

SPANISH TRACES™



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Autumn 2018

Pellissier Ranch

Colville and the San Luis Valley

Armijo's Diary Annotated

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OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

The Old Spanish Trail (OST), one of America's long-distance pioneer trade routes, is recognized by Congress as a National Historic Trail. From 1829 through 1848, traders and pack mules followed the OST on typically a six-week trek from northern New Mexico to Southern California, where woolen goods from New Mexico were swapped for horses and pack stock raised on California's ranchos. Many took the trail – traders, frontiersmen, trappers, families, military expeditions, and Indian guides.

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

Visit our website: <http://oldspanishtrail.org>

The OSTA website is the place to go for both general and comprehensive background and recent news on the OSNHT and OSTA. The site contains maps, an overview history of the trail, and a bibliography of relevant books with links for purchases of books and other OSTA merchandise from the Association. There is also a regularly updated news page that contains links to government reports, activities of OSTA members, and other news related to the trail. The web page links to National Park Service (NPS) and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) sites, where public documents and maps related to the OSNHT can be found. Memberships (new or renewal) may be paid on the OSTA website, and donations, both general and for specific projects, can be made through the OSTA website as well.

Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. *Spanish Traces* welcomes submission of articles, book reviews, and OST-related news. OSTA assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions of contributors. *Spanish Traces* is copyrighted to OSTA in its entirety, but copyright to individual articles is retained by the author. The next deadline for submissions is **November 10, 2018**. All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the OSTA Editor.

Ruth Friesen, *Spanish Traces* Editor
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On the Cover: Pando Clone in the Fishlake National Forest

When the Pando clone was discovered, scientists named it with a Latin word that means "I spread." Pando is an aspen clone that originated from a single seed and spreads by sending up new shoots from the expanding root system. Located in central Utah on the Fishlake National Forest near the OSNHT Fish Lake Study Route, Pando is approximately 1 mile southwest of Fish Lake on State Highway 25. Read more on page 19. *Photo: U.S. Forest Service*



Vicki Felmlee
OSTA President

I just returned from Santa Fe for meetings with our National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management partners, accompanied by our wonderful manager John Hiscock.

It was a bittersweet trip in one way—John is leaving us at the end of September to follow some new trails. He has served us extraordinarily well these past three years, making sure we're taking care of our own trail effectively and efficiently. He has taught me and other board members the importance of ensuring that we're complying with all agreements and has helped guide us towards an excellent future.

My husband Tom and I also stopped along the way coming and going in various Colorado towns and locations to “spread the OST word”—and drop off brochures—in Gunnison, Saguache, Alamosa, Del Norte, Antonito, Fort Garland,

and Great Sand Dunes National Park, to name just a few. Talking with various folks reminded me of the importance of this kind of outreach. I was pleased that many had either heard of the Old Spanish Trail or knew quite a lot of its history.

Of course, I couldn't pass through those areas without meeting with two of our more active chapters, La Vereda del Norte in Colorado and Salida del Sol in New Mexico. Talking about field trips, projects, and the various meetings they have reminds me how important our chapters are and the many ideas they are exploring.

La Vereda del Norte hosts several field trips a year led by Chapter President Ken Frye or former OSTA president Douglas Knudson, showing that our trail is unique because we can see, map, and place signs on many miles of actual re-tracement or original routes.

One of the projects that Salida del Sol (SDS) is working on is a traveling educational trunk to take to elementary schools, with help from the National Park Service office in Santa Fe. The trunk is truly remarkable. Designed and crafted by volunteers, led by OSTA member Li-ane Brown, the leather valise is filled with a variety of interesting, educational, and just plain fun things, from samples of Churro wool to toy animals, and, of course,

a stuffed mule. It is complete with a lesson plan, in its own vintage-looking wool and leather pouch.

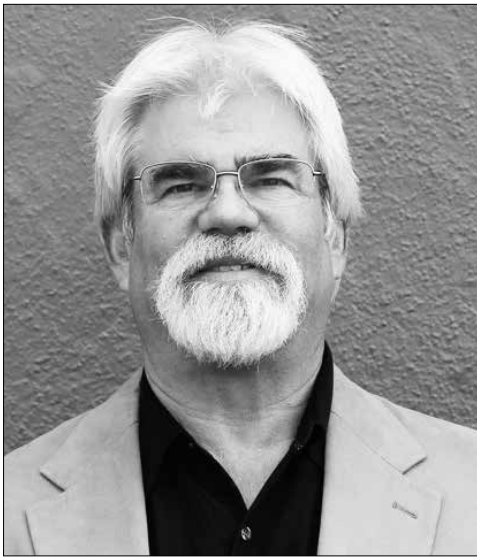
We have plans for OSTA and the SDS chapter to provide more of the trunks to chapters who are interested in visiting their area schools.

In many ways, membership and leadership are sort of “do it yourself” projects, and this doesn't pertain only to OSTA, but to just about any organization. While we have some rules (mostly pertaining to compliance issues), we encourage our state and chapter leaders to find their own ways on the trail, using their knowledge of their communities and unique histories. Issues in California are vastly different than they are in Utah; Arizona's trail is very different than Colorado's.

But your association can help, and we're very open to ideas and projects. We might be able to help with funding, including grants. Beyond that, we might be able to help with other resources such as contacts, partnerships with interested groups, or even equipment or marketing materials. Our website and Facebook pages are also excellent venues for information, both giving and receiving. What is on your wish list? Let me know, call me at 970-245-8484, or email me at president@oldspanishtrail.org. Let's talk. ♦

By the Way

See you in Vancouver!



John W. Hiscock
Association Manager

Hello all! Hope you are having a great summer. I also hope that you are all involved in the 50th anniversary celebration of the National Trails System Act (NTSA) and the 15-year landmark for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail (OSNHT). (See my column in the Spring edition of *Spanish Traces* for details.)

As your Association Manager, I serve as a hub of information on activities, relationships, and projects concerning the OSNHT. The Association Manager can assist the local components, leaders, and members of the organization, coordinate OSTA work with the OSNHT National Park Service (NPS) and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) co-administrators and support overall OSTA consistency in actions. This function also allows me to regularly report to all of you on our efforts along the Trail, and challenges we face. As usual, there is much going on.

In California, new partnerships are being built and others coming to fruition. Through the coordination efforts of Director-At-Large, Alex

ander King, the Juan Matias Sanchez Adobe (a designated high potential historic site on the OSNHT) has now been certified as a partnership historic site on the Trail by the City of Montebello, the Montebello Historical Society, and the NPS and BLM Co-Administrators. Alex also arranged a special public meeting at the Adobe in June to solicit support for the creation of an OSTA Los Angeles area chapter. Alex has also held initial meetings with the San Marino Historical Society to discuss the certification of the Michael White Adobe as a certified historical site of the OSNHT. Also, through Alex's efforts, formal federal signage for the OSNHT at its western terminus at El Pueblo de Los Angeles has been negotiated, fabricated, and delivered for installation. More information on an event to celebrate this marking will be forthcoming.

Director King has also spearheaded an effort to replace and improve upon the OSNHT interpretive wayside at the Mission San Gabriel. OSTA submitted a proposal for a National Park Foundation grant to achieve this earlier this year, and a \$6,600 grant was awarded and received. Work on this project is currently proceeding in partnership with the NPS, the Catholic Church, and the City of San Gabriel. The new wayside will include text in English, Spanish, and Chinese to best serve all populations in the community.

The Agua Mansa Chapter under the leadership of Marisa Yeager, Nancy Melendez, and others continue their efforts to advocate protection of La Placita de los Trujillos along the Santa Ana River at the boundary of

Riverside and Colton, one of the first settlement areas of OST New Mexican immigrants. The site is threatened by industrial zoning and development proposed by the cities. Agua Mansa and partner Spanish Town Heritage Foundation efforts include archeological sub-surface sensing investigations by the California State Polytechnic University (see details on page 17). Agua Mansa President Yeager also recently represented OSTA with an information booth at the 100th anniversary of the Santa Fe Railroad Depot in San Bernardino and made numerous public contacts and solicited many interested, potential OSTA members.

North of Cajon Pass, Nelson Miller and the Mojave Chapter have engaged in discussions with a private developer in Barstow regarding incorporation of OST themes in a major commercial development, "The Shops at Spanish Trail." This project holds hope for a major private partnership promoting and informing the public of the Trail and its geography and history. The Mojave Desert Land Trust has recently acquired a large private parcel adjacent to the OSNHT and Mojave River in the vicinity of Helendale and has contacted OSTA regarding the presence of possible OST cultural resources on the land as it proceeds with its initial plans for management of the property.

In Iron County, Utah, the county government, BLM, and OSTA have installed nine separate sets of Trail silhouettes in conjunction with the recently completed federal signage of the Trail and are now proceeding with additional pedestal interpretive

Trail Dispatches

markers at each silhouette location, based on an interpretive wayside installed in Enoch.

The Recreation and Development Strategy for the OSNHT for Sevier, Garfield, and Piute Counties in Utah has now been completed, in part utilizing \$10,000 in grant funding received by OSTA from the Partnership for the National Trails System. Additional R&D strategies are in the works for Kane County, Utah, and Coconino County, Arizona, to be followed by a similar plan for Washington County, Utah, and Mohave County, Arizona, each funded in part by \$19,000 in Arizona BLM grant funds received by OSTA.

An interpretive facility site certification has been signed by the City of Green River, the John Wesley Powell River History Museum, and the NPS and BLM Co-Administrators for the museum located on the east bank of the Green River, close to the crossing of the OSNHT. OST information and exhibits already exist at the site, and additional partnerships are promising.

A Utah State Historical Records Advisory Board grant in the amount of \$2,631 was proposed by OSTA and awarded for support of processing of OSTA archival collections at Southern Utah University. This work is proceeding.

Potential threats to the OSNHT in Utah are presented by a statewide BLM oil and gas lease sale proposal for December 2018 recently announced by the agency. Some of the proposed lease parcels are located directly on, or adjacent to, the OSNHT. OSTA is in the process of submitting initial comments and will remain

engaged as an advocate for Trail protection. BLM is also proceeding with its revision of resource management plans for the presidentially-diminished Grand Staircase Escalante National Monument and resultant Kanab Field Office area adjustments, both of which affect the OSNHT. OSTA is actively involved in commenting on said plans.

The Recreation and Development Strategy for the OSNHT in Mesa and Delta Counties in Colorado, also partly funded via the aforementioned PNTS grant, is nearing completion.

An OSNHT North Branch federal signage plan for the San Luis Valley in Colorado is nearing completion, with fabrication of signs foreseen to be funded by the NPS. The La Vereda del Norte Chapter and its partners have been the principal motivators of this project and will be seeking state and county road department jurisdictional approvals and commitments in the near future. These efforts should proceed successfully and rapidly, in part motivated by a recent bill passed by the Colorado legislature and signed by Governor Hickenlooper supporting the signage of the OSNHT throughout the State.

President Felmlee and I just returned from a OSNHT route trip to Colorado and New Mexico for OSTA and partnership meetings. The primary purpose of the trip was to discuss operational funding agreements with the NPS for 2018-2019, and more broadly, 2018-2023. We also visited with Salida del Sol leaders and members in Santa Fe concerning New Mexico OSTA business. In addition, we met with the New Mexico BLM office regarding our

statewide OSTA-BLM agreement renewal, and with the New Mexico History Museum to advocate their certification as an OSNHT interpretive facility. Along our separate paths between Grand Junction and Santa Fe for President Felmlee, and Kanab and Santa Fe for me, we made several contacts with partner organizations concerning promotion of the OSNHT and OSTA.



As most of you realize, this will be my last column as Manager of the OSTA, as I have submitted my resignation effective September 30, 2018. My decision to move on was not easy and was long in developing. I plan to remain actively involved in my passion for protection of our public lands, parks, forests, and trails from a broader perspective.

I wish to thank past President Ashley Hall, and the Board, for contracting with me three years ago, and allowing me the leeway to lead, I believe, the Association to new levels of involvement and effectiveness. My thanks also to current President Vicki Felmlee for relying on me as your Manager, and her tireless efforts to improve the Association. To Paul Ostapuk for his institutional memory and advice. And, to Alex King for regular visionary and strategic discussions and dedication to progress and execution of many initiatives. Also, many thanks to Editor Ruth Friesen for her excellent work on *Spanish Traces*, and to Mark Franklin for his dedication to OSTA's retail sales operation. Thanks also to the remainder of the Board and many chapter leaders.

On parting I would make a plea to all of you—the leaders and members of

OSTA—to step up your involvement and actions on behalf of the OSNNT. I challenge each and every one of you to bring at least one or two new members to OSTA. To reach out to diverse and youth populations for the future of the organization. To actively engage in signage, interpretive and educational, and recreational developments for the Trail with our Co-Administrators and other partners.

And, most definitely, to track, discuss, and push back against threats to the OSNHT by being activists for the Trail. The Trail, and all of our public lands, parks, and forests, have never faced such challenges as have developed in the last two years. Indiscriminant energy and other development proposals are being given unbalanced preferences on these lands, and environmental and cultural legal mandates for public involvement and review are being accelerated, and, frankly, diminished or disregarded. You must step up and make your voices heard for protection of the Trail and our public treasures or they will be lost to future generations.

I hope to hear you, and see you, down the Trail! ♦

Baca Family Conference

The Baca Family Historical Project regional conference will be held August 25 in Alcalde, New Mexico. One of the sessions will address the medical issue of cerebral cavernous angiomas, which Alex King wrote about in the Winter 2017 edition of *Spanish Traces*. For more information about the conference, visit www.bacafamily.org or call 505-450-5902.

Old Spanish Trail Association General Membership Meeting October 26, 2018

**in conjunction with the
2018 National Trails Conference
October 22-25
Vancouver, Washington**



Are you joining us for this great opportunity to learn about what other trail organizations are doing? Email us and let us know (president@oldspanishtrail.org). Don't forget, this is also the chance to tell others OUR story. Our history, our Association, our plans for the future.

We will also have our special annual membership meeting Friday, October 26 at 11 a.m. at the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, courtesy of the National Park Service. Let us know if you're going—we hope to see you there.

The Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) and River Management Society (RMS) will host co-located events in Vancouver, Washington, to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the National Trails and Wild & Scenic Rivers Systems Acts. These side-by-side events will bring together private and public organizations and Federal agencies dedicated to the preservation of the nation's wild, scenic, and historic places.

For details about the conference and lodging information, visit <http://pnts.org/new/welcome-2/registration/>



2018 OSTA Board Elections

It's that time again for annual elections for specific seats on the OSTA Board of Directors. Your mail-in ballot postcards are included in this edition of *Spanish Traces*. Open positions include: Vice President, Secretary, Colorado State Director, and New Mexico State Director. Incumbents Secretary Paul Ostapuk and Colorado Director Doug Van Etten are running for renewed terms in said positions (although alternative write-in votes are ac-

cepted).

One new candidate, Dennis Brown, is running for the position of Vice-President (write-in votes also accepted for this position). No nominees have come forward for the position of New Mexico Director, but write-in votes are certainly accepted on your ballot. (Any write-in candidates elected will be subject to concurrence of such candidates after votes are tallied.)



Dennis Brown

Dennis Brown, of Castle Valley, Utah, is a candidate for Vice President of the Old Spanish Trail Association. He is a retired architect with a master's degree in historic preservation from George Washington University and was founder and managing partner of Geier Brown Renfrow Architects in Washington D.C. Brown served on the grant review panel for the Institute of Museum Services, advising non-profit house museums located in

historic buildings on how to properly insulate and environmentally protect their historic collections and building.

He and his wife lived in London for several years before moving to Castle Valley, Utah. They retired to the eastern Utah area several years ago. "We love the desert and the outdoors. Moving here was a natural fit," he said. He quickly became immersed in the area's history. In 2014 he joined the Museum of Moab's Board of Trustees and was appointed Chair of the Facilities Committee and Chair of the Development Committee. He helped raised \$1 million and is spearheading the campaign to transform the Museum into a 21st century institution. In 2018 he was elected President of the Board of Trustees and is also the project manager for creating a video about the Old Spanish Trail in southeastern Utah.



Secretary Paul Ostapuk



Colorado Director Doug Van Etten

In Memorium

Bill Chenoweth, geologist, died July 23, 2018, in Grand Junction, Colorado. He shared his extensive knowledge of geology and historical research to help identify the Old Spanish Trail, helping promote it to obtain historic status.

His interest in history, especially the Old Spanish Trail, was well known in Western Colorado. He was the OSTA Colorado Director from 1998-2000 and helped to "make the case" for the trail to become a National Historic Trail in 2002. He wrote a number of articles for *Spanish Traces* about the area around Grand Junction and eastern Utah. His last *Traces* article was written for the Winter 2009 issue, titled "A Portion of the North Branch Became the Salt Lake Wagon Road." In 2016, OSTA honored him at its conference in Grand Junction.

Bill worked with the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) for many years, and was appointed Chief of the Geologic Branch in Grand Junction office in 1970, where he was responsible for the activities of the AEC geologists in the 14 western states. He is the author and coauthor of over 80 reports on uranium mining history, geology, and resources in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah. Bill has been a member of the New Mexico Geological Society since 1952, and served as the secretary/treasurer of the Grand Junction Geological Society until his passing. ♦

John Robinson, prominent western historian and mountaineer, died April 24, 2018. He was OSTA's first California Director and served from 1998-2002. He wrote a number of articles for *Spanish Traces* beginning in 2002: his last article appeared in the Autumn 2011 issue and was titled "OST: San Bernardino to Mission San Gabriel, Los Angeles." He also was a presenter at several OSTA conferences.

He was the author of many books and articles about the history of the Southern California mountains and passes, as well as trail guides. His book *Gateways to California* is especially fundamental to the history of trails, roads, and travel in southern California. In 2005, the Historical Society of Southern California presented Robinson with the Fellows Award medallion, honoring "exceptional lifetime achievements that have brought distinction to history."

