

SPANISH TRACES



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The North Pueblo at Taos, New Mexico

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld, 1998.

Taos, New Mexico lies in a high (7600 feet) valley at the western foot of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, the southernmost extension of the Rocky Mountains. Taos is home to Pueblo Indians, descendents of early Hispanic colonists and Anglo latecomers. Mountain men have called it home. Visit Kit Carson's home, the 1000 year old Taos Pueblo, the Hacienda Martínez and scores of art galleries, shops and restaurants. Nearby lies the Rio Grande gorge, the San Francisco de Asís church known to many from O'Keefe and Adams' images and the ever fascinating high road to Taos from Santa Fe.

TAOS: 2000 7th Annual OSTA Conference

June 10 and 11, 2000

Mark your Y2K calendars NOW! Your OSTA Officers and Board members have selected Taos, New Mexico as the site for the Seventh National Conference of the Old Spanish Trail Association. Vice President Willard Lewis has scheduled the Taos Civic Plaza and Convention Center for the Saturday, June 10 program. There will be a reception following the Saturday meeting at a location to be announced. Field trip(s) will be scheduled for Sunday, June 11. Because of the success at Las Vegas of an optional third day with an additional tour we may be able to offer a similar arrangement in Taos. This conference will give many of our new California and Nevada chapter members a chance to enjoy the rich history and terrain of the eastern end of the trail and many of our local chapter members the chance to rediscover and share their knowledge. Watch for details!

Noticias

Col. Hal Steiner's "The Old Spanish Trail Across the Mojave Desert: A History and Guide" is being published and should be available for purchase in late September. Marketing is still being arranged. Colonel Steiner is a member of the newly forming OSTA chapter in Las Vegas, Nevada. His book will be reviewed in an forthcoming issue to Spanish Traces.

The Workman and Temple Family Homestead Museum (15415 East Don Julian Road, City of Industry, CA) will host a 200th birthday event on Sunday, November 7. William Workman was born in November 1799. The celebration will feature a panel with Don Rowland, John Sharpe and Paul Spitzzeri focusing on Workman's significance and will touch on the Rowland-Workman expedition as one element.

Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter will leave Santa Fe, NM on Sunday morning, September 12, heading west for their fourth **cycling** expedition over the Old Spanish Trail. On this trip they will be verifying the information they have compiled for a very professional cyclist's guide to the Old Spanish Trail that will be published in due course.

The National Park Service OST Study Team is still working on an internal draft of the Preliminary Report. That report is expected to be distributed for public review and written comment early next year.

Work is proceeding slowly on a design for an OST memorial plaque for the Old Las Vegas Mormon Fort. A major restoration effort is now underway at the Fort. We expect to place the plaque on one of the newly restored walls surrounding the Fort. The Fort is located where the OST intersects the Las Vegas strip. The area across the street north and east of the Fort is the site of the spring-fed vegas (meadows) that gave the city its name.

Those of you who enjoy trail mapping and marking may be interested in helping to locate trail sites in Nevada as part of a proposed cooperative effort with the Bureau of Land Management. Clark County has offered to loan GPS survey equipment for this effort. The county will provide the necessary training. This will be a rare opportunity for most of us to obtain the use of equipment of this caliber. Survey receivers can locate sites to centimeter accuracy rather than the 50 meter level obtained with hand-held GPS receivers.

Visit our web site at <http://www.slv.org>.

All matters relating to **Spanish Traces** should be directed to the Editor:

Judy Querfeld, PO Box 47, Niwot, CO 80544 Telephone: 303-651-3403
E-Mail: querfeld@bouldernews.infi.net

Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association, a nonprofit organization incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. **ST** welcomes submission of letters, articles, and OSTA related news. The next deadline is December 1, 1999.

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

Membership Dues:

Institutional	\$25/year
Family/Individual	\$12/year
Student	\$ 5/year

Send your checks to:

Treasurer, OSTA, PO Box 483, Angel Fire, NM 87710

Officers and Directors: 1998-2000

PRESIDENT:

Dr. Charles W. Querfeld
2040 Longs Peak Ave.
Longmont, CO 80501
303-651-3403
querfeld@bouldernews.infi.net

VICE PRESIDENT:

Willard E. Lewis, Jr.
PO Box 6073
Santa Fe, NM 87502
505-984-2978
weljr@uswest.net

PAST PRESIDENT:

Ron Kessler
1026 S. Co. Road 2E
Monte Vista, CO 81144
719-852-5225

SECRETARY:

Marie Greene
P.O. Box 483
Angel Fire, NM 87710
505-377-6342
ramverde@newmex.com

TREASURER:

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

DIRECTORS:

William L. Chenoweth
707 Brassie Drive
Grand Junction, CO 81506
970-242-9062
cheno@gj.net

John Coffman
1014 Wagon Trail Dr. SE
Albuquerque, NM 87123
505-298-9865
jcoffman@flash.net

Reba Wells Grandrud, Ph.D.
2322 East Cholla Street
Phoenix, AZ 85028
602-992-0339
rgrandrud@juno.com

Ronald K. Jewkes
74 Bryner Street
Helper, UT 84526-1025
435-472-0719
wdload@afnetinc.com

John W. Robinson
1345 Cameo Lane
Fullerton, CA 92831
714-528-8609

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

President's Corner

The intent in this issue of *Spanish Traces* is to explore the national significance of the Old Spanish Trail in several areas that seem to present difficulties for the National Park Service (NPS) Feasibility Study. The national significance criteria are summarized below. The scope of the issue has been expanded to include Dr. Joseph Sánchez' keynote address at the OSTA Las Vegas Convention. Dr. Sánchez discusses national significance in his address while providing a delightful summary of the evolution of the OST. Peter Gough has recently completed a Master's thesis on the OST. His article provides a new perspective in the role of the trail in fomenting urban growth. We shall hear more from Peter in forthcoming issues. Bill Chenoweth has provided a summary of military use of the trail, most of which happened after 1850. Yet the 1844 travels of John C. Frémont were clearly significant nationally and the OST portion of

his route came into much broader use as a consequence of his report and his map. The subsequent military use was significant in other ways. Bill Chenoweth's article will be expanded in the Spring 2000 issue. Dr. Bruce Harley concludes the papers on the OST with a biography of Lorenzo Trujillo, the prime mover in the migration of Abiquiú, New Mexico residents to ranchos in the Riverside – San Bernardino area east of Los Angeles. Bill Helmer and Pauline Esteves clearly state the impact of the OST on the Timbisha Shoshone and the Southern Paiutes in their article. This article is the formal Timbisha response to queries from the NPS.

Because there have been a number of contributed articles that OST members should read and the OST governing board believes that at least one issue of *Spanish Traces* should contain more news from members, there will be an issue published in early January 2000. Henceforth there will be three issues

of *Spanish Traces* per year if the contributions keep rolling in. Please keep up the good work.

Finally, please look at the list of board members on page two since there have changes. Liz Warren is our new director from Nevada, a position that resulted from the expansion embodied in the new OST bylaws. Willard Lewis has become our Vice President and Ron Kessler is now the Past President. John Coffman has replaced Willard as the director for New Mexico.

Please note that Judy and I have moved from Niwot to Longmont, Colorado, a short, but tedious, move undertaken while preparing this issue of *Spanish Traces*. Our new address and phone number are listed in the box on page 2. We will retain P.O. Box 47 in Niwot, CO 80544 for a year or so and that can be used as well.

National Significance Criteria:

National Significance criteria as defined in the legislation that underlies the National Historic Trail System. Section 5(b)(11) of the National Trails System Act are:

- (A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use.
- (B) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of Native Americans may be included.

Forthcoming Issues of *Spanish Traces*:

Winter, 2000 ... This issue will be a medley of articles. This will also be an excellent opportunity for reader's letters and short reports to appear. Please send your contributions. This issue should appear in mid-January, 2000.

Spring, 2000 ... This issue will be devoted to the military use of the Old Spanish Trail. Even though most military use occurred after commercial traffic on the Old Spanish Trail dwindled, it is, nevertheless, part of the trail's history and deserves our attention. This issue should appear about April 1, 2000.

Chapter Reports

Mesa County

Things here on the Western Slope have started to return to normal, at least along sections of the North Branch. Our big statue ceremony was a huge success. We got the "Old Gal" [The Spirit of Pioneer Women] planted in her temporary home, dedicated and accepted by all present. There were over one hundred in attendance. We had several federal, state and local elected officials, and countless dignitaries of various organizations, pioneer descendants, girl scout honor guard and one lone bag piper.

We were much encouraged by Senator Ben Campbell's talk at the press conference and later at the ceremony. We here, have not given up on the Park Service, and we realize that some things take time. We will eventually get that trail to where it belongs. As is engraved on one side of the statue we dedicated, "This place is of historical significance as a route of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail, used by Native Americans, Spanish explorers, Mexican traders, Mountain Men, and United States military expeditions. Later it was heavily used as a main wagon route by early settlers of the Grand Valley."

Our latest project is to get a memorial commemorative marker at the head of the arroyo leading down to the "Crossing of the Grand." This project again is in conjunction with a Coalition; they know how to raise

the funds. We are at the point of searching out a bronze plaque caster. We hopefully have a large boulder, a way to move it and all other technicalities smoothed out. Hope we can invite you to another dedication soon. If we can get the crossing recognized as a viable part of the trail, why not the rest of the route!

Jack Nelson, President
Grand Junction, Colorado



The Spirit of Pioneer Women

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld, 1999.

Salida del Sol

Since the last issue of *Spanish Traces*, our chapter held its final Spring program meeting in late May. Ron Kessler, former OSTA president and founder, spoke to the group about historical figures

associated with the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail, based on his 1998 book, *Old Spanish Trail North Branch and Its Travelers*.

Following the program, the group elected the following officers and directors for the 1999-2000 chapter year: Willard Lewis, President; Richard Greene, Vice President; Kaye Coffman, Treasurer; Dorothy Parker, Pat Kuhlhoff, and Charles Bennett, Directors.

Two Fall 1999 meeting dates have been scheduled: September 11 at the Eldorado Community Center, in the suburbs of Santa Fe; and October 30 at the New Mexico Records and Archives Center. The September program will feature a program entitled "The Old Spanish Trail and Big-time Horse Thievery in California," including such colorful characters as Pegleg Smith, the Mountain Man, and Walkara, the legendary warrior chief of the Utes during OST times. Willard Lewis will lead the presentation.

The October program will feature Dr. Robert Torrez, the New Mexico State Historian. His presentation will be "Mexican Period Government in New Mexico and Old Spanish Trail Travelers (Both Legal and Illegal)." Dr. Torrez will explore Mexican governance of New Mexico after independence from Spain, the processing of permits for legal travel on OST and prosecutions arising from illegal travelers who were caught.

A line-up of three Spring programs is in preliminary planning stages. Contact Lewis at 505-984-2978 in Santa Fe about our chapter and its

program meetings.

Willard Lewis, President
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Southern California

With an active spring schedule, our Southern California Chapter continues to grow. As of now, we have 43 members.

On April 17, Nick Cataldo of the San Bernardino Historical Society led twenty of us on a most informative tour of historic sites in the Cajon Pass area. We traced the route of the Old Spanish Trail, the National Old Trails Road, and US Highway 66, and visited an ancient Serrano Indian village site, Blue Cut, and Glen Helen Regional Park, the shady resting place for many of the caravans from Santa Fe and Salt Lake after their long trek across the desert. Besides Nick's expertise, we were fortunate to have with us John Hockaday, who knows Cajon Pass like his own backyard.

On May 15, Dr. Bruce Harley led us on his famous "Agua Mansa History Tour." Twelve of us followed Dr. Harley on a circular route to the site of Politana, the Lorenzo Trujillo Adobe, La Placita, the Jensen-Alvarado mansion, and the Agua Mansa Cemetery, where we looked down on the site of historic Agua Mansa, the first settlement on the Old Spanish Trail between Abiquiu and Mission San Gabriel. Dr. Harley imparted to us his vast knowledge of these historic places in the Colton-San Bernardino-River-

side area. It was a genuine pleasure to listen to him.

We are presently in our summer break, and look forward to several interesting fall and winter programs. Jane Stewart has organized a trip for the weekend of October 23-24 to visit Old Spanish Trail sites south and east of Death Valley, including Resting Spring, courtesy of owner Harry Godshall, Salt Spring, the Amargosa River, China Ranch, and Emigrant Pass, where remains of the trail can still be followed.

On Saturday, November 20, Dr. Cliff Walker of the Mojave River Valley Museum in Barstow, will guide us to Fork-of-the-Road, Spanish Canyon, and Bitter Spring, the latter within the boundaries of the Fort Irwin Military Reservation.

We are presently in the process of planning our Spring 2000 schedule, which will include a return trip to Cajon Pass, and visits to Mission San Gabriel and El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historic Park.

John Robinson, Chairman
Fullerton, California

New Las Vegas, Nevada Chapter

Nick Saines reports that an organization meeting for a new Las Vegas, NV chapter is scheduled for September 11, 1999. For information contact Nick at:
702-896-4049 or
GREATUNC@aol.com.

Chapter contacts and addresses

Jack Nelson
Mesa County Chapter
2276 Windwood Court
Grand Junction, CO 81503

Willard Lewis
Salida del Sol Chapter
P. O. Box 6073
Santa Fe, NM 87502

Yvonne Halburian
Saguache County Chapter
P.O. Box 502
Saguache, CO 81149

John Robinson
Southern California Chapter
1345 Cameo Lane
Fullerton, CA 92831

David Fallowfield
William Workman Chapter
53 Croft Avenue
Penrith
Cumbria CA11 7RL
England

Saguache County

Our Program Committee arranged several very interesting summer field trips. The first to the King Turquoise Mine, one of two turquoise mines in the San Luis Valley, located nine miles east of Manassa. It may be the oldest turquoise mine worked by prehistoric people of North America as ancient mining tools of bone and stone have been found in the refuse heap fifteen feet deep. Our field



King Turquoise Mine

Photograph courtesy of Yvonne Halburian, 1999.

guide, Bill King, said his great, great grandfather, the first American owner of the mine, discovered an Indian buried at the site with pottery. Evidence of Spanish miners were also found. At one time the mine was the largest turquoise producer in the world, but with the declining quality of the turquoise only occasional mining occurs at present.

Our June Trip was to the Upper Saguache Creek Crossing and an ancient Indian site on a bluff overlooking the Saguache Creek, 20 miles west of Saguache. Stone circle structures are scattered over the area and some were being excavated by the Rio Grande National Forest Archaeological team. Peeled ponderosa pines, fire stones, matates and flint were in evidence. Part of a Folsom point had been found nearby, indicating the site had been in use as early as 10,000 to 5,000 BC. This site is located on the route

of the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail from Saguache to Cochetopa Pass.

In July, Mr. Maclovio, historian for the San Luis Museum and Cultural Center led us on a tour through the southeast side of the San Luis Valley. This area was the route the North Branch's East Fork OST took into the Valley from Taos to California.

The first New Mexico Settlers tried to establish homesites as early as 1847, but were driven out by the Utes. The first successful settlement was established on Costilla Creek in 1849. Scattered ranches soon followed after the establishment of Fort Massachusetts on Ute Creek in 1852.

Mr. Martinez explained the importance of the Catholic religion to the Hispanics and gave a history of its

influence on their culture including the Penitente branch. We were shown the Churches and a still active Penitente Church in the villages of San Pedro, San Pablo, Chama, San Francisco, and Old San Acacio. The Hispanic culture there remains much as it was when the area was first settled in the mid 1800s.

We look forward to our next big event, the annual August Pot Luck, which will be held on Sargents Mesa north of Saguache.

Our next regularly scheduled meeting is 6:30 p.m., November 10, 1999 at the Saguache County Library.



San Isidro Church, an old Catholic mission church of the early Hispanic settlers in the San Luis Valley.

Photograph courtesy of Yvonne Halburian, 1999

**Yvonne Halburian, President
Saguache, Colorado**

The Old Spanish Trail Mosaic: History and Concept

By Dr. Joseph Sanchez, Director, Spanish Colonial Research Center, University of New Mexico

One thing that those of us who have studied the Old Spanish Trail know that it is much more complex than just a straight line across a map. It's an evolution that takes place in time. When I started writing my book, *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, many years ago, I began by looking at Indian myths. Indeed, what really got me started looking at the Old Spanish Trail in my study, was the Indian myth of Teguayo. This is a myth which the Indians, at least the Pueblo Indians from New Mexico, claimed to be a genesis story, an origin, a place of beginning. The Spaniards heard about Teguayo and they searched for it. They inquired about Teguayo just as much as they looked for Quivira. It turns out that Quivira is a much more popularized notion of what the Spanish were looking for just as they were looking for the Seven Cities of Gold. But Teguayo was special in many ways. Teguayo pointed to somewhere northwest of New Mexico. Northwest, as the Indians told them, where there was a great salt lake. Near this great salt lake was a large population of people. And this population lived on fish and whatever else they hunted. The Pueblo Indians came to believe that this was their place of the origin. That they came out of the earth at this place called Teguayo. It's interesting to me that if you go to an Indian kiva you will see that it has a little hole dug somewhere near the back of it called the sipapu. The

sipapu is symbolic of that place of origin where man came out of the ground. It makes one wonder if there is a relationship between the sipapu and Teguayo itself. If you look at old Spanish maps, especially those made by Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, it is evident that he also traced in the area of, at least, Utah Lake, and possibly the great salt lake, a place called Timpanogos. The Spanish were looking for Teguayo in that particular area. And Miera y Pacheco writes on his map, "Here is the place where the Aztecs originated from." If you take a look at the point of origination story of the Aztecs, they have their own genesis story, Atzlan. From Atzlan the Aztecs migrated southward along the west Mexican coast by Nayarit state, and finally into the valley of Mexico. But Atzlan and the Siete Cuevas, or the seven caves, Copal, and the Sierra Azul all seem to have a common origin. They may well be the same place. So mythologically we begin our Old Spanish Trail story within an historic mist—where is it, how did it originate?

The name Old Spanish Trail is not something that the Hispanics of New Mexico gave to it. It's something that the Anglos named later. And it seems to me that they too are lost in this historic mist; they're part of this mosaic who happen to be late comers into an area and every where they stepped in western Colorado they said "We're on the Old Spanish

Trail." Maybe that's why we have so many variations of it...Old Spanish Trail here...Old Spanish Trail there.

As a young man I became interested in the Old Spanish Trail when I went up to Salt Lake City. As I drove up from New Mexico, I kept seeing signs saying Old Spanish Trail. In eastern Utah I saw signs saying Spanish Fork and Old Spanish Trail all over Utah. Thus, if I had it my way, we should just declare the whole state the Old Spanish Trail and change the name and get it over with.

The mosaic of the Old Spanish Trail is much broader, historically speaking, than just those two lines that we have become accustomed to drawing on a map, some of those routes lead from New Mexico into western Colorado and then either across the north rim of the Grand Canyon, as did supposedly the Armijo route, or the route the Anglo-Americans later took a little further north. If one looks at trails in North America, their genesis are old Indian trails, indigenous trails that perhaps account for many spurs not just on the Old Spanish Trail, but, for example, on trails like the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (The Royal Road of the Interior).

