

SPANISH TRACES



Volume 7

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No. 3

Yvonne Halburian and Querfeld Family Recognized with Crampton Awards

This year OSTA has again granted awards to members for their very special contributions over several years. Unfortunately, the awards were made in absentia since none of the recipients were able to be present at the Redlands conference, and so plans are underway for presentations at their chapter meet-

ings. The next issue of *Spanish Traces* will bring you photos and the "rest of the story."

This award is intended to recognize extraordinary service to OSTA, and more particularly to the Old Spanish Trail. These folks have contributed that; our special thanks to them.

Yvonne Halburian – Her name is well known among OSTA members and Old Spanish Trail advocates both in and out of San Luis Valley. Yvonne served as the first president of OSTA's first local chapter, but that was just the beginning.

Under her commitment and guidance, the Saguache Chapter secured a \$10,000 GOCO grant to identify and mark the West Fork of the North Branch in the San Luis Valley. Dedication of an official trail marker occurred during the 1997 OSTA Conference in Saguache. In a follow-up activity, GOCO featured the Old Spanish Trail and Yvonne's

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The Querfeld Family – They have been key players in OSTA the past few years, and by family we mean Dale Querfeld and his son and daughter-in-law, Charles and Judy Querfeld.

No family has demonstrated more extraordinary service commitment to the trail than the Querfeld family! Dale Querfeld contributed significant funding to OSTA, earmarked for establishment of trail markers and monuments at strategic trail locations. The first major example to the marker/monument effort is the plaque now in place at El Pueblo de Los Angeles, marking

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Conference 2001 Report

OSTA's Eighth Annual Conference enjoyed the hot and sunny skies of Redlands, California. San Bernardino County Museum provided outstanding facilities for the 78 members and visitors who attended. The conference was wonderfully organized by Rick Whitaker and his California Chapter.

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Dr. Harry Paul Godshall 1925 – 2001

No man is an island, but each is part of the whole, and when the bell tolls for one we all lose something of value. Families, of course, share the greatest pain, but others may also feel the loss. Such was the case for Dr. Harry Godshall who died in Las Vegas on 12 March 2001 from a massive stroke.

Resting Spring Ranch has been in Harry Godshall's family since 1936. When Harry's grandfather died he left the ranch to his descendants. At that time Harry was practicing family dentistry in the Los Angeles area and, because his love for the ranch was so strong, he bought out the other heirs to become sole proprietor of Resting Spring.

In September 1981 Dr. Harry Godshall put away his dental tools for the last time and he and his wife, Jo, retired to Resting Spring Ranch. Although he chose this isolated site for seclusion from worldly affairs, he broke this

pattern when appropriate groups such as the OSTA and other historical societies came to call.

Harry was a raconteur. He was always eager to share his knowledge of history and he was in his element regaling visitors with tales of the many colorful characters whose lives had been inextricably tied to Resting Spring.

Dr. Godshall was a member of the Old Spanish Trail Association and he will be sorely missed, individually and collectively, by all of us who have been so fortunate to have someone of his caliber be the custodian of one of the most historic spots on the Old Spanish Trail.

Harry would be pleased to know that Jo plans to continue their policy of sharing the ranch with appropriate groups such as ours.

*delivered by Harold A. Steiner
at the Redlands conference*

Please visit our web site at <http://museumtrail.org/OSTA>

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

Membership Dues:

Regular	\$15/year
Student (under 18)	\$12/year
Institutional	\$25/year
Life	\$250
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2001 Conference

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This was a very full weekend, starting with the board meeting all day Friday. Saturday began with the announcement of two Crampton Awards (see page 1). Dr. Sandos then lead off as keynote speaker, and we had six papers presented relating to the theme of “The Old Spanish Trail and the Peopling of Alta California,” and the full text of each is printed in this issue.

Saturday evening’s reception at the Asistencia included a wonderful and plentiful array of Mexican hot finger foods. The original Asistencia, established in 1819 and relocated to its present site in 1830, served as a cattle-grazing outpost as part of the Mission San Gabriel’s Rancho San Bernardino. Aaron Mahr of NPS was with us, and we all gathered in the chapel to hear his talk on the legislative process that the feasibility study must now go through on its way to the Congress. Excellent talk, and good discussion followed (see page 4).

The proposed logo for the OST when it becomes a National Historic Trail was on display publicly for the first time (see page 5). To further publicize the packmule logo, but without NHT connotation, it was integrated into a fridge magnet design, and all attendees were given magnets (see page 5). Book sales were as usual a great success.

Sunday was a day of six field trips, and it was hard to choose which one to join. In spite of the heat, the trip to Cajon Pass had the most participants. Reports are on pages 44-46. ■

President’s Corner

by Liz Warren

Greetings from the Northwest, fellow time travelers along the Old Spanish Trail. As you read this, my first message as President of OSTA, I will be immersed in the final push to complete all requirements for the Ph.D. in history at Washington State University in Pullman, Washington. While the place is far removed from the trail, the topic of my dissertation is squarely on it: The History of Las Vegas Springs, a Disappeared Resource. The long, often delayed progression that has brought me to this point has taken more than ten years! My advice to others who keep putting off the challenge: Just Do It!

Our meeting in Redlands was an outstanding success on all counts: solidly researched, informative papers, well delivered; outstanding field trips led by superb guides, high quality catered food, excellently served; a truly superb set of venues, including the San Bernardino County Museum, the Asistencia, and the Smiley Library, with their most supportive staffs; fine attendance, great weather—who could ask for anything more? Kudos to Rick Whitaker, John Robinson, and all the other California folks who made it all happen, as well as other national members who assisted in making the meeting of 2001 so memorable. You’ve set a high standard for next year’s symposium! If you missed this year’s gathering, plan to join us in 2002!

Our next Board meeting is November 3 in Las Vegas, at the

home of our new Nevada Director, Carol Corbett. We hope any of our members who are interested and able to travel to Las Vegas will join us at the meeting. Let us know, and we’ll send on a map and instructions as the date draws closer.

By November, we should know the outcome of the hearing on the Senate bill to name the Old Spanish Trail a National Historic Trail. While there was a rush to consider S. 817 before the feasibility study was revised, as you all know by now that process has slowed to the usual pace. We will keep you all posted as a new timetable emerges, but in the meantime, please write (snail mail or e mail) your own senators to urge their support for the bill when it does come before them.

Experience teaches that elected officials harken most to those who put them in office. Your voice will be more carefully listened to by your senators and representatives than you might think. If any of you are in Washington, D.C. area, I urge you to stop in at the offices of your elected representatives and visit with them and/or their staff people. It is very rewarding for you, and for them, provides a rare opportunity to visit with folks from home and hear first hand just what the issues are that brought you to their offices. Altogether, it is a valuable way to spend some time, and reinforces OSTA’s commitment to educate the public and seek support for the funds needed to support development of the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail. ■



NPS Study of OST is Complete — What is the Legislative Process from Here?

from the desk of Aaron Mahr, NPS Historian

The NPS's Long Distance Trails Group Office-Santa Fe is pleased to announce that the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study is complete and on its way to Denver for approval by Intermountain Regional Director Karen Wade. If Regional Director Wade concurs with the study's findings, she will send it to NPS Director Fran Mainella for her consideration, who will in turn pass the study, with recommendations attached, to Secretary of Interior Gale Norton for approval. If approval occurs, the Secretary will forward the study to the Office of Management and Budget, which will attach a statement of fiscal effects, and then present it to the appropriate subcommittees in both houses of Congress. Although the process may seem interminable, we expect the study to be presented to Congress, and thereafter be available to the public, by autumn, 2001.

The revised feasibility study found the Old Spanish Trail to be nationally significant within the theme of the Changing Role of the U.S. in the World Community, and the topic of commerce, between 1829 and 1848. In May we presented the study's conclusions recommending National Historic Trail designation to the NPS's National Historic Landmark Committee. The presentation included a well-received set of remarks from OSTA President Elizabeth von Till Warren. The

panel endorsed the revised study's findings, but requested the study undergo another round of scholarly review to ensure comprehensive feedback. As anticipated, the NPS Advisory Council concurred with the NHL committee's recommendations when it met later in the month. In the meantime, a panel of four recognized experts in the history of the American Southwest reviewed the study and supported NHT designation.

If Congress creates an Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail and the Secretary of Interior designates the NPS as the administering agency, then routinely a certain amount of money is allocated from the agency's planning fund to develop a Comprehensive Management and Use Plan. These plans usually take two to three years to complete. Congress must also choose whether to establish a base-operating budget, which is critical for the administration of the trail. The feasibility study recommends the budget should be \$350,000, which will allow the agency to administer the trail, hire staff, and begin work with other agencies and partnering entities. It's important to note that funding is neither automatic nor quick—it takes special appropriations from Congress and cannot occur until the first full fiscal year passes after trail designation. For this reason, trail supporters are encouraged to be aware of the progress of any pending legislation

that may affect NHT designation.

In this regard, there are several unique situations that may impact the creation of the NHT. In May 2001 Senator Pete Dominici of New Mexico introduced Senate Bill 817, calling for the designation of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. Testimony on the bill was scheduled for July 26; however, it was delayed for an unspecified time to allow the subcommittee to review the feasibility study. Therefore, the NPS is still committed to its original time frame for presenting the study to Congress.

Also noteworthy, the Bush Administration has placed a moratorium on the creation of new NPS areas until the agency resolves its maintenance backlog. It's unclear how the moratorium will affect trails, but ongoing activity around the country shows an increasing amount of attention is focused on trails as significant historic resources. Historic trails that have seen the most public activity recently include the George Rogers Clark Northwest Campaign Trail, El Camino Real de los Tejas, the Navajo Long Walk, and the Star Spangled Banner Trail (commemorating resources from the War of 1812). Recent trail activity includes the National Trails System Willing Sellers Act of 2001, and recent additions to the Oregon, Pony Express, California and Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trails to include various cutoffs and variants.

Clearly, the coming months will be a seminal time for commemoration efforts on the Old Spanish Trail. The

conclusion of the feasibility study and the possible reintroduction of legislation, as well as signs of increased historic trail activities around the country, demonstrate how important it is that groups such as the OSTA continue their determined efforts to commemorate, preserve, and research our nation's trail resources.

Note:

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OST Fridge Magnets



As a surprise give-away at the Redlands conference, these fridge magnets were a real hit! Made by OSTA volunteers, and in color, each registrant received one, or maybe two if the registrar blinked. They are also being used at the PNTS meeting (see column 1).

Shown above, actual size, they are now being offered as a fund-raiser and as a Christmas stocking stuffer, but cannot mail until December 1. Cost is 2/\$1, postpaid, min. order 2. Order from OSTA, P.O. Box 7, Marysville, WA 98270. ■

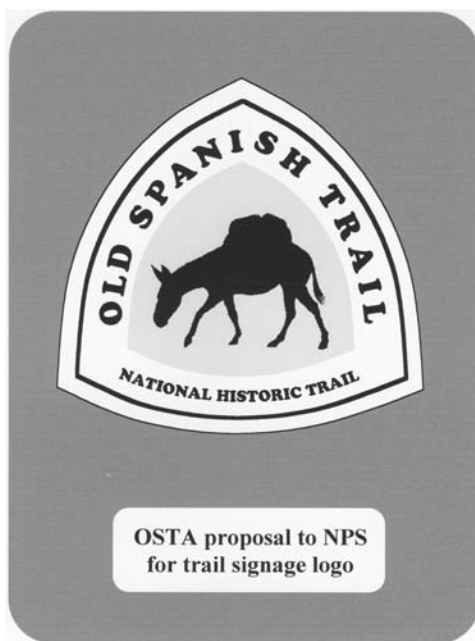
OCTA Hosting National Scenic & Historic Trails Conference

The Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) is co-sponsoring the 7th Conference on National Scenic & Historic Trails August 17-21 in Casper, Wyoming. Casper is also the site of the new National Historic Trails Center. The theme of this conference is "Howdy Pardner, Strong Partnerships Make Great National Trails." Attendees of the conference will learn about new legislative initiatives and will be provided opportunities for collaboration between trail groups.

There will be workshops to explore issues in protecting trail resources, securing private and public funding, improving education and public outreach, and to discuss other timely issues. Attendees will also share information and pictures of their own trails and trail activities.

OSTA will have a booth, and our official representative to the conference is Jack Nelson, president of our Mesa County Chapter. His report of this event will be in the next issue of *Spanish Traces*. ■

Logo Proposed for OST National Historic Trail



First suggested to the NPS feasibility study team on January 19 this year when they met at Tempe with our Ad Hoc NPS committee, the logo design has received hearty approval everywhere it has been shown. Our special gratitude goes to Yvonne Halburian of the Saguache Chapter in Colorado for her simple but very impacting mule design. When the proper time arrives, we hope this logo will officially be approved to represent the route of the OST as a National Historic Trail. ■

OSTA Membership Roster Update Soon

An updated membership roster will be included with the next issue of *Spanish Traces* as a useable insert. We especially want to correct phone numbers, area codes, and e-mail addresses. So, we ask you to please e-mail or s-mail you current info to:

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2002 National Conference
June 8-9, 2002
at Southern Utah University
Cedar City, Utah

National Conference Presentations

by Dr. James A. Sandos, Cliff Walker, Paul Spitzzeri, Dr. Bruce Harley, Dr. Ann Deegan

Indian-White Relations in California and the Old Spanish Trail, 1800 – 1850

by James A. Sandos, Ph.D.

Farquhar Professor of the Southwest, University of Redlands

Bienvenidos and welcome to the San Bernardino County Museum and to the Eighth Annual Conference of the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA). The significance of the Old Spanish Trail to California has been largely under-appreciated, but thanks to OSTA that should change. This morning I want to sketch for you an overview of what the trail meant to Indian-white relations in California and to focus on the southern part of the state. I suspect that some of you will be surprised by what I have to say.

My talk is in three parts of differing lengths. I will begin with the mission background during the first three decades of the Nineteenth Century that made the conditions ripe for sustaining the trade that developed and flourished in the 1830s and 1840s, the second part of my remarks. After noticing the conditions that contributed to the demise of the trade route I want to conclude with an assessment of what I see as the major impact of the trail for California history.

Mission Background, 1800-1830

The Spanish Franciscans who ran the California missions confronted a serious problem by the turn of the Nineteenth Century. Their enterprise

had begun some thirty years earlier when Junípero Serra founded the first mission, San Diego de Alcalá, in 1769. But by 1800 the death rates of Indians in the missions, largely due to the unanticipated consequences of the introduction of European diseases, meant that missionaries would need to find fresh converts or their establishments would close. Neophytes, that is to say baptized Indians, were dying at rates far greater than their unconverted neighbors whom the Franciscans called gentiles. A source of relatively untouched gentiles lay in the great Central Valley, inland from the traditional mission zone along the coast.

Beginning in 1800 Spanish soldiers started to explore the interior of this great valley and Franciscans began to proselytize among the gentiles they encountered there. Active missionization among the Yokuts of this valley, called by the Spanish, *tulareños*, after the reeds that grew there in profusion, meant incorporating new linguistic groups into the multi-language stock already living at the missions. The subsequent increase in language diversity proved very challenging to the priests and increased their reliance upon *alcaldes*, Indian-elected offi-



Photo courtesy of author

Dr. James A. Sandos
Keynote Speaker

cials who helped the priests run the missions. Alcaldes proved to be those who spoke Spanish well and commanded at least one other major Indian language present at a mission.

Alcaldes supervised other Indians and administered priestly-ordered punishments. Alcaldes directed Indian crews to plant, weed, and harvest crops, as well as vaqueros who tended herds of cattle and horses, and the pastores who ran the mission sheep flocks. Alcaldes could be high status Indians from tribes recently missionized or descendants of Indians of relatively long mission association. As the push to missionize the interior continued in the 1800s and 1810s, alcaldes became more important in the effort. In addition to acting as interpreters, they also supervised the organization of Indian auxiliaries who attended

Spanish troops in their expeditions to the interior to return runaway neophytes.

The problem of fugitivism from the missions was more than a religious one. Runaways denied their labor to the endeavor, and, if they fled in numbers and at harvest, mission crops were jeopardized. As gentiles were recruited from the interior, a cross traffic began to emerge with recently baptized Indians becoming dissatisfied at the mission and fleeing to the comfort of their tribal members in the interior. Over time those interior Indians began to prove reluctant to give up the fugitives and military expeditions to retrieve them became violent with increasing frequency.

By the 1820s Indian resentment against the missions found expression in a series of violent outbreaks challenging Spanish and Mexican civil and religious authority. All of them were led by *alcaldes*. Beginning in 1820 a former *alcalde* from Mission San Rafael, Pomponio, organized a band of runaway neophytes and gentiles from the interior to raid mission stores for cattle and supplies. Pomponio and his band ranged across northern California stealing mission stores from Sonoma to Soledad, interior from Monterey. When finally captured in January 1824 he was immediately tried and hanged as an example to discourage other Indians. It did not work. A few weeks later, on February 21, in Southern California, the Chumash from missions La Purísima Concepción, Santa Ynes, and Santa Barbara, led by their *alcaldes*, rose against their respective establish-

ments. This was a pan-Indian movement involving tribes from the interior. Some Indians fled to the Channel Islands, others deep into the interior to the vicinity of Walker Pass, others to the near interior of the tulares. Some stayed and fortified themselves at La Purísima, forcing a military expedition to dislodge them a month later. When an expedition to the tulares after the fugitives made contact with the runaways, priests and soldiers found that Chumash and Yokuts had returned to pre-Christian tribal ways.

In 1828 an *alcalde* from Mission San José, Estanislao, fled to the interior and raised the standard of revolt against Mexican authority. Fugitives from missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz, in addition to those from San José, joined Estanislao and the interior Yokuts. He built a breastwork fortification of trees and connected it with passages so that his Indians could repel attackers. Two military expeditions sent against him failed and the numbers of Indians in his enclave grew to nearly 1,000. At that time the non-Indian population numbered about 6,000 and Estanislao's defiance threatened the stability of the province. In May 1829 the California government sent twenty-two year old lieutenant Mariano G. Vallejo with 107 Californio soldiers, fifty armed Indian auxiliaries, and more musket cartridges than had ever before been assembled for a military campaign in California. After three days of relentless fighting Vallejo won and peace of a kind was restored.

The uprisings of the 1820s left a

lasting imprint on Indian-white relations in California. No longer was resistance situational or site specific. Pan-Indian movements linked coastal neophytes and interior gentiles. These Indians communicated with one another in the newly spread lingua franca of Spanish, a language that the priests thought few Indians learned. This armed, mobile and hostile population presented Californio society with its worst nightmare: a race war. But not just a race war in which the Vallejos of California would prevail. This was one that the Indians could win.

The myth of Indian docility was exploded and those still in the missions could scarce be trusted. The pressure for secularization of the missions, that is the emancipation of the neophytes and the parcelization of the great landed estates into private hands, increased. Had there been no "outside interference" in California's domestic affairs perhaps that race war would have erupted and resulted in Indian expulsion of foreigners. But outside interference did occur and it came via the Old Spanish Trail.