Frank Norris, National Park Service historian, said about Robinson, "He was a hero of mine. His hiking guides got me out onto the trails and made me want to get out for more, particularly in the San Gabriel and San Bernardino Mountains. His guides had an easy-going, friendly quality about them, meaning that it was obvious he knew the mountain trails really well, but wasn't about to lean on you with his abilities or his prowess. He was pretty much ideal as far as I was concerned....he loved to learn about the area's geography and history, and he found every excuse that he could to get out and see the area's wonders." ♦

Juan Matias Sanchez Adobe in Montebello Receives Site Certification

The Juan Matias Sanchez Adobe in Montebello, California, signed a Partnership Certification Agreement in June with the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service, co-administrators of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The Adobe, owned by the City of Montebello and managed by the Montebello Historical Society, is both a historic site of the Trail and an interpretive facility. The Adobe will now have access to NPS and BLM expert guidance in many specialties (e.g. interpretation, history, archaeology,) and it also secures the ability to erect official OSNHT trail signage and use the official OSNHT logo.

It is the fourth site associated with the Trail to be certified. Earlier this year, El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument in Los Angeles, California, and the John Wesley Powell River History Museum in Green River, Utah, signed similar agreements. Fort Uncompahgre Interpretive Center in Delta, Colorado, signed in 2017.

Otherwise known as a "site certification," the goal of the Partnership Certification Program for the OSNHT, like those for other National Historic Trails, is to promote awareness of the Trail and visitor appreciation as well as to pursue protection of historic resources. ♦

Chapter Reports

The Founding of the Old Spanish Trail Association and the San Luis Valley Chapter

By Patricia Joy Richmond

Preserving the Trail

In January 1994, Ron Kessler and four or five other Rio Grande County citizens met at the Rio Grande County Museum in Del Norte, Colorado, to discuss what might be done to protect traces of a historic trail between Del Norte and Monte Vista. A road that the county planned to build to access a new landfill would pass through the same area as the trail. Those who had braved the bitterly cold, snowy weather decided that presenting information and concerns about the trail to the commissioners, and the general public, through an organization would be more effective than individual action as concerned citizens.

Newspaper notices and radio announcements brought about a dozen people from the San Luis Valley to a follow-up meeting. Besides Kessler, the organizational group included Mugs Batchelder (Saguache), Phil Carson (Colorado Springs), Ruth Marie Colville (Del Norte), Augustine DeHerrera (Tres Piedras), Max Lara (La Jara), a Mr. Martinez (Alamosa), Suzanne Off (Del Norte), and Patricia Richmond (Crestone). The group discussed a name for the organization and chose the Old Spanish Trail Association. Kessler and Carson took responsibility for checking into requirements for filing for Colorado non-profit status. The group discussed articles of incorporation and bylaws and set membership levels. Interim officers were Ron Kessler as president and Patricia Richmond as vice president. Suzie Off volunteered to serve as treasurer to set up a bank account for the organization at Rio Grande County Bank in Del Norte.

OSTA's first annual meeting convened at the Rio Grande County Museum in June 1994. Officers elected to two-year terms were Ron Kessler, president; Patricia Richmond, vice president; John Koshak, secretary; and Suzie Off, treasurer. Koshak was the Colorado State Parks ranger at San Luis Lakes. He and Richmond both served on the Los Caminos Antiguos Historic and Scenic Byway committee as well as with the San Luis Valley Trails and Recreation Coalition. Phil Carson developed the high quality standard for OSTA's *Spanish Traces* as first editor and publisher. Earl Casteel served as an at-large member of the Board of Directors.

In early 1995, Richmond wrote a proposal for a three-part trails presentation at the combined meeting of the New Mexico and Arizona historical societies in Tucson in April. Kessler covered Anza's 1779 expedition that followed the west-side trail through the San Luis Valley (SLV). Colville talked about Don Diego de Vargas's 1694 *entrada* that had followed trails on both the east and west side within the southern SLV, today's New Mexico-Colorado boundary area. Richmond wrapped up the presentation with a summary and time-line handout about three centuries of travel over the San Luis Valley's trails. Responses brought interest in OSTA from many in attendance, including Willard Lewis and Reba Grandrud.

San Luis Valley Chapter Evolves

As interest in the OST expanded, the original San Luis Valley Chapter evolved into county chapters. John Koshak was appointed to serve as interim president for an Alamosa County chapter. Perhaps due to other history organizations within the county, the Alamosa County chapter never acquired a sustainable membership. J. R. Hancock (Monte Vista) served as president of the Rio Grande County chapter. This chapter met the 10 national members requirement as set in the original OSTA bylaws. Yvonne Halburian served as president of the Saguache County Chapter, with Connie Casteel as secretary and Sam Halburian as treasurer. The Saguache County chapter became very active with members from Saguache, Center, Moffat, Crestone, Villa Grove, and throughout rural Saguache County.

Halburian organized numerous field trips: following the trail west of Saguache to Sheep Creek Canyon, Cochetopa Pass, and the Western Slope; visiting John and Nell Alberts's historic property on Rito Alto Creek, aka Leroux Creek. Though succumbing to changes in the river channel, an old log structure still stood where the east-side trail had crossed the creek. Small rectangular "porthole" windows were the only outside light source. The interior measurements of the portholes were wider than the exterior openings – allowing those inside more mobility in firing a rifle while limiting the opening through which an arrow or bullet might pass.

Halburian acquired funding for construction of a monu-

ment to mark the west side trail near Saguache. She also arranged for an in-the-field video interview about the OST within the San Luis Valley. The program aired on Denver Channel 4's *Colorado Getaways*. Halburian designed the official OSTA logo as well as the *Trail Fanatic* T-shirt/scarf logo that became popular with OSTA members.

Creating National Status

Kessler began meeting with people outside the SLV about setting up OSTA chapters to give the organization a truly national status. Willard Lewis spearheaded organizing a New Mexico chapter. Grandrud helped initiate interest in an Arizona chapter. Kessler also had been in contact with Ralph Crampton and Steve Heath in Utah. Jack Nelson and other OST historians in Grand Junction, Colorado, established the North Branch Chapter, which became affiliated with OSTA.

Due to the growing interest in OSTA and the Old Spanish Trail from the Tucson presentation and the personal contacts made by Kessler, the 1995 annual meeting in Del Norte was well attended. The Saguache Chapter hosted the 1997 annual meeting. Dr. Joe Sánchez was the keynote speaker. Kessler had been in contact with Jere Krakow (NPS) about the possibility of designating the OST as a National Historic Trail. Adding to the interesting field trips and lecture during the Saguache conference was discussion over the prospect of the OST becoming a National Historic Trail.

By the 1998 annual meeting in Taos, OSTA had at least one chapter in each of the six states through which the trail passed. Having fulfilled two terms as national vice president, Richmond became the first Colorado director.

Creating La Verada del Norte Chapter

Through the years, membership within the enthusiastic Saguache Chapter began to dwindle as people moved away, dealt with illnesses, or died. In 2003, Max Lara arranged a meeting at Adams State College for people interested in the OST and OSTA. The group decided to replace the county chapters with a chapter that could include OSTA members from the Front Range, the San Luis Valley, and southwestern Colorado. Designated as *La Verada del Norte Chapter* in honor of Ruth Marie Colville's *La Vereda, a Trail through Time*, the new chapter elected Max Lara as president. He served two two-year terms. Augustine DeHerrera was the vice president

until health issues brought his resignation. Richmond, Ken Frye, Suzie Off, and Stuart Bryan have served as other officers for the La Vereda del Norte Chapter. Earl Casteel was the first at-large representative. Doug Knudson, who became president of OSTA, also has served on the BOD for La Vereda. The current chapter president is Ken Frye. ♦

History of Salida Del Sol Chapter

In the spring of 1996, the founding president of OSTA, Ron Kessler of Monte Vista, Colorado, contacted Richard and Marie Greene of Angel Fire, New Mexico, about the possibility of organizing a chapter or chapters of OSTA in New Mexico.

Response to Greene's queries was sufficiently encouraging that an organizational meeting was held on April 27, 1996. Meeting the ten-member minimum membership requirement of the OSTA bylaws, the group adopted the name *Salida del Sol* (Sunrise) Chapter. Willard Lewis was elected chapter president for a two-year term, and Richard Greene was elected secretary-treasurer.

Petitioners for OSTA recognition of the chapter and first chapter members listed in the request were: John Bloom, Las Cruces; Dorothy Brylinski, Albuquerque; Virginia Ebinger, Los Alamos; Tonia and Alan Gould, Santa Fe; Richard and Marie Greene, Angel Fire; Terry Koenig, Artesia; Willard and Kay Lewis, Santa Fe; Thomas and Lucille Phelan, Albuquerque; Dr. Lorn Shields, Albuquerque; Marc Simmons, Cerrillos; and Janice Sunshine, Aragon. Subsequently, the chapter adopted bylaws that became the model for other OSTA chapters. Pat Kuhlhoff is the current chapter president.

The first chapter program meeting was October 26, 1996, in Santa Fe. The speaker was Dr. Joseph Sánchez, Superintendent, National Park Service Spanish Colonial Research Center, Albuquerque. Dr. Sánchez had just published his book, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850*. Jack Barnes, then President of the End of the Trail Chapter, Santa Fe Trail Association, attended and reported on activities planned to commemorate the 175th anniversary of the Santa Fe Trail. This began a continuing collaboration between OSTA's Salida del Sol Chapter (SDS) and SFTA's End of the Trail Chapter. In recent years, the two chapters, along with the Docents of the Palace of the Governors State

History Museum, have held a joint March program meeting with speakers focusing on the contribution of historic trails to New Mexico's history.

In April 1997, the chapter provided an extensive training session to Palace of the Governors docents regarding the Old Spanish Trail. Educational outreach programs were presented to other history organizations. The Old Spanish Trail began to show up on the radar screen of New Mexico groups interested in Western history.

Early in 1998, the Greenes began a chapter newsletter, *Salida Del Sol News*. The Fray Angélico Chávez History Library at the Palace of the Governors has become a repository for chapter newsletters, along with the OSTA archives in the Western History Collection at the Denver Public Library.

The Salida del Sol Chapter has hosted three national OSTA conferences; the May 1998 conference in Santa Fe, the June 2000 conference in Taos, and the 3-Trails Conference in Santa Fe in 2015. Some of its members have also been elected to OSTA national officer positions.

Among the chapter's future plans are trail monuments/markers in Abiquiú and Santa Fe, more documentation of alternative trail routes in northern New Mexico, and a proposed publication dealing with trail variants in northern New Mexico. The chapter is also exploring formation of a "Historic Trails Consortium" for New Mexico, based on a successful model in Utah. Because of proximity, the chapter will maintain liaison on trail issues with the National Trails Office Intermountain Regions of the National Park Service in Santa Fe, and the New Mexico Bureau of Land Management Office. Cooperative activities with New Mexico state government agencies continue to be explored.

--Willard Lewis

The Salida del Sol Chapter has created a traveling educational trunk to take to elementary schools. Designed and crafted by volunteers, led by OSTA member Liane Brown, the trunk displays a variety of fun, educational, and informative items pertinent to the Old Spanish Trail.

History of William Workman Chapter

In the mid-1980s David Fallowfield and John Sharpe, both police officers at Police HQ in Penrith, Cumbria, England, heard stories from a colleague, Doug Workman, about 19th-century U.S. pioneer William Workman. These stories fell on fertile ears. Fallowfield had family connections in California and had visited there in 1983. Sharpe lived in the village of Clifton, near Penrith, which had been William Workman's home village. In 1987, Fallowfield and friend Bill Ramsay, who also had historical family links to California, made a visit to California and pursued the Workman story further, and also visited sections of the OST in California and Nevada.

In the 1990s Fallowfield and Sharpe, both now retired from police service, were still in regular contact, and the Workman story was frequently discussed. As a result of correspondence from Judge David Workman of Los Angeles to Sharpe, Fallowfield realised he was related to the 19th-century pioneering brothers David and William Workman. After reading the Hafens' book, Fallowfield and Sharpe decided it would be an adventure to drive from Santa Fe to Los Angeles on highways following close to the OST, and this they did in November 1997, accompanied by Sharpe's wife Lorna and Bill Ramsay.

While in the bookshop of the Kit Carson Museum in Taos, Fallowfield purchased Ron Kessler's book *Retracing the Old Spanish Trail – North Branch*. The group arrived in Los Angeles on November 5, which was the



same day that Workman had arrived in 1841. They then visited the Workman and Temple Homestead Museum. On returning home to England, Fallowfield wrote to Kessler, then President of the Old Spanish Trail Association, about this English interest in the OST. Kessler replied, encouraging OSTA membership and formation of the first international chapter.

Following the Kessler/Fallowfield correspondence (see *Spanish Traces* – Spring 1998) an inaugural meeting was held on December 13, 1997, in Penrith, attended by John Sharpe, David Fallowfield, Lorna Sharpe, and Bill Ramsay. It was decided to join OSTA and form a chapter with David's wife Alva as the fifth member. Thus in January 1998 the first international chapter of OSTA came into existence, to be known, appropriately, as the William Workman Chapter, with John Sharpe as the president and David Fallowfield as secretary/treasurer.

John Sharpe continued as president, and in November 1999 he and Fallowfield attended the William Workman Bicentennial at the Homestead Museum in City of Industry, California. Sharpe attended the national conference in Taos in June 2000 and gave a presentation on William Workman (see *Spanish Traces* – June 2000). However, later that year he stood down as president and resigned from the chapter. In May 2001, Director Bill Ramsay was elected to the office of president, a post he continues to hold. Other directors are Donald Harrison, John Thompson and Bruce Alderson. Fallowfield remains as secretary/treasurer.

Chapter members have attended OSTA conferences in 2006-2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015, and 2017. In 2009 and 2014, OSTA Presidents Doug Knudson and Ashley Hall, respectively, with 15 and 10 OSTA members, toured Cumbria with Workman Chapter members.

The William Workman Chapter is only a small component of OSTA, but now in its 21st year since its founding, it is still active and able to participate in the organisation of the association. Being so far removed from the site of the OST makes recruitment of new members extremely difficult; it is therefore satisfying to have actually survived as a chapter.

--David Fallowfield

History of Southern Utah Chapter

The Southern Utah Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association began with the amateur historian and archaeologist S. Alva Matheson and his wife Zella Matheson. Alva Matheson's understanding of local history began with friendship with and work among local Paiute tribe leaders in Cedar City. His desire to understand the history of the Iron County, Utah, area led to an investigation of the Spanish explorations and travels in this area. Alva Matheson also began to identify Old Spanish Trail campsites and significant locations along the Old Spanish Trail and the route of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition that attempted to find a route to Monterey, Alta California, passing through this area in 1776.

Alva Matheson was joined by other historically-minded members of the Cedar City Rock Club in uncovering the history of the Old Spanish Trail beginning in July 1949. Charter members of the group were S. Alva Matheson, President, Zella Matheson, Secretary, William R. Palmer, Wilfred Lawrence, and others. This group expanded the knowledge base about the early Spanish explorers and Trail travelers and recorded the location of significant sites. They also published books, wrote articles, and shared their information with serious academic groups to further the understanding of happenings in the area. Artifacts that were uncovered were placed in special collection at the Southern Utah University Library, Cedar City, Utah. Their efforts continued into the mid-1970s on an intermittent basis until the local chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association was formed in October of 2004.

With the formation of the Southern Utah Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association, the knowledge base assembled by S. Alva Matheson and the members of the Cedar City Rock Club was melded into the local chapter. The president of the newly-formed chapter, and its organizer, was Alva L. Matheson, son of S. Alva Matheson. The amount of trail history being assembled was magnified greatly with the knowledge of Alva L. Matheson.

Relationships were formed with the Bureau of Land Management, leading to the designation of Trails Specialists within the BLM, National Park Service, and the National Forest Service. These inter-agency relationships are still operational and have led to Old Spanish Trail designations and mapping in Southern Utah and/or locations in

the affected states. These relationships have also been beneficial in preserving segments of the Old Spanish Trail that could have been obliterated by development or recreational use.

Matheson recruited others with an interest in the Old Spanish Trail routes and camp sites, and was a key player in selecting and gaining the approval for Southern Utah University to be the repository for Old Spanish Trail Association documents and artifacts. Matheson has developed a cooperative effort with the Sons of Utah Pioneers that has produced signage depicting the Old Spanish Trail routes in Iron County, Utah, and the installation of Old Spanish Trail silhouette markers along Interstate 15 and other area roads. He led the effort for local clubs, civic groups, and Chambers of Commerce to purchase 100 signs identifying the local route of the Old Spanish Trail. These were all erected by Boy Scouts and other groups seeking to identify this route of historical interest.

The efforts to promote the recognition and preservation of the Old Spanish Trail continue in Iron County and Southern Utah under the leadership of Gerald Van Iwaarden, current chapter president. Silhouettes and markers are being placed along the routes in Utah and Arizona with the cooperation of the Bureau of Land Management and local agencies. The Sons of Utah pioneers have been instrumental in erecting the silhouettes depicting a vaquero and pack animals in accessible locations which have been identified with the Old Spanish Trail route.

--Gerald Van Iwaarden

Trail Days Utah Slated for August 24-25

The Richfield Area Chamber of Commerce in Utah announces a two-day Trails event in Richfield and the surrounding area during August 24-25. For more information about Trail Days events or to register for events, see www.traildaysutah.com. ❖

Descendants and Travelers of the Trail Chapter

Conchita Marusich and Cecelia Peña started the Descendants and Travelers of the Trail Chapter in 2017 because they both love the history of the Old Spanish Trail and are proud descendants of people who braved the hardships of the trail and came west. At various conferences over the years, Cecelia and Conchita had talked to other descendants, and soon had a small group composed of descendants as well as people who were interested in learning stories about the travelers of the Trail. The chapter is primarily internet-based, which has allowed people from all over the world to join. They are in their first year and currently have 28 members in the UK, Australia, and 10 states. Conchita is currently the president of the chapter while Cecelia is the vice-president, though in reality they share the leadership responsibility.