Now that's a part of the mosaic that we entirely lose sight of. The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro or

the Royal Road of the Interior running from Mexico City to Santa Fe ran its course from about 1540 well into the 1850s. I've come to think that all roads lead to Santa Fe. Because if you look at the Camino Real; then you take a look at trappers routes coming in from north of Taos into Santa Fe, and at another route coming in from Abiquiu into Santa Fe, or another route from Pecos to Santa Fe, and another route from Galisteo to Santa Fe, you begin to get a picture of something else. Something is happening historically in Santa Fe that makes it the hub of many trails that come into it. But the one trail, aside from the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, that we lose sight of in connection with the Old Spanish Trail is the Old Santa Fe Trail coming in from Missouri.

As all roads lead to Santa Fe, so too does Santa Fe lead out to other roads. It is the connecting point between the Old Santa Fe Trail coming in from Missouri and the Chihuahua Trail which is really the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Indeed the Old Santa Fe Trail came to be known as the Santa Fe - Chihuahua Trail. Then, oddly enough, as Anglo-American emigrants came from Missouri and Mexican emigrants came up from Mexico into Santa Fe, they all connected and set off on another trail which became known as Old Spanish Trail. The Old Spanish Trail then ran from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, but the story of it is even more vague in terms of how does it become important? In Explorers, Traders, and Slavers, all I tried to do was establish that there was an

Hispanic antecedent to the Anglo Old Spanish Trail. An Hispanic precedent that was born out of exploration; born out of an interest in trade with the Yutas; and born out of the fact that the Spanish officials were trying to control Spanish traders from going to the Yuta country because it was too dangerous to trade with the Utes. In other words, Spanish officials believed that "if you cheat them, you're going to start a war. If they don't like what you gave them, you're going to start a war;" and the Spanish knew that they could not hold the Utes. They couldn't hold the Comanche and they couldn't hold the Apache. But still there were brave hearts who went up into that country interested in trade, interested in paying off their debts, interested in perhaps other things that the Utah country offered them.

The Old Spanish Trail is born in this vague way. First it's formed out of the myth of Teguayo when Utes in prehistoric times came to the Rio Grande Valley to trade with the Anasazi or with the various Pueblo groups along the river. Invariably, it worked the other way when New Mexicans began to take interest in the Utah country and reverse the routes by going from New Mexico into the Utah country. In between the two, a slave trade was born. The stronger Utes preyed on the weaker Paiutes. The New Mexicans, realizing that a slave would take in 100 to 200 Pesos in Santa Fe, could use them to pay off their debts. All they had to do was go up into the Utah country and take their worn out horses to trade them to the Utes for Ute captives. The

Utes were all too happy to trade somebody else's children for these horses or mules. And so there is a type of reciprocal trade that goes on in the wilderness of Utah or in the wilderness of the Four Corners area, or in the wilderness of western Colorado.

Meanwhile, California is settled in 1769. When one talks about the expedition of Juan Maria Antonio Rivera in 1765, he is just another one of those people who goes up into the Utah country. The exception is that his expedition is legal and official. California had no meaning to him at that particular time, this was 1765. California would not be established officially for another four years. After 1769 when Spanish explorers traversed the interior of California, discovering the Great Central Valley and the San Joaquin Valley, they wrote about its rich resources of flora and fauna. It was then that California started to become important to Spain. It would take another few years before California would capture the imagination of Spanish officials in New Mexico. But it's only when they realized there's another possible trading venture that they thought, "well maybe we should try to connect New Mexico with California."

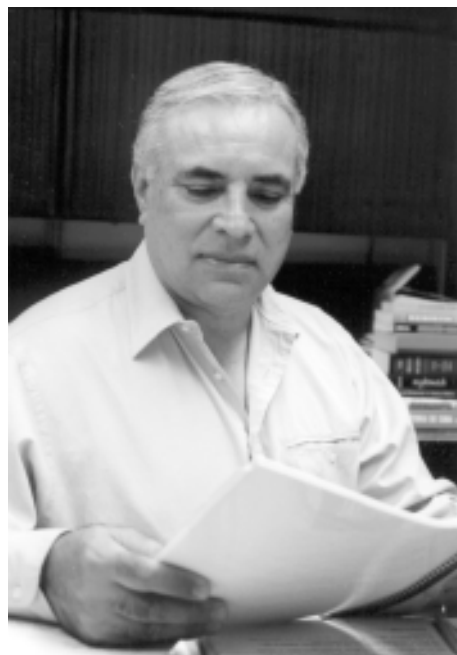
They had attempted to connect Texas with New Mexico. There were various attempts to establish routes running from Santa Fe to San Antonio, and so why not Santa Fe to Los Angeles? Now Los Angeles was not established until 1781. You see, the time span in the New Mexican mind is important to make this connection. California was not

important originally, but becomes more important as they begin to see another possibility for trade. So when Rivera went up into the western Colorado area in 1765, California was the farthest thing from his mind. However, eleven years later when Dominguez and Escalante undertook their venture, it was because they saw the possibility for trade between the two areas as well as the possibility to establish a mission field in the Yuta country.

But before Escalante, there was Father Francisco Garcés. And one has to wonder why Garcés' explorations were not heeded by Spanish officials. You see, he ran a route from basically San Xavier del Bac, south of Tucson, Arizona, over to the Yuma crossing. Forging the river, he meandered around the desert on several expeditions, finally getting over to Mission San Gabriel, near Los Angeles. There, he decided to explore eastward toward the Colorado. In 1775, he took a seven month roundtrip walk, because that's the only way Garcés would do it as a Franciscan priest. Walking for seven months, he crossed the Colorado, and entered into what we know as northern Arizona, following or straddling old Highway 66 and the railroad line that runs along it, and over to the Little Colorado, he finally reached Oraibi. Garcés showed that one could cross that route south of the Grand Canyon safely. And it seemed like a pretty direct route. You may wonder why the Spanish then didn't say, "hey, let's just establish Highway 66 and get across this route so we can get from California to New Mexico in fewer than 20 days." Well, Garcés

reached Oraibi and, the missionary priest stationed there was Silvestre Velez de Escalante. Escalante happened to be in Santa Fe at that time and so Garcés, thinking, "Well, I really can't trespass into this man's missionary field and I've really crossed the line being here. I'll leave him a little note saying I was here, I got here from San Gabriel, it took me X number of months to get here, but it's a pretty safe route and I did it by myself, no guards, just Indian guides."

Escalante received the note but he had a different idea in mind. He tells the governor, "You know, that route



**Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez, Director
Spanish Colonial Research Center
in his office at UNM**

Photograph courtesy of J. W. Coffman, 1999

is really dangerous. The people at Oraibi, Shungopavi and First Mesa, Second Mesa, Third Mesa, they hate us, and they will kill us if they get a chance. We have never been able to

satisfactorily establish a safe relationship with them ever since the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. They have just been waiting in the weeds for us." Secondly, he says, "the Navajo inhabit that area and the Navajo are deadly enemies here in the Rio Grande Valley and we just can't cross that particular area." And he says "Beyond there are the Yavapai, which are fierce Indian groups and they'll kill us on sight." And so he convinces the governor that the best way to go to California is to go north toward the Utah country because "We have good relationships," he said, "with the Utes." Now you have to wonder what the mentality of Escalante is in forcing this particular type of philosophy onto the government policy that you can't cross below the Grand Canyon, but you can cross over north of the Grand Canyon. And it seems to me that if you look at Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco's map of 1778, because he went on that expedition, as you know, in '76. You see that on it he placed missionary sites all over Utah, suggesting that along this route "We're going to missionize the whole area and I, Escalante, am going to be a chief missionary to do this." Every missionary has his job to establish his own chain of missions, and Escalante thought he had an opportunity. So it appears more that Escalante was motivated in exploring Utah for the possible mission sites that could be established. And Miera, all too willingly said, "I'm a soldier. You put the missions up, I'll tell you where we can put up forts in the Utah country." Little did they know that sooner or later Utah was going to be missionized, not necessarily by

Catholics, but later by Mormons: it was going to be a mission field any which way you look at it.

When Dominguez, the head priest in New Mexico, and Escalante organized their expedition, I like to point out, they were in Santa Fe packing up their mules on July 4, 1776. And I find that's a very interesting date because 2,000 miles away, their English counterparts were signing the Declaration of Independence. They didn't leave for another couple of weeks then, and when they finally did leave, they headed toward the north [south] branch of what would be called the Old Spanish Trail. But they forced their way too far north, further north than the Anglos went, maybe as far north as Fort Uintah and then down to the Green River over to the Utah Lake and finally down to Cedar City. They were supposed to cross the Sierra Nevada, but snow stopped them they said, so they headed south and you know the rest of the story. They get down into the Grand Canyon; they get stuck in there for several weeks; can't cross it; but finally do. They're so frustrated that they named one place "Salsipuedes" (Get out if you can). And, at last, they get out, and they end up in Oraibi and traverse the trail from Oraibi back to the Rio Grande Valley and from there, they make their way up north toward Santa Fe again. In their report to the governor, they explain that it was impossible to get through, but the land was rich in resources and there's a great possibility of missionizing everyone up there. And so they hang on to this idea.

Meanwhile California was becoming

more and more important. In the late Spanish period there were thoughts of getting over there from New Mexico. There were expeditions that ran from the Sonora area over to California. But the way to get to California traditionally was through the sea lanes, leaving, perhaps, Guaymas and sailing across to La Paz and then up the peninsula of Baja California and over to San Diego and that became the traditional route. We have to keep this in mind because when California does become important and when it does parallel the Old Spanish Trail in terms of its chronological time span, it is the sea lanes that bring people into California in larger numbers than any other trail could manage. Yet, the trail through the interior from New Mexico to California would be an important historical asset.

But the Old Spanish Trail becomes significant in its own way even though the Spanish Period ended in 1821. The dream to establish a route between California and New Mexico was still part of the pattern, and finally in 1829, as you know, Antonio Armijo ran a route connecting the two points. It's not a simple story to tell about Armijo's discovery of this particular route because for centuries since about 1678, New Mexicans had been going up into the Yuta country. It's not a simple tale to tell because within that span of time the Old Spanish Trail had developed many variations: some to the La Sal Mountains, certainly rivers like the San Juan and the Animas became known and trails ran into the La Plata, others ran around toward

Delta, others ran around into the area of Moab. The Spanish traders were all over the place gathering information, but they couldn't report it because it was illegal for them to be up there as trade with the Utes was illegal because of the fear of warfare with them, as I mentioned earlier. So as it turns out, little by little, step by step, the Old Spanish Trail in the Spanish period starts to take form by way of geographic knowledge. Eventually, the knowledge blossoms into the route blazed by Armijo in the Mexican Period.

However, as I've said before, it's not until the Anglo-American comes into the picture that Old Spanish Trail gets its name and a more or less single line on a map becomes a pattern for the development of Old Spanish Trail. But really one has to look at the fur trappers in the area: Fur trappers that had been coming in with the Missouri Fur Company; fur trappers that had been following the Missouri River drainage since Lewis and Clark; fur trappers that had settled into the Yellowstone River and who discover the Bear River and, at last, make their way down into the Great Salt Lake following the Bear river itself. So when one takes a look at the mosaic, I see another pattern—not solely one of the various tribes that inhabited the area and had blazed and used trails to get to New Mexico, or the reverse of the New Mexicans going to the Yuta country, but finally fur trappers coming in from the Missouri River drainage and fanning out to all parts of the west. Jedediah Smith was one of these people and perhaps one of the most important for the story of

Old Spanish Trail in many ways. It was Jedediah Smith, after all, who entered the western part of the Old Spanish Trail as we know it, and basically ran a route from Zion or Cedar City in Utah into the area of the Mojave River. But the Spanish didn't know about Jedediah Smith, or I should say by now it's Mexico, and the Mexicans in Santa Fe did not know about Smith; and so they, on their own, blazed their own route with Armijo in 1829. And ahead of them they sent Rafael Rivera, who had been there before in 1828. Rivera knew a route to the Colorado and he knew, perhaps, about a route through the Mojave. Unlike Smith, they ran the route from New Mexico to California. Indeed, they were the first to do so. They ran it just beyond the north rim of the Grand Canyon, finally come out at the Virgin and Colorado rivers and finally come down into the Mojave, the Amargosa river area and blaze their way over to the San Bernadinos and across to San Gabriel.

The importance of Armijo is that he is the first one to run the route in its entirety. He is the first one to connect Santa Fe with California. He is the first one to trade in that area, and it seems to make sense that when Hispanics from New Mexico went to California they followed a route pretty basic to the Armijo route. Indeed, Anglo-Americans later commented, in the few references we have I should say, that "the New Mexicans follow a route further south than us." And yet that doesn't mean New Mexicans only followed that route. They also were in expeditions that followed the Anglo route beyond Moab over to

the Green and down. So, we have basically two lines that connect New Mexico and California from that point of view.

The story is much broader than looking at details about who and where—who was who in 1841? Who was who in 1837? How did they get there? That is the conundrum that we try to solve in 1999. Who were they, and how did

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they get there? It is important for us to know those details and you people in this audience know those details better than anyone else because you've been on the ground. You live along particular points of the Old Spanish Trail that are generally in question by researchers.

The broader side of the story of the mosaic is this. You all are familiar with the Battle of the Alamo. This is the battle that establishes the Anglo-American dominance in Texas. But long before that happened, there was a Royal Road running from Saltillo to Los Adaes. Saltillo, in Coahuila, is below the border of Texas and Los

Adaes [now Robeline, LA, 9 mi. WSW of Natchitoches] is just across the border in Louisiana. Los Adaes was a Spanish military fort and it was established in 1721-1722. It became the capital of Texas incidentally, the first capital of Texas. To have a Royal Road you had to have a capital and you had to run a Royal Road from capital to capital. So from Saltillo to Los Adaes was a trail that ran in a jagged way past the San Antonio River and then up to Los Adaes. It was supplied by military and it was reinforced by settlers, as well as by missionaries. In 1772 it was decided it was no longer cost-effective to defend Los Adaes and perhaps the capital should be moved elsewhere. Sometime in 1718, for example, San Antonio was established as a stopping place along that route. San Antonio in 1772, then, became the capital of Texas. The route from Los Adaes to San Antonio was known as the Camino Real de los Tejas or the Royal Road of Texas and ran down to Saltillo. The segment from Los Adaes in Louisiana to San Antonio was later adopted by Anglo-Americans who entered Texas from Louisiana. It became known as the Old San Antonio Road. Still, in its origins, the Old San Antonio Road, on the other hand, is another historical colonial road.

The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, that I mentioned a minute ago, from Mexico City to Santa Fe was a transmitter, not only of trade goods and settlers, as well as a transmitter of language, lore, religion like Catholicism, and a transmitter of a whole culture that moved from south

to north. The Camino Real de las Tejas running from Saltillo to Los Adaes basically served the same way. But after 1795 when Anglo-Americans started to cross into Texas, it became a transmitter, as the Old San Antonio Road, of Anglo-American culture into Mexican Texas. It brought in a new language. It brought in a new lore. It brought in a whole new baggage of things that would change Texas forever.

It is important to look at that model, that paradigm, that part of the mosaic of the Old Spanish Trail story. As you take a look now, at the Old Spanish Trail, say in the 1830s, after Armijo blazed his route and after several other groups crossed into the area—like Wolfskill and Yount, for example—you begin to see that the

Old Spanish Trail likewise was a transmitter of culture, of language, of religion, of political ideas just like the Old San Antonio Road. News of the Battle of the Alamo made its way to California not so much by the way of the sea lanes that had been transporting people, things, and ideas northward, but by way of the Old Spanish Trail which brought the news of the fall of the Alamo.

I was in the Bancroft Library checking out facts and checking out documents trying to reinforce the importance of Old Spanish Trail and came across this very important fact:

People in California like Rowland and Workman and Yount and Wolfskill, and Abel Stearns knew about the Alamo, and they knew about it by word of mouth from expeditions coming in from the interior. News about the Alamo reached Santa Fe, Mexican Santa Fe, and Mexican officials were quite alarmed by it because they knew that just like the Old San Antonio Road

Spanish Trail, they called it the Camino de California, the Road to California. The people in California called it El Camino de Santa Fe or El Camino de Nuevo Mexico, the Road to Santa Fe or the Road to New Mexico. To Hispanics it was a road that named the two places; a road that connected the two places. To the Anglo-American, it was the Old Spanish Trail.



The Old Spanish Trail Mosaic: A multi-cultural landscape

that ran from Los Adaes to San Antonio, the old Santa Fe Trail that ran from Franklin, Missouri to Santa Fe was another transmitter of culture, of ideas of a different people of a different language into New Mexico. They were alarmed by the news of what happened at the Battle of the Alamo. They were alarmed at this Texas revolution, and they began to see the picture—what happened there could happen in Santa Fe. Then they looked across the map and they saw this little line that they knew as Old Spanish Trail. New Mexicans didn't call it the Old

And so the people in California became quite alarmed at what this interior road meant. More dangerous than the sea-lanes coming up from Mexico where the probability of losing a ship haunted peoples minds, this particular route was fraught with danger from camp deaths, serious accidents, attack from hostile Indians not to mention weather-related problems.

Politically, both routes featured a number of different types of people who ostensibly threatened the stability of California. By 1837, 1838, 1839, as indicated in the correspondence of Mexican officials, they had become frantic (and that's just not an understatement), about how to stop this wave of people coming from the interior through the Old Spanish Trail. It was *the* route to get to California. We can talk about routes that come later like the Gila route, or the California Road that was later established, or the Oregon Trail which fed people into the west coast up in Oregon and then

down to California. Much has been said about different little routes that trappers took, but Old Spanish Trail was that artery that connected the interior to the coast. And so, the Old Spanish Trail may be viewed in that way, thus demonstrating its importance in different ways. The Old Spanish Trail shaped California in a way that it would become the California that we know today.

Of course, the gold rush happened in 1849. That event changed everything and made the Old Spanish Trail obsolete because when gold was discovered on the west coast, Anglo-Americans used every way they could find to get to California, and Old Spanish Trail fell into relative disuse. Prior to the Gold Rush, the Mexican War of 1846-48 cut off the Old Spanish Trail in many ways. It doesn't mean the Old Spanish Trail disappeared. I recently found an account of 105,000 head of sheep transferred from New Mexico to California in 1858, and I have to wonder about the rumored demise of the Old Spanish Trail. These sheep were driven by New Mexicans. The question arises: were New Mexicans going to go down the Gila Trail risking their sheep at the hands of the Apache or were they going to go over the top along the Old Spanish Trail to what they considered to be the safer route.

New Mexicans threatened Californians in many, many ways. In doing my book *Explorers, Traders and Slavers*, I came across a very interesting account. As I had time on my hands, I decided to look into the *Sandwich Island Gazette*. In it, I found some interesting information

about Mexican California and its Pacific trade. Of course, the Hawaiian Islands were called the Sandwich Islands. And so, having seen a reference to the *Sandwich Island Gazette*, I thought what is this about. I started going through it and then I remembered that I had seen a citation that someone had used many years ago. I looked in my notes and found the citation and in it was the rest of the story. It seems that the *Sandwich Island Gazette* had a reporter who became interested in New Mexicans in California during the period 1837-1838, and he decided to go to California—to interview a few New Mexicans and find out what was going on. He found out that New Mexicans were very unpopular in California. They threatened the stability of missions. They threatened the economy of California keeping in mind that New Mexicans for a couple of centuries prior to the founding of California had been trading with everybody, and had become quite astute traders, they knew how to cheat anyone—metaphorically, they were like the proverbial used car salesman. In fact, they were used horse salesmen. They would trade you a used horse, blind, lame, or whatever by convincing you it was the best horse in the whole herd. So they came to California from New Mexico using the Old Spanish Trail after Armijo. Very innocently, “the beach-combers” in California didn't know what was going to hit them. Here come the New Mexicans ready for trade, and they actually did cheat the Californians. They not only cheated them, they did worse. They convinced the Utes to raid the missions for mules. Meanwhile the

Sandwich Islands Gazette newspaper reporter's curiosity about how they did it was piqued.