Raiding, Trading, and the Old Spanish Trail, 1830s-1840s

New Mexican trader Antonio Armijo is the first to have documented a route from Santa Fe to Los Angeles via the Cajon Pass in 1829-1830, and his return to Santa Fe with mules caused all the subsequent stir. California mules were larger and better formed than their New Mexican counterparts and they could be bartered for furs and woolens. In 1830-1831 William Wolfskill proved that the trail could be used by pack >

trains, and trade began to flourish with annual trips by New Mexicans exchanging their finely woven serapes and other woolens for horses, mules, and occasional Chinese silks. Sometime in the 1830s New Mexicans began to sell Indian children to Californios, slaves they obtained from Utes and Navajos by trading their better horses. In California they could exchange the children for those new and better horses. Nor were the New Mexican traders mindful of the prohibition against selling Indians liquor and guns. Illegal trading, slaving, and emigrating then all became associated with the trail in the 1830s.

The Nuevomexicanos did not trade exclusively with the Californio elite. They exchanged goods for horses as well with Indian raiders from the interior who in turn had secured these animals from mission herds and ranchos. Vanquishing Estanislao's revolt in 1829 did not mean an end to Indian resistance. Beginning in early 1830, Yokuts and Miwoks from the great Central Valley began to raid coastal settlements with progressively greater frequency. Exiting the valley at a series of passes from north to south, those being Pacheco, Panoche, Chalam, and Tejon, Indian raiders could strike at missions, ranchos, and settlements from San José, Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, San Fernando, and San Buenaventura. By 1833 Governor José Figueroa commanded that "from every presidio a military expedition will be sent out each month and scout those places where the robbers shelter themselves." But such tactics usually

meant that the soldiers visited punishments on the innocent even more than on the guilty (the innocent being more findable) and created more allies for what were being called the "horse-thief Indians."

"Horse-thief Indians" were bands of runaway neophytes and interior gentiles frequently led by an ex-alcalde. Mission Indians provided the vaqueros who ran the herds, and alcaldes knew where and when the horses would be pastured and frequently the identity of the vaqueros tending them. Horses were important in their own right for travel, but they were also essential for the managing of other domesticated animals such as cattle and sheep. While horses ran free in the great valley such animals were worthless as trade items because they were unbroken. New Mexican traders wanted saddle horses, meaning broken mounts, ready to ride. Mission and rancho vaqueros did that work in advance for the raiders. And, with horse herds of 2,000 – 3,000 animals common among ranchos and missions, they made lucrative targets. While Californios prided themselves on their equestrian skills, they did not ride for mundane work. The number of Indian vaqueros and the day-to-day tasks they performed were critical to rancho and mission success.

In 1836 the order from Mexico secularizing the missions finally was implemented in California and most Indians voted with their feet, fleeing at least initially to the interior. The resulting shortage of vaqueros hurt mission and rancho herds alike, leaving them understaffed at pre-

cisely the time that raiding against them was becoming a weekly, sometimes a nightly, occurrence. Acquiring the horse made the Yokuts and Miwoks of the valley a semi-nomadic people and abuse by Spanish and Mexican soldiers with their Indian auxiliaries made the formerly peaceful Indians warlike. Obtaining the horse brought profound change in the staple of valley Indian diet; the acorn gave way to horsemeat.

California Indians during the 1830s came into contact with another Indian group that also had only recently acquired the horse: the Western Ute. Waccara, a western Ute alternatively known to non-Indians as Walkara or Walker, was a physically imposing man who commanded several Indian languages and spoke Spanish fluently. Sometime during the 1830s, in winter, Wacarra and his band of Western Utes and their allies, aided by mountain men Thomas "Pegleg" Smith and Jim Beckwourth, slipped into California via Cajon Pass and began to trade with local rancheros. Waccara offered Paiute and Navajo children for sale in California along with pelts and skins his braves had trapped that fall. When he returned to Utah in the early spring he captured California Indian children to sell in New Mexico. He left California with his own horse herds refreshed, along with additional horses and cattle, both to enlarge his herds and for further trading. Waccara secured the aid of local rancheros at first because in return for his trade goods they offered him places of refuge on their lands where his band, divided into smaller groups, could

refresh their own horses and make a winter camp for their families. Waccara's band, an amalgam primarily of Western Utes with some of their traditional enemies, the Shoshone and Paiute, gradually began to raid for horses and cattle as well as to trade for them. In 1839-1840, for example, his band, dispersed into raiding parties led either by a brother or a trusted subaltern, struck simultaneously at ranchos from San Luis Obispo south and gathered more than 3,000 horses to take back to Utah. In this way Waccara became a powerful and feared enemy of Californio society, called by Californians "the greatest horse-thief in history." Waccara's skill at stealing horses in California, however, must have come from his tactical alliances with Yokuts and Miwoks of the Central Valley because he raided San Luis Obispo by crossing Tejon Pass.

At the height of his power Waccara's cavalry presented an imposing if ostentatious sight. Warriors were dressed in finery and mounted on their best horses, the animals bearing silver encrusted saddles and so much silver and metal ornaments that they tinkled when the horses moved and sunlight flashed from their polished surfaces. Proud and vain, given to wearing American clothes, Waccara was a man to be feared. In the 1840s he began exacting a toll in goods and animals from the New Mexico traders using the Old Spanish Trail in California.

Mexican responses to problems associated with trade via the trail took two forms: official complaint and unofficial frontier building.

California governor Figueroa asked the governor of New Mexico for help, claiming that "every man coming from that territory [New Mexico] is believed to be an adventurer and a thief." Californians treated the New Mexicans as foreigners, requiring them to register upon arrival and present their goods for inspection when they left. But just like foreigners before them, only a few fell into official snares. The majority eluded them. When New Mexico's governor tried to prohibit the trade his efforts failed; the demand for trade between the two provinces proved more powerful than the ability of either government to stop it.

In California, however, officials tried another approach. Beginning in the 1830s governors made land grants on the frontier to encourage Mexican settlement and to hold the line against Indian encroachment. The result of this casual policy I have termed the creation of California *caudillos* (men on horseback). These entrepreneurs relied on the exploitation of Indian labor to produce goods and render personal services for themselves. All of them knew the Spanish language and at least one Indian dialect in their area of operation. Employing the principle of divide and rule, these men made alliances with one group of Indians against another. For themselves, Indians made those alliances to use white power to augment their own in order to cope with a rapidly changing world. While I have identified seven of these caudillos operating in an arc from Sonoma and Napa Counties in the north, inland to Sacramento and down the

great Central Valley and beyond to Cajon Pass and to northeastern San Diego County, today I want to focus on just two of them: José del Carmen Lugo and his uncle Antonio Mariá Lugo, along with Jonathan Turnbull (J.J.) Warner. The Lugos secured their land grant of Rancho San Bernardino in 1842 (36,000 acres), comprising much of the present day town of the same name, in recognition of their having stayed in the San Bernardino Valley since 1839 despite disruptions and threats to life caused by Indians and New Mexican smugglers.

While the Lugo-Bandini story is too complicated to give here, and parts of it will be addressed by others on today's program, I want to consider briefly the Lugos and their relationships with Michael White, the Santiago Martinez party, and local Indian leader, Juan Antonio. The Lugos and their Californio allies did not have enough personnel to counter depredations from Waccara's bands or from New Mexicans. By obtaining land from the government the family hoped to lure more Californio settlers to this area. They began by helping to secure for former English seaman turned mountain man and New Mexican trader, Michael White, known in California as Miguel Blanco, a land grant at the mouth of Cajon Pass called Rancho Muscupiabe. In making his application for the land White/Blanco explicitly sought to "create an obstacle to the Indians making incursions with the freedom which until now they have enjoyed – I having on two occasions taken from them the horses they had stolen." >

White built a log and earth fortified house overlooking the trail through the pass. But White's occupation of Muscupiabe lasted only nine months, his family able to stay with him but six weeks. Indians stole all of White's animals and he was forced to leave, proving in the end not to have been much of an obstacle after all.

Having failed to establish a settlement of Californios, the Lugos sought an alternative group from outside the province. In early 1843 the Lugos succeeded in getting Santiago Martinez with a party of nineteen New Mexicans to settle in the San Bernardino valley. They created a little settlement called Politana and were to repel any Indian invasions. They built adobe huts adjacent one another for protection, but the colony did not last long. By 1845 the inhabitants had moved further west onto land safe from Indian depredations. Finally, then, the Lugos placed local Cahuilla chief Juan Antonio on the vacated site and he and his warriors began to reduce Lugo losses to "horse-thief Indians" and New Mexican traders. The last pack train for New Mexico exited the Cajon Pass in 1848 and by then Waccara's power had begun to fade.

South of the Lugos lay J.J. Warner's grant of nearly 48,000 acres with an Indian rancheria of Cupeños located near some hot springs. Warner created a trading establishment that because sought after by those first associated with the New Mexico trade and later with gold seekers. Warner was not adverse to buying Indian children to work for him. He

bought Yumas from the Colorado River, and, on one occasion, paid nine bushels of corn for two girls and a bushel each for two boys. But it was upon the Cupeños led by chief Manuelito, that Warner relied to keep his stock and property safe. Yet he was frequently in conflict with those Cupeños whose land he occupied and which he sought to use in ways that infringed upon their lifestyle. Although occasionally driven into pueblo Los Angeles by Indian raiding, Warner nevertheless held onto the rancho into the 1850s when the cumulative effect of loss of trade and accumulating taxes caused him to move permanently into that pueblo.

With the American conquest made effective by 1848, the importance of the Old Spanish Trail plummeted. With American troops stationed in or near Cajon Pass, in part to help rancheros defend this entrance to California, illegal trade with New Mexico and raiding by Waccara stopped. Denied winter grass for his horses and more animals to augment his herds and feed his people, Waccara's power declined. Initial favorable relations with Mormons in Utah turned sour when the saints both stopped buying his Indian slaves, except to rescue them, and occupied the best lands for themselves at the expense of this Western Utes. A brief war with the Mormons in 1853-54 proved disastrous to Waccara's band and he sought peace. Within a year, though, he was dead, felled by the white man's tuberculosis.

Conclusion

What does the history of the Old Spanish Trail tell us about California history? To answer that question we must consider two things. First, what impact did the trail have on residents of Old California? And second, the counterfactual question, what would have happened if the trail had not existed? First things first. The trail affected two elements of Old California society, the Californio elite living in the coastal zone and the Indians of the interior. While I have mainly considered the residents of the great Central Valley it should also be clear that power arrangements shifted in other areas as well, as the cases of Juan Antonio and Manuelito suggest.

Prior to the opening of the Old Spanish Trail the economy of California, beyond the level of subsistence, was oriented around a hide and tallow trade, usually illegal, with foreign merchants. The great cattle operations of the California missions and ranchos were devoted to raising animals for their skin and body fat, the former for clothing and work items like buckets and pulley straps, the latter for candles. When the missions dominated this trade the items the priests sought were mainly to facilitate their work, such as iron tools, or luxury items for their diets, chocolate being the most sought after commodity. When rancheros could participate they wanted weapons and clothing. New Mexican trade changed the economic orientation of the province. While the old hide and tallow trade continued on the coast, something different transpired in the interior. Instead of dead animal products taken out on ships, the live version

capable of moving itself was preferred. Instead of seaborne foreign trade with its links to international markets there was landborne “foreign” commerce for a large and progressively diversified regional market. Demand, as economists tell us, is important. In California during the heyday of the Old Spanish Trail, demand was everything. Demand for trade goods, that is horses and mules, kept California Indians of the interior, assisted by mission runaways, from destroying the Franciscan enterprises. That same demand led California Indians to cooperate, actively or passively, with Waccara’s raids, thereby permitting rancheros to continue operations so long as they provided the surplus necessary to meet the thieves’ demands. Whether California Indians could have won the race war with the Californios is a matter of conjecture. Without more sophisticated technology, like the guns provided by New Mexican traders, California Indian warfare may not have been able to defeat the armed Californios despite the Indians’ overwhelming numerical superiority. But it is worth the speculation that the Old Spanish Trail prolonged the lives of Californios and served as a safety valve to vent Indian frustration so that the Gold Rush and its attendant riches for the rancheros could be recorded as their golden age. The trail also provided a safety valve for New Mexicans seeking to emigrate from their province’s political turmoil, as the stories of John Rowland and William Workman, among others, demonstrates. Raiding from the trail also provoked attempts to shore up non-Indian settlement along the Southern

California frontier. That such ventures failed should not be regarded as their never having happened. And such settlement became important in reckoning state boundaries after 1850.

And what of the counterfactual consideration? What if the trail had never existed? Well, that would be the history of California as it is generally taught today. Your organization lights a candle against the darkness of ignorance, which is really another way to say that you lobby against getting history wrong by helping to include an important but forgotten episode of the past. I thank you for that.

A Selective Essay On Sources

Joseph P. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850* (University of Utah Press, 1997) has become the definitive work for a new generation. Still valuable, however, is Leroy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail to Los Angeles: With extracts from contemporary records and including diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt* (Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954). These overviews are supplemented by additional works. Howard R. Lamar, editor, *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (Yale University Press, 1998) contains useful entries on the “Old Spanish Trail” and “Walkara” (now Waccara). The best recent study of the Western Utes and their charismatic leader is Stephen P. Van Hoak, “Waccara’s Utes: Native American Equestrian Adaptations in the

Eastern Great Basin 1776-1876,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 67 (Fall 1999), although Paul Bailey, *Walkara, Hawk of the Mountains* (Westernlore Press, 1954) continues to be useful. Indian-white relations pertinent to this inquiry are treated in a variety of sources. See, for example, “Miwok-Yokuts Raids Into Mexican Territory, 1830-1840,” in Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Hasse, *Historical Atlas of California* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1974); “American Westward Expansion and the Breakdown of Relations Between Pobladores and ‘Indios Bárbaros’ on Mexico’s Far Northern Frontier, 1821-1846,” in David Weber, *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest* (University of New Mexico Press, 1988); James A. Sandos, “Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769-1848,” in Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi, editors, *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush* (University of California Press, 1998); George William Beattie, “San Bernardino Valley Before the Americans Came,” *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 12 (June 1933); Colonel J. J. Warner, Judge Benjamin Hayes, and Dr. J. P. Widney, *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County California* (O. W. Smith, 1936, reprint 1876); Lorrin L. Morrison, *Warner: The Man and the Ranch* (Published by the author, 1962). On emigration, in addition to Sánchez’ *Explorers, Slavers, and Traders*, see the detailed examination by Donald Workman, a descendant, in *John Rowland and William Workman: Southern California Pioneers of 1841* (Arthur H. Clark and the Historical Society of Southern >

The Old Spanish Trail Through the Mojave Desert

by Clifford J. Walker

From Mexico City, the Spanish frontier looked like four fingers, spread wide to the north: Baja and Alta California as one prong, Sonora, New Mexico, Texas as the others. These provinces were separated from each other, joined to the Viceroy of Mexico. In the 1770s there were attempts to join these disconnected colonies. "Let an order be given for some 'jefe' of New Mexico" to open a route to Monterey, requested Father Junipero Serra about 1774. Despite the efforts

of Vistador Jose de Galvez, Viceroy Bucareli, Juan Bautista Anza, Father Francisco Garces and others, they failed to establish a permanent route connecting these parts. With the Quechan uprising in Yuma in 1781, a key point in joining Sonora and California, and the killing of Fathers Garces and Diaz, and with a bankrupt Spanish government, the Viceroy ended the efforts to unite the interior provinces of northern New Spain. The Mexican government inherited this disunited frontier in 1823.

Sandos: *continued from page 11*

California, 1999). On the important but difficult to document slave trade in Indian children see the important new study by Elizabeth von Till Warren, "Brutal Barter: Indian Slave Traffic in the Great Basin, 1710-1880, *Spanish Traces* 7 (Spring 2001). The interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail as a safety valve that I introduce here is at odds with the interpretation of George Harwood Phillips in *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993) who argues that Indian raiding led to the decline of the Californios rather than American conquest. Andrew Rolle, reviewing *Indians and Intruders*, thought that Phillips "strains the evidence by concluding that these incursions were the major cause of their [Californios] decline." See *Southern California Quarterly* 76 (Winter 1994). ■

In 1826 American trapper Jedediah Smith connected New Mexico with California through the Mojave River Trail at the 35th parallel, followed by other trappers.

In 1829 Antonio Armijo left Abiqui with 60 New Mexican citizens (traders) on November 8, 1829. They used a leapfrog way of scouting for water, sending out two or three sets of scouts, and when one set found water, the main body moved up to that waterhole. The route was long and arduous, entering southern and middle Utah, then southern Nevada (Las Vegas), coming into California by Shoshone and Tecopa, going through the southeast part of the present Fort Irwin, through Spanish Canyon and hitting the Mojave River at the present Camp Cady site or at Mitchell's Ranch by Minneola Road, at a place called Punta de Agua, later called Forks in the Road. They

went from waterhole to waterhole.

The packmule trail followed the Mojave River up through the Cajon Pass – 86 days from New Mexico to Los Angeles! Armijo sent part of his men back to Santa Fe and they made the trek in only 40 days. Armijo's other men took 56 days while driving horses and mules.

Armijo opened this circuitous road from New Mexico to California. Both Mexican territories profited. But then nefarious activities occurred: stealing Indian women and children to sell as slaves to ranchos and missions; raiding the Californios of horses and mules; and later the raiding of these Mexican caravans by Native Americans.

Indian Slave Trade

The clandestine slave trade was the least publicized of these three surreptitious endeavors. Buying and selling of slaves had been practiced in New Mexico in sundry forms since the end of the seventeenth century.¹ Even though Mexico made slavery illegal in 1829, the Mexicans practiced it in more subtle fashion: indentured servants, domestics and the like. A close examination of the numerous documents gives evidence that slave trading still persisted until after the United States gained control of the Southwest.

One of the first Americans to use this trail after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and a man who showed knowledge of this slave activity, was Orville C. Pratt, sent to California by Secretary of War Marcy and President Polk. He wrote that in southern Utah the "Pah

Eutahs” were afraid of the Mexicans because they often carried the Indians into captivity. Again at Las Vegas, he wrote about the number of “Pah Eutahs” in the vicinity who ran away like “wild deer.”²²

A newly discovered diary kept by W. B. Lorton on his trip to California in 1849 revealed the extent to which this selling of Indians took place. While Lorton was in Utah, before his trip across the Old Spanish Trail, he noted that he met the Ute Indian Chief, Wakara, the “hawk of the mountains” and famous horse stealer and terror of the “Spanard (sic) and Piede.”²³ Wakara definitely made two trips into California and perhaps made many more, as there were numerous reports of Ute raiding the outlying ranchos in the 1840s. The Piede Indians were in the depths of poverty, Lorton continued. They had increased too fast and they sold their children into bondage in the Spanish ranchos for a “plug of tobacco.”

From the quotation below by Lorton, it might be assumed that Wakara also bought Indians from California and had some dealings with Isaac Williams’ Ranch (Rancho Chino, which was once a part of the massive Mission San Gabriel holdings), but the veracity of the quotation is open to challenge:

Indian Waker deals largely in Piede children and horseflesh, he agreed with Wms to purchase a lot of children and (when) the time came to receive them Wms had left, but, bound his successors to fill the contract, but this he refused to do, so he (Wakara) assembled his men and proceeded to the place, now says

he, I want the number of children or your scalp. They were given.⁴

As recompense for the “dishonesty” of the rancheros, Wakara stole one thousand head of horses.

