste as much as caste determined race. If a man practiced Roman Catholicism, spoke Spanish and owned large swaths of property, he was considered *espanol*, regardless of his ethnic background. The system provided the most land grants to these "Spanish" elites, and the middling orders possessed either much smaller grants, a share in communal land grants, or *mercedes reales* (royal grants.) For the *genizaros*, land came primary along the raiding routes of the Apaches or Comanche, if it came at all.

Since the accumulation of land and status were directly tied to supposed *espanol* ancestry, *mestizos* and *mullatos* could procure a "Spanish"

pedigree through loyal service to colonial authorities or other efforts. Fortunes did not cut in the other direction, however; off-spring of *dons* and *donas* were not stripped of their Spanish identity if they proved to be unproductive citizens. "Thus, as increasing numbers of people became 'Spanish' during the eighteenth century," Richard White writes, "what was actually a *mestizo* peasantry contained more 'Spaniards' than did the very small 'Spanish' elite." By the time of the second Anza expedition in 1776, most of the so-designated *espanoles* in the northern frontier towns were actually *meztisos*.

The garrison and settlers of the several expeditions led by Anza from Sonora to California were primarily of both *mestizo* and *mulatto* descent. The firsthand accounts of the journey suggest that about a third of the men and about a quarter of women who settled in San Francisco or San Jose between 1776 and 1778 were *espanol* or *espanola.* And, again, it is most probable that these "Spanish" settlers were also of mixed heritage. In all likelihood only Juan Bautista de Anza himself, the priests, and probably a few others on the expeditions could trace their ancestry solely to Europe. Up to the present day many of the Hispanic residents of the American Southwest claim a pure Spanish background, but as more than one scholar has pointed out, there is little in the historical record to justify it.

Though the late eighteenth century notions of race may not have been based upon actual ethnic ancestry, the caste stratification they induced remained quite stringent indeed. The New Spanish frontier settlements were not, of course, the only examples in history where one group of human beings believed themselves to be innately superior to another. And, as with other elite groups through time, these *espanoles* had no difficulty justifying the subjugation of what they perceived as an inferior people. Status was directly intertwined with ideas about "honor" – the belief that the *dons* and *donas* deserved their privileged positions in society because of their long Spanish and Christian lineage. These *espanole* elites eschewed physical labor and conducted themselves with a conspicuous and self-conscious gentility.

Honor differed for men and women. While men strove to acquire additional honor, women were expected to preserve the honor with which they were born. The patriarchal structure dictated that one of the primary measures of a *don's* honor, according to Richard White, was "the extent to which he dominated and protected his wife and daughters and sexually conquered the wives and daughters of other men." But the prevailing patriarchy never relegated women to obscurity, either ideologically or in practice. Early during the Spanish colonial period, for example, the Virgin

Mary was designated patroness of the New World and the Indians and, according to historian Virginia Marie Bouvier, became "a major figure in the symbolic repertoire of the conquest." And over two and a half centuries later, the Virgin Mary would be unanimously selected as the patron saint of the 1775-1776 Anza expedition to California. "So important an enterprise as this," writes Herbert Bolton, "must have its patron saints, and for the principal honor the Virgin of Guadalupe was chosen."[119]

The nature of Spanish conquest in the Americas generally and the Anza expeditions specifically were influenced by a variety of dynamics: Regional differences, the changing role and goals of the Catholic Church, the various cultures and folkways of the indigenous groups encountered, as well as the timing of individual contacts. But the relevance of what has become known as "gender ideology," (simply defined as the body of ideas relating to gender) influenced each of these categories of analysis, and also represents a separate and autonomous factor in the historical equation. Further, as Bouvier astutely writes: "The Anza expedition … provides a useful case study for evaluating the roles that gender and gender relations

---

[119] White, 21; Virginia Marie Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2001), 14. Bouvier writes further that during the nineteenth-century wars of independence with Spain, the image of the Virgin Mary would be transformed from a symbol of Spanish colonial power and authority into a symbol of rebellion and American identity. Indeed, "her image has proved to be amazingly resilient as a symbol both in the service of and in resistance to colonial domination."; Bolton, trans. And ed., *Anza's California Expedition*, 5 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930-39), 1:232-33.

played in the colonization of the frontier, as well as the ways in which they were inscribed." Following the exploratory journey in 1774, the Viceroy implored Anza to lead another expedition, and the troops were to "bring their wives and children in order that they become better attached to their domicile." Without the civilizing effect of women and family, the Viceroy (in addition to Father Serra) believed that single men were unlikely to make permanent homes in Alta California. As a result, women and children represented the majority of the members of the 1775-76 Anza expedition. "At a time of awakening international interest in the Pacific coast," Bouvier concludes, "women's roles as wives and mothers were fundamental in establishing a stable population on a far-off frontier."[120]

Only a few of the women traveling on the 1775-76 Anza expedition were literate, and none of them left a written record. Our knowledge of their situations must, therefore, necessarily be interpreted through the observations of four official chroniclers, all of them male. Yet, these accounts affirm not only the presence of women on the overland trail, but their profound contributions to the settlement of northern California. And several diary entries reveal that women, according historian Antonia Castaneda, "frequently contested Hispanic patriarchal norms and acted

[120] Bouvier, 53, 60.

outside the cultural constructions of femininity that required of women not merely chastity, if single, and fidelity, if married, but also demanded submissiveness, modesty, and timidity in order to affirm their sexual purity." In more than one instance on the Anza-led journeys, to quote Castaneda further, some women "openly defied patriarchal control of their social and sexual bodies." In some cases, "they openly defied the norms that were supposed to control them; in others, they strategically used the idiom of honor to defend themselves, even as their actions violated the honor codes of femininity."[121]

Such was the circumstance of one Maria Feliciana Arballo de Gutierrez (usually written Feliciana de Arballo.) Feliciana and her husband, Lieutenant Jose Gutierrez, signed on for the expedition with their two daughters, four-year-old Maria Tomasa and one-month-old Maria Eustquia. Just prior to departure, however, Lieutenant Gutierrez died. It is lost to history the precise words the recently widowed, twenty-three year old Arballo used to convince Juan Bautista de Anza to allow her and her two young daughters to join the journey to San Francisco in 1775. Anza's decision to include the three on the expedition came over the vehement opposition of Father Pedro Font. The priest argued that Arballo had no male

[121] Antonia I. Castaneda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and Family," in *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, eds. Ramon A. Gutierrez and Richard J. Orsi, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 246-248.

guidance or protection, and should thus be left behind in Tubac. Font voiced strong objection to the presence of this young woman and, according to Castaneda: "Throughout the journey, Font publicly castigated and rebuked the widow Arballo and remonstrated … Anza for her presence."

On December 17, 1775, almost two weeks since the expedition crossed the treacherous Colorado River during freezing temperatures, the group was finally reunited with the third division. That night, **"with the joy of the arrival of all the people,"** a spontaneous *fandango* dance erupted that Font described as **"somewhat discordant."** Father Font believed that the people should have been praying rather than partying, and he became absolutely livid when Feliciana de Arballo also joined the celebration and rendered some rather bawdy song lyrics to the occasion. **"Cheered and applauded by all the crowd,"** he wrote, **"a very bold widow sang some verses that were not at all nice."** Font further wrote that the man who accompanied her to the dance became justifiably angry and physically punished her, but Anza chastised the man for treating Feliciana in such a manner. Father Font wrote in his dairy: **"I said to him, 'Leave him alone, Sir, he is doing just right,' but he replied, 'No Father, I cannot permit such excesses when I am present.'"** Disgruntled, Font wrote that Anza

"guarded against this excess, indeed, but not against the scandal of the fandango, which lasted until very late."

Font and Anza fell out over this situation, with Font vehemently defending the man's reaction. But Feliciana de Arballo did more than just defy the authority of Father Font that evening. As Castaneda aptly concludes, she actually "subverted his effort to shame her and control her behavior by inverting the positions, appropriating the public space, and performing within it." Further, the defense of Feliciana also reveals an important and reoccurring aspect of the character and attitudes of the expedition's leader, Juan Bautista de Anza.[122]

Perhaps feeling somewhat contrite about his own behavior, Father Font later conceded in his journal that his own ill health may have caused him to overreact to the Feliciana de Arballo episode. On several later occasions, Font would come to the defense of women on the expedition. This was especially so whenever the men of the battalion attempted to interrupt female participation in the priest's religious services. Following one particular incident, Font wrote that he had rebuked a number of the soldiers "who were so jealous of their wives that besides not permitting them to talk to anybody, they even prohibited them from coming to hear Mass."

---

[122] Herbert Eugene Bolton, trans. And ed., *Anza's California Expeditions*, 5 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 4: 138, 428; Castaneda, 246.

In such circumstances, Father Font voiced strong support of the women on the expedition.

Regardless, one can only presume that the stifling social climate of the expedition caused Feliciana de Arballo and her two daughters to separate from the entire undertaking upon reaching San Gabriel mission. According to church historian Monsignor Francis J. Weber, Feliciana created "a minor sensation" when she left the journey and wedded Juan Francisco Lopez, a soldier who had come to Alta California with Father Serra some time earlier. The couple exchanged vows in January of 1776, and Sebastian Taraval served as the witness. According to Bouvier, Feliciana "continued to serve the state in its conquest effort, taking on a new role as overseer for the San Gabriel mission's dormitory for young Indian girls." Mission records reveal that Feliciana and her newly betrothed eventually had two children of their own, and the couple also served as padrinos for several infants born in the Native village of Juyuvit.

Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, an early historian of California, correctly observes that there was no place on this expedition for the "fainting hearts of timid women and children." Indeed, in many respects the women of the Anza party bore hardships unequalled by their male counterparts. Because one of the primary objectives of the entire mission was to encourage

population growth and settlement in Alta California, the chroniclers of the Anza expedition were meticulous in recording the pregnancies, births and miscarriages that occurred during the journey. [123]

On the first day out of Tubac, the wife of one of the soldiers endured an extended labor that resulted in the birth of a "very lusty baby boy about nine o'clock at night", but also the tragic death of the young mother. Just fifteen miles north of the expedition's origin, the woman began to experience "the first pains of childbirth." Father Font wrote in his diary that "the delivery was so irregular that the child was born feet first, and the woman died in childbed early in the morning." Although Font did not mention the mother's name, Anza identified her later as Maria Ignacia Manuela Pinuelas, the mother of six other children from four to twelve years old. She was thirty-one years old at the time of her death, and married to Vicente Feliz, who was thirty-four. Early in the morning following the birth of her son, Maria Ignacia died. Her body was taken to San Xavier del Bac Mission and was buried by Father Garces on October 25.[124]

---

[123] Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, ed. *History of California*, 5 vols. (New York: Century History, 1915), 1:391-92;

[124] Pedro Font, "Diario que forma el P.Fr.Pedro Font Pdor Apco del Colegio de la Sta Cruz de Queretaro, sacado del borrador que excrivio en el camino del viage que hizo a Monterey y Puerto de Sn Francisco, Horcasitas, September 29, 1775-June 23, 1776, MS, Cowan Collection, BL, referenced in Bouvier, Weber and White, original in John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I., hereafter referred to as "Diario breve."

The chroniclers of the Anza expedition reported that at least five other women suffered miscarriages en route to the Alta California coast. Anza wrote on November 10, 1775: "The wife of a soldier having suffered a miscarriage, with the infant dying, she appears to be faring badly as a result." The woman is not named directly. The next morning, Anza felt compelled to temporarily halt the entire expedition, confirming that the woman "was not in a condition to travel today, for she awakened this morning with her whole body swollen." Father Font wrote that she had "given birth to a stillborn baby on the second of the month."[125]

Just over a week later another soldier reported to Anza that his wife was in labor. Again, Anza delayed the journey for three days while Delores (one of the few women mentioned by name in any of the five journals) could deliver the baby and regain her strength. The newborn was baptized by Father Font who "named him Diego Pasqual, because it was the octave of San Diego and because the place where we were was called San Pasqual." Later that same month, on November 24, 1775, Anza stopped the expedition once again because an expectant mother was suffering severe labor pains. In his journal entry for the day Father Font wrote of Anza's kindness toward this woman, and added that Anza himself brought food to her to satisfy her

[125] Font, "Diario breve."

hunger. In a subsequent letter to the Viceroy, Anza explained the delays the expedition had encountered because of inclement weather, illness, and primarily because of the number of women giving birth or miscarrying. It was impossible, Anza explained, for the new mothers to mount horses for four or five days. While such explanations illuminate Anza's empathy for these women, they also reiterate the importance of reproduction to the mission of settlement in Alta California.[126]

But present day scholars should view descriptions of gender relationships from the Anza expedition diaries with a degree of circumspection. Father Font, for example, regularly minimized the hardships suffered by women during labor and instead made his own involvement during the births the focal point of his chronicles. In the blistering cold on Christmas Eve, a woman went into labor with the third infant to be born on the expedition. Father Font unintentionally illuminates the hardships of women during the journey:

> **In the afternoon they called me to hear confession of the wife of a soldier. Since yesterday, she had been suffering labor pains; she was very fearful of dying. Having consoled her and cheered her up as best I could, I retired to**

[126] Ibid; Juan Bautista de Anza, "Diario de la Ruta, y Operaciones que Yo el Ynfraescripto Theniente Coronel, y Capitan del R1. Presidio de tubac, en la Provincia, y Governacion de Sonora, practico segunda vez," Horcasitas, October 23, 1775—June 1, 1776, Mexico, AGN, Prov. Int., vol. 169, exp. 7, fols. 176-81v., as in Bouvier, hereafter "Diario," also cited in Donald Garate, "Notes on Anza," unpublished MS (Tumacacori National Historical Park: National Park Service, Nov. 15, 1994), p.3.