As the New Mexicans had been trading with the Utes, they formed little alliances here and there with them. They were dealing with the Mojave; they were dealing with Utes; they were giving them things; they were making Indian friends. To their new allies in trade, the New Mexicans said, “You know we'll trade you whatever you want just bring us some mules from the missions.” And so Utes raided missions as far north as San Jose and Santa Clara. Similarly, Ute bands raided the San Diego area several times. The San Diegans became quite fearful of the Utes. It's difficult to imagine that the Utes were that far west. But there they were, stealing mules; and where were they taking them? They were taking them to the San Joaquin Valley, specifically to the Tulares. The reporter apparently followed the Utes and the New Mexicans. He found out where they rendezvoused and wrote about what they did there. The New Mexicans camped in the Tulares and waited for the Utes to come in with the herds which they traded for blankets, possibly arms, and other items, whatever they wanted. As a result of this clandestine trade, the New Mexicans were able to drive a thousand head of mules to New Mexico at a time. Finally the Californians got wise and said, “You know what? We don't want these guys here anymore. They are trouble makers, they steal, we can't trust them.” So they made laws prohibiting New Mexicans from entering Los Angeles. New

Mexicans had to stay outside on the outskirts of town. The Californios checked passports to see if New Mexicans had a license to travel to and trade in California. The Californios arrested New Mexicans who could not show a license for trade and travel. They cracked down on them. But New Mexicans

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continued to go to California.

Some arrived there in 1837 as Californians were having their own little political civil war just like they did in Texas at the Alamo. The New Mexicans came in and they just loved the situation. They joined the rebel side of the Californians and stirred up whatever was the problem there. One of these men was Jose Maria Chavez who lived in Abiquiu, New Mexico. I like talking about him because I was amazed that he was over 100 years old when he died. He was born in 1800 and died in 1902. And the house that he built

is the house that's known today as the Georgia O'Keeffe house. Many years ago I worked on the Georgia O'Keeffe house to try to get it designated as an historic landmark. Ms. O'Keeffe had requested it and then changed her mind.

Nevertheless, the house belonged to Jose Maria Chavez. He lived there, and he died there in 1902. Jose Maria Chavez went to California with his brother Julian. Jose Maria returned to New Mexico within a couple of years, but Julian stayed. Julian liked it so much in California that he established a business and is founder of a line of the Chavez family there. In the course of his life there, he acquired a piece of land that today bears the name Chavez Ravine, and, incidentally, the old Dodger Stadium was built there. That's where the name Chavez Ravine comes from. Thus, another connection in the mosaic.

There is, in the background of the Old Spanish Trail story, a fascinating person named, Abel Stearns. Although I'm told differently, I have always thought that there was a connection between him and Stearns Wharf at Santa Barbara. Stearns was an amazing person. He did not arrive in California by way of the Old Spanish Trail. He got there by way of the sea-lanes. He was from Boston. He went to Cuba as a young man, learned to speak Spanish, and virtually became Hispanicized. Within a couple of years, he moved to Mexico City. Shortly thereafter, he became a Mexican citizen. For some reason, he got on a boat and headed north to San Diego. Stearns was an opportunist and became

adept at manipulating the political scene in California. The Mexicans like him; then they don't like him. It is obvious that they do not always trust him. But he does appear to be a charmer. Mexican officials concluded that he was a problem to have around because when the Anglos started coming through the sea-lanes and the Old Spanish Trail, Abel Stearns was there as an insider. Mexican officials accused him of holding public meetings that were anti-Mexican government. Stearns said, "No, no, no, that's not what it's about." But Stearns was involved in a few things like that. I've seen letters from Anglos saying to the effect that "he really helped us out. We met at his house and we plotted to overthrow Governor so and so." And so Stearns is kind of like a double agent, but he has his own agenda. Stearns married into the Bandini family and at the time when the gold rush happened, the Mexican families in order to protect themselves were glad to have a son-in-law like Stearns because he did not represent the new wave of Anglos. In fact, he opposed the new wave of Anglos who came in after the gold rush. Yet, with all that, Stearns and Julian Chavez were business partners. Indeed, Anglo-Americans of that period, were a different breed than those who came in after the Mexican War. And so, the Mexicans there were able to protect their land holdings through intermarriages with the Anglo-Americans who had lived and acculturated with Californios prior to 1846.

What's fascinating about California is, if you consider that in the late

Spanish period the population was barely creeping over 3,000 people. Given that figure, it is understandable that when 160 New Mexicans show up in Los Angeles that's a shot in the arm to that population. When 80 Anglos arrive in California that's a major shot in the arm because it is a major cultural change. The mosaic of the Old Spanish Trail began to weave its charm and its magic and, of course, its discourse, political or otherwise, into the California system. Throughout the 1840s the population of California fluctuated probably reaching around 10,000, 12,000, 15,000, maybe 25,000 by the early days of the Gold Rush. But by 1852 with the gold rush, the population of California swelled to over 225,000 inhabitants. The importance of those Anglos who came prior to the gold rush became evident to the Californios. The pre-Gold Rush Anglos had been part of the Mexican system, they had become part of the Mexican citizenry, they had married into Mexican families and now they became the protectors of the Californios against this whole new wave of Anglo-Americans who came in. So the Old Spanish Trail is not a light thing to consider in terms of the change that it brought. It was an artery. The Old Spanish trail is a transmitter of people, it is a transmitter of culture, of language, political systems and political ideas just like the Old San Antonio Road; just like the Old Santa Fe Trail. It remains a very important part of our national story and was much more important than we can imagine.

Now, let's get back to the *Sandwich Island Gazette* reporter. The New

Mexican traders in the San Joaquin Valley as that newspaper reporter witnessed were even more important. In the course of my research, I decided to take a look at the other aspects of that *Sandwich Islands Gazette* and found that the newspaper reported on ships leaving California to the Hawaiian Islands. Also, they published lists of trade items on them. Similarly, the published lists included candles from California, and sometimes mules were listed on the inventories. Other times there were blankets, Mexican blankets. Where were these Mexican blankets coming from? We know that the Californians didn't produce a whole lot of blankets because they were eager to trade with New Mexicans for blankets. New Mexicans were bringing in 1,500 blankets at a time, so the possibility seems quite good that some of the blankets reaching the Hawaiian Islands were New Mexican blankets. It appears from the foregoing that we have a connection with the Old Spanish Trail and Hawaii, especially if we can establish that conclusion very solidly, but it seems that history doesn't happen in absolutes. It happens in relativistic ways, any which way it can happen, but it does seem like the trade from New Mexico could very likely have been reaching the Hawaiian Islands. That trade was spreading out northward to Oregon from the Hawaiian Islands along a coastline where a clandestine trade was taking place. Coincidentally, some of the items from California, I understand, reached as far east as Boston. So to get trade items overland, the Old Spanish Trail would have been one

of the most important arteries to go eastward. It's very likely, however, one could take a boat down to the Strait of Magellan and circle around all the way up again. And indeed it's very likely that goods did reach Boston by way of sea-lanes or by way of overland trade at a certain point from Mexico, say Mazatlan or Guaymas to Vera Cruz. But very likely and contemporaneously, that same trade could have gone backwards from Los Angeles via Old Spanish Trail to Santa Fe, taking the Old Santa Fe Trail to Missouri, and from Missouri spreading out through the network of trails in the

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United States.

Whoever chose the theme mosaic for this particular conference here in Las Vegas aptly hit the nail on the head because Old Spanish Trail is indeed a mosaic. It affects all of us in this room whether we had ancestors who crossed it in 1830s or 1840s or whether we are touched by it now or in the future by way of our intellectual curiosity.

There is another element regarding

New Mexicans—both Anglo and Hispanic—in that they, as frontiersmen having had a different experience than the Californios, had created a situation contributing to the Paiute and Ute wars in California. The Californians finally said “We can’t defend the coast against them and these New Mexicans have been fighting Indians all their lives. Why don’t we invite them to set up an outpost in the Mojave somewhere to defend us.” And so they invited the New Mexicans and the New Mexicans establish Riverside and San Bernardino as outposts to defend against Indian invaders of California. And so places like Agua Mansa and La Placita in the Riverside and San Bernardino areas were established in the late 1830s and 1840s as New Mexican outposts to defend the California coast. We begin to see other connections resulting from the historical relationship between California and New Mexico. What is California and who made it what it is? The Old Spanish Trail is a transmitter not only of settlers, but of a gene pool; not only of ideas, but of a people who formed a state. The Mexican War is an important element of what makes California what it is, on the one hand; but part of that is tied to the story of the Old Spanish Trail. I think it is important for us to look at the broader picture of the meaning of Old Spanish Trail in terms of the thematic mosaic; and in terms of the details that you all know. These are important factors because you are the ones who can tell us where that trail is. You are the ones who know the centimeters and the inches involved in deciding where the trail

runs from point A to point B, and what is in between point A and point B. We’ve used a lot of your information. We feel that Old Spanish Trail certainly is part of our national story, and I suppose that somewhere along the line Congress is going to have to make that decision.

I think in terms of looking at the Old Spanish Trail and its variations, we must consider the Old Spanish Trail is as important as the Lewis and Clark Trail, as important as the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, as important as the Oregon Trail, and as important to the Gila Trail or any other trail that not only made California what it is and put Las Vegas on the map. It made New Mexico that much richer, that much broader in terms of its extension into the world itself.

In the review of our research information, we created an abstract of a chronology of the Old Spanish Trail of which we gave a copy to Charles Querfeld. It is a chronology that basically runs from 1829 to approximately 1850, which I think is probably a good cut off date. In it, there is the story of this mosaic. It is a story of the related indigenous routes, the story of the Spanish trade as well as the Mexican trade, and the Anglo-American trade. And the conclusion that one can draw is that not only is the Old Spanish Trail significant nationally in terms of our nation’s story, it is also significant internationally in terms of the Mexican story as well. I will end there, and if you have questions or comments, I will be glad to answer them.

National Significance of the Old Spanish Trail

Statement to David Gaines, NPS, by Marc Simmons, Ph.D.

The Old Spanish Trail stands as the most exotic and culturally diverse of American’s pioneer thoroughfares. Unlike other trans-Mississippi routes which had a single primary function—e.g., the Santa Fe Trail, commerce; Oregon Trail, emigration; California Trail, miner’s route; Chisholm Trail, cattle drives—the Old Spanish Trail was uniquely multi-faceted.

It was used by traders and merchants stockmen driving horses and mules eastward from California, sheep raisers making drives with flocks westward to California, New Mexican emigrants to California, government explorers such as John C. Fremont, and mail couriers like Kit Carson (1848). In addition, there was also clandestine traffic in the form of slavers raiding Digger (Paiute) camps for captives and horse thieves (called Los Chaguanosos) who brought rustled stock from the Pacific to New Mexico. Ute Indians also used sections of the trail.



Past President Santa Fe Trail Association [noted author and historian]

**EXTRACT OF ADDITIONAL
CHRONOLOGY FOR OLD
SPANISH TRAIL:
THE EXPEDITIONS FROM
NEW MEXICO TO
CALIFORNIA AND BACK**

Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez

1829:

- NOVEMBER 8, 1829, Antonio Armijo and 60 men leave New Mexico for California and arrive there after 86 days of travel. They took trade blankets and serapes to trade for horses and mules.

1830:

- Antonio Armijo returns to New Mexico
- José Antonio Chavez de Vaca leads an expedition in 1830 to California but is denied entrance to Los Angeles by authorities.
- El Gregorio Montoya arrives in California from New Mexico in 1830.
- Wolfskill and Yount and 20 trappers leave New Mexico in September 1830 and arrive in California in February 1831. They apparently follow the route of Dominguez and Escalante along sections of the North Branch to California.
- June 30: Alberto Gilber of Belen bought horses in northern California to take back to New Mexico.

1831:

- March: California official complaints of horse thieves from New Mexico.
- April 23, 1831, Antonio Santiesteban and 30 men from

New Mexico trade wool for livestock in California.

- May 6, 1831 Franco de Fouri, Bautista Saint-German, Bautista Guerra, Zacarias Ham, Luis Burton, Samuel Shields, Zebedia Branch, and Juan Lober arrive in California.

1832:

- August 13, 1832, Santiago Martin goes to California from New Mexico with 15 men. Hippolito Espinosa (later a settler of Agua Mansa) is with the party.
- Friar Cabot of Mission San Miguel reports that New Mexicans traded wool for horses in California; he also claimed that Mission San Miguel had suffered 108 horses and mules stolen and that at the Rancho of Asuncion had reported four colts and a mule stolen.

1833:

- Juan de Jesus "Chino Pando" Villalpando leads an expedition from New Mexico to California by way of the Animas River route on the "Camino de Nuevo Mexico" or "Road to New Mexico."
- Californio Antonio Avila and 5 men inspect returning New Mexicans herds of sheep, horses and mules bound for New Mexico.
- On February 2, 1833, Felipe Lugo and 12 men try to catch up with New Mexicans who had stolen animals from California. They were traveling on the "Camino de Nuevo Mexico" or the "Road to New Mexico."
- On February 26, 1833, Jesus

Uzta, Perfecto Archuleta, and Tomas Salazar from New Mexico stole 430 animals from California and were reported bound for New Mexico.

- José Avieta and 124 men leave New Mexico for California.

1834:

- January 21, 1834: José Avieta and 124 men from New Mexico arrive in California and trade 1,654 serapes, 341 blankets, 171 bedspreads and other items such as wool for horses in California. They refused to pay the alcabala, a tax on trade, manifesting a copy of the Decreto de 1830, which they claimed exempted them from the charge. Some of his men went as far north as San José where they are thought to have been stealing horses.

1835-1836:

- See December 2, 1837 SI Gazette story reference to New Mexicans in California "for a number of years past." Obviously, during 1835-36, New Mexicans had continued going to California.

1837:

- William Pope and Isaac Slover travel to California by way of the North Branch with wagons. (Hafen says that Wolfskill was probably with the Pope-Slover expedition). The Second recorded burial at the Agua Mansa Cemetery probably in 1855, is that of Isaac Slover. (See Harley, "The Agua Mansa History Trail" *SBCAM Quarterly* 43:1996 p. 25.)

- January 16, 1837, Party of 30 men led by Jean Baptiste Chalifoux enters California from New Mexico arriving at San Gabriel. Chalifoux steals 1400 to 1500 California mules and horses and returns to New Mexico.
- April 1837, José Maria Chavez and his brother Julian Chavez with family members and several others escape New Mexico by way of Utah to California. They had been singled out for execution for siding with Governor Albino Perez who was slain in the New Mexico Rebellion of 1837. A year later, on March 24, 1838, José Maria Chavez and his New Mexicans, known by the Californios as the Yegueros, found themselves on the rebel side of a California rebellion at the Battle of San Buenaventura, an old mission site, and were captured by government forces under General José Castro. They were later released. José Maria returned to New Mexico and continued trading in the Yuta country into the 1850s; and, Julian remained in California settling Chavez Ravine in LA, site of the modern Dodger Stadium. [See 1840]
- October 17, 1837 to February 1838, John Wolfskill and 25-30 New Mexicans travel from California to New Mexico.
- December 2, 1837: The SI (Sandwich Islands) Gazette carries a story on New Mexican Caravans in California and reports that they had come there "for a number of years past." The story deals with how New

Mexicans rendezvous in the Tulares and influence Indians to raid California for mules and horses so that they can trade them to New Mexicans.

1838:

- February 6. Caravan of traders from New Mexico were restricted in trading or doing any business south of San Fernando.
- José Antonio Garcia leaves Abiquiu in 1838 for California. He later returned to New Mexico. [See entry for 1842]
- September 22, 1838, Lorenzo Trujillo, José Antonio Garcia, Hipolito Espinosa, Diego Lobato, Antonio Lobato, Santiago Martinez and Manuelita Renaga (who gives birth to a son, Apolinario, at Resting Springs) leave New Mexico bound for California. These eight individuals are the first settlers of the San Bernardino area.
- Thirty New Mexicans enter Los Angeles with a John Wolfskill expedition.

1839:

- José Antonio Salazar and several New Mexicans and two Canadians travel in party of 75 men to California.
- José Antonio Salazar's expedition returns to New Mexico on April 14, 1839, with an estimated 2,500 animals. Some of Salazar's men desert the expedition and remain in California as settlers. Michael White was either with this party or the return trip with Tomas Salazar in 1840.
- Tomas Salazar is in California with an expedition from New

Mexico. [See 1840]

- May 16, various New Mexicans petition Governor Manuel Armijo in Santa Fe for passports to go to California. Passports were granted. Many New Mexicans migrate to California.
- One New Mexican trader presented his passport in Santa Barbara, California on July 11, 1839--possibly this person was from the group of petitioners for passports in Santa Fe.
- December 21, 1839, 75 New Mexicans arrive in California and settle near Rancho de San José. This group was probably the one which petitioned for passports in Santa Fe.

1840:

- May 15, Chaguanosos stole 1,000 animals from San Luis Obispo. The Chaguanosos, a motley mix of people including Anglo and French trappers and Utes, were associated with New Mexican traders who stole or enticed other people to steal for them.
- The Tomas Salazar expedition returns to New Mexico with herds of horses and mules. [See 1839 and 1843]
- February 21, Californios report that New Mexicans had stolen horses from California.
- April 4, 1840, Californios report that New Mexicans leaving Los Angeles had passed through Puerta del Cajon on their way back to New Mexico.
- April 4, 1840, 75 men depart California for New Mexico with three settlers.
- May 1840: Estimated that the Chaguanosos, among them U.S.

citizens, stole some 3,000 horses.

- Manuel Martinez and Sismos petition to stay in California.
- Julian Chavez who had been in California decides to remain in California as a citizen of Los Angeles. He later works for Abel Stearns as a right hand man. [See 1837]

1841:

- Rowland-Workman Party included immigration party of 25 men by way of the North Branch. Caravans were used for trade and immigration after 1841 (Lawrence). Among them is J. Manuel Vaca who founded Vacaville, California.
- Francisco Estevan Vigil and 35 men depart New Mexico on September 6 and arrive in Los Angeles on October 15, 1841. [See 1847]
- February 1841: Joseph Walker arrives in California from New Mexico with a party of 14 men intending to stay two months and purchase horses.
- On February 10, 1841, Californio officials report at least two and possibly more expeditions reaching California from New Mexico.
- On August 11, 1841, John Rowland given safe conduct to go to California from New Mexico.
- On November 30, 1841, a caravan from New Mexico arrives in California with 134 people on the expedition.
- November 1841, Commander of Santa Barbara Presidio reportedly braces for the arrival of New Mexico traders.
- September 6, California detach-

ment tracks New Mexican "thieves" to the Rio San Pascual, possibly the Sevier River.