Further south in Utah, Lorton noted in his diary that Indians came into camp with an infant captive one Indian wanted to sell for a mule. The Americans talked the Indians into cleaning the child’s face, but declined the purchase.⁵

Besides Lorton, other Americans corroborated the evidence of slave trading. In 1849, Jim Beckwourth made a trip from Santa Fe to California, delivering dispatches; he commented on how the “Pi-u-ches...were hostile because of continual abduction of their squaws and children, whom the Mexicans employ as domestic slaves and treat with utmost cruelty.”²⁶ T. J. Farnham, in his 1849 book, *Life and Adventure in California with Travels in Oregon*, revealed several facets of this illicit trading. He quoted Dr. J. H. Lyman, who came to California in 1842 with the Workman-Rowland Party, as saying the “Paiuches” were fair game; for the New Mexicans had captured them for slaves for years and so did the neighboring Ute.

Sometimes American trappers dealt in slaves because of the declining prices of beaver pelts after 1840 and the profits from slave trading:

The price of these slaves in the markets of New Mexico varies with the age and other qualities of person. Those from ten to fifteen years old sell from \$50 to \$100, which is by no means an

extravagant price, if we take into consideration the herculean task of cleaning them fit for market.⁷

Warren Beck’s New Mexico history put the price at \$300 for a healthy Indian on the Santa Fe market.⁸ It is hard to visualize such a high price in California, since secularization in 1833 released thousands of mission Indians. Nevertheless, some slaves were brought into California by way of the Mojave River Trail section of the Old Spanish Trail. Along the section of trail from Las Vegas to the Mojave River there were scattered bands of Koso, Panamint, Chemehuevi, Vanyume and Serrano, all of whom were of Shoshonean linguistic stock, and often referred to as Paiute Indians. New Mexicans participated in slave trade, and perhaps some Americans succumbed to temptation and caught a few Indians, then sneaked the contraband into California. Dr. Lyman inferred as much when he cited how the Paiute “pine away and often die in grief for the loss of their natural deserts,” even when surrounded with the abundance of the settlements. One Indian brought into California, he noted, continually refused to eat, moaned much of the time, and finally died.⁹

As late as August 6, 1853, Guinn H. Heap, while accompanying the newly appointed California Indian Agent, E. F. Beale, to California over the Mojave River Trail, wrote that annual expeditions fitted out in New Mexico to trade with Pah-Utahs for children. Jose Galliego (sic), a New Mexican employee of Beale, told Heap of it with “gusto,” recounting numerous anecdotes. When Galliego saw a few Paiute, >

“Galliego...rode up to Mr. Beale, and eagerly proposed to him that we should ‘charge on it like hell, kill the mans, and may-be catch some of the little boys and gals.’”¹⁰

No story better illustrates the atrocities toward the Paiute by the New Mexicans than the eyewitness account of Michael White. White, an Englishman who became a Mexican citizen, known as Miguel Blanco, left Los Angeles in 1839 with a New Mexican caravan under the leadership of Tomas Salazar. White traveled for adventure and profit, planning to sell a few California horses and mules in New Mexico. Ten-peso mules in Los Angeles brought fifty pesos in New Mexico.

The anticipated profits soon turned to revulsion. The caravan rested on a lake called San Jose (later called “Beggars” by White), probably in southern Utah. White told his partner to look after the horses while he rode around the country. When he heard shots, White rushed over the hill to find the New Mexicans had surrounded a rancheria of Paiute. White saw one Indian boy with his arm nearly shot off, hanging by skin. White wrote:

I began to scold the New Mexicans and called them a pack of damned brutes and cowards. An old Indian with a bow and arrow stood armed, the New Mexicans in the process of reloading asked [White] to ask the old man to put down his bow and they would let him go. The Indian handed them to me and I shall never forgive myself for having taken the word of those villains, for villains they were, of

the blackest kind. As soon as they saw the Indian without arms they came near and riddled him with bullets.¹¹

White left the New Mexicans and headed toward Taos. Several days later he camped with some Paiute when the New Mexicans struck again. This time all but two escaped. They tied up the two captives. White agonized over the next few minutes:

When they were about to shoot the two Indians, I was so indignant that I raised my gun, aimed at one of the gang, and pulled the trigger, and it wouldn’t fall...10 or 12 guns were pointed at me, but they didn’t fire, as my gun had not gone off – they said this was what saved me. “Que! no es pecado mater esos indios gentiles.” (Oh, well. It’s no sin to kill those pagan Indians.)¹²

White’s partner begged him to be quiet and White feared for his life until he reached Taos.

White returned to California in 1840 with a party of New Mexican immigrants and American trappers and traders, John Rowland, William Workman and Ben Wilson to name three. The Mexican Governor granted Miguel Blanco three leagues (3 x 3 miles) of land at the opening of the Cajon Pass, Rancho Muscupiabe. He was to keep the Indian raiders out of the valley, but ironically he lost his own stock to the raiding Ute and New Mexicans.

Although he only stayed at Muscupiabe for less than six months, the United States Land Office granted “Miguel White” a very expanded land grant – almost

all the land in San Bernardino north of what is now Highland Street to several miles into the Cajon Pass.¹³

The Mexican records of Los Angeles further substantiated the slave trading activity. The *Minute Book of the Illustrious Ayuntamiento Census of 1844* for Los Angeles and the surrounding ranchos listed nine “Payuche” Indians, ranging from ages nine to thirteen, and one three-year-old “Payuche,” whereas in the 1836 census there was not one “Payuche” listed.¹⁴

The Los Angeles Plaza Church death records up to 1850, contain scattered reference to Paiute, Ute or Indians from New Mexico:

- 1831 Maria Yuta, Indian child
- 1843 Dolores Palluche, of the Colorado River, married as a gentile, baptized a few days ago
- 1845 Santiago, Indian child of Maria de la Luz, Indian from New Mexico
- 1846 Maria Concepcion, Indian, adult “de nacion Palluche” and Hija politica” (adopted daughter) of Don Ignacio Coronel
- 1848 Maria de Jesus, Palluche, adult¹⁵

The church recorded only one Paiute marriage up to 1850, and that was Juan Andres Rodriguez, from New Mexico, who married Maria del Rosario, “Palluche” from La Puente Rancho.

Underneath all these overt records, one can assume much unrecorded covert slave activity. Even after 1854, when the records indicated no Indian slaves being brought over the Old Spanish Trail, the growing

demands for labor in southern California sought new supplies of workers, California a “Free” state notwithstanding.

Horse and Mule Stealing

More detrimental to California than the slave trade, however, was the horse- and mule- stealing enterprises. Mexico was unable to control this activity because of the increased boldness of the Indians, runaway and gentile, who added the horse to their social and economic lives. At the Mohave villages as early as 1826, Jedediah Smith purchased some horses that had been stolen from the Mexican settlements.¹⁸ The opening of the Mojave River Trail, by the trappers in 1826, and New Mexicans in 1830, created an outlet for the contraband. The Indians stole the horses and mules from the coastal missions and ranchos, assembled them in the San Joaquin Valley, and traded them to the New Mexicans. From the interior valley the New Mexicans drove the animals to the Mojave River Trail via the Tejon, Tehachapi, or Walker passes. Others were taken from the southern settlements and driven over the Cajon Pass. Often the New Mexicans did their own stealing, avoiding the middleman.

Besides the incentive for profit, justification for these surreptitious operations might have lain in the fact that the Mexicans themselves slaughtered thousands of wild horses during the 1820s. Jose Del Carmen Lugo remembered when the ranchers rounded up thousands of wild and tame horses in three corrals near Los Angeles. The horses not claimed were killed by lancers

stationed at corral exits. The hides were cured but the rest of the animals were left to rot.¹⁹ Even as late as 1837 the Los Angeles Ayuntamiento granted permission to the rancheros south of Los Angeles to build a corral at Serra de San Pedro to kill wild horses.²⁰ H. H. Bancroft stated that in 1828, San Gabriel had 2,400 horses, not counting the wild ones, but the number declined from 2,225 in 1831 to only 220 in 1834. Since secularization occurred in 1833, one might guess that the rancho horses increased as the Californians occupied the mission lands and obtained the animals.²¹ Farnham hyperbolically stated fifteen thousand of these animals were killed in one year on one rancho just to preserve grass for cattle.²²

During the winter of 1832-33, the third anniversary of the opening of the Santa Fe-Los Angeles route, California officials and citizens clamored about the theft of California stock. A series of raids thrust deep into California taking horses and mules from as far north as San Luis Obispo down to Los Angeles. In the January 8, 1833, Session of the Los Angeles Ayuntamiento, the Alcalde, president of the meeting, made known the gravity of the damage occasioned by the method of traffic carried on by those of New Mexico in clandestinely taking or purchasing from illegitimate owners, such as mules, mares and horses...²³ After deliberation the Ayuntamiento passed a series of regulations authorizing purchase of animals only when the “judges of the Plains,” or the Alcalde, had been notified.

Obviously regulations for legitimate merchants were unnecessary and for the clandestine entrepreneurs were ineffective. According to Alcalde Jose Antonio Carrillo, some New Mexicans were seen on the road to Santa Fe with a large band of animals that had not been inspected. Carrillo sent Antonio Ignacio Avila in pursuit. Avila, who had lost some horses from his ranch, hired four men and caught the New Mexicans with over one hundred mules and horses, approximately 150 miles from Los Angeles at the crossing of the Rio de las Animas (Mojave River).²⁴ He ordered the New Mexicans to stay in camp while he took the leader, Juan Jesus Villapando, to jail. Soon after, Villapando went the way of many southern California prisoners – he escaped. Avila, meantime, went back to the Mojave but the New Mexicans had fled. He followed them and near the Amargosa River he found other New Mexicans with San Luis Obispo horses. After a brief encounter, he took the ladrones (thieves) back to Los Angeles. He never did recover his own property.²⁵

San Gabriel Mission likewise never retrieved fifty-two mules, three bands of mares, and three burros.²⁶ The missionary complained about the malefactors bribing the Indians to steal the animals. Later Pedro Feliz, owner of the San Jose Rancho, lost the “greatest number of gentle horses.” He received permission from the Los Angeles Ayuntamiento to chase them as far as the Newhall area but the records show no success in recovering his animals.²⁷

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All during February 1833, letters of complaints poured into Governor Figueroa's office. Carrillo, for example, penned four letters to him on February 18, 1833. Figueroa took Carrillo's suggestion and wrote a strong note to the Governor of New Mexico, requesting that the New Mexican Governor issue new passports showing evidence of the traders' good will. Figueroa stated that each person who came from New Mexico was an adventurer and a thief. The California Governor, himself, wrote at least five other letters on February 26, 1833. In one he ordered Alf  rez Damaso Antonio Rodriques, of the Santa Barbara Presidio, to proceed with fifteen cavalymen and hasten to Los Angeles where Regidor (Councilman) Jos   Sepulveda organized a citizen posse of Los Angeles. Figueroa had set down meticulous and explicit instructions for handling the investigations, the treating of the Indian middleman, and the disposition of the thieves' personal as well as stolen property.²⁸

On the Mojave Desert, Rodriquez captured three traders rushing back to New Mexico with four hundred stolen animals. Rodriquez returned the contraband to Los Angeles and imprisoned the thieves. As usual the ladrones escaped.²⁹

The mule-stealing activities the next year either diminished or the thieves gathered enough animals from the interior Indians so that raids on the ranchos were not needed. There were still a few complaints – traders getting the Indians drunk at San Fernando Mission, for example³⁰, but the vigilance of the Californians

probably curtailed much of the stealing for the next few years.³¹

Others besides the New Mexicans stole horses. Early in 1837 a French Canadian named Charlefoix and a group of thirty American and Canadian trappers and traders officially reported in at San Gabriel, but a larger group of sixty threatened San Fernando the same month.³² Whether these two groups were connected is a matter of historical conjecture; nevertheless, that year Santa Inez was robbed of three to four hundred tame horses. Some thieves took mules from Mission San Luis Obispo as well as from the surrounding ranchos. That year the ladrones gathered fifteen hundred stolen animals in the Tulare Valley (San Joaquin) before being driven over the Mojave River Trail to Santa Fe.³³

Traffic on the Mojave Trail often depended on affairs hundreds of miles away. It has already been noted how the natural propensity of the trappers was to seek new fur fields. The wealth derived from trapping could net a trapper \$600 to \$800 a year by 1829. But each year in the 1830s profits dropped. By 1838, the great days were over. The trapping had diminished to such a level that only twenty-five wagons were needed to supply the rendezvous and only two thousand beaver pelts were brought in. One incident at the 1838 rendezvous foreshadowed what was to come: some of the trappers stole horses and traps and ran off.³⁴

The year 1840 practically sounded the death knell to the fur industry. It was the year of the last trapper

rendezvous.³⁵ Thomas J. Farnham described the trappers' plight "in the desperate year of 1839-40, when their livelihood had been reduced to famine proportion...."³⁶ A few of the mountain men persisted in the trapping, but most of them turned to other enterprises. Some went back East, some went to California and Oregon. Ewing Young farmed in Oregon. George Yount did the same in Napa, California. Some became Indian traders, others guided immigrants or soldiers. Finally some entered the illicit and lucrative horse thieving business.

Robert Newell revealed in his rambling but effective diary entry of January 1840, written on the Green River, the prospects ahead for California:

(at) Brown hole-heded by phillip Thompson and michel (some trappers went) to fort hall and Stole 14 horses and on their return stole 30 from the Snakes and horse thieves about 10 or 15 are gone to California for the purpose of Robbing and Steeling shuch thing never has been known till late.³⁷

Later he added:

This 3d of April fine whether plenty of indians all over the country no goods times hard &c &c the horse thieves or banditti consist of Phillip Thompson. Mo. William New. Eleven Michel. Ohio. Richard owens. Oh. Kelly belcour Exevia Malona. St. Louis, Mo.³⁸

Almost simultaneous raids soon hit the Californians from San Luis Obispo to San Juan Capistrano.³⁹

The boldness and the thoroughness of these raids leads one to imagine the detailed planning that occurred somewhere in the interior of California. The raiders even entered the mission corrals in San Luis Obispo. Juan Crispin Perez of San Gabriel wrote on May 14, 1840, that the Chaguanos, or thieves, of many nationalities, took three herds of mares.⁴⁰ Reports of raids from San Bernardino and other areas spurred hastily formed groups to cut off the thieves at the Cajon Pass or the Mojave River. Don Ignacio Palomares headed out with one group, Indians and vaqueros from San Gabriel Mission and ranchos of the area. On May 16, Felipe Lugo ordered those who had any legal authority and the rancho owners to organize another group to pursue the horse thieves. Those refusing the call to arms were to be fined twenty pesos. The Prefect, Tiburcio Tapiá, was forming a third group when, on May 18, he received word that Ignacio Palomares had been defeated on the Mojave River. Tapiá ordered prisoners to be released from jail and placed under the leader, Jose Antonio Carrillo, to pursue the thieves.⁴¹

Palomares, in the meantime, staggered back into San Bernardino with only eight men out of his party of twenty-three. In his letter to the Justice of the Peace, he wrote that he lost two men killed, one “de razon” and one Indian. He complained that his men did not know how to use their weapons and his men deserted on the Mojave River. Two of Palomares’ stragglers said they “fought the thieves at la Majonera, and they took away the horses. The

party remains on this side of the river, because the horses are tired.”

Carrillo gathered eighty men and pursued the thieves. His scouting party picked up the trail at “ojo de agua de la mesa” (Bitter Springs?). Here Carrillo left his supplies and hastened after the thieves who had left a trail of dead horses. On May 25, they caught up with the rear guard of twenty American riflemen at Agua de Ramon (100 leagues from Los Angeles). The thieves, in their haste, abandoned their camp supplies and Carrillo found in one of the vest pockets a list of names of the robbers and a “private account.” Evidently this document is no longer extant. In Juan B. Leandri’s report to the Prefect on May 30, 1840, he assured the Prefect that since 1,500 horses had died, “the thieves gained little or nothing from their robbery.”

The telling and retelling of this 1840 fight on the Mojave River Trail has many interesting variations. The next year Philip Thompson, who was driving horses toward the Missouri River, met Rufus B. Sage and Thompson told Sage that the horses were from a raid the previous year in California. They had started with two to three thousand, according to Thompson, but thirty Mexicans pursued them, and heat claimed half of the animals.⁴²

Eight years later an old trapper related the story to Lieutenant George Douglas Brewerton, who was accompanying Kit Carson with dispatches from California; the trapper explained the numerous skeletons of horses north of the Mojave River on the Old Spanish

Trail:

Many years ago, Billy Williams between catching beaver and killing Indians rounded up a band of mt. men, went into California and stole 1500 head of horses and mules. Nearly two hundred Mexicans followed closely.⁴³ And the heat and drought of the desert already had claimed one thousand head. When the exhausted Americans arrived at a water hole just fifteen miles ahead of his pursuers, Williams determined to stay at the water hole and recuperate and let the Californians come and take the animals if they dared. They waited three days and proposed a night attack on the pursuers, which netted the Californians’ horses and mules. The rejoicing trappers continued their exodus.

The old trapper further noted that Indians later attacked Williams, and Williams’ group went to Santa Fe on foot. Brewerton himself somewhat doubted the veracity of the story as he commented: “... but beyond the dry bones upon (the) ground, I can bear no witness to its truth.”⁴⁴

Indian Raids (saved for another issue)

Benefits of the Opening of the Old Spanish Trail

Although this historic road had liabilities to the Mexican government and disastrous effects on the Native American populations, especially of southern Nevada and eastern California, the Old Spanish Trail had numerous benefits to both the Californios and the New Mexicans. California finally >

became connected with Sonora and New Mexico. Not only that, since Mexican independence, Americans had been trading with Missouri, thus making California attached trade-wise with the United States. Also, Mexico City had the benefit of the durable and coveted California mules. Probably the Missouri mules profited by some stock that created the California mules. A limited amount of Oriental trade goods traveled into New Mexico. New Mexico sold its woolen goods and religious items.

Americans began using the route on a regular basis and the trappers continued their exploitation of the west by traveling over the newly opened routes. Americans and New Mexicans immigrated to California, changing the culture of the Mexican territory.

Such a valuable and historic route must be saved as much as possible. Known extant parts of the trail must be preserved; others need to be found and preserved. Cooperation is a must. A delicate balance must be reached to allow access for appreciation and study with protection from perverse vandals and cultural abusers. All agencies, including BLM, National Park Service, Congress, state agencies, local museums and historical societies must work together with private property owners to save these valuable "artifacts in place," a cultural heritage that belongs to all of us.

END NOTES

This paper is partly based on notes from Cliff Walker's book *Back Door*

to California: The Story of the Mojave River Trail (1986, out of print, will be republished early 2002).

1. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *The Old Santa Fe Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles With Extracts from Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt*, of the Far West and the Rockies Historical Series 1820-1875, (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1954), I, 53; and Warren A. Beck, *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 183.

2. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 52. This scholarly book contains the journal of Orville C. Pratt, from which excerpts are through the courtesy of Yale University Library.

