

SPANISH TRACES



Volume 11

Spring 2005

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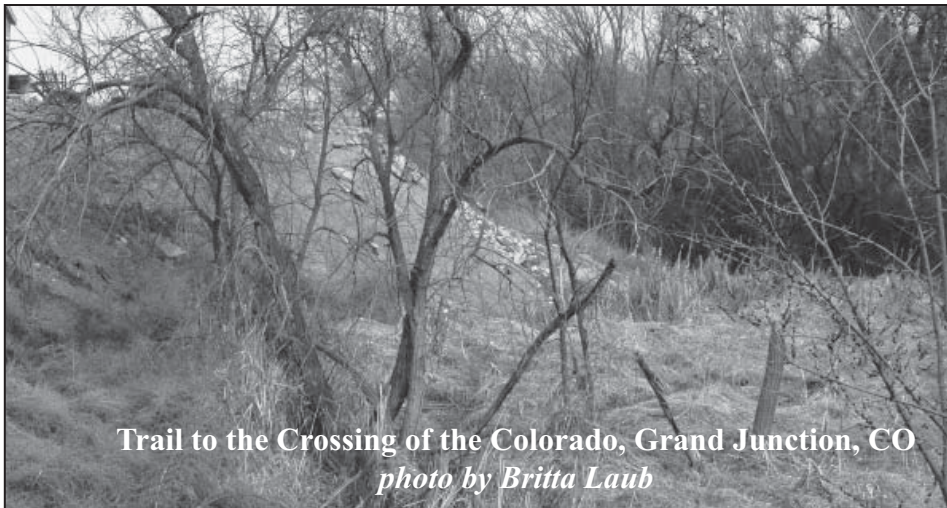
From the editors

“Editor, n.: A severely virtuous censor, but so charitable withal that he tolerates the virtues of others and the vices of himself.” Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil’s Dictionary*.

With such charitable intentions, we have agreed to try out being the new editors of *Spanish Traces*. We say “try out” because the job appears to be a very big one, which the Carpenters and earlier editors have done so admirably that we feel hard-pressed to maintain the high editorial standards of the publication. We are firmly committed to the promotion of all the old trails and the history of western expansion, and we see the editorship as a contribution towards this end. We admire the way *ST* combines aspects of a newsletter with those of a journal, and intend to maintain its current format and style.

See you in Las Vegas!

Deborah and Jon Lawrence



Trail to the Crossing of the Colorado, Grand Junction, CO
photo by Britta Laub

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OSTA's Online Store

www.cafepress.com/osta

Support OSTA! Visit OSTA's online store and purchase merchandise (T-shirts, sweatshirts, caps, tote bags, mugs, stickers and more) with the OST and OSTA logos.

National Trails Day June 4, 2005

The American hiking society is sponsoring National Trails Day, on June 4, 2005. The theme for the day is "Take the path to a healthier you." The website for NTD contains links to the associated events (hiking, biking, trail repair, etc.) that will occur in each state in the U.S. Visit the website at

<http://www.americanhiking.org/events/ntd/>.



Historic Trails of Arizona

A new webpage, Historic Trails of Arizona, has been established as part of the Arizona State Parks' website. The webpage includes a detailed map showing all the old historic trails through Arizona, including the Armijo Route of the Old Spanish Trail, and links to webpages for each trail. The page for the OSNHT includes a photo of Navajo Canyon by Paul Ostapuk. The website URL is

<http://www.azstateparks.com/partnerships/trails/map>.

Visit the OSTA Website

<http://www.oldspanishtrail.org>

The upgrade is now on-line and you will see some marvelous changes, thanks to our new webmaster, Claude Warren. We will appreciate your comments and suggestions toward further refinements, and especially about what else **you** want included. S-mail or e-mail to website manager Carol Corbett whose address is in the side-bar at the right.

- Also take a look at "www.nps.gov/olsp."

All matters relating to *Spanish Traces* should be directed to the Co-editors and Publisher:

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Spanish Traces is the official publication of the Old Spanish Trail Association, a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado. *ST* welcomes submission of letters, articles, book reviews, and OST related news. Inquire for guidelines. The next deadline for submissions is Aug. 15, 2005.

The OST, one of America's great long distance trade routes, is now our country's most recent National Historic Trail. We encourage you to join OSTA, help in its preservation, and increase appreciation of our SW's multicultural heritage.

Membership Dues:

Regular (single or couple)	\$20/year
Student (under 18)	\$12/year
Institutional	\$25/year
Sustaining (single or couple)	\$30/year
Life (single or couple)	\$250
Corporate	\$100 min/year

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President's Corner

by Dr. Reba Wells Grandrud

I am grateful that many of our states, or portions of them, were blessed with rain this winter, and I hope that you were able to see some of the resulting wildflowers. Arizona's March deserts were gorgeous --globe mallow, brittlebush, desert marigold, chia, chicory, lupine, Arizona poppies, fiddleneck, owl clover, fairy duster, ocotillo, and, in places, lush stands of *filaree*. Together with the special green of grass and shrubs after a rain, it was spectacular!

The annual OSTA Membership meeting and Symposium is coming up soon--June 17 to 19 in Las Vegas--and your conference planners have come up with a great line-up of speakers who will focus on southern Nevada. John Robinson and Liz Warren, well-known OSTA personalities, will elaborate on recent Antonio Armijo research. Eva Jensen and Greg Seymour will broaden our understanding of the region as they speak, respectively, on "Lost City, Prehistory along the OST in Southern Nevada," and "Las Vegas Springs, Crossroads in the Mojave Desert." Jensen is an archaeologist and curator at Overton's Lost City Museum and Seymour is manager of the research division at the Las Vegas Springs Preserve, which is listed on the National Register.

The spotlight on Saturday morning will be on OSTA membership and local chapters. The keynote speaker

will be Steve Elkington, from the National Park Service's Long Distance Trails Office in Washington, D. C. Conference attendees are invited to join in an afternoon workshop that will be co-hosted by OSTA and the Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS). The workshop is designed to give participants tips on techniques they can take home and apply in their communities.

Saturday night, we can relax with good food and another experienced Nevada speaker, Dr. Michael Green, of the Community College of Southern Nevada. The title of Dr. Green's talk is intriguing, but I don't know whether it's reassuring or frightening--"Las Vegas: What Happens Here Could Happen Anywhere?" Depends, I guess, on your personal view of L.V.

On Sunday, there will be a workshop and half-day fieldtrips, one along the Armijo Route into Las Vegas Valley and the other into Red Rock Canyon. Or you may choose one of the daylong bus trips, the first following the OST north to the California Crossing of the Muddy River, and the second following the OST south from the California border to Red Rock Canyon. All fieldtrips (half and all-day) end at Spring Mountain Ranch State Park for an evening barbecue.



You remember the old expression, "the more, the merrier." I think this may apply this year because the Partnership for National Trails System is meeting with us, increasing the opportunities for interesting sessions and workshops, as well as for networking with volunteers and staff from other national historic and scenic trails. PNTS will continue Monday through Wednesday with more speakers, sessions, workshops, and fieldtrips. OSTA members are invited to stay over and enjoy this special opportunity to meet like-minded trail users from all over the country.

REMEMBER this is *your* Old Spanish Trail Association. If you can attend the annual meeting, do so. It is always informative and fun. But more importantly, get involved with the Trail in your own community, region, and state. You can make a difference as we all work together to preserve and appreciate our historic byways, corridors, passages, pathways, roads, ruts, swales, and tracks, traces, and trails.



Board Meeting Summary

The OSTA board meeting was held in Grand Junction, Colorado, on March 4-5, 2005. Hosted by OSTA's North Branch chapter, it was held at the Grand Junction BLM headquarters. It was preceded on March 3 by a Colorado BLM Statewide Meeting on the Old Spanish Trail. In addition to BLM representatives, these meetings were attended by the OSNHT Comprehensive Management Plan (CMP) team: Sarah Schlanger, BLM, and Aaron Mahr, NPS, both of Santa Fe. On March 5, the North Branch chapter led a field trip to sites on the North Branch of the OST. The following are some highlights from the meeting:

1. Partnership: The meeting provided an excellent interaction between OSTA and both the local BLM and the CMP team. (See article by Britta Laub in this issue.)

2. Bylaws: Several changes in the Bylaws concerning board positions, terms of office for board members and directors, and procedures for chapters, will be presented at the Las Vegas annual membership meeting.

3. New Chapter: Welcome to the new Tecopa Chapter, which now has a full membership!

4. Nominating: The 2005 election will proceed with a willing slate of candidates.

5. Interpretation: The board approved funding for a number of mini-exhibits to be placed in visitor centers, museums, etc., near trail routes. The USFS Ghost Ranch facility north of Abiuiu may agree to house an OSTA exhibit.

6. New Mexico Chapter:

Attendance at chapter meetings and events has been increased substantially by holding joint meetings with the Santa Fe Trail Association and with the Santa Fe Corral of Westerners.

efforts to lead a cleanup of a section of the OST south of town.

9. Canyon Legacy: *Canyon Legacy*, v. 53, Spring 2005, dedicated to articles on the OST, is available from the Dan O'Laurie Museum, 118 E. Center St., Moab, UT 84532 (435-259-7985).

10. Flyovers: The Flight of Discovery flew over the Lewis and Clark Trail last year, interacting with school groups and museums. Following their presentation, the board discussed whether to work

with them to fly the OSNHT. Kenn Carpenter announced that a second pilot's group plans to fly over the Armijo route in September 2005. OSTA will support the flyover by providing speakers.

11. West Fork: The board voted to recommend to the CMP team that the West Fork of the North Branch of the OST be included in planning deliberations.

12. Conferences:

OSTA's Las Vegas national conference (see announcement in this issue) will be held jointly with the meeting of the Partnership for the National Trails System, allowing members to attend both meetings for a small additional fee. The 2006 OSTA conference will be held in Green River, Utah. Wayne Hinton will serve as the Conference Coordinator.



Grand Junction Board Meeting

photo by Britta Laub

7. Congressional support:

Richard Baca, Regional Director for Congressman John Salazar, and Judy Kareus, Regional Director for Senator Ken Salazar, expressed appreciation for OSTA and interest in promoting tourism on the trail.

8. Special presentation: Matt Young, an Eagle Scout from Grand Junction, was recognized for his

Impressions of the Grand Junction Board Meeting

*by Britta Laub
Supervisory Outdoor Recreation Planner,*

The Old Spanish Trail Association's North Branch Chapter President, Bob Moston, contacted me early in 2005, requesting use of our conference room for their National Board Meeting to be held on March 4 – 5, 2005. I jumped at the opportunity for BLM to host this meeting for a number of reasons.

- The BLM and the National Park Service are developing the OST comprehensive plan and would benefit through direct interaction with the OSTA National Board.
- The OST serves as the eastern boundary of the Dominguez Escalante Community Stewardship Plan, a joint planning effort between the Grand Junction and Uncompahgre BLM Field Offices. OSTA has been identified as a key partner in this effort.
- I am fairly new to the area, am assigned OST field office duties, and learn something new about the OST every time I speak with Jack and Catherine Nelson, Bob Moston, and Bill Chenoweth. Imagine how much more I could learn with the entire board in my office and on a field trip!

Through communication with the Colorado BLM OST State Lead, Dan Haas and OST National Planning Team Lead, Sarah Schlanger (NM BLM), it became evident that we had an opportunity to reap multiple benefits from this

event. Dan organized a Colorado BLM OST contact coordination meeting to be held the day before the OSTA meeting, with an invitation extended to all local OSTA and National Board members. Sarah coordinated with her counterpart in the NPS, Aaron Mahr, and arranged to attend the board meeting and scheduled additional time to accomplish a "rapid reconnaissance" of the OST in Colorado.

The BLM Colorado OST meeting went very well. It was then time for the board meeting. What a great group of OST enthusiasts! Not only did they bring expertise about the OST at many levels to the meeting, but they brought some unique ideas on supporting momentum for the planning effort, funding, and membership of OSTA. A highlight for me was a presentation on the Lewis and Clark "Flight of Discovery," a team of General Aviation pilot/scientists who flew and documented the river corridors and overland routes of the Lewis and Clark expedition. A welcome

surprise was the presence of Regional Directors for Colorado Representative Salazar and Senator Salazar at the meeting.

Early the next morning we met for a half day field trip. Starting at Delta, Colorado, our stops included the Ute Council Tree, the town of Roubideau, Ft. Uncompahgre Living History Museum, Fool's Hill, the Crossing of the Grand site, and Eagle Rim Park (the site of the OST dedication).

Not only did I learn more about the trail, I learned a great deal about the people who lead OSTA. I am convinced that with the combined efforts of the OSTA, BLM, and NPS, we will achieve the on-the-ground vision of those who foresaw the OST designation and incorporation into the National Scenic and Historic Trails system.



Richard Baca addresses the board meeting.
photo by Britta Laub

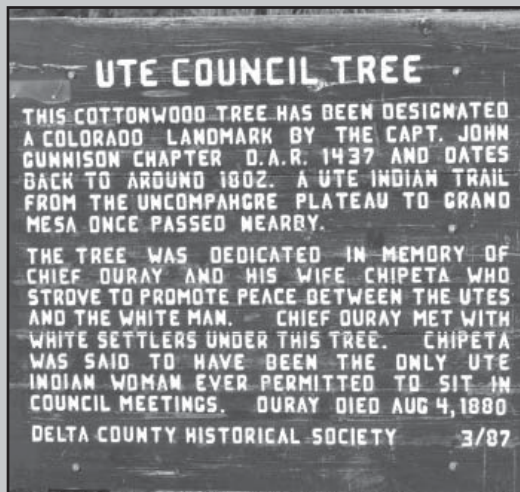


Matt Young receives OSTA recognition for his work in cleaning up a section of the OST south of Grand Junction.



The field trip at the Ute Council Tree in Delta, CO.

photos by Britta Laub



Interpretive kiosk and traces of OST/Salt Lake Wagon Road at Fool's Hill, west of Delta, CO.

Chapter News

La Vereda del Norte Chapter

The Executive Committee of the La Vereda del Norte Chapter met at the Rio Grande County Museum in Del Norte, Colorado, on Saturday, March 19. President Max Lara and Secretary Pat Richmond presented a report from the OSTA Board of Directors' meeting that they attended in Santa Fe last November. Lara read a letter from Colorado director, Doug Knudson, describing the national board's meeting in Grand Junction the weekend of March 4-5.

The committee reviewed last year's wagon train event and other fundraising activities. Lara reported that the La Vereda chapter had received a grant to be used for identifying and promoting awareness of the routes through the San Luis Valley.

The members discussed the status of the West Fork of the North Branch and what steps need to be taken to put this route back on the national map. Richmond suggested that officers and board members submit articles about the trail which she will forward to publications throughout the area. The chapter will encourage a letter-writing campaign by knowledgeable people to reinforce the historic significance of the West Fork.

The committee members then discussed plans for the 2005 annual meeting. To renew interest in the West Fork, which provided the original impetus for establishing the

Old Spanish Trail Association, the La Vereda chapter will host a field trip along that route prior to and following the annual business meeting. Participants will meet in Antonito, Colorado, at 8:30 a.m. on June 25 in the parking lot south of the Cumbres and Toltec RR depot. Lara and Frye will lead the group northward toward Del Norte in proximity to the well-worn trail. The field trip does not require four-wheel-drive vehicles.

Around noon, La Vereda members and guests will meet at the Rio Grande County Museum in Del Norte for a catered BBQ picnic lunch prior to convening for their Annual General Membership Meeting. (Those wishing to attend the BBQ lunch will need to RSVP.) Following the election of officers and other business matters, the group will proceed with the second phase of the field trip by following the trail north from Del Norte to Saguache, Colorado. Again, the route approximates the original trail ruts so that people can travel in passenger vehicles. If time allows, the field trip ends west of Saguache where the East and West forks merged.

All southern Colorado members and other OSTA members are invited to participate in the field trip and BBQ lunch. A newsletter plus press releases will carry more details during the coming weeks. For more information about the La Vereda del Norte Chapter, the West Fork field trip, or the North Branch through the San Luis Valley, contact Pat Richmond, patsjoy@pocketmail.com.

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Nevada Chapter

The chapter held a well-attended annual meeting in March. The board was re-elected. Planning for the 2005 OSTA/PNTS Conference in Las Vegas was the main subject of the meeting. Quite a few members have volunteered to help at the conference and will be put to work assisting with book sales, registration, and field trips.

The chapter will be hosting a booth at the annual Cultural History Fair again this year.

Liz Warren, Hal Steiner, and Carol Corbett continue to work with BLM on interpretative kiosks. The locations and design have been finalized. Each of the eight structures will have an adobe brick base with a tan or copper brown roof. The text has also been finalized. Construction will begin this summer, with installation in the fall. Project completion should be in December.

We were recently contacted by several people in the Pahrump area who are interested in starting a chapter. Liz will meet with them to educate them about OSTA and to determine their interests.

Carol met with BLM staff regarding an application by the Southern Nevada Water Authority to build a diversion structure on the Virgin River, along with a dam in the area of the trail up onto Mormon Mesa. The application will be the subject of an Environment Impact Statement, so any effects on the trail will be reported in that document. Liz was interviewed on the hour-long

Nevada public radio series "State of Nevada." The interview highlighted Liz's long involvement in historic preservation. She mentioned the role of the Old Spanish Trail in southern Nevada history several times throughout the interview.

Carol Corbett

North Branch Chapter

The North Branch Chapter lost an outstanding member and leader with the passing of James M. (Jim) Robb on February 21, 2005. Jim was an exemplary citizen and patriot, and a student of history and the law. He was one of the founding members of our chapter. It was largely through Jim's work with the Colorado congressional delegation that legislation was introduced resulting in the designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail. The chapter is planning an informational sign to be placed in Grand Junction's Eagle Rim Park, overlooking the route of the Old Spanish Trail, which will explain the OST and recognize Jim's contribution toward putting the trail in its rightful place in our local history.