1842:

- Vigil party left Los Angeles for New Mexico on April 16, 1842 with 194 New Mexicans and purchased 4,150 animals. After being inspected by Californio officials, they depart Cajon on April 21 with 4141 animals. Nine were confiscated.
- The main colonizing party from Abiquiu, New Mexico for Agua Mansa arrives. Many of them settled at Politana, which earlier had been founded by Hipolito Espinoza.
- Santiago Martinez leads 19 families to California. This group is associated with Francisco Esteban Quintana, who planned to settle in San Bernardino area. These families eventually settled San Luis Obispo.
- José Antonio Garcia returns to California for trade in 1842. [See 1838]
- February 10, Juan Bandini recovers stolen horses from New Mexican traders.
- On February 12, 1842, Francisco Esteban Quintana returns to New Mexico to get his family. He returns with them and settles near San Luis Obispo.
- June 3, 1842: Californio officials inspect incoming caravan from New Mexico for woolen goods for trade for horses "as has been done on other occasions."
- Rowland returns to New Mexico with 300 "stolen" animals. Rowland is in Santa Fe in

July 1842. Official California records indicated that the Rowland party was inspected and had three horses confiscated.

1843:

- January 15, 1843, Rowland arrived from New Mexico with a considerable number of New Mexicans. Possibly 10 families from New Mexico arrive in California with this expedition.
- March 6, 1843, 24 people leave California for New Mexico with 252 animals.
- Sometime in 1843, Rowland and B. D. Wilson leave California bound for New Mexico; they cross the Grand and Green rivers above their confluence.
- November 28, 1843, Tomas Salazar and 170 men arrive in Los Angeles from New Mexico with woolen goods. The group specifically comprised of 165 men and 10 families from New Mexico. They brought serapes and woolen goods to trade. [See 1839 and 1840]
- On November 30, 1843, a company of men from California were given permission to leave California and go trade in New Mexico.

1843-1844:

- James P. Beckwourth from Missouri leaves New Mexico with a caravan of 40 mules to California by way of Utah sometime in 1843. He arrives in California in January 1844.

1844:

- January 11, Californios report that a New Mexican caravan,

possibly Beckwourth's, arrives in California.

- Five families arrive in Agua Mansa from New Mexico.
- La Placita, near Agua Mansa, established by New Mexicans led by Lorenzo Trujillo. Original name of the site was La Placita de los Trujillos.
- April 21, John C. Frémont reports meeting New Mexicans, particularly Andres Fuentes and a small party, along the Mojave River.
- January 2, 1844, New Mexican caravan returns to New Mexico from California.

1845:

- October 21, New Mexicans at Agua Mansa prepare to defend against Utes.

1846:

- March 1846: Californio officials report that 1,000 head of horses had been stolen and taken through Cajon by "los Yutas" in previous 3 months. Another report says that Utes travel among New Mexicans.
- Miles Goodyear takes pack train of hides from northern Utah south to Old Spanish Trail and then on to California. This likely occurred in late 1846 or early 1847. This was probably learned from Mountain Men or horse thieves.
- July 3, 1846, Californios report on New Mexicans living in California.

1847:

- November 1847: Porter Rockwell goes south from Salt Lake City to Old Spanish Trail with directions from Miles Goodyear. Jefferson Hunt is a member. This shows direct

influence of Mountain Men in beginning of Mormon route.

- December 1847: Miles and Andrew Goodyear travel same route to California to trade for horses.
- December 1847, New Mexican caravan of 209-225 men led by Francisco Estevan Vigil arrive in Los Angeles. [See 1841 and 1848]. Juan Ignacio Martinez, Rowland's brother-in-law, was on the expedition. However, John Hussey, "The New Mexico California Caravan of 1847-48," *NMHR*, Vol. XVIII, No. I (January 1943), pp. 1-16, states that the expedition comprised of 212 travelers including 60 boys depart New Mexico with 150 mules carrying blankets and other goods.

1848:

- February 1848: Hunt and other Mormons return to Utah from California on Old Spanish Trail in an attempt to supply Salt Lake City.
- March 1848: Members of Mormon battalion led by Rockwell from California to Utah.
- April 1848: Goodyear leaves California with horses. Note: Goodyear was inspected at Cajon Pass on April 23, 1848. He had 231 animals and 4 men. Probably meeting "illegal traders" beyond the Cajon inspection point, Goodyear drove an estimated 4,000 animals over the Old Spanish Trail to Utah. Eventually, Goodyear drove his horses all the way to Missouri--over Old Santa Fe Trail--but found that the end of the Mexican War had

released many horses onto the market, increasing supply and depressing prices. In addition, the war and increased Indian hostilities held down immigration and demand for stock during 1847 and 1848. In 1849 Goodyear drives a herd of horses to Sutter's Mill in California for trade to Gold Rush Forty-niners. The Goodyear situation demonstrates the decline of the Old Spanish Trail trade.

- April 1848: A Frenchman named "Le Tard" leaves Cajon with 231 horses westward to New Mexico.
- Kit Carson carries messages about the US-Mexico War over the Old Spanish Trail accompanied by Lieutenant George D. Brewerton.
- April, Francisco Estevan Vigil leaves California for New Mexico with 4,628 animals. [See 1847]
- Choteau leaves California on July 4, 1848 and arrives in Santa Fe on August 15.
- Pratt uses Choteau route in reverse to get to California.

1849:

- John G. Nichols leaves U.S. over a "northern route", gets to Salt Lake City, travels down Mormon Road, picks up the "Santa Fe Road" to the Mojave and gets to San Bernardino-Agua Mansa area and on to Los Angeles.

1850:

- September 1850, the guide, Tomas Chacon, and 50 men leave Abiquiu for California.
- California Census of 1852 records population of 224,435.

Growth of Towns on the Old Spanish Trail

by Peter Gough

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Dr. W. J. Hoffman states that when at Grapevine Springs, Nevada, in 1871, the Pai-Uta living at that locality informed the party of the exact location of Las Vegas, the objective point. The Indian sat upon the sand and "... took a stick and showed them the direction of the old Spanish trail running east and west ... [T]hen he followed the line representing the Spanish trail to the east ... and passing northward to the first valley, he thrust the short stick into the ground and said, 'Las Vegas.'" [1]

The passage quoted above is important for a variety of reasons. In one respect, it reveals the Paiute's topographical knowledge, and their ability and inclination to draw maps. Further, it demonstrates a willingness, even during this period of escalating antagonisms, to provide assistance to Anglo-American travelers. And, of primary concern to this essay, it illuminates a relationship between the Old Spanish Trail and the towns, in this case Las Vegas, which dot its winding course. Various other cities, including San Bernardino, California, and Moab, Utah, developed along the course of the Old Spanish Trail. Traditional American histories have stressed the rural quality of the West as well as the frontier experience, ignoring the importance of cities. And while contemporary studies have often

emphasized an urban perspective, these scholars have not isolated the Old Spanish Trail or other western trails to explain the nature of this development. The connection between the Old Spanish Trail and urban development begs recognition. Historians have regularly studied the link between waterways and the development of cities further to the east. Most notable of these is Richard Wade's seminal work *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830*, which explores the histories of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville and their relationships to the Ohio River. Professor Wade writes:

"Another striking conformity in early city plans was the relationship of town and river. All these settlements ... were on waterways, deriving their importance and prosperity from water connections. Early planners, for that reason, made the river the central street, so to speak, in their design. Soon travelers coming down the river spoke of the business of a city, not its beauty." [2]

Given the aridity and relative lack of navigable waterways in the American Southwest, the Old Spanish Trail served a similar function to eastern rivers: it facilitated town growth.

Famed urban historian Lewis

Mumford states that "if we are to identify the city," then we must "follow the trail backward, from the fullest known urban structures and function to their original components." [3] In the case of Las Vegas, Nevada, "following the trail backward" to its prehistoric origins reveals one of the most ancient cradles of civilization on the North American continent. By the time Mexican traders entered the Las Vegas Valley during the first part of the nineteenth century, the region had for over 600 hundred years been the home of the Southern Paiute Indians, and various archeological studies detail an extended trail traveling southwest through the region to the Pacific coast. [4] No diary remains of the early Mexican commercial ventures through Las Vegas, but it was at this time that what would be known as the Old Spanish Trail became worn deep by mule hooves of the trade caravans. Most early Anglo-American accounts describe both the "rugged waterless trail" into Las Vegas, as well as the "Pah Eutahs there in great numbers." [5] The springs at Las Vegas supported the largest settlement of Southern Paiute. This village had flourished over several hundred years in the harsh desert environment with its limited resources largely because of access to other Numic tribes along the Old Spanish Trail.

The road to the springs was also important to an ever-increasing flow of Anglos traveling through the Las Vegas Valley. "The site served as an oasis on the Old Spanish Trail," writes historian John Findlay, "in the 1830s and 1840s, earning praise as 'The Diamond of the Desert' for its 'capital water.'"[6] Yet, the Old Spanish Trail was not the only route across the desert. As Elizabeth Warren's painstakingly detailed account demonstrates, these emigrants were wrong if they believed they were traveling the only trail, "not one of two or perhaps three routes actually used." [7] Many early parties, such as those led by Antonio Armijo and Jedediah Smith, followed a course some fifteen to twenty miles south of Las Vegas, utilizing alternate water sources. It was following John Frémont's 1844 expedition, Warren concludes, that the route designated as the "Old Spanish Trail" became the primary thoroughfare. It was the development of this specific route over the next decade, not simply the existence of the Las Vegas Springs, which signaled the course of eventual urbanization.

Mormon missionaries initiated the first Anglo settlement in Las Vegas, and the Old Spanish Trail figured prominently in this development. Shortly after the Saints' arrival in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 the desert route southwest to the Pacific became significant as a corridor for Mormon proselytizing. Because Las Vegas provided both a popular stop on the Trail, as well as a large population of possible Paiute converts, church authorities decided to create a permanent community in the area. In 1855 the Saints built what later became known as the 'Old Mormon Fort' on the Las Vegas

creek at the head of the meadows. For a host of reasons the Latter-day Saints abandoned the Old Mormon Fort in 1858 upon orders from Salt Lake City. [8] The Fort remained, however, to play an integral role in the development of Las Vegas. Still standing today as a state historical monument, the Old Mormon Fort is situated precisely where the Old Spanish Trail would have intersected the present day 'Strip' on Las Vegas Boulevard.

The development of the neon metropolis of Las Vegas during the twentieth century unquestionably finds its origin as an early stopping area on the Old Spanish Trail. Rails and highways eventually traced the Trail, and the first survey of Las Vegas was laid out precisely along the route. Though the Old Spanish Trail was originally but one of several paths through the region, its eventual recognition as the primary course directly influenced both the location and growth of Nevada's largest city. Modern-day visitors to and from Las Vegas still follow much the same route as Charles Frémont's eventual course through this once inhospitable desert region.

In addition to Las Vegas, several other towns presently dot the course of the Old Spanish Trail. Moab, Utah, nestled between present-day Arches and Canyonlands National Parks, has in recent years developed into a primary trade center and tourist capital for the region. Located on the Colorado River in east central Utah, Moab attracts thousands of visitors yearly and has become famous as the "mountain bike capital of the world." Yet, as the chapter title of a local history suggests, the town was important much earlier as "A Point on the Old Spanish

Trail." [9]

Historian Faun McConkie Tanner accurately writes that, "the Spanish Trail came into existence well before whites resided in Utah." [10] The Moab region was home to prehistoric people more than 8000 years ago, and by about AD 500 the Fremont Culture evolved. Evidence left from petroglyphs reveals that these ancient peoples traveled extensively throughout the region. In 1765 the first recorded Spanish expedition north of Santa Fe followed a well-worn "trail along the skirt of the mountain chain" to the Colorado River at present-day Moab. Upon arrival Juan Rivera's men "celebrated with the Utes" in what was the largest Indian settlement they encountered on the expedition. [11] Rivera had followed the route of the Old Spanish Trail to one of the primary aboriginal trading centers of the region, and made a return trip later that same year.

By the first part of the nineteenth century Moab evolved as rendezvous point for Indian, Mexican, and Anglo trappers and traders. [12] The Old Spanish Trail was the primary corridor for this vigorous traffic. Both the presence of the Trail and the relatively easy crossing afforded at this juncture of the Colorado River served to promote the remote Indian village as the commercial hub of the region. This extended commerce intensified reliance on the Old Spanish Trail and the growth of the Moab region. According to Tanner the "first wagons to pass over the segment of the Old Spanish Trail [in current Moab] were those of a small expedition sent out by Brigham Young in 1854." [13] A year later the Mormons "founded" the city as the Elk Mountain Mission, but were

soon driven out by Ute Indians. Following 1867, however, many prospectors from California and Nevada passed through eastern Utah on their way to the silver and gold strikes in western Colorado. Tanner writes,

“The Old Spanish Trail would be the logical route for these prospectors to travel. This route would take them across the Green River near where the town of Green River, Utah, now stands, thence in a southeasterly direction to Moab where there would be a good ford across the Grand (Colorado) River.” [14]

By 1870 permanent Anglo settlement returned and Moab became an important supply point for much of eastern Utah and western Colorado. These settlers, aware of the significance of the trail that traveled through the area, named the region the Spanish Valley. [15]

The growth of San Bernardino, California also finds genesis in its connection to the Old Spanish Trail. “That San Bernardino ... was an important point on the road to and from the desert cannot be doubted,” concludes early local historian George Beattie. The “trade across the Great American desert was carried on by annual caravans and it had direct relations with the San Bernardino valley.”[16] The development of San Bernardino, however, took place for markedly different reasons than other towns on the Trail. The primary objective for the historical development of the town was to act as a shield against unwanted intruders passing over the Cajon Pass on the Old Spanish Trail. This role as urban aegis would continue with each successive arrival of new settlers up through the

appearance of the Mormons during the middle of the nineteenth century.

As with the other towns along the Old Spanish Trail, though, the region was inhabited long before the appearance of Europeans. At the time of Spanish contact in the late eighteenth century, various native tribes lived near San Bernardino. Most of these Indian groups traveled what would later be known as the Old Spanish Trail through the Cajon Pass, as did Father Garcés in 1776. [17]

By 1810 the Spanish built several missions in San Bernardino, having traveled eastward along the Old Spanish Trail from San Gabriel. In 1826 Jedediah Smith, accompanied by fifteen men, became the first American to travel the Trail through the San Bernardino Valley. Though the friars kindly received the party, authorities of the newly formed Mexican government were less cordial. According to Beattie, “They were not happy to find the hated gringos breaking through the barrier of desert and mountain on the east, a barrier which they supposed made California secure from such molestation; and after more or less trying negotiations Smith agreed to depart [18]

The arrival of Smith and his men demonstrated the vulnerability of San Bernardino across the Cajon Pass via the Old Spanish Trail, a weakness that became a matter of much concern over the course of the next century.

The change from Spanish to Mexican sovereignty in California removed the mission fathers from the Valley in the early 1830s, coinciding precisely with the commencement of

the annual trade caravans along the Old Spanish Trail. Subsequently, the unguarded remnants of former mission herds, as well as rancheros situated near the Trail to San Gabriel, encountered frequent raids by desert Indians as well as white mountain men. “In the mid-1830s,” writes historian Joyce Vickery, “incidents of suspected horse-stealing in California by traders who had come overland on the Old Spanish Trail evoked considerable concern on the part of the Mexican officials in Los Angeles.” [19]

In a concerted effort to squelch the stock thieves coming through the Cajon Pass on the Old Spanish Trail, Mexican authorities offered land grants to those willing to settle in the San Bernardino Valley. “Yet the best settlers available, ironically enough,” contends Vickery, “were from another part of the Mexican frontier, a counterpart rendezvous area for the Old Spanish Trail. It was from New Mexico that San Bernardino would draw its much-needed, sturdy pioneers.”[20] One of the first of these was an ex-sailor named Michael White. Though British born and a man of meager means, White was soon naturalized and became known as Miquel Blanco. In an official statement Blanco reveals his grounds for the acquisition of a land grant in 1843:

“This land ... is the road by which the Indians enter and go out with stolen horses, as they have been doing for some time. If Your Excellency thinks proper to grant it to me, it will create an obstacle to the Indians making incursions with the freedoms which till now they have enjoyed -- I having on two

occasions taken from them the horses they had stolen.” [21]

The resulting house, wrote Beattie, was “a strong dwelling of heavy logs and earth” which “overlooked the trail through Cajon Pass ... a trail that was used frequently by Indian marauders.” [22]

Mexican officials continued efforts to establish a colony in the region. By 1844 a census shows sixty-seven persons living in San Bernardino, but by the end of the decade most moved away because of the continued raids. [23] The failed attempts were the result of this illicit traffic along the Old Spanish Trail. Nonetheless, San Bernardino remained “an annual point of rendezvous” for legitimate traders on the Trail. [24]

In 1850 authorities of the Mormon Church, by then well acquainted with the route of the Old Spanish Trail, expressed interest in forming a colony in San Bernardino. Church leader Parley Pratt arrived in Los Angeles in June of that year writing, “Several Americans called on us, conversed in a friendly manner, and seemed much interested in the Mormon settlement about to be made [in San Bernardino]. More particularly as to the additional security this population would afford to the peace and order of a distracted country. [25]

Clearly, the Los Angeles residents were hopeful that these Mormons could assist in preventing of the still frequent raids from the desert along the Old Spanish Trail. By 1856 the estimated population of San Bernardino was about three thousand. [26] The Old Spanish Trail, by now often referred to as the Mormon Corridor, was the primary route to San

Bernardino.

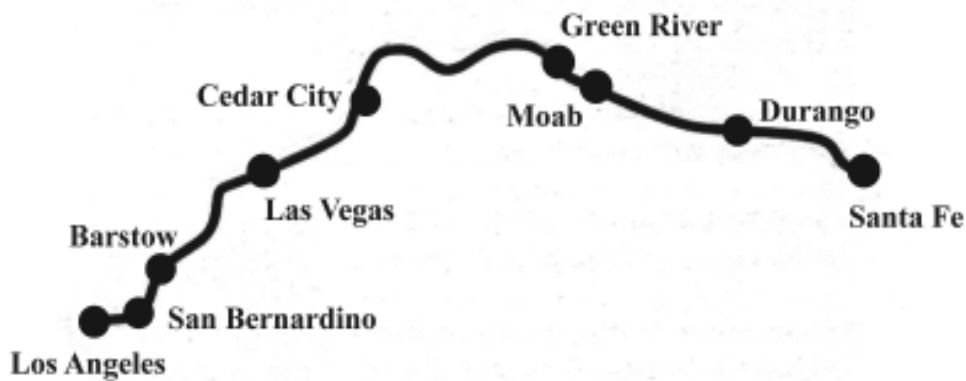
With the settlement of San Bernardino southern Californians realized a long held objective: gaining command of the section of the Old Spanish Trail which ran through the Cajon Pass. In 1861 the California legislature granted a franchise to operate a toll road through Cajon Pass. The Los Angeles Star on April 4th described the route as “the Old Spanish Trail made into a good road having grass and water within easy distance.” [27]

This development, as well as the eventual arrival of the railroad and expressways, represents the continued impact of the route of the Old Spanish Trail on the growth of San Bernardino. Though the Cajon Pass was originally believed to be impracticable for trains and later automobiles, this passage along the Trail proved to be the most navigable section of the San Bernardino Mountains. Due in part to the accessibility afforded by the ancient route of the Old Spanish Trail, San Bernardino developed in the twentieth century as an important trading center known as the Inland Empire.