The chapter has initiated an ongoing project this year. It is building a database containing short profiles about members's ancestors and other travelers of the Old Spanish Trail. It will eventually be made accessible to the public on the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA) website and become a reference for all OSTA members and other interested parties. The information may also be posted on the chapter's and OSTA's Facebook page. The chapter is very close to posting its initial group of profiles on the OSTA website, with the help of Vicki Felmlee, OSTA President. The hope is that more OSTA members will be inspired to send in profiles about different travelers of the Trail as well.

The very active Descendants and Travelers of the Trail Facebook page has attracted over 200 members. For some, the Facebook page is the first time that they have heard about the Old Spanish Trail. New, interesting bits of historical and genealogical information are constantly being posted on the page and commented on. To join the chapter on Facebook, search for Descendants and Travelers of the Old Spanish Trail.

--Conchita Marusich



Agua Mansa Chapter Works to Document the San Salvador Bell

*By Jim Wood, Agua Mansa Chapter Member,
and the Mission Inn Foundation*

Two of the Inland Empire's earliest settlements were Agua Mansa and La Placita on the Santa Ana River just north of Riverside, California, in 1845. New Mexicans and others settled there after treading west on the Old Spanish Trail. Sadly, the towns were flooded away in 1862, but there was no loss of life because residents ran to high ground after hearing the warning of the church bell. The little church and cemetery survived. In 1863, Father Peter Verdaguer arrived and saw the old, cracked church bell hanging on a wooden frame or tree and decided to seek donations in the region to forge a new bell. He reportedly hired an older Mexican man to forge it, paying him \$12 and two horses. The bell was rung in 1866 but sounded poorly due to a hole near the top. It was not repaired, since it represented the strength of the poor settlers who lived on, leading to descendants who still reside in the region. The cemetery is now a museum, the church (San Salvador) moved to Colton, and the bell is now displayed at the Mission Inn in Riverside.

The Mission Inn bell collection has been highlighted in numerous publications over the years, including books, promotional materials, and magazines. In the December 1912 issue of the *Craftsman* magazine, an article stated that the number of bells was 200. The author noted that the collection provided an "uninterrupted story of the bell."

Several editions of a small booklet titled *The Bells and Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn, Riverside, California* said the collection was made available to those visiting the Inn. *Bells and Crosses...* provided an introduction to the two collections. Both collections were listed in numerical order. Attached to each bell was a small round metal tag with a number stamped into the center. Each bell was identified in the booklet by a brief description, although sometimes as little as one sentence was provided. A list of several of the bells, ranked in order of importance, was printed at the front of the booklet.

The description of the Agua Mansa bell in the publication reads:



Large bronze and silver church bell cracked and with hole at top, from defective casting. Made by Mexicans on the old Jensen ranch of the edge of Riverside, in the year 1866, as seen by the inscription. Dedicated to "Our Lady of Guadalupe," made for the little adobe church of Agua Mansa, near Riverside, and is the first church bell cast within the present limits of Riverside County. After the little church was washed away in the great flood, the bell was saved, and for many years hung from a tree by the roadside. Later it was removed to the little wooden Catholic church at Colton. After that church was burned, Mr. Frank A. Miller, owner of the Mission Inn, was enabled to secure it as one of the most interesting in his collection. An ancient Mexican woman, who was present at the casting of this bell, told us she saw many people throw gold and silver chains and other articles into the cauldron in which the bell was being melted.

The inscription on the bell reads:

SSDA 1866 N S DE GUADALUPE which likely stands for San Salvador de Agua Mansa 1866 Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe.

Over the years, the original signage was misplaced. The OSTA Agua Mansa Chapter is partnering with the Mission Inn Foundation to ensure the story of the Agua Mansa/San Salvador Bell, now residing in the Inn's Las Campanas Restaurant, is accessible to all, with proper signage and information. ♦

Nevada Chapter Inspects Native American Rock Art

The Nevada Chapter of OSTA set its activity goals through 2020 on locating, inspecting, and collecting Native American rock art photos in southeastern Nevada that have some bearing on the Old Spanish Trail. Therefore, most of the rock art we are searching for is rather recent art.

On June 8, 2018, several members of the OSTA Nevada Chapter conducted a tour and inspection of “The White River Narrows Archaeological District,” approximately 20 miles north of Hiko, Nevada, along Hwy 93, to identify rock art associated with travel along the Old Spanish Trail. The Old Spanish Trail runs approximately 70 miles east of the Narrows in a southwesterly direction.

The Narrows was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976. The area is especially scenic because of its rhyolite cliffs on which much of the archaeological district's rock art is situated. The petroglyphs at White River Narrows provide glimpses into the cultural lives of Native American peoples who lived by harvesting wild plants and animals from some 4,000 years ago until the nineteenth century. See www.blm.gov/visit/search-details/262711/1 for additional information.

One of the more well-known rock panels found at the White River Narrows is the subject of multiple interpretations. The panels are large and follow the natural contours of the cliff face for perhaps as much as 16 feet high or more. The motifs include large linear features, depictions of large mammals (common for the eastern part of



White River Narrows Archaeological District

the state), and a number of motifs that might be representations of human footprints, as well as large numbers of non-representational motifs. The inscriptions that prove the most difficult to evaluate are “rakes” (a series of vertical lines that touch, or are struck through by, a horizontal line). R. F. Heizer and T. R. Hester interpreted the rakes as the depiction of a “game drive,” with the lines representing some kind of trap for the animals. There is little ethnographic evidence, however, to support the idea that aboriginal game drives included the construction of “picket” style fences, which makes that reading of the imagery unconvincing. Grace Burkholder thought that the rakes were a solar marker, with the petroglyphs aligning during major celestial events, such as the summer solstice. Yet there is no definitive interpretation.

A great deal of thanks goes to OSTA members Vaughn and Arda Higbee of Alamo, Nevada, for their guiding efforts to both the main and northern segment of the Narrows.

--Nicole Marie Dominguez



Rake motif



Figures

Pellissier Ranch Remote Sensing Investigation Conducted

This sensing investigation was proposed by the Spanish Town Heritage Foundation (STHF) in Riverside, California. Old Spanish Trail Association Tecopa Chapter President Jack Pritchett referred members of the STHF to Dr. Jascha Polet at California Polytechnic University Pomona. Dr. Polet and graduate student Chloe Sutkowski toured the Adobe and the adjacent Pellissier Ranch, and were excited to take on the project. Riverside Public Utilities (RPU), owner of Pellissier Ranch, granted permission to conduct the ground sensing radar project. A student team led by Chloe Sutkowski worked the area for several weekends. More work will be necessary to complete the project.

By Chloe Sutkowski

Abstract

Pellissier Ranch in Riverside, California, is a potential resting place of artifacts from the Inland Empire's first settlement, La Placita de Los Trujillos. The Great Flood of the Santa Ana River in 1862 washed away the entire settlement in a single night. Geophysical surveys are being employed at the site to non-invasively search the subsurface for buried artifacts. As Pellissier Ranch covers an immense area, remote sensing will be employed to narrow the search area to locations that would be likely deposit locations from the overwhelmed river. Digital Elevation Models were acquired from the USGS and used to derive raster datasets of slope, contour lines, flow direction, and flow accumulation. From the combined analysis of the three datasets, it is likely that

the northeast portion of the site experienced the least force from the overwhelmed Santa Ana River and is best to prioritize in the search for buried artifacts.

Introduction

Pellissier Ranch is currently a vacant lot covered in tall grasses year-round. The northern half is in San Bernardino County, and the southern half in Riverside County. The most recent owner had been Antoine Pellissier, who purchased the land in 1905 and developed it as a vineyard. Shortly after, the dry laws came into effect and it ruined Pellissier's business, forcing him to abandon the land as it has remained until present day. Before it came into his possession, it belonged to the Inland Empire's first settlers and was known as La Placita de Los Trujillos (La Placita).

Lorenzo Trujillo was the leader of this settlement. A wealthy rancher in the area had given the land conditionally to Trujillo and the group of settlers he traveled with under the condition that they would protect the land and property of the rancher from hostile Native American raids. From 1843 to 1862, the settlement flourished. La Placita rested along the Santa Ana River and its soil was very fertile. The inhabitants were hard-working, community-oriented people. However, in 1862, January experienced two weeks of unceasing rain, leading to the complete overwhelming of the Santa Ana River. "What had been the largest settlement between New Mexico and Los Angeles in

the mid-1800s was washed away in a single night" (Vickery, 1977). All the structures were adobe and stood no chance against the fury of the river.

While the structures themselves, excluding the possible existence of foundations, were entirely washed away, all that had filled the structures should have persisted. "Metal cookware, utensils, farming equipment, and wooden objects" (Brumgardt and Putney, 1977) that would have filled these homes and structures of La Placita would not have dissolved as adobe would have in water. Therefore, it is likely that many of the artifacts from this ancient settlement still exist in the subsurface somewhere. Since Pellissier Ranch was ground zero for La Placita, it is likely that many of the artifacts are in the subsurface there.

At approximately 1,000 acres, Pellissier Ranch requires a vast amount of time to survey in its entirety. With development plans approaching, it is important that artifacts be located as quickly as possible to preserve the history potentially buried there. To accomplish this, ArcMap 10.5 (ERSI, 2017) was utilized to remotely determine most likely locations of deposited artifacts. The archaeological geophysics survey to follow this study will be the first at this site, and the remote imaging done in this study is the first attempt at determining likely artifact deposit locations.

Method

This study gathered digital elevation model (DEM) data from the United States Geological Survey (USGS) of Pellissier Ranch. Their “The National Map” GIS resource for topographic information was able to provide the DEM raster datasets used in this study.

[Both Method and Results section of the report have been abbreviated for this article. See http://spanishtownhf.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Pellissier_Ranch_GIS_Survey.pdf for more detailed information.]

Results

The Contour tool, set at an interval of 10', was able to delineate the lowest elevations in the area (figure below). A decreasing slope is observed from the northeast corner of the map down to the southwest

corner. The lowest elevation (in the river) is present in the southwest corner at 250', while the highest is in the northeast at 290'. The decrease of 40' in elevation occurs in this shown area (~10 km). In the middle of the map, it is seen that the river flows through a relatively narrow portion where its maximum width is limited to 500 meters. Areas of the river directly above and below this point are almost three times the width at around 1300 meters.

Discussion

When looking at both the slope raster and the contour raster, a path for an overwhelmed Santa Ana River can be hypothesized. The northeast portion of the map has a wide area which would have allowed the Santa Ana River to spill into it as it travels along its path. As it reaches the middle portion of the

map, topographic highs on either side of the river force it through a relatively narrow width.

An overwhelming of the river would cause a heavy build-up and strong flow through this portion as it forces itself through. Once making it through this narrow portion, the river would have spilled over in great force, with its flow towards the lowest elevation (the 250' elevation contour in the southwest corner). The greater width past the narrow portion would be filled; this includes Pellissier Ranch.

A limitation in this study was not being able to access Riverside County DEM datasets. San Bernardino County, which contains the northern half of Pellissier Ranch and all areas north of it, provided free and easily accessible datasets. Riverside County, which contains the southern half of Pellissier Ranch, did not have DEM datasets easily accessible to the public. While San Bernardino's datasets included enough of the northern border of Riverside County to show the entire Pellissier Ranch and a little south of it, a more conclusive study would have included areas further south.

This would have better shown how far south artifacts might have been taken before being deposited. Based on the two derived raster datasets in this study, it's possible to hypothesize that the Santa Ana River did indeed inundate the entire extent of Pellissier Ranch, which was once La Placita. The strongest force would have been experienced in areas in the southwest portion of

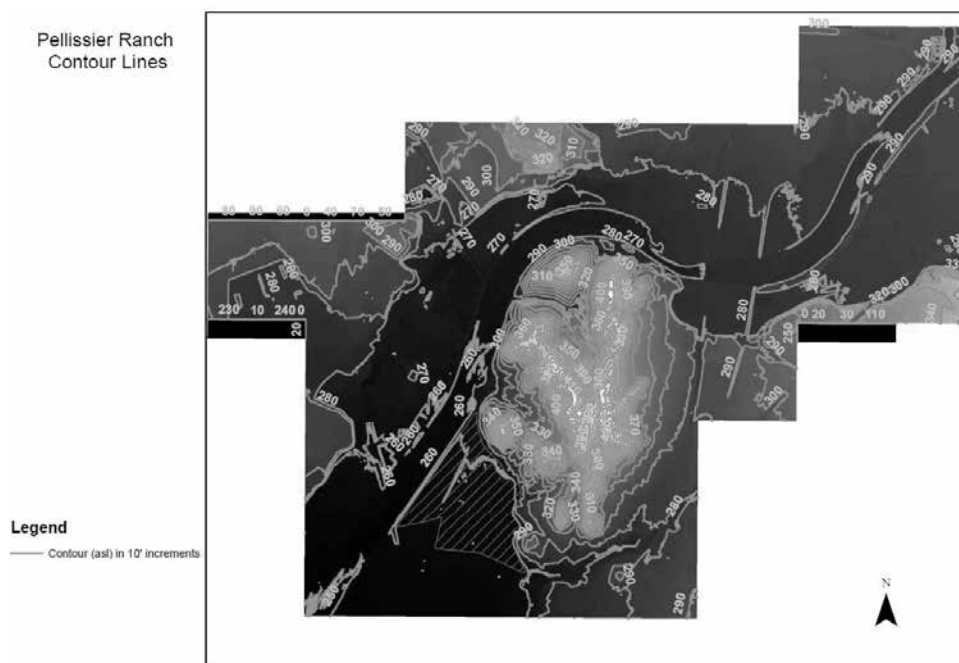


Figure shows the contour raster dataset derived from the DEM raster dataset. Increments of contour lines = 10'.

the ranch due to the elevation and slope gradient seen in the river. An improved resolution for this survey could be accomplished with a drone, which would provide more minute changes in elevation to derive Flow Accumulation raster datasets of Pellissier Ranch from.

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Pando, cont. from page 3

Pando is believed to be the largest, most dense organism ever found at nearly 13 million pounds. The clone spreads over 106 acres, consisting of over 40,000 individual trees. The exact age of the clone and its root system is difficult to calculate, but it is estimated to have started at the end of the last ice age. Some of the trees are over 130 years old. It was first recognized by researchers in the 1970s and more recently proven by geneticists. Its massive size, weight, and prehistoric age have caused worldwide fame.

In the summer the green, fluttering leaves symbolize relief from summer's heat, and in autumn the orange and yellow leaves add to the fall spectacular that is the Fish Lake Basin. Visitors from many states, as well as other nations, have travelled to central Utah to see and experience Pando, especially during the fall. In 2006 the U.S. Postal Service honored the Pando Clone as one of the "40 Wonders of America" with a stamp in its commemoration.

Specialists are concerned with Pando, however, because the clone is showing signs of decline. Two reasons for this decline are thought to be lack of regeneration, as well as insects and disease.

The lack of regeneration may be due to over-grazing by deer and other ungulates. Insects such as bark beetles and disease such as root rot and cankers are attacking the overstory trees, weakening and killing them. A lack of regeneration combined with weakening and dying trees, in time, could result in a smaller clone or a complete die-off of the existing pando.

The Forest Service, in cooperation with partner organizations, are working to study Pando in order to address the issues of decline. Over the years, foresters have tested different methods to stimulate the roots to encourage new sprouting. Research plots have been set up in all treated areas to track Pando's progress. With each treatment, foresters have been able to learn from Pando and adapt. ♦

Ruth Friesen Resigns as Spanish Traces Editor

This edition will be my last issue as Editor of *Spanish Traces*. I have made the decision to lessen my work load in order to focus on the necessary research required for a book I am writing about an aspect of my family history. The timing, coinciding with John Hiscock's departure, is not related in any way to his decision.

I began my tenure as Editor with the Autumn 2011 issue, and took the journal from a tabloid-appearing publication to a polished coffee-table-worthy journal. Together with Steven Heath, we wrote *Driving the Old Spanish Trail through Utah and Arizona* in 2015. I have enjoyed learning about the Old Spanish Trail, and have met so many wonderful, dedicated Trail enthusiasts. Thank you for the opportunity to serve the Association.

San Luis Valley Historian Ruth Marie Colville's Legacy for the Old Spanish Trail

By Patricia Joy Richmond

Introduction

Decades before a group of interested San Luis Valley citizens met at the Rio Grande County Museum in Del Norte, Colorado, to form the Old Spanish Trail Association, Ruth Marie Colville, a Twin Mountains ranch wife, had identified historic trails and roads within the San Luis Valley. She may have been the only person to set foot knowingly within some of the traces since the late 19th-century.

Colville's documentation of trail systems within the San Luis Valley nurtured awareness and sparked interest among San Luis Valley history buffs, especially some living in Rio Grande County. Without Colville's pioneering work, very likely no one would have perceived the value of protecting and preserving the long-ignored traces of an old trail bearing centuries of historic legacy.¹

The establishment of settlements and military forts in the San Luis Valley during the 1850s and 1860s had led to federal and territorial commissions for wagon road surveys, which often followed in proximity to long-used trail systems. Colville's interest in historic trails had begun with an article in *Colorado Magazine* about the 1694 *entrada* of Governor General Don Diego de Vargas into the San Luis Valley. An adventuress in spirit since childhood, Colville became determined to see the regions described in Vargas's journal for herself.

Responsibilities as a rancher's

wife and mother of young children took precedence over Colville's exploratory yearnings. Even by the 1950s, few paved roads existed within the six counties of the San Luis Valley. Minimally maintained dirt roads limited leisurely trips for anyone—especially a woman—to places other than the nearest supply town. The San Luis Valley spans an area that could incorporate five Atlantic coastal states. Traveling the expanses between Del Norte in Rio Grande County and Vargas's *entrada* sites in Costilla and Conejos counties required hours of driving time through unfamiliar, rural locales.