> **my tent, and at half past eleven at night she happily and very quickly gave birth to a boy.**

And the day following what by all other accounts was a very difficult delivery Father Font saw fit to record:

> **Shortly before midnight on this holy night of Christmas, the wife of a soldier (the one whom I mentioned yesterday) happily gave birth to a boy, and since the day was very raw and foggy, it was decided that we should remain here today. Thus I said three Masses, and afterward I solemnly baptized the child, naming him Salvador Ygnacio.**

Ordinarily, women appear in the Anza expedition journals without names of their own, referenced only in relation to their husbands or sons.[127]

Certainly, the prevailing late eighteenth century Hispanic patriarchy is never far from the surface of these accounts. It warrants repetition that regardless of this male-dominated hierarchy, Anza himself demonstrated remarkable and often singular consideration of the women on the journey; regularly his empathy in such matters put him at odds with the expedition's clergy. When the group was to resume its march following the birth of little Salvador Ygnacio, Anza expressed concern that "the cold, rainy weather and steep terrain may injure" the mother, and the journey was again delayed.[128]

---

[127] Font, "Diario breve." The boy referred to here was Salvador Ygnacio Linares, son of Ygnacio and Gertrudis Rivas Lianres.
[128] Anza, "Diario."

Anza also commented favorably upon the efforts of Native women who helped the expedition when it reached the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers. The Yuma Indians helped the party get across this confluence, as they had done in Anza's previous exploratory mission. So high was the Colorado that the expedition members needed to be transported across by boats the Yuma had constructed especially for such conditions. Anza noted that the Yuma women were **"more skillful swimmers than the Men,"** and carried the groups' possessions across the turbulent river in baskets on their heads. It was recorded that the women swam back and forth across the Colorado twelve times in a single day.[129]

Somewhat curiously, Anza's wife of fourteen years – Dona Ana Regina Serrano – did not join her husband on the expedition to Alta California. Father Font complained vociferously that Ana Regina Serrano was the originator of several schemes to delay or even sabotage the mission; at one point, Anza's wife tried to convince Font himself to feign illness in order to stall the scheduled departure. Eventually the expedition would be postponed by Anza **"because his wife wished it and he had the opportunity to give her this pleasure."** In the final analysis, Ana Regina Serrano's motivations in this regard remain unclear. Certainly, most of the

[129] Ibid.

wives of officers during the Spanish colonial period joined their husbands upon their reassignment to the frontier.[130]

Most women on the expedition willingly volunteered to go, and familial and economic concerns were the primary motivations behind their journeys to the far-off Pacific coast. Maria de Leon, for example, appealed on several occasions to the colonial powers to allow her to join her husband, Lieutenant Jose Joaquin Moraga, in San Francisco. Maria was quite ill when the Anza expedition departed, and not capable to join the **"loving company"** of her husband. An eventual letter to Spanish authorities implored them to allow her husband to return to Sonora and escort her to San Francisco; arrangements had been made, she pointed out, for both her and their son to make journey to Alta California. **"The supplicant is ready and prepared"** to join her husband, a friend wrote for Maria, **"and nothing short of her becoming incapacitated will stop her from doing so."** The adjudication of Maria de Leon's efforts is unclear, but numerous other women appealed to Spanish authorities with similar requests to relocate to the new frontier in Alta California. "These petitions," writes Bouvier, "are a poignant reminder

[130] Font, "Diario breve."

of the extreme dependency of women, particularly widows, on their husbands, male family members, and the Crown."[131]

Both Virginia Marie Bouvier in her book *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840* and Antonia I. Castaneda's article "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848" discuss another aspect of the Anza expedition that deals specifically with gender ideology. Namely, the ways in which gender and sexuality accented power relationships between the Spaniards and indigenous people in colonial northern frontier. Father Thomas Eixarch, who was a member of the Anza party to the Colorado River, noted the Yuma women were both attentive and receptive to the migrants. He wrote in his journal that "the Indian women brought a great quantity of beans, maize, calabashes and some wheat, and to show my pleasure and happiness I gave them glass beads and tobacco." Indeed, the Yuma women brought him so many provisions that they "filled up the house." Both Fathers Eixarch and Font were charmed by the attentions of the Yuman women, and commented thusly numerous times in their diaries.[132]

---

[131] Maria de Leon [to De Croix], Arispe, December 29, 1780, AGN, Prov. Int., vol. 197, exp. 7, fols. 181-83v; Maria de Leon [to De Croix, 1776], AGN, Calif. Vol. 2, part 1, exp. 6, fols. 184-85, as in Bouvier, 68; Bouvier, 69.

[132] Herbert I. Priestley, ed. and trans., *The Colorado River Campaign, 1781—1782: Diaries of Pedro Font and Thomas Eixarch*)Berkeley: University of California, 1913).

More than one of the Anza diarists, however, expressed disapproval of the Yuma men and the practice of "sharing" women who were "held in common." Father Font described the Yumas as the most sexually immodest people he had ever witnessed, and wrote that the young people "live with whomever they want" and begin and end the relationships "whenever they feel like it." Father Eixarch also depicted the Yuma as shamelessly promiscuous, observing that there was "not a youth who does not have plenty" of female partners. One of the Yuma leaders named Pablo, wrote Father Eixarch, was "like all the rest with regard to wives, a matter so contrary to natural reason that there is no nation to which it is not repugnant."[133]

Yet, the Yuma were clearly aware of the Spaniards objections to their lifeways in such matters, and sometimes adjusted their own behaviors accordingly. In 1776, Anza sent a lengthy missive to the Viceroy attesting to and defending Salvador Palma's leadership of the Yuma. In doing so, he cited Palma's Christian family life and that the Chief "looked with horror on Polygamy." Chief Palma clearly demonstrated an understanding of what the Spaniards wanted to hear when he attested that he had "never known any woman other than the legitimate one which I have at present, and who has

[133] Ibid; Font, "Diario breve."

given me six children, five girls and one boy." Yet, this testimony to his monogamous marital relations was contradicted by another account just a few months earlier. Father Eixarch recorded in his diary the Chief Salvador Palma bragged that he had had "many wives, but since they gave him the staff [leadership] he has put them away; and now he has and lives with only one, by whom he has six children."[134]

The misunderstandings in this matter between the Yuma and the Spaniards typified many of the interactions between the two groups. As David Weber reminds us, the eighteenth century Europeans in New Spain and the Native Americans "came from different worlds." And the reader should also remain aware that a twenty-first century American or European inhabits a world dramatically different from *both* of these groups. For, as historian David Lowenthal writes, "…the past is a foreign country: they do things differently there." Yet, it remains the role of the historian to attempt to build bridges of comprehension to the past, regardless of how foreign it may be. The remainder of this chapter will thus be dedicated to an attempt to understand the development of the Native American groups encountered

[134] Anza to Bucarili, "Instancia del Capitan De la Nacion Yuma Salvador Palma sobre que se establescan Missiones en su territorio a las Margenes de los Rios Colorado y Gila donde habitan," Mexico, November 11, 1776, AGN, Prov. Int. vol. 23, exp. 21, fols. 436-39v. This letter was signed by Anza "Arruego del Capn Salvor Palma," as in Bouvier, 75.

by the Anza expeditions, and how these varied societies transformed both prior to and as a result of European contact.[135]

Of all the Native groups encountered by the Anza expedition, none was more instrumental than the Quechan Indians, whom the Spaniards knew as Yumas. Without the good-will and assistance of the Yuma, Father Garces wrote forebodingly – and with an eye on the pocketbook – that "it would not be easy to maintain the establishments at Monterey except at great expense to the Royal Treasury." As discussed in the first chapter, Anza relied upon the Yuma Indians – "the tallest and most robust that I have seen in all the provinces" – to construct boats and safely transport the expedition's soldiers and supplies across a ford in the river.

And the importance of Salvador Palma, the leader of the Yuma, was clearly understood by the political hierarchy of New Spain. Palma accompanied Anza on the return trip to Mexico City at the conclusion of the 1776 expedition, and upon arrival the Yuman Chief was lavishly greeted and entertained by the colonial authorities. He was regaled with magnificent jewelry, gifts, and clothing, and on February 13, 1777, was baptized in the city's most ornate cathedral. (Palma acquired the Spanish baptismal name *Salvador Carlos Antonio.*) For his part, the shrewd Palma certainly

---

[135] Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 10; David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 156-57.

recognized the benefits the Spaniards could provide the Yuma in their continuing conflicts with other Native peoples. Accordingly, Palma requested additional Spanish missionaries to assist with spiritual uplift and the newest in European weaponry which the Yuma could use to more efficiently kill their enemies. Within weeks Jose de Galvez, recently promoted to Secretary of the Spanish West Indies, granted all of Salvador Palma's requests.

The Viceroy, according to David Weber, "regarded Palma and the Yumas as the key to Spanish expansion to the northwest." Even prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the Yuma played an integral part to the cultural development of the region that would become the American Southwest. During the pre-Columbian period, the Yuma – or *Quechan* – peoples were both efficient warriors and active traders. Inhabiting a section of present-day Arizona, as well as Baja and Alta California, the Yuma traded with tribes as far away as the Pima in southern Arizona and Indians along the Pacific coast. Archeologists and anthropologists believe the prehistoric ancestors of the Yuma also practiced floodplain agriculture when possible, but primarily relied upon hunting and gathering as a means of survival.

Yuman contact the with Juan Bautista de Anza expedition represents the first significant contact with Europeans. Subsequent interactions with

the Spaniards and later with the Americans did not go nearly as well – again illuminating the remarkable and almost singular skill Anza exhibited in dealing with Native peoples. In early 1781 two communities of Yuma, Spanish soldiers and missionaries on the west side of the Colorado River were forged, but their existence was short-lived. In the morning of June 17, 1781, the Yumas attacked the Spaniards. After three days of violence, the Indians demolished the two settlements and beat to death the four missionaries – including Father Garces. Thirty of the Spanish soldiers also were killed. The Yuma did not physically harm the women or children, but the widow of a ranking officer recalled years later "the night my heart was broken, when my beloved husband was clubbed to death before my very eyes." Yet according to Weber:

> Catalyst for the revolt had been the demands on Yuma hospitality and pasturage made by colonists and livestock bound that summer for the coast of New California. Spanish arrogance, failed promises, corporal punishment, and demands for food and arable land had aroused anger throughout the Yuma community, alienating even the cooperative Salvador Palma.

The next year, the Spaniards sought retaliation by attacking the Yuma with military action; conflicts with other Native tribes, however, prevented the conquest of the Yumas.

Following the Mexican-American War the territory of the Yuma was annexed as part of the United States. Bloody battles ensued during "The Yuma Expedition," a protracted military operation from January to August of 1852. Earlier, during the Gold Rush period, the Yuma had established a ferry business to carry the gold-seekers and their belongings across the Gila River. John Joel Glanton and his gang of scalp hunters, however, disrupted the enterprise by destroying the Yuma's boat, publicly whipping the Chief, and taking over the operation themselves. The Yuma retaliated by killing and scalping most of the Glanton gang. The new state of California responded by sponsoring the "Gila Expedition" and nearly went bankrupt seeking revenge on the Yuma by engaging 142 soldiers at $6 a day, to a total cost of $113,000.

Though the contacts with the Yuma were of utmost importance to the success of the Anza expeditions, several other Native peoples played prominently in the overland ventures. During the first expedition, the indigenous peoples encountered by the Anza Expedition included the Cocopah, the Opata groups including the Eudeve, Tehuima, and Jova peoples, the Yuma, Maricopa and Mojave of present-day Arizona and over a dozen separate Native American groups of the coastal area of what would become Alta California.

After breaking camp one morning, the expedition headed through a canyon and a pass which Anza named *Puerto Real de San Carlos* – Royal Pass of San Carlos – in present day Riverside County. The Commander made note of the Natives encountered in the region:

> **In the same transit we met more than two hundred heathen, extremely timid, and similar in everything to those farther back except in their language, which we did not recognize. It was laughable to see them when they approached us, because before doing so they delivered a very long harangue in a tone as excited as were the movements of their feet and hands. For this reason they were called the Dancers.**

Father Garces also found the Natives quite amusing, observing that they appeared **"very little different from the Cajuenches, but they are distinct in language and in their method of speaking, for when these people speak they move their feet, raising them high behind, and wave the arms as though complaining and grumbling; and they likewise raise their voices, speaking in tones like some little crows which abound in this region. It certainly is laughable."** The Spaniards' ever-present ethnocentrism deemed the behaviors of the Indians odd or comical to the degree that they were different from their own.

Captain Anza implored the few Yuma still accompanying the expedition after having crossed the Colorado to assuage the Caguenche, as

the two groups had maintained a longstanding and mutual hostility. On March 10, 1774, Anza wrote that numbers of the Caguenche had assembled, and he:

> **…made them embrace two Yumas who voluntarily have come with me. They have been continually at war, but I gave them to understand that war was ceasing from this day, as the nations farther back had been informed. This news caused them great rejoicing, and they celebrated it by breaking the few arrows which they are carrying. At the same time they promised that they would comply with my precept, never more going to the Colorado River for war, but only to visit, since now the two Yumas were their friends. Before this, however, they informed me by signs, that solely on seeing tracks of the Yumas they were going to cut off their heads, although they were in our company. They were now so completely their terror that this night they camped with their rivals, and regaled each other with such miserable possessions as these people customarily have.**

To be sure, the diary entries of Captain Anza reveal many of the prevalent ethnocentrisms and stereotypes about Native Americans held by virtually all Spaniards of the day; the Caguenche and other Indians, for example, are routinely referenced as "heathens" and other pejoratives. [136]

But, as this passage demonstrates, Anza strove to lessen dissension between the various aboriginal groups as well as toward the Europeans.