Several other prominent towns are today located on the original course of the Old Spanish Trail. The Grape Vine Ranch was located along the Trail near present-day Barstow, California, during the 1850s and 1860s, and archaeologists have long established the region as home to various prehistoric cultures dating back 10,000 years or more. [28] Eventually, Barstow became the major crossroads city of the Mojave Desert; both the Union Pacific and Santa Fe railroads, as well as Interstates 15 and 40, intersect there. The Old Spanish Trail also influ-

enced the growth of the terminal towns of Santa Fe and Los Angeles, with the latter developing slowly following a small gold discovery near that then sleepy pueblo in 1841. [29]

The fate of many Southwest towns which sprouted in areas away from the Old Spanish Trail and its variations as trail, railroad line and expressway further illuminates the importance of the corridor as a conduit of urban growth. Extended analysis of pre-Columbian settlements would, of course, be deceptive, as European-American expansion often resulted in the retreat of native cultures from primary travel routes. Predominately Anglo towns with origins in the nineteenth century, however, developed throughout the region, and many of these were located significant distances from the course of the Old Spanish Trail. Throughout New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California literally hundreds of towns sprung up during the 1800s: these settlements usually developed in relation to adjoining mining camps, agricultural communities, military forts, missions, or ranches. It is instructive that virtually all of the settlements that developed on or near the Old Spanish Trail survived into the twentieth century and often to present day. These include, in addition to the towns already discussed, Taos, New Mexico, Durango and Cortez, Colorado, Green River, Cedar City and St. George, Utah, and Victorville, California. Conversely, what have become known as the ‘ghost towns’ of the Old West, with names such as Bland, New Mexico, Tomboy, Colorado, Searchlight, Nevada, and Bodie, California, to name only several of dozens, developed further away from estab-



The Old Spanish Trail served a similar function to eastern rivers: it led to town growth

lished trails. [30] All major twentieth century Southwestern cities, such as Phoenix, Arizona which is located directly on the Gila Trail, developed in proximity to primary nineteenth century transportation routes.

The growth of towns along the Old Spanish Trail should not be interpreted as an inconsequential phenomenon. Rather, a key to understanding the urban development of much of the Southwest necessitates an acknowledgment of the relationship between cities and trails. In the case of Moab, the route of the Old Spanish Trail unquestionably determined the location and advancement of the town. The aborted Escalante-Dominguez expedition, for example, crossed the Colorado River several hundred miles east of Moab; since this did not become a popular route, no major town developed at this intersection. The so-called "northern branch" of the Old Spanish Trail, however, crossed the Colorado in present-day Grand Junction, Colorado, a town thirty miles from the Utah border that has flourished during the twentieth century. And, though the circumstances varied dramatically, both Las Vegas and San Bernardino also developed in direct response to human situations along the Old

Spanish Trail.

Despite the strong evidence of the impact of the old Spanish Trail on the growth of towns in the Southwest, however, the connection has been largely ignored by scholars; the traditional notion, of course, has been that cities followed agrarian development. The simple truth is that the cities, as Wade wrote, were actually the "spearheads of the frontier." [31] And, to borrow the metaphor, the Old Spanish Trail and other trails of the West were the spears.

Endnotes

- [1] Garrick Mallery, "Pictographs of North American Indians: A Preliminary Paper," 4th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1882-1883, (Washington, 1886), 112.
- [2] Richard Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 29.
- [3] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961), 9.
- [4] See James T. Davis, *Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California* (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1974), 4-7 and map; L. L. Sample, "Trade and Trails in Aboriginal California," in *Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey* (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Survey, Department of Anthropology, 1950), 3-6 and map.
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- [6] John M. Findlay, *People of Chance: Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 111.
- [7] Elizabeth von Till Warren, "Armijo's Trace Revisited: A New Interpretation of the Impact of the Antonio Armijo Route of 1829-1830 on the Development of the Old Spanish Trail" (MA Thesis, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1974), 182.
- [8] International Society Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *The Las Vegas Fort*, (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1994), 2.
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- [10] *Ibid.*, 34.
- [11] Translated and quoted by Austin Nelson Leiby in "Borderland Pathfinders: The 1765 Diaries of Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera" (Ph.D. diss. Northern Arizona University, 1984), 141
- [12] Tanner, 42.
- [13] *Ibid.*, 43.
- [14] *Ibid.*, 56.
- [15] *Ibid.*, 44.
- [16] George William Beattie, "San Bernardino Before the Americans Came," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* 12 (June 1933): 114.
- [17] George W. Beattie, *Heritage of the Valley: San Bernardino's First Century*, (Pasadena, California: San Pasqual Press, 1939), 21.
- [18] *Ibid.*, 22.
- [19] Joyce Carter Vickery, *Defending Eden: New Mexican Pioneers in the San Bernardino Valley*, (Riverside, California: Riverside Museum Press, 1984), 15.
- [20] *Ibid.*, 14.
- [21] Transcript of Proceedings before U.S. Land Commission for California, Case No. 561, Muscupiabe Rancho, from Beattie, "San Bernardino Before the Americans Came," 112.
- [22] *Ibid.*
- [23] Beattie, *Heritage of the Valley*, 67-68.
- [24] *Ibid.*, 79.
- [25] Parley Pratt, "A Mormon Mission to California in 1851: From the Diary of Parley Parker Pratt," ed. Reva Holdaway Stanley and Charles L. Camp. *California Historical Quarterly* 14 (March 1935), 69.
- [26] Quoted from *Los Angeles Star*, October 22, 1856
- [27] Quoted from *Los Angeles Star*, April 4th, 1861
- [28] Clifford J. Walker, *Back Door to California: The Story of the Mojave River Trail*, (Barstow: Mojave River Valley Museum, 1986), 36.
- [29] *Ibid.*, 42.
- [30] William Carter, *Ghost Towns of the West*, (San Bernardino: Lane Publishing Co., 1981), 172, 189, and 196.
- [31] Wade, 2.

Military Use of the Old Spanish Trail, including the North Branch 1844-1860

By William L. Chenoweth

Military expeditions exploring or traveling in the western United States, prior to the Civil War, made good use of the existing Old Spanish Trail and its North Branch. This article briefly summarizes these expeditions and examines their historic significance.

FRÉMONT'S SECOND EXPEDITION

Captain John C. Frémont's third expedition of 1843-1844 has been called "The Great Reconnaissance." In the spring of 1843 he and a small party of men left Westport, Missouri and followed the Oregon Trail to Fort Vancouver. After reaching the Fort, the expedition traveled south, crossing the Sierra Nevada range in January 1844. They rested and reoutfitted at Sutter's Ranch in California, leaving the Ranch on March 24, 1844. On April 18, near Cajon Pass they came upon the trade route from the Pueblo de Los Angeles to Santa Fe, which Frémont named "The Spanish Trail" [1]. They followed the trail northeasterly, passed Las Vegas, leaving the OST near Little Salt Lake.

Frémont continued northeasterly then east passing by the south flank of the Uinta Mountains to the North Park of the Rocky Mountains. They

headed south though South Park reaching Pueblo, Colorado on June 29, 1844. Heading east they arrived in St. Louis on August 6, 1844.

The significance of this expedition cannot be overestimated. Frémont's orders were to make a connected survey of the interior of the west. He succeeded brilliantly. He circum-navigated the Great Basin and placed what he saw on an accurate map [2] that "radically and permanently altered western cartography" and "changed the entire picture of the west." [3] Frémont laid to rest the fabled Buenaventura River, but also included a mythical east-west mountain range that contributed to later troubles for the "Death Valley Party." He gave the Spanish Trail its name – even though the "Old" came into use twelve years later. The Frémont report and map were subsequently widely used and cited as a guide to travel from the east to California. The military also found them of strategic value. Thus the Old Spanish Trail became nationally known as a viable route for commerce and migration and was widely used for these purposes.

Lt. GEORGE D. BREWERTON AND KIT CARSON

The next expedition to keep a journal of travels over the Old Spanish Trail was that of Kit Carson and Lt. George D. Brewerton in 1848. Carson was to deliver "official dispatches" to Washington, D.C., and Brewerton was to report to Independence, Missouri.

Carson and Brewerton left Los Angeles on May 4, 1848 with a

party of 20 hired men, three citizens and three Mexican servants. They followed the Old Spanish Trail to the Green River crossing on June 3, 1848. Carson erroneously called this river the Grand, an error Brewerton recorded in his journal [4]. The group had a difficult time in crossing the Green River. A raft with nearly all the provisions, pack and riding saddles, six rifles and ammunition and clothing was lost. Brewerton lost his notebook, geological and botanical specimens, and many of his sketches. [5] The party had similar difficulties when crossing the Grand (Colorado) River, which Carson called the Green.

The party reached Taos, New Mexico, Carson's home, about June 11, 1848. Brewerton's journal is very vague on details between the Grand River and Taos. This has led Vinton [6] to state that the party did not take the northern branch of the Old Spanish Trail from the Green River crossing to Taos. Instead, he believes the party followed the main trail, crossing the Grand River near the site of present day Moab, Utah, and leaving the trail near Chama, New Mexico and thence eastward to Taos. The Chama-Taos route requires crossing the Brazos Range and the Rio Grande gorge. Brewerton would surely have mentioned these obstacles. Also, Brewerton's [7] sketch of the Rocky Mountains resembles the region near Gunnison, Colorado and nothing of the topography along the Old Spanish Trail in the Moab-Durango-Chama area. Carson and Brewerton probably traveled the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail from the Green River Crossing to Taos.

From Taos, Carson traveled to Santa Fe and then across the plains to Fort Leavenworth and on to St. Louis, Missouri where he mailed his dispatches to Washington, D.C. The dispatches included the first news of the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill on California's American Fork River.

LIEUTENANT BEALE'S EXPEDITION

Navy Lieutenant Edward F. Beale led the first of three expeditions over the North Branch in 1853, and the first one to keep a journal. Beale, with a small party of men with horses and mules was en route to California to establish Indian Reservations. West of the Missouri River, he chose a route along the 38 and 39th parallels, one of the routes being considered for a

Pacific railroad. Beale's cousin, Gwinn H. Heap, kept a journal of the expedition [8]. In western Colorado, Felipe Archilete Sr. (Pegleg) guided the group.

After traveling across the prairie and over the Sangre de Cristo range, they came upon the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail in the San Luis Valley. They followed the North Branch over Cochetopa Pass into western Colorado. After losing some supplies while fording the

Uncompahgre River south of the present site of Delta, Colorado and losing most of his remaining supplies while attempting to find the Grand (Gunnison) River, Beale sent Heap, Archilete and seven men back to Taos for supplies including bullhide boats. Heap, Archilete and three men rejoined Beale on July 17, 1853.

Their route followed the North



The Rio Grande Gorge, west of Taos, NM: A formidable obstacle

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld, 1998.

Branch to the Green River crossing on July 24. The party continued over the Old Spanish Trail to California. Heap's journal was the first to describe in detail the route along this trail, including distances between camps and rest stops.

CAPTAIN GUNNISON'S PACIFIC RAILROAD SURVEY

The U.S. Government's survey of

the Pacific railroad route along the 38 and 39th parallels was lead by Captain John W. Gunnison of the Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers. In western Colorado, Antoine Leroux was the expedition's guide and interpreter. Captain Gunnison and seven men were killed by Utes in the Sevier Valley, Utah on October 26, 1853. Consequently, the second in command, First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith, Third

Artillery, wrote the report of the trip, using Gunnison's journal [9].

The Gunnison expedition was quite large. Besides Gunnison and Beckwith, there were five scientists, a wagon master, 18 wagons, teamsters, employees and 32 mounted riflemen. Richard H. Kern, artist and topographer prepared maps of the expedition's route. After Kern's

death, Sheppard Holmans, an astronomer,

completed the maps. Other scientists included Jacob H. Schiel, surgeon-geologist, F. Creutzfeldt, botanist, and J. A. Snyder assistant topographer. Charles Taplin was the wagon master and the soldiers were under the command of Brevet Captain R. M. Morris. Six mules pulled each of sixteen wagons. An ambulance was drawn by two horses, which were replaced by four mules when they reached the mountains. Four mules pulled a carriage

for the instruments.

The expedition left Westport, Missouri on June 24, 1853 and followed the Arkansas River into Colorado Territory. The Huerfano River was then followed into the Sangre de Christo Range. Fort Massachusetts on the east side of the San Luis Valley was reached on August 20, 1853. The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail was followed into western Colorado, fording the Blue (Colorado) River at the present day site of Grand Junction on September 17.

Their guide, Antoine Leroux, left the expedition at their camp in the Westwater area and Gunnison headed westward toward the foot of the Book Cliffs. They found the "Spanish Trail" some 20 miles south of the Green River crossing. West of the Green River, at Lost Spring Wash, the expedition left the trail and headed north toward the White (Price) River. After turning to the southwest Gunnison rejoined the Spanish Trail, on October 10, at Huntington Creek in Castle Valley. Here Beckwith [10] recorded "The Spanish Trail, though but seldom used of late years is still very distinct where the soil washes but slightly. On some spaces today we counted from fourteen to twenty parallel trails, of the ordinary size of Indian trails or horse-paths on a way of barely fifty feet in width."

Near the present day site of Salina, Utah, Gunnison left the trail and turned north down the Sevier River. Nine days later on October 26, 1853, Captain Gunnison, Mr. Kern, Mr. Creutzfeld, William Potter, a guide,

John Bellows, an employee, and Paiutes Caulfield, Liptrott and Merhteens were killed in the Sevier Valley by Ute Indians. The Gunnison expedition, although tragically cut short, did provide the U.S. Congress with a brief description of the topography of Colorado and eastern Utah and the problems faced by the construction of a

trans-continental railroad across the Rocky Mountains.



J. C. Frémont

FRÉMONT'S FIFTH EXPEDITION

Colonel John C. Frémont led a third exploring

group over the "central route" for a Pacific railroad in 1853. His privately funded expedition was to examine winter conditions along the same route Lieutenant Beale and Captain Gunnison had taken. Frémont kept no journal but a member of the expedition, Solomon Nunes Carvalho, made some notes [11]. The expedition consisted of 22 men with horses and mules. They left Westport, Missouri on October 6, 1854, following the Arkansas and Huerfano drainages to the Sangre de Christo Range. This range was crossed via Robidoux (Mosca) Pass into the San Luis Valley. Gunnison's tracks on the North Branch were followed thereafter. Spence [12] noted that of the 1550 miles Frémont traveled on his fifth expedition, the first 700 were over old ground and at least another 300 were in the wagon tracks of John Gunnison.

In the area where Gunnison inter-

cepted the Old Spanish Trail, Frémont continued southwesterly and crossed the Green River some 20 miles south of the Green River crossing [13]. The party continued up the San Rafael River and after traveling over portions of the Old Spanish Trail, the hungry and sick expedition reached the settlement of Parowan, Utah Territory on February 8, 1854.

After resting in Parowan, they headed west across the Great Basin to the Owens Valley of California. Unable to find a crossing of the Sierra Nevada Range, they went south around the end of that range into the San Joaquin Valley, reaching Stockton in April 1854.

Frémont's fifth expedition did not find a suitable route for a transcontinental railroad although he concluded that one was necessary for the good of the country. The expedition indicated that winter travel in the Rocky Mountains was dangerous.

CAPTAIN MARCY'S EXPEDITION

In 1857 General Albert Sidney Johnson was sent with an army to suppress what was perceived by some as an insurrection in Utah. With supplies running low, General Johnson, stationed at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, directed Captain Randolph B. Marcy, 5th Infantry to cross the Rocky Mountains by the "most direct route into New Mexico" to procure supplies. On November 24, 1857, Captain Marcy left Fort Bridger with a party of 40 enlisted men, 25 mountain men,

packers and guides. Jim Baker was the expedition's interpreter.

By traveling south-southeast, the party reached the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail near the site of present day Mack, Colorado [14]. They followed the trail to the confluence of the Bunkara (Gunnison) and Uncompahgre Rivers on December 8, 1857.

Deep snow caused several frostbite cases and virtual starvation as they approached Cochetopa Pass. A relief party that was sent to Fort Massachusetts returned eleven days later with much needed supplies. Marcy's weak and cold party reached the Fort on January 14, after a march of 51 days from Fort Bridger [15].

After reaching Fort Union, New Mexico, where supplies were obtained, Captain Marcy left Fort Union on March 15, 1858 for a return to Fort Bridger using a longer, but safer, route.

COLONEL LORING'S EXPEDITION

With the "Mormon problems" in the Utah Territory settled, Colonel William W. Loring was ordered to return to Fort Union, New Mexico in the summer of 1858. Loring's expedition, consisting of 300 men and 50 wagons, left Camp Floyd, in the vicinity of Utah Lake on July 19,

1858. Antonio Leroux served as the expedition guide. After traveling south for five days they reached the Old Spanish Trail near Salina, Utah. Proceeding along the trail, they reached the Green River crossing on August 5. After fording the Green River the expedition followed the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail reaching Taos, New Mexico on September 11, 1858 and Fort Union on September 13 [16]. Colonel

the confluence of the Green and the Grand Rivers that formed the Colorado River. Twenty thousand dollars was appropriated for the trip known as the San Juan Exploring Expedition. The staff of the expedition consisted of John S. Newberry, geologist-naturalist; Charles Dimmock, cartographer; and three assistants, Messrs. Fisher, Vail and Dorsey. Lt. Milton Cogswell and a detachment of the Eighth Infantry provided security

against hostile Indians. Also joining the expedition were Albert H. Preiffer, a Ute agent, Neponocino Valdez, his interpreter, and guides. Mr. Fisher and Mr. Vail assisted Capt. Macomb with his astronomical observations and Mr. Dorsey helped Dr. Newberry with the collection of natural history specimens [17].



Green River Crossing

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld, 1998

Loring's expedition was the first large wagon train to travel the North Branch and left its mark on the land for future travelers to follow.

THE SAN JUAN EXPLORING EXPEDITION

In June 1859, Capt. John N. Macomb, chief topographical officer in New Mexico for the Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers, was ordered to lead an expedition northwesterly from Santa Fe into southeastern Utah Territory in search of a military road. The expedition also was to seek out

The expedition left Santa Fe in mid-July following the Old Spanish Trail up the Rio Grande to the San Juan Pueblo and then northward up the valley of the Rio Chama. West of the present day settlement of Cebolla, the expedition left the main trail and headed north to the "Great Pagosa Hot Spring." From there they traveled westward and joined the Old Spanish Trail south of present day Durango. They continued northwesterly passing the present day settlements of Hesperus, Mancos, Dolores, Lewis, Yellow Jacket, Cahone, and Dove Creek in southwestern Colorado. They entered Utah, east of the present day

site of Monticello in mid August. As they descended into Dry Valley, via Canon Pintado (East Canyon) Newberry discovered the remains of a dinosaur that he partly excavated from rocks now known as the Morrison Formation. This is the first dinosaur discovered in the Rocky Mountain Region. In the northern part of Dry Valley, at a water hole, near the Old Spanish Trail, known as Ojo Verde the expedition set up a base camp. From the camp, Macomb, Newberry, Dimmock, Cogswell, the three assistants, a helper, and an Indian guide went across Hatch Point and descended into Hart Draw (Newberry's Canon Colorado) to look for the legendary confluence of the Green and the Grand Rivers. After much difficulty they reached a mesa overlooking the Grand River near the mouth of Indian Creek. Here, on August 23, 1859, their Indian guide pointed out the area of the confluence, eight miles to the southwest.

After Macomb, Newberry and the others rejoined the main party they proceeded south past the present day towns of Monticello and Blanding and followed a drainage, now known as Recapture Creek to the San Juan River. They returned to Santa Fe across the San Juan basin, following Armijo's route up the San Juan River, up Canon Largo and on via Jemez Pueblo.