3. William B. Lorton, *The Diaries of William B. Lorton: September 1848-January 1850*, MSS C-F 190, Bancroft Library, Berkely, California, 184. "Piede" is a mixture of Indian and Spaniard, according to Lorton's definition, but others used "Piede" as Paiute. Wakara was called by many names: Wak, Walker, Waker.

4. Lorton, *Diaries*, 184, 193. Lorton repeatedly referred to Wms as Williams' Rancho Chino in southern California. Isaac Williams received part of his rancho in December 1841, from his father-in-law, Antonio Maria Lugo. See also Lindley Bynum, ed., *The Record Book of the Rancho Santa Ana Del Chino*, Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern

California (1934).

5. Lorton, *Diaries*, 108.

6. T. D. Bonner, ed., *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), 348-9.

7. T. J. Farnham, *Life and Adventures in California with Travels in Oregon* (Pictorial Edition; New York: No publisher listed in rebound copy at University of Southern California Library), 377.

8. Beck, *History of New Mexico*, 183.

9. Beck, *History of New Mexico*, 378.

10. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Central Route to the Pacific by Guinn Harris Heap with related Material on Railroad Explorations and Indian Affairs*, by Edward F. Beale, Thomas H. Benton, Kit Carson and Col. I. A. Hitchcock, and in *Other Documents*, 1853-54 (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957), 235. This volume contains a reprint of Heap's journal which was first printed in 1854.

11. Michael Claringbud White, *California All The Way Back To 1828* (G. Dawson: Los Angeles, 1956), 44. Michael White states he returned to California with the Workman-Rowland party and reached the Cajon Pass on Christmas Day.

12. White, *California to 1828*, 45-6.

13. Map: *U.S. Surveyor General's*

Office Plat of the Rancho Muscupiabe, Migual White: U.S. Surveyor General by Henry Hancock-Nov. 1867, approved June 21, 1872, Commissioner of the General land Office.

14. *Minute Book of the Illustrious Ayuntamiento Census of 1836 and 1844*, III, MSS. Official Translation in the Los Angeles City Clerk's Office.

15. Los Angeles Plaza Church Death Records, translated through the courtesy of William Mason, Los Angeles County Museum.

16. Vincente P. Gomez, "Venta de ninos (sp?)indios en los Angeles," in *Lo Que Save Sobre Cosas de California*, Microfilm, California Archives C-D, 85-6, Los Angeles County Museum, original in Bancroft Library.

17. Gomez, *Venta de mimos [sp?] indios en los Angeles*, 86. Vicente Gomez was secretary for Governor Micheltorena; later he was a clerk for Bancroft, and upon writing his memoirs in 1876, he seemed to be quite acute.

18. Harrison C. Dale, ed., *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1918), 190.

19. Don Jose Del Carmen Lugo, "Vida de un Rancho," dictated to Thomas Savage, 1877, trans. Helen Pruitt Beattie, *Quarterly of San Bernardino County Museum Association* (Winter, 1961), 36.

20. *Minute Book of the Illustrious Ayuntamiento*, II, session of February 11, 1837, MSS, Official Translation in the Los Angeles City Clerk's Office.

21. H.H. Bancroft, *The History of California* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1884), III, 622 n. 16, 643 n. 9.

22. Farnham, *Adventures in California*, 346. Farnham estimated that California ranges held one million black cattle, five hundred thousand horses and three thousand mules.

23. *Los Angeles Ayuntamiento*, II. Session of Jan. 8, 1833.

24. Juan Avila, "Notas Californianas" 1878, C-D MSS on Microfilm at Los Angeles County Museum, original in the Bancroft Library, 9. Antonio Carillo, Los Angeles, to the Governor, Feb. 18, 1873, California Archives MSS C-A 19, Bancroft Library, 420-21.

25. "Avila, Los Angeles, to Fray Luis Taboado, Feb. 18, 1833," California Archives MS C-A 19, Bancroft Library, 426.

26. "Fray Vicente Pasqual Oliva, San Gabriel to Governor Figueroa, Feb. 17, 1833."

27. *Los Angeles Ayuntamiento*, II. Session of February 27, 1833, 29.

28. "Figueroa, Monterey to Commandante de Santa Barbara, Feb. 26, 1833," California Archives, MSS C-A 19, 416, 418-19, 425, 429-435; *Los Angeles Ayuntamiento*, II,

Sessions of March 7, but was absent from March 13 to May 24.

29. Hafen, *The Old Spanish Trail*, 231-2.

30. Eleanor Lawrence, "Horse Thieves on the Spanish Trail," *Touring Topics*, January 1931, 30.

31. *Los Angeles Ayuntamiento*, Session of September 22, 1836. When suspects left the Los Angeles area, circulars were sent out and the "Police Commissioners" were to watch for these outlaws at the avenues of escape.

32. Hafen, *The Old Spanish Trail*, 235. Perhaps Peter Lebec, who was killed by a bear in 1837 at the future site of Fort Tejon, was a member of one of these groups.

33. Lawrence, "Horse Thieves," 31; and Hafen, *The Old Spanish Trail*, 235.

34. Dorothy O. Johansen, ed., *Robert Newell's Memoranda: Travels in the Territory of Missouri: Travel to Kayuse War...* (Portland: Champoege Press, Inc., 1959), 18-9.

35. Hafen, *The Old Spanish Trail*, 236; Aubrey L. Harnes, ed., "Osborne Russell's Journal of a trapper," *Oregon Historical Society*, 1955, vii. Here the editor stated that Russell did not attend the last rendezvous in 1838 on the Wind River.

36. Farnham, *Adventures in California*, 355 ff.

37. Johansen, *Newell's Memoranda*, 21.

38. Johansen, *Newell's Memoranda*, 39.

39. Hafen, *The Old Spanish Trail*, 236 ff.

40. "Juan Crispin Perez, San Gabriel, to 1st Alcalde, May 14, 1840," Archives of California, Department of State Papers, Los Angeles MSS Bancroft. Translation by William Mason.

41. Lugo's, Tapiá's, Palomares', Carrillo's and Leandri's letters are in Archives of California, Department of State Papers, MSS Bancroft Library.

42. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Rufus B. Sage-His Letters and Papers 1836-1847 With Annotated Reprints of His Scenes in the Rocky Mountains and in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas and the Grand Prairies* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1956) IV, 148.

43. George Douglas Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson, a Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1930), 70-1.

44. Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson*, 69-71, 96. Brewerton mentioned three trappers on this trip: Lewis, Thomas and Archambeau. ■

The Rowland Workman Expedition of 1841 and the Peopling of Alta California

by Paul R. Spitzzeri

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The role of the Old Spanish Trail in the peopling of Alta California is best epitomized by the use of the trail by the Rowland and Workman Expedition of 1841.¹ This group, consisting probably of about fifty-five members, made the two-month journey from New Mexico to southern California in the fall.² Contemporaneously, another group of travelers, the Bidwell-Bartleson Party, was on its way from Missouri to northern California. While the Bidwell-Bartleson Party receives much more attention because it was the prototype of the pioneer emigrant wagon train across the plains from the United States to Mexican territory, the Rowland and Workman Expedition has generally been relegated to a footnote in California and Western history.³ Some of this, undoubtedly, has to do with the fact that the Expedition was merely traveling from one part of Mexico to another. Another factor may be that the incredible thrust of emigration in the 1840s and during the Gold Rush was focused on the north. Emigration to southern California was but a trickle in comparison. Yet, there are some compelling reasons to elevate the importance of the Rowland and Workman Expedition in California history.

First, this was a diverse group and it can be argued that it fits well into that aspect of California's history. Unlike the Bidwell-Bartleson Party,

there was both significant human and purposeful diversity in the Rowland and Workman expedition. On the human diversity side, while many of the travelers were American, there were also a couple of Englishmen, a German Jew, and a large contingent of New Mexicans, many of whom we can assume were *genizaros*; that is, to use David Weber's term, "detribalized Indians."⁴ There were also a fairly significant number of women and children. In terms of purpose, this was not a group with a unified plan once they arrived in California—in other words, this was not strictly an emigrant party. Many of the members made the trip as a springboard for travel to other places, be they Mexico, China, the Hawaiian Islands, the New England states or even back to New Mexico. One member was a naturalist studying the flora and fauna of the West on a long transcontinental field trip. Another was a minister hoping to spread the Christian gospel in the Pacific. A third hoped to try his fortune in business in far-flung China.

Finally, there was a far-reaching and important diversity in settlement patterns—hence the relation to the idea of the peopling of Alta California. Unlike those members of the Bidwell-Bartleson Party who stayed to live in California and remained solely in the north, members of the Rowland and



Workman Expedition spread throughout the Mexican department, north and south. Some were early American and European settlers in northern California cities and counties, such as Stockton and Yolo County, and places like Vacaville, Knight's Landing and Knight's Ferry carry their names. Some of those who remained in southern California established new communities, such as the New Mexican settlements of San Salvador/La Placita in Riverside County, or left their legacy in place names like Rowland Heights, Workman Mill, and Mount Wilson. In a few cases, local, regional and state historic sites commemorate their settlement. Finally, the lives and careers of many of the members indicate the significance of the Rowland and Workman Expedition in nineteenth-century California's political, economic, and social worlds.

The explicit motivation for the formation of the expedition to California was eminently political. In 1840, the President of the Republic of Texas, Mirabeau Lamar, led a plan to annex New Mexico and began with an April proclamation to New Mexicans, which indicated its purpose "to tender to you a full participation in all our blessings." In advance of a group of commissioners sent from Austin, Lamar named three men, whom he called "some of your own citizens," as an intermediate commission to "confer with you upon the subject matter of this communication." These men were William G. Dryden and William Workman and John Rowland.⁵ Rowland, born in Maryland of English parentage,

lived in Pennsylvania Ohio before emigrating to New Mexico, where he arrived about 1823. Workman, who hailed from northwestern England, came to America with a brother in 1822 and lived in Franklin, Missouri the original terminus of the Santa Fe Trail. In 1825, he relocated in New Mexico.⁶ It seems probable that Dryden recommended Workman and Rowland to Lamar, but Dryden's unrealistic assessment of support in New Mexico included the fantastic statement that "every American and more than two-thirds of the Mexicans, and all the Pueblo Indians" were in support of Lamar's plans and that even Governor Armijo "says he would be glad to see the day of your arrival in this country, as he feels well assured that no aid will be sent from below, *as they have no means and he himself will offer no resistance.*"⁷ A few other sources hint at some possible involvement in the affair by Rowland and Workman. In one of these, Workman whipped and beat Juan B. Vigil in February 1841 for accusing him of conspiring with the Texans. Another quoted a Mexican official as suggesting Workman's involvement in a plot to assassinate New Mexico Governor Manuel Armijo, though this source is not corroborated.⁸ There is also a letter to Rowland from a Missouri trader in the summer of 1840 indicating that, if the Texan annexation were successful "*from the Station you will occupy* you will no doubt have it in your power to render help" to friends of the trader.⁹ Finally, there was fellow expedition member Benjamin D. Wilson, who recounted in 1877, that Rowland and Workman

had been in correspondence with prominent parties in Texas, [and] learned that a party or expedition was being fitted out to come and take New Mexico as a part of Texas. They were convinced that the plan might succeed, but, in the meantime, prominent foreigners in New Mexico would probably be sacrificed to the fury of the Mexicans. . . . It was even whispered that we were in correspondence with the Texans.¹⁰

Wilson explained that an incident involving Governor Armijo and a St. Louis-born Creole named Albert Tibeau, who was part of the expedition, led to an inflamed confrontation that "came very near being the destruction of all of us." Therefore, "under the circumstances, Rowland, Workman and myself, together with about twenty other Americans, including William Gordon, and William Knight, concluded it was not safe for us to remain longer in New Mexico."¹¹

President Lamar became ill during 1840 and any plans for an expedition from Austin were shelved until the following year, and Rowland and Workman were replaced on Lamar's commission by two other men. Their plans to leave New Mexico were manifested as early as the spring of 1841. A competitor of theirs in the distilling business, Simeon Turley, wrote to a brother that "Roland and Workman is Selling whiskey at half price to Sell out to gowe to Califerne and until they Sell out I shall have to Lay Silent and Sell noe."

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In the midst of the political flux came five new arrivals to New Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail, whose decision to join the expedition was based on different impulses. One of these was eighteen-year-old William Gambel of Philadelphia, who was a student of famed naturalist James Nuttall. Young Gambel was on the aforementioned transcontinental field trip, studying the flora and fauna of the West. The others were Isaac Given, Albert Toomes, Wade Hampton, and John McClure, who intended to join the Bidwell-Bartleson Party in Missouri during the spring, but arrived too late. Hastening to New Mexico, the four found the Rowland and Workman Expedition preparing to leave, though Given preferred to pad his posterity by indicating that, once they arrived in Santa Fe, he and his compatriots organized the expedition. In a late 1870s account Given provided a list of persons that constituted those who were “among the new recruits to *our party* [italics added] obtained at Santa Fe.”

Interestingly, Toomes, in an 1868 reminiscence, saw the matter very differently. In his mind, there was one very large emigrant group to California: a northern contingent, the Bidwell-Bartleson, although Toomes gave his later business partner, Robert Thomes, leadership credit in that group, and a southern group “headed by William Workman.”

In the early part of September, the Rowland and Workman Expedition left Santa Fe, supplied, recalled Given, “with an abundance of provisions, consisting of groceries,

flour, hard-tack, dried beef, and buffalo meat, prepared after the manner of the trappers.” After a short while, the expedition stopped at Abiquiu, where 150 head of sheep were purchased for fresh meat. More importantly, both Given and Wilson mentioned that a large group of New Mexicans, according to Given “some twenty-five in number about half of whom were women and children,” asked and were permitted to join the expedition. While Given described these new members as “living in a very primitive fashion, foot loose and free, unincumbent [sic] with worldly goods” and “but scantily supplied with provisions . . . [and] obliged to live off our bounty,” he also recognized the necessary value of the New Mexicans as packers and specifically mentioned one native who “had previously made the trip to California; we employed him as our pilot, and he proved an intelligent [sic] guide, able to inform us, each evening, of an eligible camping ground.”

Unfortunately, details of the two-month journey some 1,200 miles to Los Angeles are frustratingly few among the accounts left behind by some expedition members. Wilson was exasperatingly brief: “we met with no accidents on the journey, drove sheep with us, which served us as food, and arrived in Los Angeles early in November.” He did, however, leave a rather humorous anecdote of a fishing trip he and Dr. John H. Lyman made on the Sevier River in central Utah:

it was in the evening, the Doctor being with his hook and line in the water, the fish biting very

well. He spoke to me that a very large fish had bit at his hook and got off. Just as he was talking a ball from an Indian gun struck the ground near him; he remarked very coolly, ‘That fellow can’t hit me, so therefore I will stay and get this fish before I leave,’ and he did so.

Other accounts were hardly more detailed than Wilson’s. Given merely explained with some ignorance that “in order to avoid meeting the roving bands of hostile Indians, infesting the more direct line of travel, the route selected by our guide, was a somewhat circuitous one. Entering through the Tejon [he meant Cajon] Pass, we reached the settlements, not far South of Los Angeles, in November.” Albert Toomes only commented that “we were all armed with rifles and mounted on horseback, and had literally to smell our way every day of that long, hard journey . . . but we arrived all safe and hearty.” He did add an interesting and relevant postscript, given that his account was in 1868: “But I never want to cross those hard deserts and big mountains again except on the railroad.” Michael White, a Los Angeles-area resident from 1829 to 1839, went to New Mexico on a trading expedition and spent most of his two years there at the store of fellow Briton William Workman. In 1877, White only had this to say: “We met with no adventures on the road. Indians would occasionally come to our camp and beg for something to eat, which we gave them.” At seventy-five years old, White was showing signs of memory impairment, as he claimed that the

expedition consisted of “94 or 95, all foreigners” and that they traveled in 1840, not 1841. Then, there was William Gambel, who wrote to his mother in January 1842 that

Though it was a long and dangerous journey, I have got through without sickness and accident. [There was] travelling over rocky mountains, barren deserts, worse than those of Arabia, sometimes having to do without water 2 & 3 days at a time, and towards the last almost starving in want of provisions, suffering also innumerable other difficulties.

Finally, there is the fearless fisherman, Dr. Lyman, whose account, provided to writer Thomas J. Farnham, is actually much more detailed and lengthy than those of his fellows. Unfortunately, his version tended to be less about the human element of the trip and more about the geographical and geological features, filled with Lyman’s estimates of distances, heights of elevations, opinion as to the fertility of soil, the salinity of water, and his description of the harshness of much of the landscape. Lyman did make reference to a “place of encampment called las Vegas, where there are about one hundred acres of salt grass.”

Another interesting side note was Lyman’s disclosure to Farnham of some ruins stretching some one mile long by three-quarters of a mile wide, including streets thirty or forty feet wide, with blocks of buildings still evident. Lyman claimed to have seen burned clay fragments with images of birds, bears, and human heads on them. Moreover, the

doctor suggested he had seen the remains of an old silver mine. Taken with Lyman’s story, Farnham asked “Was not this the Cibola of the early explorers; the land visited by the Jesuits . . . and which the volcanic fires that even to this day groan under the whole western coast of America have seared into a homeless waste?”

Returning to less fanciful matters, Farnham related that the good doctor “suffered so many hardships and privations while traveling down the Colorado, that he, as well as his animals, barely lived to reach the green fields and pure waters of the Californian Mountains.”

The arrival dates of the Bidwell-Bartleson Party and the Rowland and Workman Expedition have led some to ponder that competitive question: which reached California first? The traditional dates of landfall are 4 November at John Marsh’s ranch near Mount Diablo for the Bidwell-Bartleson Party and, for Rowland and Workman, the 5th of November at the Mission San Gabriel, a few miles east of Los Angeles. Workman, an Englishman, in fact, commemorated this arrival by commissioning a glass plaque painted green and inscribed in gold lettering:

Puente

William Workman

Arrived Nov. 5th Guy-Fawkes day
1841

The problem for those who concern themselves with the “Which was first?” question is that there was no standard boundary in 1841 for the department of Alta California. Some

could argue that the furthest east point of Mexican territory north of New Mexico constituted California. Some Gold Rush-era travelers thought that as soon as they crossed the Missouri River out of Independence, Missouri they had entered California. Ultimately, the dispute is probably meaningless—both groups should be remembered together as simultaneously opening the doors to travel to California by land from the east.

With the disbanding of the Expedition at Los Angeles late in 1841, the members spread to what seems to be all directions. James Mead, the Episcopal bishop, spent some years spreading the gospel in Hawaii before returning to the eastern United States. Wade Hampton stayed in Los Angeles for about a year or so and then took ship toward Mazatlan, Mexico, and died mysteriously en-route. John McClure and Hiram Taylor joined the well-known expedition of Jacob P. Leese to Oregon in 1843 and settled there, though Taylor came back to California in 1850, made money in the gold fields and lived the remainder of his days in Cloverdale in the Russian River Valley of northern Sonoma County. William Gambel, the boy naturalist, did not immediately return home to Philadelphia. Low in funds, he took a job as clerk on the ship commanded by Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, best known in California history for his improvident seizure of Monterey on the misinformation that war between the United States and Mexico had been declared. After Jones retired, Gambel continued on in service to the >

ship under several commanders until 1845, when he returned home. He completed his medical degree in 1848, married, and was a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. Only six months a newlywed, gold fever hit and Gambel made a second overland journey to California, this time by the northern route. After reaching the Plumas River in the north, however, typhoid fever ravaged his traveling party and Gambel, only 26 years old, was claimed a victim.

