

SPANISH TRACES™



VOLUME 24 ♦ NO 3 WINTER 2018



Spanish Land Grant | Pat Kuhlhoff | The Trail in the Movies | Vancouver Conference

Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the National Trails System Act in Vancouver, WA



Dan Shelby (Confluence Research & Consulting) and Lisa Ronald enjoyed interacting with the various displays. Read about the Vancouver conference, with more pictures, on page 24.



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 a typically 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.

| 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 Old Spanish Trail-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. All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the OSTA Designer/Editor (Kitty Nicholason, kitty.n@bresnan.net).

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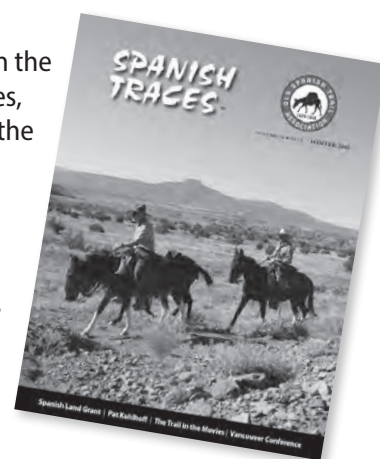
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ON THE COVER

The Old Spanish Trail is in the movies — documentaries, to be exact. Read about the plans for a documentary about the trail in Eastern Utah on page 5, and the premier of the Backcountry Horsemen's movie on page 6.

Cover: Marie Bergenholtz
Back Cover:
Benedicte Schoyen



SPRING 2019 DEADLINE

We would love to receive your comments, suggestions, and ideas for future issues. The deadline for submissions for the Spring 2019 issue is February 4, 2019. Send to Kitty Nicholason, kitty.n@bresnan.net.



BY THE WAY The Sky's the Limit

By Vicki Felmlee, OSTA President

Looking back, this has been an incredibly busy year for the Old Spanish Trail Association. From a new website to a new director, from new signs in California to planning for new signs in Southern Colorado, from recreation plans to well-attended conferences, we have seen successes small and large, visible and, well, not so visible.

Working "behind the scenes" can be frustrating at times for many of us. After all, it is human nature to be able to point to a trophy, a painting, a sculpture, and say, "I did this!" But many of our successes are behind the scenes, working with our National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management partners to talk about what we're doing and what we could be doing for our historic trail, our members, our partners.

This year we took the unusual step of not hosting our "own" conference, instead dedicating time and resources to attend the

Partnership for the National Trails System conference in Vancouver, Washington, commemorating the 50th Anniversary of our nation's historic and scenic trails act.

Six of our board members, Paul Ostapuk, Glenn Shaw, Dennis Brown, Reba Grandrud, and Nancy Melendez attended the conference as well as our board meeting. Alexander King and Stephanie Moulton chimed in with the board via tele-conference. Lynn Brittner, our new Executive Director; and Kitty Nicholason, our new Spanish Traces Designer/Editor, also attended both. All of us attended many of the conference's presentations. I learned that many organizations face the same issues we do — concerns about policies on the national level, concerns about funding, concerns about preservation, concerns about membership. Boiling it all down, there are always concerns about the future - change is hard on all of us, but change needs to be discussed, accepted, and, yes, embraced.

Some organizations are "tweaking" membership requirements and even the norms of membership. I heard the term "Trail Partners," embracing members, volunteers, and even community groups and leaders. I learned about successes — and failures (in other words,

it's OK to make mistakes): all lessons learned that hopefully we can apply to OSTA. Many organizations are not content with "business as usual" or resting on their past successes. They know that seeking new solutions to new problems are keys as we keep trekking on into this 21st century.

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

This next year is shaping up to be even busier than the last:

- A committee chaired by Paul Ostapuk will be reviewing our bylaws and other documents
- More site certifications are planned
- At least one more Recreation and Development Strategy will be prepared by our BLM partners
- The trail will see more signs along highways and byways
- Our 2019 OSTA Conference is being planned for October in Cedar City, Utah

Anything else? Well, the sky's the limit — oh, yes, wait for news about a new event, the Southwest Star Festival!

Finally, Merry Christmas and a Happy, safe New Year to all. Weather permitting, we'll see you out somewhere on our trail.



LOS SENDEROS Vancouver Revisited

By Lynn Brittner, Executive Director

Throughout my first month as Executive Director of the OSTA, it has been clear that the one thing that stands out above and beyond is the passion shared by everyone for historic trails. Each person I have met within this organization cares deeply about history, and has put in endless volunteer hours along the Trail's twelve hundred miles. In past years, much has been accomplished. Every role is important and contributes to the overall mission of the Trail. Everyone's skills and talents and membership support have made such a positive impact. It is at the local community level where successful Trail networks begin.

This was made ever so clear during the Vancouver Conference, where I had the privilege of attending a four-day event organized by the Partnership for the National Trail System and River Management, celebrating 50 years of protecting trails and rivers. Individuals

and organizations from federal agencies to non-profit conservation groups to for-profit companies were brought together to address key issues dedicated to the preservation of the nation's wild, scenic, and historic places.

One of the sessions I attended at this trail Conference/Workshop discussed what kinds of federal and state land funds are available and how to put together proposals to obtain federal funding sources to protect land along our National Trails. In addition to expanding my knowledge, I was thrilled to come away with a greater understanding of how the National Park Service, Rivers Trails, and Conservation Assistance Programs support community-led natural resource conservation and outdoor recreation projects across the nation. There was an entire session discussing successful model projects. Other workshop sessions included recruiting great board members; getting started with major gift fundraising; and the stewardship and retention of donors, volunteers, staff, and board members.

On another day, I attended a session on how to work with local, regional, and national land trusts to acquire land for trails, gap study analysis, and protection

of National Historic Trails and resources which included a session on NPS trail acquisition.

The third day was dedicated to day-long field trips. I chose to take the Pacific Crest Trail in the Columbia River Gorge, which gave me the opportunity to experience a five-mile hike along the Pacific Crest National Scenic Trail to join in discussions about the effects of the 2017 Eagle Creek Fire as it related to the PCT, as well as the importance of outdoor recreation to the small communities along the Columbia River. Discussions about private and state land acquisitions, timber harvests, and associated controversial issues expanded my own knowledge about the trail. I was thrilled to come away with a greater understanding about trail management.

The first keynote speaker of this event was Dr. Carolyn Finney, author of *Black Faces Public Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Outdoors*. She set the tone for the opening of the conference, which continued in discussions throughout the week about ways to engage people from more diverse backgrounds with the outdoors and especially with public lands. Another speaker of note was Nicole Browning, a senior marketing manager

from REI, who discussed the company's approach to equity in the outdoors, specifically focusing on the recent "Force of Nature" campaign to increase the representation and voice that women have when it comes to enjoying and protecting our outdoors. In her role at REI, she drives strategies for inclusion initiatives that promote the

concept that life outdoors is a life well lived for all. The closing keynote was a passionate talk by author Philip Connors, who years ago left the *Wall Street Journal* to fulfill his dream job of keeping watch over the Gila Wilderness of New Mexico as a seasonal employee with the US Forest Service in New Mexico. He is the author of *Fire Season: Field Notes*

from a Wilderness Lookout and A Song for the River.

The experiences I had at 50th Anniversary National Trails Conference/Workshop was not only inspiring, but left me excited and motivated about what I can do to bring new ideas and energy to the Old Spanish Trail Association. ♦



*Ever wonder how the
Old Spanish Trail came to be?
Who traveled on it?
Where did they come from?
Where were they going?*

Our Research Committee explores all of these questions - and more! Join us - We're looking for volunteers to help us.

- ➡ Find sources of information ➡ ■
 - ➡ Review journals, articles ➡ ■
 - ➡ Refer expert resources ➡ ■
- And much more!

Contact Tom Sutak, Research Committee Chair at ostarescom@gmail.com today and let's get started!

Joint OSTA/Moab Museum Video Project

By Dennis Brown, OSTA Vice President

The Moab Museum is partnering with OSTA to produce a 10- to 15-minute video about the hardships and difficulties of travelling the OST focusing on the section of the North Branch in the Utah Counties of Grand and San Juan, passing through Moab.

In early March 2017, I conceived of this project as a way for the museum to explore the subject further using video to create a digital experience, telling a story that would help people see how history provides a perspective useful in addressing contemporary issues such as the linkage between trade routes and human migration.

Work started with a few professional volunteers donating their time: myself; a neighbor who is a professional cinematographer; a film director in New York City; and a museum board member who was researching and photographing the remaining evidence of the trail in southeastern Utah. The team's efforts resulted in the creation of a 70-second video teaser that was shown at the museum's annual meeting in January 2017 to an audience of 160 who enthusiastically embraced the project. It was also shown on the museum's facebook site, generating several hundred smiling hits and requests to know more. It seemed we had a viable project.

At that time, I thought we could produce a 10- or 15-minute video needing only \$50,000 for on-site production because all the film professionals were donating their

time — the equivalent of \$200,000 we wouldn't have to raise.

For the remainder of 2017, I worked with a professional writer in Moab who donated her time researching the history of the trail resulting in a 23-page document using quotes from diaries kept by Oliver Pratt and Lt. George Brewerton describing, on separate trips, the hardships and challenges they experienced.

As work continued, I contacted John Hiscock to see if OSTA was interested in helping raise the funds. Yes, OSTA was. On March 8, 2018, OSTA and the Museum of Moab jointly applied to the National Parks Foundation for a \$25,000 matching grant. Unfortunately, it wasn't funded.

Not to be deterred, we began the most difficult part of this project, the video script. I approached a friend who is a retired screenwriter. Agreeing to donate her time, she and I began figuring out how to create a short video from the 23-page story. It wasn't happening. Nobody liked the focus of the written story — it wasn't visually exciting. So, setting the story aside she created a seven-minute monologue with the trail speaking in a feminine voice. The team liked it.

At this point, it has taken us almost 20 months to get this far

and we have a lot more work to do. I finally realized that when film professionals donate their time, the time provided corresponds to money. I'm thankful for the time they have invested without pay, and they are excited about the project and willing to work on it, but their paying clients come first. So there have been long periods of no activity, and when they *are* involved, the time invested is short. Therefore, if this video is going to



Looking Glass Rock

be produced we need to raise a lot more money. The film director tells me we need to raise about \$275,000. He cited a 15-minute film produced by *National Geographic* that cost \$375,000. I am working on several approaches, including crowdfunding, to begin raising the funds.

The video and narrative teasers can be viewed on the OSTA website, oldspanishtrail.org, and the Moab Museum's website, moabmuseum.org. ♦

Old Spanish Trail Film to Premiere in Santa Fe

By Olivia Harlow, reprinted by permission from the *Santa Fe New Mexican*

EDITOR'S NOTE: The documentary premiered in Santa Fe and was also shown in Los Angeles in October.

A few years ago, a small group of California men on horseback rode an estimated 800 miles of the Old Spanish Trail, a historic pathway linking Los Angeles to Santa Fe. They pulled into the Santa Fe Plaza one day in September 2015, escorted by police and the local sheriff's posse.

Richard Waller, 67, one of the three riders, said he believes he and his friends, Jim Clark and Otis Calef, were the first to complete the quest since the 1,200-mile route was closed in 1848.

To avoid traveling through busy cities such as Los Angeles and Las Vegas, NV — and to steer clear of precarious highway shoulders — they cut out about 400 miles of the original trade route, which carries travelers up into Nevada and Utah before descending through Colorado and into New Mexico.

The men completed their journey in two separate 35-day trips in 2014 and 2015.

Director Benedicte Schoyen and others involved in the project say they hope the film, *The Old Spanish Trail*, inspires viewers to get outside and protect the natural world.

"I always feel it's important to have adventures and to see our



BENEDICTE SCHOYEN

Backcountry Horsemen complete their journey in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

nation," Waller said. "I do these things because of the historical aspect of it, the wildland aspect of it ... and to preserve [the land]."

The Old Spanish Trail was a heavily trafficked trade route in the 1830s and '40s, but it has since become a relatively forgotten piece of history, Waller said. He wanted the chance to "go back in time" and experience the area as it was nearly 200 years ago.

He recalled his favorite memory from the trip: riding along Utah's rugged San Rafael Swell down to Green River and continuing south of Moab.

"There was no trail, nothing except us and the rocks and the juniper," he said.

Calef, 74, compared it to a sea voyage or a hike on the Pacific Crest Trail.

"You never know how each day will end," he said.

Thinking of the trail's past, he said, put things into perspective for him. When it rained, he'd imagine families traveling in wagons, getting stuck in the thick clay and having to wait a week or two for the ground to dry. The trail looks different now than it did then, Calef added. Even in remote areas, gas pipelines and overhead transmission lines frequently disrupt the scenery. Schoyen said the modernization was a bit disheartening.