In March the North Branch Chapter hosted the OSTA National Board of Directors' meeting.

Several North Branch Chapter members were in attendance; it was a very productive and informative meeting for all. The day preceding the Board meeting President Grandrud and others were invited to attend a meeting of Bureau of Land Management and National Park Service personnel who are involved in the long range planning efforts for the Old Spanish Trail. This very informative meeting brought many of us up to date with the current plan as well as future plans for the trail.

At our April board meeting we were informed that the Bureau of Land Management and Mesa County are engaged in a long-range planning process that will extend the existing 4-mile segment of Old Spanish Trail south of Grand Junction. The ultimate goal for this project is to connect the cities of Delta and Grand Junction with a trail. The chapter anticipates an active participation in this effort.

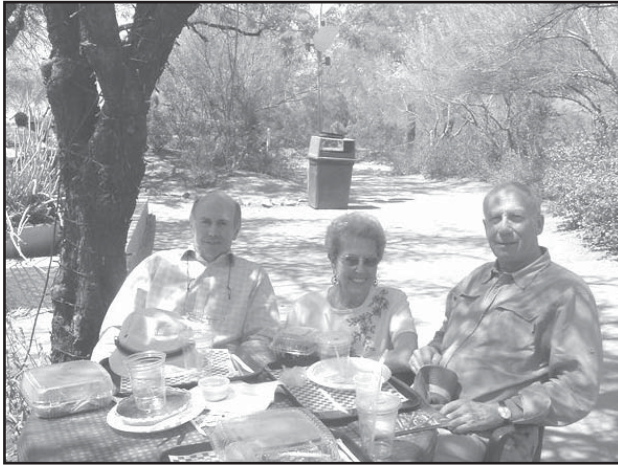
Effective April 28, Bob Moston has resigned as chapter president.

Juanita Moston



North Branch at the Spring Board Meeting

photo by Britta Laub



David Fallowfield, Reba Grandrud, and Bill Ramsay
Desert Botanical Gardens, Phoenix

William Workman Chapter

Since the general meeting held on 14 November 2004 two newsletters have been produced and circulated to members. The winter edition of *Spanish Traces* has been received and distributed.

The President and Secretary are looking forward to meeting Reba Wells Grandrud in Phoenix on 16 April 2005 during their visit to Arizona, Nevada and California. On April 19 they will stay at the Ranch House Inn, China Ranch, Tecopa. Cynthia Kienitz has requested that they speak to the Tecopa Chapter members. The Secretary is prepared to give a talk about the Workman brothers (David & William) and their pioneering exploits.

At the request of Reba Grandrud, matters are in hand to produce a 10-minute video about the Workman Chapter for viewing at the Annual Conference in June. This would need to be in DVD format, since UK VHS

Video would not be compatible with US Video systems.

In addition to the contacts mentioned above, the Secretary has been in touch with Carol Corbett of the Nevada Chapter and Bill Chenoweth of the North Branch Chapter. This, together with regular contact with the Carpenters, helps this remote chapter of OSTA to not feel isolated.

David Fallowfield

Rancho Chapter

The most prominent activity in March was the four-wheel tour along the Mojave Road led by Neal and Marian Johns. Rick Whitaker wrote an informative tour article, published in the April issue of the Rancho Chapter newsletter, *Los Toros y Los Osos*. Among the participants were Dave Crocker, Nick Cataldo and his son Jay, Mary Mueller and Pat Loomis. This spring, Cliff Walker, Brad Mastin and other chapter volunteers will continue mapping

in Spanish Canyon along the Old Spanish Trail. The chapter plans to end the year in May by visiting the John Rains House, formerly the headquarters of Rancho Cucamonga. After a tour of the historic house and a brown bag lunch, the members will have their annual meeting and election of officers.

Joanne Hinchliff

Salida del Sol Chapter

To date we have a paid membership of 33 people. There are 13 members from last year's roster who have not paid their dues yet.

Our chapter project, the wayside exhibit for Abiquiu, is being fabricated at this time and should be delivered to Bode's Store in March. We are looking forward to a spring dedication. The new chapter project, researching Antonio Armijo in New Mexico, has been taken up by Claudio Chacon.

We had three meetings in the fall and three in the winter. This year we are holding joint meetings with the Santa Fe Trail Chapter and are having increased attendance at meetings. Our annual meeting will be held in April, and we hope to have a slate of officers and directors to elect.

In the spring and the fall, we have field trips planned to the Martinez Hacienda in Taos and a ride on the Cumbres and Toltec Railroad.

Pat Kuhlhoff

Tecopa Chapter

During a visit in April to the U.S. from England, David Fallowfield and Bill Ramsey spent the evening with Cynthia Kienitz (Tecopa Chapter president) at her B&B on historic China Ranch. Dave is a descendant of David and William Workman and Bill is the president of the U.K. chapter. With English scotch and American cognac, they toasted the Workmans and the OST.

The planning team for the OST Comprehensive Management Plan -- Sarah Schlanger, Aaron Mahr, and Sharon Brown -- visited Cynthia's B & B in April while on their tour of the trail in California. Brad Mastin (chapter secretary) from the Barstow BLM was their guide for this part of the country. This group has endless enthusiasm and energy for the trail and a thorough grasp of trail history. Working with the team is easy and enjoyable. In what is quickly becoming a local tradition, the trail was once again toasted at dinner. Interesting trail stories were told by all, while Cynthia's B & B guests listened in rapt attention.

Our chapter is participating in the development of a comprehensive strategy, including a series of grants, to locate and assess trail sites and segments on private and federal land throughout the California desert. Our priority is to get these sites nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. This is crucial for the identification and protection of Trail resources. It is an exciting step that is necessary for our ability to compete for future funding.

The Tecopa Chapter is helping restore public access to the OST in the Amargosa Canyon. For the last 50 years, access had been across private land. On a cold wintery day in February, work began on a new alignment across public land. Helping with this effort, Steve Garrett and Cynthia Kienitz rode mules on the new alignment to evaluate it for pack and saddle use. Steve is setting up trail rides on the OST from China Ranch. With his extensive knowledge of horses and mules, he helped the BLM lay out the new trail. The Tecopa Chapter will be competing for state grants later this year to fund additional trail improvements and signs.

The *Las Vegas Review Journal*, the major newspaper in Las Vegas, NV, celebrated their 100th anniversary with an historic trail ride on the OST. The newspaper commemorated John Fremont's 1844 journey on the OST past a vast desert marshland, now called Las Vegas. John Fremont wrote the first detailed description of this water, which led to subsequent migration to the Las Vegas area. The 3-day ride started at China Ranch, CA, and ended at Red Rock Canyon near Las Vegas, NV. Muleskinners, horses, mules, riders and wranglers all had a good time. Celebrities Waddy Mitchell, America's best-known

cowboy poet, and Don Edwards, bard and balladeer, provided entertainment. Board members Garrett, Mastin and Kienitz helped plan and support the China Ranch leg of the event.

Cynthia Kienitz



Treasurer's Report

March 5, 2005

Assets:

Checking account	5,652
T.R. Price Prime Reserve	<u>8,403</u>
Total:	14,055

Liabilities:

Outstanding checks	587
UK Chapter Ledger	7
UK John Sharp Ledger	51
Mileage reimbursement to Board	<u>1,500</u>

Total 2,145

Net assets: (3/05/2005) 11,910

Allocation of remaining assets:

Marker Fund -- protected	4,789
<i>Spanish Traces</i> -- protected	2,500
Retail sales account	960
General ledger	236
NPS CA reimbursement	<u>3,425</u>

Total 11,910

Kenn Carpenter

Book Reviews

Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849. George Harwood Phillips. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993. 223 pages. ISBN: 0806129042. Hardcover. (out of print)

Indians and Indian Agents, The Origin of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852. George Harwood Phillips. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. 238 pages. ISBN: 0806129042. Hardcover. (out of print)

Bringing them under subjection: California's Tejon Indian Reservation and Beyond, 1852-1864. George Harwood Phillips. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xvii + 369 pages, illustrations, maps. Hardcover, \$59.95.

The Spanish colonization of California had a major impact on the lives of native peoples. The Franciscan mission system required the Indians to abandon their traditional culture and embrace Christianity, learn the Spanish language, and become proficient in agriculture and stock raising. In time, these “neophytes” would become loyal members of an ordered, European-oriented, agrarian society. The traditional belief, fostered by many writers and pseudo-historians, hold that most of the California native peoples -- those who survived the white man’s diseases -- meekly submitted to Spanish, Mexican, and later Anglo encroachment on their lands.

George Harwood Phillips, in his three-volume, intensive study of the native peoples of California’s great Central Valley, disputes this belief

as an over-simplification of what really happened. He points out that many of the Indians, unwilling to adapt to the mission system, fled into the interior San Joaquin Valley -- then known as *Los Tulares* by the Spanish -- where they mixed with the native Miwoks and Yokuts, and became, in Phillips’ words, “active members of independent, enduring societies.” These ex-mission Indians soon became a thorn in the side of the coastal missions and ranches, repeatedly raiding the Spanish and later Mexican Californio settlements and stealing livestock. Military expeditions into the interior valley to retrieve the purloined animals and punish the native renegades met determined resistance and were generally unsuccessful. The interior native peoples retained their own cultural identity during the seventy-seven year era of Spanish and Mexican California.

The American conquest of California and the ensuing Gold Rush brought drastic change in the lives of the interior native peoples. The overwhelming influx of miners and settlers during and immediately after the California Gold Rush led to an inevitable clash with the Indians, many of them rudely forced out of their homes and hunting grounds. Hostile acts were committed by both sides. Congress attempted to solve the problem by authorizing the appointment of three commissioners, or agents, who were to make treaties with the many tribal groups in the state. Redick McKee, Oliver Wozencraft, and George Barbour, the three appointed Indian commissioners, met in San Francisco in January 1851. They divided the state into three districts and set out together, with a military

escort, to parlay with the various native groups. The result was the forging of eighteen separate treaties with 140 Indian tribal entities which granted the native peoples 11,700 square miles of California interior lands--roughly seven percent of the state’s total area.

When the treaties were made known, a storm of protest erupted from settlers and miners. The treaties were supported by a few courageous San Francisco newspaper editors, but their voice was drowned out by much of the enraged white populace. “The Indian must go!” shouted mining town newspapers, which vigorously protested the commissioners’ plan of settling “hordes of savages in the heart of the state.” The state legislature instructed California’s two senators to vote against the plan when it came up for Senate approval. The U.S. Senate rejected all eighteen treaties in June 1852. Despite the rejection of the treaties, Phillips points out that several Indian reservations were set up by the commissioners--the largest being the Fresno Reservation--and lasted some two years before white encroachment doomed them.

The same year the Senate rejected the eighteen treaties, Edward F. Beale was appointed Indian Superintendent for California. His mission was to try to solve “the Indian problem.” Beale, no stranger to California, arrived in San Francisco in September 1852. He realized the urgency of the Indian situation. With the help of Benjamin Wilson, Indian agent in Southern California, Beale devised a plan to settle native people on a number of small, nonpermanent “military” reservations, each of which would become self-supporting, and each protected by a military post. Many

writers have given Beale credit for originating the California Indian Reservation system, but Phillips points out that this is not so. The original three commissioners first came up with the plan when they set up the quasi-legal and short-lived Fresno Reservation and several other small ones. Beale merely expanded and “fine tuned” the agents’ plan. In March 1853 Congress passed an act authorizing Beale to establish five “military reservations” in California “for Indian purposes,” each to be located on public lands with no white occupants. Beale and Wilson checked out several desert and mountain sites but found them lacking in water and cultivatable land. They looked with more favor on the southeastern edge of the San Joaquin Valley, well watered by creeks emitting from the Tehachapi Mountains. In October 1853 Beale proposed three reserves at the southern end of the San Joaquin. Only one of the three was actually established. Beale named it the Sebastian Reservation in honor of William K. Sebastian, chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. It was more commonly known as the Tejon Reservation as it lay below Tejon Pass and was located, contrary to Congressional directive, on the El Tejon land grant. To protect the reservation, the Army established Fort Tejon in *Canada de las Uvas* (Grapevine Canyon). Sparing no expense, Beale successfully launched the Tejon Indian Reservation. Initially there were around 350 Yokuts Indians living on reservation lands; they were soon joined by several hundred more from elsewhere in the great valley and the southern Sierra Nevada foothills. Beale provided them food,

clothing, livestock, farm implements and, above all, the opportunity to live in self-sufficient native communities. By early 1854 Beale had spent some \$125,000 for reservation purposes.

Either from excessive zeal to help the Indians, or from malfeasance, as his enemies charged, Beale fell into disfavor with Indian Commissioner George Manypenny in Washington. Why had Beale placed the reservation on the El Tejon land grant when Congress specified it should be on unoccupied public land? Why had he exceeded authorized expenditures and failed to send an accounting of these expenses to Washington? Had he diverted some of the money for personal gain? Although there was no evidence that Beale used federal funds for his own benefit, his excessive expenditures and sloppy accounting practices resulted in his dismissal as California Indian Superintendent as of May 31, 1854, the order signed by President Franklin Pierce. Beale was succeeded by Thomas Henley, postmaster of San Francisco and a Democratic Party stalwart. Henley set up a number of small quasi-reservations known as “Indian Farms,” leased from private landowners, in the years 1854 to 1856, the major ones being Fresno Farm, Kings River Farm, and Tule River Farm. Here the Indians were provided with the bare necessities to practice agriculture, but in the end, disputes with the landowners and the increasing numbers of white settlers led to their demise.

The management of the Sebastian (Tejon) Reservation deteriorated rapidly after Beale was relieved of his duties as superintendent. A number

of inefficient agents followed, some of them corrupt. The problem was complicated by a revolt of the Paiutes of Owens Valley in 1862. The Army crushed the revolt and removed most of the Paiutes to Fort Tejon, the Tejon Reservation, and later to the Tule River reservation

The end for the Tejon Reservation came in 1864, the victim of mismanagement, white encroachment, and the fact that the reservation was not on public lands. A federal court decision in July 1863 ruled that the Indian lands were inside the 1844 El Tejon land grant. Beale, appointed Surveyor General of California by President Lincoln in 1861, used his position to help gain a land “empire.” He obtained the patent for the El Tejon land grant in 1863. He combined El Tejon with two other ranches he had previously purchased, and another one he bought in 1866, to form his massive Rancho El Tejon. Living on his rancho, most of them working for Beale, were some 300 Indian tenants, about the same number that lived there when the Sebastian Reservation was created in 1853.

Sadly, as Phillips writes, “The Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, experiencing relocation, dislocation, and subjection, underwent cultural, economic, political, and demographic transformation of staggering proportions.... Once managers of their own affairs, they became managed people.” It is a depressing story, but one that needs to be told.

reviewed by John Robinson

Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift.

Thomas E. Chávez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. 286 pages, including appendices, plates, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover; \$21.95 paperback.

Dr. Thomas Chavez' book on Spain's role in the American Revolutionary War is not an easy read, but an excellent in-depth study that is worth the effort. It is also a book that many will want to own as a reference for 18th-century American history. Chávez' research was centered in the archives of Spain, in Granada, Madrid, Málaga, Seville, and Valladolid, and in the the National Archives in Washington, D.C. He also utilized his own state's rich primary sources in Santa Fe: the State Records Center and Archives, the Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, and the Palace of the Governors Museum, as well as numerous secondary sources.

Chávez began this multi-year quest, a "personal fulfillment" because of his Hispanic heritage, several years ago when he was a beginning curator at the Palace of the Governors Museum. He was rummaging through some uncatalogued artifacts in the museum basement. There in a box, he found three silk flags, with detailed and colorful oil-painted insignias, and a letter explaining that these were banners of the Spanish regiments that had fought in the American War of Independence. The flags were a gift from the Spanish government to the State of New Mexico on the occasion of the 1976 U. S. Bicentennial.

The resulting book does not cover the story of how the U. S. won independence from England in the 1770s, but it does set forth the international context of how Spain significantly helped the Colonies to win. Thirteen chapters have revealing titles, including: "Spanish Lakes and South America," "Duplicity in Favor of the Americans," "Negotiations and the Spanish Declaration of War," "European Allies 1779-83," "The Mississippi River and the Gulf Coast," "A Costly Blow to British Prestige," "Yorktown, the Bahamas and Peace." Intriguing glimpses are given of three men in particular: the Spanish Minister of State, José Moñino y Redondo, Conde de Floridablanca; Count Bernardo de Gálvez, commander of all Spanish forces in the Gulf and Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico); and José de Gálvez, Minister of the Indies, a "Spanish political lightning rod" who directed Spain's military strategy in the Americas.

Spain contributed fighting men, ships, supplies, and money. In Mexico in 1781, a tax "to help sustain the war" was placed on *pulque*, an alcoholic drink from the maguey plant. [In actuality, it seems that not much money was raised; the people simply bought less *pulque*.] In Texas, cattle were herded overland to help feed Bernardo de Gálvez' troops. This has been called Texas' "first cattle drive." When King Carlos III called for a special tax, asking that "his vassals in America contribute for a one time donation of one peso [\$30] per Indian and other castes, and two pesos for each Spaniard

and noble, to sustain the present war," citizens in the provinces of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California responded.

On October 7, 1779, New Mexico's governor, Juan Bautista de Anza, received a copy of the declaration of war, only four months after Spain's actual entry. Teodoro Cavallero de Croix, commandant general of the Internal Provinces of northern New Mexico (Mexico) wrote to Anza and to Felipe de Neve, the governor of California, first about voluntary contributions, then of the king's decree that everyone should contribute. Anza received permission to exempt the Hopi and the Zuni people from the tax. In California, when Governor Neve asked Fray Junípero Serra, the Franciscan, to do the tax collecting, Serra asked whether he could pay it out of church funds instead of getting it from the mission Indians. Serra noted in a letter that is now lost, "We prayed fervently last evening for the success of the colonists under one George Washington, because we believe their cause is just and that the Great Redeemer is on their side."