Colville's desire to traipse to a distant county to explore remote landscapes was not something that her husband, or ranch neighbors, could understand or condone. For years, she had conducted local exploratory excursions covertly by linking her in-field research time from the ranch to egg deliveries. As Colville's family obligations dwindled, she ventured farther from the ranch. Eventually, she managed to entice a Del Norte friend to accompany her to Costilla County to search for the place where Vargas's expedition had crossed the Rio Grande.

Not only did Colville locate Vargas's crossing site, but in time she also identified the site of his expedition's skirmish with Moache Utes in the San Luis Hills, as well as a Vargas campsite south of present-day Antonito. Relying on her Volkswagen Bug and "shank's mare," she persisted in tracing Vargas's route along an ancient

trail that skirted the west flank of San Antonio Mountain and then led the Governor General and his men southward toward Santa Fe via what became known as Comanche Canyon.

She then began tracking obscured traces that led northward from the Conejos River toward the hills east of Del Norte, the Rio Grande, and beyond toward La Garita and the Saguache Valley. In her quest to become familiar with the route of Vargas's 1694 *entrada*, Colville eventually uncovered the legacy of the Old Spanish Trail within the San Luis Valley.

By the 1960s, Colville had acquired a local, regional, and statewide reputation for her knowledge of San Luis Valley history. During a visit to the San Luis Valley as Colorado State Historian, Leroy R. Hafen met with Colville to confer about her research into early San Luis Valley settlements, John C. Frémont's fourth expedition, and the "North Branch" of the Old Spanish Trail.

Besides serving as a columnist for the *Del Norte Prospector* with San Luis Valley history articles, she chaired the team of San Luis Valley historians who produced the first issues of the *San Luis Valley Historian*. In 1972, Colville received a grant to research and write a Rio Grande National Forest publication, *Guide to High Country Auto Tours*.

In 1973, the San Luis Valley Council of Governments Regional Development and Planning Commission asked Colville to compile a *Historic Sites Inventory*.

Colville worked on the project for three years. She refined her work for inclusion in *Colorado House Bill 1041* in 1976.² Her final 45-page report, submitted for state and national historic sites registrations, garnered the 1976 Humanities Award from the Colorado Historical Society. That year Colville also received the first Citizen of the Year Award from the Del Norte Chamber of Commerce for her contributions to the historic and cultural values of the community including preserving and translating *Canciones del Pasado*, traditional San Luis Valley folksongs (archived in the Library of Congress), saving and renovating a Barlow-Sanderson Stage Station, and tracing the stage route between Del Norte and Lake City.³

Colville continued her historic trails research into the 1990s. For two decades, she had collaborated with Taos historian Helen Greene Blumenschein toward delineating the entire route of Vargas's 1694 expedition. Following Blumenschein's death, Colville, now in her 80s, pursued field research to familiarize herself with the terrain and trails between Santa Fe, Taos, and Vargas's camp at the historic ford of the Culebra River, four miles east of the confluence with the Rio Grande.⁴ She also re-investigated Vargas's route through the San Luis Hills, along the Rio de San Antonio and the west flank of Cerro de San Antonio, to the life-saving spring in a meadow at the base of the Tres Piedras landmark, through Comanche Canyon to Ojo Caliente, and the ford of the Rio Grande near Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo) to Santa Fe.

Landmark Trails and Wagon Roads of the San Luis Valley

By Ruth Marie Colville
(*Abridged and edited for Old Spanish Trail references by Patricia Joy Richmond*)

It is easy to think of the San Luis Valley as a great oval platter whose main axis runs north and south for one hundred miles; whose east-west axis is sixty miles at the greatest width. However, in recreating the ancient trails, which in time became the wagon roads of a hundred years ago, we must stretch our minds and accept as matter-of-course that men and their routes passed south into New Mexico, east to the Great Plains, north into Wyoming, and west to Utah and California.

The San Luis Valley, plus its encircling mountains, is a tremendous area where space, topographical variety, and passes leading elsewhere have induced people to travel. Therefore, Indian trails and the 19th-century wagon roads are a most meaningful type of historical site to examine.

Incredibly, within the last twenty years [1950s-1970s], memories of the traditional routes used by thousands of people for thousands of years have, like the trails and roads themselves, almost vanished. Further, the habits of our minds have changed and the danger of losing knowledge of the old routes has increased. We have become accustomed to think in terms of U.S. 285, U.S. 160, Colo. 149, N.M. 3, and so forth, taking for granted today's road style with cuts and fills, raised roadbeds, innumerable culverts and bridges, and long, round-about contours. We grasp with

difficulty the old travel patterns, which used the best nature offered: the shortest distance between points; the trail to the necessities such as water, grass and wood; the route that avoided bogs or sand and [accommodated] fording during high water.

Until a little more than 100 years ago [late 1800s], all people whose lives touched the San Luis Valley were nomadic. The Utes who claimed and kept it as their homeland, always as hunters and gatherers, moved over the land in family groups or in small bands, living off the land, changing camp as the seasons changed to where water, wild game, ripe berries, grass seeds, and piñon nuts were available. They built no permanent homes, taking their tepees with them, leaving only the poles behind for use upon return the following year.

The many visitors who came for war or peace—Navajo, Apache, Kiowa, or Comanche, as well as later fur trappers, traders, or prospectors of European descent—also lived a nomadic life. Their trails might have been lost except that settlers' wagons, coming into the Valley after 1860, hardened the slight trails into roads. The roads [became] documented on maps of the time—the 1860s, '70s, and '80s. Traces of old trails and roads still can be spotted today, here and there, in the sagebrush, at an arroyo crossing, down a rocky gulch or as an opening through a spruce forest.

Two Traditional North-South Routes

Two ancient routes ran the length of the San Luis Valley. One coursed the open country on the east side of

the San Luis Valley along the base of the Sangre de Cristo Range. The other [bordered] the west side of the Valley along the foothill base of the San Juan Mountains. Both contoured in easy progress across the San Luis Valley's semi-arid sage plain.⁵ The trail along each [side] was dry, direct, pleasant, safe from ambush, and the shortest distance between points. Good streams came down the mountains across the line of march to give water daily and to provide grass and wood for night camps. In terms of foot travel, pack animals, or horse and wagons, the living was good.

The various names given to the two routes throughout the centuries indicate their tremendous historical significance. The east-side trail [south of Fort Garland] has been known as the *Taos Trail*, the *Road to Santa Fe*, and the *Trappers Trail*. It was also called the *North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail to California* when used as a caravan route to connect Taos, Santa Fe, and Los Angeles. Its latest name, sponsored by towns on the route, is the *Kit Carson Trail*. [During the Bi-Centennial, *Kit Carson Trail* also became a promotional tourism designation applied to U.S. 160 between Walsenburg and Cortez.] In centuries past, travelers well knew the trail's special advantage: no ford of the swift, deep, dangerous Rio Grande was necessary. Travelers also knew its disadvantages: the Picuris Mountains in New Mexico and the sand country and shallow lakes in the northeastern part of the San Luis Valley.

The east-side trail became the wagon road of the 1850s, '60s, and '70s used by Fort Garland soldiers

and the settlers who came from [northern] New Mexico to the Culebra Valley and other plazas of Costilla County. It led north to Poncha Pass and South Park or [northwestward] to Cochetopa Pass and then west to the crossings of the Colorado and Green rivers and on to the Pacific coast. From it, near present-day Fort Garland, a most important trail branched east to surmount Sangre de Cristo Pass and descend to the Arkansas River and eastward over the plains. Today's Taos-Fort Garland highway is very near to this great route over which many famous persons traveled.

The west-side trail also ran the length of the San Luis Valley since time immemorial. It came northward from New Mexico via the Ojo Caliente Valley and Tres Piedras [to pass along] the San Juan Mountains with ease, but [travelers] dreaded fording the Rio Grande a few miles east of today's Del Norte.⁶ Stone Age man and his family lived along this trail in the San Antonio River area; pre-Hispanic Indians used it, both Pueblo and nomads. In Spanish colonial times, Indians traveled it and camped by it; Spanish soldiers and explorers came and went on military and government affairs, and traders visited the Indians. [Lieutenant Melgares escorted Zebulon Pike to Santa Fe via the west-side trail in January 1807. The *Abiquiu Trail* gave traders from Abiquiu access to the west-side trail at Ojo Caliente.] Throughout three centuries, the trail has been known by many names, among which are (in 1694) *El Camino Mui Adentro en La Tierra de los Yutas*, which means the very inland road in the land of the Yutas [Utes]. It was the Comanche war road during

the 1700s and the military route of Governor General de Anza in 1779. It also was the *North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail to California* by the west or Ojo Caliente side.

Local names for the trail came into use after the 1850s as wagons coursed it between early towns. It became known as the Del Norte-Conejos Road or Lane. It also served as the stage road to Saguache. An almost vanished name, remembered only by Spanish-speaking old timers of Conejos and La Garita, was *La Vereda de las Borregas de La Garita*, the trail of the sheep of La Garita. It speaks of an epic time, now gone, when thousands of sheep—ewes and their lambs—were driven annually from the southern part of the San Luis Valley northward to La Garita and then to summer pastures in the high San Juans as far away as the Lake City area.⁷

The Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to the San Luis Valley via the west side, in general a splendid route, had two problems for man and beast. The area between Ojo Caliente and today's Antonito was almost waterless [*La Tierra sin Agua*], and secondly, the Rio Grande had to be forded twice – first in New Mexico and again in the San Luis Valley east of present day Del Norte.

The ancient trail wagon road, extending a hundred and fifty miles, may be considered not only a local but also a national historical landmark in the Southwest. Many miles of it are on open public lands. Much of the country through which it passes in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado still is little altered by man. The land [remains] beautiful and spacious,

although endangered as elsewhere by unthinking “development.”

Although seemingly remote, the old route is not far from modern roads. Therefore, it is available to people to appreciate and experience. In the Colorado-New Mexico border region, U.S. 285 runs near the route. Within Conejos and Rio Grande counties, State Hwy 15 parallels the trail a mile or less away. To the north, the Del Norte-La Garita county road approximates it. [La Vereda del Norte Chapter, with permission from county commissioners, placed trail markers where county roads cross the trail within Conejos, Rio Grande, and Saguache counties. A stone monument marks the trail south of U.S. 160. Another stone monument marks the trail near Saguache.]

As a historical landmark—a great out-of-doors, under the sun, available to all people artifact—this west side [fork] of the Old Spanish Trail is one of the finest historical assets of the San Luis Valley. It is authentic, as documented by the Wheeler and Hayden surveys of the 1870s. Traces of the old route have been located [and mapped]. It well qualifies as a national landmark—to be identified and preserved, and its story interpreted.

Summary

Trails and roads, passes, fords are living historical landmarks. They incorporate mountains, valleys, rivers, rocks, earth, grasses, flowers, tree, lichens, and wild creatures. They exist under sun, moon, and stars and through all kinds of weather—rain, wind, snow, thunder and lightning, and beautiful days. They encapsulate the ceaseless flow of "Then and Now" with a

tremendous cast of characters—the long gone people of many nations who passed by.

In America today, many personal memories of family and homeland are lost. Heritages once passed from generation to generation—nourished by permanency of family, neighbors, village life, the surrounding land, and strong ethnic cultural ties—are fading. Because of urbanization, industrialization, and frequent family transplanting, the strong roots have become shallow, starved, or virtually nonexistent. A resulting hunger of the spirit can be sensed throughout contemporary United States.

Trails represent two enduring forces—nature and man. They offer a special, double heritage—the eternal fresh wild earth and the ancient tale of the Family of Man who passed by. Miraculously, trails can nourish, bringing strength, peace, and wonder. To save these historical landmarks is a most timely project.

Ruth Marie Colville's Historic Sites Inventory (Abridged for Old Spanish Trail references)

Rio Grande County

- *Juan Bautista de Anza's route, 1779* [west side of San Luis Valley; followed by moonlight]
- *Spanish Trail to California* [west-side trail]
- *The 1858 trail marker rock* [Discovered by Colville while walking trail traces between Alamosa and Rock creeks. Now on exhibit at Rio Grande County Museum, Del Norte, Colorado.]
- *La Vereda de las Borregas* (the trail of the ewes) [19th century name for the west-side trail]

- *Chimney Peak* (three miles east of Del Norte) – Located on the east side of San Francisco Creek overlooking La Loma de San José. [First settlement in Rio Grande County]. This formation was an important landmark to Indians and settlers.
- *Loma* – established by miners in 1874 as a rival to Del Norte. Located on the north side of the Rio Grande on the trail between Del Norte and Saguache. Designated as the first post office, with John Lawrence as postmaster. [Saguache County's boundary initially extended to the Rio Grande.]
- *Fords of the Rio Grande*
 - About five miles east of Del Norte, a ford crossed the Rio Grande. Travelers used an island midway, which broke the depth and power of the Rio Grande by dividing the river into two branches. This ford was the strategic link for the great classic north-south Old Spanish Trail that coursed from New Mexico along the west side of the San Luis Valley to Cochetopa Pass. [In 1865, Colorado's first Territorial Lieutenant Governor, Lafayette Head, received a permit to collect tolls at this crossing site.]
 - Seven miles east of present-day Del Norte, Seven Mile Plaza (*Los Valdezes*) at the base of what is called Rio Grande Hill was another ford, up-river from the “Old Plaza Bridge.” Many changes altering the river in order to build two bridges have destroyed evidence of the fording site.
- *Embargo Creek* (nine miles up-river from Del Norte; also known

as Meyers Creek for a pioneer cattleman) – Spanish New Mexicans’ caravan trade route to the west. Reportedly named after the Mexican government in 1821 placed an embargo on a caravan of trade goods traveling from New Mexico to the Gunnison River area. [During the 1950s, Colville interviewed numerous San Luis Valley “old timers.” Her source for this entry, Tony Valdez, was a second-generation descendant of a traveler with the 1821 caravan.]

- *Plazas of the Del Norte area* – Plazas of the Del Norte area were founded during the late 1850s and 1860s by New Mexican families. Several settlements included *La Loma* (the hill) within each village name. [*Loma*, a regional designation within the Conejos Land Grant, referred to the hill country around present-day Del Norte.]
 - La Loma de San José (T28, R6E) – San José, the first settlement of the *Loma* group of plazas, was founded [by fourteen families] in 1859 on San Francisco Creek about four miles east of present-day Del Norte on a terrace south of U.S. Highway 160. (The site was excavated and documented historically in 1968-69 by Patricia Richmond for her master’s thesis.) The settlement also was known as Plaza del Alta (the upper or high plaza) and Four Mile Plaza after the original settlers established another plaza (Plaza de Abajo) on the Rio Grande. [Near present-day Seven Mile Plaza].
 - Other plazas: Plaza de Abajo en La Loma; Plaza de los Pinos en La Loma [west of Del Norte

on Pinos Creek]; Plaza la Loma del Norte [now the site of Del Norte cemetery], Los Valdezes, Plaza de Don Hilario [Atencio, one of the San José founders], Plaza de San Francisco [for San Francisco Creek] in the meadow north of Martinez Hill [ridge crossed by U. S. 160 east of Del Norte]

- *Rock Creek Petroglyphs* (T29S, R6E) Source of 18th-century Spanish name, *Piedra Pintada* [Painted Rock] as applied to the stream. [Landmark citation in Anza’s journal]

Conejos County

- *Guadalupe Plaza* [Settled by land grantees in 1851 as the first permanent year-round settlement in the San Luis Valley and Colorado. Located on the north bank of the Conejos River along the West Fork trail. The adobe enclosure and dwellings walls stood into late 20th century. The town of San Luis in Costilla County carries the designation as the oldest incorporated town in Colorado.]
- *Los Rincones* [Established in 1849 as a seasonal settlement on

the San Antonio River after Tanasio Trujillo negotiated an agreement with Utes who occupied the San Luis Hills.].

- *Kiowa Hill* [Site of a battle between Kiowa, who visited the area to collect willows for baskets, and Utes who claimed the area. Vargas’s 1694 skirmish with Utes occurred near Kiowa Hill. In summer 1842, some Kiowa attacked the land grant settlement of San Margarita, located north of Kiowa Hill to the east of the confluence of the Conejos and San Antonio rivers. Although settlers rebuffed the attack, they returned to northern New Mexico with the onset of winter. One of the village defenders, José Pablo Martinez, aged 15, became a founder of La Loma de San José in 1859. Max Lara, first president of La Vereda del Norte Chapter of OSTA, was a descendant of José Pablo Martinez.]
- *San Francisco Plaza de Padua* [Established in 1833 within the *vega* at the confluence of the Conejos and San Antonio rivers as the first settlement attempt within the Guadalupe or Conejos Land Grant.]

La Verda del Norte Chapter Field Trips Scheduled

- August 18: Zebulon Pike expedition (Valley area): Gather at gate of Great Sand Dunes National Park, 9:15 a.m. at park entry gate
- August 25: San Antonio Mountain drive, Meet at 10 a.m. just past Colorado border and just into New Mexico, west of U.S. Hwy 285. Discussion of Blumenschein and Colville, led by Suzanne Colville Off.
- September 3-5: SW Colorado complex with travel through the first and Main branches of the Trail.

Contact Chapter President Ken Frye at 719-657-3161 for details.

- *La Vereda del Paso del Puerto* [The trail followed by Vargas in 1694 after being directed to the ford of the Rio Grande by a guide from San Juan Pueblo.]

Trail Sites and Descriptions

- The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail to California, also known in part as the Del Norte-Conejos Road or Old Conejos Lane.

Its recorded use has been in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Its location is Santa Fe, Ojo Caliente, and Rio de Conejos to the ford of the Rio Grande, to Cochetopa Pass, west to Utah and Los Angeles.

Within the San Luis Valley along the base of the San Juan Mountains, this has been the traditional trail for Ancient Man; Pre-Hispanic Indians (Pueblos, and others); historic Pueblos, Utes, Navajos, Comanche, Kiowa; Spanish and Mexican New Mexican military; traders and explorers; American and French Mountain Men; the Fort Garland military; the first New Mexican settlers in Guadalupe-Conejos plazas, the La Loma plazas of the Del Norte area, La Garita, and Saguache. Most of the trail is on public land, accessible by foot, horse, pickup truck, and in some places by car. Access roads, in some places, are from U.S. 285 in New Mexico, from Colorado 15, from U. S. 160, and the Del Norte - La Garita road.