"Of course the world is being developed," she said, "but it's very sad that some of these routes from the past are being overtaken by concrete." ♦

AVAILABLE AT OSTASTORE.COM, \$12.95

Old Spanish Trail Memorialized at Agua Mansa Cemetery

By Nancy Melendez, California State Director

What do E Clampus Vitus, the San Bernardino County Museum, OST Agua Mansa and Las Vegas Chapters, Spanish Town Heritage Foundation, and Riverside Councilman Andy Melendrez have in common? They all collaborated to recognize the importance of the Old Spanish Trail in establishing the community of La Placita de los Trujillo's / Agua Mansa by installing an obelisk to mark today's Agua Mansa Road as the original Old Spanish Trail in Colton, CA.

■ Volunteers from E Clampus Vitus Billy Holcomb Chapter 1069, a fraternal organization dedicated to the preservation of the

heritage of the west, provided the labor and necessary supplies to install the marker.

- The San Bernardino County Museum graciously allowed the OST Agua Mansa Chapter to place the marker at the entrance of the Agua Mansa Cemetery. The Cemetery contains the remains of the original pioneer families who walked the trail from Abiquiu, New Mexico to establish the largest non-native community along the OST from 1842-1848.
- The OST Las Vegas Chapter generously donated the obelisk marker. Sister chapters worked together to promote, protect, and preserve the Old Spanish Trail.

- Spanish Town Heritage Foundation represented descendants of the trail travelers.
- Riverside Councilman Andy Melendrez attended and videotaped several oral histories from descendants in attendance.
- The OST Agua Mansa Chapter planned, organized, and executed the installation and manned an information booth on-site.

Collaboration and cooperation was the key to this successful event. Many thanks to all involved. Please visit spanishtownhf.org for more information and to view the oral history videos. And check out the Old Spanish Trail Association Agua Mansa Chapter's facebook page for more photos. ♦



*E Clampus Vitus Billy Holcomb
1069 Chapter volunteers*



*(L to R) Riverside Councilman Andy Melendrez;
OSTA CA Director Nancy Melendez; E Clampus Vitus
Bill Hammontree; OST Agua Mansa Chapter Donna
Oldenkamp; San Bernardino County Museum
Director Melissa Russo; Spanish Town Heritage
Foundation Sharon Trujillo-Kasner*



Pat Kuhlhoff

NOV 10, 1944 - NOV 20, 2018

By Barbara Chatterjee

Photo by Robert Mott

Reprinted by permission
from the *Santa Fe New Mexican*

Pat Kuhlhoff was an organizer with vision, and with a devotion to the study of history rooted in her heart.

For over a quarter century Pat brought that passion in her volunteer leadership to Santa Fe as a docent, docent trainer, tour guide, and leader with various historical and civic organizations. Pat always prioritized making visitors feel welcome and sharing stories of the arts and culture of northern New Mexico. Further, she was a strong-voiced advocate on local planning bodies to

improve the facilities for visitors and the infrastructure of our community.

To glimpse an insight into how Pat gave to our community, look for a moment at her untiring promotion of the Old Spanish Trail (OST). Her work elevated public recognition of this key trade route that served New Mexico commerce along with the more famous and longer-running El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro to Mexico City, and The Santa Fe Trail to Missouri — each had an “end-point” in Santa Fe.

Pat was both a leader and an anchor for New Mexico’s Salida del Sol (SDS) Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association, serving as its president since 2000.

The opportunity she saw was in preserving and teaching a little-known piece of our history, and

that took a huge, sustained effort.

Through her perseverance and guidance the SDS Chapter:

- Brought the national conference of the Old Spanish Trail Association to New Mexico for the third time in 2008. During this event she first met the Rio Grande Mule & Donkey Association that demonstrated traditional Spanish-style mule packing — she was enchanted. That led to organized collaborations with this group to promote the OST; for example, together they produced educational brochures about the trail.
- Partnered in the Three Historic Trails conference in Santa Fe in 2015, where for the first time the national associations for these three major trails held their annual meetings jointly. As one

of the principle coordinators, Pat took special pride in organizing the opening ceremonies that welcomed three mule riders who had retraced the 1200-mile OST from California to Santa Fe for the first time since 1848.

- Initiated a collaboration with the National Park Service partners to install markers for the OST along these New Mexico road segments:

- Santa Fe plaza to Tesuque village, completed in 2015
- Blanco to Aztec, completed in 2016
- Espanola to Dixon, expected to be finished in 2018

- Created two educational tools for children, The Old Spanish Trail board game — two large-format installations at Abiquiú Dam Visitors Center, 2007, and Abiquiú Public Library and Cultural Center, 2018. The game has obstacles and traces

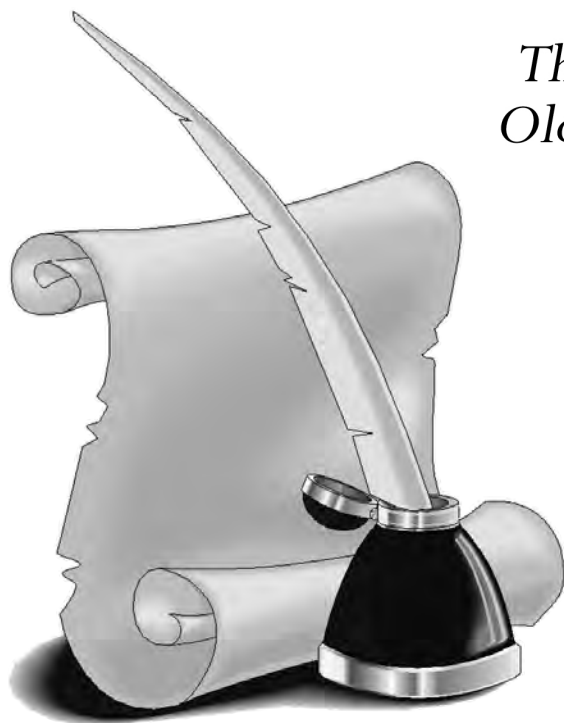
the OST. It is played with rules similar to *Chutes and Ladders*.

- Created two traveling educational trunks containing trail memorabilia that fourth-grade teachers can borrow from the chapter to teach about the OST.
- Sent Pat to represent the OST on the History Task Force of the Santa Fe 400th Committee in 2010.
- Documented the routes of the OST in New Mexico through on-site visits to record, identify, and preserve the trail.

Pat's hand as contact maker, negotiator, and fundraising manager served as the underlying platform on which these and so many other OST activities have been built both in Santa Fe and northern New Mexico over the last two decades.

Pat moved to Santa Fe in 1989 with her late husband, Gene. She always gave generously of her time and her exceptional organizing skills as docent trainer, guide, and lecturer on local history.

Her ability to consistently systematize, track, and sustain infrastructure has benefitted the Old Spanish Trail Association, and the many other groups with which she has volunteered. These include El Rancho de las Golondrinas, Palace of the Governors Walking Tours, Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce Plaza Tourist Information Booth, Santa Fe Opera Backstage Tours, Historic and Art Tours of La Fonda on the Plaza, the local Daughters of the American Revolution chapter, and many others. Frequently she served long periods of time in key officer positions with these associations. ♦



Thinking about giving to the Old Spanish Trail Association?

We have several opportunities for you to help your trail - research, preservation, education!

- The Pat Kuhlhoff Education Fund
- General fund for research, preservation
- Publications
- Remember us in your Estate Planning

Visit ostastore.com today

All donations are tax deductible within the guidelines, regulations, and requirements of the Internal Revenue Service. Always seek the advice of your accountant or financial planner.

CHAPTER REPORTS

MOJAVE RIVER CHAPTER

By Nelson Miller, Chapter President

The Mojave River Chapter presented the Sixth Annual California Old Spanish Trail Day on October 6, 2018 at the Desert Discovery Center in Barstow, CA. This was the fourth year we have partnered with the Desert Discovery Center and BLM in the presentation of this event, which highlights the history, culture, and heritage of the Old Spanish Trail (OST). The City of Barstow also contributes, which allows us to provide event t-shirts to the more than sixty volunteers. We had over twenty activities, especially aimed at children and families, and four presentations, including one from the Chairman of the Chemehuevi Tribe — artifacts recently catalogued along the OST and the history of mules in California.



Activities of the day included a mule packing demonstration; Navajo churro sheep enclosure; OST night camp; Discovering the Past (BLM Archeology Team); Big Horn mountain men encampment exploring weaponry; adobe brick-making; blacksmith activities; children's activities (rag dolls, hoop and beanbag games); rope making; Main Street murals; native taco stand; OSTA Mojave River Chapter; desert safety and animals (National Parks Service); National Trails Intermountain Region; native plants along the OST; flintknapping and atlatl display; weaving and spinning; photography along the OST; trading post; cornhusk dolls; homestead gardening; and printmaking. Although attendance was down from last year — when Barstow hosted the National Conference — we still entranced a few hundred people.

This past year we also installed mule pack train cut-outs at the Mojave River Valley Museum, along Barstow Road, one of the city's major streets, which is just over a mile from where the OST crossed the Mojave River. We were able to install this pack train courtesy of Al Matheson, former Utah State Director, who provided the large-scale steel cut-outs at his expense. The mule pack train is adjacent to a large



display on the Mojave River Trail, which is part of the OST. The museum bookstore stocks all the available books

on the OST and also has the full collection of educational pamphlets.

This past year, I have had the pleasure of coordinating with the BLM archaeological team in the Barstow Field office in identifying the trace of the OST below Spanish Canyon and participating in cataloging several dozen artifacts along a two-mile stretch of the trail. The BLM is working on nominations for the National Register of Historic Places for the stretches of the trail through Emigrant Pass, Silurian Dry Lake (where artifacts have also been identified near Highway 127, north of Baker, CA), and below Spanish Canyon (Impassable Pass in the Alvord Mountains).

NEVADA CHAPTER

By Nicole Dominguez, Chapter President

The Executive Committee of the Nevada Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association has met in recent months with the intent of developing a list of Priority Projects that the Chapter will pursue for the foreseeable future (2019-21). The Executive

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Committee members have met with representatives of a major solar development company who is in the planning and development stages of building a major solar array in southern Nevada some distance from the OST. The solar company has agreed to work closely with the NV OSTA Chapter to help provide basic funding that is needed for the NV Chapter to realize each of our Priorities.

Strategic Goals for the year 2019-21

- One of the main priorities is to identify Native American rock art sites in southern NV to determine if they contain any associated OST rock art; to photograph the rock art; log and GPS the locations; and to develop a site map that will be available to OSTA members, thus keeping the locations confidential to members and close outdoor associates. (The Chapter is currently finalizing the known Native American rock art sites, providing the estimated mileage and related expenses for member attendees).
- The NV Chapter has been conducting the replacement and the initial OST Markers that were placed by Nevada historical enthusiasts of the OST as part of Nevada's Centennial Celebration in 1964. Many of the initial 31 markers that followed the OST across southern Nevada begin in Bunkerville/Mesquite, following the Virgin River to the Mormon Mesa, over the Mesa to the Muddy River at Glendale, NV, across the waterless desert of 50 miles to the Las Vegas Meadow and Springs, southwest across the Las Vegas Valley to the Cottonwood Springs (Blue Diamond), up Cottonwood Wash to the Mountain Springs Summit and Spring, diagonally across the Pahrump Valley to Stump Springs, and on to Emigrant Pass, Resting Springs, and across the Mojave Desert.
- The NV Chapter began the re-marking of the OST Project in 2010, creating, casting and arranging the Eagle Scout project along the Nevada portion of the trail. At this writing, there have been 23 Eagle Scout projects completed along the NV portion of the trail, with an additional two Projects that

will complete the goals of the NV Chapter. We have saved the last two Eagle Scout projects for members of the Dominguez family, who have been involved in organizing and carrying out the project from the beginning — when their boys were six and eight years old. The final two projects will be to photograph and GPS each of the markers across Nevada.

- As the NV Chapter has sold copies of Hal Steiner's *The Old Spanish Trail Across the Mojave Desert*, the proceeds have been placed into the NV Chapter's account for the purpose of reprinting the publication when sufficient funds are available. With the initial agreement the chapter has reached with the Nevada solar purveyor, sufficient funds are to be committed for an additional printing of 1,000 copies. (Following the passing of Hal Steiner, his dear wife made arrangements with the NV Chapter to purchase the remainder of the unsold copies of the book, along with the copyright and all rights to the book.) The NV Chapter's goals are to place a copy of Hal's book in each school library in southern Nevada, and to continue to concession them through book outlets such as the Old Mormon Fort in Las Vegas, the Las Vegas Preserve, and the BLM Book Store at the Red Rock National Recreation Area.
- As part of the re-marking the OST project through southern Nevada, the chapter has begun drafting and photographing Eagle Scout projects along the trail. It is the goal of the Chapter to finalize the draft and publish it as a project history of the OST through NV in association with Eagle Scouts associated with the trail, and to place a copy of this publication (approx 75 pages of photos, histories and maps) in school libraries in the Clark County School District.
- The chapter has set as one of its major goals the creation of a detailed map that shows the OST through the Las Vegas Metropolitan Area — the most ideal locations of BLM/NPS OST road signage at specific locations along the route. The chapter had determined that it will require the

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engagement of a professional urban planner who will provide assistance to create and print. The distribution of the OST urban map will be placed in the public schools and private libraries.