---

[136] Father Garces became nearly giddy at the prospect of subjugating the Caguenche: "Oh, what a vast heathendom! Oh, what lands so suitable for missions! Oh, what a heathendom so docile!" He foresaw "great progress in the spiritual and temporal conquest" of the Natives once the King was made aware of the situation, certain he would not "permit the obstruction of these great services" to the throne. "Pardon this digression," he writes in his diary, "for my feelings have not allowed me to restrain myself!"

(The Englishmen to the east – as well as other Spaniards – sometimes encouraged conflict among the Indians in an attempt to "divide and conquer.") Indeed, it was Anza's continued efforts to act beneficently in his relations with the Indians that represent one of the most exceptional aspects of his character and legacy. Following the successful completion of the second expedition, Anza **"received another promotion, to governorship of New Mexico, an office that he held with distinction from 1778 to 1787."** While in this later capacity, Weber describes: "One of the most notable successes occurred in New Mexico under the leadership of Juan Bautista de Anza. As governor of New Mexico … Anza won an enduring peace with Comanches." [137]

Several other recent publications provide insights into the varied ethnic makeup and multicultural realities of the Anza expeditions. The first of these is *Discovering Early California Afro-Latino Presence* written by Damany M. Fisher in 2010. This concise publication addresses "The Juan Bautista de Anza Expedition and Afro-American Settlement in California," and also discusses people of African background in the Americas from their arrival with the earliest Spanish Conquistadors until the mid-1800s. Also, the School of Anthropology at the University of Arizona completed in 2010

[137] Weber, 230.

the Draft Report for *Analyzing 18th Century Lifeways of Anza Expedition Members in Northwestern Sinaloa & Southwestern Sonora Mexico* – a weighty and comprehensive analysis utilizing a variety of approaches. Both of these publications are discussed in greater detail in the annotated bibliography section of this study.

I have decided (perhaps somewhat tangentially) to conclude this chapter of the resource study discussing the book *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West*. The second section of this book is entitled "Beleaguered Great White Men," and the insightful, good-humored and exquisitely-crafted essays that make up this chapter of the 384-page volume should serve as required readings for all students of Juan Bautista de Anza specifically and the American West generally. Written by the inimitable Patricia Nelson Limerick, the sometimes controversial New West historian concedes that "with the exception of an occasional bore, powerful white men are people of great interest and certainly people of consequence." Limerick acknowledges that many professional historians – in an attempt to compensate for past slights – have over the past generation accorded disproportionate attention to the histories of minorities, women, and workers. Limerick argues now that "the time seems propitious to return to the study of famous, prosperous white men, with their stories now

enriched and deepened by a recognition of the people whose subordination made possible the prosperity of the elite."[138]

Thusly inspired, Patricia Nelson Limerick attended an annual Anza Day celebration put on by the citizens of Poncha Springs and Salida, Colorado, to honor the site of the farthest northern travels of Juan Bautista de Anza. The presentations she witnessed were "wonderfully interrupted by thunder, lightening, and a total downpour" which left only the hardiest of spirits to listen to all the recounting that afternoon of Anza's many exploits. One of the intrepid souls remaining at the end of the day was Professor Limerick, who was so invigorated by the talks that she declares in the opening sentence of a resultant essay: "Juan Bautista de Anza is not a household name, but I wish he were." With her essay "Historical Lesson on Anza Day" Limerick points out that while a biography about Meriwether Lewis or a similar historical figure could shoot to the top of the best-seller list, a similar study of Juan Bautista de Anza "would seem defeated before it started," with no way to appeal to nationalistic pride or even to basic name recognition.

The reasons why Anza has not achieved "celebrity status" within American history are both obvious and subtle. First and foremost "he was

[138] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckoning in the New West,* "Beleaguered Great White Men," (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 242. The remainder of the chapter references the same article.

working for the wrong empire" – the empire that worked its way northward instead of westward, the empire whose descendants did not take part in the writing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 or in the writing of the United State's history until quite recently. And the fact that Anza completed his second expedition during ***precisely the same year*** as the opening salvos of the American colonists' revolt against Great Britain further relegated Captain Anza to comparative obscurity in American history. "On the days when the circus is in town," Limerick laments, "it is very hard for even very interesting performers in another show to drum up an audience."

Limerick also points out that the personality traits most often associated with Juan Bautista de Anza – well-organized, effective, and self-effacing – do not jibe with the dispositions of other legendary heroes of the American West, such as John C. Fremont, George Armstrong Custer, and later "Buffalo Bill" Cody. These men "specialized in pushing their luck and in bragging – or, sometimes, having others brag for them – about how well their gambles paid off" while "Anza played the game in another way entirely, using careful preparations, discipline, and steadiness to reduce the risk." In the end, though the Anza expedition of over 200 individuals was clearly the greater accomplishment, "it was Fremont who huffed and puffed

about what a courageous and daring enterprise he had embarked on," while Juan Bautista de Anza just did the job.

In many ways, the life and career of Juan Bautista de Anza remains something of an anomaly and mystery. In the region of what would become the American West, narratives of the past are often told by antiquarians most intent upon perpetuating romantic legends of individual heroics that give way to myth rather than history. Braggadocio and tall tales oftentimes replace results and reality. But Anza was different. His is a story in which there is, more often than not, a match between will and outcome, between deciding to do something and getting it done. Not given to hyperbole, Patricia Limerick concedes with all sincerity that "it is quietly hypnotizing to see somebody decide to act, promise and deliver, intend and achieve, in such a regular and reliable way."

In closing her essay, Limerick presents "The Genius of Juan Bautista de Anza: 13 Heroic Strategies for Today's People of Ambition." A somewhat playful delineation of the lessons to be gleaned from Anza's life, Limerick qualifies these by noting that she is simply drawing the lessons and necessarily advocating them. Limerick's perceptive read on the life of Anza and what present-day admirers can gain from him deserves a brief recounting here. Certainly some of these "lessons," particularly the ones

addressing Anza's dealing with the Comanche, are somewhat anachronistic and speak more to situations in the late eighteenth century than early twenty-first century.

Lesson number one is to "Keep your private life private." Considering the amount of primary material available to scholars about the professional activites of Juan Bautista de Anza, we know surprisingly little specific aspects of his personal life. For example, Anza never discussed the emotional trauma of losing his father at the age of four from an Apache attack and very little is known about his wife other than her name. Did Anza harbor a lifelong resentment toward the Apache for the death of his father? What was Anza's reaction when his wife, Ana Maria Serrano, attempted to delay and sabotage the second expedition to the Pacific Coast? In these matters, historians can only conjecture.

Clearly, Anza believed he was under no compulsion to disclose such information. When asked for biographical information about his early life, Abraham Lincoln (another remarkably reticent historical figure) said simply: "'The short and simple annals of the poor.' That's my life and that's all you or any one else can make of it." Yet, more was eventually written about Lincoln than any other American. From Juan Bautista de Anza – despite an abundance of journal entries and professional letters – we have even less on

which to base conclusions. Scholars can only speculate as to his true feelings and even the very rudiments of his personal life. "Contemporary American leaders," writes Limerick, "might profit by following Anza's example. Dare to be dull."

"If you are going to whine," states the second lesson "do so in private and not for the public record." Unlike the constantly complaining (though, thankfully, also remarkably perceptive and eloquent) Father Font, Juan Bautista de Anza was not given to bouts of unbridled self-pity. Though Anza may have reported the inclement weather in his journal, he did not complain about it; though he was almost certainly at times annoyed by Father Font and others on the expedition, he did not belabor the fact; if Captain Anza was frustrated by the regular (but often unavoidable) delays in the schedule and internal squabbles, these feeling are lost to the ages. "Maybe a refusal to whine will reduce the drama of your adventures and lessen their appeal to future filmmakers," concludes Limerick wryly, "but the dignity you preserve, by not complaining, will remain impressive for centuries afterward."

The third lesson follows naturally from the second: "Accept the fact that you have to work with people you have every good reason to dislike." On both of the trips to California, Limerick concedes that Anza had in his

company "one of the great pills of Western America, Padre Pedro Font." Even centuries later, she continues, simply reading Font's diary "can make you want to kill him." But Anza did *not* kill Father Font, but instead handled with him with remarkable equanimity. Thus, from this Anza lesson, we can learn to go to work on Monday, look around our work-place, turn our attention to the coworker who most directly seems to be channeling the spirit of Padre Font, and say to ourselves, "Well, I guess I can put up with him."

"Find a way to shift rapidly between independence and deference to authority," argues the fourth lesson "even when this means showing loyalty and submission to people you have never laid eyes on." The historical circumstances in which Juan Bautista de Anza found himself necessitated skills not only as a great military leader, but as a deft diplomat and mediator. Anza could take charge in the situations which acquired his forthrightness and yet he could also, in other situations, "perform all the proper gestures of deference, submission, and subordination, as required by the Spanish hierarchy." It is important to remember that Anza was born and grew up in the "New World," but his expressions of loyalty to the Crown never appeared stilted or disingenuous. The Anza lesson to be learned here? According to Limerick it is: "Accept the fact that you are positioned toward the bottom of a hierarchy of authority, a hierarchy that will, nonetheless,

from time to time, demand acts of great independence and self-reliance from you and sometimes punish you for your success on those occasions of independence."

The eight remaining "Lessons" pertain more to Anza's role as Governor of New Mexico and his dealings with the Comanche than as Captain of the two expeditions to the Pacific Coast. Yet, they are just as relevant to our understanding of the man, and it again strongly recommended that the entirety of *Something in the Soil* be read by all those interested in Anza and the American West. Analysis of circumstances surrounding race, class, and gender play prominently in the contemporary historiography of the American West; it is truly notable that the present-day scholars such as Patricia Limerick hold the memory of Juan Bautista de Anza in such high regard. Others, such as John C. Fremont, have not always fared as well.

Social paradigms, national values and moral standards can change dramatically with the passing of each generation – sometimes to the degree that the past truly does appear an entirely different world. And historians of each era find different aspects of the past to question and illuminate. For example, early twentieth-century biographies did not see fit to reference Abraham Lincoln's views about race or his relationship with the black

abolitionist Frederick Douglass; recent biographers, however, have found such questions vital. It is perhaps to a degree unfair to judge individuals of the past by the standards of the present, but in some respects such assessments are unavoidable.

Beyond question, the importance of Anza and the two campaigns he led in the 1770s stand as monumental accomplishments in human history. But in his effective and compassionate dealings with the diverse sets of human beings engaged on these missions – people of profoundly different ethnic and class backgrounds – he was equally as successful. Anza dealt fairly and judiciously with Europeans as well as Native Americans, he showed consideration for both the powerful and powerless, and consistently accorded sympathetic and fair treatment to women participating on the extended journey. For these and a host of other reasons, the historical memory of Juan Bautista de Anza continues to shine brightly.

CHAPTER 6

Annotated Bibliography of Anza Trail and Related Scholarship

This section lists bibliographically the several dozen existent books, articles, and pamphlets that address directly or peripherally the Juan Bautista de Anza Expeditions or National Historic Trail. This annotated bibliography contains critical or explanatory notes and textual comments. This list of source material was aided tremendously by a bibliography constructed earlier by Lee Davis. The copyrights of the books listed reveal several specific periods of keen scholarly and public interest in the Anza expeditions, the first coming with the appearance of the Bolton five-volume *Anza's California Expeditions* in 1930. And the year of 1976 saw another resurgence of interest, with perhaps a dozen or more Anza-themed books published during the year – from popular accounts to theatrical plays to children's picture books to scholarly local histories. The year commemorated both the bicentennial of the declared independence of the thirteen British colonies along the Atlantic coast as well as the completion of the second Anza expedition in San Francisco. This annotated bibliography includes biographies of Anza, both son and father, as well as books that provide a wider understanding of the historical context and significance of the Anza expeditions.

Juan Bautista de Anza Trail Annotated Bibliography

Books – Anza Specific

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. ***Anza's California Expeditions***. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1930. Five volumes: I. ***An Outpost of Empire*** (pp. 529); II. ***Opening a Land Route to California: Diaries of Anza, Dias, Garces, And Palou*** (pp. 473); III. ***The San Francisco Colony: Diaries of Anza, Font, and Eixarch, and Narratives by Palou and Moraga*** (pp. 436); IV. ***Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition*** (pp. 552); V. ***Correspondence*** (pp. 426).

Bolton stands as the father of the "Borderlands" historiography. Though some of his scholarship has been revised and challenged by subsequent generations of historians, his legacy and influence endures. And, in specific reference to the study of the Anza expeditions, Herbert Bolton is the progenitor of field. This five volume work contains thirteen of the fourteen diaries written during or involving the Anza journeys which resulted in the Spanish claim of San Francisco as the northernmost outpost in its expansive but rapidly threatened empire. Supplementing the diaries is a volume of correspondence as well as a synthetic volume, all offered in the inimitable Bolton style, reflecting the more than twenty years the historian dedicated to completing the study.