Although the expedition did not actually reach the confluence of the Grand and the Green Rivers, Dr. John S. Newberry, geologist of the expedition, made several important scientific observations. He made the first detailed descriptions of the

areas that would later become Mesa Verde and Canyonlands National Parks. The feature he described as "Great Sage Plain" is still used on today's maps. His observations are given credit for the name, Colorado Plateau, being first applied to the area of the Four Corners. Newberry's notes on the ancient ruins were some of the first descriptions of the Anasazi lore to reach the general public [18]. Clearly, the use of the Old Spanish Trail by the San Juan Exploring Expedition in 1859 had a great impact on future scientific investigations in the west.

THE CARLETON CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PAIUTES [19]

In January, 1860 Indians near the Mojave River killed Robert Wilburn, an employee of Bachman & Company of Los Angeles, while he was tending a herd of Bachman cattle. In March, 1860 Thomas S. Williams and Jehu Jackman were en route from Salt Lake City to Los Angeles in a wagon train that was near Bitter Springs. Williams was killed on the spot while Jackman was wounded and died a month later in San Bernardino. Again, Indians were blamed. The identity of the Indians and their tribes were unknown, but the Paiutes were nevertheless believed responsible. There also were dark suspicions that the Indians may have been acting at the behest of the Mormon church – recall that the memory of the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre was quite fresh.

The resulting furor led to petitions for military intervention. The California governor, John G. Downey, asked Brigadier General

Newman S. Clarke, commander of the Department of California, to establish a military post on the Mojave river and to punish the Paiutes. This request led to the dispatch of two companies from the 1st Dragoons based at Ft. Tejon to the Mojave to punish those responsible and to prevent further incidents. Brevet Major James H. Carleton was given command. Thus began the 1860 campaign against the Paiutes – who were probably not responsible for the murders.

Carleton left Ft. Tejon on April 12, 1860 with 1st Lieutenants Milton T. Carr and Benjamin F. Davis, Surgeon Jonathon Letterman, two civilians and eighty-one enlisted men. On April 19, the command reached the Mojave river about ten miles downriver from the point where the Old Spanish Trail splits with one fork leading northeast to Bitter Spring and the other following the river to its sink near Soda Springs (Zyzxx). Carleton here established Camp Cady as a base camp.

From April 19 until July 3, 1860 Carleton's command scouted the Mojave for Paiutes to punish. Detachments commanded by the two lieutenants explored Old Spanish Trail segments to the Providence Mountains beyond Soda Lake and to Bitter Springs and beyond toward Telescope peak, the high peak that dominates Death Valley to the east. Carleton himself led a reduced command to Las Vegas. The command split into two groups at Silurian Lake with one following the traditional OST route up the Amargosa River to Resting Spring,

Emigrant Pass and Stump Spring. The other group followed the Kingston cutoff. The two groups rejoined at Mountain Springs southwest of Las Vegas.

Few Indians were found during this period. Lt. Davis' detachment fought a group of Paiutes southwest of Camp Cady on April 19 and killed two Indians. Lt. Carr encountered a group of Indians near the Kelso Dunes, killed three of them and returned to Camp Cady with their heads. These heads and the bodies of the other two Indians were subsequently hung on a gibbet at Bitter Springs to the distress of travelers on the OST, both Indian and non-Indian. Carleton was subsequently reprimanded by General Clarke for this excess. Fortunately, Lt. Davis found old traces, but no living members, of the Panamint (Timbasha Shoshone) Tribe in the south end of Death Valley.

Carleton's expedition left redoubts in place at Camp Cady, Soda Springs and Bitter Springs, but there was little long-term effect – except for the survivors of those who were killed. Worries about Indian depredations decreased with the onset of the Civil War in 1861. A lasting peace with Paiutes was achieved in 1867, but their numbers then were so reduced that they posed little threat. The Timbisha Shoshone remain in conflict with the U. S. Government even today [20].

Endnotes

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Lorenzo Trujillo: Founder of Agua Mansa, California, 1842

By Dr. R. Bruce Harley

Leadership was always a prime necessity for any settlement established in a wilderness and located not that far from Indian raiders. In this key respect the eventual settlers of Agua Mansa near today's Colton, CA were most fortunate in having a leader of Lorenzo Trujillo's caliber. In his career, Don Trujillo excelled as a trail guide, community leader, church activist, Indian fighter, and farmer.

Lorenzo Trujillo was born in north-western New Mexico to Indian parents, probably from the Comanche tribe. After adoption he was baptized August 12, 1794 at Santo Tomas Church in Abiquiu, NM by Juan Estevan Trujillo and his wife, Juliana Martin. His age was not given in the baptismal record, but he could have been born as early as 1790. In the region's ethnic mixture he was known as a *genizaro*; this meant he was Hispanicized by his adoptive parents who inculcated him with the Spanish language, Spanish culture and the Spanish Catholic church's religious practices.

On April 17, 1816 he married Maria Dolores Archuleta, daughter of Manuel Archuleta and Maria Matilde Martin, at the Abiquiu church. This couple had their first

child in 1818, followed by six more over the next two decades. On the trek to Agua Mansa, these offspring were: Teodoro, 23; Esquipulas, 20; Matilde, 18; Doroteo, 15; Julian, 14; Maria Gertrudas, 10 and Maria Del Rosario, 2. The four sons were already well-trained Indian fighters before the move to California's Santa Ana River valley.

On September 22, 1838, Lorenzo set out to lead an advance party of seven Abiquenos over the Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California. Traders had opened this trail for travel in 1829-1830. Since the trail proceeded through Colorado, Utah and Nevada to avoid as much Indian danger as possible, other small groups traveled in conjunction with the caravan for added protection. The small Abiquiu group of 1838 left the caravan where today's Interstate 15 turns west near Devore, CA and proceeded to Sycamore Grove for encampment, arriving on December 12.

While encamped, they initiated talks with both Antonio Lugo, who had just acquired Rancho San Bernardino, and Juan Bandini, owner of Rancho Jurupa to the south of the Lugo holdings. Both of these *Californios* needed skilled fighters to protect the ranchos previously

established by Mission San Gabriel. Trujillo's group chose the Lugo proposal for a land allotment of 2200 acres in exchange for fighting as necessary against Indians, marauders and horse-thieves of every stripe. One of the group, Santiago Martinez, his wife Manuelita Renaga and new-born son Apolinario, decided to settle immediately on the bluff overlooking the Santa Ana River near today's San Bernardino Valley College's campus. The others -- Trujillo, Hipolito Espinosa, Jose Antonio Garcia, and the Lobato brothers Diego and Antonio -- wintered near Martinez's home and helped Los Angeles authorities prepare a large herd of horses and mules for transit over the trail in the spring 1839 caravan destined for New Mexico.

Espinosa returned to Rancho San Bernardino with his family on the fall 1840 caravan and settled near Martinez's location. The former became the chief horse wrangler for several years at a small settlement named Politana whose name derived from his first name. This became the stopping place for later arrivals from northern New Mexico with their families.

Lorenzo Trujillo made his second trip over the Old Spanish Trail with the fall 1841 caravan. This time he took his family and traveled with the Rowland-Workman Group. His task was to herd several hundred sheep with the help of his four sons over the 1200 mile route. Benjamin "Benito" Wilson, a member of the group, owned the flock. That Trujillo would qualify for hire can be seen from this description of him

by a member of the contingent destined for the Los Angeles area, Isaac Givens. Givens wrote: "We found these people living a very primitive fashion, footloose and free, unencumbered with worldly goods and ready, at an hour's notice, to accompany us in our travels. I remember contracting with an able-bodied and active man, some forty years of age (Trujillo was actually 46 at the time), agreeing to pay him all he asked -- an advance of two dollars -- and giving him, after reaching California, a hat, a shirt and a pair of shoes; the negotiation, which was closed on the spot, occupied less time than the writing of this paragraph."

The Trujillo family settled near Espinosa's home in early December 1841. Soon, there was the first wedding of a daughter. On April 10, 1842, Lorenzo gave away his eldest daughter, Maria Matilde, in marriage to Enrique Anselmo Sepulveda at the Mission San Gabriel chapel. The bride was 18 and the groom 51 at the time of his third marriage. He was a member of the large Sepulveda family which owned considerable real estate in the general Los Angeles area. Together with Jose Perez, Enrique had become in 1840 the grantee of Rincon de San Pasqual, which included today's Pasadena and Altadena. The marriage record thus provides proof that the Trujillo family had settled in California before the actual founding of Agua Mansa.

Lorenzo Trujillo evidently had arranged before leaving Abiquiu that he would return the following year and escort a group of settlers to

California. The 1842 spring caravan from Los Angeles departed in April and stopped at Politana to pick up the usual herd of horses and mules which had wintered there. Also joining the trek were several travelers who had previously journeyed from New Mexico. These included Antonio Martinez, Lorenzo Trujillo, Hipolito Espinosa, and John Rowland, the latter returning for his family. Michael White (Miguel Blanco) filled in for Espinosa at the Politana rendezvous point while he and Trujillo returned to Abiquiu to help their neighbors make the move. Martinez (not to be confused with Santiago Martinez) went along as a guide just as he had for several previous semiannual caravans.

By July the returnees were in Abiquiu making arrangements for the move. Not every family was ready for the trek (several wives were pregnant and not willing to travel on the rugged route as had Manuelita Renaga Martinez in 1838), so only half of the prospective sojourners were able to make the first colonizing trip. The remainder would emigrate during the next two annual caravan cycles.

As with Trujillo and other pre-Agua Mansa emigrants, their families could move on fairly short notice. Other than the spirit of adventure, these people were anxious to improve their lot in life by establishing homes in a location presumably possessing better soil and water. Then, too, despite their well-deserved reputation as Indian fighters, they were tired after a century of the chronic Indian danger and believed the California Indians

to be less fierce than such strong tribes as the Comanche, Apache, Navajo, and Ute. The setting of Agua Mansa in a valley surrounded by mountains was very similar to that of Abiquiu and helped with acclimation to a region with a mile lower elevation and warmer temperatures. Thus, there was sufficient motivation to leave the ancestral home, as most of their forefathers had previously left Mexico in the mid-1700's.

Abiquiu emigrants joined the trade caravan on its last stop after it left Santa Fe. The settlers' group was organized as follows. Jose Antonio Martinez de la Rosa (who did not have a family) was the *comandante*, Lorenzo Trujillo was the trailmaster while Hipolito Espinosa was the mule-wrangler (as noted, both had families already living at Politana). A chart can be derived from what few documents apply to the Abiqueño travelers. Most accounts state there were 18 or 19 heads of families, but do not give the total number of people making the trip. True enough, there were 18 principals or able-bodied males above the age of 13, but some belonged to the same family. None of the males under 21 were married. An analysis of sacramental records from the village's San Salvador Church built a decade later in 1852 shows that there were just twelve families. Their surnames are confirmed by cross-referencing the sacramental records from Abiquiu's church, the federal census of 1850 for California and the next year's state census. Since some families were related, only nine surnames were represented. Excluding the three leaders,

there were 37 new colonists on the expedition.

The group of 40 people (12 men, 9 women and the remainder children) presumably departed on their journey a day's travel ahead of the trade caravan to take advantage of food, forage and water opportunities not possible with a much larger retinue. They left New Mexico in early August and arrived at Politana in early November. Antonio Martinez registered their presence with the Mexican immigration authority in Los Angeles on November 9, 1842. Since this was an unlettered group of people that had no accompanying priest as with Spanish expeditions in colonial times, there are no diaries, letters or notes to tell the tale of the trek. There is no evidence of deaths along the trail that wound through six [later] states.

The Abiquiu pioneers promptly built homes at the Espinosa-Trujillo-Martinez pueblo of Politana before the California winter storms arrived. The land allotment from Lugo followed the Californio practice of being held in common rather than having actual family ownership of each plot. The site of the village's structural ruins was still visible in 1927.

Trujillo was an ardent church-man. He knew that in 1841 Lugo had already written to the bishop then residing in Santa Barbara requesting the assignment of a priest to serve the growing population on his huge ranch. He had been turned down, but Trujillo, soon after the arrival of the 1842 pioneers, contacted the priest at Mission San Gabriel who had served

the ranch in the mission era before 1834. Father Estevan was amenable to the request but did not want to use the deserted chapel at the San Bernardino *estancia* due to unhappy memories associated with both the decline of the mission era and himself being assaulted and kidnapped from the chapel by Indians earlier in his career. Trujillo was also in agreement with the padre's view because of the distance of the chapel from Politana and its having no historical or community connection to his group.

Consequently, the priest came to Politana about every month or so to say an outdoor mass. The colonists also served as vaqueros on the various ranches carved out for the Lugo sons from the original Rancho San Bernardino as laid out by Mission San Gabriel in 1819. True to their bargain with the elder Lugo, the New Mexicans met their military obligation as payment for their 2200 acre tract. In an 1843 battle with thieves at Pigeon Pass near what is now Highgrove, Lorenzo Trujillo led his sons and other colonists into the fray. Doroteo was shot in the back with an arrow, and Esquipulas was shot through the nose with consequent serious facial disfigurement. Another son, Teodoro, was shot in the right foot. Despite wounds, the party defeated the marauding Indians who were caught driving cattle toward San Gorgonio Pass.

In spite of these efforts in protecting Lugo assets, the colonists had a falling out with the owner's family. Family members and their employees did not respect the settlers' rights. Too often, careless horseback

riders rode over planted crops and broke down livestock fences and irrigation ditches. Then too, the population of Politana continued to increase. Ten families arrived with the 1843 caravan and another five in 1844. Prior to the arrival of the last group, the compound had a population of 73 according to the 1844 Mexican census of the California province.

With repeated protests going unheeded, Lorenzo Trujillo consulted with all the heads of families about the chronic problems with the pueblo's landlord. The entire group decided to move and take advantage of Juan Bandini's offer first given in 1838 to the Abiquiu advance party. The logistics of the residential shift called for about half the colonists to move in 1844 and the remainder the following year. Some of the group would settle on the north bank of the Santa Ana River on Rancho Jurupa about four miles downstream from Politana at a location which became known as "Agua Mansa." The remainder would settle on the south bank near Trujillo's new farmstead at a location called "La Placita de los Trujillos." Bandini gave the land to the settlers, and hence the tract at the northeast segment of Rancho Jurupa was known as the "Bandini Donation." In exchange, as with Lugo, the settlers were to provide military protection against thieves and marauders of every hue.

Don Lorenzo Trujillo was appointed by Bandini to be commissioner to distribute the lands. Unlike the Californio style, each settler had his tract of 200 varas which measured 550 feet in width stretching along

the river front and running back to Agua Mansa Road on the north side and to the mesa on the south side. Common pasture was provided on top of the mesa where the towns of Grand Terrace and Highgrove are now located.

The houses for La Placita were built in a semicircle around a small plaza (i.e., the placita). In the center an *enramada* was laid out with an earthen floor and had a primitive altar erected, covered with brush when not in use. The same priest continued to journey from San Gabriel periodically to minister to his growing flock. The mission continued to supply priests for a decade until a church was built, a parish established and a resident pastor assigned. Next to the *enramada* Trujillo started a school in 1844 with a teacher from Los Angeles.

The Mexican-American (now also referred to as the United States-Mexican) War was fought from 1846 to 1848. The Agua Mansans remained loyal to their benefactor, Bandini. Several from the Trujillo force joined the company recruited by Jose Carmen Lugo and fought in a battle at Rancho Chino, which they lost to the *gringos*. When the U.S. won the war, the Trujillo clan accepted that fact, adapted to American rule and became law-abiding citizens of a new nation.

On another front, many of the battles between the Trujillo force and the Indians of the desert were unfortunately never recorded, especially those having to do with Chief

Walkara from 1844-1851. However, it can be gleaned from legal briefs that on more than one occasion the "Fighting Trujillos" gave the "Old Hawk of the Mountains" more than he bargained for. Most of these skirmishes were only revealed years later in testimony when the Trujillos were fighting for their rights to remain on the Bandini Donation.

The Trujillos and their followers also assisted B. D. Wilson in making the Indians desist from their periodic raids in his territory. On one punitive expedition to the vicinity of the Mojave River, the Wilson-Trujillo forces encountered four renegades from Mission San Gabriel, whose leader was the feared Joaquin. Without waiting for a pow-wow, Joaquin shot an arrow which hit Wilson in the shoulder. However, the latter was able to rebound enough from the wound to he fire his pistol point-blank at his foe, knocking him off his horse. Another member of the expedition dispatched him. The remaining three Indians attacked the entire company of armed whites and Hispanics until each warrior was killed.

As the group recovered, Wilson found that Joaquin's arrow was poisoned. In order to save his life, Trujillo sucked the poison out of the wound. Four comrades remained with Wilson while Trujillo led the rest of the group in an all-out attack on a rocky hillside against Joaquin's followers. Time after time Lorenzo led his men against the rocky fort only to be repulsed with several being wounded. Reluctantly, the force was compelled to withdraw to fight another day. Wilson was taken

to his Jurupa home where he recovered.

On a second campaign Wilson was successful against other renegades thanks to assistance from Chief Cabazon, his brother, Adam, and their Cahuilla followers. Lorenzo fought at Wilson's side during this skirmish.

Wilson's last expedition provided revenge for the initial defeat, The Wilson-Trujillo force surrounded the village where the Indians had moved from their rocky hill and called for surrender. When the Indians refused, Wilson called for an all-out attack. In the ensuing battle, which lasted the rest of the day, every male Indian was killed. The women and children were sent to Mission San Gabriel for refuge.

The next historical event during the Trujillo portion of the Agua Mansa - La Placita era was the gold rush of 1849. With one exception, as far as it is known, the residents of San Bernardino Valley did not rush north to the California gold fields. That exception was Luis Robidoux (Louis Rubidoux), the last pioneer to arrive in 1845. He did make the journey and stayed for a year or so, accumulated some precious metal and returned to his rancho located south of the Bandini Donation.

Since Robidoux was the only resident with political experience, having twice served as mayor of Santa Fe, Trujillo deferred to him on some political matters. When California became American territory and then a state in 1850, Robidoux was selected to the Board of Super-

visors for Los Angeles County, representing what today is referred to as the Inland Empire. When San Bernardino County was carved out of Los Angeles and San Diego Counties in 1853, Robidoux continued to exercise his political expertise. With the boundaries of San Salvador Parish being used to create a voting precinct stretching from San Gorgonio Pass to La Puente, Robidoux attempted to advise neophyte voters for whom to cast a ballot. Being of a conservative mind, he favored candidates with that persuasion. Despite his clout and influence, the new voters were led by clever campaigners to cast ballots for Democratic Party candidates for elections in the early 1850's. However, the Republican presidential candidate (John C. Frémont) in 1856 was a popular figure and probably garnered support from at least a portion of the potential voters in the San Salvador precinct. The polling place was the Trujillo home.

Meanwhile, the Agua Mansa - La Placita area continued to grow. The first federal census of 1850 showed 30 families and a population of nearly 150. People had begun to move in from Los Angeles and Mexico. Soon after the census was taken, a number of '49ers came down south instead of returning to the Midwest or their country of origin. The most important of them from Agua Mansa's standpoint was Cornelius Jensen from Scandinavia who was destined to replace Trujillo as the community don.