- The chapter plans to research, identify and produce a social media site for the NV Chapter that will convey up-to-date information, activities, and histories/photographs of the OST.

CALIFORNIA CHAPTERS

By Nancy Melendez, California State Director

TECOPA CHAPTER (Inyo)

The Tecopa Chapter facilitated a discussion group on the publication of the *Comprehensive Administration Strategy* and invited all California chapters to attend.

MOJAVE CHAPTER (Barstow/High Desert)

The Mojave Chapter hosted its annual Old Spanish Trail Day October 5-7 very successfully and is working on a OSNHT sign plan on the High Desert to the Cajon Pass area. The chapter reported to this Director the sale of land surrounding the Stoddard Waite Monument along the OST by the San Bernardino County Museum Foundation to the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians. This development was reported via email to Aaron Maher, John Canella, Rob Sweeten, Nelson Miller (Mojave Chapter President), Marisa Yeager (Agua Mansa Chapter President) Vicki Femlee, and Alex King. This Director was asked to contact San Bernardino County Museum Foundation (SBCMF) to investigate the sale. It was determined that the sale would be complete upon approval of the San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors. The next step will be to schedule a meeting with OSTA leadership, Tribal leadership, and co-administrator leadership to discuss public access to this area.

AGUA MANSA CHAPTER

(Riverside/San Bernardino)

- The Agua Mansa Chapter hosted its Second Annual Old Spanish Trail Day on October 6

at the Agua Mansa Cemetery with over 100 in attendance, including NPS representative Sarah Rivera.

- The Chapter hosted an OSTA information table at the 25th Anniversary of the CA Citrus State Historic Park on August 26 with over 1000 in attendance.
- Agua Mansa continues to work with the Mission Inn Foundation on signage for the San Salvador Bell in its Las Campanas Restaurant. The bell is from the San Salvador de Jurupa Church at the base of the Agua Mansa Cemetery.
- The Agua Mansa Chapter is working with Riverside Unified School District to celebrate Hispanic Heritage Month by hosting elementary school assemblies discussing the Old Spanish Trail and the La Placita/Agua Mansa communities.
- The chapter will be installing an OST obelisk marker at the Agua Mansa Cemetery on November 3.
- The Chapter is also working with Spanish Town Heritage Foundation in its preservation efforts of the Trujillo Adobe.

This director has participated in scheduled teleconferences, served on the OSTA manager search committee, has agreed to serve on the Bylaw Committee, and attended the Partnership for National Trail Systems Conference and OSTA Meeting in Vancouver, WA October 22-26, 2018.

ARMIJO CHAPTER

By Paul Ostapuk, OSTA Secretary

It's official!

A 12-year effort led by ex-Armiijo Chapter president James Page to list a 1776 Spanish inscription in the National Register of Historic Places came to fruition on August 17, 2018 when the site was formally listed by the National Keeper. The Keeper is the individual who has delegated authority by the National Park Service to list historic properties and determine their eligibility for the

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On location interpretive panel and protective barrier

National Register of Historic Places.

The 1776 inscription is located in the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GLCA) near the Crossing of the Fathers.

This historic Colorado River ford (now underwater) was also used by the 1829 Armijo caravan which first opened trade on the Old Spanish Trail (OST) between Santa Fe, New Mexico and Los Angeles, California.

It was on September 7, 2006, that a group of five volunteers from the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area's graffiti removal and intervention team (GRIT), working in Gunsight Canyon on Lake



James Page being interviewed by George Hardeen as John Hiscock, former OSTA Manager looks on.

Powell, reported an inscription that appeared to be of Spanish origin. The inscription read *Paso por Aqui – año 1776*.

That same month, the newly-formed Armijo Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), realizing the importance of an authenticated inscription from the 1776 Dominguez-Escalante

Expedition, contacted the GLCA to enlist their support in a partnership to authenticate the inscription. The Armijo Chapter began the authentication process and followed administrative requirements and activities which led to the eventual recognition that the 1776 inscription was authentic.

The inscription is heavily patinated, surrounded and partially overlain by modern graffiti. A metal barrier and interpretive sign was installed in 2016 to protect the inscription from further damage.

Gunsight Canyon is located in Padre Bay on Lake Powell. The Bay is named for two Franciscan priests, Padre Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Padre Fray Francisco Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, who set out on July 29, 1776, to find an overland route from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Monterey, Alta (upper) California, and the newly-founded Spanish missions along the California coast. While the route is well-documented based on the Expedition's journals, the *Paso Por Aqui—año 1776* inscription is the only remaining physical evidence of the padres' travels.

The site is catalogued by the Utah State Historic Place Officer as Site #42KA6764.

The National Register nomination forms were initially prepared by James Page, President of Armijo Chapter of OSTA and Kate Hovanes, Architectural Historian/Contractor.

Chronology of Significant Events

- On September 7, 2006 a group of five volunteers (including Armijo Chapter President James Page) from the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area's graffiti removal and intervention team (GRIT), working in Gunsight Canyon on Lake Powell report finding the Spanish inscription.
- On January 14, 2007 the Armijo Chapter and GLCA signed a Memorandum of Agreement allowing the Armijo Chapter to proceed with authentication activities. The Armijo Chapter acquired a Scientific Research and Collecting Permit (#GLCA-2007-SCI-0002) from GLCA to "authenticate and document an inscription in

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Gunsight Canyon that is attributed to the 1776 Dominguez-Escalante Expedition.”

- The Armijo Chapter enlisted the professional services of Western Mapping Company, Tucson, AZ. Western Mapping Company provided several services, including 3D laser scanning, establishing survey datums, and the creation of color ortho-imagery, a 3D digital triangular irregular network (TIN) model, and AutoCAD vectors of the inscription. The laser scan was conducted on the evening of February 16, 2007, and Western Mapping Company later produced Technical Report 07-3.
- Dr. Ronald Dorn, Professor of Geographical Sciences, Arizona State University, visited the inscription site on August 3, 2007 and collected several small samples using a tungsten-carbide needle. The collected varnish cross-sections samples were analyzed using an electron microprobe to measure the layered chemical changes on the micron scale. Analyses of the varnish layers combined with lead (Pb) profiling data indicated the 1776 Inscription was made prior to the 20th Century and probably several centuries old.
- In October 2007, the Armijo Chapter submitted its summary report “Authenticating Efforts related to a 1776 Spanish Inscription at Glen Canyon” to the Superintendent of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.
- On November 5, 2007, the National Park Service issued a press release indicating the available evidence suggests the inscription is genuine and that the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area will pursue listing on the National Register of Historic Places.
- On April 8, 2016, the GLCA hosted a stakeholder visit with several OSTA members to the inscription site to view a newly installed protective barrier and interpretive sign.

WILLIAM WORKMAN CHAPTER

By David Fallowfield, Chapter President

In September 2018, Chapter President Bill Ramsay and Secretary David Fallowfield again traveled from England to visit sections of the Old Spanish Trail (OST). The plan was to start and finish in Las Vegas, Nevada. The route planned was not only to take in aspects of the OSNHT but also to visit the many adjacent national parks and geological sites, particularly in southern Utah. On the first full day, after breakfast in Mesquite NV, they headed for the Armijo Route, and at Fredonia AZ — having decided if it was too hot they would cancel their plan to go via Kanab and Big Water, to hike to Wahweap



(L to R) Bill Ramsay (President, William Workman Chapter), George Hardeen (President, Armijo Chapter), David Fallowfield (Secretary, William Workman Chapter) rendezvous in Dam Bar & Grille restaurant, Page AZ on September 5, 2018.

where they left Armijo’s trace and turned north thru Monument Valley UT and via Mexican Hat, Bluff, and Blanding to Church Rock near to the Northern Route of the OSNHT. They photographed the famous rock, it being 21 years since they last saw the familiar landmark. From here a diversion to the Needles section of Canyonlands National Park proved visually very rewarding.

Hoodoos, with temperatures just below 90°. They adopted Plan B and went via Vermillion Cliffs and Marble Canyon to Page, AZ. Here they had dinner with Armijo Chapter President George Hardeen, and a very pleasant and interesting rendezvous it proved to be.

The next day, they proceeded to Kayenta, AZ,

IN MEMORIUM

Bruce Alderson, 82 years, died November 20, 2018. He joined the William Workman Chapter of OSTA in November 1998 and was a Chapter Director from 2000 to present. Alderson suffered a stroke in 2015 (as reported in Spanish Traces Vol.21 Autumn 2015 No.2). As a younger man, he travelled widely in the American west and enjoyed reading issues of Spanish Traces. His funeral was held in his home town of Appleby, Cumbria on December 4. Two Chapter members, Secretary David Fallowfield and Director Don Harrison, were among the pallbearers.

Returning to Church Rock they followed the trail north to Moab, which was to be their base for the next three nights. The following day was spent hiking in the weird magical landscape of Fisher Towers in Professor Valley close to the Colorado River. Next day it was very hot and a half-day in Arches National Park was quite sufficient to see several of the features missed on their last visit in 2015. This was followed by a day of exploration in Dead Horse Point State Park and the nearby Canyonlands National Park. Afterwards, they drove to Green River for accommodation and visited the Spanish Trail crossing point of the river 2.3 miles north of Main Street.

The next morning, an early start guaranteed the witness of sunrise on the San Rafael Reef and to cover 280 miles, going south to Hanksville and west to visit the appropriately-named Moonscape Overlook (close to Factory Butte), through Capitol Reef National Park, south via Scenic Byway 12 through Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, taking in a visit to the remarkable geological formations of Kodachrome Basin State Park before traveling to Panguitch for accommodation.

The next day it was Bryce Canyon National Park, and nearby Red and Losee Canyons, followed by Cedar Breaks National Monument (including a trip

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to Brian Head Peak for the view at 11,307ft). Then on to Cedar City for two nights.

The following day was a real treat for the two Brits as they were given a 200-mile jeep tour by Al and Barbara Matheson, with whom they have become close friends through contact at several OSTA conferences since 2006. The tour included the OSNHT traces in the Parowan Valley, where the visitors were impressed by the silhouettes placed strategically along the trail. They also visited the Cedar Mountain overlook, where the route of the trail can be visualised. They went into Zion National Park by the "back door" of Kolob Terrace Road, dropping down off Smith Mesa to the town of Hurricane. Later they visited the 13 October 1776 Dominguez-Escalante campsite southeast of Exit 33 from Interstate 15. Al Matheson's impeccable local knowledge and legendary presentation skills made this part of the visit a memorable occasion and was considered the "icing on the cake." The final full day started with a visit to the Jefferson Hunt Monument near Newcastle, followed by traveling south to Snow Canyon State Park, to St. George, and back to Las Vegas, studying the terrain of the whole length of Mormon Mesa. The pair flew home to Manchester, England the next day, and since returning Fallowfield has produced several films of the trip for viewing by Chapter members. ♦



Old Spanish Trail silhouettes on the OSNHT in the Parowan Valley, Utah on September 12, 2018



The Baffling Case of New Mexican Traders along the California Coast Prior to 1769

NEW LIGHT ON EARLY TRAIL BLAZERS
OF THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL

By Joseph P. Sánchez, Ph.D

Following Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, official interest in opening a commercial route from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, was renewed by Mexico. After earlier attempts to open such a route under Spanish colonial rule in the 1770s, New Mexican governor José Antonio Chávez announced to the minister of interior affairs in Mexico City on 14 May 1830, that a licensed expedition led by Antonio Armijo had succeeded in blazing a route to California. To that end, Governor Chávez wrote: "It should be taken into account that the discoverers often had to retrace their steps and make detours. In short, they had neither map nor compass, and no other guides than the enterprising natives of this country."¹

Their expedition passed through the Four Corners area into Utah, past Kanab and Pipe Springs, and beyond to the Sevier and Colorado Rivers, to the Mojave

Desert and, finally, to Los Angeles, California.² Several historians have marked 1829 as the first time New Mexicans reached the California coast. Strong and compelling evidence, however, suggests that such was not the case. In 1769 the first Spanish explorers of California's coast were surprised to find that New Mexican traders had been there in recent years and exchanged trade items with several local tribes living between Los Angeles and Santa Barbara. Later, in 1806, certain tribes farther inland and south of the Fresno area along the Río San Joaquín (Kern River) confirmed to Spanish explorers from San Francisco and Santa Barbara that New Mexican traders had been there and in the Tulares, an area southwest of Fresno, probably as early as the 1780s. Likely, New Mexicans had followed trails through the mountainous terrain leading from New Mexico to California by way of Utah beyond the Great Salt Lake, which was known as Timpanogos, to the Tulares. Once there they crossed to the Pacific Coast through that area as they may have done several times before 1769 and in the decades preceding 1829. Today, Armijo's route is recognized as a

part of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail system along with its variants. Also sharing that history and heritage are the many routes forged by New Mexicans illegally trading with Ute tribes at Timpanogos and beyond to the Great Basin and California.³

Four historical episodes befit the thematic approaches to understanding Spanish colonial interests in California's coast and the lands northwest of Santa Fe known as "la tierra de las Yutas" (present-day Utah), for they reflect on the early presence of New Mexican traders in California. The first is the period before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, during which New Mexicans learned about a place called Teguayo, an Indian settlement, surrounded by a large salt lake, far to the northwest of Santa Fe. The second revolves around the years 1775–1776 when Spanish officials recognized two expeditions, one from California and the other from New Mexico, to establish a route between them. The third episode resulted from the expedition of 1769, which was authorized to explore and establish Alta California for settlement and missionization. Members of that

expedition reported that Natives along California's coast had informed them of earlier Spanish visitations, among them incursions probably by New Mexican traders. Fourth, the evolution of the Tulares as a rendezvous point for New Mexican traders and Ute raiders between the late 1700s and early 1800s developed a history of its own. The answers to questions concerning early New Mexican presence in California prior to 1769 and the decades prior to 1829 are buried within the context of each episode.