- The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail to California (east side of the San Luis Valley). It

also is known as the Taos Trail, the Trail to Santa Fe, Trappers Trail, and as the Kit Carson Trail [1970s].

The east-side trail is located in Costilla, Alamosa, and Saguache counties, coming from Costilla, New Mexico, to San Luis, Fort Garland [actually skirting the west edge of present-day town of Blanca] and then north or north by west to Saguache, west over Cochetopa Pass to Utah and Los Angeles. It has been a traditional Indian trail for centuries. Used in part or for its whole length by ancient man, Plains Indians to Taos, and other New Mexico pueblos in trade or war. It was used by the Yuta, Navajo, Apache, Comanche, Kiowa; Spanish and Mexican civil and military officials; explorers, traders going east to the high plains, north via Poncha Pass, and west to Utah. It was used by French-Canadian and American trapper-traders, Fort Garland and other military men, merchants, and New Mexican settlers to the Culebra area.

- Embargo Creek This permanent stream within Rio Grande and Saguache counties is a tributary of the Rio Grande, having headed on Mesa Peak [in the] La Garita Mountains. The valley and branches of this stream are historic routes from the Rio Grande Valley over the mountain [Mesa Mountain] to Saguache Park [via Wannamaker Creek]; thence to the western side of Cochetopa Pass. This trail was known and used by the early Spanish and Mexican traders with caravans going from Taos

and Santa Fe to Utah. [Gwinn Harris Heap noted in his journal (June 1853) that traders from Abiquiu accessed “Carnero Pass,” today’s Old Cochetopa Pass, by a different route than the trail along the Saguache River.]

Endnotes

1. Ruth Marie Colville and Patricia Joy Richmond were charter members of the San Luis Valley Historical Society. Working as a team with Josephine Silva, a descendant of Rio Grande County’s first colonists, and Monte Vista historian Pauline Sharp, they researched, wrote, and published the San Luis Valley Time-Line editions of the *San Luis Valley Historian*, Vol. I, Nos 1-3. Colville and Richmond each served as editor for later issues of the *Historian*. During the national Bicentennial, Colville and Richmond traveled throughout the San Luis Valley, southern Colorado, and New Mexico with presentations that roused public interest in San Luis Valley history. Colville initiated Del Norte, Colorado’s annual Covered Wagon Days celebration. OSTA’s founder and first president, Ron Kessler, became familiar with the Old Spanish Trail in driving his “covered wagon” over the trail to Del Norte. A handful of concerned citizens met with Kessler at the Rio Grande County Museum in 1994 to discuss strategies for saving a segment of the west-side trail from being desecrated by a road into a new county landfill. The group decided to organize as the Old Spanish Trail Association [OSTA]. Colville and Richmond became the initial LIFE members of OSTA during the organizational meeting. Colville had traversed old trail traces by herself prior to her Historic Sites Inventory. In preparing her *La Vereda: a Trail through Time* for publication (1992), Colville revisited trail locales with Richmond and shared her historic insights and research information.

2. Colville’s Historic Sites Inventory included the two north-south trail arteries through the San Luis Valley, as well as the east-west trails. Most east-west routes developed into roads after an extensive

canal system along the west side of the Valley captured stream flows that for centuries had filled the valley floor north of the Rio Grande with marshes, bogs, sloughs, quicksand, and shallow lakes. Anza cited the name *La Cienega de San Luis* for this area. Vargas's 1694 crossing site on the Rio Grande allowed east-west passage through the southern end of the San Luis Valley. A ford north of the confluence of the Rio de Culebra with the Rio Grande became known as Colonels Ferry after John M. Francisco, founder of Fort Francisco at present-day La Veta, received a territorial toll permit. Travelers combining the northern extension of the west-side trail with the southern segment of the east-side trail utilized this fording site in cutting diagonally between the north-south routes. Marcus Whitman (1845) and Gwinn Harris Heap (1853) followed this travel pattern between the La Garita area and the Rio de Culebra. Trinchera Creek marked another point where travelers might move between the east-side and west-side trails. At the onset of their journey through the San Luis Valley, Beale and Heap followed the east-side trail from Taos to Trinchera Creek. At the Rio Grande's Ox Bow, they turned west and traveled along the river's north bank to a point near present-day Monte Vista. Their guide encouraged them to continue along the river to intercept the west-side trail near present-day Del Norte. However, to save time, Beale, Heap and men cut diagonally across arid terrain that separated the Rio Grande from the La Garita tributary of the Saguache River.

3. The Bicentennial for the United States of America sparked interest in America's national heritage and in local and regional history. Colville's inventory highlighted native campsites, battle or skirmish sites, early settlements, stage roads and stations, railroad lines and sidings, mining districts, historic buildings, and geophysical landmarks that she deemed integral to the story of the San Luis Valley. In sharing her insights through her writings and lectures, she opened the minds of San Luis Valley residents to their heritage and whetted the interests of historians throughout Colorado and New Mexico to learn more about the San Luis Valley.

4. Many 19th-century travelers documented use of the ford across the Rio de Culebra - not only in moving north or south along the east-side trail but also in camping at the site before proceeding on another day's journey. Historic names associated with the Rio de Culebra's fording site are Vargas, Kit Carson, Marcus Whitman, George Ruxton, members of John C. Frémont's 1848-49 expedition. (Richard Kern camped at the ford for a week before proceeding to Taos. His brother Ben was murdered at that site in the spring of 1849 after returning to the expedition's baggage cache on La Garita Creek with Bill Williams and men from Questa.) Gwinn Harris Heap camped at the ford during his fast-moving journey through the San Luis Valley to Taos to procure supplies after Beale's men lost everything at the confluence of the Uncompahgre and Gunnison rivers. In 1858, Antione Leroux led Colonel William Loring and 300 men with 50 wagons from Green River to Taos via Cochetopa Pass. The expedition proceeded southward along the west-side trail with camps on the Saguache, Carnero, La Garita, and Rio Grande. After crossing to the east-side trail, they camped at the fording site on the Rio de Culebra.

5. Although early explorers and writers referred to sagebrush or a sage plain within the San Luis Valley, the salt-tolerant brush extant today within the northeast corner of the San Luis Valley today is greasewood. Sagebrush is found near Poncha Pass, San Luis, the San Luis Hills, and west of Antonito.

6. Forging any snow-fed river during high-water months could be treacherous. In returning from the Lake Fork of the Gunnison to Taos, Gwinn Harris Heap noted easy crossings of streams that had been bank-full two weeks earlier. Traditionally, the Rio Grande has reached its high-water level when a snowfield on the northwest face of Culebra Peak takes the shape of a "dove," usually between mid and late June. Streams heading within the Culebra Range could present travel problems along the east-side trail. However, streams north of the sand dunes

disappear near the base of the mountains due to a fault line. Leroux Creek (Rito Alto Creek) served as a trail landmark because its tree line extended farthest west, directing travelers toward the Saguache Valley and the west-side trail.

7. Sheep drives via *La Vereda de las Borregas* began in the 1850s. Conejos land grantees drove their flocks northward from New Mexico in the spring. Come fall, the animals usually returned to New Mexico for wintering. However, thousands of New Mexico sheep also were driven to California. (See references by Dick Wooten, Beale and Heap, and *The Greater Southwest*, Richardson and Rister, Arthur H. Clark, Glendale, 1935, pp. 364-371.) According to family lore, the Montoya brothers, Conejos land grantees, drove sheep into the San Luis Valley along the west-side trail and had also taken a flock to California at least one time. In 1858, Luis Montoya drove 6,000 animals to pasture in the western regions of the San Luis Valley. Instead of returning to New Mexico he spent the winter near present-day Del Norte. Colville associated the 1858 stone marker that she discovered along the west-side trail with Montoya's sheep drive. Nerio Montoya established a La Loma plaza on Pinos Creek, west of present-day Del Norte.

The Homestead Act and mining booms in the San Juan Mountains brought migrants from areas other than New Mexico. After some of these settlers turned to cattle ranching, range wars erupted within the San Luis Valley. Cattlemen successfully lobbied for a state law that prohibited sheep driven to New Mexico from returning to Colorado. The Hispanic sheep owners, who traditionally had wintered their flocks to New Mexico, had to keep their flocks within the San Luis Valley, thereby altering the decades-old use pattern of *La Vereda de Las Borregas*. The establishment of the Rio Grande National Forest in 1908 resolved most range disputes, with sheep being restricted to high country pastures in the San Juan Mountains. (See *San Luis Valley Historian*, Vol. I, No. 2, for information about sheep drives and range wars.) ♦

Armijo's Puzzling 1829 Diary and Route: An Annotated Historiographical Overview

By Joseph P. Sánchez

Without doubt, LeRoy and Ann Hafen¹ opened decades of dialogue regarding the route taken by Antonio Armijo in his epic trail-blazing expedition of 1829. The route was, at once, a trade and immigration trail between Santa Fe and Los Angeles. Armijo's expedition began at Abiquiú and took place from November 7, 1829, to January 31, 1830. Each campsite and notation of the topography in Armijo's diary marked nearly 85 days on the trail. One critical issue that has gone unresolved, given the vagaries that exist in the descriptions in Armijo's account, deals with the names and locations of springs and the distances between them.²

That sentiment has echoed forward since Elizabeth von Till Warren posited it as part of the main points in her Master's Thesis in 1974. Since then, as evident in the foregoing essay and analysis of Armijo's diary, others have attempted to locate specific locations for nearly 85 sites, sometimes with success [see specific references in OST Selected Bibliography].³ It should also be noted that at least two extra days of rest at certain sites, generally noted with the word *demora* account for the possible 73 of 85 possible campsites used by Armijo because the expedition "delayed" or stayed two days instead of one at a given place. Yet, the historiography revolving around Armijo's exact route continues to resound with much repetition of the same information. Warren's thesis attempted to break the mold, as she retraced both on land and in literature the possibilities of identifying specific places or morphological features of the land. Like the Hafens, Warren hoped to either determine distances or time of travel from one point to another on a given day.

In 2008, a research team led by Richard W. Stoffle⁴

reworked the Armijo diary with the aim of determining time and distance traveled from one day to the next. In their analysis, Stoffle's team recognized that, aside from the vagaries of the contents within Armijo's diary, there were other issues to recognize, which they noted:

While providing a new interpretation of Armijo's route, this analysis discusses the many difficulties in determining the location of historic trails, especially as place names and landscapes have changed. As the OST was further developed and utilized, deviations to the route may have emerged as a result of impacts to areas frequented by travelers and as travelers became more familiar with the terrain. Thus while the middle branch of the OST is considered the main route used for commercial traffic during the 1829-1849 period, it may be more accurate to view the area traveled by traders from New Mexico to California as a trail corridor, that is a larger and more fluid route, rather than a single, specific trail. This would also allow for a discussion of sites and areas that were impacted by OST travelers but which are not located directly on the current, recognized trail.⁵

Thus, as did the Hafens, Warren, and other researchers within the historiographical sphere of the Armijo expedition, all have faced the aspect of the evolution of Old Spanish Trail over time and usage.

Stoffle's team also speculated on the criteria and travails of 60 men in managing their mule trains, *remudas* of horses, and other possible livestock. As with all expeditions since time immemorial, water was a necessity for the well-being of travelers and their animals. In the same way, it meant that the Armijo expedition would logically follow a course across terrain that would provide pockets of surface water or streams from one place to the next.⁶ Furthermore, Stoffle's researchers also speculated on possible reasons for choices of direction made by the expedition. They wrote:

Riding horses or mules and leading a pack train, the New Mexicans preferred smooth terrain to slopes,

and the Old Spanish Trail, UA Campus Repository, <https://repository.arizona.edu/handle/10150/270965>" (2008), pp. 21-50. Hereinafter cited as Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008. Last consulted on April 15, 2018.

5. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, 21.

6. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, 21.

1. See Leroy R. Hafen, "Armijo's Diary," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (November 1947), 87-101 and Leroy and Ann Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), 155-170.
2. Elizabeth von Till Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited: A New Interpretation of the Impact of the Antonio Armijo Route of 1829-1830 on the Development of the Old Spanish Trail." Unpublished Master's Thesis, May 1974, University of Nevada, Las Vegas (Hereinafter cited as Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited"), p. 3.
3. See updated OST bibliography in <http://oldspanishtrail.org/> bibliography last consulted on 4/2/18.
4. Richard W. Stoffle and 12 other preparers in "American Indians

avoiding steep slopes when they could. Given the mountainous terrain between the Rio Grande and the Pacific Ocean, they could not avoid climbing and descending.⁷

Such decisions determined the route and distance traveled in a given *jornada*, or day.

Still, Stoffle's researchers worked to note time, direction, distance and sites, based on the diary entries and place name notations. The Armijo expedition, they noted "traveled the entire distance from Abiquiú to San Gabriel in 86 days, including 12 days of rest. It departed Abiquiú on November 7, 1829, and reached San Gabriel on January 31, 1830."⁸

Researchers of the Armijo Route and other aspects of Old Spanish Trail are aware of the many pitfalls that await them. As Warren pointed out, there are paleographical and translation problems related to deciphering the script or the determination of the definition of words. To that end, Warren writes:

as noted above in the Introduction, a translation of both of these publications was made for LeRoy and Ann Hafen. This translation and their interpretation of it have become standard in the literature of Old Spanish Trail. Since neither account has previously been made available in Spanish, both of these articles are included below in Spanish and in English translation newly made for this author by Dr. Donald Schmiedel of the Foreign Language Department at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Each article will be interpreted individually to obtain all possible data relevant to Armijo's probable route and his experiences while traveling. Through this analysis, a picture of Armijo's route through southern Nevada and its impact on future travel should be achieved.⁹

Aptly put, once spun into motion and accepted, transcriptions, translations, and definitions, along with their pluses and minuses, are passed from one publication to another. To that end, researchers of Old Spanish Trail consistently dedicate time and resources to test the premises left by preceding investigators.

Unraveling the orthography across time and language is the basis upon which paleographical skills are built. In that

regard, Warren utilized the skills of professionals at her university. Similarly, the Hafens did as well. The transcript of Armijo's account utilized in this study was done by the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico in 2008. There are slight variations between the transcript used by the Hafens, Warren, and the Spanish Colonial Research Center. Some are hardly worth the mention, others deserve greater effort to unravel. Warren notes such differences between hers and the Hafens's renditions and comments not only on the words yielded within the translation of Armijo's diary, but on their definitions. One example is the word *ceja*, which Warren noted had not been previously translated by the Hafens. In her attempt to define the word as it might apply to her analysis of what Armijo described, she wrote:

Both *ceja* and *bufa*...mean cliff. The difference between the two apparently is a qualitative one; *ceja* is the more precise term. A *ceja* describes a cliff 'at the edge of a mesa; an escarpment.' It is formed by differential erosion of inclined sedimentary rock. Cf. Paul W. Thrush and the Staff of the Bureau of Mines, comps. and eds., *A Dictionary of Mining Mineral and Related Terms* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 185.¹⁰

Warren also notes, that "there have been some minor difficulties in translating this nineteenth century Spanish from New Mexico." She writes that "The French translation of 1835 did not include words for the terms *bufa*, *ceja*, and *artenesales* (variant *atensejales*), among others."¹¹ In some cases, for example, the word *ceja* could merely be used to define an elevation crowned by a brow, such as of an elevation such as cliff or a ridge. In their survey of the trail and its accompanying diary, George Hardeen and Paul Ostapuk, who have worked professionally to interpret, preserve, and protect Old Spanish Trail wrote, "The word *ceja* is a specific reference to an eyebrow ridge, a good description of the Cockscomb Kaibab monocline."¹²

Similarly, the transcribers at the Spanish Colonial Research Center questioned the usage of other terms, particularly the word *artenesales*. Regarding that particular word, Warren wrote:

10. Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited," p. 25, fn. 24.

11. Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited," p. 13-14, fn. 14

12. George Hardeen and Paul Ostapuk, "Armijo's Route Near Page, Arizona Retraced," *Spanish Traces*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 2018, p. 17.

7. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, 22.

8. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, 22.

9. Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited," p. 6.

Artenesales is the only term still not translatable. A Chicano informant from northern New Mexico believes the term *artenesales* (variant *artenejal*, cf. diary entry for December 10) describes a trimming of a roof, an architectural feature. Used in geographical description, this might be a rimrock, a characteristic of western topography. In this case, the rimrock would very likely be at the top of the climb out of the Canyon de Chelly in Arizona, where the caravan had spent the previous day (Letter in possession of Loretta Fitzgerald, Ethnic Studies Department, University of Nevada, Las Vegas: copy in possession of author dated January 27, 1973).¹³

The referenced word is a conundrum, both paleographically speaking, as the orthography is difficult to assess, and the definition and etymology of *artenesales* are apparently unknown. Hardeen and Ostapuk arrived at the same conclusion. They noted that “the word *artenejal* is loosely translated as rimrock, but there is a debate as to the exact location of the December 10th campsite and whether the Armijo caravan travelled along the Paria River to the north or took a short cut through the Cockscomb.”¹⁴ Part of the confusion with this word has to do with the orthography in the document and the difficulty in assessing what is the actual word used or intended by Armijo and how it is spelled. The entries of December 10 and 27 of 1829 show two different potential spellings, both of which leave the paleographer to see two possible words. One is *artenesales* (variant *atrenejal*) in December 10 entry or *certenejales*, instead of *artenesales* in the December 27 entry.