An unexpected follow-up to this recital of Spain's considerable aid to the American colonists concerns the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). The DAR is a national lineage society that honors and recognizes descendants of those who aided in achieving American independence by "service, with some exceptions, for the period between 19 April 1775 (Battle

of Lexington) and 26 November 1783 (withdrawal of British troops from New York).” After Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Military Service, and Civil Service, there is a category, Patriotic Service with a list of specific acceptable activities, including “Service in the Spanish Troops under Gálvez or the Louisiana Militia after December 24, 1776,” and “Those who rendered material aid, in Spanish America, by supplying cattle for Gálvez’s forces after December 24, 1776.”

The New Mexico DAR, for example, requires women to prove that “their New Mexico Patriot ancestor was at the Presidio of Santa Fe by 3 April 1782 and 18 November 1782, and that he was discharged after November 1783.” (April 3, 1782, is the date Governor Anza announced the *donativos* within the Province of New Mexico; November 18, 1782, represents the date of Anza’s letter informing Teodoro de Croix that all but three *donativos* were collected.)

Dr. Chávez has performed a real service in sharing with readers his diligent search for an answer to why a 20th-century King of Spain would send Spanish battalion flags to the State of New Mexico. We are all enriched by understanding a bit more about that momentous event in modern history, the American Revolution.

reviewed by Reba Grandrud



James (Jim) M. Robb

Jim Robb, whose efforts helped make the Old Spanish Trail a National Historic Trail, died on February 20, 2005, at St. Mary’s Hospital in Grand Junction, CO. He was 69. Robb is survived by his wife Margaret G. Sullivan (Maggie).

Born in New Jersey, Robb earned both his B.A. (1958) and his Law Degree (1961) from the University of Colorado. After a year as an FBI agent in Minnesota, he returned to Grand Junction, Colorado, where he joined a law firm. Robb worked as a deputy district attorney from 1970 to 1972, and then served as an Administrative Assistant to U.S. Senator Peter Dominick in Washington, D.C., until 1975 when he returned to his law practice in Grand Junction. In 1980, he was elected as State Representative to the Colorado General Assembly. He served two terms. He also served for ten years as a member of the Colorado Board of State Parks and Outdoor



Recreation, and as a member of the Colorado Supreme Court Nominating Commission. In 1991, Robb was appointed U. S. Magistrate Judge for Western Colorado.

Judge Robb was founding co-chair of the Riverfront Commission of Grand Junction, which has reclaimed and restored open

space along the Colorado River, including the ford that served as the major crossing for travelers on the Old Spanish Trail. Through his work for the Riverfront Commission, he met Bill Chenoweth, and the two soon became interested in historic trails in the Grand Valley of Western Colorado, including the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. Important progress occurred when Jim persuaded his friend, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, to help designate the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail. An article on Robb’s efforts to promote the Old Spanish Trail was printed in *Spanish Traces*, vol. 9, no. 1 Winter 2003. Robb received an OSTA special award at the Durango meeting in 2003 for his pivotal role in the federal designation of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

The Roads not Taken

Via the Courses of Least Resistance from New Mexico to California: The 1775-1776 letters of Fr. Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Fr. Francisco Garcés

by Jim Byrkit
Professor Emeritus
Northern Arizona University

One of the well-studied expeditions that led to the formation of the Old Spanish Trail was the famous 1776 expedition of two priests, Fr. Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Fr. Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. A key puzzle concerning this expedition is why the adventuresome Domínguez and Escalante, whose stated purpose for the exploration was to find a practicable road from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Monterey, California, took such a roundabout route. It was also unsuccessful; as it turned out, the path they followed did not take them even half-way to Monterey.¹ This was despite the fact that in northern and central Arizona, corridors for travel exist from Santa Fe and Albuquerque directly to California. Indeed, soon after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 added much territory including New Mexico and Arizona to the United States, several military expeditions explored a route across Arizona near the north thirty-fifth parallel. These surveys found a corridor that followed a most direct and natural “course of least resistance,” the most important determining factor in the location of historic and prehistoric trails. These explorations were followed by the Beale Wagon Road, sometimes referred as the Whipple

Route. As early as 1884, a major east-west railroad had been built from Albuquerque to California through this corridor. Today a United States national freeway, Interstate 40, follows this course as did its well-known predecessor, U. S. Route 66.

Primary documents,² including several letters written by Fr. Escalante and one by Fr. Francisco Garcés, show what I believe to be an explanation for this puzzle. In this essay I will try to support the notion that the route taken by the two Spaniards was conceived and carried out despite substantial evidence that more than one direct, safe, and relatively easy course from Santa Fe to California across northern Arizona did exist. I will also discuss the motives for conducting what appears to be such an ill-conceived way of pursuing their goal.

In 1997, Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez, Director of the Spanish Colonial Research Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico, published *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850*. One of the more recent and comprehensive works on this interesting historic subject, Sánchez’s book also presents much information on the background of the Old Spanish Trail, including an account of the historic and circuitous July 29, 1776, to January 2, 1777, trek of the two priests.³

Fr. Domínguez, Commissary Visitor of the Custody of the Conversion of

St. Paul, thirty-four years old, served as the leader of the adventure, and Fr. Escalante, age twenty-four, minister and priest of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zuni Pueblo, acted as the expedition’s record-keeper. Escalante’s journal would become a classic of American Southwest historic literature. Dr. Sánchez’s book tells how the two priests planned to find a path from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Monterey, California, traveling through Colorado and Utah.⁴

At about the same time these two priests were preparing for this historic adventure, another Franciscan, Fray Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés, under orders from both church and government officials, was traveling eastward from California to find a passageway to Santa Fe.⁵ After crossing northern Arizona in early summer, 1776, he reached the Hopi pueblos in northeastern Arizona. Joseph Sánchez’s book tells us the following:

On 3 July 1776 Garcés wrote a letter to the minister at Zuñi, Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, describing his [Garcés’s] explorations and explaining his situation. His letter was forwarded to Santa Fe on 6 July 1776 where Escalante prepared his expedition to the Yuta country. Thus, Garcés supplied Escalante with valuable information about a southern route [as opposed to the route Escalante would use] from the land of the Cosninas [Havasupais] and the Grand Canyon to Oraibe [Hopi]. Escalante already knew the route from Oraibe to Santa Fe via Zuñi.⁶

This letter Sánchez refers to, which Escalante and Domínguez did receive and read, raises an important question: If the two men had learned there was a much more direct and safe course from Santa Fe to California than the one they were about to use, why did they not choose to use Garcés's recently proven shorter and more direct course of travel instead of the more roundabout path through Colorado and Utah?

Two earlier letters written by Fr. Escalante on October 28, 1775, one to New Mexico Governor Don Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, the other to Fr. Fernando Antonio Gomez, Custodian of the College in Querétaro, Mexico, plus another missive sent on May 16, 1776, by Fr. Escalante to Catholic Church Provincial Minister Fray Ysidro Murillo, indicate that Fr. Escalante had considered the path used by Fr. Garcés, but for more than a year had been dead-set against this shorter route even though it went directly westward from Santa Fe to California by way of Zuni and northern Arizona.⁷

Important keys to understanding how the 1776 journey and the later Old Spanish Trail came into being can be found in the motives, policies and practices of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish rule in the New World. The greater economic, religious, and geographical dynamics of that region of Northern New Spain known as "New Mexico," as well as international imperial concerns of the mother country, determined the famous trip—but not the precise route—of Fr. Domínguez and Fr. Escalante in 1776. While the later Old Spanish Trail did not in many places conform to the precise route of the two men

and their entourage, the trek did occur within the context of Spain's efforts to broaden its economic power and assure governmental rule of the region that today is encompassed by the southwest quarter of the United States. And the knowledge gained by this expedition did establish a corridor that encouraged travel from New Mexico to California in the late 1820s after an independent Mexico had gained control of this region.

Not just imperial policy or regional goals shaped the specific course on which the two clerics traveled in 1776. For reasons of his own, one very influential individual, Fr. Escalante, more than any other person, determined the route of the journey. This influence can be found in the letters Escalante had written to both Catholic and governmental leaders before the two priests started on their journey.⁸

As early as 1540 Francisco Vásquez de Coronado ventured northward from Sonora, Mexico, into what is today southeastern Arizona. Friendly indigenes of the region escorted Coronado in his search for "Cíbola" and its rumored "Seven Cities of Gold" and guided him to the Zuni villages. We have documents written at the time describing this exploration. The viceroy of New Spain in Mexico City supported expeditions to broaden the Spanish search for precious minerals and the salvation of souls in what was to become the region of New Mexico. On a remarkably trouble-free trail, the hospitable Indians escorted the adventurer to the Zuni pueblos where Coronado, using force, overcame the first resistance he encountered from the natives. However, the forgiving Zunis guided one of his men, Tovar, to

Hopi; the Hopis graciously welcomed this Spaniard. Later, another one of Coronado's men, Cardenas, went to Hopi, and the Hopis, being friendly, led him to the Grand Canyon. So these Spaniards had some familiarity with the geography of eastern Arizona.⁹

Continuing eastward from Zuni through a convenient passageway to New Mexico's Rio Grande and then searching as far northeast as present-day Kansas, Coronado found no mineral wealth. Disappointed, the adventurers returned to Mexico in the spring of 1542. However, Coronado's very direct trail from Sonora to Zuni would not again be utilized by EuroAmericans until the second half of the nineteenth century—more than three hundred years later.¹⁰

In 1581, thirty-nine years after Coronado had returned to Mexico, two more Spaniards, Fray Agustín Rodríguez, and a military captain, Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, led a party northward from El Paso, ascended the Rio Grande to near today's Bernalillo, New Mexico, forty miles south of where Santa Fe would be founded in 1610. They then traveled westward to Zuni, following the general course of Coronado. Of the three priests in the expedition, one was killed and the other two stayed in the region hoping to convert Indians to Christianity. The remaining members of the group returned to Mexico.¹¹

These expeditions confirmed that a very direct and negotiable east-west travel corridor from the Rio Grande to Zuni did exist.

Another party of Spanish explorers, led by Antonio de Espejo, in 1583

ascended the Rio Grande searching for the two priests from the Rodríguez and Chamuscado expedition. Espejo learned they had been killed. But after hearing from the natives that rich mineral deposits, possibly gold, could be found far to the west, Espejo, most likely following the same “natural course of least resistance” used by the earlier Spaniards, proceeded westward to Zuni. The friendly Zunis told Espejo that the Hopis knew where the rich minerals were, and these Indians escorted the party to Hopi. Guides

from the Hopi villages then led Espejo and his men on an ancient and well-used Indian path, the Palatkwapi Trail, to central Arizona’s Black Hills, where the mining ghost town of Jerome is located today. The Spaniards named this mountain range the “Sierra Azul,” in English, “the Blue Mountains.” The natives of the region, the Yavapai-Apaches, welcomed the Spaniards. Finding only copper ore, Espejo went back to the Rio Grande and returned to Mexico. Between Zuni and the Sierra Azul, the explorers had encountered

no impassable terrain and had found ample water as well as forage for their animals along the trail. They experienced no conflicts with the natives.¹²

In 1598, another expedition, led by Don Juan de Oñate, “the founder of Northern New Spain,” came up the Rio Grande. He, too, learned about rich minerals to the west. Oñate sent one of his officers, Marcos Farfán de los Godos, to investigate. Farfán marched into central Arizona over the natural corridor that Coronado

Courses of least resistance

The fundamental rationale for the location of any trail is “the corridor that offers the most direct course of least resistance between point A and point B.” Most historic trails in the Southwest usually followed existing prehistoric travel corridors, i.e., conspicuous Indian paths that had been determined, through trial and error, many thousands of years ago. Prehistoric routes usually linked the same places EuroAmerican explorers wanted to connect in their travels.

A corridor is determined by 1) the compass directions, as determined by the locations of both point A and point B, the places that a corridor connects; 2) the direct air line distance between point A and point B; 3) the physiography of the terrain between point A and point B, including springs, rivers, deserts, mountains, canyons and other physical traits within the corridor; and, 4) other hindrances such as hostile foes, bad weather, shortage of supplies, prolonged delays in travel, illnesses and other problems of the traveler within the corridor. While point A and point B may be human, political or economic locations, physical geography primarily dictates the “most direct course of least resistance” between these two points. The location of historic trails depends on an understanding of why and how points A and B came to be and in what places geography determined their connection with each other.

One of the most important (and often times the most difficult) part of where a trail’s course might be located is a narrow opening in the topography that allows the trail to follow its course of least resistance. This narrow connection from one region of the trail to another is commonly referred to as a “bottleneck” or “funnel.” A pass through a mountain range would be a good example, an advantageous river crossing another. A funnel is an extremely precise and unchallengeable place on a trail’s route that helps us to find other legs of the trail. Northern and central Arizona offer several funnels that enable a direct east-to-west crossing.

It is not a reckless assumption to state that all of the alternate trails listed in the text, which Domínguez and Escalante might have used, partly or entirely followed ancient and well-used Indian trails. Many of these prehistoric trails were discovered and used by Euro-American travelers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Early Spanish expeditions relied on Indians to guide them along these old trails. Coronado, Espejo, and Garcés state clearly that this is how they travelled. Prehistoric travelers, going from one Indian village to another or from one water hole to another must have followed existing trails. In other words, people had used these trails for several thousand years. They had discovered long ago the paths of least resistance that found the most practicable passageways through the region’s topography and hydrology.

and Espejo had used. Led by Hopis and using the same route traveled by Espejo, the party went to Jerome. They, too, met no difficult topography and no opposition from the natives, but found no gold, and returned to New Mexico. While neither Espejo nor Farfán claimed to discover great wealth, the stories about their travels developed into a famous legend of bountiful gold mines in central Arizona that became known as “The Legend of the Sierra Azul.”¹³

Still curious about the rumored gold, Don Juan de Oñate, himself, went on the same course via Hopi to the Sierra Azul in 1604. Then, after following the Verde River up to its headwaters, he continued westward to the Colorado River which more than two hundred and forty years later years later became the border separating California from Arizona. After descending the Colorado to its mouth at the Gulf of California, Oñate returned to the Rio Grande.¹⁴ From that time on, the Spaniards considered the Hopi villages to be part of New Mexico.

So, early in the seventeenth century, the Spaniards had established *and recorded* a practicable route from New Mexico’s Rio Grande running almost due east-west between 34° 15’ and 35° 40’ north latitudes across north-central Arizona to California.

This passageway, primarily following prehistoric Indian trails and free of major physiographic obstructions such as steep canyons or broad, deep and swift rivers or forbidding mountain ranges, had been identified and formally reported. Often the trails followed the very few rivers

and other streams in this region. As in Garcés’s case, Espejo and Oñate encountered Indian friendliness rather than resistance. Equally important, the Indian paths followed by Espejo and Oñate, like that of Coronado, did not require travel over the very arid desert portions of Arizona. On these trails the explorers found plentiful basic necessities for travel in those days: wood, water, and forage. Why, then, did no EuroAmerican travelers discover these trails across Arizona until almost two hundred and fifty years later? For what reasons did Dominguez and Escalante not follow a documented route to California that was more direct and less geographically challenging than their own circuitous track?¹⁵

Perhaps an explanation to these questions can be found in the history of New Mexico--which at the time included what is today Arizona--between Oñate’s tour in 1604 and Escalante’s and Domínguez’s planned exploration 172 years later.

After the founding of a provincial capital in Santa Fe in 1610, the relationship between the colonists and the native Indians grew severely antagonistic. Over the years following Oñate’s expedition, Spanish priests and officials often traveled the route from Santa Fe to Hopi by way of Zuni. The friars converted to Catholicism many pueblo Indians in central and northern New Mexico, including the Zunis. But the Hopis, strongly resisting the effort to make them Christians, killed several priests. In the New Mexico pueblos much conflict had arisen from the demands placed on the Indians by the Spaniards for food and lodging. The Indians also

resented the forced labor demanded by the Spaniards and by the attempt to convert the Indians to Christianity. They deeply resented the cruel punishment of Indians who did not obey. In 1680, the pueblo Indians of New Mexico, including the Hopis, revolted. Almost all of the Spanish settlers in New Mexico retreated southward on the Rio Grande to El Paso and other places in Mexico.¹⁶

In 1692, another Spaniard, wealthy Don Diego de Vargas, inspired by the one-hundred-year-old legend of gold in Arizona, led a large and well-armed group of men up the Rio Grande to reconquer New Mexico. As they proceeded, they subdued the Indians all the way to Zuni and then continued to Hopi. But now, however, the Hopis, reinforced by refugees from other Indian pueblos seeking refuge, challenged the Spaniards. Intimidated, deVargas retreated. So after Oñate’s 1606 expedition very little in the way of Spanish exploration took place in northern Arizona west of Hopi. The growing number of Apache tribes in central and southern New Mexico and Arizona strongly resisted Spanish intrusion, too.¹⁷

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish expeditions in New Mexico had concentrated on finding mineral wealth and had convinced many of the indigenous people to bow to the Church of Rome. In the eighteenth century, having found little gold or silver in New Mexico, Spanish secular authorities shifted their focus to seeking trade routes in this region instead of searching for rich ores. The Spaniards believed *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* (or just “El Camino Real”; known also as the “Chihuahua

Trail”) from El Paso to Santa Fe along the Río Grande was not direct enough to travel from Santa Fe to Sonora, so they hoped to find a shorter and more feasible course between these two places by way of Zuni. The Spaniards appeared to be unaware of Coronado’s trail. They also wanted a better road from Sonora to California. In addition, New Spain authorities, both secular and clerical, hankered for a practicable and direct road from Santa Fe to California. Archival Spanish correspondence from the 1700s shows their desire to establish these triangular trade routes. These documents help us to understand why and how Spanish authorities hoped to find and secure these paths, particularly a route from Santa Fe to California.