The founding of New Mexico in 1598 set the stage for Spanish exploration of the Great Plains as well as the intermontane regions of northern New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. Contact with Plains tribes as well as Native groups in the mountainous regions to the north and northwest of New Mexico occurred in the early period of Spanish settlement. Such contact, however, concerned Gov. Juan de Oñate, who believed that any interaction between Spanish settlers and the more powerful, warring Apache and Ute tribes could lead to open conflict. Fearing that the New Mexico colony could be overrun by those tribes at any time, in 1599 he prohibited trade under penalty of law with any Indian group other than the Pueblo Indians within the province. Succeeding Spanish colonial governors in New Mexico enforced that ban, which continued into the Mexican Territorial period of New Mexico

(1821–1848). Throughout both periods, New Mexican traders, nonetheless, carried on trade with the Utes and Apaches at their own risk. Eventually, they traveled as far northwest as the Great Salt Lake in Utah. Once there New Mexicans dared to cross the mountainous terrain into California.

During the seventeenth century, stories about the mythical Teguayo passed among New Mexican frontiersmen. In 1686 Father Alonso de Posada wrote: "Looking from the said villa [Santa Fe] to the northwest, we will have at seventy leagues the Yuta nation. Beyond at a distance of some one hundred and eighty leagues from the villa are the kingdom and province of Teguayo. Looking

directly west are the South Sea [Pacific Ocean] and California at two hundred leagues."⁴ Posada gleaned details from Juanillo of Jemez Pueblo, who had been held captive at Teguayo. Juanillo told him that at Teguayo, "they have a very large number of people of different languages some of which were spoken in New Mexico and also a large lake with its entire circumference populated."⁵ He offered to guide the Spaniards there. The stories had some basis in truth, but they were not always verifiable. In 1744, for example, Friar Carlos Delgado urged New Mexicans to search for the remains of a Franciscan friar who had died at Teguayo. He wrote: "They say that in former times a religious went there and contracted a fatal illness. After his death, they [the



Image courtesy of the National Park Service. Original map modified by Joseph P. Sánchez.

people of Teguayo] kept him in a box, which they give one to understand is of silver. The said religious merited this honor because of his having catechized the king [of Teguayo]. All his successors regard as relics a shrine of gold, and the articles used in saying the mass, as well as other things that he used.”⁶ Delgado recommended the assignment of a missionary to Teguayo to continue the deceased padre’s work.⁷ Spanish authorities likely never acted on either of these recommendations. However, it is probable that New Mexicans occasionally made their way to Teguayo, but did they cross the mountains to the west of the salt lakes in the Great Basin to get there before 1769?

Much of what historians know about the establishment of a route between New Mexico and California originated in the late eighteenth century. In the mid-1770s, Friar Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés explored a series of routes that ran northwest from San Xavier del Bac near Tucson through a region within California and beyond the Colorado River. In his explorations, Garcés hoped to find a route from California to New Mexico. Touring a large area of California’s interior, he eventually made his way eastward to the Kern River and the Tulares, north of Bakersfield. From there he traveled to Oraibi, where he visited the Hopis before returning to San Xavier del Bac.

Garcés alluded vaguely to the presence of New Mexicans having been in the area, which he learned from local Native tribes. Once in the San Joaquín River valley, for example, he and his guides, from a tribe called Jamajabs, encountered various Indian settlements in the area. Initially, the Natives fled from Garcés, believing that he was an “Español” from the coast. Once the Spanish established settlements on the California coast, missionaries expanded inland. In many cases, mission Indians fled far into the interior and hid among tribes in the San Joaquín River valley or among those in the Mojave Desert. As a result, mission escoltas (guards) were sent inland to capture them. Such activities sowed fear and distrust among the Natives of the Spaniards from the coastal establishments. Their war captain, thinking that Garcés could be an advance member from the west, took precautions with the tribal herds. “They gave me to understand,” wrote Garcés, “that for the night their captain had cause to be sent all the animals from the part of the west to that of the east, for the reason that on the former side there were bad people. My Jamajabs were grieved because those of the rancherías ceased not to ask me if I was an Español of the west; they said no, that I was of the east, that I did harm to no one, and that for this reason did all the nations desire me much.”⁸ In their view, the people of the east, likely New Mexicans, came to trade, unlike those “Españoles” of the west, who came to take captives.

Near there Garcés took note of the latitude and surmised it to be 35°9’ which aligns with the latitude of the Kern River and the Buena Vista Lakes above the Tulares. He then reached the Colorado River days later.⁹ Backtracking, he returned to the Mojave Desert and turned eastward toward the Hopi pueblos of northeastern Arizona, which lay in the Franciscan mission field of New Mexico. In the end, Garcés recommended that the official route between Santa Fe and Mission San Gabriel be established in the Los Angeles area by way of the Mojave Desert.¹⁰

In 1776 the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition attempted to reach Monterey from Santa Fe via Utah. While camped in the vicinity of Cedar City, they considered turning westward to California, but fatigued and lacking supplies, they decided to return to New Mexico. Significantly, Domínguez and Escalante used as their guides and scouts New Mexicans who had previously been in western Colorado with the expedition led by Juan María Antonio Rivera in 1765. Like most illegal traders, they were familiar with lands west of the La Sal Mountains and had crossed parts of the canyon lands and terrain north of the Colorado River as it flowed westward. As New Mexicans, whose ancestors had established New Mexico in 1598, they were familiar with mythical Teguayo.¹¹ Teguayo, or Timpanogos as it was also called, had been known to New Mexicans since the mid-1600s.

Only two official expeditions, that of Rivera and that of Dominguez and Escalante, had gone into the Yuta region from New Mexico, but countless illegal ventures by New Mexicans into the area had occurred decades before and after the two sanctioned enterprises. The question is, how far west did they go?

Oddly, historical knowledge of New Mexicans preceding both expeditions of 1769 and 1829 begins when Gov. Gaspar de Portolá and his men explored the Pacific Ocean coastline north of San Diego in 1769. Beyond opening an important pathway, the Camino Real de California in North America, Portolá's expedition is significant because it resulted in Spanish colonial settlement and long-term development of modern California. Additionally, this exploration left in its wake an unsolved mystery involving New Mexican traders on the coast before 1769, sixty years before Antonio Armijo blazed his historic route in 1829. In 1769 several tribes along the coast told Portolá's men they were visited by Spaniards from over the mountains to the east, who were dressed just like them.

Significantly, the facts reported by the diarists of Portolá's expedition were what the Spaniards learned about California in 1769. The Laws of the Indies required the official diarists of a Spanish expedition, Juan de Crespí and Miguel Costansó in this case, to report

on all discoveries made during the expedition.¹² According to law and custom, they were required to read their entries daily to the commander of the expedition for agreement on details or resolution of discrepancies. They were also directed to name their location, as well as the position of rivers, potential ports and mission sites, mountains, provinces, and other features. Furthermore, the purpose of Portolá's expedition was to verify and corroborate place names and latitudinal readings given by Manila galleon mariners and note the location of every campsite and Indian settlement along the expedition's path. In Crespí's account, for example, he carried out each element of his instruction as an official diarist. He pointed out, moreover, that the expedition spotted trails leading from the interior to the coast that could be used for trade or war. On 18 August 1769, he wrote that the Spanish passed Carpinteria and proceeded past the ruins of a settlement. The Natives told them that "not too long ago . . . about three months," Indians from the sierra came down and killed all the men, women, and children living in two large settlements.¹³ Two leagues beyond, they came across the second destroyed village. As Franciscan missions were later established, warring Utes from the mountains to the east used those trails occasionally to attack coastal and inland settlements lying between San Diego and San José. Had Utes been attacking tribes on the California coast since time immemorial? Similarly, could

these trails be the ones followed by New Mexico traders to reach the coast from the mountains? Were they the same ones mentioned by Crespí? If so, trading trails from the Utah area could suddenly become plunder trails.

By tracking the expedition's march northward, it is possible to locate the general areas where Indian informants claimed to have seen the New Mexicans. As Portolá's expedition marched northward from San Diego, almost always in view of California's shoreline and its topographic features, it created the first steps to the Camino Real. In many instances, the expedition located and named places that still bear their mark today. However, most, if not all, trails in the Americas are also tied to the Native American heritage. Some segments of the California Camino Real were once indigenous routes, and warriors from certain settlements along the coast often guided the expedition to passes and river fords, or at least told them about the lands ahead.

Throughout their travels, Portolá's men moved northward toward the area known today as Los Angeles. In doing so, they minutely described places and people along the way. Their march from San Diego took them to the foothills of the Santa Ana Valley near El Toro. While at a campsite they named Señor San Francisco Solano on 24 July 1769,

SANCHEZ continues on page 26



Rancho San Pedro

THE FIRST SPANISH LAND GRANT IN ALTA CALIFORNIA

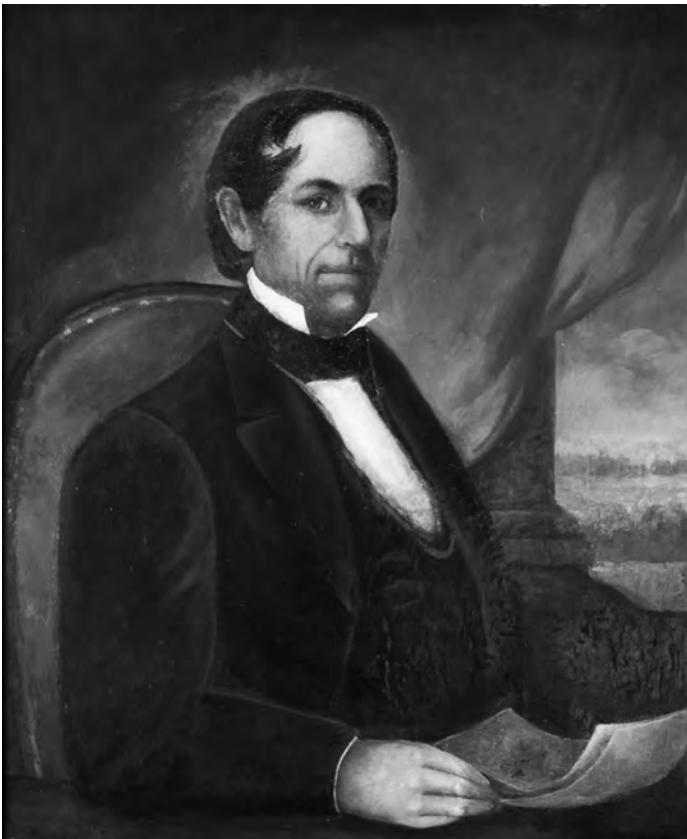
By Hannah Yang, Dominguez Rancho Adobe Museum

Solomón Nuñes Carvalho, in *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (1857), chronicled his travels on Col. Fremont's last expedition to survey a route for a transcontinental railroad from Missouri to California during 1853-54. Carvalho, a painter and daguerreotypist, followed Fremont along parts of the Old Spanish Trail documenting the landscape on this arduous voyage. Carvalho, born in South Carolina to a Jewish family of Spanish-Portuguese descent, recuperated after his journey at the home of Don Manuel Domínguez of Rancho San Pedro.