Volume one of the series provides an engagingly written narrative of both Anza marches from Sonora northward to the Pacific coast. The

colorful cast of personages is here introduced, including Fray Pedro Font, the scholarly, frail but tenacious master diarist and mathematician, as well as Juan Diaz, Fray Thomas Eixarch, and the intrepid Father Garces, who joined the expedition as chronicler, missionary, and chief diplomat. Ostensibly a "great man" theorist, Bolton characterizes Anza as the "tireless horseman" who "bridged the desert and brought the detached ends of the trail together." Further, Anza proved himself "the comfort of the frontier" and the one official "who shed the light of hope in a remote corner of the world." The second volume contains the records of the first expedition sent to mark out the land route from Sonora to California. Eight diaries preserve the accounts of the movement, and Bolton has added a diary of Father Francisco Palou, which chronicles the exploration of San Francisco bay in preparation for the colonization of the site.

Volume three contains diaries recorded on the second expedition: one each by Anza, Font and Eixarch. Also, Bolton includes the accounts of the founding of San Francisco by both Palou and Lieutenant Moraga who were the primary figures in the organization of the colony following Juan Bautista de Anza's return to Mexico City. The fourth volume reveals the entire Font diary, rich with observations of human virtues and frailties. The verbose and perceptive Father Font records much that is passed over by the other

chroniclers, especially his keen (but subtly Eurocentric) observations concerning cultural differences and tribal customs. The fifth and final volume stands as a unit, containing communications pertaining to both the first and second Anza expeditions. Two major sections divide the book, and each contains interrelated and annotated groupings of letters, council decisions, declarations, commissions, and certificates. The five volume *Anza's California Expeditions* remains a remarkable achievement and a standard for all interested in Anza and the Spanish settlement in California.

_____. ***Outpost of Empire: The Story of the Founding of San Francisco***. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931 (pp. 334).

Essentially, this is a republished version of volume one of *Anza's California Expeditions* with minor revisions.

Bowman, J.N. and Robert F. Heizer. ***Anza and the Northwest Frontier of New Spain***. Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1967 (pp. 182).

"The following brief account," the preface of this book informs, "has been written in order to place on record the main events leading up to the discovery and identification of the remains of Juan Bautista de Anza in the one-time cathedral and now parish church of Nuestra Senora de la Asuncion in Arizpe, Sonora, Mexico." Considerable public interest attended the discovery of Anza's remains at Arizpe in February of 1963. The requisite

locating and identification work was carried out under the commission of the University of California, Berkeley, and eventually led to the re-exhumation and ritual reburial of the coffin in May of that year. The event resulted in a series of ceremonies involving the church of Arizpe, the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the city of San Francisco, and a number of private citizens and commercial organizations of San Francisco.

This small volume by Bowman (an historian) and Heizer (a noted anthropologist) briefly details these events and provides a short sketch of Anza's life and his part in the founding of San Francisco. Also included are photocopies of various correspondence documents, a description of the installation of the plaques placed in the church in Arizpe, and a brief but interesting discussion of the ongoing myth surrounding Anza, and how it transformed through the decade. Though compressed, the book offers intelligent presentation events and would be well worth the time of Anza students to read.

Brumgardt, John R. ***From Sonora to San Francisco Bay: The Expeditions of Juan Bautista de Anza 1774-1776***. Riverside, California: Historical Commission Press, 1976 (pp. 103).

Perhaps the best of the several bicentennial year publications, this small book (now out-of-print, but available from various libraries via inter-library loan) provides a fine overview of the Anza expeditions. The introduction

informs that Dr. Brumgardt, Riverside County Historian, "writes of the Anza expeditions as a local historian in the best sense – not as a mere antiquarian straining to connect his locality with celebrated events but as an historian concerned with major currents viewed from a local perspective." In this regard, the book succeeds splendidly. Though focused tangentially with California history, Brumgardt's intelligent and well researched account clearly places the Anza journeys in the larger historical milieu. In addition to Herbert Bolton, the text references many noted social scientists including historians John Walton Caughey, Edmund Morgan, and anthropologist Robert Heizer, thus providing analysis that is simultaneously both scholarly yet assessable.

Eldredge, Zoeth Skinner. ***The Beginnings of San Francisco from the Expedition of Anza, 1774 to the City Charter of April 15, 1850.*** New York: John C. Rankin Company, 1912, (pp. 1-433; 443-837).

Zoeth Skinner Eldredge was a banker and amateur historian of his adopted state of California; he was born in Buffalo, New York. It does not appear the author wrote these two volumes (the majority dedicated to endnotes) with any predetermined plan; Eldredge has certainly not confined himself to the subject of the "beginnings of San Francisco." What he did leave behind is a series of readable early essays on various topics concerning California's past, distributed somewhat haphazardly among the 375 pages of

text in these two hefty volumes that total 837 pages. Eldredge himself confirms: "This work is not a history of California, but in accounting for the existence of San Francisco it has been found necessary to give some brief statements concerning the settlement of the country, the character of its people, and the occurrences which preceded and led to the rise of the modern city." Unquestionably a "Great Men" theorist, the author strives primarily to remedy "misconceptions of history" that have elevated "to the rank of heroes men of very ordinary attainments" while "overlooking men whose character and achievement entitle them to the highest place in the respect and esteem of the people."

Eldredge clearly places Juan Bautista de Anza in the latter category. Introduced as "a gallant soldier" who "manifested the liveliest interest in the undertaking" of the "conquest of California," Anza emerges as a hero of unparalleled bravery, determination and foresight. "He was by nature simple and kindly, responsive to the call of duty and true to the chivalrous traditions of heroic Spain," Eldredge writes, and "it not easy to estimate the value of the services" of the intrepid Anza. Indeed, he had "taken his people through in safety to Monterey, meeting with skill and courage the perils of the way." He encountered "deserts as dreadful, fierce savages warring

against each other and hostile to the invader, and without guides, wandered amid sandy wastes in search of water."

In this pre-Boltonian era, Eldredge emerged as an unyielding advocate for the historical recognition of Juan Bautista de Anza. (One review at the time criticized his book for the "disproportionate space given to the details of the Anza expeditions.") With over ninety pages of text and nearly sixty pages of notes devoted to the topic, Eldredge argues that "the monument erected in San Francisco to the Pioneers of California is incomplete without [Anza's] name." To be sure, most of the space devoted to Anza amounts to a highly romanticized narrative drawn largely from the eighteenth century explorer's own diary accounts. Yet, given that nearly two decades would pass before the first of Herbert Eugene Bolton's expansive five-volume *Anza's California Expeditions* was published in 1930, the Eldredge telling can be viewed as almost visionary in treatment and scope.

Erskine, Dorothy Ward. ***North with de Anza***. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1958 (pp. 207).

Originally published under the title *Big Ride* in 1958, this historical novel was reprinted in 2004 after being long out of print. Intended for a "young adult" audience, the main character is twelve-year-old Pedro Peralta who travels the two thousand miles with the Anza expedition from Mexico

to settle northern California in the late eighteenth century. Pedro faces and bravely overcomes such dangers as an Apache attack, desert droughts, mountain snows, and the treacherous Colorado River. Yet, the arduous journey on horseback proves the adventure of a lifetime for Pedro.

Fisher, Damany M. ***Discovering Early California Afro-Latino Presence.*** Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2010 (pp. 30) *Co-published with the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, National Park Service*.

"Few students of American history know", writes the author, "that the first Africans in North America accompanied Spanish conquistadors as early as the sixteenth century." In this concise but quite informative pamphlet, dispels other misconceptions and illuminates a little known aspect of the American West – specifically, the presence of African American and Afro-Latino peoples in the region even prior to the Mexican War. Indeed, some of the earliest non-indigenous residents of California were those of African background who came from Mexico, where their descendants had arrived in bondage as early as the fifteenth century. Fisher explores the presence of Africans in Mexico, Central and South America, as well as their contributions to the development of the United States. Of the second Anza expedition, the author writes that because of this journey Afro-Latinos were able to find their way to modern-day California. Also explored are several

prominent Afro-Latino families in California, including the Briones, Nieto, Pico, and Tapia families. This publication provides some fascinating perspectives of the Anza expeditions and the peopling of California.

Garate, Donald T. ***Juan Bautista de Anza: Basque Explorer in the New World***. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003 (pp. 323).

Highly readable yet scholarly, Garate provides a finely researched and "long overdue" biography of the *senior* Juan Bautista de Anza. Arriving in the "New World" in 1712 at the age of nineteen, the father of the renowned explorer had grown up in the Basque village of Hernani in the Province of Gipuzoka, Spain. Anza moved to Alamos, Sonora, soon after his arrival to engage in silver mining. He would eventually become involved with the discovery and mining of silver deposits in present-day Hermosillo, Sonora, and Tetuachi south of Arizpe. In 1721 Anza joined the cavalry and quickly rose in the ranks. He would later develop livestock ranches in what is today the American Southwest, and was indirectly responsible for the 48th state of the United States having the name of *Arizona*. Anza senior petitioned the viceroy for permission to discover and establish a route between Sonora and Alta California. The realization of this ambition would, of course, be left to his progeny and the next generation of explorers. Anza senior was killed by Apaches in 1740. The biographer notes that the "documents that tell about

Juan Bautista de Anza are voluminous, and those are only the ones of which we are aware." Garate masterfully and objectively weaves the life of this Basque explorer into a compelling story. His two-volume biography of Juan Bautista de Anza the son had been eagerly anticipated; sadly, Donald T. Garate passed away in 2010 before the biography was published.

Guerrero, Vladimir. ***The Anza Trail and the Settling of California***. Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2006 (pp. 221).

The most recent addition to the Anza historiography, Guerrero addresses both expeditions – the initial exploratory campaign leaving Tubac (then a frontier outpost of New Spain, now in present-day Arizona) in January of 1774 that reached the Presidio at Monterey in April, and the second much larger expedition that left Tubac in September of 1775 and reached Monterey in March 1776. A professor of Spanish language and literature, Guerrero provides original translations of the journals of Juan Bautista de Anza, Father Pedro Font, and Father Francisco Garces, as well as new Trail maps and insights. The deft analysis remains cognizant of the important social dynamic of ethnicity and class as they played out during both expeditions; status based upon eighteenth century notions of what constituted "criollo" or "mestizo," and identifications of European, Native American or African ancestry, remained crucial to the story. Guerrero

effectively demonstrates that the Anza expeditions embody a significant chapter in American history, and that they represent "an immigrant group that established the character of California as much as the Puritans determined that of New England."

Odens, Peter. ***The Indian & The Soldier: The Man Who Guided Juan Bautista de Anza***. Alhambra, California: Border-Mountain Press, 1976 (pp. 52).

One of a spate of books, articles, and other writings to emerge during the bicentennial year about the Anza expeditions, *The Indian & The Soldier* is a work of historical fiction in the form of a play. Odens was inspired to write the theatrical drama after reading repeated diary references made by Juan Bautista de Anza to "The Indian" who helped lead him across the desert. A bit of research revealed to the playwright that the name of this Native American guide was Sebastian Tarabel. Though highly sentimental, the subsequent stage production of *The Indian & the Soldier* by the Imperial Valley Players was met with some local interest and approval. The play throughout reflects the sensibilities of the then newly emerging notions about "multiculturalism"; indeed, the author describes in the preface how the story's antagonist played a significant role in history by "helping Anza cross our desert." This effort transcended the Expedition's explicit goal of

establishing an overland connection with Spanish holdings in the North – an accomplishment which was, according to Odens, of "comparatively minor importance." Instead, the historical relevance of Sebastian Tarabal rests in the assistance he gave in "opening up the desert to create a better life for people, people white, red, brown, people of all colors and beliefs…."

Pourade, Richard F. ***Anza Conquers the Desert: The Anza Expeditions from Mexico to California and the Founding of San Francisco, 1774 to 1776***. San Diego: The Copley Press, Inc., 1971 (pp. 216).

This volume also anticipates the coming of the nation's (and the Anza expedition's) bicentennial celebrations. Published in what could best be described as a "coffee table book" format, the large print, short paragraphed text is interspersed liberally with color photos of Trail terrain, maps, desert landscapes, missions, as well as artist renderings of Anza expedition participants and anonymous Native Americans. Emphasizing a traditional "triumphalist" perspective of Western history, the reader learns how "Anza had dared to conquer the deserts" of "an unclaimed empire" by "opening up areas" that would become "essential to the more perfect United States of America." The relevance of the various indigenous peoples encountered by the Anza contingents rests solely upon the degree to which the Native Americans react in a "hostile" or "friendly" manner to the overlanders.

Largely, the book recounts the day-to-day circumstances of both Anza expeditions, ending, as one chapter is titled, with the "Triumph Of A Trail."

Riley, Frank. ***De Anza's Trail Today***. Los Angeles: WorldWay Publishing Company, 1976 (pp. 170).

The extended subtitle of this 170 page volume reads: *The drama of the Anza Expedition that founded San Francisco in 1776; A guide to fascinating discoveries along the Anza Trail in 1976*. Intended for a general audience, the book was printed as one in a series called *1776-1976: California's Own Bicentennial*. In the subsequent sixteen chapters Riley describes how for "some 800 miles by bicycle, and afoot, my wife Elfriede and I have been traveling between the Mexican border and San Francisco – following a trail lost to most travelers for nearly two centuries." Referencing the diaries of Anza and Father Font and the scholarship of Hubert Bancroft, Herbert Bolton, and Richard Pourade, the author travels the Trail corridor and records his musings and perceptions. The results provide a readable and enjoyable account of a journey during the nation's bicentennial, and the reader is reminded that the year 1976 commemorated not only important events east of the Mississippi River, but also an expedition seminal to the

expanded settlement of Alta California. "The era of the American revolution," Frank Riley stresses, "was never strictly WASP."