Seven of the expedition members moved to northern California in the aftermath of their arrival. William Gordon went first to Sonoma and then, in July 1842, to the Rancho Quesesosi on Cache Creek northwest of Sacramento and was, therefore, the first settler of present Yolo County. This two-square mile grant is west of today's city of Woodland. Gordon remained for several years the only permanent settler in this area and his place was a rendezvous for settlers and hunters. Gordon grew the first wheat and his ranch housed the first school in the county. In 1866, Gordon sold his ranch and relocated to Cobb Valley in Lake County further northwest. Today, the Gordon family cemetery survives as the only reminder of his nearly 25-year occupancy in Yolo County. William Knight, called by Bancroft "a man of very rough ways, violent in temper, always ready to take offence, and to settle all differences by force," returned with John Rowland and other expedition members to New Mexico to retrieve his family and, on returning late in 1842, moved to a spot on the Sacramento River that he

called Knight's Landing, now in Yolo County not far from Gordon's Ranch. Knight received a grant to this area from Governor Pio Pico in 1846, but this was one of many such land transfers that were rejected by the American Land Claims Commission in the 1850s. Knight operated a ferry here and its location on a slough proved to be valuable for a landing and shipping point on the Sacramento. At an unknown date, Knight relocated southeast to an area near the southern gold mines along the Stanislaus River which became Knight's Ferry. This new ferry was located on the road from Stockton to Sonora and was heavily traveled. Knight did not live long enough, however, to reap any benefits because he was killed in a shooting affray in November 1849. Although his holdings passed on to two brothers who became brothers-in-law to Ulysses S. Grant, the name Knight's Ferry remained, as did that of Knight's Landing.

Albert G. Toomes made his way to Monterey, where he became a business partner of Bidwell-Bartleson Party alumnus Robert Thomes (now there's a business firm name for you, Toomes and Thomes.) These two carpenters contracted with the important New England trading firm Bryant and Sturgis to build hide storage warehouses and also built residences. In 1845, Toomes received a land grant to the El Rancho de los Molinos in Tehama County, built a home and stocked the ranch with cattle, though he did not move there permanently until 1849. Toomes, who made a small fortune in the gold fields, was active in Tehama County affairs and

lived on his ranch until his death in 1873. His life is relatively well documented, thanks to a biographical article published in the 1970s.

Not far from Toomes settled one of his expedition compatriots, William C. Moon, who seemed to follow Toomes from Los Angeles to Monterey and then to Tehama County. His home and ferry was on the west bank of the Sacramento River about 1845 and, like several of his expedition compatriots, he engaged in gold prospecting. He remained at his ranch at Tehama, was famed for his hunting expeditions, and died in 1878. Another of the expedition members, Fred Batchelor, had returned to the eastern states soon after the expedition disbanded, but returned years later to California and lived on Moon's ranch, where he died in 1876.

Thomas Lindsay's whereabouts for the first few years after his arrival in California seem to be unknown, but in 1844 he settled at a location that later came to be the city of Stockton and he might be accounted the first resident of that community, owning a tulle hut. He was, however, killed by Indians the following year.

Finally, there was Manuel Vaca and his family. Called by Bancroft, "a hospitable man of good repute," Vaca settled in Solano County and, in partnership with Juan Felipe Pena, said by Bancroft to have emigrated with his family from New Mexico in 1840, owned the Putah rancho. The Vaca and Pena families are the subjects of a new biography that

should very soon be in print.

As for the settlers in southern California, there was that important contingent of New Mexicans, led by Lorenzo Trujillo and including Ignacio Salazar, who settled near present-day Riverside and formed the Agua Mansa and associated communities — which I can, of course, bypass, since they are the subject of Dr. Harley's presentation later this afternoon.

Jacob Frankfort, though little is known about him, had the distinction of being the first Jewish resident of Los Angeles, where he lived until about 1850, after which he moved to San Francisco.

Daniel Sexton remained in Los Angeles for a brief period, moved to San Bernardino, and later settled near the Mission San Gabriel. He took part in some of the political events of the 1840s, carrying a message, for example, from Commodore Robert Stockton to John C. Frémont in the waning days of the American conquest in January 1847. In later years, Sexton tinkered with inventing, operated his San Gabriel farm, and lived into the 1880s.

Michael White, after a two-year absence, returned to his wife and children at the small ranch near San Gabriel. He, too, was involved in the local scene during the American conquest. In later years, he lived quietly, leaving his reminiscences with Bancroft and dying in the 1880s. His adobe home still stands on the grounds of a high school in San Marino.

Benjamin D. Wilson was the most well known of any of the expedition members during his lifetime. After a short period in Los Angeles, he obtained the Jurupa rancho in present Riverside County and was involved in many campaigns against Indians who raided the region from the desert. His political involvement in Los Angeles heightened after the American conquest — he was the first city clerk and an early mayor. He was also the regional federal Indian agent in the 1850s and served two terms in the state Senate. His local explorations led him to the naming of nearby Big Bear Lake and, in his honor, Mount Wilson above his ranch in the western San Gabriel Valley, which includes a well-known observatory. He was also one of the largest citrus ranchers of his day—with enormous orange groves and vineyards. Wilson's recollections for Bancroft in 1877, included his narrative of the expedition, and he died a few months later in early 1878.

Finally, there are the expedition's leaders John Rowland and William Workman, the latter of whom was the subject of a talk at last year's conference and whose homestead is now the museum at which I work. Rather than give any summation of their lives, I wanted to talk about a few points. First, Rowland, Knight, Doke, and Tibeau returned to New Mexico in April 1842, but Doke and Tibeau both drowned on the Green River while fording the swollen watercourse. Both Rowland and Knight retrieved their families and led a new group, including more New Mexicans and a few Americans and Europeans, back to California,

arriving in December 1842. The second is the role of expedition members in the conflict in early 1845 between California Governor Manuel Micheltorena and leader of the department's legislature, Pio Pico. The two, who clashed verbally throughout the governor's tenure, took the dispute to a face-to-face standoff at Cahuenga Pass near Los Angeles. Micheltorena marched down from Monterey and had a contingent of foreigners, that is, Americans and Europeans, commanded by John Sutter and including Thomas Lindsay and William Knight from the expedition. Pico, in turn, had his own foreign company, with William Workman as Captain and John Rowland as Lieutenant. Among Workman and Rowland's recruits were their 1841 companions Wilson, Sexton, and White, who told a humorous anecdote of how he was drafted through subterfuge by Workman. Basically, when summoned to Los Angeles, White was shown into Pico's headquarters. Immediately upon entering his hat was taken to an adjoining room and then shortly returned with a red ribbon wrapped around it. Then from the room emerged Workman, who asked him which party, or side, he belonged to in the dispute. White smartly answered, "to the party of myself," whereupon Workman pointed out that White was wearing the mark of one of Workman's soldiers, the red ribbon, on his hat. Claimed White "I did not want to have anything to do with the revolution, but Workman took me against my will." The result of the so-called Battle of Cahuenga, during which the casualties consisted of one

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horse killed and a combatant's hat shot off, was Micheltorena's surrender and deportation to Mexico and Pico's ascension as Governor. Those who supported Pico were amply rewarded, including Workman, who was granted San Clemente and Alcatraz islands, the Mission San Gabriel, and, with Rowland, an enlarged Rancho La Puente.

A third incident of note is the role of expedition members in the American invasion of 1846-47. The American forces captured Los Angeles in 1846 only to lose it to the Californios in revolt. When some American and European citizens gathered at a ranch house for defense, they were captured by a force of Californios. The prisoners, who included John Rowland, Benjamin Wilson and Michael White, were freed partly through the intervention of William Workman. Later, as a new American force approached Los Angeles to retake it, Workman met with Commodore Robert F. Stockton and arranged an amnesty for the Californios, who challenged Stockton's recapture a few days later. In that final battle of the war on California soil on 9 January 1847, Workman brought out the flag of truce. In the next few days, he assisted fleeing Californio soldiers and supplied fellow expedition member White with food. Later, when former Governor Pico, who had fled to Mexico in exile, returned to California, he stayed at Workman's house before proceeding to Los Angeles. This angered the American military commander in Los Angeles, who accused Workman of being hostile to Americans for not

immediately delivering Pico to the authorities.

In the American period, neither Rowland nor Workman had much involvement in public life, though both were very successful at cattle ranching and agriculture. Late in life, through the ambitions of his son-in-law, Workman did become involved as a business investor, including two banks. One of these, called Temple and Workman, suspended during a panic in 1875 and, after reopening with a loan from famed San Francisco capitalist Lucky Baldwin, failed in February 1876. Three months later, after a visit from a court receiver, Workman committed suicide. What began in 1841 as a long journey across the Old Spanish Trail to California with the opportunity to start life anew, ended with a desperation and bewilderment that not even the political turmoil of 1840-41 in New Mexico could match.

The Rowland and Workman Expedition of 1841 had a tremendous impact on the peopling of Alta California. In tandem with the Bidwell-Bartleson Party, this group's arrival in late 1841 heralded a new era of transformation in California, in which the Mexican territory's vulnerability to outside influence became further heightened. Within five years, the American invasion would take place. Members of the Rowland and Workman Expedition spread throughout California, many of them playing significant roles in the local areas and some of them taking part in events of importance, such as the Pico-Micheltorena conflict and the

American invasion. Even if they weren't involved in well-known events and activities, each of those who stayed in California represent to us how important the emigrants of 1841 were by their very movement throughout the department.

END NOTES

1. In the literature, the name of the group is usually denoted as the Workman-Rowland Party. The use here of the term "expedition" is an attempt at trying to capture the sense that this group was not operating with a unifying purpose, such as emigration, which the term "party" might imply, although the attempt may be more concerned with semantics than is necessary. The inversion of the names to Rowland and Workman is to signify that Rowland, by virtue of presenting Los Angeles civil authorities with both a letter of introduction by United States consul Manuel Alvarez of Santa Fe and a list of expedition members, was probably the main leader of the expedition.

2. Other sources indicate membership numbers ranging as high as 134 – see, for example, Eleanor Lawrence, "Mexican Trade Between Santa Fe and Los Angeles," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, X:1 (March 1931): 34. Lawrence, however, clearly overestimated, stating, as an example, that there were thirty Americans with families who missed the Bidwell-Bartleson Party and joined Rowland and Workman, when there were only four single men. The number here of fifty-five is determined by John Rowland's list of expedition members from 6 February 1842 to Los Angeles

prefect Manuel Dominguez gives twenty-five male names, including three with families and one with a servant. Twenty-two of the male names were American and European and two, William Workman and William Gordon brought families. Workman had a wife and two children, but Gordon's family size is not known, though he had at least two daughters. Expedition member Isaac Given stated in a recollection that there were twenty-five New Mexicans. Hence, it is estimated that there were twenty-eight persons in the American and European contingent (Workman and Gordon, however, had New Mexican wives and, therefore, mixed ethnic children) and twenty-five New Mexicans – a Provisional total of fifty-three. My article "To Seduce and Confuse: The Rowland-Workman Expedition of 1842," *Southern California Quarterly*, 80:1 (Spring 1998), 31, states, in the opening sentence, forty members and then in the next paragraph indicates "there were some thirty whites and up to as many as twenty-five New Mexicans."

3. Doyce B. Nunis, ed., *The Bidwell-Bartleson Party: 1841 California Emigrant Adventure* (Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press), 1991.

4. David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 213.

5. Lamar's proclamation is reprinted in Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., ed., *The Papers of Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar* (6 vols., Austin: Texas State Library, 1968), III: 370-71.

6. While it is not known if either man had visited California prior to

1841, Workman was a member of a fur trapping expedition led by the well-known father-and-son team of Sylvester and James Ohio Pattie in the fall of 1827. Following the Gila River west, the group split, with Workman leading one group, and both continued until the confluence of this watercourse with the Colorado at present Yuma. While the Patties and a few others eventually made it to Los Angeles, Workman and others returned to New Mexico. Jonathan T. (Juan Jose) Warner, "An Episode in the History of California," San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, July 2, 1865. For more on Rowland and Workman, see Donald E. Rowland, *John Rowland and William Workman: Southern California Pioneers of 1841* (Spokane and Los Angeles: The Arthur H. Clark Company and The Historical Society of Southern California,) 1999.

7. William G. Dryden to Mirabeau B. Lamar, March 10, 1841, quoted in David A. White, ed., *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803-1865* (9 vols., Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1996-2001), II: 150.

8. Charles Bent to Manuel Alvarez, February 19, 1841, from Weber, "William Workman" in LeRoy Hafen, ed., *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade in the Far West* (10 vols., Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965-72), VII: 387.

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10. John R. White to John Rowland, 11 August 1840, courtesy of the La Puente Valley Historical Society,

copy from the Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum.

11. Benjamin D. Wilson, "The Narrative of Benjamin D. Wilson," in Robert G. Cleland, *Pathfinders* (Los Angeles: Powell Publishing Company, 1929), 382.

12. Ibid.

13. Simeon Turley to J. B. Turley, April 18, 1841, in LeRoy and Ann Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 210.

14. William Gambel to Elizabeth Richardson Gambel, July 25, 1841, original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Archives, copy from the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

15. Isaac Given, "An Emigrant of '41," no date, MS, Box C-D, folder 246, p. 10, Bancroft Library.

16. Albert G. Toomes, "The Pioneer Overlanders," San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, July 27, 1868, p. 2 and Los Angeles *Republican*, November 28, 1868, p. 3. According to a biographer, Toomes had been on a disastrous fur trapping expedition from New Mexico to Los Angeles in 1833, before returning to his Missouri home. Thomas E. Chavez, "Albert Toomes (1817-1873): Pin Feather on the American Eagle," *The Pacific Historian*, 22:2 (Summer 1978): 174.

17. Given, "An Emigrant of '41," 10.

18. Ibid.

19. Wilson, "The Narrative of Benjamin D. Wilson," 380, 383.

20. Given, 10.

21. Toomes, "The Pioneer Overlanders."

22. Michael White, *California All the Way Back to '28* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1956), 43, 46-48.

23. William Gambel to Elizabeth >

Richardson Gambel, January 14, 1842, original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Archives, copy from the Bancroft Library.

24. Thomas Jefferson Farnham, *Life, Adventures, and Travels in California* (New York: Nafis and Cornish, 1849), 312-318.

25. This plaque, sadly broken at a centenary celebration of the Rowland and Workman Expedition in 1941, is now owned by a great-great-granddaughter of Workman.

26. Brief information for the above members are from Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register and Index*, 177, 230, 243-44, 352 and Given, *An Immigrant of '41*, 37-39. Given credited Albert Toomes with the information on many of their traveling companions of 1841.

27. William J. Middleton, "William Gamble [sic] M. D. U. of Pa., 1848: Ornithologist," 2-4, original from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Archives, copy from the Bancroft Library; Briton Cooper Busch, ed. *Alta California, 1840-42: The Journal and Observations of William Dane Phelps* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1983), 266, 304-06; Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register and Index*, 154-55.

28. Mildred Brooke Hoover, et.al., revised by Douglas E. Kyle, *Historic Spots in California* (Fourth ed., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 533-34; Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register and Index*, 165.

29. Hoover, et. al., *Historic Spots in California*, 488-89, 535-36; Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register and Index*, 210.

30. Chavez, *Albert Toomes (1817-1873)* 175-181; Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register and Index*, 357; Hoover, 498; Toomes, "The Pioneer

AGUA MANSA: First Settlement on the Old Spanish Trail

by R. Bruce Harley

With the demise of California's mission era after 1834 and the consequent reapportionment of Church-held lands, it was only a matter of time until settlements would appear on the former ranchos. With Americans having already visited Mission San Gabriel and its San Bernardino *estancia* outpost in the 1820s along with Hispanics organizing early trading caravans using the Old Spanish Trail by 1829, it was not long that some pioneers should accompany the annual caravans and settle in the greater Los Angeles area.

In the logical course of events, a group of pioneers would soon conclude that a completely new settlement could be made on former mission lands. Such was the background for the 1842 founding of the Agua Mansa community. The original colonists came from

Overlanders."

31. Hoover, 498; Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register and Index*, 46, 251-52; Given, 39.

32. Given, 39; Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register and Index*, 222.

33. Bancroft, 361.

34. Max Vorspan and Lloyd Gartner, *History of the Jews of Los Angeles* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1970), 4; Bancroft, 149. ■



Abiquiu, New Mexico; later some non-Hispanic arrivals came from Taos and Santa Fe.

In the social order of northern New Mexico, some captured Indian children were raised from childhood in Spanish households as "servants" and became Hispanicized through being exposed to the Spanish language, culture and Catholic religion and were thus designated as *genizaros*. As fortune would have it, the leader of the first expedition to Agua Mansa was a Comanche *genizaro* named Lorenzo Trujillo. He was about 50 years of age when he led his people over the Old Spanish Trail to San Bernardino Valley in 1842.

The original Abiquiu village had a mission outpost chapel as early as the 1740s. The first resident priest was assigned in 1770, and a church structure was completed by 1773. The outpost was raised to full parish status in 1826. About this time the younger future Agua Mansans were growing up, so it was not surprising that they, raised in a tradition of being devoted to their church, insisted on having a church as soon as it was feasible at their new home in California.

While being devout Catholics, the Abiquenos were also close to their land, for they individually owned arable plots given through grants, along with the use of community pasture land. The farmers' existence

was centered around a number of smaller villages or *placitas*. This system of landholding contrasted Rowland-Workman expedition, would later purchase that rancho from Juan Bandini.

In addition to their farming skills, another bargaining chip used by the future Abiquiu emigrants was their fighting capability against Indians. The outbreak of chronic hostilities with the Navajos and other nomadic tribes such as the several Apache groups logically brought upon the Abiquiu area communities an increased demand for militia service. In the first few years in California some Indian fighting was necessary, but the colonists quickly proved their military competence.

This background with its emphasis on religious and economic activities brings us to the question of why a group of families, some of whom were related to each other, would seek their fortune many hundreds of miles southwest of their ancestral home. Other than the spirit of adventure, these people were probably anxious to improve their lot in life by re-establishing homes in an area of presumably better soil and a milder climate. Then too, despite their well-deserved reputation as Indian fighters, they were tired after a century of the chronic Indian danger and believed the California Indians to be less fierce than such strong tribes as the comanche, Apache, Navajo, and the Ute.

A decision to make the 1840s move to Southern California was not made hastily but actually matured over a four year period prior to the initial

family group trek. On September 22, 1838, Lorenzo Trujillo set out with the fall trading caravan to lead an advance party of seven Abiquenos over the Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to the San Bernardino area. The small group left the caravan where today's Interstate 15 turns west near Devore and then proceeded to nearby Sycamore grove for encampment, arriving on December 12.