He describes Don Manuel as "a noble specimen of a Spanish gentleman" and Doña Engracia as "good, kind-hearted wife" who "paid me all the attentions and devotion of a mother." She nursed him for ten days along with their family doctor. In appreciation, Carvalho painted the portraits of Don Manuel and Doña María Engracia with her youngest daughter. Don Manuel is shown holding the U.S. land patent for Rancho San Pedro, which memorializes the successful petition to recognize his ownership though it was later made official in 1858.

Rancho San Pedro, the first Spanish land grant in Alta California, withstood the transformation of Los Angeles from a Spanish pueblo to Mexican ciudad to an American city. On June 29, 1769 Juan José Domínguez, a Catalan *soldado de cuera* or leather jacket soldier, came to Alta California with the Portolá expedition and later guarded Father Junípero Serra during the founding of the missions. In recognition of his military service to the Spanish crown, Juan José Domínguez was provisionally granted 75,000 acres or 10 *leagues* of land in 1784 by Governor Pedro Fages. After Mexico obtained independence from Spain, Rancho San Pedro was re-granted by Governor Solá in 1822 and later confirmed in 1858 after the Mexican American War by the U.S. Land Claims Commission.

Juan José Domínguez built the original house with adobe walls, earthen floor, and wooden roof covered with tar from the brea pits. The adobe measured about 800 square feet. Used intermittently by Juan José Domínguez until his death in 1809, the structure was used for storage in 1825 and fell completely into ruins by 1890. Rumors of gold hidden in the walls encouraged vandals to pick at the adobe walls, which further contributed to its deterioration.



Solomón Nuñes Carvalho portrait of Don Manuel Domínguez, oil on canvas, 1854. Photo by Gerry Wright / Dominguez Rancho Adobe Museum. (ABOVE) Portrait of the artist.



*Solomón Nuñez Carvalho portrait of Doña María Engracia with María Jesús de los Reyes Domínguez, oil on canvas, 1854.
Photo by Gerry Wright / Dominguez Rancho Adobe Museum.*

By the mid-twentieth century, the area was cleared for development and its exact location is unknown.

Rancho San Pedro ultimately passed to Juan José Domínguez's grand-nephew, Manuel who was born

Juan Jose Domínguez adobe in ruins, ca. 1912



Luis Gonzaga Policarpo Manuel Antonio y Fernando Domínguez at the Presidio of San Diego. Assuming control over the estate at the age of twenty-two, Manuel resettled in Los Angeles from Mission San Juan Capistrano with his mother and five siblings. After building a new adobe house in 1826, Manuel brought home a wife, María Engracia Cota, from a neighboring rancho family, Rancho Los Nietos. María Engracia and Manuel were married at Mission San Gabriel in 1827.

In 1826 Manuel Domínguez built a one story, L-shaped adobe house with six rooms and flat wooden roof. Its walls were made of two feet thick adobe brick. Additional improvements were made to the adobe throughout the years, including a Victorian colonnade around the structure and additional rooms. In 1906 the adobe was renovated into the U-shaped Mission Revival style structure, which remains today. In 1924 the adobe house and surrounding lands were gifted to the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, commonly known as the Claretians, to be used as a seminary.



Manuel Domínguez Adobe, ca. 1890

Don Manuel and Doña María Engracia would have ten children together, eight daughters and two sons, but only six children (all daughters) outlived their parents. While raising a family and building a cattle ranch, Manuel developed an active political career, serving on the Los Angeles City Council, as an *alcade* or mayor of Los Angeles, and as Third Prefect of Southern California. He was one of the delegates representing Los Angeles in the Constitutional Convention of 1849 in Monterey before California officially became the 31st state in 1850. Don Manuel successfully advocated for women's right to own land during the convention. Having no male heirs, Don Manuel divided his land among his six remaining daughters in 1885: Ana Joséfa Juliana Domínguez de Guyer, María Guadalupe Marcelina Domínguez, María Dolores Simona Domínguez de Watson, María Victoria Domínguez de Carson, María Susana Delfina



Domínguez sisters, n.d.

Domínguez de Del Amo, and María Jesús de los Reyes Domínguez de Francis. The legacy of Rancho San Pedro continues through the descendants of Manuel Domínguez on the Carson, Watson, and Del Amo family branches.

The early Spanish traces of California can be found at the Dominguez Rancho Adobe Museum. The adobe is a California Historical Landmark and is on the National Register of Historic Places. It now operates as a museum interpreting early California history as it relates to the Domínguez family, Rancho San Pedro, and the 1910 Los Angeles International Air Meet. It is also the site of the Battle of Dominguez Rancho in 1846 during the Mexican American War, which is commemorated annually in October with a battle reenactment. For information on free docent-led tours and public programs, visit dominguezrancho.org.

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DAVID GOOLEY / DOMINGUEZ RANCHO ADOBE MUSEUM

Dominguez Rancho Adobe Museum
18127 S. Alameda St.
Rancho Dominguez, CA 90220

National Trails Conference, Vancouver, Washington

Photos by Kitty Nicholason

Several members of OSTA attended the commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the National Trails and Wild & Scenic Rivers Systems Acts in Vancouver, Washington, October 22-25. Hosted by the Partnership for the National Trails System and the River Management Society, more than 250 people attended to network and hear presentations on subjects from land conservation to using social media for outreach. We learned about the value of partnerships, fundraising strategies, and new technologies — information we can use now and in the future to grow and improve our association. Several “outdoors” experiences were also available, from touring Mt. St. Helens to kayaking on the Columbia River.

Notable guest speakers included Carolyn Finney, author of *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors*; Nicole Browning, REI Senior Program Manager; and Philip Connors, author of *Fire Season: Field Notes From a Wilderness Lookout*. ♦



Karen Lutz accepts the Staff Lifetime Achievement Award from Gary Werner (Executive Director, Partnership for the National Trails System) in recognition of her thirty years of dedicated service as a member of the Appalachian Trail Conservancy staff. Karen successfully solved some of the most challenging obstacles in order to provide a safe, high-quality experience along the entire AT. She cheerfully inspired those with whom she has worked in support of the Partnership, the National Trails System and its trail organizations.



Jamie Connell, the new director of the BLM's Colorado state office in Denver



OSTA was well represented at the Conference, including (L) OSTA President Vicki Felmlee, Executive Director Lynn Brittner (third from right), and Glenn Shaw (OSTA Nevada Director). Joining them was John Cannella, Deputy Superintendent/Program Manager, National Park Service - National Trails Intermountain Region.



Rob Sweeten, right, talks with one of the many PNTS participants. Rob is the Old Spanish Trail Administrator/Utah Historic Trails Lead with the BLM Utah State Office.



The extensive silent auction had something for everyone, including local honey, camping equipment, outdoor wear, coffee table books, handmade pottery, original artwork, and even boats.



Nicole Browning, REI Senior Program Manager, was one of the excellent morning speakers.



GUSTAVO VASQUEZ

Participants partake in an educational field trip along the Oregon National Historic Trail. OSTA's Nevada State Director Glenn Shaw, far right, was on the hike.



The live auction on the final night of the conference entertained while it raised money for PNTS efforts.

they were startled by what the Indians told them. Sitting around a campfire, the Spanish and their hosts could hear nearby coyotes and wolves howling in the night. As they communicated with the Natives, they learned about other Spaniards who had come to the coast from the interior to the east. Crespí wrote: "They led us to believe that in the interior there are people like us, they dress the same as the soldiers, that they carry swords, sombreros, and have mules, pointing to the mule train we had; who knows what it can be?"¹⁴ Portolá's men did not know but could only ponder the identity of these people. Could they have been New Mexican traders, as Crespí later wondered?

Unlike Portolá's officially sanctioned expedition to explore the far north to Monterey Bay, New Mexicans were forbidden to go north to trade with the Utes. Spanish authorities feared that a deal gone wrong could lead to a catastrophic war. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, New Mexicans — contrary to Spanish policy — had been clandestinely trading with Utes in southern Colorado and Utah as far west as the Great Salt Lake and the Great Basin.¹⁵ Could intrepid New Mexican traders be the people described by the California Indians? Given the trade prohibition, unless they were arrested, tried, and convicted of breaking the law, New Mexicans would not reveal where they had been. On occasion, a New Mexican trader — under duress —

would confess that he had gone as far as Timpanogos and the Great Salt Lake.¹⁶

Still pondering what the Indians had told them about visits by Spaniards from the interior to the east, Portolá and his men left the camp about three o'clock in the afternoon on 25 July. In two days, they traveled thirty-three-and-a-half leagues (nearly eighty-eight miles) from San Diego to a place near Santa Ana. The expedition passed by Santiago Creek in the hills northeast of Orange, where they camped. Traveling since six o'clock in the morning, they were in the vicinity of the Santiago Hills east of Tustin. They took water from a small creek they named Señor Santiago Apóstol after Spain's patron saint, Santiago, which still bears that name today.¹⁷ Spotting an Indian settlement, they traded beads for food. They observed the latitude at 33°36'.¹⁸

The next day, 28 July, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, the Spanish were shaken by a violent earthquake. Portolá's diarists were the first Europeans to record a California quake, including the three aftershocks that followed. Crespí noted that although he named the place *Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores*, the soldiers simply called it the "Río Santa Ana," by which name the Santa Ana River is known today. That same day they camped near Olive, east of Anaheim. Fifty-two Natives came to their camp, and the Spanish traded beads and

a silk handkerchief for their seeds and some antelope and hare meat. The Natives also showed them nine belt knives without handles (*belduques sin cabo*), five awl tips without the eye, and a long, thick metal rod measuring about sixteen inches. The Indians also showed them some white-colored rocks that appeared to be fine crystal.¹⁹

Especially interesting to Portolá's men was that the Indians told them about other Spanish traders who had entered the area. They insisted that priests were with the traders and that they came from the north. Crespí speculated, "We do not know if it could be that they [the Indians] communicate with New Mexico, or with the Apaches, or that there is some other nation that has intruded through the interior land from the north, to where they [the Indians] have pointed."²⁰ On the other hand, it seemed probable that the mysterious "New Mexican" traders from the east had left these items. After all, the Indians claimed that the traders looked just like Crespí and his comrades.

The next day, 29 July, Portolá's men reached a place they called *Ranchería de la pocita y valle de Santa Marta*, north of Fullerton. Soon afterward they moved over some hills and found water where they camped. By 30 July, after another week of toil, they were forty leagues (104 miles) from San Diego. By then the expedition had passed Fullerton and reached the area of La Habra near Puente Hills. Crespí wrote that the arroyo

was terribly muddy and that the soldiers, worried about getting stuck, constructed a bridge over it. That day Crespí observed the latitude to be at 33°24'. They called the valley San Miguel Arcángel, today's San Gabriel River Valley. Shortly afterward they set up camp near Bassett. By the end of July, they had covered forty-two and a half leagues (approximately 113 miles) from San Diego to El Monte, south of Mission San Gabriel.²¹

The expedition spent 1 August resting at their camp and sending out scouts to survey the path ahead. Crespí noted another tremor, which hit about ten o'clock that morning and was followed by several others later in the afternoon. That day he observed the latitude at 34°10'.²² Costansó, whose readings were always higher than those taken by Crespí, recorded their position at 34°30'.²³

The first week in August found the Spanish along the Los Angeles River about three leagues from San Miguel Arcángel. On 2 August they named the valley and the river Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de la Porciúncula. Tremors plagued them as they followed along the Elsinore fault line into the San Fernando Valley. Crespí wrote that they had experienced fourteen tremors since Jesús de los Temblores.²⁴ Along the way, they visited Native settlements, met their chiefs, and carried on a brief but lively trade for Native foods with Spanish glass beads.

By 3 August, the Spanish reached the Alisos de San Estévan at Ballena Creek, west of La Ciénega. Nearby they noted springs of pitch or tar pits. Historian Herbert E. Bolton surmises that they were at La Brea.²⁵ They traded their tobacco and beads for baskets of pinole made from seeds of sage and other grasses, and the chief also gave them strings of shells.