Santiago, Mark. ***Massacre at the Yuma Crossing: Spanish Relations with the Quechans, 1779-1782.*** Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998 (pp. 220).

The force of this book rests in Mark Santiago's narrative skill in recreating the bloody Quechan uprising that occurred one century after the better-known Pueblo uprising. And because its consequence was to negate the accomplishments of the Anza expedition – specifically, the restriction of overland communication between Sonora and Monterey – the "massacre at Yuma crossing" was probably of more significant historical import than the much more written about and discussed revolt of 1680. By 1696, the Spanish had re-conquered New Mexico, but control of Alta California would remain precarious.

The actual massacre at Yuma crossing occurred in July of 1781 when Salvador Palma and his brother led an attack on the Spanish – who had been his allies earlier – leaving more than one hundred dead (including Father Garces) and seventy-six (mostly women and children) taken captive. The profound consequence of the massacre cannot be overestimated, and Santiago provides a laudably balanced and assessable rendering of events.

Analysis also provides insights into the role of Juan Bautista de Anza following the 1776-77 expedition. Spanish General Felipe de Neve, for example, was quite vociferous in the attempt to apportion blame for the massacre. "Casting about for a scapegoat," concludes Santiago, "Neve pinned the blame squarely on the shoulders of Father Garces and Juan Bautista de Anza, now a colonel." The author continues that "while the Franciscan had paid with his life, Anza's career advanced as a result of the Yuma enterprise. He, therefore, became the special object of Neve's scorn." Neve, it seems, had erroneously concluded that Anza had misrepresented and overestimated the docility of the Indians, which had been the catalyst for the entire sad affair. In actuality, however, Anza had provided "a sober and accurate assessment of the Quechans and recommended a formidable military force to subdue them did not change the opinion of Felipe de Neve."

Smestad, Greg Bernal-Mendoza, Ph.D. ***Antepasados: A Guide to the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail.*** San Diego, California: Los Californianos, Vol. XI, 2005 (pp. 127).

Dr. Smestad is an eighth generation descendant of several members of the 1775-1776 Anza expedition. This highly accessable and important publication combines text, images and sounds (a musical and spoken-word CD) that offer "a sense of what members of Anza expeditions experienced." Included on the CD are recordings of "historically accurate musical

arrangements from both the Spanish and American Indian groups along the trail. Appealingly edited and presented, the text materials begin with a fine introduction and instruction about how to use the guide and its relation to the Anza Trail. The remaining text largely follows the course of the Trail and instructs travelers what to look for as they pass through each county in Arizona, Southern California, Coastal California, and the San Francisco Bay Area. The final section provides more historical background, "Answers to questions for each county," a glossary, and a bibliography. In the end, Dr. Smestad's publication serves both as an introduction *and* a travelogue for those exploring the actual physical route of the Anza Trail. In both respects, *A Guide to the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail* succeeds handsomely.

Thomas, Alfred Barnaby, ed. ***Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza Governor of New Mexico 1777-1787.*** Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932 (pp. 420).

This material in this volume is translated from Spanish to English, edited, and annotated by Alfred Barnaby Thomas. A productive scholar, Thomas' book-topics range from analysis of the Coronado exploration, the Jicarilla Apache, Mescalero Apache and the Yavapai Indians, as well as the expansion of both the Spanish and the United States into specific regions of

North America. For the present volume, the author gleans his primary materials from the original documents in the archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico.

The first sentence of ***Forgotten Frontiers*** reads: "Accustomed to praise of Sevier in Tennessee, a Boone in Kentucky, an Austin in Texas, or a Kit Carson on the Plains, how shall one measure a frontiersman like Don Juan Bautista de Anza: frontier captain, Indian fighter and military governor of Sonora; explorer and colonizer, the founder of San Francisco, in California; military governor, Indian fighter, peace-maker and explorer in New Mexico, Arizona an present Colorado?" This opening rhetorical salvo clearly illuminates the esteem with which the author regards his subject; subsequent annotations throughout the book provide similar commentary of the Great Man. Thomas writes that "the theme of this study is to present the contribution of Governor Anza in handling the barricade in the key province of New Mexico" which was "the bulwark of New Spain" and that through Anza's heroic efforts "the results were little short of remarkable." Indeed, Anza "campaigned with brilliant success against the enemies of the frontier." He hunted down and defeated the Comanches. He then "threatened the Navajo" and "forced them into the compact."

Unquestionably, the book's analysis reflects the historiography and popularly held attitudes of the period in which it was written. But these primary sources also reveal a vital period of development for the Spanish North, which eventually became the Mexican North and American Southwest. Whereas Herbert Bolton translated and annotated Anza's California adventures, Thomas reveals important aspects of his later administrative prowess and relations with Native groups, and the materials referenced are presented and translated to English for the first time. Documents and associated annotation includes the following sections: *New Mexico in 1782*, a geographical description of New Mexico written by the Reverend Preacher Fray Juan Agustin de Morfi; *Governor Anza's Comanche Campaign, 1779*, including the diary of Anza's expedition against the Comanche Nation in that year; and *Spanish Proposals to Conquer the Moqui, 1775-1780*, translates eight correspondences, including five by or to Juan Bautista de Anza.

Articles

Castaneda, Antonia I. "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family." In ***Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush,*** eds. Ramon A. Gutierrez and Richard J. Orsi, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998 (pp. 230-259).

This perceptive and finely written article – referenced at greater length in section five of this project – provides some original insights into the social dynamics of the Anza expedition as well the larger Hispanic settlement of Alta California. "This essay examines" the author writes, "the gendered and sexualized construction of the colonial order and relations of power in Alta California from 1769 to 1848 as this land passed from Spanish to Mexican to Euro-American rule." Utilizing gender and sexuality as categories of analysis, Castaneda "explores how women articulated their power, subjectivity, and identity in the militarized colonial order reigning on this remote outpost." As earlier discussed, the article isolates the actions and response to Feliciana Arballo and other women on the expedition of 1775-1776 to interpret gender dynamics and sexuality.

Kessell, John L. "Juan Bautista de Anza: Father and Son – Pillars of New Spain's Far North." In ***Western Lives: A Bibliographical History of the American West,*** ed. Richard W. Etulain, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004 (pp. 29-57).

With this breezy article Kessell discusses the challenges, accomplishments and frustrations surrounding the lives of the Juan Bautista de Anzas, both father and son. Perhaps most vital for Anza researchers is the several page "Essay on Sources" which ends the piece. Here Kessell relates how "late in the twentieth century and early in the twenty-first" the two Juan Bautista de Anzas "have a new champion who, like them, is of Basque ancestry." NPS historian Donald Garrate provided Kessell with a pre-published copy of his manuscript of the senior Anza, upon which Kessell "relied heavily" to write the first part of his article. Also, seeking "to introduce other scholars and enthusiasts of the Anzas to the culture of Sonora," Kessell writes, "Garate has been the moving force behind the series of World Anza Conferences held annually since 1996, most often in and around Arizpe, where the second Anza lies buried." Kessell's concluding essay also acknowledges Bolton and other early scholars in the Anza historiography, various obscure PH.D. dissertations, as well as "Borderland" histories with a wider angle, such as David Weber's *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. With this article, Kessell provides an engaging and concise introduction to the Anzas.

National Park Service and other Government Publications

United States National Park Service/U.S. Department of Interior, Pacific West Field Area. *Comprehensive Management and Use Plan and Final Environment Impact Statement Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail Arizona and California.* San Francisco: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Pacific West Field Area, 1996 (pp. 237 and Appendices).

This weighty volume presents a proposal and four alternatives for the management, use, and development of the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail. The proposal calls for marking the historic route, identifies a possible automobile route, and envisions a continuous multiuse recreational retracement trail. The extended statement is in response to a congressional designation of the Trail and the requirements of the National Trail System Act. The document identifies issues and concerns and evaluates alternative strategies to address them. The results of agency and public responses to the draft plan and draft environmental impact states are included in the Final Environmental Impact Statement.

The final product provides a cornucopia of tables, statistics, suggestions and alternatives, consultant advice, letter reproductions, many maps and appendices that compare costs, possible road-sign designations, and suggested interpretive themes and presentations. Encyclopedic in scope,

the primary sections are as follows: 1) History and Significance 2) The Proposal and Alternatives 3) The Affected Environment 4) Environmental Consequences 5) Consultation and Coordination and 6) Bibliography. Though some of the information is of temporal value and portions are outdated, the Statement remains a significant aspect of the body of literature pertaining to the Juan Bautista de Anza Trail.

Analyzing 18th Century Lifeways of Anza Expedition Members in Northwestern Sinaloa & Southwestern Sonora Mexico. Prepared by Richard Stoffle, et al. prepared for National Park Service, School of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, Draft Report, July 01, 2010 (pp. 421)

A truly exhaustive investigation of the topic, a team of fourteen anthropologists and students under the direction of Dr. Richard W. Stoffle Richard Stoffle are involved in this project concerning the lifeways of the Anza Trail region and adjacent locations during the late eighteenth century. Dr. Stoffle is also working on a reconstruction of the culture of the settlers who went with Anza.

The Expedition itself included people of diverse European, African, Native American and mestizo ethnicity and ancestry. The indigenous peoples encountered by the Anza Expedition included the Cocopah, the Opata groups including the Eudeve, Tehuima, and Jova peoples, the Yuma, Maricopa and Mojave of present-day Arizona and

over a dozen separate Native American groups of the coastal area of what would become Alta California. The extensive project includes chapters on the "institutional complex Sonora," which addresses such topics as priestly economic power, Jesuit institutional structure, and spatial relationship and hydrology. Physical as well as cultural anthropological methods are utilized. Chapter Five is titled "Family Stories," a section that focuses on oral history interviews conducted with individuals whose heritage began in San Miguel de Horcastias.

Related Books

Bouvier, Virginia Marie. ***Women and the Conquest of California, 1542 – 1840***. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2001 (pp. 266).

"What was it like to be a woman living and working on the California frontier? How did race, religion, age, and ethnicity shape these experiences? Was the experience of women at the missions different from that of men? How did the larger sociopolitical change represented by the independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821 affect the roles of women?" Such questions came to Virginia Marie Bouvier upon a visit to Monterey, California, just prior to her doctoral work in Latin American Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, and form the basis for her subsequent book. The author references the second Anza expedition of 1775-76 throughout this

volume, and provides perceptive analysis about gender dynamics in the territory of what would become the American Southwest. "The Anza expedition," Bouvier writes, "marked the convergence of … religious and political goals and provides a useful case study for evaluating the roles that gender and gender relations played in the colonization of the frontier, as well as the ways in which they were in inscribed."

Chavez, Thomas E. ***New Mexico: Past and Future.*** Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006 (2008).

A fine text-book introduction of New Mexico intended for a general audience, *New Mexico: Past and Present* represents something of a departure from previous attempts to tell this history. According to the author's introduction, dates and names are not as important, but rather the relative time and cause and effect which are keys to making sense of any history. Further, Chavez asserts that this is the story of human beings – people who feel sadness and happiness and pain and lived in the land that came to be called New Mexico. The book is divided into five sections: the period before the Europeans arrived; the Spanish colonial period, which began with the first European expeditions into the area in 1536 and ends with Mexico breaking away from Spain in 1821; the relatively short period Mexican Independence that lasted until 1846; the Territorial Period, which

began officially in 1850 and lasted sixty-two years; and lastly, the statehood period, which began in 1912 and continues to the present day. New Mexico's history is important, the author concludes, "for it is a message for the rest of the world, and a history that has value for the future of all humanity" – that being that all the cultures that have come to the state became a part of the society.

For students of Juan Bautista de Anza, the book provides several pages of analysis of his governorship of the territory, as well as his historical importance as the leader of the expedition that settled the Bay region of Alta California. Herein Thomas E. Chavez writes of Anza:

> Anza's eight-year reign arguably was the most successful of all of New Mexico's colonial governors. He was instrumental in settling Alta California. Anza's two most notable achievements in New Mexico were securing peace with the Comanche Indians and raising monetary support for the independence of the United States.

The author explains that when the thirteen British colonies in North America rebelled in 1776, Spain immediately supported these efforts with covert aid. Governor Anza received notice of the conflict and was requested to collect a tax of 2 pesos (about $60 in present day equivalencies) for each full-blooded Spanish subject an 1 peso for each mixed-blood or Native subject. Anza was able to send 3,677 pesos from his poor, currency-scarce province.

Gutierrez, Ramon A. and Richard J. Orsi, eds. ***Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush***. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998 (396).

The stated primary goal of this volume is to inspire among its readers "a richer, more complex understanding of the past." Through twelve lengthy essays by noted scholars, the book certainly accomplished this fete. Topics discussed include the ecological state of pre- and post-European contact California, the cultural and social circumstances of California's many different Indian peoples at the point of European colonization, the course of European exploration along North America's Pacific coast from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the economic and political rationales behind Spanish colonization of California, the spiritual, psychological, and sexual dimensions of the relationship between Hispanic and Indian peoples during the Spanish and Mexican eras, the evolution of social and political conditions in Hispanic California, the economic and political impact of rising foreign immigration during the early nineteenth century, the conquest of California by the United States in the Mexican-American War, and the visual representations of California's landscapes and peoples during the period before the gold rush. There are numerous references to Juan Bautista and his expeditions, perhaps most notably within

the article "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848" by Antonia Castaneda which is discussed above.