Even though *artenesales* appears to be the accepted word among researchers of Armijo’s route, a check through

13. Warren, “Armijo’s Trace Revisited,” p. 26, fn. 26. Also see Steve Heath, OSTA President, “From the San Juan to the Virgin—Armijo’s 1829 Journey along the 37th Parallel,” *Spanish Traces*, Fall 2004. Of the site, Heath writes: “From the Carrizo Mountains they traveled west to “Escondido Spring” (Hogansaani Spring) on the Walker River. The next day they obtained water in the bottom of ‘Chelli Creek’ (Chinle Wash). From Chinle Wash they moved further west until they reached the perennial water of Laguna Creek. The route paralleled present day Arizona Highway 160.... On November 26th Armijo wrote: ‘At the rock artenesales’. This is almost certainly the intrusive volcanic neck of Church Rock, which is just west of Kayenta, but might also be Baby Rock a little further east. The traders then ascended the narrow canyon to the southwest to ‘mountain pass of Las Lemitas’ (Marsh’s Pass and middle Laguna Creek)”, p. 17.

14. Hardeen and Ostapuk, “Armijo’s Route,” *ibid.*, p. 17.

various dictionaries renders the word questionable. The paleography could also read *certenejales* which may cast a different interpretation on the site. Three possible definitions for *certenejal* are [a] *certeneja* (Mexico) “a pit dug in a river bed,” [b] “a small and deep reservoir,” and [c] “a small, deep swamp, bog or marsh.”¹⁵ Also there is at least one topographical place name in Mexico that bears the word: *El Certenejal, Guasave Sinaloa*. As Warren pointed out, there are problems in translating certain words within the diary because of their usage at the time. Generally, the word “*ciénega*” is used to identify a swampy area. In Armijo’s account the only time the word *ciénega* is used is in the diary entry for December 29, 1829, to discuss swampy or water-logged terrain.

Indeed, Armijo’s diary will present certain challenges to researchers, paleographers, and surveyors of the trail for many years into the future. In general, as Hardeen and Ostapuk pointed out in their attempt to identify a route in the vicinity of Page, Arizona, “our trip determined that several possible routes through the Cockscomb were doable. But which one Armijo actually used will remain campfire conjecture.”¹⁶

A re-examination of Armijo’s account bears review based on the historiographical progress that has hitherto been accomplished. The examination of the diary, based on Hafen’s and Warren’s work, is reviewed from copies utilized by Leroy and Ann Hafen, Elizabeth Warren, the Washington County Historical Society, and the Spanish Colonial Research Center. A comparative approach of the transcriptions and analysis of the diary for purposes of this study follows. The original copy of the document used by the referenced researchers is found in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), México City cited as AGN, Grupo documental Provincias Internas: Fomentos Caminos o Caminos y Puentes (Legajo 8, Exp. 133, Folios 1-7). The Spanish rendition of the diary is presented along with footnoted English interpretations of Armijo’s diary entries. Spellings in the transcriptions follow those in the documents. Brackets are used to clarify a particular word or reference.

15. See, for example: <https://termbank.com/en/spanish-english/certeneja>, last consulted on April 4, 2018.

16. Hardeen and Ostapuk, “Armijo’s Route,” *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Annotated Transcript of Antonio Armijo's Diary, 1829-1830:

Diario que formo yo el Ciudadano Antonio Armijo/¹⁷
como comandante para el descubrimiento del camino/
para el punto de las Californias, nombrado por el Señor/
Gefe Politico de este territorio de Nuevo Mexico,
Ciudadano/

[Jos]e Antonio Chavez, y en la forma que sigue/
[el] **7 de N[oviem]bre de 1829**. Sali de la jurisdiccion de
Abiquiu abanse/
hasta el Rio Puerco haciendo demora en d[ic]ho/punto el
dia 8./¹⁸

9.----- Al arroyo de agua/¹⁹

10. ----- Al Capulin/²⁰

11. ----- A la Laguna de la Cañada larga./²¹

12. ----- A la boca del Cañon Largo/²²

17. Transcript from original document in National Park Service-Spanish Colonial Research Center Documentary Collection, Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico. Transcript made by staff of the Spanish Colonial Research Center, 2008, from original copy of the document found in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), México City cited as AGN, Grupo documental Provincias Internas: Fomentos Caminos o Caminos y Puentes (Legajo 8, Exp. 133, Folios 1-7).

18. November 7, 1829: Left Abiquiu New Mexico. West down Largo Canyon from Armijo's diary in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society (Washington County, Utah), see <http://wchsutah.org/roads/armijo-trail.php> (last consulted on April 7, 2018) hereinafter cited as in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. Largo Canyon is the Chama River Canyon, p.92 (Northern Rio Puerco is a tributary of the Chama River).

19. Chama River Canyon. Hafen, Armijo's Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (November 1947), 87-101. See p.92. Hafen believes Armijo straddled highway corridor along Chama River Canyon. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 9 entry: "Oral history places the expedition at modern Gallina. The modern Río Gallina would be Armijo's Arroyo de Agua. The expedition traveled 8+ mles this day."

20. Capulin Peak. Hafen, Armijo's Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.92, refers to Capulin Peak.

21. Chama River Canyon. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.93, fn. 11 notes it as "Agua instead of Laguna" or "Water of the Long Canyon." Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 11: "Cañada Larga, an eastside tributary of Cañon Largo; water. We think that the expedition traveled 6+ miles this day. This place name persists."

22. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 12: "At the mouth of Cañon Largo. Traveled 6+ miles. This

13. ----- Al Cañon largo./

[1]4. ----- A la laguna del cañon largo, en d[ic]ho punto halla-/mos una rancheria de Navajoses./²³

[15]. ----- Al Rio de S[a]n Juan./²⁴

[16]. ----- Demora en d[ic]ho Rio/

[17]. ----- Al Rio de las animas/²⁵

[18]. ----- Al ojito de la Seja [ceja] del Rio de la Plata./²⁶

entry refers to the mouth of the main canon, where Cañon Largo joins near modern Lindreth Pumping Station and modern lakes, about 10+ miles from the head of Cañada Larga."

23. Chama River Canyon. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.93. (Lake of Cañon Largo). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 14: Lake of Cañon Largo, Navajo settlement. "This 'lake' was likely a beaver pond affording the Navajos a copious water supply. Post 1830, erosion arguably destroyed it. The expedition traveled at least 10 miles northwest via a very tortuous cañon." Stoffle's team also noted, p. 26, that "At 5+ miles from the mouth of Cañon Largo, the expedition passed a west-side tributary shown on modern maps as Palluche Wash. This is an alternate spelling of Payuche, Armijo's label for Paiutes. This suggests a Numic salient toward the east of later Paiute residence as Navajo forced them westward, later Paiute residence as Navajo forced them westward."

24. November 15, 1829: San Juan River, as affirmed in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.93. also notes the San Juan River). "15 Nov – San Juan River; The expedition forded to the north side." Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008 notation for November 15, "The Armijo diary entries concerning Cañada Largo are apparently confusing. The Hafens stated that the expedition required four days to traverse it (Hafen and Hafen 1954: 165). Actually, Armijo traveled only two days from the confluence of Cañada Largo with Cañon Largo to the confluence of the San Juan River with Cañon Largo. The expedition traveled at least 38 miles along the Cañada Largo and Cañon Largo."

25. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.93, fn. 28 affirms that they had reached Animas River near Aztec, Colorado. Note that the Río de los Pinos is also in this geographic area. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 17, "The expedition traveled at least 11 miles this day."

26. Warren notes, "Ceja is another word which has not been translated previously." Despite her definition that "A ceja described a cliff at the edge of a mesa," Warren, following Hafen's comment, translated the Spanish entry for November 18, 1829, to read, "To the little spring of the bluff of the La Plata River." Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited," p. 24, fn. 25. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, translates the entry as "At the springs of the bank of the Plata River., p.93." Also see, Hafen, p. 93, fn. 29, "Another day's journey in the same direction would take them to the La Plata River in the vicinity of the present village of La Plata." Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 18: "The expedition

- [19]. ----- Al Rio de San Lazaro./²⁷
 [20]. ----- Demora en San Lazaro./²⁸
 [21]. ----- Al Rio de San Juan otra vez, en este punto en/ contramos seis Navajoses y no tubimos novedad/ninguna/²⁹
 [22]. ----- Al Ojito de la Zierra [Sierra] de Navajo./³⁰
 [23]. ----- Al Rito q[u]e vaja a la vuelta de la d[ic]ha

traveled at least 11 miles this day.”

27. November 19, 1829: Left the main branch of the Old Spanish Trail in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Río San Lazaro is determined to be the Mancos River by Hafen, Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.93 fn. 30. “This is the Mancos River of today. Father Escalante in the journal of his famous 1776 expedition uses both names for the stream.... Armijo has crossed a spur of the La Plata Mountains and reached the Mancos River south of Mesa Verde.” Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 19: Mancos River confluence (San Lázaro). Armijo had diverged from the Dominguez-Velez route, being downstream on the Mancos whereas the Franciscans were at the headwaters. Armijo traveled at least 21 miles this day in a tortuous cañon.
28. Second day camped at Río San Lazaro.
29. November 21, 1829: Junction of the San Juan and Mancos Rivers in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.94, fn. 31. “They return to the San Juan, presumably at or near the mouth of the Mancos, in the area of the Four Corners (the only place in the United States where four states join).” 21 Nov – At San Juan River again. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 21: “The expedition passed near the Four Corners (where Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado adjoin each other). The expedition spent four days descending the San Juan River (with two rest days). Next, it arguably exited the San Juan River Canyon via Toadstone Wash, but followed it for only a short distance before turning south-southwest toward Teek Nos Pos. The Hafens wrote that the expedition crossed Chinle Creek and continued westward to Paiute Creek (Hafen and Hafen 1954: 165).”
30. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.94, fn. 32. “This was probably the Mission Spring at the north base of the Carrizo Mountains.” Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 22: “Carrizo Mountains Spring. Armijo’s diary labels the mountains here as “Navajo Mountain.” What is now called Navajo Mountain (more accurately, Paiute Mountain) is located approximately 75 miles farther west overlooking Glen Canyon on the South Rim. The Hafen and Hafen map consequently shows the expedition’s route more or less straight west from the Four Corners, whereas it in fact looped some distance to the south in order to circle around, if not cross over, the Carrizo Mountains to visit a Navajo settlement and water livestock from a surface flowing stream. We estimate that the expedition traveled at least 15 miles this day.”

- Zierra en/cuyo punto encontramos una rancheria de Nava/ joses y tratamos con ellos, y sacamos un indio pa/gado por varios individuos de la partida con el/ numero de onse lleguas por su viage para/ que diera camino hasta donde conosiera y/con el doble objeto de que nos favoreciera a los/Rovos q[u]e hasen los de su nacion./³¹
 24. --- Al Ojito escondido./³²
 25. --- Al Cañoncito del arroyo de Chellí/³³
 26. --- Demora en d[ic]ho punto/
 27. --- A los certenejales [artensenaes?] de Piedra./³⁴

31. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly* p. 94, See fn. 33 “Present Walker Creek.” Warren’s translation is basically the same, Warren, “Armijo’s Trace Revisited,” p. 25, but does not ascribe a place name to the site. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 23: “Blackhorse Creek (southward flowing) is the river that comes down the other side of Navajo Mountain. The expedition traded with Navajos living along this stream, and hired a Navajo guide for 9 mares. At least two routes through or around the Carrizo Mountains were available. One would have ascended Teek Nos Pos Canyon to Pastora Peak, crossing the summit to Blackhorse Creek on the southern slope. This required climbing perhaps 2,000-3,000 feet (traveling 21+ miles). The other possible route curved east of the mountains more or less via the route of modern U. S. Highway 64. The route then curved southwest across the bajada slope to Blackhorse Creek, a distance of at least 23 miles, which, despite being slightly longer, avoided the climb past Pastora Peak. In accordance with our postulate, we conclude that the expedition took the longer but more level path around the mountains.”
32. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*. p.94, fn. 34 “Hogansaani Spring.” Armijo spends another night at that campsite. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 24: “Hasbidito Creek from Blackhorse Creek the expedition swung westward across the southern portion of the Carrizo Mountains, perhaps via Cove Mesa to Escondido (Hidden Spring). Arguably this site is now referred to as Hasbidito Spring on Hasbitidito Creek in recent terminology. If the expedition crossed the mountain, it descended Blackhorse Creek far enough to turn almost due west across Cove Mesa in order to cross a mountain pass, where minerals were mined in historic times, and to strike Hasbidito Creek and descend it. Traveled 21+ miles.”
33. At Canyon de Chelly November 25, 1829: Chinle Creek in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Hafen, Armijo’s Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.94, fn. 35: “The creek that rises in the Canyon de Chelly National Monument runs north and is now known as Chinle Creek.” See fn. 33 above: Warren notes, Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 25: “Chelli Creek Canyon (not Canyon de Chelly). Traveled 16+ miles.”
34. November 27, 1829: Church Rock in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Warren and Hafen use *artenesales*, see Warren,

28. --- A la Laguna del Puerto de las lemitas/³⁵
29. --- Al aguage del cuervo/³⁶
30. --- Al aguage de los Payuches, se encontraron/tres indios y no hubo novedad, y fue neces[ar]io]. calsar un cañon para subirlo y levantar/cargas en brasos./³⁷
-
- “Armijo’s Trace Revisited,” p. 13-14, fn. 14, and Hafen, Armijo’s Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.94, fn. 36. Hafen does not point to an actual place but writes “not identified”. He uses the word *artenesales*, which succeeding authors use. The accepted location is Church Rock. See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_Rock_\(Navajo_County,_Arizona\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_Rock_(Navajo_County,_Arizona)), last consulted April 4, 2018. Note: Even though *artenesales* is the accepted word among researchers of Armijo’s route, it is, having checked through various dictionaries, questionable that such a word exists. The paleography could also read *centenejales* which may cast a different interpretation on the site. See, for example: Three result(s) [a] *Certeneja* (Mexico) a pit dug in a river bed. [b] a small and deep reservoir and [c] a small, deep swamp, bog or marsh. See <https://termbank.com/en/spanish-english/certeneja>, last consulted on April 4, 2018. Also there is at least one topographical place name in Mexico that bears the word: *El Certenejal*, *Guasave Sin*. Warren [Also see fn. 33 above] notes, “*Artenesales* is the only term still not translatable. A Chicano informant from northern New Mexico believes the term *artenesales* (variant *arteseñal*, cf. diary entry for December 10) describes a trimming of a roof, an architectural feature. Used in geographical description, this might be a rimrock, a characteristic of western topography. In this case, the rimrock would very likely be at the top of the climb out of the Canyon de Chelly in Arizona, where the caravan had spent the previous day.” (Letter in possession of Loretta Fitzgerald, Ethnic Studies Department, University of Nevada, Las Vegas: copy in possession of author dated January 27, 1973). Warren, “Armijo’s Trace Revisited,” p. 26, fn. 26. Stoffle and his researchers also question the use of the word *artesenales*. See Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 27: At rock *artesenales* [Rock art? Petroglyphs?] From Rock Point to Laguna Creek at or near Dennehotso would require traveling 20+ miles.”
35. *Lemita* is a squawbush. Hafen, spelled it *Limita* as in *Limita Spring*, see *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.94, see fn. 37 “*Lemita Spring*.”). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 28: “Lake in mountain pass of Las Lemitas -- following Laguna Creek. Dennehotso to Church Rock via Laguna Creek required 18+ miles travel.”
36. November 29, 1829: Boiling Springs = Navajo National Monument in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Hafen, Armijo’s Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 94, “At the waterhole of El Cuervo.” See Hafen, p. 94 fn. 38, “this may be Chief Spring of today.” Warren, “Armijo’s Trace Revisited,” p. 26, calls it “the waterhole of the crow.”
37. November 30, 1829: Upper Crossing Spring = Paiute Canyon in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, Armijo’s Diary, *Huntington*

D[iciembre]re 1º --- A la Laguna de las milpitas en d[ic]ho dia tu[bi]/ mos que calsar una vajada del cañon./³⁸

2. --- Al ojito del Picacho en d[ic]ho dia sali escortad[o]/con Salvador Maes/³⁹
3. --- Al Cañon fragoso à la bajada y subida de l[os]/padres, y fu preciso calsar una y otra y su[bir]/ y vajar las cenegas en los brasos/⁴⁰

Library Quarterly, p. 94, fn. 39, “This was probably in Piute Canyon, or at the Upper crossing Springs near the canyon”). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for November 30: Waterholes of Payuchos (Paiutes). The expedition hand-carried baggage down and up canyon walls: arguably Tsegi Canyon veering northwestward (Map 2.6). The mouth of Tsegi Canyon required 18+ miles travel from Church Rock passing modern Kayenta.