By 4 August, they crossed La Ciénega, heading in the direction of Santa Monica and Sepúlveda Canyon. Not far from there, one of the soldiers reported that while hunting for antelope and wild goats in today's Greater Los Angeles area, he saw some tar pits, which readily gave its modern toponym, the La Brea Tar Pits. The scouts reported that they had seen as many as forty pools as well as large marshes filled with molten tar, enough "to caulk many ships."²⁶

The next day, Portolá's men camped near Encino, in the San Fernando Valley. Their camp sat just northwest of Mission San Gabriel. On 5 August, Crespí took the latitude at 34°37'. Bolton believes that the expedition was moving along the beach west of Santa Monica, and therefore concluded that the pass was Sepúlveda Canyon.²⁷

On 6 August, while still at Santa Catalina de Bononia de los Encinos, some of the Natives approached and told them that, in the past, they had seen Spanish ships along the coast. One warrior

knelt down and drew the channel on the ground to show where the Manila galleons had passed. The Natives told the explorers that they had made contact with some Spaniards who came ashore. Surely that piqued the Spaniards' curiosity, along with their observation that some of the children had blond or brown hair.²⁸

Then the warriors said something that astonished the Spaniards and must have raised eyebrows. According to the Natives, Santa Catalina de Bononia de los Encinos was the third settlement where "bearded men" had come from the east. Crespí recorded that many of the Indian informants said "that in about ten or fourteen journeys [days], pointing to the northeast, that there are people like us, pointing at the soldiers with their swords, arms and horses; who have houses and who also had three priests with them, pointing at us. In that referenced faraway place there was a sea and many buffalo, and that those people had come by horse to their land and returned." Crespí also wrote that the Natives sent three or four warriors with them as guides for the beginning part of their return.²⁹

Again, given recent scholarship about New Mexicans operating in Utah since the seventeenth century, did those who had been trading with the Utes, possibly as far west as the Great Basin, reach California from the interior before 1769? When the Natives described

a place with a large body of water that the Spaniards translated as *mar* (sea), could they have been referring to the Great Salt Lake in the land of the “Yutas”? After the 1650s, New Mexicans had known about a great salt lake at a place called Teguayo, later called Timpanogos.³⁰ Or could the Spaniards mentioned by the California tribes have been part of an unknown expedition from Sonora?

There was yet a fourth mention of Spanish traders from the interior toward the east. At one of the *rancherías* along the trek northward, Costansó mentioned that among the Natives, he noticed pieces of a sword and fragments of worked silver, low quality in appearance. He asked them through signs how they had come by these items. Their response was that the pieces came from the interior to the east. Even though New Mexico was far away to the east, Costansó conjectured that through trade and over time, these items possibly reached California’s coastal area.³¹ Yet, as referenced above, New Mexicans had been traveling to the Utah area for trade since the mid- to late seventeenth century. When the first New Mexicans reached the salt lakes is unknown, as is the time that they might have crossed into California. However, if the California Natives were correct about their presence in the Utah area, the New Mexican *entradas* would had to have arrived there, at a minimum, sometime prior to 1769.

The expedition moved on to complete its mission, which resulted in the discovery of San Francisco Bay, and returned to San Diego six months later. Portolá’s diarists did not satisfactorily resolve the question of New Mexican intrusions on the California coast before them, but these unknown Spaniards did leave clues to the possibility that the history of the Old Spanish Trail is much deeper and richer than previously believed. Although the answers to the questions raised by Crespí may never be known, the history of California and the relationship between its Camino Real and the Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico has provided a fascinating and intriguing conundrum.

The Spanish trade items found among the Natives leave the modern reader with some plausible explanations: the trade items shown by the Indians and described by Portolá’s men came from Manila galleon traders; they were possibly detritus of a shipwreck including trade items and personal belongings that washed ashore; the California Indians secured trade items through barter with other tribes coming from the interior; or the trade items were brought by New Mexican traders as they said.

If there is room for conjecture, it may point to further speculation, but, by no means, would it offer a definitive answer to the mystery of New Mexicans in Crespí’s diary. Yet Crespí did open the

door to speculation regarding the possibility that some New Mexicans did get to the West Coast prior to 1769. Given the circumstances revolving around the trade prohibition and the reluctance for New Mexicans to say or record where they had been, it would be unlikely that the question will ever be answered. However, as Natives reported other sightings of New Mexican traders after 1769, conjecture could lead to further research on the matter, in which case probability would be a factor.

Given that all of the above scenarios are reasonable deductions, the evidence presented by Crespí can be accepted and, to an extent, be admitted along with the other facts mentioned in his diary, some of which scholars corroborate through documentation, archaeology, or oral traditions. Yet some facts remain obscured—especially those regarding the presence of New Mexicans on the coast prior to 1769. It is known that some New Mexicans had gone northwestward of New Mexico for at least a century before 1769.³² Had they also gone as far as Timpanogos or beyond in the 1740s, or at any time before 1769? In 1765 Juan María Antonio Rivera led an official expedition from New Mexico into northwestern Colorado. His New Mexican guides had been travelling to that region illegally for quite some time to trade with the Utes. Domínguez and Escalante used these men again

in 1776 as their guides. Piqued by the events of 1765, the New Mexicans had probably returned several times to the Yuta country and beyond. After all, they told Escalante that they had returned there in 1775. Camped on the east bank of the Uncompaghre River on 28 August 1776, Escalante wrote:

Farther down, and about four leagues to the north of this Vega de San Agustín, this river joins another, larger one, named San Xavier [today's Gunnison River] by our own, and river of the Tomichi by the Yutas. To these two rivers, already joined together, there came Don Juan María de Ribera in the year of '65, crossing the same Sierra de los Tabehuachis, on the top of which is the site he named El Purgatorio, according to the indications he gives in his itinerary. The meadow where he halted in order to ford the river—and where they say he carved on a poplar sapling a cross, the letters spelling his name and the expedition's year—is situated almost near the same juncture on the southern side, as we were assured by our interpreter, Andrés Muñiz, who came with the said Don Juan María in the year mentioned as far as La Sierra de los Tabehuachis. He said that, although he had stayed three days' marches behind on this side of the river at that time when he came along its edge this past year of '75 with Pedro Mora and Gregorio Sandoval — who had accompanied Don Juan María throughout the entire expedition mentioned—they said that they had reached it then and from it had started their return,

they alone having crossed it when they were sent by the said Don Juan María to look for Yutas on the side opposite the meadow where they stopped and from where they came back—and so, that this was the one which they then judged to be the great Río del Tizón [Colorado River].³³

Domínguez and Escalante confirmed that Rivera's men went upstream on the east bank of the Colorado River in 1765, hoping to find information regarding silver deposits, which eluded them. It also reveals that Rivera's guides returned there, albeit illegally, in 1775. Was there a ten-year lapse? It was clear even to Rivera that other traders from New Mexico, in addition to his guides, had seen much of that country prior to his expedition and that they were not the first Hispanos to venture into that little-known wilderness. Equally so, Rivera's guides, Andrés Muñiz, Pedro Mora, and Gregorio Sandoval, admitted that they had gone a little farther west by crossing the Colorado River in 1775. Thus, there is the possibility that documents could reveal, even if casually, the names of New Mexicans whose trade with the Utes took them to California before 1769. Still, having ascertained the route westward along the Colorado River, what would stop them from returning there between 1765 and 1769, or even later? Undoubtedly, their venture would have been illegal and unrecorded. Yet the references made by certain California tribes during Crespi's time and later

indicates that New Mexican traders had probably reached California before 1769 and later, thus predating Antonio Armijo's official opening of the New Mexico–California route in 1829.

In the late eighteenth century, a new area referred to as the Tulares, became known to the Spanish in California. However, explorers to the Tulares soon learned that they may not have been the first Spaniards to visit the region between the Kings River and Río San Joaquín. During the early 1770s in California, Pedro Fages, a member of Portolá's expedition, explored the Great Central Valley in the north, the San Joaquín Valley, and the Tulares in the south. Fages and his men noted the abundant resources in both areas. In the south, an immense watered plain covered with vegetation caught their eye. The place, called Tulares, was a large marshy area in which grew tule, the common bulrush from which the area took its name. As a result of Fages's explorations, the Tulares became commonly noted on Spanish colonial maps of California. In 1774 Fages wrote A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California in which he pointed out the importance of the resources in the interior.³⁴ This would seem to suggest that Fages was the first European to see the Tulares, but the question remains, was he?

The documentary references regarding New Mexicans reaching the California coast from the

interior to the west before and after 1769 are scant, largely owing to the lack of reports and the prohibition against trading with Utes north of New Mexico. There is, however, evidence that they did travel to California from time to time. References drawn from the testimonies of California tribes that had seen and traded with them hint that New Mexicans had penetrated the Fresno area between the Kings River and the San Joaquín River sometime in or before the 1780s, long before Armijo opened the route between Santa Fe and Los Angeles by way of southern Utah and the Mojave Desert. Given Crespi's notations, New Mexican traders likely found the Tulares before the Spanish in California. In 1819, for example, Father Mariano Payeras complained to his fellow missionaries in California about raids on the missions, stating that the "best horses are being stolen; that in the Tulares all ride, even the women; and . . . regular fairs for the sale of horses are held there."³⁵

Thus, a route or series of routes leading from New Mexico to the Tulares or coastal areas of California were already known before Armijo's expedition. Throughout the 1830s, Californios reported that New Mexicans often staged their trading ventures in the Tulares, and they accused New Mexicans of inciting Mountain tribes, such as the Utes, to raid as far north as San José and as far south as San Diego for mission mules and horses, which they drove to and sold in New Mexico.

For instance, in January 1834 José Avieta arrived in Los Angeles from New Mexico with 125 men. Avieta's visit to California was the subject of much discussion and alarm after the authorities learned that the New Mexicans had gone to the Tulare Valley, where they incited Indians to steal horses from the ranchos and missions for them. California officials deployed a military force to drive the New Mexicans from the Tulares.³⁶

Still, the question remains: how long had New Mexicans been venturing to the Tulares? At least one expedition, the Moraga-Muñoz Expedition of 1806, explicitly documents the presence of New Mexicans in the area during the late eighteenth century. In September 1806, alférez Gabriel Moraga and fray Pedro Muñoz set out from Mission San Juan Bautista.³⁷ Moving toward San Benito near the San Juan Junction, they eventually crossed into the Dos Palos area surrounding Merced and named the nearby area Mariposas for the swarm of butterflies they saw along the way. Splitting the party in two, one group discovered the Merced River. Marching northwest in the direction of Río San Joaquín, they moved toward Tuolumne and Stanislaus. Not far from there on 17 October, they reached an Indian ranchería they called Latelate. Moving toward the San Joaquín where it flows southwest, they camped near Millerton. At a place called Pizcache they met a chief named Sujoyucomu. He told them that twenty years prior,

around 1786, they had fought Spaniards from the other side of the mountain. Three days later, Muñoz and Moraga heard a similar story from other tribes on the Río de los Santos Reyes (Kings River) who, they said, had also battled "soldiers" along the river.³⁸ The so-called "soldiers" were New Mexican traders who went there to trade, not to fight against the tribes in Utah and California. It is possible that trade deals had gone bad and armed standoffs ensued. Muñoz believed that the Indians referred to New Mexicans, and on 23 October he wrote:

This morning the expedition proceeded to explore and reconnoiter along the San Joaquin River. One section of the troop went downstream and the other upstream, by the sierra. The latter, in going further into the sierra, discovered an abundance of pine and redwood. They also found a rancheria of some two hundred souls, by the river bank, called Pizcache. The name of their chief is Supyucomu. This chief furnished our men with the following information, having been an eye-witness of these events: that some soldiers from the other side of the sierra (presumably from New Mexico) came here a good while back (about 20 years, by the Indians' reckoning), and that, the gentiles [natives] having attacked them, the soldiers gave battle, killing many of them; that the gentiles had since remained in fear of the return of those soldiers, and now they saw that they had shown up from the other side of the sierra; that they, however, marveled at the kindness shown them when they had expected

extermination. The chief added that on the other side of the sierra, to the north (judging from the signs he made), was the sea, and that it took them ten days to reach it; that towards the south there is no ocean, but a vastness of land spreading out in low hills; that the soldiers that had come before were in no way different from us in respect to horses, arms, and dress. This Indian, who affirms with signs the presence of the ocean, having himself been there, was in the fight with the soldiers. In the light of his evidence, we assume New Mexico to be very near on the other side of the sierra. In this ranchería four persons became Christians—two old men and two old women. From out the recesses of the sierra there issues a large river which branches off into two streams—one towards the other side of the sierra, and one towards this side, which is the San Joaquin we are exploring. The section of the troop that went downstream found only poor land, alkaline in places and with poor grass. Possibly a mission might be founded by this river because of its good meadows and abundance of timber, though there is scarcity of firewood and grazing land. A cross was carved on an oak by the river, where the camp had been.³⁹

As the expedition moved upstream along Kings River, it reached several rancherías and met several chieftains named Chaochay, Chayalate, and Chatene. At a ranchería known as “Ayquiche under Achagua,” Moraga and his men learned that New Mexican traders had visited six other Indian settlements close by. Such testimony confirmed that

Spanish traders had previously worked in the area.⁴⁰ That year fray José María Zalvidea visited many of the surrounding rancherías, including Pizcache and Latelate, which were among those whose people had commented on the presence of New Mexican traders in that area.⁴¹ Certainly, Hispanics or Natives living in California would have mentioned their reappearance any time after 1769 and before 1829. Undoubtedly, nineteenth-century New Mexican traders working along the Old Spanish Trail established by Armijo were probably familiar with the Tulares (at least since the early 1800s) and usually staged their trading ventures into California from there.⁴²

In 1837 the Honolulu Sandwich Islands Gazette and Journal of Commerce became interested in the trade between California and Hawaii.⁴³ Hawaiians noticed that New Mexican-made blankets had reached the islands by way of trade with California. One reporter discovered a fascinating account that New Mexican traders were considered personae non gratae in Los Angeles, where city ordinances forbade them from entering the town without inspection of their goods. Residents feared that New Mexicans, who were very astute in their dealings, had taken advantage of unsuspecting Californios in the past. Interested in New Mexican activities, the reporter found a deeper story behind the distrust: some New Mexican traders had found an

easier way to acquire hundreds of mules and sheep — prized trade items. Drawing on the relationship forged with Ute tribes while trading for Paiute slaves, some New Mexican traders were able to convince Ute warriors to raid California missions and ranchos between San Diego and San José, and steal their mules and sheep.