Gynne, S.C. ***Empire of the Summer Moon: Quanah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American History.*** New York: Scribner, 2010 (pp. 371).

As the extended title suggests, this engagingly written narrative encompasses the struggles of the Comanche, a Native American tribe whose historic range included present-day eastern New Mexico, southern Colorado, northeastern Arizona, southern Kansas, all of Oklahoma, and most of northwestern Texas. At the time of the Anza expeditions, there may have been a total Comanche population of over 45,000. Quanah Parker was an influential Comanche Chief and the last leader of the mighty Quahadi band before it was forced to surrender and move to a reservation. His life became steeped in legend up to the present. Quanah was the son of Chief Peta Nocona and Cynthia Ann Parker (Naduah), an Anglo woman kidnapped at age nine in a Comanche raid and then raised by the tribe.

There are several specific references to Juan Bautista de Anza in ***Empire of the Summer Moon***. "New Spain's leaders were not always incompetent in their handling of the Comanche problem," states the author. Several governors and a few generals actually "showed themselves to be shrewd and resources leaders." And Spain produced one Governor "of real

genius who managed to do what two countries of such governors and scores of later politicians, Indian agents, and American armies could not: make peace with the Comanches. His Name was Juan Bautista de Anza." At the end of a several-page biography, Gynne concludes of Anza:

> …he was perhaps the most brilliant of all the men who ever faced the problem of hostile Indians. If the post-revolution Texans or the post-Mexican War federal Indian authorities had studied Anza, the history of the opening of the American West might have been quite different, indeed.

This and other passages in *Empire of the Summer Moon* suggest that Anza exaltation did not end with Herbert Eugene Bolton.

John, Elizabeth A. H. ***Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795.*** College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975 (805).

Over the last several decades, a great number of historians and other social scientists have produced a variety of articles, books and monographs addressing the relationships of Spaniards and indigenous peoples in the frontier of New Spain. With this 1975 volume, Professor John provides an English-language, scholarly, and important book concerned with the processes the Spanish used to conquer and preserve their "Borderlands" authority. Additionally, John explores the effect of cultural interchange of

the various Native groups with the Spanish and French in what would become the American Southwest.

The structure of the book provides a comparison of and contrast between the regions of what would become New Mexico and Texas. Various topics include the intrusion of the French along the Red River, the ongoing competitions and alliances between Native groups, and Spanish administration of the *Provincias Internas*. According to the author herself, the book grew out of a "growing desire to trace lost Indian worlds and to comprehend them as components in the vast panorama of the national experience."

Kessell, John L. ***Kiva, Kross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840.*** National Park Service/U.S. Department of the Interior: Washington, D.C., 1979 (587).

Dr. Kessel's long and distinguished career as an historian for the National Park Service and as a scholar with academic and publication qualifications ideally suits to write this outstanding chronicle about the Native American town of Cicuye (Pecos). The settlement served as the gateway to the plains that stretched eastward into Texas through which plains traders passed before encountering other Pueblo Indians. Kessell expertly uses this important village on the Pecos River as a conduit for examining essential features of the entire Spanish presence in the region:

missions, encomiendas, warfare, trade, church-state conflicts, diplomacy, and financial enterprises. In doing, Kessell illuminates a village with a 1600 population of about 2000 that declined dramatically after two years of Franciscan presence; by 1799 the census lists only 150 residents, and by 1838, the population had vanished entirely.

Presently, the archaeological remains of the historic Pecos is just off of Interstate 25 between Las Vegas and Santa Fe, New Mexico. A national monument commemorates the settlement, and locals have passed on an abundance of superstitions with each generation. Kessel writes in a colorful, lively style, and the book includes copious illustrations: sketches, photos, maps, and reproductions of signatures and of Spanish and Indian artifacts. The five appendices are also outstanding, informative, and quite helpful. There are several references to Juan Bautista de Anza here, mostly in relation to his position as Governor following the expedition of 1776, and particularly his relations with the Comanche. This volume is an important addition to the historiography of the Borderlands, the Spanish North and the American Southwest.

_____ ***Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico.*** Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008 (pp. 225).

This readable history provides weaves a narrative approach with analysis and interpretation that encompasses the flow of events, circumstances, and people's lives in seventeenth-century New Mexico. Home to Pueblo Indians for centuries, the Spanish had recently arrived in the region, intent upon settlement and the subjugation of the Natives. "Whether they called it conquest or pacification," writes Kessell, "the project did not go as planned." Moving beyond stereotypes of Native American Edens, notions of *La Leyenda Negra* (or "Black Legend" – the demonization of the Spanish as singularly cruel), as well as more contemporary condemnation of all European colonial expansion into the Americas.

Well-know historical figures such as Juan de Onate and Diego de Vargas are discussed alongside lesser known figures such as Pueblo Indians Esteban Clemente, Barolome de Ojeda, and Felipe Chistoe. The author does not claim to have produced a inclusive history of Pueblos and Spaniards during the seventeenth century, but rather "a series of linked stories." The book strives to favor neither the Natives nor the Europeans, despite the over-whelming documentary record of the Spaniards that remains in existence compared to that of the Pueblos. By and large, historian Kessell succeeds admirably in this stated goal.

Limerick, Patricia Nelson. ***The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West***. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987 (pp. 396).

Perhaps the most noted (or notorious, depending upon point of view) of the "New West" historians, Patricia Limerick's career has been that of the public intellectual, determined to bridge the gap between the academy and the wider public. Though published over two decades ago, the ideas expressed in *The Legacy of Conquest* remain provocative and controversial. Succinctly stated, Limerick's primary theses involve: an awareness of the continuity of western history – the "unbroken past"; a rejection of the Turnerian emphasis on "frontier"; an acknowledgement of the role of women as well as the ethnic diversity of the region; interpreting the American West as a "place" rather than a "process." Garry Wills calls Patricia Limerick "simply one of the best writers alive." Her sumptuous prose, combined with a passionate, insightful and learned analysis, should go far in winning over those who insist on seeing Limerick – in her words – as the "Wicked Witch of Western History."

Palou, Francisco. ***Palou's Life of Fray Junipero Serra***. Translated and Annotated by Maynard J. Geiger. Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955 (pp. 547).

Francisco Palou (1723-1789) was a contemporary and confidant of Father Junipero Serra. He was also a Franciscan missionary, administrator,

and historian of the Baja California peninsula as well as in Alta California. Serra – a decade older than Palou – served as a mentor to the younger friar. Palou maintained an unqualified reverence for his biographical subject, and contemporary researchers should remain aware of this fact. Since 1787 Palou's biography has been the basic primary source in producing the many books, articles, brochures, pageants and orations about Serra that in almost endless succession have appeared to the present day. This translation and edition by Maynard Geiger came in response to the intense historical research carried on between the years 1943 and 1949 as part of the beatification process of Father Serra. Maynard also produced a biography of Serra and published several books about the Hispanic conquest of Florida and California.

Sheridan, Thomas E. and Nancy J. Parezo, eds., ***Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico.*** Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1996 (pp. 289).

A nicely organized text that presents fifteen Native American groups of Arizona and northern Mexico, many of whom played prominently in the Anza's "pageant in the desert": the Navajos, the Western Apaches, the Hualapai, the Southern Paiutes, the Seri, the River Yuma – Quechan, Mojave, Cocopas, and Maricopa – and the Hopis. This book explores the symbols, rituals, and words that have endured through the generations and

distinguish each group from others. Further, *Paths of Life* explores the dynamic changes that are occurring in each group as the contemporary world is incorporated into traditional ways of life. The study utilizes anthropological and historical methodologies to analyze Native American cultures, arts and folklore, and is richly illustrated with compelling photographs, plates and figures.

Weber, David J. ***The Spanish Frontier in North America***. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992 (pp. 579).

An important reference for the first section of this HRS, and discussed at length within the historiography analysis of section two. Weber's history provides a fine overview of the Spanish colonial period in North America. Beginning early in the sixteenth century, Spaniards expanded across the "New World" and built forts to protect important regions, various missions to convert the Natives, as well as farms, ranches and towns. Weber skillfully weaves primary quotations and anecdotal information with thoughtful analysis and historical interpretation. A must read for any student of the Anza expeditions specifically, or the American Southwest generally.

White, Richard. ***"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West***. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991 (pp. 644).

One of the primary architects of the "New Western History" which emerged during the 1980s, Richard White here presents what is perhaps the finest delineation of this scholarship. The title comes originates with the cowboy folksong wherein the "little dogies" are commanded to "git along," as it is their "misfortune and none of my own." The lyric serves as a metaphor for the history of the American West and the groups who immigrated, settled and subsequently shaped the land, often doing so without regard for the people residing in the region. What mattered most was immediate personal gratification and the exploitation of what was seen as an infinite natural bounty. White never mentions the word "frontier," instead emphasizing a common dependence on the federal government and the varied ethnicities, classes and nationalities that came together to from the region.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Maps

Reference Maps

Map 1 - Anza Expedition Routes in Modern Time

Map 2 - First Expedition: Tubac to Colorado River

Map 3 - First Expedition: Colorado River to San Gabriel

Map 4 - First Expedition: San Gabriel to Monterey

Map 5 - Second Expedition: Horcasitas to Colorado River

Map 6 - Second Expedition: Colorado River-San Gabriel

Map 7 - Second Expedition: San Gabriel to San Francisco Bay Area

The above maps are from The Anza Trail and the Settling of California by Vladimir Guerrero*, used by permission of Heyday Books, copyright Ben Pease*