However, by the 1700’s, many of the indigenous more nomadic tribes as well as the pueblos, which had been so friendly to Coronado, Espejo and Oñate, continued to become increasingly hostile due to the intrusion and subjugation by the Spaniards. The Navajos and other Apaches became more visible and threatening. The most resistant were the Hopis. A number of priests had gone to Hopi; several of them had been killed; none had been successful in converting more than a few people in the Hopi villages. From 1700 to 1776 very little in the way of Spanish exploration took place in northern Arizona west of Hopi.

At this time, unlike the Apaches, non-pueblo Indians such as the Yumas, Mojaves, Hualapais, and Havasupais remained quiescent. Yet New Mexico Governor Pedro Fermín Mendinueta had a serious concern

The letters sent by Fr. Escalante:

- Letter No. 1. “Letter to Fr. Fernando Antonio Gómez, August 18,1775,” in Adams and Chavez, *Missions of New Mexico*, 302-305.
 Letter No. 2. “Letter to Governor Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta, October 28,1775,” in Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 150-158.
 Letter No. 3. “Letter to Fr. Fernando Antonio Gómez, November 7,1775,” in Auebach, S.H., “Father Escalante’s Journal with Related Documents, *Utah Historical Quarterly* II (1943): 11-23.
 Letter No. 4. “Letter to Fr. Isidro Murillo, April 30,1776,” in Eleanor B. Adams, “Fr. Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 38 (1963): 118-38.
 Letter No. 5. “Letter to Fray Isidro Murillo, May 16,1776,” in Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 81-88.
 Letter No. 6. “Letter to Fray Isidro Murillo, May 21,1776,” in Adams and Chavez, *Missions of New Mexico*, 305-7.
 Letter No. 7. “Letter to Fray Isidro Murillo, July 29,1776,” in Adams and Chavez, *Missions of New Mexico*, 307-8.

about the stories of increasing Indian contentiousness elsewhere on the New Mexico frontier. He wrote of increased episodes of New Mexicans being troubled by a “number of barbarous nations [tribes] which surround and harry [us] with incessant robberies, attacks and murders.” He was speaking primarily about the Comanches and the Apaches, not the Utes and the Pais. But he could no doubt sense natives elsewhere becoming intractable, too. Fr. Escalante, the Catholic priest at Zuni, did not want to ignore this concern.¹⁸

In June, 1775, accompanied by seventeen Zunis, Fr. Escalante went to Hopi. He stayed there for two weeks. Treated humanely, he was told not to preach his religious views in the Hopi villages. The Indians showed no physical threat, but they frustrated and angered Escalante greatly.¹⁹

Back in Zuni, on October 28, 1775, Fr. Escalante penned a lengthy epistle to New Mexico Governor Don Pedro de Mendinueta. He told the governor about the experience

with the “Moqui” (the Spanish term for “Hopi”) pueblos. In the first paragraph of the letter, in reference to his pending journey, the priest wrote:

My dear Sir: Because of the new expedition, projected to facilitate the more advantageous establishment of certain presidios and missions in the neighborhood of the Gila and Colorado rivers, the transit overland to Monterrey, the conversion of the Moqui, and the commerce of these provinces [New Mexico] with those of Sonora and California, your lordship ordered me to set forth whatever I may know and consider pertinent [in the effort to] . . . seek the opening which is projected of the route by land to Monterrey.²⁰

Allowing that the “Moqui are very civilized,” Escalante emphasized the fact that for many decades New Mexico’s Catholic clergy had been assigned to enable the “redemption of [Hopi] souls which lie in the tyrannical shades of heathenism of the common enemy because of the miserable slavery of sin.” He then stated, “Having inspected the location,

defense, herds, waters and supplies” of the Hopi pueblos, he called these Indians “arrogant,” “rebels,” and “apostates.” Escalante wrote that the Hopis should be “subdued by arms” and the use of “whatever measures considered imperative to be taken to require of them the necessary compliance.” The Spaniards should erect a fort at Hopi, he said, to subjugate the nearby Cosninos (Havasupais) by using the domino effect.²¹

Escalante offered the governor some information about a route to Sonora from Zuni that he considered to be “possible and practicable” on which to travel. The friar wrote that an expedition in 1747 had gone southward from Zuni to Sonora via the San Francisco River to the Gila Mountains and the Gila River, then turned east to the Mimbres Mountains, then on to the Rio Grande and thence downstream to Mexico. This line of travel went through the same region other Spaniards named *Tierra Incógnita*, which Coronado called “*despoblado*” (“uninhabited”) when referring to the area through which he had passed in 1540.²² By 1776, Apache bands controlled this region. But Escalante displayed no knowledge of the Coronado *entrada* and he understated the challenge of the Apaches. Moreover, historian Hubert Howe Bancroft has written that the original documents show that the 1747 exploration, under orders from the viceroy, actually went south to north, not vice versa as Escalante had claimed. Following the Rio Grande north from El Paso about eighty miles, the party then turned west, traveled to the upper Gila River and, going northward again, reached the Indian

village of Acoma, not Zuni.²³ Referring to the reported 1747 exploration, Escalante said that despite swarms of angry Apaches and extremely rough topography in the region between Zuni and Sonora, this passageway seemed “not to be very extensive nor difficult to communicate frequently from Sonora and Pimeria Alta to New Mexico and Moqui.” No records have yet been found showing that a direct Spanish north-south trade route was ever used between Sonora and Zuni by the Spaniards or later during the Mexican rule.³⁴

In this letter Escalante referred to a statement by Captain Francisco Antonio Crespo, the governor of Sonora, who suggested that when returning to Santa Fe from Monterey, Escalante could come across northern Arizona. But in his letter to Governor Mendinueta, the priest stated that such a road would be “quite difficult” because he had learned from Cosnino Indians (meaning the Havasupais) to the west of Hopi, that the route between Hopi and the Colorado River could not be a feasible one. Escalante reported to the governor that the Cosninos had told him about this passageway:

There are more than one hundred leagues of impassable road, there being for a large part much rock and most of it pebble and flint, and water and pasture is scarce. To this is added meeting with the Chirumas [Chemehuevis; Garcés called them “Chemeguabas” (p. 386)] and Tomajjabas [Mojaves; Garcés’s “Jamajabs” (passim)], warlike nations and savagely inhuman, unavoidable in reaching the Cosninos by that route [through northern Arizona].²⁵

Such a course, Escalante wrote, would cause the Spaniards “appreciable injury.” He then added, “For this reason I wrote to my prelates that the trip to Monterrey through the Utes appeared more feasible to me than through the Cosninas.” That same day, October 28, 1775, he sent a similar letter to Fr. Fernando Antonio Gomez, Custodian of the College of Querétaro, Mexico.²⁶

It is these poorly substantiated statements that help to explain why Domínguez and Escalante followed a route for their trek that did not head directly west from Zuni across Arizona to California. Escalante’s words tell why the explorers took the more northerly road in the last four months of 1776. How could a twenty-four-year-old priest have gained so much authority and credibility? In his introduction to *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal*, Ted J. Warner, who edited this version of the journal, says that even though very young, Vélez de Escalante “had already established himself in the minds of the authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, as a remarkably able observer. His letters and reports on frontier conditions were eagerly anticipated by higher authority.” These New Spain leaders, both clerical and secular, were already familiar with and respectful of Escalante and his work.²⁷

Seven months after sending the letters to New Mexico Governor Mendinueta and Fr. Gomez, Escalante wrote to the New Spain Catholic Provincial Minister Fray Ysidro Murillo in Mexico City. This letter by the priest, while being more concerned with clerical affairs than

the travel notions which appeared in his letters to Governor Mendinueta and Fr. Gomez, deplored the failure of the Spaniards to subdue and convert the Hopi. He stressed the church's strongly established goals of converting these "infidels" and "heathens" to Catholicism.²⁸

In the meantime, in Mexico City, decisions took place related to the eventual participation of Fr. Francisco Domínguez in the proposed journey to Monterey. In early 1776, Provincial Minister Fr. Murillo had ordered the priest to travel to New Mexico to review the status of the church's missions there. In addition, Murillo told Domínguez to assess the economic and clerical conditions of the New Mexico citizens. On this assignment, Murillo also told Domínguez to advance the search for routes to connect Santa Fe with both Sonora and Monterey. The viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Maria Bucareli, gave Domínguez letters of support to take with him. Fr. Domínguez arrived in Santa Fe on March 22, 1776, having been ordered by his prelate to serve as the head of all New Mexico missions.²⁹

On the evening of June 7, Fr. Escalante arrived in Santa Fe from Zuni and met Fr. Domínguez for the first time. That night both of them agreed to make a trip from Santa Fe to Monterey and set the date for departure at July 4.³⁰

While all of this activity was taking place, thirty-year-old Fray Francisco Garcés, who had been involved in missionary efforts in what is today southern Arizona as early as 1768, was crossing northern Arizona. The friar had accompanied Juan Bautista de Anza from Sonora to Upper

California on expeditions in 1772 and 1774, helping to establish one leg of the Spanish triangular transportation goals in northern New Spain. The priest on April 9, 1776, had left San Gabriel Mission, near a place that would later become the city of Los Angeles. He had gone north through Tejon Pass and continued northward past where Bakersfield, California, is today. California historian Hubert H. Bancroft believes Garcés turned around and headed south near today's Tipton, California, located fifty miles north-northwest of Bakersfield at 35° 50' North Latitude, 119° 20' West Longitude.³¹ This would have put him about 145 miles, as-the-crow-flies, east-southeast of Monterey, a distance of probably no more than a six or seven day's march. Most likely, Garcés did not know he was this close to Escalante's goal.

Garcés then headed back south, went through Tehachapi Pass, continued east across the Mojave Desert and forded the Colorado River on June 5 near what is today the Mojave Indian Reservation. Traveling eastward on a well-established prehistoric Indian trail located south of the Grand Canyon and north of the San Francisco Mountains, he headed for the Hopi and Zuni villages. Like Domínguez and Escalante, Garcés had also been ordered to look for a feasible route from Zuni to Sonora.³²

Garcés followed "the course of least resistance," the axiom in determining the location of trails. Friendly natives guided him along the mostly comfortable path that linked the Mojaves with the Hopis via the Hualapai and Havasupai tribes. (Garcés referred to the Mojave as the

"Jamajabs" and the Hualapai as the "Jaguallapais." For the Havasupais, he said "Jabasúa," pronounced "Havasua." Spaniards in New Mexico, such as Escalante, also referred to the Havasupais with variations on the name "Cosninos.")³³

Upon reaching Cataract Canyon, the defile that runs south to north to the Havasupai village, Garcés decided to take a side-trip and visit that tribe, knowing that if he had continued eastward he could have traveled, as he put it, "a level and well-watered" trail to Hopi. As it was, to reach the Havasupai people he traveled down along what he called "a horrible abyss." This would be the only daunting topography Garcés found on his trip to Hopi. Emerging from Supai, he headed east. Twenty-five miles from Supai he encountered a group of thirty Yavapai Indians. "I was received with many civilities," he wrote in his journal, and he said Spaniards should "have no fear of the Apaches Nabajai." (The Navajos were regarded as an Apache subtribe.) He reached the Little Colorado near the confluence of Moencopi Wash, where Cameron, Arizona, is located today. From here he continued eastward to the Hopi village of Oraibi.³⁴

Up to this point, all of the tribes he had met seemed to be very friendly, but when he reached the Hopi villages he discovered these Indians to be inhospitable and even threatening. The Hopis did not mistreat him, but they made it very clear that he was not welcome. They did not offer him water or a place to stay for the night and left him isolated in the pueblo's plaza. The doughty but cautious friar prudently decided to turn back. On

Translation of Father Garcés' Letter from Hopi to the Priest at Zuni

Fr. Francisco Garcés's letter to the Zuñi mission, written on July 3, 1776, appears in Spanish (untranslated) on pages 380-381 in the second volume of Garcés' journal, which Elliot Coues edited and published in 1900 under the title *On the Trail of the Spanish Pioneer*. A literal translation was performed by my daughter, Alyssa Byrkit. I have adapted her translation of this 229-year-old letter to provide clearer syntax and meaning for the current reader. It should be remembered that Spanish, like all languages, has evolved over time, and archaic usage and sentence structure, as well as unique clerical expressions, can limit an exact translation. Regarding his own translation of the other parts of Garcés's journal, Coues, an accomplished linguist, states: "What with peculiarity of punctuation and involution of construction, the foregoing [translation] is not easy to turn into word-for-word English; but the sense is plain . . ."

"Copy of the letter from the Rev. Father Garcés, written from Oraibe in Moqui, to the Zuñi Mission. Long live Jesus.

"Most reverend and dear brother: after having walked¹ from the Colorado River from its mouth [near Yuma] to 38 degrees in latitude² and through the Indian tribes that populate the areas in between the river and Sonora and the new settlements of Monterrey, I came to this pueblo of Moqui [Hopi], where they did not show me any kindness, nor did they even want to get near me. When I was passing through the other tribes [the Yuma, Mojave, Hualapai, Havasupai, Yavapai] they showed me extreme kindness, and these five tribes from the Colorado River to Hopi are willing to receive priests, as are those of the Gila River and the Pima tribes. I was pleased about this, but to convert these angry Moquis, it would be necessary to return here with troops and Christian Indians and to bring gifts. To do so, I would have had to wait for a reply giving support from the lord governor.

"I greatly hope to hear Your Paternity³ enjoys perfect health. We will have a way to communicate with each other when we establish a presidio and missions on the Colorado River. And this will assure that livestock can pass through to this province [New Mexico], as well as commerce from Sonora via the Colorado River and thence to Hopi and Zuni, because the Apaches, who could block the way [a direct road from Sonora to Zuni/Hopi, near Coronado's route] are enemies of the Yumas and Mojaves.⁴ I believe that the priests could come soon, and the tribes say that they will not obstruct the Spaniards, or would the Spaniards bother them.

"There is no reason to say more; I request that Your Paternity advise the governor,⁵ to whom I entrust myself, of the truth of these peaceful Indian tribes, knowing that he governs the province to the satisfaction of everyone, as does the Very Reverend Father Custodio.⁶

"Your humble brother, Fr. Francisco Garcés. Moqui, July 3, 1776"

1. Some people have said that Garcés rode a mule. In this quote he says that he walked. At other places in his journal he refers to a mule; at one place he was given a horse. In his journal he says that when he left "Moqui" (Hopi) he climbed on a mule, but at other times in the journal he appears to be referring to a pack animal. Most of the missionaries in Northern New Spain at times walked great distances, since they wanted to impress the Indians with their simplicity, dedication, and willingness to endure discomfort.

2. Garcés has this latitude wrong. In going from Yuma to Hopi, Garcés first went to San Gabriel, near where Los Angeles is today, then traveled to a place north of Bakersfield, CA, at about 35°40' N.L. From there he turned around and went through Tehachapi Pass to Barstow, crossed the Mohave Desert and then forded the Colorado River near Needles. The furthest north he went on the river was about 35° N.L. See the accompanying text box for coordinates of his trip.

3. In the original, this is "V.P." This is an honorific for "Vuestra Paternidad" or "Your Paternity," which Garcés was using, like "humble brother," to refer to another member of the clergy. This is similar to the etiquette expected when well-bred nonclerical Spaniards referred to each other as "Your Grace." The friar did not know whom the priest at Zuni might be, so he could not use a personal name. Garcés is being polite and respectful saying, "I hope (this letter finds) you in good health." Garcés's had been without good communication with Spaniards in Mexico or New Mexico for several months.⁴ To refer to the Mojaves, Garcés uses the term "Xomajabas." In other parts of his journal, he refers to the Mojaves as the "Jamajabs." Garcés seems to believe that since they were enemies of the Apaches, the Yumas and the Mohaves would welcome the Spaniards. This was a naive assumption; only five years later, on July 17, 1781, the Yuma Indians killed Garcés.

5. The Governor of Sonora at that time was Capt. Francisco Antonio Crespo; the Governor of New Mexico was Don Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta. No doubt Garcés was referring to Mendinueta, but did not know his name.

6. This was Fr. Fernando Antonio Gomez, Custodian of the College in Querétaro, Mexico.

July 3, 1776, before leaving Hopi, Garcés wrote a short letter to the “clergy at Zuni,” not knowing who held that position. That had been Escalante’s assignment. But Escalante had left Zuni for Santa Fe to meet with Domínguez shortly before Garcés had arrived at Hopi. Fray Mariano Rosate then became the official priest at Zuni.³⁵

In his letter, Garcés wrote he had found the prehistoric trail from the Colorado River to Hopi to be straight, direct and clear. Garcés wrote that he was convinced a route across northern Arizona from Santa Fe to the west coast would be quite feasible. He expressed clearly in the letter that the Indian tribes to the west of Hopi had been very friendly, and he said the Hopis only wanted Garcés and Escalante and the other Spaniards to stay away from their villages and leave them alone. Garcés also wrote of “commerce with Sonora,” thus touching on the New Mexico-Sonora corridor as he had been asked to do. This priest had not heard about the trip now planned by Escalante. A copy of Escalante’s account of his 1775 experience at Hopi had been forwarded to Garcés, but the priest didn’t see it until October, 1776, after he returned from northern Arizona to his assigned station at Mission San Xavier del Bac near Tucson.³⁶

An Acoma Indian, Lázaro, living at Zuni but at the time visiting Hopi, carried Garcés’s letter from Hopi to Zuni. Not finding Escalante at this pueblo, Lázaro followed Fr. Rosate’s request to hurry on to Santa Fe after Fr. Rosate had copied Garcés letter.³⁷

On July 29, the day the two friars left on their historic trip, Fr. Domínguez wrote to Fr. Murillo and told about the

Specific Route of Fr. Garcés

Garcés crossed the Colorado River on June 5, 1776, and reached Oraibi on July 2. He stayed there less than four days, then returned to the Colorado River, which he descended to the Gila. The coordinates for the sites on his route are as follows:

Mojave:	35° 00’ N. Latitude; 114° 38’ W. Longitude
Kingman:	35° 11’ N. Latitude; 114° 03’ W. Longitude
Hackberry:	35° 23’ N. Latitude; 113° 42’ W. Longitude
Supai:	36° 14’ N. Latitude; 112° 41’ W. Longitude
Cameron:	35° 53’ N. Latitude; 111° 24’ W. Longitude
Oraibi:	35° 53’ N. Latitude; 110° 39’ W. Longitude.

letter that Garcés had sent to Zuni and then relayed to Santa Fe by the Indian messenger, Lázaro. Domínguez said that he and Escalante had discussed Garcés’s letter and inferred from it that Garcés had come from the mouth of the Colorado, somewhat distorting Garcés’s actual itinerary, since Dominguez makes no mention of the details from California to Hopi. Most likely Governor Mendinueta read the letter, too. Dominguez enclosed a copy of Garcés’s letter with his own message to Murillo.