The reporter noted that New Mexicans and Ute warriors rendezvoused somewhere in the Tulares of the San Joaquín Valley in order to trade New Mexican horses for California mules in particular.⁴⁴ The reporter’s curiosity revealed another glimpse of the complicated history of the Old Spanish Trail. While not all trade in California was illegal, this type of activity would spoil later relations between Californios and New Mexicans.

The Californios had mixed feelings about the presence of Hispanic New Mexicans on the Pacific Coast. On the one hand, they distrusted the New Mexicans. On the other, they enjoyed trade goods from New Mexico. In general however, the Californios blamed New Mexicans for encouraging Ute tribes people to steal herds from the missions and ranchos. Along the mountain trails leading to California, Ute warriors and New Mexicans met and exchanged the stolen herds for corn and blankets from New Mexico. Eventually, the trade involving stolen animals became centered in the Tulares. Despite this history,

Californios valued and admired the military prowess shown by the New Mexican traders, whose ancestors had defended New Mexican settlements against Plains tribes since 1598. Not long after Armijo established a trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, Californios encouraged New Mexicans to abandon their camps in the Tulares and settle in the desert lands east of the mountain ranges in the San Bernardino and Riverside area. These communities of New Mexicans would serve as a buffer against Ute raiders.⁴⁵

The history of New Mexican traders among the California tribes began with Father Crespí's diary and continued into the early nineteenth century. As stated above, Crespí mentioned that the New Mexicans were accompanied by priests. Did they come from New Mexico or elsewhere? Given that the ventures to California mentioned by Crespí took place prior to 1769, in a roundabout way they could have originated from Sonora. If so, then the Indians should have described the black robes, the distinct religious garb worn by the Jesuits and different from that of Franciscans. Instead, the Indians pointed to Crespí and alluded to a description that indicated the priests were Franciscans. The Jesuits, however, had reached as far as north as San Xavier del Bac in Pimería Alta by 1692 and, even earlier, the mouth of the Colorado River in the Gulf of California. In 1766 the Jesuit Wenceslao Linck marched as far north as the Sierra de San

Pedro Martír in the Baja California peninsula before cold weather forced him southward. Highly disciplined and courageous, the Jesuits would not have ventured beyond there without permission from the proper authorities. In addition, they were not under the same trade restrictions that applied to the New Mexican and Yuta trade. Surely the Jesuits would have written about having gone that far north on the coast if they had done so. They always left a paper trail documenting all their excursions and missionary activities.

If there is room for conjecture, it may point to further speculation, but by no means would it offer a definitive answer to the mystery of New Mexicans in Crespí's diary. Without doubt Crespí did open the door to the possibility that New Mexicans reached the West Coast before 1769. Given the circumstances of the illegal trade laws and the reluctance for New Mexicans to say or record where they had travelled, it would be unlikely that the question will ever be answered definitively. However, conjecture could lead to further research on the matter, in which case probability would be a factor.

New Mexican traders undoubtedly preceded Armijo's route, and their journeys are part of a long history related to the age-old challenge to reach California from New Mexico to establish a trail for trade and immigration between the two areas. Indeed, Las Placitas, Agua Mansa, and Rancho Jurupa in the

San Bernardino and Riverside area, established in the mid-1800s by New Mexicans, perpetuated the history of the Old Spanish Trail that commenced with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century traders and ended with Armijo's trail-blazing efforts. To an extent, the Native American accounts shed light on the mysterious visits by New Mexicans along the California coast prior to 1769, at least sixty years before Antonio Armijo blazed his historic route of 1829.

Notes

1. Gov. José Antonio Chávez quoted in Eleanor Lawrence, "Mexican Trade between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, 1830–1848," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (March 1931): 27, doi: 10.2307/25160444.
2. In this article present-day place names for cities, missions, and geographical locations are used for clarity and reference to where the expeditions traveled.
3. For more on Spanish and Ute trade see Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 5. Blackhawk writes: "From their earliest recorded interactions with Europeans in the 1600s to their nineteenth-century struggles within an expansionist state, Great Basin Indians have witnessed the rise of new worlds and the collapse of old ones. Such challenges and changes remain fundamental to understandings of the region's past and are linked to larger imperial and national currents."
4. A Spanish league is approximately 2.6 land miles. Posada estimated the distance between Santa Fe and Teguayo at or near the salt lake to be 180 leagues or 468 miles. The present-day distance from Santa Fe to Salt Lake City is 477 miles. See also Alfred

- Barnaby Thomas, *Alonso de Posada Report, 1686: A Description of the Area of the Present United States in the Seventeenth Century*, Spanish Borderlands Series, no. 4 (Pensacola, Fla.: Perdido Bay Press, 1982), 43.
5. Dictamen del Padre [Alonso de] Posada, 1686, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, España, Colección Muñoz. See also Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696–1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 9–11.
 6. Carta del Padre Fraile Carlos Delgado al Reverendo Padre Comisario General, Fr. Pedro Navarrete, Misión de la Isleta, 1744, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, España, Colección Muñoz.
 7. Joseph P. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678–1850* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997), 12.
 8. Francisco Garcés, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest) in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775–1776*, ed. and trans. Elliott Coues, 2 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), 1:274.
 9. *Ibid.*, 1:278.
 10. *Ibid.*, 2:340–41, 347, 348, 354, 356–57, 475–76.
 11. Joseph P. Sánchez, “The Franciscan Search for Mythical Teguayo: New Mexico and Utah between 1678–1778,” in *They Came to El Llano Estacado: An Anthology of Essays Presented at the “Franciscan Presence in the Borderlands of North America,” an International Symposium . . . Amarillo, Texas*, ed. Felix D. Almaraz Jr. and Peter T. Flawn (San Antonio: University of Texas, 2006), 91–108. See also Joseph P. Sánchez, “Spanish Colonial Mapmakers and the Search for Aztlan, Teguayo, Copala, and the Siete Cuevas,” in *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*, ed. Rudolfo Anaya, Francisco A. Lomelí, and Enrique R. Lamadrid (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017), 77–98.
 12. Book 4, title 1, law 7, *Que los descubridores describan su viage, leyendo cada dia lo escrito, y firmando alguno de los principales*; and Book 4, title 1, law 8, *Que los descubridores pongan nombres a las provincias, montes rios, puertos y pueblos*, in *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Julian de Paredes, 1681).
 13. Crespi’s diary in Francisco Palou, O.F.M., *Recopilación de Noticias de la Antigua y de la Nueva California (1767–1783)*, ed. José Luis, Soto Pérez, and Lino Gómez Canedo, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1998), 1:411. See also Fray Juan Crespi, *Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769–1774*, ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton (1927; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1971), 164.
 14. Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:383. See the 6 August 1769 entry for more on the bearded men from the east.
 15. For detailed information about Hispanic New Mexicans who went northwest from Santa Fe into southern Colorado and western Utah as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, and as far west as the Great Salt Lake and the Great Basin to trade with Ute tribes throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, 3–16, 91–102.
 16. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, 101–2. See also Gov. Joaquín del Real Alencaster to Com. Gen. Nemesio Salcedo, 1 September 1905, microfilm, frame 810, roll 15, Collection No. 1959–200, Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, ser. II, miscellaneous documents, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico. See also John L. Kessell, *Miera y Pacheco: A Renaissance Spaniard in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 111. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco’s maps drawn in the late 1770s show Timpanogos and the Great Salt Lake.
 17. Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:385.
 18. Fray Juan Crespi, 140. See also Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:385.
 19. Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:386, 387. Palou recorded “cincuenta y cuatro gentiles.” See also Crespi, Fray Juan Crespi, 142, 143. See Bolton’s asterisked note at the bottom of p. 142.
 20. Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:387.
 21. Fray Juan Crespi, 143–45. See also Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:388, 389–90. See asterisked note at bottom of p. 389.
 22. Fray Juan Crespi, 146.
 23. Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:391.
 24. Fray Juan Crespi, 147. Bolton wrote that their “camp was probably near Downey Avenue.” See Bolton’s asterisked note at the bottom of p. 147. See also Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:392–93.
 25. Fray Juan Crespi, 149.
 26. Fray Juan Crespi, 149. See also Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:394.
 27. Fray Juan Crespi, 150–51. See asterisked note and dagger note at the bottom of p. 150.
 28. Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:398. See also Fray Juan Crespi, 151.
 29. Crespi’s diary in Palou, *Recopilación de Noticias*, 1:398. See also Crespi, Fray Juan Crespi, 151. Bolton’s translation varies little. Bolton writes that the Indians told Crespi that “bearded people, clothed and armed as they saw the soldiers, had come into their country motioning that they had come from the east. One of them said he had been to their countries and had seen their towns formed of large houses, and that each family occupied its own.”

30. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, 3–16. See also Sánchez, “Spanish Colonial Map Makers and the Search for Aztlán, Teguayo, Copala, Sierra Azul, and the Siete Cuevas,” 77–98.
31. Miguel Costansó, “Diario Historico de los Viages de Mar y Tierra hechos al norte de la California,” in *Noticias y Documentos Acerca de las Californias, 1764–1795* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1959), 387.
32. See Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers* for a history of illegal New Mexican trading during the Spanish and Mexican periods of New Mexico, 91–102, 103–119, 119–134.
33. The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776, trans. Fray Angelico Chávez, ed. Ted J. Warner (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 26.
34. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, 44.
35. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California, 1801–1824* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Company Publisher, 1885), 2:335n30.
36. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, 124–25.
37. Herbert Ingram Priestley, *Franciscan Explorations in California*, ed. Lillian Estelle Fisher (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1946), 89–93. See also Fray Pedro Muñoz, “The Gabriel Moraga Expedition of 1806: The Diary of Fray Pedro Muñoz,” ed. Robert Glass Cleland and Haydée Noya, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (May 1946): 223–48, doi: 10.2307/3816007
38. Priestley, *Franciscan Explorations in California*, 89–91.
39. Muñoz, “The Gabriel Moraga Expedition of 1806,” 237.
40. Bancroft, “Inland Explorations, 1806–1810,” in *History of California*, 2:53n11. The diary states, “Up the stream was found a rancharía under Achagua called Ayquiche, where they learned of 6 other rancharías and received confirmation of the story about the soldiers from New Mexico.”
41. Padre José María Zalvidea, *Diario de una Expedicion, Tierra Adentro 1806*, MS., Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, Santa Barbara, California.
42. Sánchez, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, 124–25. See also Muñoz, “The Gabriel Moraga Expedition of 1806,” 237.
43. Honolulu (Hawaii) *Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce*, 2 December 1837, 31. The *Sandwich Island Gazette* story advocated for protection of U.S. citizens in California and also reported that New Mexican caravans had “for a number of years past” rendezvoused in the Tulares and influenced Indians to raid California missions and ranches for mules and horses.
44. *Ibid.*
45. For more information on New Mexico settlers in California, see, *Old Spanish Trail, National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment*, July 2001 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2001), 40–41, 118. For example, in 1842 it was documented on “November 30—A caravan from New Mexico arrived in California with 124 people on the expedition. The main colonizing party from Abiquiú for Agua Mansa arrived. Many of them settled at Politana, which earlier had been founded by Hipólito Espinosa.” See also R. Bruce Harley, “The Agua Mansa History Trail,” in *San Bernardino County Museum Association Quarterly* 43 (summer 1996): 1–49.

This article originally appeared as “The Baffling Case of New Mexican Traders along the California Coast Prior to 1769: New Light on Early Trail Blazers of the Old Spanish Trail” in the New Mexico Historical Review 92, no. 4 (Fall 2017): 381–99. Copyright © 2017 by the University of New Mexico Board of Regents. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission. ♦

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Joseph P. Sánchez directs the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico. From 1991–2015 he was editor of the *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*. 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.