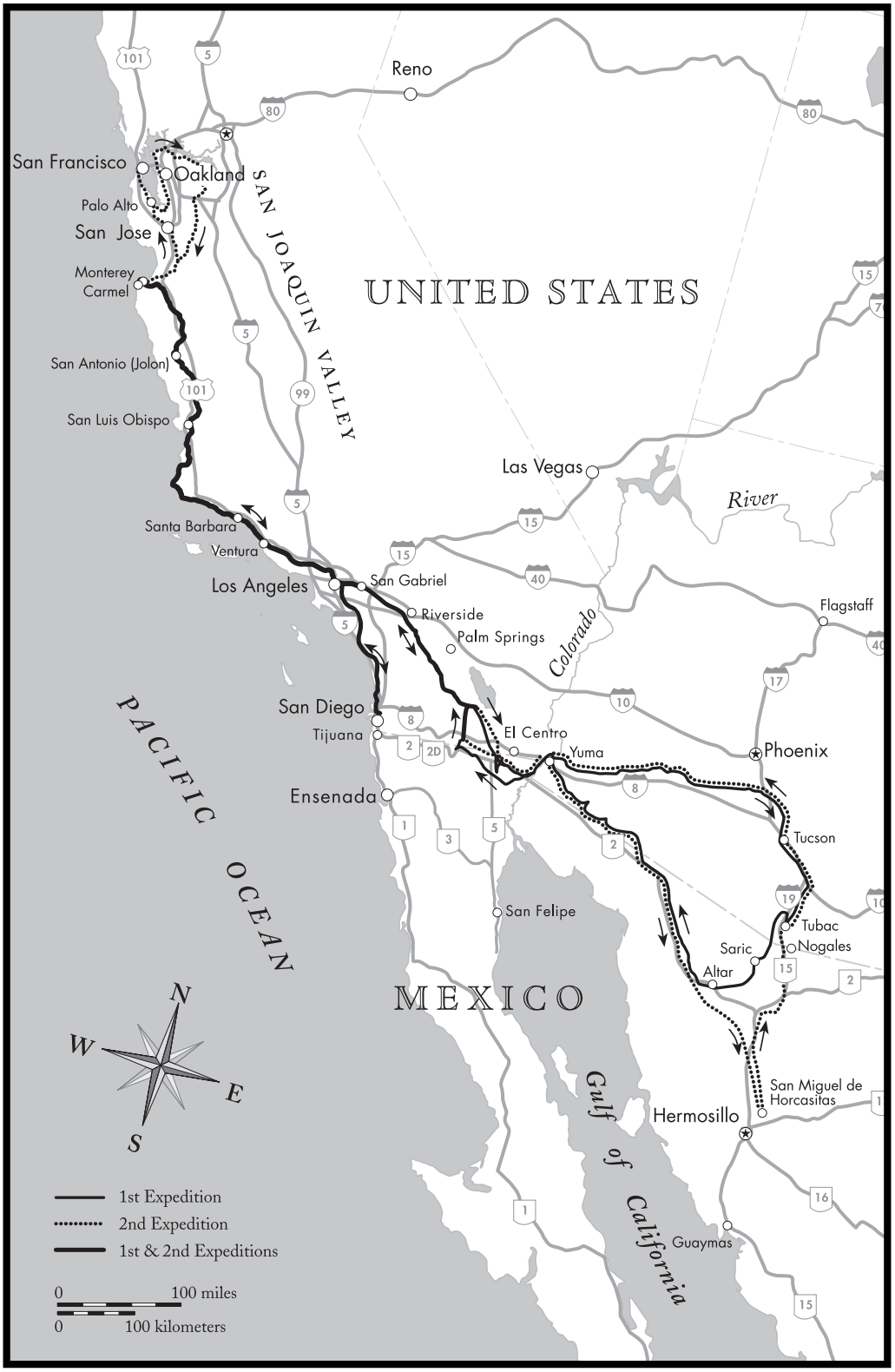
Historic Maps

Expedition Route, by Pedro Font

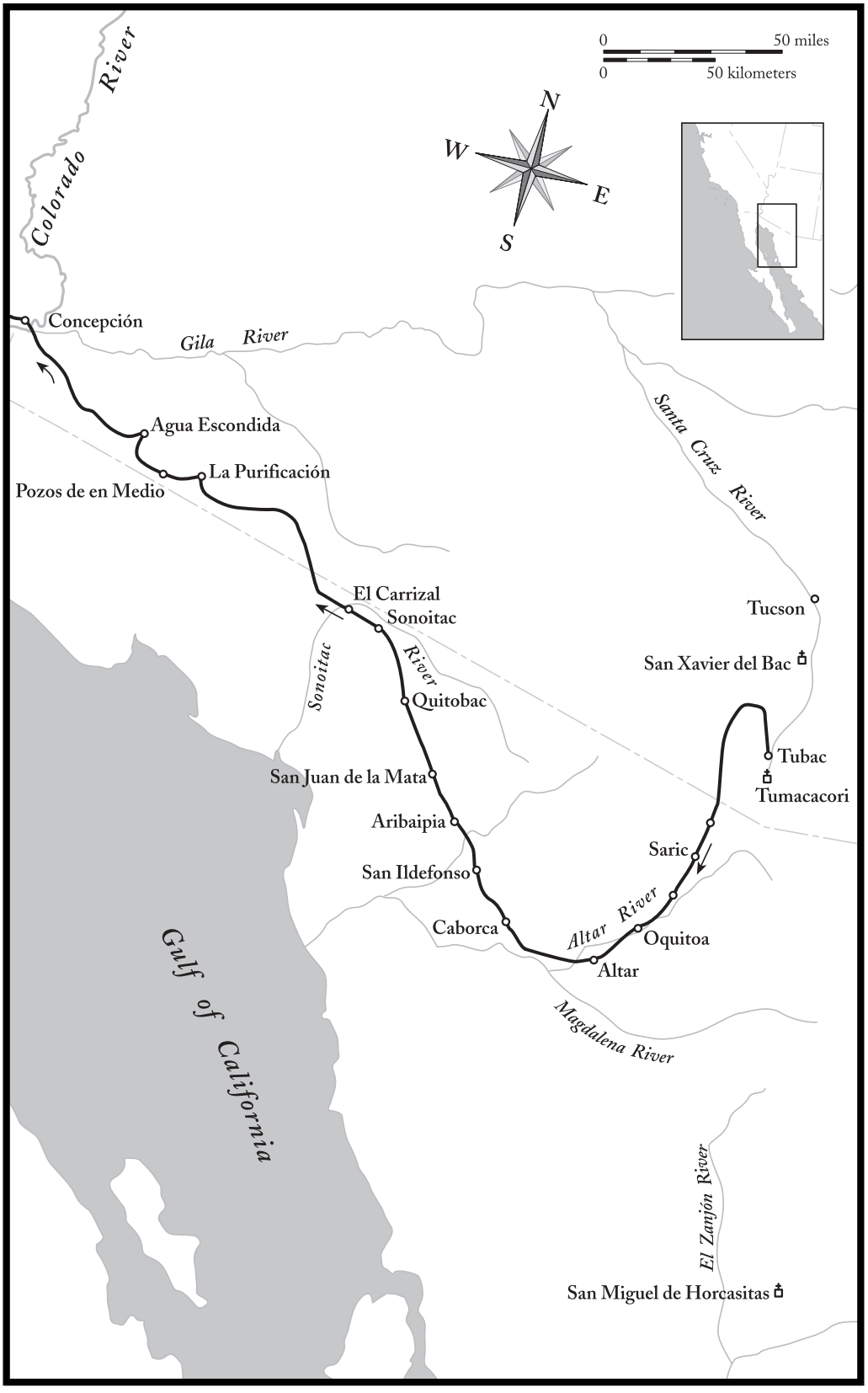
San Francisco Bay Area, Pedro Font

The above maps were prepared by Father Pedro Font following completion of the expedition.

Map 1
Anza Expedition Routes in Modern Time



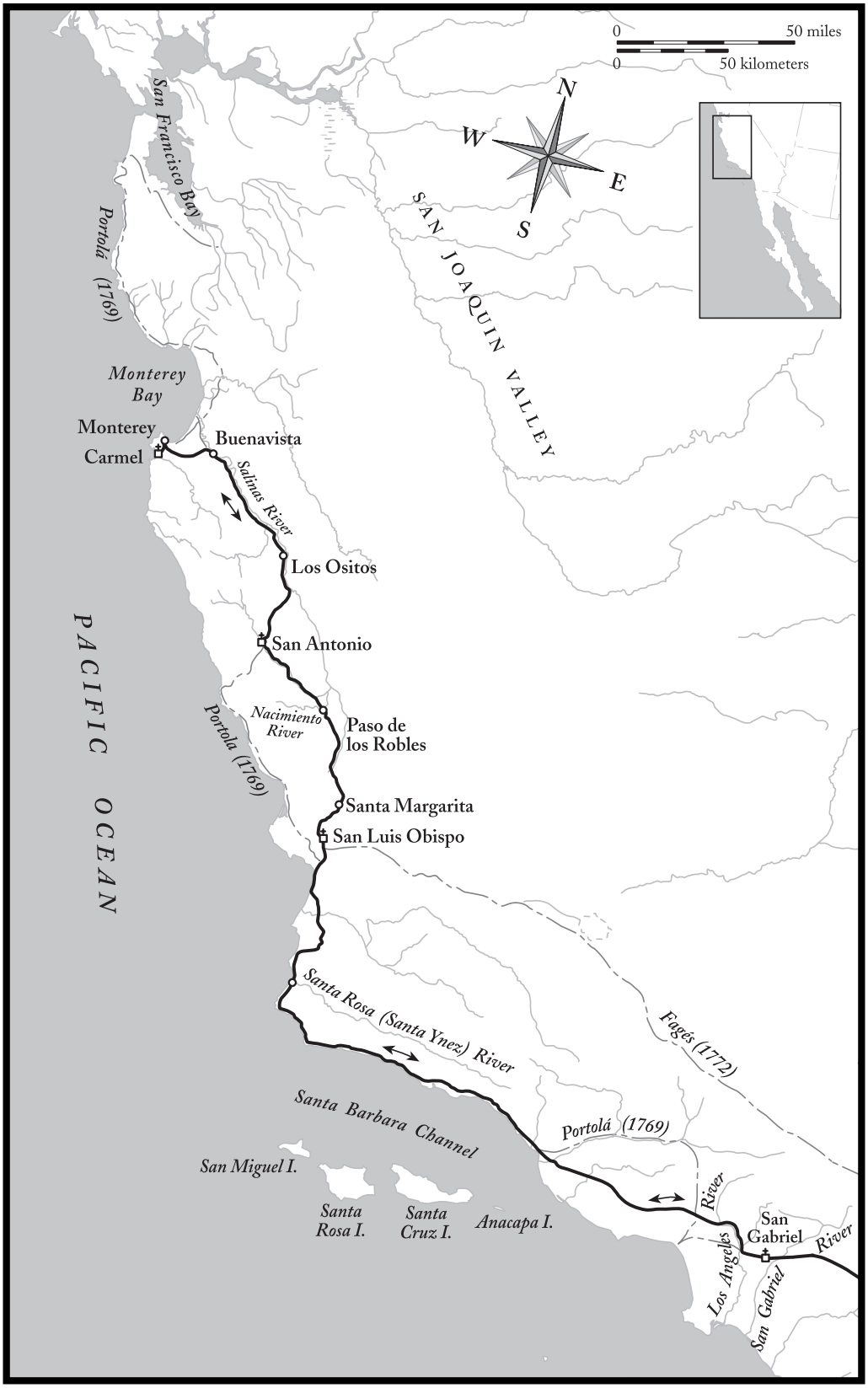
Map 2
First Expedition: Tubac to Colorado River



Map used by permission of Heyday Books. Copyright Ben Pease. Excerpted from *The Anza Trail and the Settling of California* by Vladimir Guerrero.

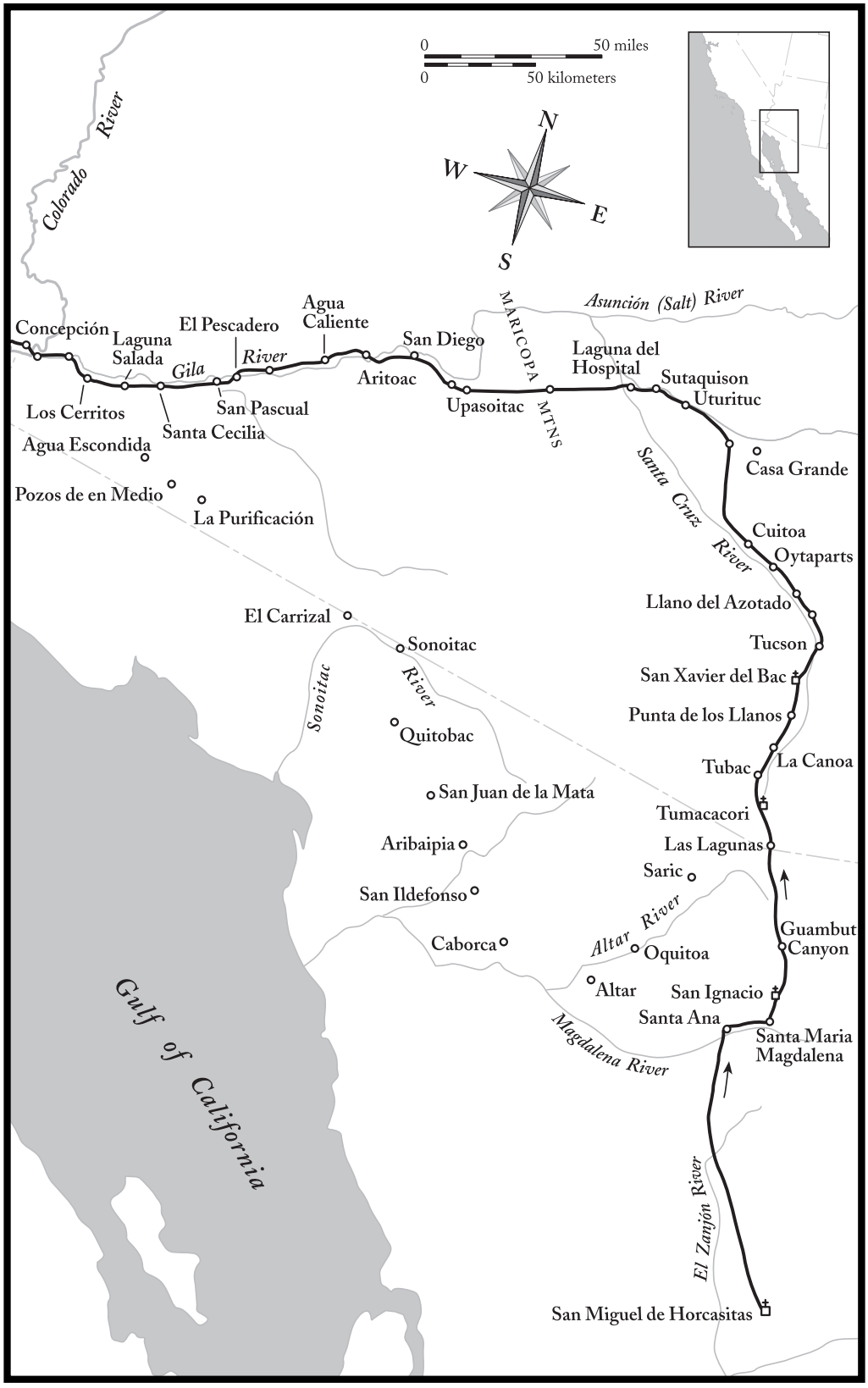
Map 3
First Expedition: Colorado River to San Gabriel