38. Hafen, Armijo’s Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 95 notes, fn. 40. “The route from here to the “Crossing of the Fathers” cannot be determined with exactness. The Armijo party appears to be covering about the same territory, southeast of the crossing of the Colorado, where the Escalante party had such difficulty in finding a route through the rugged canyon country. See the Escalante journal for November 8-11, 1776, (in Auerbach, pp. 103-5). George Hardeen and Paul Ostapuk, Armijo’s Route near Page, Arizona Retraced,” *Spanish Traces*, vol. 24, no. 3, Spring 2018, p. 16-17. Authors note that finding Armijo’s exact trail remains troubling for researchers even today, p. 16). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 1: “Lake Las Milpitas (Little maize fields); the expedition worked its way down canyon. The expedition would have turned westward to climb out of the Tsegi Canyon to Little Salt Canyon. Next it would have followed the route of the modern road across the plateau and then would have crossed Begashibito Wash to upper Navajo Creek at about Inscription House Ruin, traveling 20+ miles.”
39. December 2, 1829: Junction of the Navajo and Kaibito Creeks in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Hafen notes that place name as Picacho [Peak] Springs in Hafen, Armijo’s Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 95. Warren, “Armijo’s Trace Revisited,” p. 37 writes “Picacho Springs.” vol. 24, no. 3, Spring 2018, p. 16-17. Authors note that finding Armijo’s exact trail remains troubling for researchers even today, p. 16. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 2: “2 Dec– Picacho Springs; the expedition reconnoitered. This spring would have been located in the southern portion of the mountains.”
40. Hafen, Armijo’s Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p.95, fn. 41, writes that the reference to *los padres* is to Domínguez and Escalante). (Hardeen and Ostapuk, Armijo’s Route, 16-17: “Armijo’s party was working its way down one of the many canyons leading toward the only known river ford, now beneath Lake Powell in Padre Bay). vol. 24, no. 3, Spring 2018, pp. 16-17. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 3: “Navajo Creek; Craggy Canyon down grade and

4. --- Demora en d[ic]ho dia volvi de la cortada sin/agua./
5. --- A la punta de la mesa del Rio Grande cono[cido]/en las Californias por el Colorado, jornada sin/agua./⁴¹
6. --- Al Rio Grande bado de los Padres un Rio d[onde]/se reconosio el bado y se encontro vueno y [los]/individuos que pasaron badiando observaron q[ue]/havia guella [huella] de tres individuos muy fresca [que]/la siguieron hasta que les oscurecio sin da[rles]/alcanse.⁴²
7. --- Demora. Se reunieron d[ic]hos individuos dando [su]/parte que queda espresado./
8. --- Crusamos el tren y compusimos la sub[ida]/del cañon misma que trabajaron los pad[res]/⁴³

up grade on trail of *Padres*. Expeditionaries carry baggage again. Actually, the Dominguez-Velez expedition did not pass this way, having made straight south from the Crossing of the Fathers to the Hopi Pueblos. The Armijo expedition would have moved due west to the headwaters of Navajo Creek.” Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 5: “At the south rim of Glen Canyon at the edge of the mesa without water. From Inscription House to the south rim would require 30+ miles of downgrade travel, but twists and turns would lengthen the distance.”

41. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 5: “At the south rim of Glen Canyon at the edge of the mesa without water. From Inscription House to the south rim would require 30+ miles of downgrade travel, but twists and turns would lengthen the distance.”

42. December 6, 1829: Crossing of the Fathers = Colorado River in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, Armijo’s *Diary*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 95, fn 42. “The Crossing of the Fathers was a passable ford where the Colorado was a mile wide. See Auerbach, p. 102. It is a short distance above the Utah-Arizona boundary”). (Hardeen and Ostapuk, Armijo’s Route, p. 17. Authors note that they rested on December 4 and 5 and crossed on December 6. Authors say, “The English translation was in error. Actually the observers only saw the tracks of three people.” Authors also erroneously write that Armijo noted that “On the banks of the river, which are made up of smooth rocks, there are some inscriptions that are believed to have been left by the missionary fathers who tried to discover the route but could not,” p. 17).l. 24, No 3, Spring 2018, pp. 16-17. Authors note that finding Armijo’s exact trail remains troubling for researchers even today, p. 16). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 6: “At the ford immediately downstream from the Crossing of the Fathers steps. The expedition tests the ford. The expedition descended from the south rim to the Colorado River in a single day. The distance would be 20+ miles downhill.”

43. Hafen, Armijo’s *Diary*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 95, fn. 43: “Escalante’s descent from the north side to the river on

9. --- Al cañon blanco agua permanente./⁴⁴

10. ---Al certenejal [Hafen and Warren: artenejal] de la Seja colorada, en d[ic]ho[lugar]/se encontro una Rancheria de Payuches [y no]/ tubimos novedad, es nacion manza y cobarde/⁴⁵

November 7 is reported in his diary: ‘To lead the animals down by their bridles to the canyon it was necessary to hew steps with the ax in a rock for a distance of about three yards or a little less. The animals could go down the rest of the way but without a pack or a rider.’ ”

44. December 9, 1829: Wahweap Creek, White [Blanco] Canyon in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, Armijo’s *Diary*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 95, fn. 44, “This was probably Wahweap Canyon.”). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 9: “The expedition climbed toward north rim of Glen Canyon via White Canyon (white wall). We estimate that the expedition traveled 8 to 10 miles uphill. The Hafens mapped the expedition’s exodus from Glen Canyon as going west down the Colorado River and then ascending Wahweap Canyon. The diary does not mention descending the river. We consider lower Paria Canyon to be too deeply and steeply incised to permit its use for climbing out of Glen Canyon. We conclude that the Hafen and Hafen map is incorrect. The diary records the expedition’s immediate climb from the Colorado River at Crossing of the Fathers. Last Chance Creek and Canyon is almost directly north of the Crossing. Moreover, the white wall on the western flank of Last Chance Canyon is so conspicuous here that it is labeled as such (White Rocks) on the DeLorme Utah map. The correlation between Armijo’s terminology and the color of lower Last Chance Canyon rather conclusively confirms this as the location where the expedition actually exited Glen Canyon. Stoffle et al. note that the next few weeks of diary entries for December 9 to January 8 were “the most difficult section of the Armijo expedition’s route to reconstruct.”
45. December 10, 1829: Settlement of Payuches, Red Ridge [artenejal of Ceja Colorado] in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hardeen and Ostapuk, Armijo’s Route, 17, authors note that “The word *ceja* is a specific reference to an eyebrow ridge, a good description of the Cockscomb Kaibab monocline. The word *artenejal* is loosely translated as rimrock but there is a debate as to the exact location of the December 10th campsite and whether the Armijo caravan travelled along the Paria River to the north or took a short cut through the Cockscomb.” In their closing paragraph, the authors write, “our trip determined that several possible routes through the Cockscomb were doable. But which one Armijo actually used will remain campfire conjecture.” p. 17). (Note Hafen, “Armijo Diary,” *Huntington Library Journal*. p. 95, Hafen notes that Armijo was “At the *artenejal* of the Ceja Colorada [Red Ridge] Hafen read the word as *artenejal* instead of *artenesale* whereas Warren, “*Armijo’s Trace Revisited*,” p. 28 notes that Armijo reached “To the rimrock of the red bluff.” Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 10: “10 Dec– Red slope or Red ridge (the brief time spent climbing also militates against

11. --- Al Rito del cañon de la Ceja.^{/46}
12. --- Arriva de la Seja Montosa sin agua^{/47}.
13. --- Al pueblo colorado sin agua , con nieve surtica-/mos la necesidad de ella.^{/48}
14. --- Al rito del Carnero.^{/49}
15. --- A el agua de la vieja.^{/50}

the expedition's exiting via Wahweap Canyon). Payuches settlement. The expedition climbed from white wall to red wall along Last Chance Canyon. Southern Paiutes were evidently gardening on the canyon bottom with stream flow irrigation. We estimate that the expedition traveled at least 8 miles this day."

46. December 11, 1829: Creek of Ridge [Ceja] Canyon. Hafen, Armijo's Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 96, fn. 45: "Apparently this was Paria Creek. It is the right distance for an average three-day journey from the Crossing of the Fathers." Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited," p. 38, notes it as "the creek of the canyon of the cliff." Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 11: "To creek in Red Canyon. The stream may have sunk into gravelly fill in the lower portion of Last Chance Canyon, but flowed on the surface upstream. We estimate that the expedition traveled at least 8 miles this day, following Last Chance Creek, and not Dry Canyon nor Reese Canyon.
47. December 12, 1829: "Crossed Cockcomb and the north end of Kaibab Mountain, Top of the tree-covered ridge in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 12: "North Rim of Glen Canyon – dry plateau camp. Tree covered "ridge." "The expedition reached the Kaiparowits Plateau in four days climbing, gaining considerable altitude, and traveling a significant distance northward. The Hafens's text does not mention this portion of trip (Hafen and Hafen 1954: 166). We estimate that the expedition traveled about 5 miles this day."
48. December 13, 1829: Colorado Pueblo in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 13: "At Colorado Pueblo, no water. The expedition used snow. Probably "red pueblo" was a prehistoric Puebloan ruin constructed with red rocks. Arguably this ruin was located about 10 miles upstream from the North Rim of Glen Canyon in Paradise Canyon."
49. December 14, 1829: Reached Ram [Carnero] Creek = Kanab Creek. (Hafen, Armijo's Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 96, fn. 46, This must be Kanab Creek, three days' journey from Paria. The crossing was probably in the vicinity of Fredonia, Arizona). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 14: "Carnero (ram) Creek. First stream. Arguably near the source of Wahweap Creek's west fork about 10 miles from Colorado Pueblo. The route went 2+ miles northwest via Paradise Canyon, then 6+ miles more or less due west across the plateau to upper Wahweap Creek An alternate but longer path went up Paradise Creek virtually to its source, then turned west for three miles to upper Wahweap Creek.
50. December 15, 1829: At Water of the Old Woman [Agua de la Vieja] = Pipe Spring in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830

16. --- A el Llano del coyote sin agua.^{/51}
17. --- A el cañon caliso [caloso] agua de aguajales.^{/52}
18. Demora y salio la cortada y volvio sin novedad.^{/53}

- Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, Armijo's Diary, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 96, fn. 47: "This could be Pipe Springs or Moccasin. Four more days are to bring Armijo to the Virgin River, and the determining factor in the identification of his route is of several matters. Going ahead to the mouth of the Virgin and working back from that definite point, as well as by taking the distance and the number of days' travel from the crossing of the Fathers, convinces me that Armijo reached the Virgin about half way between the present towns of Hurricane and Washington. I am the more certain because the day after reaching the Virgin he arrived at the Milpas River (identified as the Santa Clara). Also, an interception of the Virgin farther east is unlikely because of its involvement in deep canyons. The exact route from the Kanab Creek to the Virgin cannot be traced, but it did not make the dip far to the south which Escalante made. Armijo probably traveled by Cane Beds and Short Creek, Arizona. The old country road leading from Hurricane to Pipe Spring and Fredonia probably follows roughly the Armijo trace. The present editor drove over this route from St. George to Bright Angel Point, on the north rim of the Grand Canyon." Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 15: "Agua de la Vieja – Old Woman Water. Some earlier analysts have equated Agua de la Vieja with Pipe Springs in the Arizona Strip. Exiting Glen Canyon via Last Chance Creek, the Armijo expedition was considerably north of the latitude of Pipe Springs. This was the second water reached in Utah. The Hafens wrote that the expedition took 3 days (from an unidentified point) to reach Paria Creek, then 3 more days to reach Kanab Creek (Hafen and Hafen 1954: 166). We think the expedition descended Wahweap Creek for 8+ miles to the confluence of Blue Wash, and then turned west another mile to a southward flowing tributary."
51. December 16, 1829: Coyote Plains in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 16: "Coyote plain – waterless campsite. We think that the expedition traveled west for 1 1/2 mile, crossed Cottonwood Canyon and went 4 1/2 miles via Butler Valley to the head of Round Valley Draw."
 52. December 17, 1829: Limestone [Caloso] Hurricane Cliffs in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 17: "Caloso (Limestone) Canyon – water holes. We correlate Rock Springs with these 'water holes' inferring that the expedition traveled this day 7+ miles from Round Valley Draw."
 53. December 18, 1829: Stopped: Reconnaissance party went out and returned with nothing to report in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 18: "Layover, reconnaissance. The exploration's pause suggests that the relatively short distances traversed the previous days indicated that the travelers did not really know

19. A el cañon de la agua edionda [hedionda]
permanente.^{/54}
20. A el Rio Cebero.^{/55}

where they should go.”

54. December 19, 1829: Stinking Water Canyon in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 19: “Stinking Water Canyon; permanent water supply. Third water/stream encountered. Arguably modern upper Paria River, 5+ miles from Rock Spring, reached by descending Dry Valley Creek for 5 miles.”
55. December 20, 1829: Junction of the Pearce Wash and Severe [Severo] = Virgin River in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 96-97, fn. 48: “The first and apparent identification of the Rio Severo would be the Sevier River of central Utah, as assumed by some students. (See J.J. Hill, *The History of Warner’s Ranch and its Environs* [1927], pp. 87-88.) A close study, however, convinces one that this identification is incorrect. The Sevier River runs north, instead of south, and does not flow into the Colorado as does Armijo’s Rio Severo. The Virgin River is the only stream that can be the Colorado affluent which the Spanish party follows: it meets all the requirements. Armijo’s is not the only confusion of the Virgin and Sevier rivers. Thomas J. Farnham, in the Pictorial Edition of his *Life, Adventures, and Travels in California* (1840), pp. 318-320, tells of the adventures of an old trapper on the ‘Rio Severe,’ which was most likely the Virgin River of today. In fact, the Virgin is a much more severe stream than the Sevier River. The Virgin River had been given other names previous to Armijo’s christening of it. Escalante had called it the Rio Sulfureo (Sulphur River) from the sulphur springs by Hurricane, Utah, which enter the river and affect its waters near where the Escalante party crossed the stream. Jedediah Smith journeyed along the river in 1826 and gave it the name of the President of the United States—Adams River. When—sometime during the 1830s—it took on its present name has not been determined. Having been born and reared on this stream, I have a special interest if not affection for it, even though J.C. Frémont, who ascended it in 1844, characterized it as ‘the most dreary river I have ever seen.’ (his *Report of the Exploring Expedition* [1845], p. 268. Warren, “*Armijo’s Trace Revisited*,” p. 29, fn. 28, concurs that Armijo “did identify this river wrongly as the Sevier (it was actually the Virgin).” Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 20: “At Severo River – Fourth Stream.” Arguably the expedition never crossed the northward flowing headwaters of the East Fork of the Sevier River, the massif on which it rises and flows militating against any east-west crossing. Instead, the expedition ascended Sheep Creek for about 1 mile, and then took Bull Valley Gorge for 5+ miles northwest to Papoose Creek. Papoose Creek rises on the south side of the high plateau on which the East Fork of the Sevier River originates and flows northward. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that Armijo took proximity to the Sevier River to justify referring to Papoose Creek the Sevier (if he knew from

21. Demora y salio la cortada.^{/56}
22. Al Rio de las Milpas en d[ic]ho punto se reunio la/cortada sin novedad.^{/57}
23. A el arroyo de las Calavasillas .^{/58}

oral tradition of the Dominguez-Velez expedition or later New Mexico explorations that the Sevier River in fact was across the divide).

56. December 21, 1829: Stopped: Reconnaissance party went out in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society.
57. December 22, 1829: Followed the Virgin River to the Cornfield [Milpas] = Santa Clara River; Reconnaissance party rendezvoused without mishap in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” “The English translation was in error. Actually the observers only saw the tracks of three people.” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 97: “This must be the Santa Clara, which Jedediah Smith called ‘Corn Creek.’ Along it Indians were raising corn when the first white men came to this country and there they have continued to farm ever since. On Jedediah Smith’s journey down the Virgin in 1837 he turned up the Santa Clara to cross the Beaver Dam Mountains by the same route the modern highway (U.S. 91) takes. On his trip of 1826, Smith had descended the Virgin west from the site of St. George, Utah, and had found great difficulty in going through ‘The Narrows,’ cut through the mountain range by the stream. So on his second trip, twelve miles and then turning west. In finding this trail he was doubtless assisted by the Indians. Very likely Armijo learned of the route and of Smith’s traversal of it from the same Piutes”). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 22: “Milpas [Maize field] River – Fifth stream Again, the expedition saw Southern Paiute irrigated maize fields. Arguably these maize fields were on the southward flowing Podunk Creek. From Papoose Creek, Armijo started southwestward across the *bajada* slope to more or less the same elevation, traversed by the modern vehicle road, and traveled 1 mile to Podunk Creek. The English translation was in error. Actually the observers only saw the tracks of three people.”
58. December 23, 1829: Headed up the Santa Clara River to Little Wild Squash [*Calabacillas*] Arroyo in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 97, fn. 50: “The little, striped, wild squashes, locally called gourds, still grow profusely along the Santa Clara River and at the arroyos that enter it. The wash named here was probably the one that enters the river just above the present Shivwit Indian village, where the road turns from the Santa Clara to effect a crossing of the mountain range to the west.”). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 23: “Dec–*Calabacillas* (Little Wild Squash) Arroyo. The Spanish word does not necessarily include the concept wild, unless this was New Mexico colloquialism. The plants might have been Paiute cultivars. Given how laconic Armijo was, this reference indicates that the plants impressed him, arguably suggesting at least subsurface irrigation of the distinctive plants. Arguably,

24. --- Abajo del mismo Rio de las Milpas.^{/59}
 25. --- Volvimos a caer al rio Severo de cuyo pun-/to
 salio la cortada.^{/60}
 26. --- En el mismo rio abajo.⁶¹
 27. --- En id[em] se encontro una Rancheria de in-
 dios con Sarsillos a las narises y no tubimos/
 novedad por ser mansos y cobardes.^{/62}

the squash were growing along the west fork – Thompson Creek – of Johnson Canyon. The expedition traversed an estimated 12+ miles from Podunk Creek across uplands.”