Cortez, Colorado, is becoming famous for its many murals in its downtown district. This mural by Mariah Kaminsky celebrates

a hardened traveler on the Old Spanish Trail — with a foreground of more modern transportation means.



The fifth Recreation and Development Strategy for the Old Spanish Trail has now been finalized by the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service. This strategy is a comprehensive plan with ideas for Colorado's Mesa and Delta Counties. Working with local communities and many organizations — including the Old Spanish Trail Association — representatives from the BLM viewed the areas personally to scope out opportunities for signage, access, and education. Another strategy is in the initial stages for North Arizona; all final plans can be viewed at our website, oldspanishtrail.org.

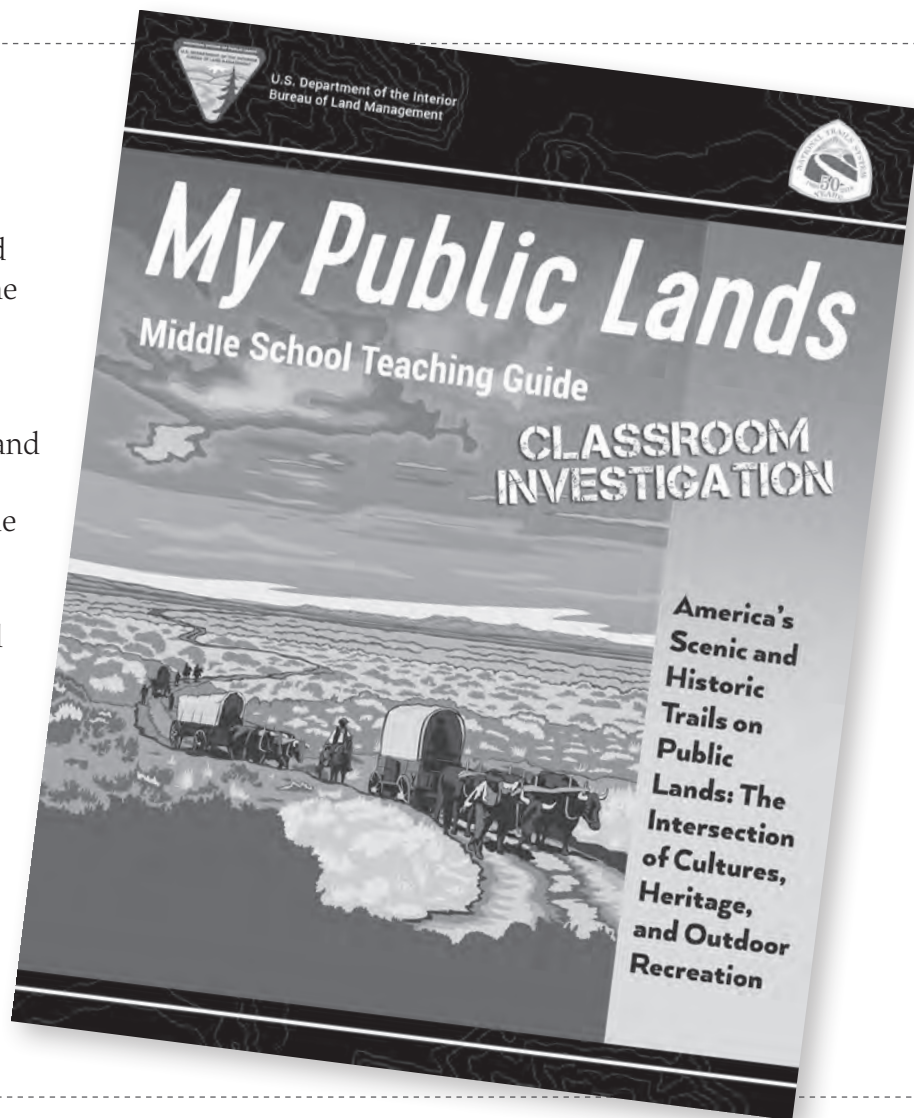


By John Hiscock

Rob Sweeten of the Bureau of Land Management has shared with us the recently-completed BLM Teaching Guide on "America's Scenic and Historic Trails on Public Lands: The Intersection of Cultures, Heritage, and Outdoor Recreation."

The guide is prepared for middle school level students, but states that it may be adapted for higher elementary school, and high school use as well.

I encourage all of you and your members to review the guide and introduce and distribute it to schools throughout your areas. It is currently downloadable at https://www.blm.gov/sites/blm.gov/files/documents/files/CI_trails_0.pdf.



OSTA ELECTION RESULTS 2018

Our August, 2018 election results are in with the following results:



Vice-President
Dennis Brown
2-year term



Secretary
Paul Ostapuk
2-year term



Colorado State Director
Doug Van Etten
3-year term

The results were accepted by the Old Spanish Trail Board of Directors in Vancouver, WA., October 26. Our thanks to Earl Fosdick, who tallied the votes — and thanks to all who voted.



New OSTA Board Director for New Mexico Selected

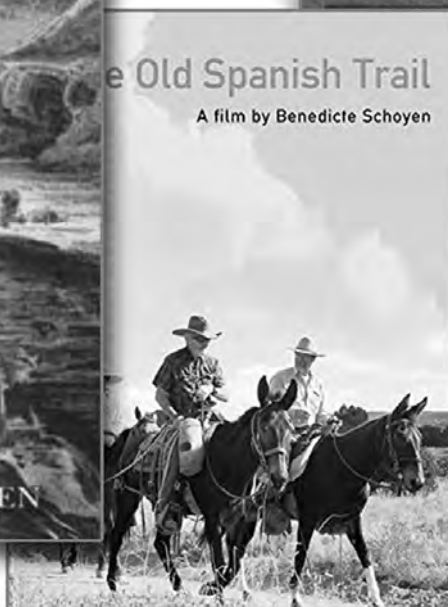
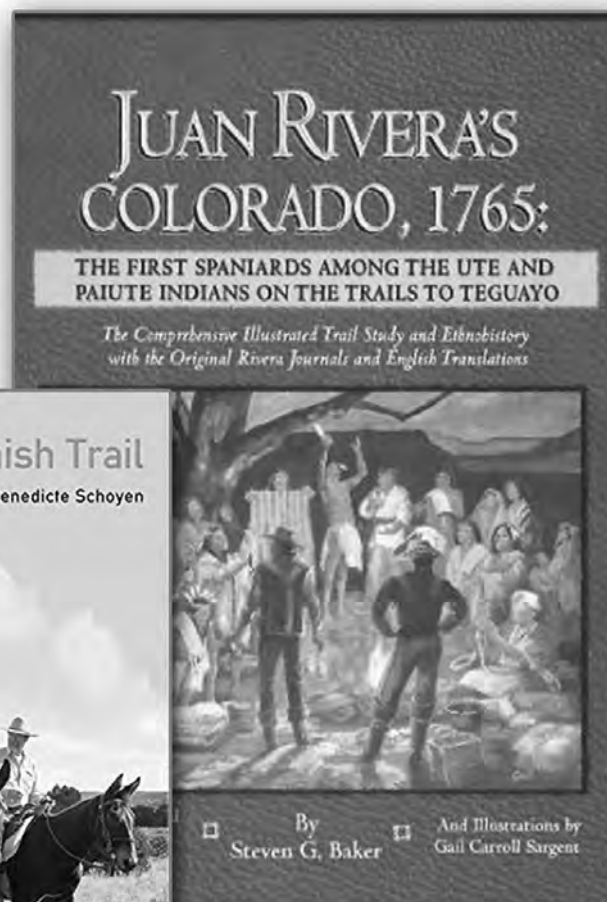
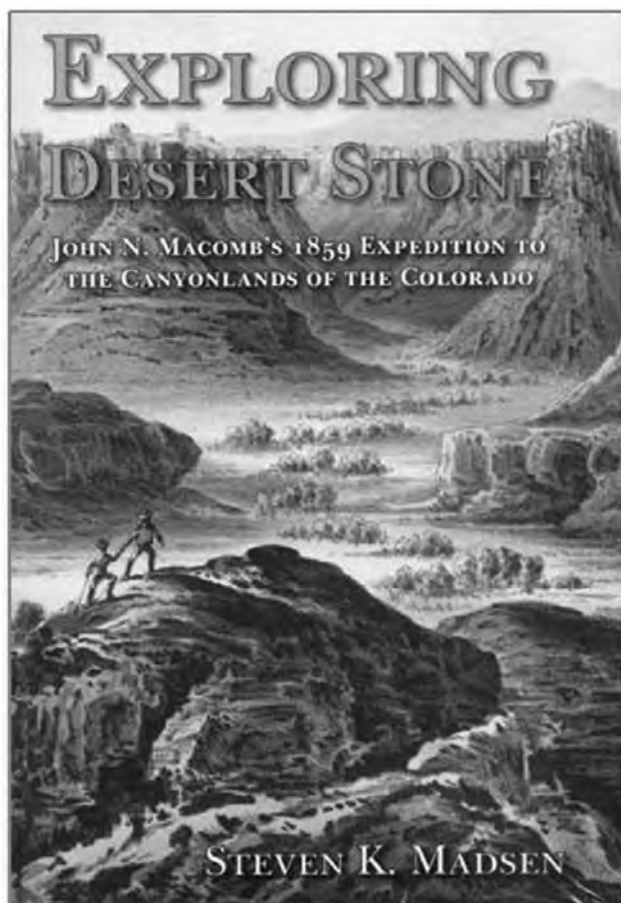
Melinda Arviso-Ciocco has been selected to represent the state of New Mexico on the Old Spanish Trail Association Board. She holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Native American Indigenous Studies with a minor in Sociology from Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado, and is currently working on her master's degree in Socio-Cultural Anthropology from Northern Arizona University. She has over ten years of experience in ethnography, anthropology, and ethno-history, public speaking and organizing events/forums and presentations, as well as extensive academic and personal background working with Native communities, economic development, tribal/federal policies, gender inequalities, historical, and cultural awareness, as well as international indigenous government to government relations, and policies. Fluency in the Navajo language enables Melinda to relate and work effectively with Native/Navajo communities, and in social settings. The seat will be up for election in early fall, 2019.



*Traffic jam on the Old Spanish Trail in the San Luis Valley.
Photo by T.J. Mendez, OSTA's facebook page, November 2018*

Flock to our Facebook Page

Have you visited our facebook page yet? You'll find lots of beautiful — and whimsical — pictures and info about events, people, and places along our trail. Don't forget to "follow" us and visit often — it's the best way to stay informed — facebook.com/OSTAssociation.



A Wealth of Information

We're always reading great books about the Old Spanish Trail and Southwest History. Documentaries have also been produced or are being planned. Members of our organization can access past archives of *Spanish Traces* going back more than 15 years for book reviews and many informative articles. Join us today at oldspanishtrail.org.

JOIN THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION!

Join, renew, or purchase a gift membership on-line at oldspanishtrail.org. Or, make your check out to OSTA and send this form to:

**OSTA Membership Coordinator
250 North Redcliffs Drive / 4B #553
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- ☐ New member ☐ Renewal

Total Amount Enclosed \$ _____



The National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management co-administer the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. OSTA closely consults with the Co-Administrators and other land managers and landowners.
oldspanishtrail.org



If desired, please **indicate additional chapter memberships** by checking below. First chapter affiliation is included with basic membership fee. Second or more chapter affiliations at \$5 each. You are free to join any chapter you have an interest in without regard to where you live.

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■ Eligibility to Participate

- Join local chapters to learn, help efforts to preserve and promote in your community.
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Casa Colorado & La Sal Mountains, UT
PHOTO BY JOHN HISCOCK

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Winter Cranberry Chutney

CAN BE FROZEN FOR UP TO TWO MONTHS

- 4 cups fresh cranberries**
- 1 cup white (aka golden) raisins**
- 1/2 cup white sugar**
- 3/4 cup packed brown sugar**
- 2 teaspoons ground cinnamon**
- 1 tsp allspice**
- 1 teaspoon minced fresh ginger**
- 1/2 teaspoon ground cloves**
- 1 cup water**
- 1/2 cup minced onion**
- 1 cup pecans, chopped into halves**
- 1 cup chopped Granny Smith apple**
- 1/2 cup finely chopped celery hearts**



Combine the cranberries, raisins, white sugar, brown sugar, cinnamon, allspice, ginger, cloves, and water in a saucepan. Bring to a boil, then simmer over low heat 5 minutes. Add onion, pecans, apple, and celery; continue to cook, stirring occasionally, until the mixture just begins to thicken, 5 to 10 more minutes. Transfer to a sturdy container and refrigerate. Serve chilled or warm with ham, turkey, chicken, roast beef.



What a tenderfoot calls a wasteland, I call home.



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