While encamped the men initiated talks with both Antonio Lugo, who was negotiating with the governor for a grant of Rancho San Bernardino in 1838, and with Juan Bandini who had recently acquired Rancho Jurupa. Both of these early *Californios* needed skilled fighters to protect their respective ranch holdings. Despite being accustomed to the New Mexico landholding style by individual ownership, Trujillo's group was somehow impressed more by the Lugo proposal for a non-owned land allotment of 2200 A. in exchange for fighting as necessary Indians, marauders and horse-thieves of every stripe.

This initial small group of Abiquenos settled in for the winter. One member, Santiago Martinez, had brought his pregnant wife on the trip. At what is now called Resting Springs (located near Death Valley just west of the Nevada border), Manuelita Renaga had a son who was named Apolinaro. In a sense it could be said that he was the first-born Agua Mansan. Trujillo named the location as Archuleta Springs, probably for his wife, Maria Dolores Archuleta.

Martinez determined to settle rather than making the return trip to Abiquiu the next spring. The other remaining men — Trujillo, Hipolito Espinosa and Jose Antonio Garcia, helped Martinez build the first house for the future Agua Mansa colony. The others then built another temporary home for themselves, also on a bluff overlooking the Santa Ana River near today's campus of San Bernardino Valley College. Here they assisted Los Angeles authorities in preparing the yearly herd of horses and mules for transit to New Mexico over the Old Spanish Trail in the spring of 1839. Except for Martinez, all of the group accompanied the trading caravan back to Abiquiu.

Espinosa was the first one to make the return trip to California. He brought his family with him on the fall 1840 caravan and presumably settled into the house which the advance group had constructed two years previously. The area became known as "Politana", possibly a designation derived from his first name, Hipolito. There he became the chief wrangler for the herds collected in the river bottom corral pending their being sent every year to New Mexico.

Trujillo in turn made his second trip west over the Old Spanish Trail with the fall 1841 caravan. This time he took his family and traveled with the Rowland-Workman group. His main task was to herd several hundred sheep over the route with the help of his four sturdy sons. This flock was owned by Benjamin "Benito" Wilson, a member of the group. The Trujillo family was thus the third >

one to migrate before the main group did so in 1842.

Trujillo had evidently arranged before leaving Abiquiu in 1842 that he would return the following year and escort a group of colonists to establish a settlement in California. The 1842 spring caravan from Los Angeles departed in April and stopped at Politana to pick up the usual herd of horses and mules which had wintered there. Also joining the east-bound trek were several travelers who had previously journeyed west from New Mexico. These included Antonio Martinez (not to be confused with Santiago Martinez of the 1838 trip), Trujillo, Espinosa, and also John Rowland returning for his family. Michael White (Miguel Blanco) filled in for Espinosa at the Politana rendezvous point. Martinez went along as a guide as he had on several previous semiannual caravans.

By July 1842, the returnees were once again in Abiquiu completing arrangements for the move. Not every family was ready for the trek. For example, several wives were pregnant and not willing to travel on the rugged route as had Manuelita Martinez in 1838. Consequently, only about half of the prospective sojourners were available to embark on the first colonizing trip. The remainder would emigrate during the next two caravan cycles.

Although a few New Mexico settlers as noted had accompanied the regular trade caravans during the dozen years preceding 1842, none of these treks could be described as a large or medium-sized expedition

for the sole purpose of banding together and founding a new village at the end of the trail. Consequently, the Agua Mansan group was unique both in purpose and accomplishment.

The Abiquiu emigrants joined the fall 1842 trade caravan on its last major stop after departing from Santa Fe. This unique colonizing group was organized in the following manner. Jose Antonio Martinez de la Rosa served as *commandante*. Lorenzo Trujillo served as the trailmaster, and Hipolito Espinosa was the mule and horse wrangler. The registry at the Mexican government's Los Angeles immigration office shows eighteen other new names. This is a misleading figure because it does not provide the total number of people making the trip, their ages or family relationship. True enough, there were 18 able-bodied males above the age of 13, but not all were heads of families and some belonged to the same family. An analysis of sacramental records compiled later from the new village's San Salvador Church reveals that there were just eleven families with only nine surnames represented. These included Atencio (2 families), Castillo, Espinosa (son of the wrangler), Garcia, Jaramillo (2 families), Molla (Moya), Salazar, Valdez, and Velarde. This first group of colonists totaled 43 new colonists on the trek, not counting the three leaders of the three families already at Agua Mansa's predecessor pueblo of Politana. This newest group of pioneers had the following identities in alphabetical order:

- Antonio Atencio and wife

- Son, Gregorio Atencio, his wife and son
- Ambrosia Castillo and wife
- Manuel Espinosa and wife
- Antonio Garcia, his wife, their son, and Antonio's younger brother, Julian Garcia
- Juan Jaramillo, his wife, 4 sons and 2 daughters
- Jose Jaramillo, his wife, 3 sons and 2 daughters
- Joaquin Molla (Moya), his wife, 2 sons and a daughter
- Antonio Salazar and wife
- Jose de la Luz Valdez and wife
- Two teenagers, Pablo and Quirino Velarde accompanied the Juan Jaramillo family

The original group of 43 new colonists set out to join the earlier arrivals of three families which had included eleven people. The new larger group presumably departed on their journey a day's travel ahead of the trade caravan to take advantage of food, forage and water opportunities not possible with a much larger retinue. They left New Mexico in early August of 1842 and arrived at Politana three months later — the usual time for the outbound caravan from Abiquiu. Their presence was registered by Commandante Martinez at the Mexican immigration office in Los Angeles on November 9, 1842. There is no evidence of births or deaths among this group as it progressed along the trail which wound through six states.

John Rowland, who as noted had returned to the Abiquiu-Taos-Santa Fe trading triangle to move his family, traveled back to his new California home in the La Puente

area with the regular trade caravan and some other emigrants journeying behind the Agua Mansa group. On February 23, 1843 he wrote a letter to a friend in Santa Fe to confirm the safe arrival of the family and himself, saying that “we had nearly all the time very cold and unpleasant weather in which our women and the little ones suffered very much.” Furthermore, some 400 cattle were lost in a stampede engendered by Indians. He concluded “but on the whole we got here for which I shall always feel grateful to the Divine Ruler.” This is a sentiment which could probably be echoed by the Agua Mansan vanguard.

The population of Politana continued to increase both from births and emigration. Ten families under the leadership of Don Jose Tomas Salazar arrived with the fall 1843 caravan which increased the pueblo’s population to 73 according to the Mexican 1844 census of the California provinces. A third group of five families accompanied the fall 1844 trade caravan from Abiquiu, which made for a population to about a hundred living on Rancho San Bernardino.

It was not long until the pioneers had a falling out with the Lugo family, and the group migrated about four miles downstream along the Santa Ana River to occupy an area which came to be known as the “Bandini Donation”. Juan Bandini gave a portion of his acquired Rancho Jurupa to the ex-Abiquenos in exchange for military protection — the same arrangement the pioneers had turned down at the first

meeting of the two sides in 1838.

By this time, two non-Hispanic heads of families had also settled on former Bandini land. Isaac Slover had been a “mountain man” fur trapper. He and his Hispanic wife from Taos journeyed over the Old Spanish Trail in 1837 and settled in the Los Angeles area. In 1844, the couple moved again to Agua Mansa.

The last arrival in the greater Agua Mansa area was Louis Robidoux (later spelled as Rubidoux). After an early career as a “mountain man” fur trapper, he had settled in Santa Fe before 1829 and married a local senorita. In 1829 he became a Mexican citizen, a transition easier for him than for other Americans in the Southwest since he was already a Roman Catholic and did not need an “overnight conversion” (as did Slover) to satisfy church requirements. In his Santa Fe period he participated actively in community affairs, including the political arena. By 1834, he was an alderman on the town council and subsequently served as mayor in 1837 and again in 1839. His political connections helped him in business and vice-versa. He traded in furs and operated a store, blacksmith shop and grist mill at one time or another. Also, he made several trips over the Santa Fe and Chihuahua trails and had traveled once in the 1830s over the Old Spanish Trail. In 1843 he again accompanied the outbound annual trading caravan, arriving in Los Angeles just a year after the Agua Mansa colonizing trek.

While in Southern California he met Juan Bandini after the latter had sold

half of his jurupa landholding to Benjamin Wilson with the proviso of the bandini donation to be exercised on condition the Agua Mansans would decide to leave the Lugo rancho. Seeking to liquidate his Jurupa grant so he could concentrate on his other property interests in the San Diego area, Bandini sold the remainder of his valley spread to James Johnson, who in turn then sold it to Robidoux. At about the same time, the last Agua Mansan pioneer also bought a northern segment of Rancho San Jacinto from the Estudillo family of San Diego. Before his departure with the spring caravan, Robidoux additionally purchased Rancho San Timoteo adjacent to his San Jacinto holding.

After his return to Santa Fe, in the fall of 1844, he set out with his family comprised of a wife and four children along with several hired hands via a different route from preceding pioneers. Possibly he was concerned about the continuing Indian danger on northern stretches of the Old Spanish Trail, for the *commandante* of the first Agua Mansa trek had been killed in the spring of 1843 while returning to Abiquiu. Consequently, the Robidoux party’s trek of about ten people went south on the Chihuahua Trail to Chihuahua City. From there the group took the Sonoran and De Anza Trails up to San Bernardino Valley, arriving in the spring of 1845. Fortunately, land and an established home awaited them. On the other hand, both tragedy and joy occurred along the way. The family’s second daughter was born in Chihuahua in January 1845. On the other hand, the second son >

died in the early spring of 1845 and was buried along the way in Southern Arizona. Upon arrival, the group settled down in the former B.D. Wilson hacienda at Jurupa.

The arrival of the Robidoux party marked the end of the original migration from New Mexico. A total of more than a hundred pioneers had successfully traversed the Old Spanish Trail which included three groups in 1842, 1843 and 1844. A fourth group, as noted, traveled on the Chihuahua and Sonoran trails in 1845 and joined the others on territory including three clusters of settlers at Agua Mansa, La Placita and Jurupa.

Other than Trujillo and Espinosa (as well as Rowland) who went to pick up their families, the people of the Agua Mansa communities did not return to New Mexico once they were settled at their new home. Hundreds of the descendants of these intrepid trekkers still live in the San Bernardino-Colton area and other locations in the greater Los Angeles area.

As a part of Riverside's celebration of the nation's Bicentennial in 1976, a La Placita exhibit was featured at the local municipal museum. Over a thousand descendants of the original settlers came from as far away as Arizona and ranged in age from eight to eighty-eight. Several young ladies, sixth and seventh generation Californians at the time, entertained the opening day audience with colorful dances which reflected not only their multicultural heritage but also a neglected part of American history.

Two sociological features bind these people together. One is their San Salvador Church which was rebuilt in Colton after its closure at Agua Mansa in 1878 and is still in use. The other is the Agua Mansa Cemetery which was opened in 1854 and used for more than a century. In a sense, Lorenzo Trujillo's passing in 1855 marks the end of the settlement's first generation of success, followed by a different story in succeeding decades.

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Families Along the Old Spanish Trail – Possessions to Start a New Life

by Ann Cordy Deegan, Ph.D.

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Introduction

In 1842 a group of families moved from Abiquiu, New Mexico, 1200 miles along the Old Spanish Trail to start a new life in Alta California. This group of about 40 people included one- to sixty-year-olds. Eventually these people founded the communities of Agua Mansa and La Placita de los Trujillos across the

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Santa Ana River from each other in the San Bernardino Valley. Who they were, why they moved, and what they did to receive land once they arrived in California has been covered by other researchers (see Harley 1991 and 1998 and Vickery). The purpose of this paper is to try to recreate their lifestyle in northern New Mexico to understand what they might have chosen to take with them from New Mexico along the Old Spanish Trail to start their new life in Alta California. This paper, along with artifacts, was presented at the 2001 national annual meeting of the Old Spanish Trail Association.

My curiosity about what these families might have taken on this trek developed from reading comments that seemed to indicate that they could dash out of their homes at a moment's notice to march over this rugged, dangerous, and long trail:

"We found these people [in Abiquiu] living a very primitive fashion, footloose and free, unencumbered with worldly goods and ready, at an hour's notice, to accompany us in our travels." (Isaac Givens observation in his journal before the 1841 Rowland-Workman party left Abiquiu--Harley 1999: 33).

The implication seemed to be that they lacked many personal belongings. It does appear that these

Abiquenos were not wealthy and were "shepherds, farmers, and traders" (Harley 1991:16; Vickery:19). However, Harley has shown (1999:32) that several trips were made by some of the Abiquenos to assess land possibilities, one as early as 1838. This did not seem to fit the above quote. Could the outside view of these Abiquenos lifestyle be correct? Was it possible for them to be "ready, at an hour's notice" to tackle the Old Spanish Trail and move to Alta California? These comments aroused an interest in seeing what possessions they might have had in their daily lives and how that impacted their decisions for travel on the Old Spanish Trail.

Most of the peoples following the Old Spanish Trail were not family groups. Trading caravans required food and water for men and their animals and also bedding and hunting equipment, but they were rarely moving households. The small 1838 party of Abiquenos that came to Alta California to check on land possibilities included Santiago Martinez and his wife Manuelita Renaga de Martinez, she far along in her pregnancy (who gave birth at Resting Springs) (Harley 1993 An Account:6; Harley 1998:12). In 1840 another Abiquiu family moved with the trade caravan (Harley 1999:32), and the Rowland-Workman Party of 1841 contained several families (Vickery:119-120). But the 1842 group was truly a pioneering family group including six children under the age of seven, some too small to sit astride a horse. There may have been nursing and perhaps some pregnant women as many were >

of childbearing age. These families probably left a day before the main trade caravan to stay out of the dust, and to get better forage and cleaner water (Harley 1999:34). They had to move at the caravan speed to stay ahead of them over the trail from Abiquiu to San Bernardino Valley from August to early November 1842 (Harley 1999:34).

Everything they brought, including themselves, had to be carried on mules, horses, or on their bodies since wagons could not be used on this trail (Robinson:27). The travelers in 1842 were lucky to have experienced guides and packers with them, including fellow Abiquenos Lorenzo Trujillo (who moved his family over the trail in 1841) and Hipolito Espinosa (whose family moved with the 1840 trade caravan) (Harley 1999:32). These men would know the trail, what to take and wear, how to pack, and sources of food and water along the way increasing the likelihood that the families would arrive in Alta California with the least possible threat to life.

To determine what these Abiqueno travelers might have taken with them requires study of their, or similar, lifestyles back in northern New Mexico. The individuals in the 1842 trip are thought to have been illiterate (Harley 1999:34). At present, no diaries, journals, or letters have been found from this group describing their trek (Harley 1999:34). Church records from Abiquiu and California, along with census records, helped to determine who moved, their ages, and relationships (see Harley 1991 and

1998 and Vickery) but give little other information about their lifestyle. A very few later interviews and reminiscences from one person to another were recorded from people on the 1842 trek (Brown and Boyd:679-680; Harley 1993 An Account; Vickery:Appendix B). Eyewitness accounts of what life was like in Agua Mansa and La Placita from the 1840s to 1862, when an enormous flood devastated their lives, also provide insights into their cultural life (Harley 1993 Reminiscences; Harley 1998:33-40). Finally, descriptions of the lifestyles of modest income families of northern New Mexico in the 1830s through 1850s are included, based on several eyewitness accounts of the period (Gregg; Magoffin; Russell).

Houses

Adobe houses were the common structure in northern New Mexico at this time (Gregg:101; Russell:32). Eyewitness accounts of these settlers' first homes in California also describe adobe homes (Waitman:25; Harley 1998:39; Harley 1993 Reminiscences:12). These mud and straw structures could be built from local materials in California probably using a wooden frame for brick manufacture. The Agua Mansa area homes in California and their church apparently had wood shake roofs (Waitman:25; Whelan:424) in contrast to flat mud covered roofing in New Mexico that required logs (*vigas*) and cross poles for support. An iron axe and possibly an adze for shingle making would be tools necessary to create these homes.

Iron was probably expensive so if owned by the travelers they would have been unlikely to leave them behind. Perhaps the handles of the iron axe and adze heads could be removed to lighten the load. House floors in many adobes of New Mexico were said to be packed earth sealed with animal blood (such as ox blood) (Spillman:147) to make it easier to damp mop and sweep the floors. Some New Mexican homes had floor coverings of coarse woolen cloth (*jerga*) in stripes or plaids that might have been found in homes of these people (Magoffin:104; Spillman:147). A photograph from 1866-1867 (Minge:13) shows pack mules carrying *jerga* fabric bags. What better than to take the rugs off your floors and use them as bags for the trip!

Some northern New Mexican adobe homes were whitewashed inside with a native gypsum compound (Magoffin:104). Occasionally, cotton print fabric was used from floor to partway up the walls in selected rooms to keep the gypsum from powdering off onto their clothing (Magoffin:104; Russell:37-38). This might have been too costly for the Abiqueno settlers.

Windows were probably covered with skins, cloth, or maybe a wooden decorative grill. Indian raids in the Abiquiu area would make it unlikely that large expanses of windows would be found in the homes. It would also be unlikely that bulky wooden window grills would be transported over the Old Spanish Trail, instead of making new ones once in California using the axe and adze above.

Furniture

Adobe construction allows built-in cabinets and also benches (*bancos*) that can be padded with blankets and pillows. New Mexican homes often had kitchen storage cabinetry built into the thick adobe walls with wooden doors. Smaller display niches (*nichos*) could hold family religious artifacts such as statuary (*bultos*) or small paintings on leather or wood (*retablos*) (Steele:10,12). While making their new adobe home in California, new *nichos* and *bancos* along with storage cabinets could be created.

Possible wooden furniture could include benches, stools, tables, cabinets, and chests. Wooden benches (Magoffin:104), for both inside and outside, would be too bulky to transport and not difficult to remake once in California.

Apparently many lower income New Mexicans did not use dining tables (Gregg:148). Wooden chests of varying sizes were in use to storeclothing, bedding, and probably small treasures. Perhaps leather trunks were also in use. Depending on size and sentimental value, softer leather trunks and small wooden chests might have been lashed to animals for this trip. Desired chests, cabinets, stools, and benches could be remade in California.

Bedding included sheepskins and handwoven woolen blankets (*frazadas*) (Minge:12). This bedding could be rolled up and stored in a chest, cabinet, or used on a *banco* as padding. Some blankets might have been hung on the wall to keep the textiles clean and perhaps increase

room insulation. This type of bedding could be easily lashed to a horse or mule or placed in a carrying bag on these animals. Some muleteers on the Chihuahua trade route used their *sarapes* as “bed and bedding” (Gregg:236 footnote).

Lighting

Windows were likely to be small. Interior heating from adobe fireplaces provided some light. These were often shallow corner fireplaces requiring wood to be set on end for fires. An axe would be the necessary tool for firewood collection and preparation.

Lighting might come from dipped candles made from sheep tallow since sheep were often among a northern New Mexican family's possessions (Russell:52). Would these candles melt on the trail? Would they be considered important enough to take along with cargo space at such a premium? Wood, clay, and perhaps some prized metal candlesticks (such as tin) might have found a corner of a trunk, chest, basket, or bag for the trip to California.