In relaying Fr. Garcés’s letter to the clergy at Zuni, Fr. Rosate included a letter of his own to Fr. Domínguez. Garcés, Rosate wrote, had told Lázaro the messenger

... the Cojninás were very fine people, and also the Yumas; and that all the people he [Garcés] brought with him were planting on the meadows [? sic] of the Colorado River and that the Cojninás were helping them in everything for they liked them very much. They were so pleased with the Spaniards that they even took care of their horses.³⁸

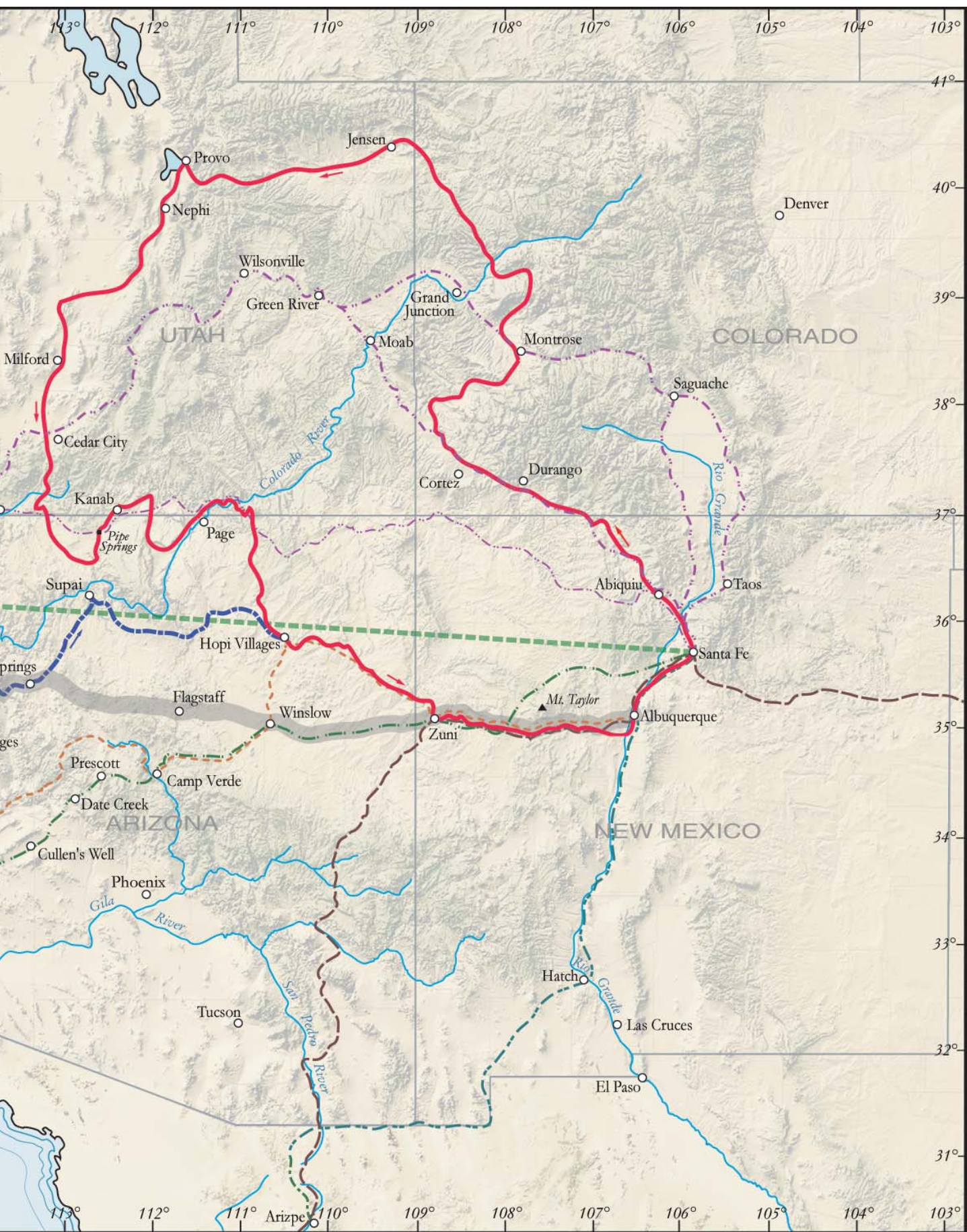
These are details that did not appear in Garcés’s letter.

On July 28, Fr. Domínguez wrote a statement certifying he had received the two letters from Garcés and Rosate. He enclosed this statement with his letter on the 29th to Fr. Murillo. He added to this mailing his own words regarding the exploration that would leave the following day:

... with the aim of finding out, if possible, what nations in addition to the Uta inhabit the regions between Monterey ... even though it may involve a roundabout route ... And on our way back [we hope to discover] the tribes who dwell from west to east as far as the Cojnina . . .³⁹

“Roundabout” certainly described the proposed route; Escalante knew that Santa Fe and Monterey were less than 1° north latitude apart from each other. Most Old Spanish Trail scholars agree with Domínguez that the trip was circuitous, yet to the best of my knowledge no historian has observed that in addition to Garcés’s track there existed at least two more direct routes that would have enabled the expedition to have an easier, much shorter, and more successful experience.





The words written by Domínguez indicate Escalante had firmly decided upon the direction he wanted to follow on this exploration. As part of his proposed itinerary to California, Escalante, in his letter to Governor Mindenueta and with no sound, personal knowledge other than, perhaps, his imagination, argued that the tribes across northern Arizona--the Mojaves, the Hualapais, Havasupais, Yavapais and especially the Hopi--were unfriendly and hostile. This contradicted, except for the Hopis, what Garcés had found with firsthand experience. Escalante had no evidence that Garcés was wrong. He had never traveled west of Hopi, and he based his statements about the dangerous tribes to the west on rumor, or possibly a desire for deceit. Escalante's motive for refusing to travel Garcés' route might have come from an ungrounded fear of failure.

But the two friars still intended to go ahead with the more northerly route. "We believed," Dominguez wrote to Murillo, "that our journey would still be useful." Escalante argued that he wanted to explore the "mysterious regions" to the northwest of Santa Fe. Of course, the lands directly west of Hopi were mysterious, too.

The region the two friars planned to explore was not altogether "mysterious." More than twenty-five years earlier New Mexico Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín had visited the Ute Indians in the region northwest of Santa Fe. Two expeditions into the San Juan River area by Juan María Antonio Rivera took place in 1765. On his second trip, in October, Rivera explored what is today southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah, and

he crossed the Colorado River. Guides from these trips would later assist Domínguez and Escalante.⁴¹

On these *entradas*, Rivera heard many stories about the hostility of the natives further to the north and west. His guides refused to proceed into the region beyond the Colorado River. Unlike what Escalante claimed to have heard about the tribes west of Hopi, Rivera's report did not seem to daunt Domínguez and Escalante. Governor Mendinueta strongly supported Escalante's proposal to go into this region. Historian Alfred B. Thomas has shown that the governor felt strongly that the defenses of New Mexico against increasing Indian attacks needed to be strengthened. This might involve the forceful converting of "infidels."⁴²

In view of his fanciful description of a route from Sonora to Zuni based on his erroneous version of the 1747 expedition and on his ignorant accounts of all the tribes west of the Hopis, it appears Escalante had been extremely single-minded and resolute about his proposed itinerary to Monterey. Their trip pioneered, in general, the later location of the Old Spanish Trail. Apparently both church and governmental leadership had not supported the opportunity for the much shorter and more direct route across northern Arizona from Santa Fe to California used by Fr. Garcés.

The two men and the other members of the party left Santa Fe, July 29, 1776. In their expedition, Domínguez and Escalante got no closer to Monterey than the Hurricane Cliffs at the Arizona-Utah border. This would have been on October 16, 1776, twelve

miles south of today's Hurricane, Utah, and fifteen miles east-southeast of St. George. They had reached a place more than 465 airline miles away from Monterey and only 430 airline miles Santa Fe.⁴³ The expedition had not gotten even halfway to its goal.

It is true that Fr. Domínguez and Fr. Escalante encountered no serious hostility from Indians during their trip. Towards the end of their return to Santa Fe and coming from the northwest, in mid-November, 1776, they decided to travel through Hopi. On November 16, the Hopis told the priests they could not enter the Hopi village of Oraibi. But, in his journal, Escalante wrote: "[A] very old man led us to his home and lodged us in it, offering a room in which to spend the night and [dine on] their customary victuals." Later, two old men visited them and "let us know that they were our friends."⁴⁴

The following morning the Hopis brought the travelers baskets with a variety of food supplies. In addition, Escalante wrote, "The ritual headman told us that he had already notified the rest of the pueblos to give us shelter and to sell us the provisions necessary for reaching Zuni." Next, the Spaniards went to the pueblo of Shungopavi and found the Hopis there to be as friendly and accommodating as the people at Oraibi.⁴⁵ Escalante reported:

... they further replied that the ritual headman and war captain of Oraibi had sent them word to welcome us, to take care of us and sell us provisions, while cultivating our friendship without treating [*sic*] about or admitting any other matter -- in short, that they wanted to be our friends but not Christians.⁴⁶

One Shungopavi man did show anger and told the Spaniards he had been present when Escalante had visited Walpi the year before, thus reflecting the Hopi hostility that Escalante had told about in his report to Governor Mendinueta.⁴⁷ The expedition then continued to Walpi, where a very old and important elder

. . . informed us that they [the Hopi] were currently engaged in a cruel war with the Navajo Apaches, and that these had killed and captured many of their people. For this reason, he added, they were wishing for the arrival of some padres and Spaniards, through whom they might beg the lord governor for some aid or defense against these foes. And so they had been particularly delighted when they learned that we had come to visit them, because they hoped that we would bring them support and relief.⁴⁸

The explorers stayed at Hopi until November 20. They tried during those days to teach these Indians the virtues of the Catholic faith, even warning them about the hellish eternal punishment for people who did not adopt Christianity. The priests said that if the Hopis “submitted [to Christianity] they would enjoy continual and sure recourse to Spanish arms against all infidels who should war against them.” As ever, the Hopis rejected their efforts. Domínguez and Escalante arrived back in Santa Fe on January 2, 1777.⁴⁹ Despite the pleas from the Hopis begging the Spanish for “aid and defense against” the Navajos together with the genuine friendliness of the Hopi people and their leaders, Escalante made no

subsequent effort to recommend any travel directly westward from Zuni to California. He had obviously convinced the New Mexico government and his prelate, Fr. Murillo, that a route directly across Arizona to California was too dangerous and difficult. And Spanish imperial policy had become increasingly unwilling to further extend itself into places like northern Arizona.

After Juan Bautista de Anza’s two successful trips from Sonora to California to establish a road, the viceroy sent him to New Mexico in 1778 to act as governor. Historian Alfred Thomas says Anza then “opened a route between New Mexico and Sonora for trading and strategic purposes.” But Anza’s trail from Santa Fe to Sonora actually followed the Rio Grande downstream to about where Hatch, New Mexico, is located today, thence skirted south of the Big Hatchet Mountains before heading directly westward to Nutrias, Sonora, and then south to Arispe. By this time the defiant Apaches controlled the region bounded by the Rio Grande and the San Pedro River. Anza never traveled directly between Zuni and Sonora. Contrary to finding a new trade route, as Thomas stated, Anza primarily followed El Camino Real. This trail could not have satisfied Spanish authorities who wanted to find a more direct passage from Sonora to Santa Fe via Zuni.⁵⁰

A later effort to establish a trade trail between Sonora and Zuni took place in 1795. An expedition led by Don José de Zúñiga traveled round-trip from Tucson to Zuni, apparently

by way of the San Francisco River near what is today the Arizona-New Mexico border. Historian George P. Hammond in 1931 called Zúñiga’s quick exploration “The Opening of a Spanish Trade Route.” But just as Alfred Thomas failed to show that Anza established a new trade route from Sonora to Santa Fe, so did Hammond fail to show any later journeys of any kind on Zúñiga’s route. Hammond offers no evidence for the claim that it was a “Spanish Trade Route.” In fact, to date no published scholarship has shown, other than Zúñiga’s journal, that any Spanish or Mexican travel took place after Coronado’s journey on any direct path from northern Sonora to Zuni.⁵¹

Of the corridors searched for in the 1700s by the religious and civil authorities of New Spain that would offer three direct transportation routes between Santa Fe, Sonora, and California, only one, the Anza Trail, which connected Sonora with California, succeeded. At no time during the Spanish and Mexican jurisdiction over the region after Coronado in 1540 did anyone establish and use a trade route directly from Sonora to Santa Fe via Zuni. But Coronado, in 1540, *had* traveled on a direct prehistoric trail between Sonora and Zuni. Somehow the reports of this successful expedition failed to gain the attention of either Anza or Zúñiga more than two hundred years later. Anyway, by then, Apache resistance had replaced the friendly Indians who had guided Coronado directly northward from Sonora to Zuni. Apparently in 1776, Spanish authorities were also not aware of Oñate’s 1604 route across

central Arizona to California by way of Zuni, Hopi, and the Verde River headwaters. Instead, Frs. Domínguez and Escalante, ignoring also Fr. Garcés, traveled an extremely indirect journey that gained historical fame but did little to establish a more direct route to Monterey or any part of California.

During the Mexican rule of the American Southwest a small number of Americans did travel from Santa Fe to Zuni through Arizona to California. Records show that trappers, traders, military personnel, and sheep drivers went to Zuni where they followed Coronado's 1540 route on an old Indian trail southward from the Colorado Plateau and descended the Mogollon Rim to the Gila River. From here they followed the Gila westward downstream to the Pima Villages in the Lower Gila River Valley. Still traveling along the Gila, they continued to California. In 1826 Ewing Young, after going to Los Angeles across southern Arizona, returned to Santa Fe by way of central Arizona and Zuni. In October, 1829, Young on another trapping expedition went from Santa Fe to California by way of Zuni, the Gila River, and the headwaters of the Verde River. The party included a nineteen-year-old Kit Carson on his first southwest expedition. Two years later, Young again went from New Mexico to California by way of Zuni. A member of this group, Pauline Weaver, on his first trip to California, would become, even in his own lifetime, a legendary frontiersman.⁵²

U.S. Army Lt. Edward G. Beckwith accompanied a party going to California in 1849. His journal says they traveled to Zuni, and then marched

west-southwest across central Arizona, reached the Salt River, following it to its confluence with the Gila. From here they continued on to the Colorado River and Los Angeles. In October, 1854, New Mexican J. Francisco Chaves left Santa Fe with eighteen thousand head of sheep headed for California. Chaves traveled via the same "Zuni route," passed through the White Mountains, dropped off the Mogollon Rim, crossed the White River near the future site of Fort Apache and continued south to the Gila river. From here he drove his sheep to Los Angeles.⁵³

But this ancient trail did not provide a feasible year-round way to go from New Mexico to California. Travelers had learned the heat of the Sonoran Desert and the cold of the Central Arizona Highlands limited the attractiveness of routes in central and southern Arizona. In addition, the government of newly independent Mexico did not welcome these American adventurers. Increasingly, unfriendly Apache Indians made travel dangerous. By 1826, Garcés's friendly "Jamajabs" (Mojaves) had changed their docile attitude toward white men. That year these Indians attacked a group of American trappers led by Jedediah Smith; they massacred ten of the nineteen men in Smith's party.⁵⁴

Domínguez and Escalante's journey influenced transportation in the Southwest more than fifty years after their historic trek. Antonio Armijo, in 1829, searching for a trade route from New Mexico to California, traveled from Abiquiú to Los Angeles on a route that in several places paralleled the later Utah-Arizona border. His di-

ary states he encountered no problems with natives, including Navajos and Mojaves, saying some of the Indians are "gentle and cowardly." He returned to New Mexico the same way. However, he did make quite clear that his path involved extremely difficult terrain; subsequently, no one else traveled Armijo's route. Apparently no one at that time considered using the direct passageway from Zuni through the northern Arizona corridor to California.⁵⁵

In 1829 traders and other travelers began to use the Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico through Colorado, Utah and Arizona to Los Angeles. This became the most popular route between Santa Fe and California from 1829 to 1848.⁵⁶

As yet, we have no solid documentation that at any time during either the Spanish or Mexican jurisdiction of New Mexico commonly used trade roads existed directly between Sonora and Zuni through Arizona or New Mexico. No travel took place directly from Zuni across northern Arizona to California, even though in both cases earlier Spaniards had found very practicable routes in this region.