With the increase in population and an American bishop filling the long-vacant diocesan post, Trujillo

approached the new prelate about two related church matters. First, he wanted the valley to be declared a parish and a resident pastor assigned to it. Second, he wanted permission to build a permanent structure as a parish church. The bishop, who had inherited only those parishes which had been created from the demise of the mission system, was eager to begin his episcopacy with the creation of the first non-mission-related parish in Southern California's interior. Accordingly, without hesitation, he granted all of Trujillo's requests.

Father Amable Petithomme, affectionately known as Padre Amable, had been serving at San Fernando parish for nearly a year. He moved his residence to Agua Mansa in August 1852 and was officially assigned to the new parish of San Salvador de Jurupa effective November 8, 1852. Lorenzo Trujillo had already started construction of the new church the previous spring, and it was completed in early November. The first mass was scheduled for November 14, but just an hour before the ceremony, the structure collapsed in quicksand at a point between La Placita's enramada and the river itself.

A council was held the next day at Trujillo's home to select a better place for the new church. With the urging of the new priest Agua Mansa on the north side of the river was chosen this time, although Trujillo had hoped for a site elsewhere in La Placita. However, he took the decision gracefully and pledged his support in the erection of a new chapel. All of the

inhabitants of both villages helped in the construction, and the replacement edifice was finally completed for the Christmas season of 1853.

With the completion of the church, Don Lorenzo planted a heavy wooden cross a half mile or so below the edifice to greet travelers coming east from direction of Cucamonga on the Sonora Road. This custom of having a gateway symbol erected upon elevated ground, visible for long distances at the approach to nearly every New Mexican village, was quite common. Its meaning apparently signified that the visitor was approaching the territory of Christians where travelers were welcome to rest — according to Judge Hayes who presided over the judicial district which included Agua Mansa and La Placita.

Major Horace Bell, a visitor to the twin settlements on many occasions in the 1850's, described his impression of the community as follows: "About half way from Jurupa (i.e., the Robidoux rancho) which was then a military post, and San Bernardino (founded in 1851), was situated the most beautiful little settlement I ever saw. It was called Agua Mansa, meaning Gentle Water, and was composed of immigrants from New Mexico, numbering some two hundred souls -- simple, good souls they were, too, primitive in their style of living, -- kind and hospitable to strangers, rich in all that went to make people happy and content, never having been, up to that time, vexed by the unceremonious calls of the tax collector, owing allegiance to none except the simple, kind-hearted

old priest who looked after their spiritual welfare. With peace and plenty surrounding them, the good people of Agua Mansa went to make as contented and happy a people as could be found in the universe.”

Only one other church-related facility needed to be established to complete the supporting infrastructure of a verdant valley described by later writers as an “Arcadia” or even an “Eden.” Since Trujillo was getting along in years and several Agua Mansans had died since 1842 (after 1851 they were buried in the Mormon’s San Bernardino Cemetery; before that, in the yard of individual homesteads), Lorenzo believed that a parish cemetery should be established near the center of community activity. Again the bishop acquiesced, and property on top of the small mesa behind the church was chosen in 1854. The first confirmed burial took place on January 30, 1855.

An era ended with the death of Lorenzo Trujillo on April 4, 1855. His sons built mounds of stone, each topped by a wooden cross, at the points where his body had rested as it was borne from his home to the new cemetery across the river. His, widow, Marie Dolores Archuleta (who died Oct. 5, 1866) and all seven of his children survived him. The number of grandchildren by 1855 was eight and by 1866, 24 had been born. The final figure included the offspring of Matilde Trujillo Sepulveda who was remarried to an Agua Mansan in the early 1850’s.

Unfortunately, Trujillo’s grave marker has disappeared with the

passage of years. None of the markers before Luis Robidoux’s in 1868 can be located, but Trujillo’s unidentified grave would be in the first row to the right of the entrance at Agua Mansa Cemetery. There are two plaques at the cemetery that honor the pioneers of the 1840’s and the first pastor of the 1853 church. However, to date no plaque honors the founder of the community, Lorenzo Trujillo.

There is no argument but that Trujillo lived a full and productive life. As one author put it, “He was a venerable patriarch in his treatment of his people. What he lacked in worldly education he made up for by enthusiasm and good common sense. He was personally honest, trustworthy and loyal to the end in everything he undertook.”

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Old Spanish Trail Impacts: Timbisha Shoshone Tribe and Other Native Americans

By Bill Helmer and Pauline Esteves

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This article is the response to a request in 1998 from the National Park Service (NPS) Old Spanish Trail Study Team requesting comments regarding the *Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study*. On behalf of the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe, the Timbisha Shoshone Historic Preservation Advisory Committee highly recommends the authorization of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail.

There is an important omission in Criterion 2 of (NPS) newsletter's synopsis of the qualifying criteria for national historic trail designation. The National Trails System Act also states: "Trails significant in the history of Native Americans may be included" Sec. 5(b)(11)(B).

The Old Spanish Trail is significant in the history of the Timbisha Shoshone, in particular, and Native Americans, in general, for the following reasons:

(1) Euroamericans formed the Old

Spanish Trail from previously existing Indian trails.

What is known as the "Old Spanish Trail" between Santa Fe and Los Angeles was originally various segments of indigenous trade and intra-territorial trails. Shell beads and pendants have been found in numerous places in the Timbisha Homeland. These items usually came here from coastal southern California or the Gulf of California through trade with other indigenous nations to the south or west. The Timbisha were part of a vast interregional trade network linking California, the Great Basin, and the Southwest (Hughes and Bennyhoff, 1986: 239; Hunt, 1960: 269-270; Tagg, 1984: 124; Wallace, 1977: 125-126; see Figure 1; Ubehebe Shelter, Hole-in-the-Rock Shelter, and Bennett's Well are all sites within Death Valley National Park). This interregional trade also became linked to a greater western North American trade network during the protohistoric period (Swagerty, 1988: 352). Although trade relationships between indigenous Southern California and the Great Basin and the Southwest began to deteriorate after the epidemics and invasions during the Spanish and Mexican eras (Chartkoff and Chartkoff, 1984: 248-249), a diminished indigenous trade did continue well into the latter half of the nineteenth century

(Hughes and Bennyhoff, 1986: 255; Kelly, 1932-1933). Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between the indigenous shell trade routes and the Old Spanish Trail (including its Mojave Road variant). Figure 3 illustrates protohistoric indigenous trade networks (the Timbisha Tribe was formerly known as the Panamint Shoshone Tribe).

The fact that most Euroamerican trade and emigrant trails began as Native American trails does not diminish the importance of the Native American origins of the Old Spanish Trail. The indigenous trade routes developed along what was to become the Old Spanish Trail were not generic Native American Trail: they were historically created, specific to the geography and cultural relations between the indigenous nations of California, the Great Basin, and the Southwest. This early development of the Old Spanish Trail is intrinsic to its later Euroamerican role as an integrating force between settlements in California, the Great Basin, and the Southwest.

(2) The Old Spanish Trail was the central conduit for Euroamerican invasion into Timbisha Shoshone and Southern Paiute territories between 1830 and 1848. Between 1849 and the late 1860s, the Mormon Road (or Salt Lake to Los Angeles Road) section of the Old Spanish Trail remained a significant avenue of invasion along with a variety of other routes used by Euroamericans coming from the gold country of the western Sierras and the silver strikes of northern Nevada.



Figure 1. California-Great Basin-Southwest Indigenous Trade Networks
(Source: Hughes and Bennyhoff, 1986: 239)

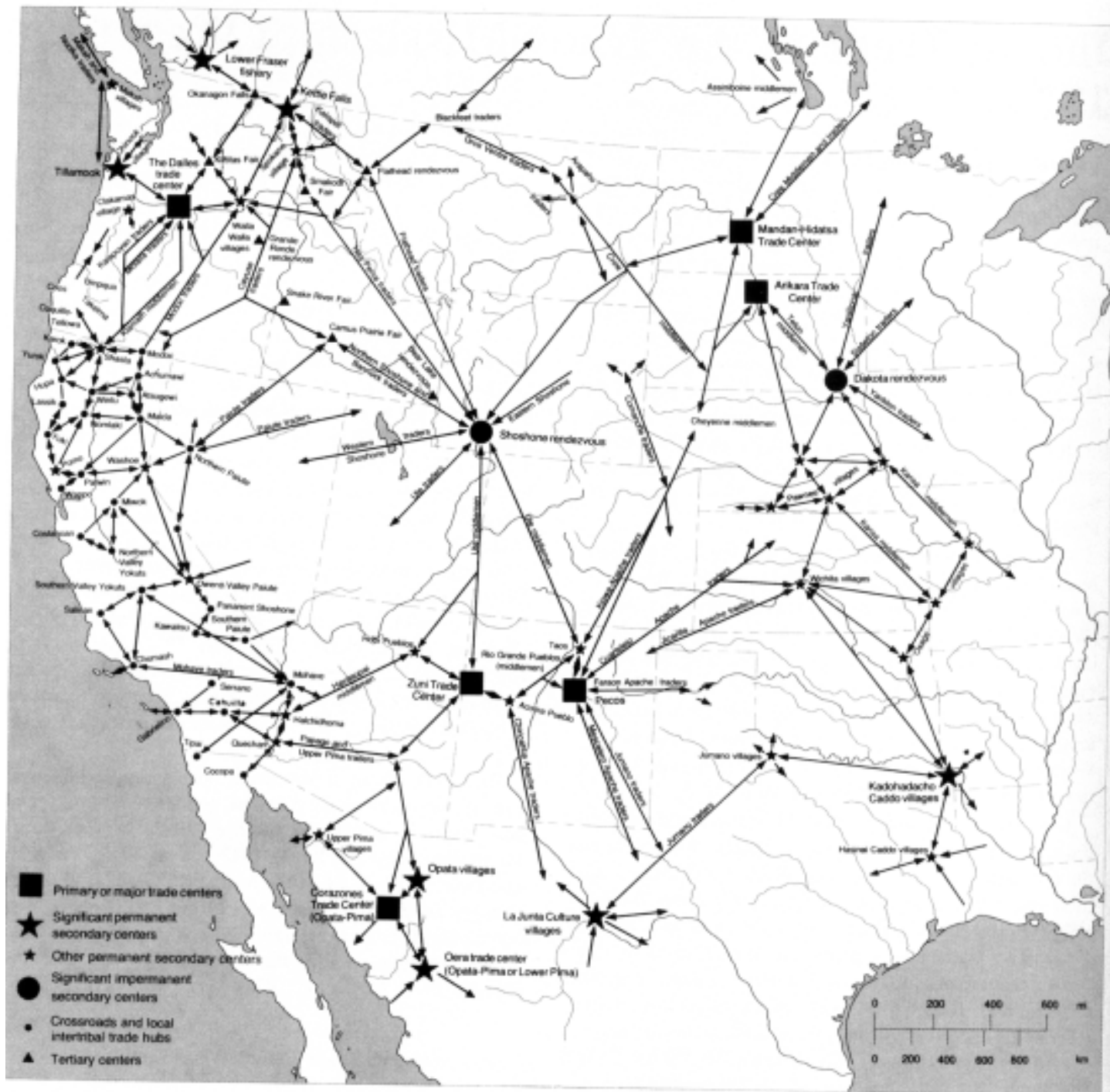


Figure 3. Protohistoric Indigenous Trade Networks
(Source: Swagerty, 1988: 352)

The Old Spanish Trail incorporates parts of the routes of Francisco Garcés, Dominguez and Escalante, Jedediah Smith, John C. Frémont, and Kit Carson, all of whom found their way across the deserts and mountains with the help of Native American guides or by following Indian trails (College 1900: 234-235; Hafen and Hafen, 1954a: 62, 69; Brooks, 1977: 85; Fremont, [1845]: 252, 268).

The beginnings of Euroamerican trade and travel along the Old Spanish Trail were seen by indigenous nations as extensions of their own far-flung trade networks. As Swagerty states: "Indian-White trade relations must ... be viewed as an elaboration of native patterns rather than as a European innovation" (Swagerty, 1988: 353). The Timbisha and their ancestors had been peacefully trading for perhaps thousands of years with various peoples between California and the Southwest. Before the Euroamerican invasion, local autonomy was dependent on an intersocietal network which would (for the most part) respect and reinforce the autonomy of each society (see Spielmann, 1986). During the nineteenth century, Native Americans used to this tradition did not at first understand that Mexicans and Americans were each trying to incorporate indigenous territories into their own intercontinental trade networks and plans for total conquest.

In 1829, Antonio Armijo, a Mexican trader, initiated the first (recorded) trading expedition between Santa Fe and Los Angeles along a variant of

what was to become known as the Old Spanish Trail (Hafen and Hafen, 1954a: 155). Later Mexican traders and Euroamerican emigrants traveled along other trail variants, all which cut across Southern Paiute territory to the south and east of Timbisha territory. Once the Old Spanish Trail (and its variants) became established routes during the 1830s and 1840s, a permanent Euroamerican invasion corridor became established for the first time in the territories of the Ute and Southern Paiute (Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 386; Shimkin, 1986: 521; see Figure 4).

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Spanish traders from New Mexico began buying Native American slaves (possibly captured Southern Paiutes) from the Utes (Hill, 1930: 17-19; Inter-Tribal Council, 1976: 30; Sanchez, 1997: 91-102; 125-133). When Antonio Armijo opened up a trade route between New Mexico and California, he was also (perhaps inadvertently) expanding the slave market of New Mexico into California at the expense of the Southern Paiute. Mexican, Ute, (and to a lesser extent, American and Navajo) raiders captured Southern Paiute women, children, and (sometimes) men for sale to the elites of California and New Mexico (Kelly and Fowler, 1986: 386; Hafen and Hafen, 1954a: 269-270; Forbes, 1969: 50).

The slave raiding of the Utes however, did not occur in a vacuum: Utes themselves were raided by the Spanish for use as slaves in the seventeenth century (Shimkin, 1986:

517). By the nineteenth century, Ute bands became more integrated into the Euroamerican slave, gun, and horse trade by conducting slave-raids upon Southern Paiute territories, even as the Utes themselves were being encroached upon by Euroamerican settlers and other Plains groups pushed further west by American expansion (Delaney, 1974: 29-38; Jorgensen, 1972: 29-30; Alley, Jr., 1982). Hall describes the general pattern of disruption among indigenous societies as the incorporation process followed the Spanish diffusion of horses and guns in the Southwest:

"As the Spanish advance displaced one group after another, inter-group fighting accelerated. This fighting generated many captives who could be traded to Spaniards [for] horses and guns ... Where horses and guns could not be acquired by direct capture, they had to be acquired through trade... Thus, the demand for captives intensified inter-group fighting." (Hall, 1989: 68-69).

Besides the genocidal effects of slave-raiding, the human ecological damage to food sources caused by the transport of horses and mules along the Old Spanish Trail was also extensive: "The Spanish Trail burdened the uplands and deserts with the grazing and watering of as many as five thousand animals in a season" (Shimkin, 1986: 521). Fouling of precious springs and rivers, theft of agricultural foods, the trampling and destruction of native grasses and seeds, and the cutting down of trees greatly impacted the subsistence economy of the Southern Paiute bands located along the

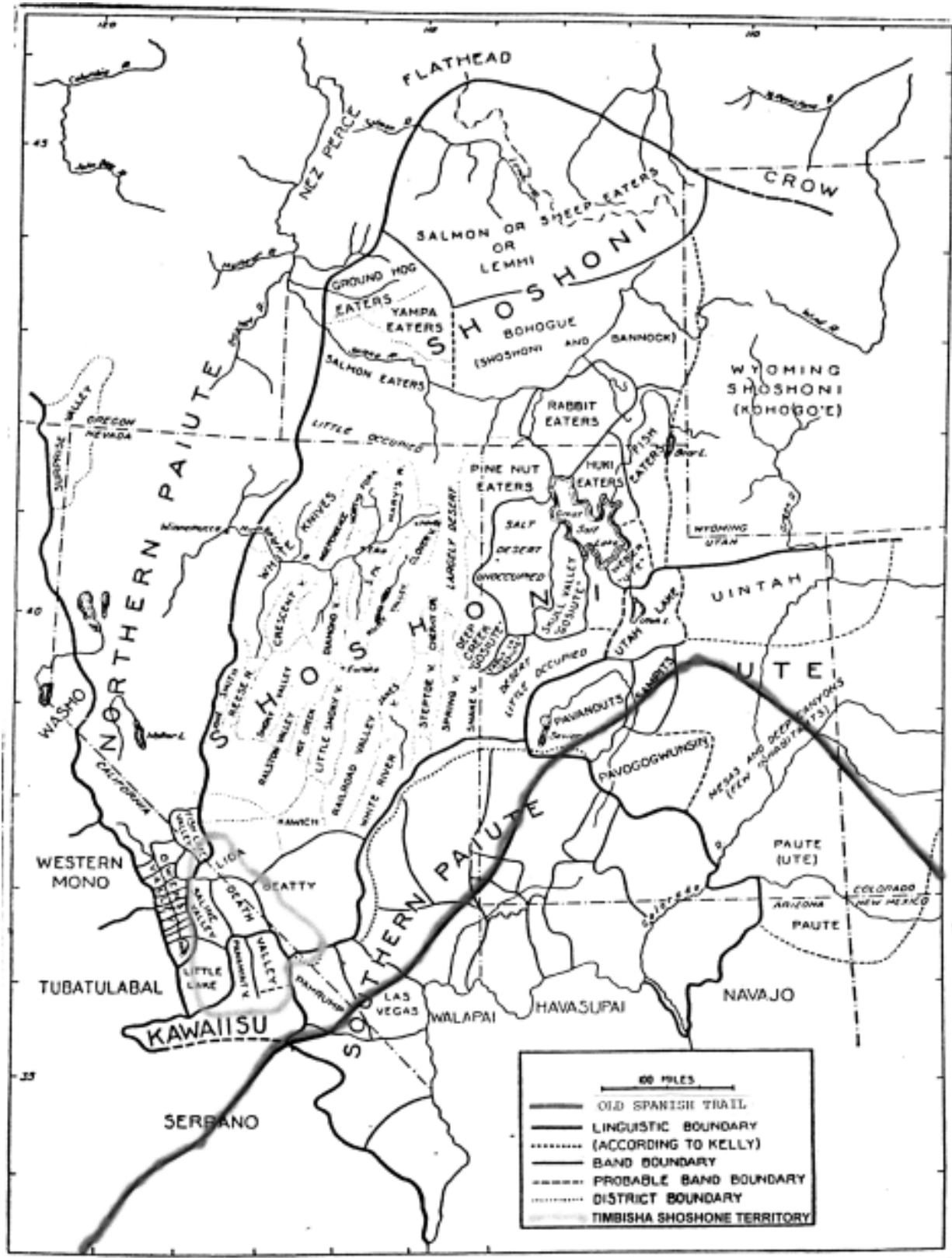


Figure 4. The Old Spanish Trail and Indigenous Territories
(Source: Steward, 1938; Hafen and Hafen, 1954a)

trail. Malouf and Findlay state: "Southern Paiutes living along the Muddy, Virgin, and Santa Clara rivers were hardest hit, while away from trails and streams traditional culture remained more intact" (Malouf and Findlay, 1986: 507).

In 1844, Brevet Captain John C. Frémont described the environmental effects that the Old Spanish Trail caravans inflicted upon the desert:

"We were now careful to take the old camping places of the annual Santa Fe caravans, which, luckily for us, had not yet made their yearly passage. A drove of several thousand horses and mules would entirely have swept away the scanty grass at the watering places, and we should have been obliged to leave the road to obtain subsistence for our animals" (Frémont, [1845]: 259).