Clothing, Clothing Care, and Personal Hygiene

Personal Hygiene: This is an area that will require more research as people do not tend to leave reminiscences or observations about their own or others' personal hygiene habits! Homemade soap would undoubtedly be present (probably some brought on the trail as there were children who would invariably get very dirty). A native

yucca plant (*amole*) was used in New Mexico by Native Americans and Mexican settlers for shampoo. The ground roots could be swished in water for shampoo or laundry soap (Gregg:153).

Clothing Care: A young Mormon settler in San Bernardino (Augusta Joyce Crocheron 1844-1915) observed clothes washing in the 1850s in the Agua Mansa area and recorded it in her diary (Harley 1998:37-38):

“No hot kitchen, no heating wash boiler, no streaked bluing, only plenty of soap, plenty of clear running water [stream], and no back yard pool of refuse suds” (p. 37). “It did not look very uncomfortable work, under the vine-draped trees, and the white muslin spread on the grass for rods around looked very business-like” (p. 38).

Clothing: Due to less wealth (Harley 1991:16; Vickery:19) these settlers would probably not have owned extensive wardrobes making it easier to pack clothing in bags or other containers. Wool skirts, sashes, *rebozos*, *sarapes*, and pants would have been common (Minge:26). Imported cottons might have been made into blouses and shirts (Minge:24, 26). Footwear could have included moccasins and leather shoes or boots (although boots would be more expensive). Perhaps some of the women even had a pair of lightweight cloth dance slippers that could be tucked into packing. A fancier *rebozo* (perhaps a precious family heirloom made of silk from China) or *colcha*-embroidered fabric (wool on wool) would be taken >

along with special hair combs, ribbons, and personal small mirrors.

Fabric Making: Wool, cotton, and, more rarely, expensive silks, appear in clothing items. By the early 1840s there was probably little native cotton cultivation for clothing despite the pre-contact use of cotton for clothing by Native Americans (Gregg:149; Minge:24). Silks would probably have come from the China trade into Mexico, through Mexico City and up the Chihuahua trail to New Mexico, making them very expensive, or perhaps they were coming back from California on returning caravans over the Old Spanish Trail (Parker:21).

Sheep, and their wool, supplied the Old Spanish Trail with trade goods going west, in addition to furnishing local homes with flooring, bedding, and clothing material. When ready to be shorn they might have used iron shears or a knife (Amsden:33). The fiber then had to be straightened using cards of iron teeth or teasel heads (Amsden:35, Plate 10). Spinning into yarn was done on a Native American style long spindle (Amsden:36-37, Plate 13). Although the common Churro sheep fiber was not unduly greasy and may not have needed much washing, if any, some yarn would be dyed using natural dyes (synthetic dyes did not appear until the 1850s). Native dyes were used as well as trade good dyes, such as indigo, imported from other markets (Amsden:89). The shears, cards, spindle, and precious imported dyes would likely have been taken with the families. Woolen yarn would then have been used for knitting stockings (taking

knitting needles with them), embroidery (requiring sewing needles), or woven on looms to make fabric.

The main loom of northern New Mexico was a large wooden frame, simple but bulky (Amsden:Plate 41). This would have been awkward to transport by mule. In 1807 two professional weavers were sent from Mexico City to Santa Fe to try to improve local weaving techniques. Three mules were required to transport the looms and equipment they brought (Fisher:194). Movement of a disassembled loom might have required too many valuable animals, but perhaps smaller pieces were brought, such as shuttles (carries yarn in weaving). Abiquiu had weavers making *frazadas* and *jergas*, according to an 1829 census (Minge:27). Apparently the Abiquenos continued weaving fabric once in California (Harley 1993 Reminiscences:13).

All clothing was made by hand in the early 1840s as the sewing machine was not commercially available until the late 1840s. Needles, scissors, buttons, and perhaps homemade patterns were in use. These notions would have been carried, and probably kept close at hand during the trip in case of needed clothing repairs – remember the children of this trip.

Foodstuffs and Cooking

Wild Game: These settlers would have been familiar with hunting (such as deer, elk, and rabbit), fishing, and other methods of obtaining wild game in New

Mexico. It is probable that they used these techniques and tools on the Old Spanish Trail to supplement their diets and extend their food supplies. Knives and probably guns would have been carried. Since this was not a wealthy group, the guns were probably not the latest models. However, their previous existence in the Abiquiu area included protecting themselves and their property against Indian raids (Harley 1991:13, 15), which would also be necessary in California, so no doubt they did have guns of some kind.

Animal Husbandry: The Abiquenos probably owned their own sheep as this was one of the most common livestock items in northern New Mexico and provided so much for their lives, including a livelihood for some from weaving (Minge:27). Sheep were sometimes driven over the Old Spanish Trail with the trade caravans for food on the trail (Robinson:37). Lorenzo Trujillo and his sons were sheepherders on the 1841 trip for Benjamin Wilson so they knew how to move them over the trail (Harley 1999:32). Sheep and goats could be rounded up from the New Mexico farms and moved over the trail for food on the way and to stock their farms once in California. Goats could also provide needed milk for the children and perhaps homemade cheese. Cattle raising was also common in northern New Mexico (Gregg:154). Perhaps some cattle were moved with the families or sold before leaving to buy mules for travel or other trail necessities. Chickens and pigs may also have been owned in New Mexico but this researcher is not sure if they were transported over the trail. Oxen may

also have been sold in New Mexico rather than transported. Family mules and horses would have been needed for carrying people and supplies over the trail so would have been prize possessions for the trek.

Field and Garden Crops: Many of the northern New Mexican families, including in the Abiquiu area, practiced subsistence farming. Agua Mansa and La Placita were also described as subsistence with wheat and corn as common crops (Caballeria:116; Vickery:58).

Abiquiu lies at 6000 feet whereas the new lands in southern California are at about 1000 feet (Harley 1991:13). This would extend the growing season and allow introduction of some other crops hard to grow in northern New Mexico.

Northern New Mexico was known for its fields of wheat and corn. (Gregg:101, 137-8, 146). Wheat was harvested by sickle (Caballeria:116), particularly on small farms. Threshing of wheat was described as done by goats or horses walking on the wheat over a special hard packed earthen area that caused the grain to fall to the ground (Caballeria:116). None of this required extensive equipment. A sickle would probably have been brought along on the trail. Fields were irrigated by use of ditches (*acequias*) that could be opened and closed with the help of a hoe (Gregg:142-143). Hoes would probably have been brought to California where irrigation ditches were immediately built when the Abiquenos arrived (Vickery:25). Perhaps the hoe handle was also removed to save space on the trail.

Gregg in New Mexico (142-143) and Garcia in California (Harley 1993 Reminiscences:13) describe the use of handmade wooden plows with no metal. This would probably have been too awkward to transport on the trail and have been remade in California if a plow was even owned by these farmers. Gregg (142) noticed that “a great portion of the peasantry cultivate with the hoe alone.” The hoe was an important tool for maintenance of crops and irrigation ditches.

Apples, peaches, and apricots were raised in northern New Mexico (Gregg:150; Magoffin:115, 145). Peaches and apples were also described for the Agua Mansa area (Harley 1993 Reminiscences:12). Perhaps some cuttings or seeds were brought to start the new orchards. Squash, beans, chiles, onions, garlic, pumpkins, melons and other garden crops were also raised in northern New Mexico and California (Magoffin:112, 115,132, 145,154; Harley 1993 Reminiscences:12). Much was harvested in late summer or early fall. Since the party set out in August 1842, would this have been before or after their harvest? Would they have harvested and dried their crops to bring them or sell them for other needs or cash? Many of these produce items (such as chiles, onions, garlic, pumpkins, etc.) were dried for all year use.

It is possible that the Abiquenos raised some grapes in their higher altitude homeland. Grapevines in the northern New Mexico area were covered with dirt for protection over the cold winters (Gregg:150-151). Apparently grapes were raised in the

Santa Fe area, as Magoffin (115) described them as “quite small..remarkably sweet and well flavored.” Most first hand descriptions of the Agua Mansa area in California, describe lush vineyards and that the people knew how to make wine (Caballeria:117; Vickery:58; Waitman:45; Harley 1998:33, 39).

Cooking: Frying, roasting, boiling, and baking were common cooking methods in northern New Mexico. Tortillas, bean, and corn dishes were supplemented with some meat, milk, eggs, and cheese. Outside beehive-shaped ovens (*hornos*) were made of adobe and used for baking wheat bread and roasting chiles and corn prior to drying. Since these ovens could be remade in California, there was no need to transport them (Caballeria:117-118 mentions hornos in use in San Bernardino Valley). Inside corner fireplaces could supply heat for boiling and frying of foods possibly using pots made of clay and iron, and maybe an iron tripod for the pot.

Tortillas were a common foodstuff. They required treatment of the corn with lime to soften the husk (Gregg:146; Magoffin:157, 167-168), then hand grinding of the corn on a stone (*mano* and *metate*) (Gregg:146; Magoffin:157, 167-168; Caballeria:118 mentions “metate” in use in San Bernardino Valley). These grinding stones could easily weigh 30 to 40 pounds. An interesting question is—did they bring these along on the trail or did they pre-grind enough corn flour to last the trip (and for an entire family) as tortillas were so

common in their diet. Also needed was a smooth surface (*comal*) to cook the tortillas, such as a griddle of iron, copper, or stone (Gregg:146; Magoffin:168). This tool was also probably brought along, as Caballeria mentions it in his 1902 book (118) as in use in the San Bernardino Valley area.

Other cooking tools that might have been too precious to leave behind could have included pots for cooking, perhaps long handled cooking forks and spoons, a metal tripod for the cooking pot, and knives. Stone or wood mortar and pestles were used to grind herbs and medicines and would also probably be brought along. Water containers and ladles may have been made from wood, gourds, horn, or pottery and would definitely be needed on the trail.

As mentioned earlier, dining tables were not common. Eating utensils were probably limited and included a personal plate and spoon, or perhaps a communal pot of food was used while dipping in with a fragment of tortilla as a spoon (Gregg:148).

Ceremonies and Entertainment

Life events of marriage, baptism, and funerals and religious festivals revolved around the Catholic church both in Abiquiu and in California. Daily worship may have included use of the *retablos* and *bultos* mentioned earlier in the homes, with perhaps a family altar cloth used on a table. *Bultos*, *retablos*, and altar clothes were portable and easily packed.

Religious and nonreligious celebrations tended to center on lots of food with entertainment from singing, music (such as the guitar and violin) (Magoffin:123), and dancing (perhaps requiring fancier *rebozos* and dance shoes). These dances and *fiestas* were also common in the San Bernardino Valley (Caballerio:111). Family musicians probably brought their instruments and played them in camp along the trail.

Agua Mansa and La Placita sports have been described as rather vigorous and often centered on the horse culture (Caballeria:100, 112-115). Cockfights, horseback races to grab a live rooster buried in the ground (*corrida de gallos*), and other sports often included gambling on the side. Horse races in the New Mexico area of Abiquiu were commonly used to prove to Indians that the horses they wanted to trade for were sound (Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez in 1776 in Warren:10). Bull and bear fights (grizzly bears in California) and bull and horse rider fights appear in California. Special horse trappings might have been brought for these sports.

Conclusions

A master packing list could be made from the above discussion including essentials such as an axe, hoe, cooking equipment, etc. along with possible extras. Mules were described as able to carry 200 to 400 pounds (Robinson:29), which would obviously be dependent on the size and age of the animal. Possessions

could be brought in bags, trunks, chests, and baskets (Magoffin:150) but would have to be taken off and on a mule each day (Robinson:29). How many mules were brought (or horses) would depend on a family's wealth and size, perhaps what they had had in Abiquiu, or what they could sell to buy before leaving. Some of these animals would probably have to be used to carry family members including small children, older relatives, disabled, or tired people.

We now return to the original questions of this research—did these people just jump up and join the caravan without much thought or need for preparation? Did they not own much that needed to be disposed of? Were they “simple” people? Looking at the objects that could have been used in their daily lives reveals that they had a rich and varied lifestyle from foods to entertainment, probably based on generations of traditions and assimilation of local Native American culture as well. They needed time to go through their homes and make decisions on what to take or not—and with numerous family members these might have been lively discussions!

Decisions also had to be made if excess livestock, such as oxen or cattle, had to be sold along with surplus foodstuffs. Were they sold or given to relatives and friends remaining behind? Would the money be saved for California or used to buy more mules and horses to help on the trail? Similarly, if the families had looms, large chests, chairs, cabinets, or other big pieces, did

they disassemble them and take them, sell them, or give them away?

In addition to possibly buying or trading for more mules and horses, did the travelers need dried foods and flour? Were they able to use their summer crops or did they have to leave before the fall harvest was done when they were low on these supplies? Would they have prepared as much ground corn as possible before leaving (particularly for tortillas) or lugged along their mano and metate?

Finally, many of these people had to say goodbye to family members and friends. In the days before telephones, regular mails, railroad travel west, or automobiles it might be a very long time before they would get word of their family or see them again. Did they have to arrange to leave elderly, sick, or disabled members behind with others? We know that ten more families came with the 1843 and five families with the 1844 tradecaravans from Abiquiu, causing up to two-year separations of some families (Harley 1999:34).

More questions have arisen from this research than have been answered, but the 1842 Abiquiu pioneers who settled Agua Mansa and La Placita de los Trujillos were certainly not “simple” and led rich and interesting lives that will become better known to us with continuing research.

Acknowledgment:

A special thank you is extended to Dr. Bruce Harley who introduced me to the fascinating study of Agua Mansa Cemetery and its founders, and who continues to encourage me in this research.

About the author:

Dr. Ann Cordy Deegan is Curator of History at the San Bernardino County Museum, Redlands, California. She is responsible for several National and California landmark sites that deal with the Mission, Mexican, and early statehood periods. The Agua Mansa Cemetery (1854) is one of the sites and was founded by the Abiqueno settlers discussed in this paper.

Note: The author would like to encourage readers to contact her with information about the lifestyle of northern New Mexicans in the 1830s-1850s. She is particularly looking for first-hand accounts of daily life (or observations of it) and family reminiscences and oral histories related to this area. She can be reached at:

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Chapter Reports

Salida del Sol Chapter

Peter Mackaness has been elected as president of the chapter. Peter is a local historian and has been active in chapter programs. Peter is a great addition to the chapter.

The chapter has had two presentations at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. "Jedediah Smith" was one topic and the other was "Dominguez and Escalante on the Old Spanish Trail."

In June, Willard Lewis and Richard Greene attended the National Conference in Redlands, CA. Willard is now the New Mexico Director on OSTA'S Board and Richard was elected OSTA Vice-President.

Peter Mackaness will lead the chapter on "The High Road". This will be one of several auto tours of the East Fork of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. The chapter

plans to document these tours for publication so that we can encourage people to learn about the OST, the chapter, and OSTA.

The chapter is working on the erection of an OST marker in Abiquiu. It is likely that we will get permission to put up an OST marker on the Bode's store property by the highway going through Abiquiu. Bode's store is a landmark in the Abiquiu area and the marker should get a lot of interest in the OST at that location. An OST marker in Santa Fe is proving elusive but we are still working to find a site. ■

**Richard Greene, Past Pres.
Angel Fire, New Mexico**

Workman Chapter

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the William Workman Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association held 27 May 2001 at Temple Sowerby Village, near Penrith, Cumbria, ENGLAND.

VENUE: The village of Temple Sowerby is situated in the beautiful Eden Valley, 6 miles east of Penrith. The name of the village has its origins in the following; "Temple" because the ancient (c.13th Cent) Lords of the Manor were the Knights Templars and "Sowerby" meaning a place where the soil is sour (acid). The location was appropriate because the village was the birthplace of WILLIAM WORKMAN in November, 1799.

BUSINESS: The Chair was taken by Bill Ramsay, and the A.G.M. was preceded by a Board of Directors Meeting. Apologies had been received from: Lorna Sharpe (Director), Bruce Alderson (Director) and Donald Harrison (Member). The minutes of the AGM held 30 April 2000 were read and confirmed.

Matters arising: The main item was that President John Sharpe had resigned from the Chapter. The secretary reported that he had sent copies of the minutes to the U.S. but a report only appeared in the Chapter Reports in the Winter 2001 >

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edition of "Spanish Traces" after he sent further correspondence via e-mail.

SECRETARY'S REPORT: David Fallowfield said that President John Sharpe and his wife Lorna had attended the National Conference in Taos in June 2000 where he gave a presentation on William Workman. This had subsequently received full coverage in "Spanish Traces." The President had brought back news that the Chapter would only receive one copy of S.T. for circulation. Secretary took this up with new Nat. Secretary & Treasurer, Kenn & Lorraine Carpenter and since then DF has funded the extra postage involved and will continue to do so, thus we all get our own copy of ST. With e-mail Secretary was able to keep in close contact with Officers in U.S. He had submitted views on Historic Significance of OST to the Nat. Park Service in Oct 2000. In December 2000 we had new members join the Chapter, namely, Gary & Jennifer McIntosh of Penrith & Las Vegas. Secretary had voted on behalf of the members for the slate of Officers for the AGM at Redlands, CA in June 2001. He looked forward to working with Bill Ramsay if he is elected President.

ELECTIONS:

Bill Ramsay elected President. David Fallowfield re-elected Secretary/Treasurer. Board of Directors, three members in addition to President & Secretary appointed as follows: Lorna Sharpe (of Clifton), Bruce Alderson (of Appleby) and Donald Harrison (of Appleby).

FUTURE PROJECTS: The Presi-

dent and Secretary will visit North & South Branches of the Old Spanish Trail in August 2001 and will make contact with Richard & Marie Greene in Angel Fire, NM and with Past-President Ron Kessler in Monte Vista, CO. On the same ambitious trip Bill & David will also follow sections of the Oregon Trail in Nebraska and the Santa Fe Trail from Colorado to Kansas City, Missouri.

OTHER BUSINESS: The next AGM will be held early April 2002. There being no further business the meeting closed at 2 p.m. ■

**David Fallowfield, Secretary
Penrith, Cumbria, England**

North Branch Chapter

Enjoyed the Redlands conference, especially the evening gathering at the Asistencia. We need more time at these gatherings to just get together and chew the fat. The Sunday field trip was a real informative one for both Katherine and me. Located two things of great interest. Finally saw the final resting place of Old Louis Robidoux; his gravesite was located several years ago in an obscure spot in the Agua Mansa Cemetery. Also saw Isaac Slover's gravesite. These names may mean little to many of you, but they were men of some stature in the history of the Trail. Shows what an interested volunteer group (Friends for the Preservation of the Agua Mansa Cemetery) can do to rehab a long abandoned historic site.

A news release from Washington, D.C. on June 27, 2001 should be of great interest to some:

Today Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-CO) questioned Fran Mainella, President Bush's nominee to be Director of the National Park Service as part of the formal nomination hearing before the Senate Energy Committee. . . .

The release goes on to state:

. . . Yesterday, Campbell and Mainella met to discuss her stance on issues important to Colorado and the West. Campbell inquired about Mainella's plans regarding Little Big Horn battlefield expansion, Black Canyon water rights, and Old Spanish Trail legislation. Mainella committed to work with Campbell on all these issues once she is confirmed.

May be more than a flicker of light at the end of a long mine shaft.