If Escalante had not promoted his own notions about Santa Fe's links via Zuni to California, there would have been no need for the friars to painfully find the "Crossing of the Fathers," now covered by Lake Powell, since far to the west, the Colorado River, where Fr. Garcés easily crossed it, could have been forded where it serves now as the boundary between California and Arizona. And going directly westward from Zuni to California south of Hopi could have avoided

Comparison of Distances from Santa Fe, NM, to Barstow, CA					
35 th parallel corridor	Miles	Domínguez and Escalante	Miles	Old Spanish Trail	Miles
Santa Fe – Albuquerque	59	Santa Fe – Durango	188	Santa Fe – Durango	188
Albuquerque - Gallup	138	Durango - Montrose	191	Durango – Montecello	106
Gallup – Winslow	131	Montrose - Rangely	197	Montecello – Green River	111
Winslow - Flagstaff	58	Rangely - Provo	201	Green River - Salina	105
Flagstaff - Kingman	143	Provo – Cedar City	235	Salina - Cedar City	128
Kingman - Needles	64	Cedar City – Las Vegas	171	Cedar City – Las Vegas	171
Needles - Barstow	144	Las Vegas - Barstow	156	Las Vegas - Barstow	156
Total miles	737		1339		965

these recalcitrant Indians. Arriving at Barstow, travelers could have chosen to take either the road through Cajon Pass to Los Angeles and then up the coast to Monterey, or from Barstow through Tehachapi Pass and northward to Monterey.

To the best of my knowledge, no previous historian has considered the fact that several other options for routes to Los Angeles were available to the expedition. For example, in his 1889 *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*, Hubert Howe Bancroft gives Garcés and Escalante only scant attention and does not mention the discrepancies between what Garcés observed and what Escalante reported regarding the friendliness of Indian tribes west of Hopi. Historian Herbert E. Bolton, in his “Escalante Strikes for California,” makes no mention of Escalante’s or Garcés’s letters.⁵⁷

Leroy and Ann W. Hafen, in their book *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles*, published in 1954, offer some detail about Fr. Garcés’s journey from the Colorado River to San Gabriel, thence “northward by Tejon Pass to the Tulare region and the Kern River country.” In less than a paragraph, the book summarizes Garcés’ trip from the Colorado River to Hopi, saying nothing about the friendliness of the

tribes Garcés met while going through northern Arizona. The only mention the Hafens make of his situation in Hopi is, “Unable to continue to Zuni, he [Garcés] bribed an Indian runner to carry a letter there [to Zuni] for Escalante.” Nowhere in the book can one find any reference to the letters written by Escalante or Garcés. The Hafens do not mention Governor Mendinueta.⁵⁸

Historian Walter Briggs has written that upon reading the July 3 letter from Garcés, Governor Mendinueta, Fr. Domínguez, and Fr. Escalante “were convinced . . . that Father Garcés had, in effect, opened a trail from the [Pacific] coast through the Hopis to Santa Fe.” Perhaps a trail had been opened, but, as was the case with Coronado’s trail, no Spaniard or Mexican other than Garcés ever used it.⁵⁹

In their book, *In Search of the Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles*, published in 1994, historians C. Gregory Crampton and Steven K. Madsen show no reference to any correspondence of Fr. Garcés or Fr. Escalante. Their claim on page 10 of their book that Garcés “failed in attempting to find a route between California and New Mexico” should be altered to read “Garcés failed in his attempt to reach New Mexico.”

The facts that they refer to Garcés’s presence in the Mojave Desert in three other places (pp. 111, 114, 120) and that Elliott Coues’s two-volume edited publication of Garcés’s journal can be found listed in their bibliography clearly indicate that they knew he had found most of the route. They appear to have overlooked the existing trail from Hopi to Santa Fe.

In *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers*, Joseph Sánchez has shown that Fr. Garcés had found a route from California to Hopi and, therefore, to Zuni. Sánchez emphasizes the content of Garcés’ letter of July 3, and he refers to the Escalante letters. But he calls no attention to the fact that Escalante had no firsthand knowledge of the region west of Hopi. Sánchez does not mention that, prior to the 1776 expedition, Escalante had ignored the friendliness of the tribes west of Hopi and had campaigned for the route taken by Fr. Domínguez and himself. Like the other historians who have written about the expedition, Sánchez does not show the actual advantage in mileage a northern Arizona route would have offered.⁶¹

American interest in travel from New Mexico in the 35th Parallel corridor began with the same reason the Old Spanish Trail had been abandoned:

the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848--the so-called "Mexican Cession." Mexico no longer ruled the regions through which the Old Spanish Trail passed. Within three years, Capt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves had scouted northern Arizona for a passageway from New Mexico to California.

Sitgreaves's exploration from east-to-west took him north of the San Francisco Mountains--for a few miles in the general region of Fr. Garcés's 1776 route. But this track proved to be unfeasible for convenient use.⁶³

This course had little rainfall since moist air coming from the southwest, the prevailing direction of air mass movement in Arizona, precipitated on the south side (the windward side) of these peaks leaving the region north of the mountains (the lee side) in an arid "rain shadow." Finding this more northerly course to be unsatisfactory meant utilizing the spring-blessed and more direct east-west corridor between the southern base of the San Francisco Mountains and the Mogollon Rim escarpment with its many canyons. This corridor, only ten miles wide north and south, and narrowing to less than a mile at Riordan Pass six miles west of Flagstaff, provided a very influential physiographic transportation funnel.

Lieutenant James H. Simpson in 1852 submitted a report to the U.S. Ninth Military Department concerning a tour of duty he had made covering the region from Santa Fe to the Navajo country of northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona. In the last paragraph of the report, he states that a passageway somewhere between the Gila River and the Old Spanish Trail would be "as direct as possible" to

connect Santa Fe with Los Angeles. This route, by way of Zuni and across Arizona, Simpson claimed, would be shorter "by as much as three hundred miles than either of [the other two routes]." The lieutenant was referring to 1) the Old Spanish Trail far to the north, and 2) the more southerly east-west roads in Arizona that converged at the Pima Villages, then headed west to meet the Gila River at a place southwest of Phoenix and followed the stream on its south side to the Colorado River and California.⁶⁴

In 1853 the United States Congress specified that a railroad should be built across northern Arizona near 35° North Latitude (the 35th Parallel). This corridor, through what is today Flagstaff, became an obvious location for a railroad. Soon several United States military explorations revealed a very suitable course from Santa Fe to California through this corridor. Consequently, the Beale Wagon Road, the Santa Fe Railroad, U.S. Route 66 and Interstate 40 followed this natural passageway. This course of travel ran directly east and west, fifty miles south of the reclusive and defensive Hopi. A convenient and direct path from New Mexico to California, it would shorten the distance from Santa Fe to the Pacific Coast via the Old Spanish Trail by almost three hundred miles. Lt. Simpson had estimated very accurately.

Herbert Bolton has written that Dominguez and Escalante made their "prodigious odyssey of two thousand miles" in their round-trip from Santa Fe and back. By totaling the daily progress in leagues of the two priests, Ted J. Warner has calculated the actual mileage to be about 1700

miles. Warner uses 2.63 miles as an eighteenth-century Spanish league.⁶⁵

As the figures in the accompanying textbox indicate, the modern direct highway route from Santa Fe across northern Arizona to Barstow is approximately 737 miles. If the Domínguez-Escalante route were extended from Cedar City to Barstow by the highway route, it would total approximately 1339 miles. The Old Spanish trail was approximately 965 miles from Santa Fe to Barstow. The direct route would therefore be 602 miles less than the course followed by Frs. Domínguez and Escalante and 228 miles less than the Old Spanish Trail.

As much as anything else, the letters of Escalante and Garcés help us to understand the arrogance of the Spaniards in their merciless effort to destroy the traditional cultures of the native inhabitants of the American Southwest. The only pueblo Indians able to successfully resist the effort by the Spanish clergy to convert them to Catholicism were the Hopis. These Indians were able to discourage Spanish explorers and Mexican traders who wanted to locate a trail across Northern Arizona from Santa Fe to California. The Hopi's intransigence and their distance from Santa Fe kept them culturally sequestered. These peaceful but implacable people only wanted to keep outsiders away from their homes and villages.

By 1780 aggressive efforts to Catholicize Indians in New Mexico abated. In 1821, after the revolution from Spain had given Mexico independence, Mexican rule demanded a secularization of all civil authority. Remote New Mexico found itself

more isolated and more free from both clerical and secular control by Mexico. The presence of church authority diminished greatly. New Mexican authorities did not welcome United States incursions in the 1820s by explorers such as Jedediah Smith, James Ohio Pattie, and Ewing Young. Moreover, trappers and explorers like these men met a fierce Indian resistance that continued for almost another sixty years.

Primary documents indicate that through Fr. Escalante's powerful and arbitrary influence, the Spanish church and government authorities ignored the fact that other safe, unobstructed and more direct routes from Santa Fe to California existed in 1776. Three natural corridors of travel from Zuni to California, all more than forty miles away from the Hopi villages, crossed northern Arizona relatively free from physiographic obstruction and with available water. It was the uninformed and inaccurate letters written by Fr. Silvestre Escalante to his clerical supervisors and to his governmental leaders which appear to be the most important factors in shaping the Spaniards' decision to avoid a trans-northern Arizona route in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

In reading Escalante's letters it appeared to me that the very young friar had enormous ambitions, secular as well as clerical. I cannot see all the motives of Fr. Escalante that might clearly explain his decision to undertake a particular route on his mission to Monterey. Certainly Governor Mendieta's wish to understand what threats by Indians

might exist northwest of Santa Fe influenced the priest. And I do believe Domínguez and Escalante's journey had a lot to do with New Spain's effort to locate suitable wagon roads from Zuni to California and Zuni to Sonora. These two routes would have made missions more accessible and safer. This never happened before the region had been ceded to the United States. Lt. Amiel W. Whipple's crossing of Arizona through the 35th Parallel corridor in 1853-1854 made that route very popular. And it wasn't until the 1870s that a road was built directly southward from the 35th Parallel to southern Arizona and Sonora. This road created by the army and used by Mormon pioneers following the course of least resistance traced Coronado's route precisely.⁶⁶

My primary purpose in presenting this information is to call attention to the fact that not just Escalante but other Spanish and Mexican authorities, both ecclesiastical and civil, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries apparently did not know about the sixteenth and seventeenth history of their own east-to-west explorers, Espejo and Oñate. These documents would have told them about the more direct passageways from New Mexico to California. I have seen no records which indicate travel over Coronado's trail took place before the American trapper Ewing Young used that path in 1829. It made little difference. From 1700 until the end of Apache resistance in 1884, these Indians virtually prohibited expeditions in this part of Arizona. The physical geography had not changed, but the cultural geography had been altered greatly.

In 1776 a potential route existed from Santa Fe to Zuni and thence westward to California between 34° 55' N and 35° 20' N --less than half a degree. The 28 mile-wide corridor, though narrow in places, ran relatively straight and open, encountering no major barriers. The route chosen and followed by the two priests and their entourage had been seriously misconceived.

Also, I can find no sign that modern historians of the Southwest have ever noticed the open corridors that could have been used by travelers in the region's past. Harold Steiner, in *The Old Spanish Trail Across the Mojave Desert* (1999), referred to Garcés's journal. Steiner had this to say regarding the priest's discomfort with the Hopis:

... [Garcés's] spirits took a turn upward when a Zuni Indian, who was visiting the Moqui, told Garcés that the resident priest at the Zuni Mission in New Mexico [Escalante] had made an unsuccessful visit to the Moqui in 1775. Hearing this, the good Father knew that the illusive goal of blazing an overland route between Santa Fe and California had essentially been achieved. The padre [Escalante] from the Zuni mission had proved the route from New Mexico to Oraibi was possible and the only remaining link was for Garcés to travel on to the Zuni mission to close the loop."⁶⁷

Steiner also says "... if Domínguez and Escalante had chosen to take a southern route through Moqui land they possibly could have picked up Father Garcés' trace and a more practical route to California might have become a reality." Concurring with this observation, Joseph Sánchez states that Fr. Garcés was the "first to recognize the [northern Arizona] route

as a direct passageway from Santa Fe to Los Angeles.” This is quite true. But neither Spain nor Mexico during their respective reigns over this region did ever use or even recognize the practicality of Garcés’ route.⁶⁸ And no Southwest historians, heretofore, including Sánchez and Steiner, have identified the other more feasible courses of travel across Arizona.

To summarize: Over the centuries, most travel from Santa Fe to Zuni followed the same corridor Coronado had used in 1540 from Zuni to the Rio Grande. From Zuni, at least three routes much more practicable than the Old Spanish Trail went from Zuni across Arizona to California. These were the old Mojave-to-Hualapai-to-Havasupai-to-Hopi trail from the Colorado River to Oraibi, as used by Garcés, that connected with the well-used trail from Hopi to Zuni; the 35th Parallel Corridor from Zuni through Flagstaff to the Colorado River; and Oñate’s route from Zuni to Hopi to the Verde River to the Colorado River. Each of these more attractive alternate routes emanating from Zuni, partly or entirely, followed conspicuous and established well-used Indian trails. It is safe to assume that prehistoric travelers journeyed these same passageways, after finding the courses of least resistance by trial and error, for several thousand years.

The documents that report the expeditions by Coronado (1540), Espejo (1583), Oñate (1604), and Garcés (1776) show us the routes which offered “a direct course of least resistance” into and through Arizona. And peaceful, not hostile, natives had guided the early Spaniards’ *entradas* though the *Tierra Incógnita*. Looked at idealistically, had the Spaniards and

Mexicans and Americans been less arrogant and cruel and more merciful and friendly toward the Indians from Coronado’s time onward, the natives could have guided all of these newcomers on the proven and ancient trails, reducing greatly bloodshed and hardships for everyone involved. But the passionate goals of conquest and subjugation and conversion by the Spaniards and Mexicans--and, after 1848, the Americans--forced the natives to defend themselves in whatever way they could.

If Governor Mendinueta and the two friars at Santa Fe in the last week of July, 1776, had taken Fr. Garcés’ letter and Lázaro’s remarks about Garcés more seriously, there may have never been the famous Escalante and Domínguez trek as we know it today, and there might not have been the circuitous Old Spanish Trail from New Mexico through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and Nevada to California.

Fr. Escalante’s unfamiliarity in 1776 with the documented earlier expeditions and his refusal to be influenced by Fr. Garcés’s letter, together with Escalante’s ungrounded fear of the tribes to the west of Hopi, allowed a grand historical ignorance of the “roads not taken” from Santa Fe to California.

are located in archives in Santa Fe, Mexico City and Spain.

3. Sánchez, pp. 55-67.
4. Ibid.
5. Garcés, pp. 313-391.
6. Sánchez, p. 51. Fr. Garcés’s letter appears in Spanish in Garcés, pp. 380-381. An English translation is given here in the accompanying textbox.
7. Letters No.1, 2 and 5.
8. Historian Walter Briggs has called *The Missions of New Mexico*, ed. and trans. by Eleanor Adams and Fr. Angelico Chavez, “as an unparelled sourcebook” (p.35). This book and the other articles by Adams offer the most useful documents related to the Domínguez and Escalante trek.
9. Bolton, pp. 133-142.
10. Ibid; Byrkit, 2004, pp. 9-12.
11. Hammond & Rey, 1966, pp. 67-114.
12. Ibid, 153-231.
13. Hammond & Rey, 1953, pp. 408-415; Byrkit, 1988. p.13.
14. Hammond & Rey, 1953, Ibid. Bartlett, pp. 33-39.
15. “*Courses of least resistance*” textbox.
16. Bancroft, 1889, pp. 174-196.
17. Ibid, pp. 212-202.
18. Letter No. 2, p. 150.
19. Ibid, pp. 151-152.
20. Ibid, p. 153.
21. Ibid, p. 156.
22. Ibid, p. 157; Bancroft, 1889, p. 245.
23. Bancroft, 1889, p. 245; Letter No. 2, p. 156.
24. Ibid, p. 157.
25. Ibid; Letter No. 2.
26. Briggs, p. 18; Letter No. 3.
27. Warner, p. xiii.
28. Thomas, pp. 158-166.
29. Briggs, p. 18.
30. “*Letter from Fr. Francisco Atanasio Domínguez to Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, July 29, 1776,*” Adams & Chavez, pp. 281-286.
31. Garcés; Bancroft, p. 49.
32. Garcés, pp. 313-340.
33. Garcés, passim, pp. 325-360.
34. Ibid, pp 343-359.
35. Ibid., pp. 380-381.
36. Ibid, p. 368.
37. “*Letter from Fray Mariano Rosete to Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, July 6, 1776.*” Adams & Chavez, pp. 283-284.

End Notes

1. See the comparative mileages chart on p. 29. For a broad history of this event, also see Bolton, Briggs, Warner and Chavez, and Sánchez.
2. The early copies of these documents

38. "Letter From Fr. Francisco Atanasio Domínguez to Provincial Fray Isidoro Murillo, July 29, 1776," Adams & Chavez, pp. 285-286.
39. Ibid, p. 282.
40. Ibid.
41. Sánchez, pp. 29-40.
42. Ibid. pp. 41-54.
43. Warner, p. 97.
44. Ibid., p. 133-136.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., pp. 133.
47. Thomas, pp. 150-158.
48. Warner, p. 143.
49. Ibid.
50. Thomas, p. ix; map on back flyleaf.
51. Hammond, 1931, pp. 40-63.
52. Byrkit, 2004, pp. 6-7; Holmes, pp. 44-46.
53. Byrkit, 2004, Ibid.
54. Hafen & Hafen, pp. 125-127.
55. For Armijo's diary see Hafen & Hafen, pp. 158-165.
56. Hafen & Hafen.
57. Bancroft, 1889; Bolton, 1954.
58. Hafen & Hafen, p. 80.
59. Briggs, p. 34.
60. Crampton & Madsen, pp. 111, 114, 120.
61. Sánchez, pp. 51-58.
62. Steiner, p. 20.
63. Wallace.
64. Simpson, pp.124-125.
65. Bolton, 1954, pp. 288-298; Warner, pp. 5, 143.
66. Byrkit, 2004, passim.
67. Steiner, pp. 15-16.
68. Ibid., p. 25; Sánchez, p. 51.