Because the Old Spanish Trail did not directly go through Timbisha territory, only indirect impacts were felt during the years 1829-1848. A major indirect impact probably included the transmission of diseases from tribes closer to the Old Spanish Trail and with greater contact with Euroamericans in California and the Southwest (Stoffle et al., 1994: 24-29; Stoffle et al., 1990: 52).

The extremely arid Mojave Desert/ Great Basin location of the Timbisha Shoshone also created a buffer zone against sustained Euroamerican intrusion beyond the corridor of the Spanish Trail. Fur trappers such as Jedediah Smith, Thomas L. "Pegleg" Smith, and Peter Skene Ogden were only interested in rivers that contained large populations of beaver,

and the sink of the Amargosa River was not a good prospect.

When Antonio Armijo opened the Old Spanish Trail across Southern Paiute territory in 1829-1830, he essentially extended the Santa Fe Trail from Independence, Missouri, to Los Angeles (Hafen and Hafen, 1954a: 92). Thus, Armijo and later traders forged an overland link not only between Mexican California and New Mexico, but also between these regions and the United States. Western North America would become more directly integrated into the political and economic orbit of the United States after the defeat of Mexico in 1848--but not without resistance from the Timbisha Shoshone and their neighbors (Stoffle et al., 1990: 44-47). Jack Forbes, a Native American historian from University of California, Davis, clarifies the indigenous context of American expansion in the aftermath of the United States-Mexico War, 1846-1848:

"A great Myth has been perpetuated in American history, and that is the story that the United States acquired the Southwest in 1848 through the Mexican cession. The United States began to acquire the Southwest in the early 1820s, when AngloAmericans began to enter regions over which Mexico had no control, and the final phase of acquisition was not consummated until the 1880s, when the last free Indian tribes were conquered." (Forbes, 1965: 295).

In addition to the United States' new territorial claims after the Mexican War, two other events between 1847

and 1849 would have devastating impacts upon the Timbisha Shoshone and neighboring peoples: the Mormon colonization of the Intermountain West, centered in Salt Lake City, and the California Gold Rush in the western Sierra Nevada. After the Mormon colonization of Utah in 1847, the western portion of the Old Spanish Trail from southwestern Utah to Los Angeles became a Mormon trade and emigration route; it later became known as the Mormon Road or the Salt Lake Trail (Hafen and Hafen, 1954a: 362). The next year gold was discovered in California, and by 1849 a portion of the Old Spanish Trail between central Utah and Los Angeles became one of the southern routes to the goldfields (Bieber, 1925: 366).

In summary, the history of the Old Spanish Trail (and later its Mormon Road development) dramatically illustrates the rapidly changing historical conditions which confronted the Timbisha Shoshone during the early to mid-nineteenth century. The California National Historic Trail, the Pony Express National Historic Trail, and the San Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail did not impact the life of the Timbisha Shoshone as much as the Old Spanish Trail. The United States' annexation of northwest Mexico, the Gold Rush, and Mormon Colonization affected each indigenous nation in different ways. The interplay of all of the above historical elements significant to the history of the United States is uniquely played out along the Old Spanish Trail. The Timbisha Shoshone responded to these overwhelming developments by learning



Figure 5. Section of “Map of Oregon and Upper California from the Surveys of John Charles Frémont and other authorities; drawn by Charles Preuss under the Order of the Senate of the United States, Washington City, 1848.”

to survive the Euroamerican invasion by holding onto and continuing the traditional ways of the elders as much as possible (Fowler et al., 1995: 50-58).

(3) The first Euroamerican penetration into the heart of the Timbisha Shoshone Homeland occurred as a result of a group of Forty-niners veering off the Old Spanish Trail for a “short-cut” to the goldfields. Those that decided to take this “short-cut” found themselves lost in what would later (rather ignorantly) be named “Death Valley.”

In the autumn of 1847, Jefferson Hunt and Orrin Rockwell, veterans of the Mormon Battalion during the United States-Mexico War, were the first to use the route between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles as a wagon road for provisioning Salt Lake City (Pugh, 1949: 4-7; Hafen and Hafen, 1954b: 22-27). Two years later, after the news of the discovery of gold in California, Jefferson Hunt used his knowledge of the trail to lead a wagon train of gold seekers over what was to become one of the southern routes to the goldfields. Against the advice of Hunt, the possessors of a crude map showing a “short-cut” to the goldfields persuaded a majority of the wagon train to leave the Old Spanish Trail in southwestern Utah. Their map was apparently based upon an erroneous John C. Frémont map which depicted a fictitious mountain range between southwestern Utah and the southern Sierra Nevada [Lingenfelter, 1986: 34] (see Figure 5). While most of the people found the new route to be impassable and

soon returned to the Old Spanish Trail, others forged on to become lost in Timbisha territory (Hafen and Hafen, 1954b: 14-44; Manly, 1929).

Meanwhile, Hunt continued on the Old Spanish Trail to California. At Salt Spring, one of the watering stops along the trail, Hunt and other members of his party discovered the first gold in the Death Valley region. The expertise in identifying the gold was obtained from two former members of the Mormon Battalion (of the United States-Mexico War) who worked in the California diggings after the discovery of gold on the American River in January, 1848. Thus, the three major mid-nineteenth century events which would cause catastrophic impacts upon the Timbisha Shoshone and the Southern Paiute-Mormon colonization, the California Gold Rush, and the United States-Mexico War were entwined in the lives and actions of these Americans while on the Old Spanish Trail.

Although later attempts at mining Salt Spring were unsuccessful, the early discovery of gold in this area would lure future gold seekers and contribute to the overall diffusion of mining from the Sierra Nevada foothills east to the Great Basin and the Mojave Desert (Lingenfelter, 1986: 36-58). Even more damaging for the Timbisha Shoshone and the Southern Paiute were the legends of fabulous mineral wealth that drew miners from the California goldfields and the Comstock into the Death Valley region. One of the Fortyniners who left the Old Spanish Trail for the “short-cut” was a man named Jim Martin. During their

journey out of “Death Valley,” Martin and some fellow Georgians found some rich silver ore on the slopes of Tucki Mountain. Martin later had a piece of this silver made into a gunsight, and the legend of the “Lost Gunsight Lode” was born. Although the Lost Gunsight Lode was never found, the legend attracted many prospectors, including Darwin French, who did find silver in the Coso Range (Lingenfelter, 1986: 43-63). Later miners would find an even more profitable mineral, borax, and the Greenland Ranch was established within the Timbisha territory at Furnace Creek in 1883 (Lingenfelter, 1986: 173-181).

Between the migration and invasion route of the Old Spanish Trail to the east and the seemingly endless invasion of miners from the west and north, the Timbisha Shoshone Homeland became overwhelmed by the invaders. Resistance by the Timbisha Shoshone and the Southern Paiute drove many miners out of the region in the 1860s, but by the late 1870s, the increase in the mining population made this no longer possible. Lingenfelter (1986: 65) states:

“But when the miners began to take over the springs and cut down the pinyon, it was clearly time to put an end to their intrusion. Starting with the Coso rush, the Paiute and Shoshone throughout the Death Valley and Amargosa country made sporadic attacks to drive the whites out. Such efforts continued into the late 1860s, until their futility became obvious to all. Indian

hostility only briefly slowed the tide of miners sweeping into the country..."

In order to survive, many Timbisha Shoshone obtained work at the Pacific Coast Borax Company in Furnace Creek to supplement traditional economic activities such as pinyon nut harvesting and hunting. As Stephen Crum writes, "What must be emphasized is that the Shoshones never left their native land, for the white ranches and mining towns were actually located inside aboriginal Shoshone territory" (Crum, 1994: 8).

The complex, multi-cultural interactions played out along the Old Spanish Trail illustrate the constant interplay between the histories of Native Americans and Euroamericans during the nineteenth century. The Old Spanish Trail corridor, like the California Trail to the north, helped to solidify the United States' trade and conquest networks across the North American continent. As the American influence increased, the ancient indigenous intersocietal networks began to disintegrate. The history of the Old Spanish Trail cuts deep into Native American history, and the interpretation of the trail should reflect this. Euroamerican expansion did not occur in abstract space: it first took place in specific areas in which the intruders gained a rudimentary knowledge of an unknown geographic and cultural landscape. The Old Spanish Trail is a 1,200 mile linear frontier landscape that can still tell us much about how our present situation ended up as it did. The current Timbisha Shoshone

struggle for land and increased tribal sovereignty is the present day legacy of what led up to and followed a decision by some gold-seeking Americans to stray from the Old Spanish Trail and follow a fantasy mountain range into the reality of the Timbisha Shoshone Homeland.

In conclusion, we also suggest increasing NPS efforts in government-to-government consultation regarding the Old Spanish Trail. The introductory request and historical background in the Study newsletter were too brief and mostly unrelated to Native American concerns. Follow-up phone calls and meetings with tribal officials should be initiated in a systematic manner for all tribes which may be affected by this undertaking. Such proactive initiatives are called for in NPS Cultural Resources Management Guidelines and Executive Orders. Funding for these important activities should be budgeted in the feasibility study. Otherwise, true, good-faith consultation will not occur between the NPS and Native Americans, and the unique perspectives of each Native American group affected by the trail will never be known.

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Book Reviews

John Rowland and William Workman: Southern California Pioneers of 1841. By Donald E.

Rowland, (Spokane and Los Angeles: Jointly published by The Arthur H. Clark Co. and the Historical Society of Southern California, 1999, 223 pp., photos, maps, notes, bibliography, index, \$32.50)

For aficionados of the Old Spanish Trail, John Rowland and William Workman are best remembered for leading a party of 134 American and New Mexican immigrants from Santa Fe to Los Angeles in 1841 - the largest immigrant group to follow the complete route of the Old Spanish Trail during its 21 years of use. But the saga of Rowland and Workman involves much more than this one historic trek. Both of them made significant contributions toward the development of mid-19th century Southern California.

Rowland and Workman separately followed the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico in the early 1820s. They met in Taos, probably around 1825, and formed a partnership in the fur trade that cemented into a life-long friendship. By 1840, tensions between the growing numbers of Americans in New Mexico and Mexican authorities caused Rowland and Workman, along with other Anglos, to leave the province.

Although neither partner, nor any of the other participants in the 1841 journey to Los Angeles, left a day-by-day diary, author Donald Rowland - a descendent of William Rowland - has masterfully detailed the two-month jornada by thorough

research into numerous fragmentary sources. No other trip over the Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to California is better documented.

Reaching Los Angeles in November 1841, Rowland and Workman quickly became prominent rancheros and businessmen. California Governor Juan Alvarado granted them 20,000-acre Rancho La Puente, a former Mission San Gabriel stock rancho some eighteen miles southeast of Los Angeles, in March 1842. Within a few years the rancho grew in size to almost 49,000 acres. Thousands of cattle grazed on its gentle hills and valleys.

The author weaves a fascinating portrayal of rancho life during the pastoral era of Southern California history - from the 1840s into the early 1860s - and details Rowland and Workman's business ventures, their involvement in the political turmoil as Mexican California succumbed to American conquest, and the wealth they attained during the gold rush period by selling cattle to the hungry miners.

The end of the story is not a happy one. As cattle became a glut on the market, livestock prices fell. A severe drought in 1862-64 killed thousands of cattle. Workman made a disastrous decision to enter the banking business in partnership with F.P.F. Temple. When the Temple and Workman Bank failed, the result of careless lending and the financial panic of 1873-74, Workman was obliged to borrow money, using La Puente Ranch as collateral, from E.J. "Lucky" Baldwin. Unable to pay the mortgage, Workman lost all his

holdings to Baldwin. In despair, he shot himself to death in May 1876, as a court-appointed receiver came to take possession of his beloved home. John Rowland was spared all this heartache: he died of natural causes in October 1873.

This is a fascinating book, thoroughly researched and well written. This reviewer found it hard to put down. It is highly recommended for those with an interest in the fur trade, western trails and the development of Southern California.

Reviewed by John Robinson
Fullerton, California

To California on the Southern Route, 1849 - A History and Annotated Bibliography. By Patricia A. Etter.

(Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1998, 178 pp. Photography, illustrations, maps, appendix, glossary, index. \$37.50)

From the foreword by western historian Elliott West to the glossary of obscure trail sites and landmarks, this bibliography is packed with useful information about '49er accounts on the various southern trails to California. At present, it is the definitive bibliography for these 1849 southern trails.

Realizing that little attention has been given in the literature to the southern trails, Etter set out to research this topic. She concentrated on 1849, the year of heaviest usage, and "scoured numerous catalogs, indexes, and on-line databases to locate manuscript material held in library collections throughout the United States." Most accounts are

diaries, either original or rewritten. A few are letters or reminiscences.

Etter's years of systematic inquiry located 181 gold rush accounts for 1849 that are collected into a useful annotated bibliography. About one-third of the 1849 California-bound argonauts used one of the southern trails, according to Etter's research.

Both historic and modern illustrations are scattered throughout the book, including eight trail photos by the author. Different aspects of the southern trails are shown in the three maps.

Etter first gives an historical overview to place the southern trails in the larger scheme of the gold rush era. This overview is followed by an explanation of the various trails, which she has divided into feeder trails, primary trails, and secondary trails. Feeder trails include the Fort Smith to Santa Fe Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, and the Texas trails. Primary trails include the Gila, Southern I, Apache Pass, and Mexican trails. Secondary trails include the El Camino Real, El Camino Diablo and the Zuni to Gila River Trail.

Notably missing from this bibliography is the Old Spanish Trail. This trail was used by those traveling south from Salt Lake City after using the northern trails to reach that outpost city. Though they technically reached California via a more southern route, they used the northern jumping off places.

The annotated accounts are divided into three main categories, according to whether the diarist used the Gila

Trail, the Southern Trail, or the Mexican trails. Each of these categories begins with an introduction to the trail itself, followed by the entries. Each entry is carefully sourced and annotated, allowing the reader to both learn something about each diarist and where to find the document. Some diaries have been published, but many are out of print and hard to find. The remainder are unpublished.

The annotations "highlight aspects of the trip from the diarist's point of view and include biographical information, when available, about the traveler."

Following the annotated listings, the appendix presents a listing of the various diarists with the routes they used. Such a listing is useful if one is researching a particular route. The appendix is followed by the glossary, useful for trail buffs familiar mainly with the northern trails.

Etter is an Associate Archivist for Information Services and the Curator for the Labriola National American Indian Data Center at Arizona State University. Her skills at using library archives and her personal knowledge of the Southwest served her well in this well-written, comprehensive bibliography.

Reviewed by Rose Ann Tompkins
Chandler, Arizona

Editor's Note: Spanish Traces recognizes that there are many good, trail references books that are out-of-print. Many times these books can be

purchased on the secondary market for \$30-\$35. This month two such books are reviewed:

Walkara: Hawk of the Mountains.

By Paul Bailey, (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1954.)

The Lame Captain: The Life and Adventures of Pegleg Smith.

By Sardis W. Templeton, (Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1965.)

**A Look at Published Accounts
of Big-time California Horse
Thievery on the
Old Spanish Trail**

The theft of horse and mules from California for sales at points east via the Old Spanish Trail was of such economic and historic significance that the Hafens devoted a whole chapter to the subject in their important trail history (*Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles*, Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, University of Nebraska Press, 1993). Featured in that chapter is an account of the great 1840 raid on California missions and ranchos that resulted in the theft of thousands of horses and mules for transport back over the trail to the east.

I recently acquired two out-of-print biographies of historical figures with ties to the trail. Both of these books contain accounts of the 1840 raid from the perspective of participants. This article reviews two accounts of the same incident.

There is sufficient documentary evidence to ascertain that a significant raid, or series of raids, occurred in 1840. The Mexican government Departmental State Papers are cited by Hafen with

regard to reports of the theft and the pursuit undertaken by Californios.

The earlier of the biographies, *Walkara: Hawk of the Mountains* (Paul Bailey, Westernlore Press, Los Angeles), was published in 1954, the same year that Arthur Clark first published the Hafen trail history. Thus, the materials each had were not available to the other, at least in published form.

Bailey's *Walkara* identifies Thomas "Pegleg" Smith, Jim Beckwourth, and Walkara as the principals in the great raid. According to Bailey, Beckwourth was sent ahead to scout out the herds between San Luis Obispo and the Santa Ana River. Coming later were Walkara and Smith, leading a mixed band of mountain men and Ute warriors who executed simultaneous raids on herds over a vast expanse of California. Bailey claims that Walkara led the raid on San Luis Obispo which gained 1,000 horses and many silvered and brocaded saddles, while Smith guarded the rendezvous point and exit to the desert, Cajon Pass. Bailey reports that 5,000 horses were taken, of which 3,000 made it to the Mojave Desert. The furious Californios mounted a sizable and vigorous pursuit. Smith and his mixed party took the brunt of the attack from the pursuers. After linking with Walkara (who had crossed the mountains at Tehachapi Pass), Smith and company lured the pursuers into an ambush at a desert water hole. Sending part of the band and the stolen horses ahead, the remaining group stampeded the Californio's horses at the water, forcing the

Californios to return home on foot.

The raid took its toll on the Walkara-Smith band. Ten years later, when asked by Major Bell where he got his horses, Smith is quoted:

Oh! I went down into the Spanish country and got them... They cost me very dearly... Three of my squaws lost brothers, and one of them a father, on that trip, and I came near going under myself. I lost several other braves, and you can depend on it that I paid for all the horses I drove away. Them Spaniards followed us and fought us in a way that Spaniards were never before known to do.

Asked how many horses had been taken, Smith said:

Only about 3000; the rascals got about half of what we started with away from us, damn them. I made up my mind to try it over, but then our own people taking the country broke up my plans.

The second biography is that of Thomas Long Smith (*The Lame Captain: The Life and Adventures of Pegleg Smith*, by Sardis W. Templeton, Westernlore Press, Los Angeles, 1965). Pegleg Smith was a celebrated Mountain Man. As the book's dust jacket summary says, "Legend insists that Pegleg Smith rode more miles, horseback, loved more Indian women, and stole more horses than any other man in history." This book, published eleven years after the Hafen book, interestingly, does not cite Hafen in its bibliography, although it does cite the Bailey *Walkara* book.

In most respects, Templeton agrees with Bailey's account, and adds more detail of the reports of actions by the Californios. His account reports the early scouting by Beckwourth, and agrees that Walkara led the raid on San Luis Obispo. He deals somewhat more extensively with the role of one (Philip) Thompson, whose role is discussed in Hafen, as is the possible participation by Old Bill Williams. Templeton suggests that over a hundred and perhaps as many as two hundred "freebooters of all nations" (a quote ascribed to Rufus Sage in 1841) joined the great assault. These he called "shaguanosas" (Hafen calls them chaguanosas).

Templeton, alluding to official Mexican reports for his information about the pursuit, did not recount any ambush of the Californios. Hafen did recite the American/Ute version of the ambush, and did not refute it.

Both biographical accounts suffer from insufficient documentation of sources for their reports. Both cite Horace Bell's *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, and both cite articles by Eleanor Lawrence in a magazine, *Touring Topics*, in the early 1930's. Criticism for documentation deficiencies aside, both books present interesting perspectives of two important personalities in the history of the Old Spanish Trail.

Reviewed by Willard Lewis
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Check out "Books" on our website:
<http://www.slv.org> and click on the Old Spanish Trail button--then Books



Looking Glass Rock on the OST near La Sal Junction, Utah

Photograph courtesy of C. W. Querfeld, 1998.

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