Map 4
First Expedition: San Gabriel to Monterey

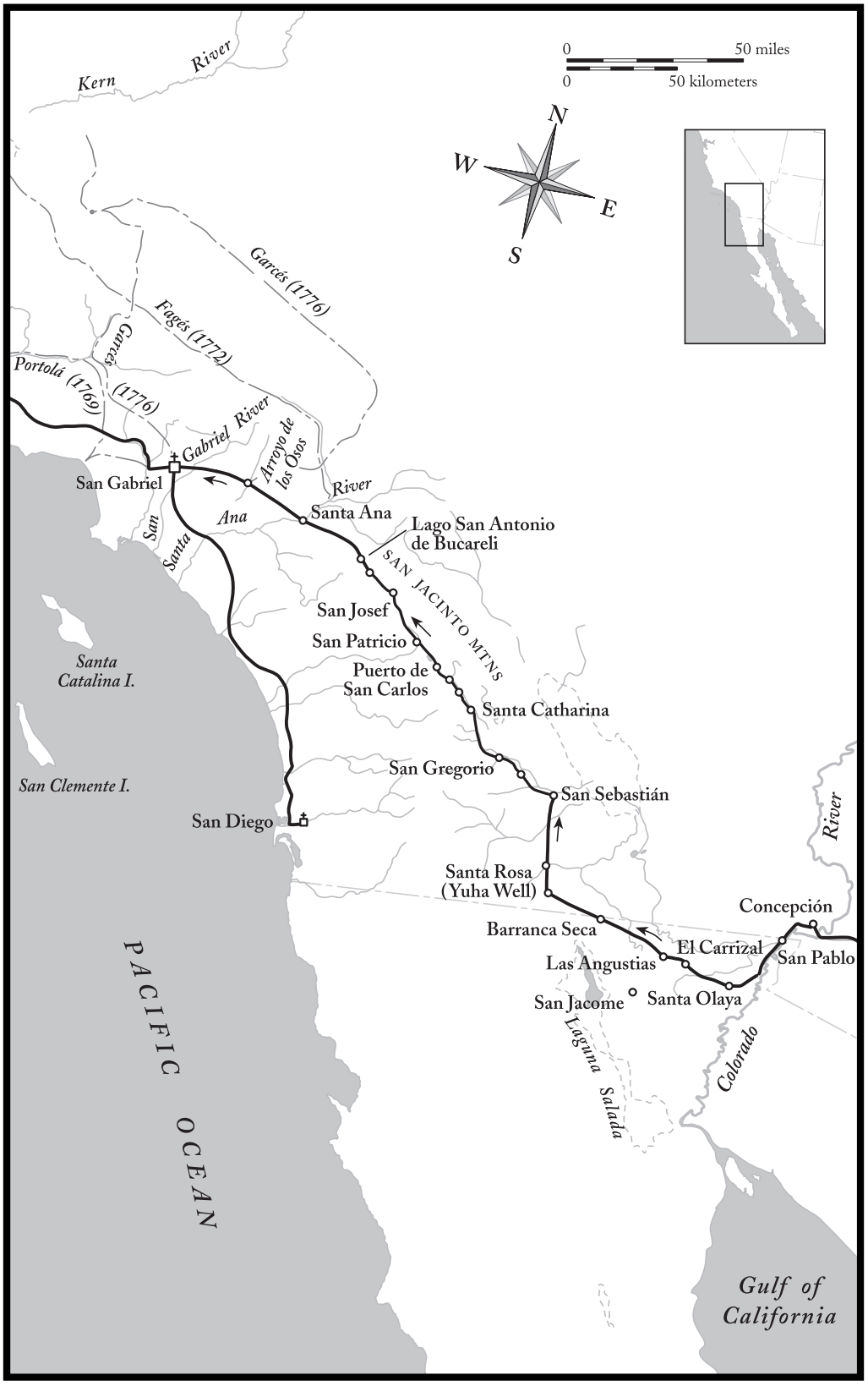


Map used by permission of Heyday Books. Copyright Ben Pease. Excerpted from *The Anza Trail and the Settling of California* by Vladimir Guerrero.

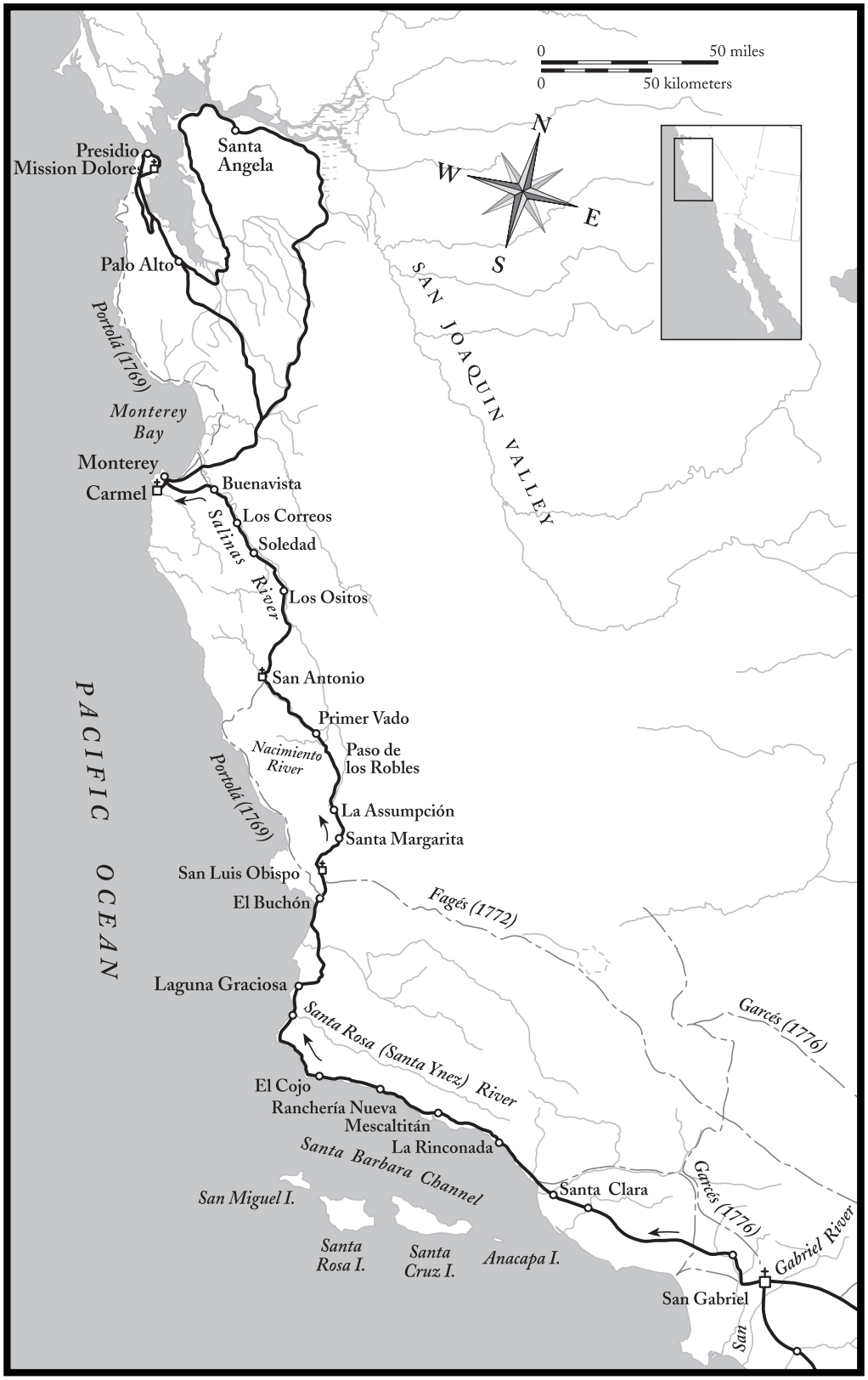
Map 5
Second Expedition: Horcasitas to Colorado River



Map 6
Second Expedition: Colorado River to San Gabriel



Map 7
Second Expedition: San Gabriel to San Francisco Bay



Historic Maps

The maps on the following pages were prepared by Father Pedro Font following completion of the expedition.

Expedition Route, by Pedro Font

San Francisco Bay Area, Pedro Font

A....	Casas de	Monte	Suma.
B.....	Million	de San	Gabriel.
C.....	Presidio	de San	Diego.
D.....	Million	de San	Luis.
E.....	Million	de San	Antonio.
F.....	Presidio	de Monte	Rey.
G.....	Million	de San.	Carlos.
H.....	Puerto	de San	Francisco.
I.....	Boca	de Puerto	dulze,
a.....	Loma	adonde	llego Fages
b.....	Sierra	emboscada	- - - - -
c.....	Loma	pelada..	.....
d.....	Alto de	donde seven	los tulares
e.....	Cañada	de San	Vicente.

Los numeros que comienzan en I. desde el Presidio de S. Miguel denotan los dias de las jornadas.

MAR DEL SUR.

PAPAGUERIA.

MAR DE CALIFORNIA.

Escala de 28 leguas Mexicanas por tierra.

P. F. Petrus Font fecit. Ures anno 1776.

MAPA CORRESPONDIENTE AL DIARIO QUE FORMO EL P. F. PEDRO FONT DEL VIAGE QUE HIZO A MONTEREY Y PUERTO DE SAN FRANCISCO.

FONT'S GENERAL MAP OF THE SECOND ANZA EXPEDITION.

PLAN, O MAPA DEL VIAGE QUE HICIMOS DESDE MONTEREY AL PUERTO DE Sn FRANCISCO.

Appendix B - Anza Expedition Settlers

Presidio Soldiers

Lieutenant don José Joaquín Moraga.	34
Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva	33
María Dolores Valencia	31
María Josefa	6
María del Carmen	5
Manuel Claudio Salvador Alvírez (servant)	21
Domingo Alviso	35
María Ángela Chumacero	30
José Francisco	14
Javier	12
Juan Ignacio	5 months
María de Loreto	8
Valerio Mesa	33
María Leonor Borboa	30
José Joaquín	13
José Ignacio	12
José Dolores	9
José Antonio	7
Juan	5
María Manuela	8
Ramón Bojórquez	32
María Francisca Romero	30
María Gertrudis	14
María Micaela	12
Carlos Gallegos	34
María Josefa Espinosa	17
Juan Antonio Amézquita	35
Juana Gaona	30
Salvador Manuel	14
María Josefa	12
María Dolores	8
María Matilde	4
María de los Reyes	3
Manuela Rosalía Zamora wife of Salvador Manuel	13

Ignacio Linares	30
Gertrudis Rivas	22
José Ramón	4
Salvador Ignacio	born the during expedition
María Gertrudis	7
María Juliana	3
Justo Roberto Altamirano	30
María de Loreto Delfín	27
José Antonio	7
José Matías	7 months
Gabriel de Peralta	40
Francisca Javiera Valenzuela	33
Juan José	18
Luis María	16
Pedro Regalado	15
María Gertrudis	9

Recruited Soldiers

Juan Atanasio Vázquez	40
Gertrudis Castelo	25
José Tiburcio	20
José Antonio	8
Pedro José	7
María Antonia Bojórquez wife of José Tiburcio	
José Antonio García	42
Petronila Josefa Acuña	28
José Vicente	12
José Francisco	9
Juan Guillermo	5
María Graciana	7
María Josefa	3
Antonio Quiterio Aceves	35
María Feliciana Cortés	30
José Cipriano	6
Juan Gregorio	4
Juan Pablo	10
José Antonio	20
María Petra	12
María Gertrudis	3
Felipe Santiago Tapia	39
Juana María Cárdenas	23
José Bartolomé	11
Juan José	9
José Cristóbal	8
José Francisco	7
José Víctor	6 months
María Rosa	13
María Antonia	12
María Manuela	6
María Isidora	5

Ignacio María Gutiérrez	30
Ana María de Osuna	25
María de los Santos	8
María Petra	7
Diego Pascual	born during the expedition
Agustín [de] Valenzuela	30
Petra Ignacia de Ochoa	20
María Ceferina	3
Luis Joaquín Álvarez de Acevedo	35
María Nicolasa Ortiz	30
Juan Francisco	12
María Francisca	6
Ignacio de Soto	27
María Bárbara de Espinosa	18
Simón Antonio de Soto	14
José Antonio	2
María Francisca	1
Pablo Pinto	43
Francisca Javiera Ruelas	40
Juan María	16
José Marcelo	14
Juana Santos	16
Juana	12
José Antonio Sotelo	29
Gertrudis Peralta	25
Ramón	5
Juan Antonio	12
Pedro Bojórquez	21
María Francisca de Lara	18
María Agustina	1

Santiago de la Cruz Pico	38
María Jacinta Bastida	26
José María	7
José Dolores	6
José Patricio	3
José Miguel	4
Francisco Javier	5
María Antonia Tomasa	2
María Josefa	15
José Manuel Valencia	36
María de la Luz Muñoz	30
Francisco María	5
Ignacio María	2
María Gertrudis	7
Sebastián Antonio López	47
Felipa Neri	45
Sebastián Antonio	17
María Tomasa	20
María Justa	5
Juan Francisco Bernal	38
Ana María Josefa Soto	35
José Dionisio	17
José Joaquín	15
José Apolinario	10
Juan Francisco	14
Tomás Januario	7
Ana María	5
María Teresa	2
José Antonio de Sánchez	29
María Dolores Morales	26
José Antonio	2
María Josefa	3
Ignacio Cárdenas, his adopted son	

Joaquín Isidro de Castro	43
María Martina Botiller	40
Ignacio Clemente	22
José Mariano	14
José Joaquín	7
Francisco	5
Francisco Antonio	9
Carlos Antonio	6 months
Ana Josefa	18
María Encarnación	8
María Martina	4
Vicente Féliz	34
María Ignacia Manuela Piñuelas	31
died during expedition	
José Francisco	12
José Doroteo	10
José de Jesús	2
José Antonio Capistrano	born during the expedition
María de Loreto	8
María Antonia	6
María Manuela	4
Juan Salvio Pacheco	46
María Carmen del Valle	40
Miguel	25
Francisco	15
Bartolomé	10
María Gertrudis	13
Bárbara	8
Manuel Ramírez Arellano	33
María Agueda López de Haro	17
Mariano Ramírez de Arellano	1
Matías Vega, his adopted son	25

Non-military Settlers

José Manuel González	35
María Micaela Ruiz	28
Juan José	14
Ramón	6
Francisco	1
María Gregoria	15
María Ana	8
Nicolás Galindo	33
María Teresa Pinto	18
Juan Venancio	5 months
Casimiro Varela, husband of Juana Santos Pinto	27
Ignacio Anastasio de Higuera husband of Micaela Bojórquez	18
Gregorio Antonio Sandoval	30
María Dolores Ontiveros	
Nicolás Antonio Berreyesa brother of María	15
María Isabel Berreyesa	18
Pedro Pérez de la Fuente	28
Marcos Villela	
don Francisco Muñoz	
Feliciana Arballo, widow.	25
María Tomasa Gutiérrez	4
María Eustaquia	1 month