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Jedediah Smith Overland to California

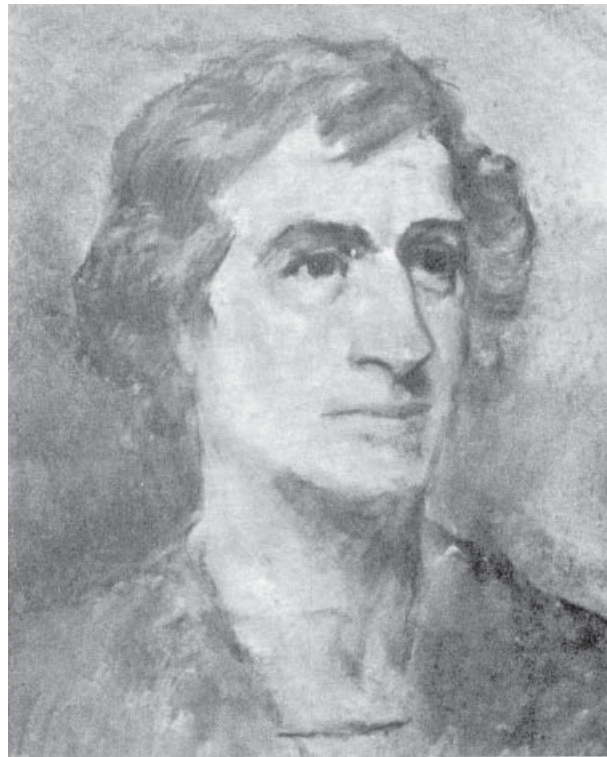
by John W. Robinson

The era of the fur trade bolted across the American West like a fiery meteor, rising from the eastern sky shortly after 1800, flaring into dazzling brilliance during the 1820s and early '30s, and fading to obscurity by 1840. Lewis and Clark, in their epic 1804-06 journey up the Missouri River, over the Rockies, and down the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean and return, made known this fabulous wilderness where beaver and other forms of fur-coated wildlife were abundant. Close on the footsteps of the Corps of Discovery came a breed of hardy, fearless, self-reliant men seeking to exploit these seemingly inexhaustible animal resources. These were the mountain men who reached into the far corners of the Rockies and beyond, contesting for the land with Indians, grizzlies, and rival trappers from the Hudson's Bay Company, in a frantic search for beaver-rich streams. This was a time when beaverskin hats, coats, muffs, collars, and linings were fashionable in the eastern United States and Europe. Top dollar was paid for the best pelts, and demand constantly exceeded supply while the fad lasted. When beaverskin went out of fashion, the time of the mountain man was over, and the little fur-coated mammal that once plied the mountain streams in abundance was close to extinction.

The legacy of the mountain men was the opening of the West for travel

and settlement. In their adventurous journeys they learned the lay of the land and prepared the way for the great western migrations that were soon to follow. Their exploits became the stuff of legends.

St. Louis, Missouri, was the "home port" and outfitting center for much of the fur trade. Enterprising young men gathered by the dozens to sign on for trapping expeditions up the Missouri River into the heart of the



Jedediah Smith, as painted by George Mathis

little-known Rockies. William Ashley and Andrew Henry, proprietors of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, placed an advertisement in the *Gazette and Public Advertiser* of St. Louis, Mo., in February 13, 1822:

TO ENTERPRISING YOUNG MEN

The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred men to ascend the river

Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two or three years. For particulars enquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the Lead Mines, in the County of Washington, (who will ascend with, and command the party) or to the subscriber at St. Louis.

Wm. H. Ashley ¹

Among those who read Ashley's advertisement was a 23-year-old man fresh from doing odd jobs in Ohio and

Illinois named Jedediah Strong Smith. The young man hurried to Ashley's office and signed on to the venture. By early May he was on a keelboat making its way up the Missouri. Born in Barnbridge, New York, in 1799, Jedediah Smith was no ordinary man. In contrast to the typical "mountain man," he was a literate, self-educated, ambitious, and deeply religious person, a born leader who was soon admired and respected by most with whom he came in contact.

In the winter of 1822-23, Major Andrew Henry and his party of trappers (including Smith) holed up near the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, where they learned the rudiments of wilderness survival, hunting and trapping. No sooner did spring arrive than they were subjected to a ferocious attack by Arikara Indians, during which Smith proved his mettle and leadership abilities. He was given command of a trapping party that scouted for beaver in the region south of the Yellowstone. After wintering with the Crow tribe in the Wind River Valley, Smith and his men set out southwestward and crossed the Continental Divide via South

Pass in February 1824. South Pass, the easiest way across the northern Rockies, was Jedediah Smith's first major geographical discovery (actually rediscovery; the Astorians of the American Fur Company had used it in 1812, but it had been forgotten). South Pass later became the route through the Rockies for both the Oregon and California trails.

Over the next year and a half, Smith and his small party explored and trapped in what is now western Wyoming and Idaho. They reached as far north as the Hudson's Bay Company's Flathead Post on Clark's Fork of the Columbia River. The British trappers were suspicious of Smith's motives for entering territory claimed by them, but there was no overt hostility. Smith's group wintered along the Snake River with a Hudson's Bay Company trapping party led by Peter Skene Ogden.

In July 1825, Smith met William Ashley, who had come from St. Louis with a caravan of trade goods for the first of the annual fur trade rendezvous. It was at this meeting on Henry's Fork of the Green River in southwestern Wyoming that Jedediah Smith became a full partner with Ashley. Ashley and Smith returned to St. Louis together, the latter after an absence of three years. Less than a month later, Smith again headed west with a trapping party. After wintering among the Pawnees, Smith was joined by Ashley and together they proceeded up the North Platte River, through South Pass, and on to the Green River on the route that became the Oregon Trail. At the second annual fur trade rendezvous, held in Cache Valley,

near the eastern end of the present Idaho-Utah border, in the summer of 1826, Ashley decided to give up his active participation in the trapping business. He made arrangements to sell out to Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and William Sublette. The partnership of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette was formed, with Ashley agreeing to supply provisions to the new partners and to them alone.

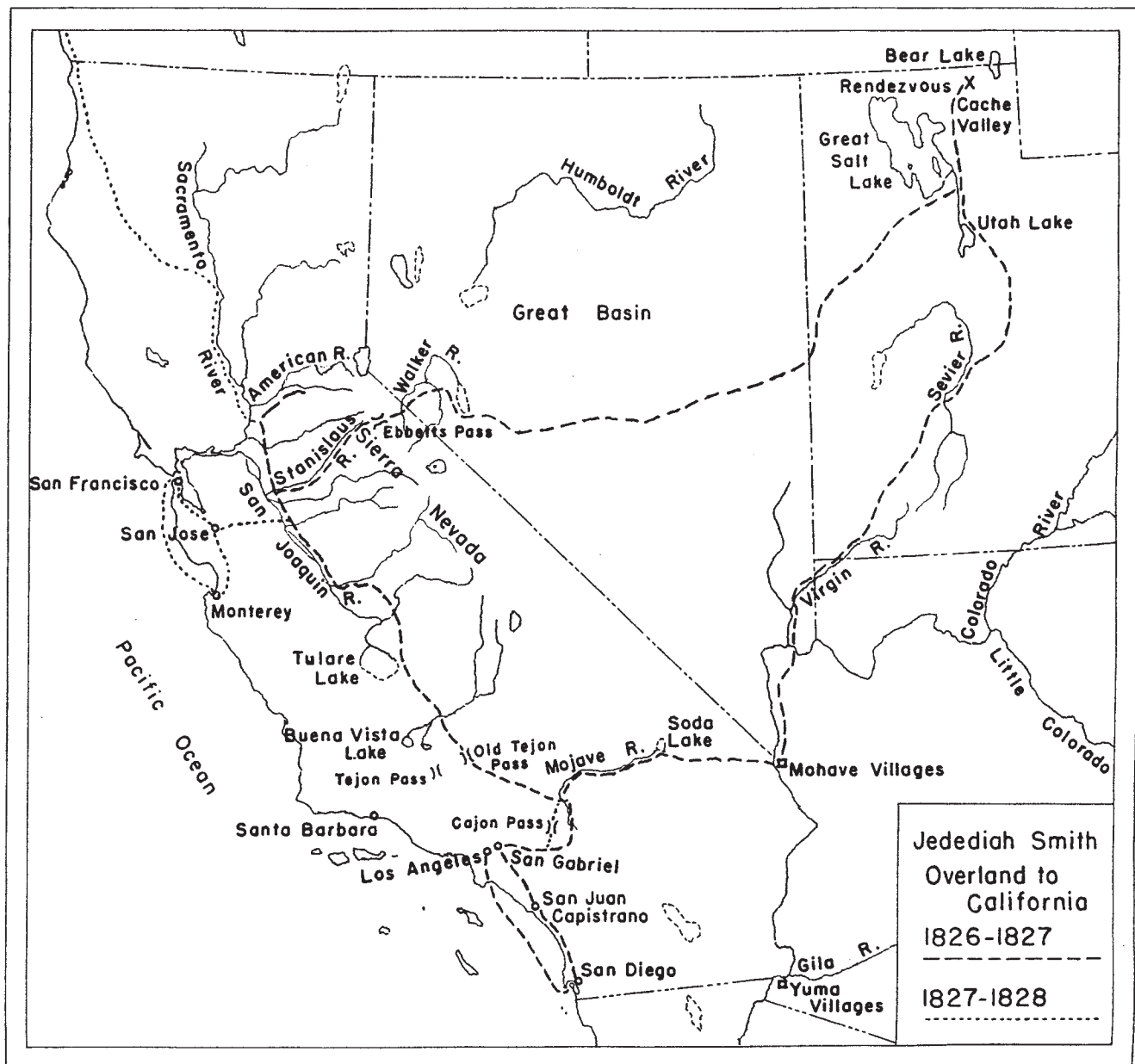
Following the summer rendezvous, the new partners headed out in different directions. Jackson and Sublette went north for the fall hunt, while Smith with seventeen men set out southward to ascertain whether there was good beaver country to the south and west of the Great Salt Lake.

This trapping expedition took Jedediah Smith and his men to California. Was it Smith's initial intention to enter the Mexican coastal province? Historians remain divided on this. Smith himself later claimed that he started south and then southwest simply to hunt beaver, and not until he reached the Mojave villages on the Colorado River near today's Needles did he, out of necessity because his men were desperately short of provisions, decide to cross the desert to the California settlements. In view of Smith's later dishonest dealings with Mexican authorities in California, his claim is questionable, to say the least.²

Whatever his motive, Smith led his men south from Cache Valley on or about August 15, 1826. For a month and a half, stopping on several occasions to rest and trade

with Indians, the trappers worked their way south through Utah and into southern Nevada. Descending the Virgin River, they arrived at the Colorado River on or about October 3. The great stream of churning, brownish water, called by Smith the *Seed-skeeder*, was crossed the next day. They made their painful way down the eastern side of the Colorado, forced to climb high above the river to get around the deep gorge of Black Canyon, and reached the Mojave villages around October 25.

By the time they arrived among the Mojave, Smith wrote, he "had lost so many horses that we were all on foot--my men and the remainder of my horses were worn out with fatigue & hardships & emaciated with hunger."³ Smith and his men remained at the Mojave villages for fifteen days. The Mojaves--called *Amuchabas* by Smith--were an impressive looking people. The men were tall, well proportioned, and powerfully built, most of them wearing nothing but a loincloth. The women were generally short, some plump, others gracefully proportioned, and wore a short skirt fashioned from strips of bark. They lived on both sides of the river over a distance of about thirty miles, and had fashioned an oasis of agriculture that turned the river valley green. Smith and his men noted abundant fields of corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelon, and small patches of cotton and wheat. To the south, just beyond most of the Mojave villages, the distinctive landmark of the Needles, a series of slender rock pinnacles, stabbed several hundred feet into the sky.



Smith questioned the Mojaves about the surrounding country. To the south were barren lands as far as the junction of the Gila. He learned that ten days travel westward across the desert were the California missions. "Believing it impossible to return to the deposit [rendezvous] at this season and in my present situation I determined to prepare myself as well as possible and push forward to California where I supposed I

might procure such supplies as would enable me to move on north. In that direction I expected to find beaver and in all probability some considerable river heading up in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake."⁴ This passage in Smith's journal appears to support his later assertion that he had not originally intended to go all the way to California, but decided to do so when he found his party short of horses and provisions at the Mojave

villages. It also indicates that he hoped to return to Salt Lake via the mythical Buenaventura River that was said to flow between the great inland body of water and the Pacific. He was about to learn the true geography of the Southwest the hard way.

Early in November 1826, Smith and his men set out on the last stage of their overland journey to the Pacific, fervently hoping to find a route across

the desert. "I made a raft and crossed the river and for the first day traveled nearly west passing through rocky hills by a deep ravine which brought me through to the plain, then a little north of west 15 miles to another range of hills where I found water and cane grass and encamped."⁵

Using a modern topographical map and visiting the scene, it is relatively easy to follow Smith's route. He left the Colorado at a point opposite what later became Fort Mojave, about fifteen miles north of present-day Needles, led by Indian guides along the north branch of the ancient Mojave Indian Trail. The "rocky hills" are the Dead Mountains, which he and his men crossed via the "deep ravine." The party made camp at Piute Spring, at the foot of the barren Piute Range. During the night the Indian guides departed taking with them one of the trappers' horses. Smith and his men crossed the Piute Range into the Lanfair Valley, where they were obliged to camp without finding water. "The idea came forcibly to-mind that it was the policy of the Indians to send me into the desert to perish," wrote Smith.⁶ The party retraced their route back to the Colorado, where they found that the Mojaves living in the vicinity had all disappeared. They encountered an ex-mission neophyte named Francisco, who told them that the Mojaves had run off for fear they would be punished for stealing the horse. Francisco persuaded the runaways to come back, and one of the chiefs promised Smith that the horse would be returned. The chief told Smith the grass was better across the river and farther south. Trusting the Mojaves, the party recrossed the Colorado and

moved about ten miles south, not far from present-day 1-40, in the heart of the Mojave settlements.

Smith and his men remained several more days with the Mojaves, during which time the missing horse was returned and he was able to secure the service of two ex-mission Indians to guide him across the desert. They recrossed the river and on November 10, 1826, started west once again. The first day they retraced their original route to Piute Spring, assured by their guides that this was the correct trail. The next day they crossed the Piute Range and followed the southern edge of the broad Lanfair Valley to a small spring at the foot of "a hill of rocks." This was probably today's Vontrigger Spring, and the Smith party camped there the night of November 11. Day three saw Smith and his men head "W N W crossing some ridges and passing some hills on our left. Just before night at the foot of a small hill we found a little spring or rather hole of water furnishing a verry [sic] inadequate supply for after taking out some to cook with I let the horses to it and they drank it all."⁷ They spent the night at a small spring somewhere in the northern Providence Mountains. Many small springs and seeps grace this high desert mountain range, and it is impossible to determine which one was used by Smith and his men. Day four from the Colorado was a short one; they crossed the Providence Mountains, possibly via Macedonia Canyon, and struck northwest across Kelso Wash to a "little ravine" with grass and water, where they made camp in the early afternoon. They were almost certainly at Marl Spring, one of the dependable water sources

on the Mojave Desert, long used by travelers, Indian and white. The next morning, November 14, Smith and his men traveled west south west, around the southern flank of Old Dad Mountain, and across a salt plain, today called the Devil's Playground, to a brackish spring surrounded by some grass, where they encamped. "The Salt Plain I had passed during the day was about 15 miles long and from four to six miles wide, entirely level and destitute of vegetation," wrote Smith.⁸ They may have camped near the same spot that Francisco Garcés had fifty years earlier, the Franciscan father's *Pozo de San Juan de Dios*. They were at the southern edge of today's Soda Dry Lake, which is the sink of the Mojave River.

On day six Smith and his party headed west across the dry lake bed and entered "the dry Bed of a River on each side high hills. Pursuing my course along the valley of this river 8 or 9 miles I encamped. In the channel of the river I occasionally found water. It runs from west to east, alternately running on the surface and disappearing entirely in the sands of its bed," wrote Smith.⁹ He named this strange watercourse the Inconstant River. It was the Mojave. For two days they followed the alternately wet and dry riverbed upstream. With their food supply dwindling to nothing, they came upon some strange bread cakes weighing eight to ten pounds, so hard that "an axe was required to break it and in taste it resembled Sugar Candy."¹⁰ They later discovered that it was made from cane grass growing along the river banks. On their third day along the riverbed, Smith and his men saw horse tracks and other signs

that humans had passed this way a short time before. Their Indian guides told them that they belonged to the *wanyumas* tribe and that their villages were near. "After a long days travel I arrived late at a *wan yu ma* lodge," Smith wrote. "Close by were 2 or three families of the same tribe. Here I remained the following day and in the mean time was well treated by these indians. They gave us such food as they had consisting of a kind of mush made from acorns and pine nut bread made of a small berry This bread in appearance was like corn bread but in taste much sweeter. As there were in the neighborhood a plenty of hares the Indians said they must give us a feast."¹¹ The Indians went out with a large net and bagged two or three dozen of the wild rabbits. To suppliment the feast Smith and Harrison Rogers, clerk of the expedition, went out and killed two antelope.

These friendly native peoples who Smith called *wanyumas* were *Vanyumes*, the same people Garcés visited fifty years before and called *Bénemée*. Smith's description is not detailed enough to identify just which Vanyume village he visited. A strong possibility would be *Atongai*, located just upstream from the Victorville Narrows, in today's Hesperia. "On the following day after making the indians some presents I moved on, keeping a right hand fork my course nearly S W, passing out at the head of this creek and over a ridge I entered a ravin [sic] running S W. I proceeded down it nearly to where it entered some high hills which were apparently covered with pine. At this place I encamped."¹² Smith and his men had continued up the Mojave River to

its Forks at the northern foot of the San Bernardino Mountains, turned up the West Fork and crossed a low ridge into Summit Valley, near the site of today's Silverwood Reservoir. The next day they followed the old Mojave Indian Trail south into Sawpit Canyon, their route across the San Bernardinos, some eight miles east of Cajon Pass. They were "obliged to travel in the bed of the creek as the hills on both sides which were thick covered with cedar came in close and rugged."¹³ They struggled up Sawpit Canyon to the crest of the mountains near present-day Monument Peak, and then descended the long ridge between Devil and Cable canyons into lower Cajon Creek and the northwestern edge of the San Bernardino Valley, just as Garcés had done a half century earlier. The country was now lush and green, with herds of cattle grazing here and there. It was November 26, 1826, sixteen days from the Colorado, and these first mountain men to reach California overland felt they were in paradise. The verdant, well-watered land was in contrast to the desert over which they had so long journeyed.