59. December 24, 1829: Below the Santa Clara River, Crossed over Utah Hill in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly* p. 97, fn. 51: “The camp of the 24th was probably west of the dividing ridge”). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 24: “Beyond Milpas River again – Sixth stream. We think that the expedition traveled 11+ miles this day, from the west fork of Johnson Canyon along or near the modern road route past Bald Knob to lower Sink Valley Wash, down that drainage to upper Kanab Creek and about one mile farther 'beyond' this Maizefield River (i.e., Kanab Creek).”
60. December 25, 1829: Hit the Virgin River again at Littlefield from where a reconnaissance party went out in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 97, fn. 52: “Descent of the long ‘Slope’ would bring the party again to the Virgin River at the mouth of Beaver Dam Wash and near the present village of Littlefield, Arizona. They now follow the Virgin down to its junction with the Colorado”). Note: There is no reference to a slope in the diary. As they followed arroyos that emptied into the Virgin River, it is possible that they were on a slight incline. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 25: “Hit Servero River for the second time – Seventh stream. In view of the fairly clear geography of the lower reaches of this stream, it was not the Sevier, but the Virgin. We infer that the expedition struck the East Fork after skirting Bryce Canyon on the south. The Hafens placed the expedition this day near Littlefield, Arizona, which is rather far downstream to be feasible.” (Hafen and Hafen 1954: 167) The Hafens’ text is thus quite inconsistent with the Hafens’s map. Arguably, the expedition struck the East Fork on the Virgin River at or near modern Glendale. The descent into the river valley from the east is precipitous and dangerous even on the contemporary four-wheel-drive vehicle road.
61. December 26, 1829: Down the Virgin River in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 26: “Follow this ‘Servero’ River downstream. The expedition traveled 16+ miles downstream along the Virgin River to the confluence with Meadow Creek.”
62. December 27, 1829: Indian settlement (natives had rings in their noses and were non-hostile in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical
28. --- En el mismo Rio abajo.^{/63}
 29. --- A la Sienea del mismo Rio.^{/64}
 30. --- En el d[ic]ho rio.^{/65}
 31. --- En id[em] se junto la cortada.^{/66}
**E[ner]lo 1º - Al Rio Grande otra vez de la cortada
 que/ se reunio el dia anterior falto el C[iudadano]**
-
- Society. Warren, “*Armijo’s Trace Revisited*,” p. 30, fn. 29, notes that Armijo was near Mesquite, Nevada. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 27: “The expedition met natives wearing (shell) rings through their noses; following the ‘Severo’ river downstream. We estimate the expedition traveled 20+ miles to about Willow Springs, passing the site of modern Rockville.”
63. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 28: “Following this ‘Severo’ River downstream. Expedition traveled 20+ miles, passing the confluence with the North Fork of the Virgin River, the sites of modern Verkin and Hurricane.”
64. Note that a *cienea* is a marsh or a swamp. December 29, 1829: At the slough of the Virgin River in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 97, fn. 53. During low water the Virgin frequently loses itself in the sand and terminates in a wire-grass and tule slough.”) Warren, “*Armijo’s Trace Revisited*,” p. 31, fn. 30, notes that “This is probably the junction of the Muddy River and the Virgin, which occurred some fifteen miles above the confluence of the Virgin and Colorado Rivers., and about two days’ journey (December 28 and 29) from the Indian settlement of the Virgin near present-day Mesquite, Nevada.” Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 29: “Pass slough in this ‘Severo’ River. We estimate the expedition traveled 20+ miles down the Virgin River, passing its confluence with the Santa Clara River, and site of modern St. George (probable slough location).”
65. December 30, 1829: Along the Virgin River in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 98, fn. 54: “The entrance of the Muddy affluent, below former St. Thomas (site now covered by Lake Mead), reinforces the Virgin.”). Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 30: “Following this ‘Severo’ River downstream Jedediah Smith had a ‘difficult’ time descending the Virgin River downstream from later St. George, traveling in the riverbed through a ‘rough’ canyon (Morgan 1953: 198).”
66. December 31, 1829: Along the Virgin River, the reconnaissance party rendezvoused (missing Rivera) in “Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington County Historical Society. Note: There is no reference to Rivera in this entry. Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for December 31: “Following this ‘Severo’ River downstream. We estimate the expedition made another 20+ miles this day. Passing the confluence of Muddy River with the Virgin and going some 6 miles south along the Virgin.”

Raf[ae]l Rivera.^{/67}

2. --- Rio grande abajo camino fragoso.^{/68}

3. --- Id[em] id[em].^{/69}

4. --- Demora en dicho dia se fue la cortada en vusca/
de Rivera.^{/70}

5. --- Demora: vino la cortada y no hallo à Rivera/⁷¹

6. --- Al arroyo de la yerva del Manzo en d[ic]ho pun/
to salio la cortada en busca de Rivera.^{/72}

67. January 1, 1830: Junction of the Virgin and Colorado [Rio Grande] Rivers in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. (Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 98, fn. 54: "They have now reached the Colorado again, down which they will travel three days. In the meantime the guide, Rivera, had set out on December 31 to reconnoiter. He pushed ahead until he reached the Mojave Indian villages at the extreme southern point of Nevada's boundary. Upon his return to the main party, after having been gone seven days, he reported that he had found the ford of the Colorado which he had used the previous year in going to Sonora. This bit of information revealed in the entry of January 7, indicates that Rivera was familiar with the route from the Mojave villages on the Colorado River to the Mojave River and thence to the San Bernardino region. He was probably the one who suggested leaving the river at its abrupt southward bend, a little above present Hoover Dam and taking a short cut across the desert to the Mojave River.") Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for January 1, 1830: "Again reach Rio Grande; Rafael Rivera went missing on an individual exploration. This "Severo" River the expedition followed downstream for 6+ days was the Virgin River. Compare Jedediah Smith's description of this descent of that stream. Smith took 10 days to descend the Virgin River (his Adams River), from its confluence with Ash Creek to its confluence with the Colorado River."

68. January 2, 1830: Rugged trail along the Colorado River in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 98, fn. 56: "They do not cross the Colorado at the mouth of the Virgin, as did Jedediah Smith, but instead made their way over the rough country to the north of the Colorado, probably along the general route later used by the Mormons in reaching their head-of-navigation warehouse at Callville." Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for January 2: "Descend Rio Grande via "rugged trail."

69. January 3, 1830: Rugged trail along the Colorado River in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society.

70. January 4, 1830: Stopped: Reconnaissance party went in search of Rivera in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society.

71. January 5, 1830: Stopped: Reconnaissance party returned without Rivera in "Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition)," Washington County Historical Society.

72. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 98, fn. 57: "This was probably at the mouth of Las Vegas Wash, which enters the

7. --- Demora: esperando la cortada, llego el C[iudadano] R[ive]/ra y dio noticia que havia encontrado los/Pueblos de los Cucha Payuches y de los Hay[u]-tas y Reconosido el vado donde cruso el/Rio Grande el año pasado que salio por [So]/nora.^{/73}

8. --- Demora y llego la cortada que andava [en]/ busca de Rivera sin novedad de cuyo pun[to]/ volvio a salir la cortada./

9. --- Al arroyo Salado sin novedad.^{/74}

10. --- A una laguna sin agua./

11. --- Al ojito de la tortuga.^{/75}

Colorado a little above Hoover Dam and near where the river turns abruptly southward. This is the logical place to leave the river to take the desert short cut and also to avoid the Black Canyon and other gorges of the Colorado. This point is only about twenty miles in an air line from the mouth of the Virgin. This would seem a short distance to have made in three days, but the distance traveled was much greater than the airline mileage, and besides, Rivera was out on his exploring tour and the main party would naturally travel slowly while they were seeking him or awaiting his return."

73. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 99, fn. 58: "The Hayatas are probably the Mojaves, who still live in the valley of the Colorado, on the Fort Mojave Reservation. The Cucha Payuches were a branch of the Pahutes. Some of these bands eked out an existence at various desert springs in southern Nevada. The tribe referred to could have been inhabiting Cottonwood Valley on the Colorado River, some thirty-five miles above the Mojaves. Lieutenant J.C. Ives, when exploring the Colorado in 1858, found Mojaves living in Cottonwood Valley, and in the country adjacent found 'Bad Paiutes' prowling about. (*Report upon the Colorado River of the West* [1861], pp. 79-80."

74. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 99, fn. 59: "The party has now left the river and set out across the desert. It will take them six days to reach the River of the Payuches. The only river which answers the descriptions—is in about the right location and is long enough for the party to follow it for a day's journey—is the Amargosa. It is eighty-five airline miles from the setting-out point on the Colorado and therefore could be reached in the six days. They probably traveled an almost due west course, one shown on the 'General Map Showing Approximate Location of Better Known Springs and Wells in the Mojave and Adjacent Deserts, Southern California and Southwestern Nevada,' accompanying *Water Supply Paper No. 224, U.S. Geological Survey*. The trail shown on the map goes from Callville on the Colorado, westward by present Arden, and some eight miles south of Las Vegas. It is almost certain that Armijo did not go by the large, impressive spring at Las Vegas, for such an excellent water supply would have called forth a recognizable description."

75. Hafen, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 99, fn. 60: "This was probably Cottonwood Spring, in the Spring Mountains, toward which the party would naturally direct its course in search of

12. --- Al puerto, sin agua.^{/76}
13. --- A los ojitos Salados.^{/77}
14. --- Al rio de los Payuches donde se encontro
u[na]/
15. --- Rancheria y no hubo novedad por ser
man[sa]^{/78}
15. --- En el mismo rio abajo./
16. --- Al rito Salitroso en donde se junto la cort[ada]/
sin novedad.^{/79}
17. --- Jornada sin agua./
18. --- A la Laguna del Milagro.^{/80}

water. This spring, about seventeen miles from Las Vegas, later became a well-known stopping-place on the Old Spanish Trail and on the route from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles. There are many diaries of subsequent trips over the route from here to San Bernardino, but there are wide discrepancies in the names and locations of springs and distances between them. J.C. Frémont, in his *Report of the Exploring Expedition* gives valuable information of his eastward trip over this trail in 1844. However his map and his journal do not correspond regarding the territory from the Amargosa to Las Vegas. The journal and map of G.H. Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific* (1854), better fit the geography, 'The Diary of Dr. Thomas Flint, California to Maine and Return, 1851-1855,' *Hist. Soc. of So. Calif. Annual Publication* 1923, pp. 116-120, gives information on this section of the route. See also 'By Ox Team from Salt Lake to Los Angeles, 1850; a Memoir by David W. Cheesman,' *ibid.*, 1930, pp. 294-300; Howard Egan, *Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878* (1917), pp. 173-75; Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City* (1861), vol. II, 416-41; the manuscript report by Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry of his military expedition over the route in 1855 (in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.); and various manuscript diaries in the Mormon Church archives in Salt Lake City.

76. Hafén, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 100, fn. 61: "There was a spring at the mountain pass west of Cottonwood Spring, but travelers frequently passed without noting it. See David Cheesman memoir, p. 295."
77. Hafén, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 100, fn. 62: "This was probably Stump spring, so called by Mowry and by later travelers, and listed by Heap, p. 104, as Aqua Escarbada. It may have been Resting Spring or what Frémont called Hernandez's Spring, from the tragedy enacted there just prior to Frémont's arrival."
78. Hafén, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 100, fn. 63: "Identified as the Amargosa River, or Bitter Creek. This stream flows south, then west around the point of the Black Mountains, and then turns northwest toward Death Valley. The trail followed it for several miles."
79. Hafén, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 100, fn. 64: "This stream bed, generally dry, was a branch of the Amargosa (see Frémont, p. 264). In it was the Salt Spring, near which were the Salt Spring Mines, worked in the early 1850s." See Heap, p. 106, Fling, p. 119, and Mowry manuscript.
80. Hafén, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 100, fn. 65: "This

19. --- Al ojito del Malpais/⁸¹
20. --- Jornada sin agua./
21. --- Al arroyo de los Hayatas a cuyo pun[to]/llega
el camino que sale de Moqui tra[nsi]/
tado por los Moquinos con el objeto de trata[r]/
conchas con d[ic]hos Hayatas.^{/82}
22. --- Por el mismo arroyo para arriba./
23. --- Por id[em]: nos comimos un caballo./
24. --- Id[em] id[em]/
25. --- Id[em] id[em]/
26. --- Id[em] id[em]:nos comimos un macho de
D[o]n [Miguel]/Baldes
27. --- Por d[ic]ho arroyo: topamos en d[ic]ho día a
los de/la cortada con socorro de vastimento y/
gente del Rancho de San Bernardino/⁸³
28. --- Al Cañon de San Bernardino/⁸⁴
29. --- Al paraje de San Jose/
30. --- A la puente/

was probably the spring which Frémont called *Agua del Tomaso*, Heap labled *Agus del Tio Meso*, and later travelers called it Bitter Springs. One of the long, so-called *jornadas* of the route extended fifty desert miles from the Amargosa to this place." Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for January 18: "Miracle Lake. Lake Mud or Red Pass Lake, 6 miles north of Bitter springs."

81. Hafén, *Huntington Lib.* p. 100, fn. 66: "Not identified."
82. Hafén, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 101, fns. 67 and 68. fn. 67: [re:Arroyo fe los Hayatas] "The bed of the Mojave River. In subsequent years the trail struck it at various points. In the lower reaches, water was found in pools or could be dug for in the sand." fn. 68, [re: trade trail] "The traffic across the desert from the Mojave villages on the colorado and from the Moquis beyond was already well established at the time of the first visit by white men to this region. See *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, de. E. Coues, I, 237. The river was discovered by Father Garcés on March 9, 1776, and by him named the Rio de los Martires (*ibid.*, p. 238). The Armijo party is to travel six days up this stream. They are now on ground undoubtedly familiar to Rivera, if not to other members of the company. So a party is sent ahead for supplies, which come to the relief of the main group on January 17." Stoffle, et al., *American Indians*, 2008, notation for January 21: "Barstow – junction with "Moqui [Hopi] Trail" from Mojave Valley ("Forks of the Road")."
83. Hafén, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 101, fn. 69: "The mission station or ranch of San Bernardino was started in 1819. See, G.W. Beattie, 'San Bernardino Valley in the Spanish period,' *Hist. Soc. of So. Calif. Annual Publication* 1923, pp. 17-18. Jedediah Smith had secured supplies here in 1836, (*ibid.*, pp. 23, 24).
84. Hafén, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, p. 101, fn. 70: "Beattie thinks that Armijo's San Bernardino Canyon is the canyon of Cajon Creek. It is probable that Armijo followed farther up the Mojave River than does the modern highway."

31. --- A la mision de S[a]n Gabriel./⁸⁵

Regrese el dia 1° de Marzo por el mismo/
camino sin mas novedad que perdida de vestias/
cansadas hasta que interne a Navajo por/
cuya Nacion fui perjudicado en vestias que/
me Rovaron y arribe a esta jurisdiccion de/
Xemez oy 25 de Abril de 1820. An[oni]o

Armijo._____/

Es copia Santa Fee 14 de Mayo de 1830./

Chavez {Rubrica}/

Por el oficio de V[uestra] S[eñoría] de 14 del q[u]e
rige y do-/
cumentos q[u]e acompaña se ha enterado {Rmk.
above the line: con satisfaccion} el/
E[xcelentísimo] S[eñor] [V[ice]] [P[residente]] del
viaje practicado p[o]r d[on] An[toni]o Ar-/
mijo y Socios con direccion a las Californias asi/
como del buen ecsito q[u]e tuvo una empresa/
tan arriesgada propia del genio emprendedor/
de esos habitantes y en cont[estaci]on me manda S[u]
E[xcelencia]/
decir a V[uestra] S[eñoría] q[u]e espera continue
fomentando el/
Comercio p[or] los puntos q[u]e emprendieron d[ic]
hos/
individuos asi como el de peleteria q[u]e hacen los/
Americanos del Norte con las espresadas Califor-/
nias, en concepto de q[u]e el Sup[re]mo Gobierno
está/
muy dispuesto á prestar {Rmk. above the line: á este
asunto} toda la proteccion q[u]e/
esté en sus facultades y aun á iniciar en las/
Camaras cuanto sea necesario p[ar]a lo q[u]e aguarda/
q[u]e V[uestra] S[eñoría] esponga cuales son los
aucilios y/
proteccion q[u]e se necesitan./
D[iciembre] 19 de Junio 1830.
Sr. Gefe politico del N[uevo] Mexico.
{rubrica}



85. January 31, 1830: Arrived at the San Gabriel Mission in
“Antonio Armijo Trail (1829-1830 Expedition),” Washington
County Historical Society.

Joseph P. Sánchez directs the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico. From 1991–2015 he was founder and editor of the Colonial Latin American Historical Review. Dr. Sánchez also served as superintendent of Petroglyph National Monument (2003-2014). After thirty-five years, he retired from the National Park Service in 2014. He has directed Congressionally mandated studies on the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, the Camino Real de los Tejas, and Old Spanish Trail, all designated National Historic Trails. He has taught at the University of New Mexico; the University of Arizona, where he directed the Mexican American Studies and Research Center; Santa Ana College in California; and the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara. He has published extensively on Spanish colonial California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Alaska.

OSNHT Recreation/Development Strategies Planned

In order to increase recognition, general knowledge, and usage of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, recreation and development strategies have been created for various counties along the Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. The plans are being coordinated by Rob Sweeten, Old Spanish Trail Administrator/Utah Historic Trails Lead, Bureau of Land Management, Utah State Office. Each plan involves the Trail's nearby communities in each county, as well as help from many local groups and Old Spanish Trail Association members.

Currently, a recreation and development strategy is being developed for Mesa and Delta counties in Colorado. The Old Spanish National Historic Trail in these counties has a unique and rich history, and the recreational activities associated with the trail in these two counties are also very diverse. The strategy identifies potential projects that could enable the public to find, follow, and experience the trail throughout these two counties in western Colorado.

Strategies have also been finalized in San Bernardino and Inyo counties in California, and in Emery, Grand, Iron, Sevier, Piute, and Garfield counties in Utah. The goal is to create a comprehensive set of Recreation and Development Strategies for the entire trail, allowing it to be marked and utilized from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. To view these final plans go to <http://oldspanishtrail.org/recreation-development-strategies-2>. As each plan is finalized, it will be added to the OSTA website.



Old Spanish Trail Association Membership Form

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Telephone: _____

E-Mail Address: _____

Type of Membership _____ Quantity _____

\$5 of each membership supports your local chapter. Indicate your desired chapter affiliation: _____ or none: _____

Additional chapters: _____

One chapter included with base membership, additional chapters at \$5 each

Please ensure that all information is COMPLETE AND LEGIBLE.

Memberships run for twelve months and include three issues per year of our journal, *Spanish Traces*. If you would like to receive *Spanish Traces* electronically only, check here ____ and make sure your email address is legible.

Membership Types

Individual	\$40/year
Family (self, spouse, minor children)	\$50/year
Student (K-12, college students)	\$25/year
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Life, individual	\$500
Life, family (self and spouse)	\$750
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Business/Corporate	\$100/year
Additional (2+) chapter affiliations	\$5 each

Pay online at www.oldspanishtrail.org or mail your check to:

**Membership
Old Spanish Trail Association
250 N. Redcliffs Dr., 4B #553
St. George, UT 84790**

Questions? Email ostamgr@gmail.com or call the Association Manager