We are anxiously awaiting the joint conference of the National Park Service and the Oregon-California Trail Association. This conflagration, to be held in Casper, WY, August 17-21, should be of some interest. The OST will have a display table and hope to spread the word. The North Branch Chapter will have three representatives at the conference and we hope to get to know some of the other trail people better. ■

**Jack Nelson, President
Grand Junction, CO**

**Thanks! California Chapter
for Great Conference
Planning**

Nevada Chapter

The Nevada Chapter is alive and well despite 110°+ temperatures that hamper outdoor activities. There are, however, some exiting events planned for the fall-winter season.

We are pleased that our own Liz Warren was elevated to the position of President of the Association and that Carol Corbett was elected the Nevada Director. This is an excellent team who will do great things for the Old Spanish Trail.

On 13 September the Archaeo-Nevada Society will kick off its fall-winter season. They have invited the Friends of the Old Mormon Fort and the Nevada Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association to join them and help plan programs that will be of mutual interest to all who share a love of the cultural and historical heritage of southern Nevada. This joint meeting will be held at the State Museum in Lorenzi Park at 7:00 PM. We will have an opportunity to bring everyone up to speed on what is happening nationally on the OST.

On 15 September we will have a working field trip to Cottonwood Valley in the Red Rock National Conservation Area near Blue Diamond. BLM is planning to move a parking area from its present location in Cottonwood Valley to another location nearby. The construction and new access road could have some impact on the Old Spanish Trail. There are several traces of the Trail through the valley and the objective of this field trip is

to locate each trace so that adequate preservation measures can be taken.

The year 2001 is the sesquicentennial of the 1851 Mormon Wagon Train that traveled from Salt Lake to California to found what eventually became San Bernardino. From southern Utah the wagon train essentially followed the corridor of the Old Spanish Trail. Heritage Trails, Inc. is re-enacting this epic wagon journey with about 20-30 wagons and their entourage.

The life-giving feed and water available at the Las Vegas springs made it a major stop on the Old Spanish Trail and the arrival of the wagon train in southern Nevada will be a big event. Celebrations will be held in each major community and many of our members will actively participate in this historic event. The Nevada Chapter is in the planning group and we will take every opportunity to reemphasize that the OST corridor across southern Nevada was the proven route the Mormon wagon trains traveled.

The California Chapter and the Nevada Chapter are tentatively planning a joint field trip to the Tecopa/Amargosa/Resting Spring area in the winter or early spring. As plans progress all members will be advised of the event. ■

**Hal Steiner, President
Las Vegas, Nevada**

**Thanks!
San Bernardino County Museum
for hosting our conference**

Marker Dedicated at Goodsprings

As part of Nevada's Archaeological Awareness and Historical Preservation Week, a historical marker was dedicated in Goodsprings, Nevada on May 19, 2001, at the Goodsprings Community Center. The marker commemorates the campsite in Goodsprings of Antonio Armijo's 1829-1830 pioneer trek through the southwest that later developed into the Old Spanish Trail.



Photo by Nick Saines

The Good's Spring Marker

The OSTA-LV chapter and the Goodsprings, NV Historical Society teamed up to lead a field trip from Las Vegas to Goodsprings following the Antonio Armijo route and to host the festivities in Goodsprings, which were attended by 50 people including Alice Baldrice of the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office. After the unveiling ceremonies Ms. Baldrice presented recognition awards to Liz Warren,

continued on page 45, col 3 >

Conference Tours

Sunday, June 10, 2001

Tour of the Mission San Gabriel

Guided by Richard Whitaker

Ten hearty souls gathered at the Mission San Gabriel Arcangel on this warm and beautiful afternoon for a thorough tour of the Mission, which in the OST days was a major supply point for the trade caravans.

The Mission was founded at the present site in 1776 with construction of the buildings begun in 1796. The chapel walls are original and made of adobe and fired adobe and are four feet thick. Inside the chapel is a small room on the north side which is the baptistry. The hand hammered copper baptismal font and silver baptismal shell were brought from Spain in 1771 and are still being used today. At the front of the chapel is the main altar which was made in Mexico City in the 1790s. The painted and lacquered wooden statues were hand carved in Spain during the same period. In front of the main altar several of the founding Fathers are buried beneath the floor.

Also on display is the 300-year-old painting of "Our Lady of Sorrows." When a large group of hostile Indians surrounded a group of the founding missionaries, one of the Fathers displayed the painting and the Indians were so impressed by its beauty that they then offered signs of friendship to the missionaries.

The Museum room was constructed of adobe in 1812 and originally contained weaving rooms, carpenter shops, sleeping quarters, and a granary. It now contains a vestment room that holds garments dating back to the 17th century that were used by the Fathers.

Also on display are priceless books dating back to 1489. The room also contains the aboriginal paintings of the fourteen stations of the Cross. These paintings are probably the oldest examples of Indian pictorial art in California.

In the large interior courtyard of the Mission are the winery, the large soap and tallow vats, and the shallow tanning tanks. The four tallow vats had a cumulative capacity of 2,700 gallons and were originally lined with iron sheets which

were eight inches thick. The Mission was at one time the wealthiest of the Missions and supplied soap, candles, wines, and brandies to the other missions. Cattle hides were also tanned and used for trade throughout the region. A cannon on display is a

four-pounder and was part of the original museum arsenal. It was called a *frijolera* (bean shooter).

The tour ended as we walked past the statue of Father Junipero Serra, and around to the front of the Mission to view it as thousands of travelers viewed it during the late 1700s and 1800s. Here one can also view the campanile, or bell wall, containing the six bells of the Mission. Three of the bells were cast in Mexico

City about 1795 and the others were cast in the early 1800s. ■



Photo by KnL Carpenter

**Father Junipero Serra
Founder of the Missions**

Tour of El Pueblo de Los Angeles

*Guided by Jean Bruce Poole
Historic Museum Director, Retired*

On this lovely Sunday morning we had eleven OSTA members come to El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument for a tour. We saw all the usual sights, such as the Plaza, with its statues of Carlos III and

Felipe de Neve who founded the pueblo, and the monument to the original pobladores, with its plaques enumerating the first settlers. And, of course, we stopped to admire the Old Spanish Trail plaque located in the Plaza. We also saw an exhibition dedicated to Pio Pico, last governor of California under the Mexican flag. Pico's birthday was May 5, 1801 and he died in 1894, so his life spanned almost the entire nineteenth

century. The Pico House (1869-70), where the exhibit has been installed, was Los Angeles' first grand hotel and the first three story building.

After visiting the Pico House we went down Olvera Street and toured the Avila Adobe (ca. 1818), the oldest still-standing house in Los Angeles. Damaged in the earthquake of 1971, it was repaired and is now furnished to represent the lifestyle of the 1840s prior to the American occupation. Our last stop



Photo by KnL Carpenter

Olvera Street Markets

was in the Italian Hall to view the Siqueiros Mural, faded and eroded but still exciting enough to arouse interest. This was one of three murals painted by David Alfaro Siqueiros during a six-month visit to Los Angeles in 1932. Because of its political overtones (the central figure was an Indian peon crucified on a double cross over which was perched an American eagle), one third of the mural was whitewashed immediately and the rest was painted out a few years later.

After the tour our group enjoyed lunch at El Paseo restaurant on Olvera Street. ■

Tour of Cajon Pass and Surroundings *Guided by Nick Cataldo*

Since prehistoric time the Cajon Pass has been the gateway to Southern California, and likewise it was the gateway for the OST caravans. The goal of our field trip was to visit some of the sites that have been key to the area's history.

About 40 of us met at the S.B. County Museum parking lot between 8:00 and 8:30 a.m. After deciding who would drive their vehicles and who would car pool with others, we took off for the Pass at 8:45.

Our trek started at the summit of Cajon Pass, followed the route of John Brown's Toll road, which in turn closely approximated the route of the Old Spanish Trail, and ended at what locals refer to as the "Blue Cut" section of Cajon Pass.

Our stops included: Coyote Canyon (a narrow gorge which the OST came through and where wagons had to be dismantled later on), the old Indian settlement, called Amuscopiabit (property now owned by the S. B. County Museum Association), the uniquely beautiful geological formation known as the Mormon Rocks, "Lost Lake" (a sag pond resulting from the 1857 earthquake), and the lower narrows of the pass where the Old Spanish Trail (and later routes) came through.

The only real glitch in what otherwise was a perfect day in regards to weather and the fun

camaraderie of so many interesting participants from each of the states that the OST passed through, was a stalled train near the summit. As we soon found out, there had been a train derailment near Las Vegas, which necessitated many trains to be held up for hours. Fortunately, being hardy, heads up pioneers, our caravan didn't panic when we backtracked to get back on our tour schedule.



Photo by Richard Greene

Trail Near Cajon Pass

Our trek finished up around 4:00 p.m., and according to the many individuals that spoke to me during and at the conclusion of the event, our tour was a rousing success. ■

Marker: *cont'd from page 43.* Hal Steiner, and Nick Saines "in appreciation of efforts to preserve Nevada's rich heritage." Everyone ate heartily of the huge sheet cake decorated with the map of Armijo's route. Although the town is Goodsprings, the spring itself is named Good's Spring, after cattleman/miner Joe Spring (see *Spanish Traces*, V7#2, Spring 2001 for more details). ■

*by Nick Saines
former Chairperson
Las Vegas Chapter
Tour reports continued >*

Conference Tours

continued from page 45

Tour of

Yorba-Slaughter Adobe

Contributed by Liz Warren

The Yorba-Slaughter Adobe visit, included as one of the field trip offerings, was an “on your own” excursion. Hal Steiner and I took advantage of the opportunity to see the historic ranch house located along the now dry Chino River channel, in a quite rural area of the county. The two-lane road to the ranch area is home still to large dairies and irrigated farmlands, an appropriate introduction to life on the rancho before the explosion of population in Southern California.

On arrival at the ranch, we were greeted by the manager of the site, who lives there in a more recent house. The adobe is a large, elegant, two story structure proudly exhibiting original furnishings that were donated to the site by descendants of the Slaughter-Fuqua family. Julia Fuqua, a descendant, was principally responsible for its dedication and preservation as a historic site. It is now owned and managed by San Bernardino County Museum.

We had a pleasant tour, and were able also to inspect the exterior of the winery building, a later structure that is not open to the public. Exhibits of ranch and wine making equipment are visible through open doors. This is an unusual building, built of broken slabs of old concrete. Where, how, and when this building

material became available is not known at present. Here’s a research opportunity that would be rewarding to pursue!

The Yorba-Slaughter Adobe is of particular interest to Hal and me not so much because it is connected with the Old Spanish Trail as it is to the early ranching and political history of southern Nevada. The Las Vegas Rancho, which survived more or less intact from 1867 to 1948, and is the core community around which and from which the modern City of Las Vegas developed, was founded by one Octavius Decatur Gass. Before he came to southern Nevada, Gass was engaged in ranching and mining, having arrived in the California mother lode country in 1850. There he befriended another argonaut, Fenton M. Slaughter. Eventually the two moved south to Los Angeles, where they parted company but remained friends. In fact, Lelah Vegas Gass, daughter of O.D. Gass, married a Slaughter son and moved to California. Through descendants of this union, the connection between the old Las Vegas Rancho, Gass and the Slaughters has been maintained. Historic blacksmith tools and the Ranch Daybooks kept by Gass have been donated by Slaughter-Gass family descendants to the Old Las Vegas Mormon Fort State Historic Park. This state park occupies the site of the 1855-57 Mormon Fort out of which Gass built the ranch. The springs, which supplied the water for stock, for irrigation of about 400 acres of land, and household use, are familiar to Old Spanish Trail aficionados as the Las Vegas Springs. ■

Agua Mansa and Its Cemetery and Chapel Replica

*Guided by Dr. Bruce Harley
and Dr. Ann Deegan*

Agua Mansa was the first town to be established on the OST as well as being the first town east of the southern California mission chain. The geography of the tour’s layout made it possible to accomplish the story presentation without a lengthy trip in covering the locale and history of an agricultural community which existed from the 1840s to the 1930s. This was done by using the town’s cemetery as a focal point. Fortunately, the highest point of the graveyard looks down on many features of the vanished settlement which have not yet been overrun by Southern California development.



Photo courtesy SBC Museum

In the cemetery we viewed the graves of prominent pioneers and discussed their role in San Bernardino Valley history. The last stop was the chapel replica, which was built in 1978 and for nearly a quarter of a century has been acquiring artifacts in its role as a sub-museum of the County Museum. ■

**Old Spanish Trail Association
Annual General Membership
Business Meeting
San Bernardino County Museum
Redlands, California
June 9, 2001**

Acting-President Willard Lewis called the meeting to order at 3:47 p.m. Lewis thanked everyone for their hard work and contributions to OSTA throughout the year.

Minutes: Summarized by Lewis.

Motion: Jack Nelson moved that the minutes of the last general membership meeting be accepted; seconded by Rod Stock and passed unanimously.

Treasurers Report: Kenn Carpenter. Details of the report are attached. A short analysis was given of OSTA's bank accounts, and it was explained how the interest from the money market account was used to sustain life memberships.

Bylaws Amendment: Willard Lewis. The proposed amendment having been read, **MOTION:** Carol Corbett moved that the bylaw change be adopted as written. Mr. Lucero seconded the motion. Passed unanimously.

This bylaws change allows the President and the Vice-President to be re-elected for a second one-year term. Upon completion of his/her term the President automatically assumes the office of Past President.

Election Results: Lorraine Carpenter. The slate of Officers and Directors as presented to the membership in the official ballot were elected by a majority vote (*). Ballot results are available. Present Officers and Directors are as listed below. Terms expire at the end of the Business Meeting that follows the Annual Conference plenary session.

President, Elizabeth von Till Warren*	2001 – 2002
Vice President, Richard A. L. Greene*	2001 – 2002
Secretary, Lorraine Carpenter	2000 – 2002
Treasurer, Kenn Carpenter	2000 – 2002
Director AZ, Reba Wells Grandrud*	2001 – 2004
Director CA, John W. Robinson	1999 – 2002
Director CO, Patricia Joy Richmond	2000 – 2003
Director NM, Willard E. Lewis	2001 – 2003
Director NV, Carol Corbett*	2001 – 2003
Director UT, Ronald K. Jewkes	1999 – 2002

Lewis then turned the meeting over to the new president, Liz Warren.

Warren greeted the members and thanked Willard Lewis for his service. She encouraged the members to volunteer for committees and gave descriptions of those committees and what they would be doing. A sign-up sheet for committees was placed at the registration table. Warren reminded members of the mission of the OSTA to educate the public and preserve the Trail.

President Warren adjourned the meeting at 4:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
(S) Lorraine Carpenter
Secretary, OSTA

**Treasurer's Report
June 1, 2000 - June 5, 2001
(Includes 2001 Ntl. Conf.)**

Transfer from Angel Fire Treasury	
T.R.Price Act at Transfer	\$ 7,577
Checking Act Transfer	2,250
Total Transfer	\$ 9,827

Assets	
Checking Account	\$ 3,628
T. Rowe Price Prime Reserve	7,989
Total	\$ 11,617

Liabilities	
Redlands Conf (estimate)	\$ 700
Redlands Conf Misc unpaid	136
UK Chapter Cash Act	3
UK J.Sharpe Cash Act	15
Total	\$ 854

Net Assets \$ 10,917

Allocation of Assets	
Operating Account	\$ 2,255
Redlands Conf Account	1,331
Marker Fund Account	4,750
Crampton Fund Account	100
Operating Reserve Account	1,627
Liabilities estimate	854
Total	\$ 10,917

Financial Detail

Revenues	
T.R.Price Div (reinvested)	\$ 412
Redlands Conf Registrations	1,395
Donations	237
New Memberships (42)	564
New Life Member (1)	140
Member Renewals (226)	2,838
Retail Sales	238
Total	\$ 5,824

Expenses	
NPS Response	\$ 354
Bank checks and fees	81
Office equipment	48
Office supplies	115
Purchase for resale, Taos conf.	82
Donation to THMS, Taos conf	200
Grant to Saguache Chapter	100
Chapters 501 (c) (3)	500
<i>Spanish Traces</i> printings	1,710
Election info/ballots printing	43
Brochures (old) printing	200
Postage - bulk mail permit	125
Postage - <i>Spanish Traces</i>	102
Postage - Mbr renewal notices	68
Postage - New mbr packets	67
Postage - Misc	129
Redlands conf exp todate	93
Misc	56
Liabilities estimate	854
Total	\$ 4,927

Cash Flow Summary	
Revenues	\$ 5,824
Expenses	4,927
Gain	\$ 897

Something to think about

Preferred Allocation of Assets	
Operating Account	\$ 2,000
Redlands Conf Account	1,331
Marker Fund Account	4,750
Crampton Fund	1,000
Self Sustaining Fund for Life Memberships, 25 @ \$250 each =	6,250
Liabilities estimate	854
Preferred Total Assets	\$ 16,185
Current Assets	10,917
Liability to ourselves	\$ 5,268

Halburian - cont'd from page 1

work in one of their promotional TV spots.

Recognition of Yvonne's work on behalf of OSTA and the Old Spanish Trail extends far beyond her home town. OSTA has called often upon Yvonne's artistic and cartographic talents. The original, official OSTA map and logo are Yvonne's work. This year she offered the single mule logo that has been approved by OSTA for trail markers in all six states. The whimsical "Trail Fannatic" motif that appears on OSTA scarves and shirts also is Yvonne's creation.

Yvonne Halburian has unselfishly given her time, her talents, and her work to OSTA without seeking compensation or personal recognition. In appreciation of her commitment to the principles of OSTA, the Board of Directors honors Yvonne Halburian as a 2001 Crampton Award recipient. ■

by Patricia Joy Richmond

Querfeld - cont'd from page 1

the western trail terminus. Plans are in progress for markers at other key sites.

Charles Querfeld is well known to all OSTA members as our diligent president for two years, from 1998 to 2000. Under his leadership, OSTA regained momentum and became an effective advocate for national historic trail designation. Among other achievements, he directed two very successful annual conferences, assisted in developing chapters in Nevada and Southern California, and brought financial viability to OSTA. In his own right, Charles is a recognized trail historian who has traveled all significant segments of the OST. His documentation of historical OST threads onto a master topographic map may one day be published, and we look forward to it.

During his two-year term as president, Judy Querfeld was tireless in her support of Charles' OSTA

leadership. But OSTA membership will always be most appreciative of her work in making the OSTA journal, *Spanish Traces*, a truly professional journal which is commended by history scholars and history buffs alike. Under her determined direction, *Traces* has increased in quality, number of pages, and frequency of publication. The next *Traces* editor has a tough act to follow! Judy has also been a diligent advocate of national historic trail designation, and has actively served for the last year on the OSTA Ad Hoc Committee for National Park Service Liaison.

All three of these individuals, and the three as a family unit, have contributed financial, time, and intellectual resources to an extraordinary degree, and the Old Spanish Trail Association would not be what it is today without their unselfish contributions. They certainly merit recognition as Crampton Award recipients. ■

by Willard Lewis

**Old Spanish Trail Association
P.O. Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270**



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***Mark your calendar now for the
2002 OSTA Conference, June 8-9
Southern Utah University
Cedar City, Utah***