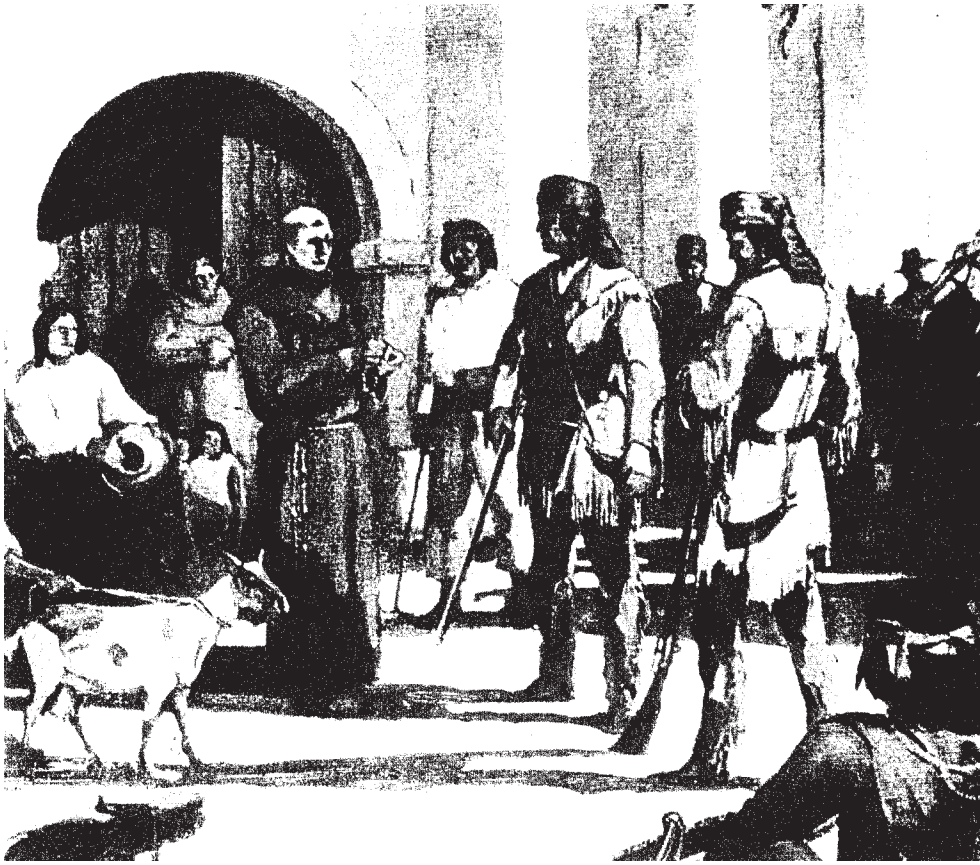
Turning west, they followed the plain along the foot of the San Gabriel Mountains, fording the abundant waters of Lytle and San Antonio creeks, and camped near the latter. They encountered Indian *vaqueros* tending the large mission herds. One old Indian, who spoke good Spanish and appeared to be their leader, invited them to his quarters at La Puente, the largest stock rancho of Mission San Gabriel. Harrison Rogers, Smith's second in command who kept a day book of the expedition, described the ranch headquarters as "2 rows of large and lengthy buildings, after

the Spanish mode, they reminded me of the British barracks." They were invited to dinner and, Rogers wrote, "There was great feasting among the men as they were pretty hungry not having had any good meat for some time."¹⁴

The old Indian suggested that Smith write a note to the fathers of Mission San Gabriel, some five miles west. Jedediah scribbled a few lines telling how his party reached California and their reason for being here. An Indian took the message to the mission, and a few hours later a corporal and a soldier came riding to La Puente with a message from the padre in charge written in Latin. Smith was unable to read it, but surmised that he was being invited to the mission. Leaving Rogers in charge of his men at La Puente, Jedediah, accompanied by the corporal and the soldier, rode on to Mission San Gabriel.

Father Jose Bernardo Sanchez gave Jedediah Smith a warm and kindly greeting. Jedediah found the priest charming in disposition with a lively manner, and exceedingly generous in sharing meals and providing comfortable living quarters. Smith hardly expected such a delightful reception.

Father Sanchez invited Smith to bring the rest of his company to the mission. Harrison Rogers and thirteen ragged-looking trappers arrived on the evening of November 28. Although the corporal took their firearms for safekeeping, all were treated with respect and generosity, and given all the food they could eat. Rogers, writing in his day book, was most impressed: "I was introduced to the



Jedediah Smith meets father Jose Sanchez at the San Gabriel mission on November 28, 1826. From a painting by Carl Oscar Borg.

2 priests over a glass of good old whiskey and found them to be very jovial friendly gentlemen. The supper consisted of a number of different dishes, served different from any table I ever was at. Plenty of good wine during supper, before the cloth was removed cigars [sic] was introduced.... They all appear friendly and treat us well, although they are Catholics [sic] by profession, they allow us the liberty of conscience, and treat us as they do their own country men, or brethren.”¹⁵

Smith and his men saw Mission San Gabriel at the height of its prosperity. Two padres, their assistants, and a dozen or so soldiers presided benevolently, if autocratically, over the daily lives of several thousand Indian

neophytes who lived at the mission, on the mission ranches, or in small villages scattered over the vast mission lands. Rogers vividly described the mission activities: “The mansion, or mission, consist of 4 rows of houses forming a complete square, where there is all kinds of macanicks [sic] at work; the church faces the east and the guard house the west; the N. and S. line comprises the work shops. They have large vineyards, apple and peach orchards, and some orange and some fig trees. They manufacture blankets, and sundry other articles; they distill whiskey and grind their own grain, having a water mill... . They have upwards of 1,000 persons employed, men, women, and children, Inds. of different nations. The situation is very handsome, pretty streams

of water running through from all quarters, some thousands of acres of rich and fertile land as level as a die in view, and a part under cultivation, surrounded on the N. with a high and lofty mou., handsomely timbered with pine and cedar, and on the S. with low mou., covered with grass. Cattle --the mission has upwards of 30,000 head of cattle, and horses, sheep, hogs, etc. in proportion.... They slaughter at this place from 2 to 3,000 head of cattle at a time; the mission lives on the profits.”¹⁶

Shortly after his arrival at San Gabriel, Smith wrote to the Governor of California, José María Echeandía, who was at the time residing in San Diego. He described how and why he came to the Mexican Province, what he needed for the return journey, and requested permission to pass through California to the Bay of San Francisco, which he believed was the outlet of the elusive (and mythical, although Smith did not realize this) Buenaventura River. From there, he proposed to ascend the phantom watercourse eastward, through the mountains and across the desert, to its head near the Great Salt Lake.

It was two weeks before Echeandía answered, and Smith grew restive. He and his men enjoyed the idyllic comforts of the mission and became better acquainted with the padres, winemakers, and skilled workers. Jedediah wrote letters, sampled the mission wines, and strolled about the gardens and orchards, while Rogers filled his day book with descriptions of mission activities. Rogers was particularly impressed with Father Sanchez: “I must say he is a very fine man and a very much of a gentleman,”

and later, “Old Father Sanchus [sic] has been the greatest friend that I ever met with in all my travels, he is worthy of being called a Christian, as he possesses charity in the highest degree--and a friend to the poor and distressed, I ever shall hold him a man of God, taking us when in distress, feeding and clothing us--and may god prosper him and all such men.”¹⁷ Smith felt equal sentiment toward the priest, and when Sanchez complained about bears raiding the mission orchards, Jedediah built him a beartrap.

Smith befriended an old gentleman visiting the mission from *El Pueblo de Los Angeles*. When the old man, Francisco Avila, invited Smith to visit him in Los Angeles, he readily accepted. Avila dispatched his son with horses, and Jedediah with one of his men rode the dusty path ten miles to the pueblo. Smith gave us one of the earliest descriptions of Los Angeles by an American: “The Angel village in which my friend resided contained 70 or 80 houses, the walls of mud or unburnt brick and the roofs of thatch or tile. They were generally small and few of them cleaner than they should be.... the inhabitants cultivate but little ground depending on their cattle for subsistence. They are generally poor but a few families are rich in cattle, horses and mules and among these Senor Francisco Abela [sic] and his brother Don Ignacio are perhaps the richest.”¹⁸

While waiting at the mission Jedediah Smith met Joseph Chapman, the first American to settle in Los Angeles. He had led an adventurous life. Chapman was a member of the Frenchman Hippolyte de Bouchard’s sea raiders

who sacked the California coast in 1818 and was captured by the Californios when he came ashore west of Santa Barbara. Chapman was taken to Mission Santa Barbara, then to San Gabriel, where the padres discovered that the prisoner had woodworking skills they very much needed to utilize. In 1821 he built a grist mill for Mission San Gabriel and became a favorite of Father Sanchez. Upon being given his freedom, Chapman settled in Los Angeles and proved his worth to the Californians by felling trees and hewing lumber, building a schooner, splinting broken bones, and performing a host of other services. He proved of value to Smith and his men by his fluency in both English and Spanish.

Smith also met several American seamen who were in Southern California on trading voyages. By the 1820s a lively trade had developed between Boston merchants and the Californios. Yankee ships would bring New England goods around Cape Horn to California ports--San Diego, San Pedro, and occasionally San Juan Capistrano in the southern part of the province--and return with hides and tallow, products of the vast mission herds. Captain William Henderson and his supercargo, James Scott of the brig *Olive Branch*, and Captain William Cunningham of the *Courier* appeared at San Gabriel during the overland trappers’ two-week stay.

Smith and Rogers both commented on the darker side of mission life. The two young Indian guides who had led them from the Mojave villages to San Gabriel, described by Smith as “fine honest and well disposed boys” about sixteen years of age, were

imprisoned. One was sentenced to death but was later pardoned through the intercession of a priest; the other died in prison. Smith was shocked by a flogging he witnessed. He wrote, “Indian inhabitants ... are kept in the strictest order, being punished severely [sic] for the most trifling offence or neglect. They are whipped like slaves, the whip being used by an indian, a soldier standing by with a sword to see that it is faithfully done.”¹⁹ Rogers commented, “They are kept in great fear; for the least offense they are corrected; they are compleat [sic] slaves in every sense of the word.”²⁰ The severe punishments were supposedly administered with a feeling of benevolence; Father Estaban Tapis, president of the California missions, was quoted as saying, “Such are the chastisements which we inflict on the Indians in keeping with the judgment with which parents punish their own beloved children.”²¹ One wonders if the soldiers, who administered the beatings, felt the same “benevolence” as the padres.

Finally, on December 8, a message was received from Governor Echeandía requiring Smith’s presence in San Diego. Next morning Jedediah, accompanied by Captain Cunningham and a soldier, mounted horses and headed south along *El Camino Real*. After spending nights at Missions San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Key, the party reached the Presidio of San Diego on December 11.

Echeandía received the trapper with formal courtesy. Smith described the governor as “much of a gentleman but very suspicious.”²² While Jedediah portrayed himself as an innocent victim of circumstances, Echeandía

suspected the intruder was a spy. If not a spy, the American trapper was at least an impudent trespasser who had disdained the formality of obtaining a passport or a license to trap in Mexican territory. The governor found it hard to believe that Smith and his men would undertake so difficult a journey merely to hunt for beaver pelts. Furthermore, why did Smith draw detailed maps of Mexican territory if not for a future military purpose?

Governor Echeandía decided to delay a decision until he had consulted with his military council and notified the government in Mexico City. To Smith's chagrin, he was told that he might be sent to Mexico City. Meanwhile, Jedediah was ordered to remain in San Diego, although the governor did allow him to reside on the brig *Courier* in San Diego Bay.

Smith, anxious to get on with his journey, came up with a solution acceptable to Echeandía. From the American sea captains whose ships were anchored in the bay, Jedediah obtained a certificate vouching for his character and the purity of his motives. Drawn up and signed by Captains William Cunningham, William Dana, Theodore Robbins, and several other ships' officers, the certificate was presented to Echeandía on December 20. The governor trusted these captains and valued their trade, an important source of income for Mexican California.

Hence, the officers' declaration eased his suspicions regarding Smith. Governor Echeandía gave Smith and his men permission to leave California and to purchase horses and supplies. But the trappers would have to return via the same route they had used to enter the province; they were denied permission to travel north. And Smith was specifically forbidden to draw any maps of Mexican territory.

Documents recently discovered in Mexican archives suggest that Smith was more devious in his discussions with Governor Echeandía and the padres at Mission San Gabriel than many historians have supposed.²³ Jedediah, as we shall see, ignored the governor's orders upon reaching the Mojave Desert and turned north to trap in the San Joaquin Valley. Many historians, supposing the pious Smith could not have been deceitful, have written that he must have thought that once he left the coastal settlements he was out of California and "had complied with the Governor's orders."²⁴ But two newly discovered letters of Smith make it clear that he was fully aware that he was disobeying Echeandía's

directive. When the governor later learned that Smith was in the Central Valley and ordered his arrest, Smith invented the excuse that snow on the mountains had forced him to go north.²⁵ Jedediah's own diary, along with the day book of Harrison Rogers, reveal that snow was no obstacle until later, when they tried to cross the Sierra Nevada.

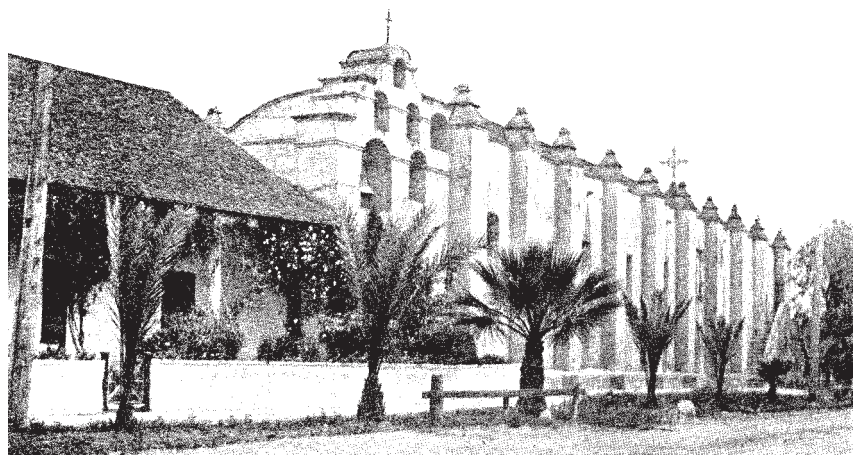
Perhaps there were other reasons why Jedediah Smith came to California and wandered all over the Far West. In his journals, he seems to betray a fundamental restlessness, an absorbing curiosity about what lies beyond the river, over the mountain, across the desert. And Manifest Destiny, the belief common to many Americans that their nation had a God-given mission to extend from ocean to ocean, may have been a factor in his decision to ignore Mexican sovereignty and flout the governor's orders.

But we are ahead of our story. With Echeandía's permission to leave California in hand, Jedediah sailed from San Diego Bay aboard Captain Cunningham's brig *Courier* on

January 5, 1827, and, after a short stop at Catalina Island, went ashore at San Pedro three days later.

"Several cannon were fired as a signal to a farmer that lived 8 or 10 miles off who usually made it his business to come with horses to take people up to the Pueblo or to St. Gabriel," wrote

Smith. "As the expected horses



Mission San Gabriel

did not come we started on foot and continued until we procured horses to take us to the Pueblo los Angeles or the Angels Village. We remained all night at the village and in the morning I called on my friend Senor Abella [Avila] and made arrangements for the purchase of horses and then to the Mission of St. Gabriel where I found my party all well.”

The next eight days were spent preparing for the return journey. The mission blacksmith shop was used for making horseshoes, saddles were rigged, and provisions were secured. Jedediah went back to Los Angeles to procure horses and more supplies. Finally, on the morning of January 18, 1827, they were ready to leave.

Down to fourteen men--one hid himself at San Gabriel and two had deserted before reaching the Colorado--the trapping party headed east on the well-worn mission trail. After spending a night at Rancho La Puente, they continued eastward to Rancho Jumuba which adjoins San Bernardino on the west. “I arrived at St. Bernardino [Jumuba] where I remained several days drying beef and breaking my young horses as well as looking for some that had strayed away,” wrote Smith. “On leaving [San Gabriel] father Sanches he directed me to kill beef and as much as I could dry and to take meal peas corn wheat or any thing I wanted and such quantities as I chose,... evincing the most benevolent regard for my welfare.”²⁷

Smith and his men departed San Bernardino on February 1 and headed north across the mountains to the desert. Some historians have

written that Jedediah, on his return trip, went through Cajon Pass, but a careful reading of his diary indicates that this is not so: “I left Bernardino accompanied by 2 or three Indians and moved on to the place where I had passed through the Mt and first came in sight of Cattle as I came in to the beautiful valley of St Gabriel and there I encamped. . . . During the night it snowed and in the morning I again moved on nearly north crossing my old track and on the 3rd day from Bernardino I had got on the E [north] side of the Mt where there was no snow.”²⁸ It appears that Jedediah Smith used the old Mojave Indian Trail over the top of the San Bernardino Mountains, some eight miles east of Cajon Pass, the same way he entered the coastal lowlands the previous November.

Once across the mountains, away from the eyes of Mexican authorities, Smith disobeyed Governor Echeandía’s instructions and turned northwest, following the northern foot of the San Gabriel Mountains, into the Antelope Valley. After a delay of three days to recapture some of his horses which had strayed away, Smith continued his journey. He wrote, “I resumed my N W course for two short days travel, the low Mt still on my left and barren plains on my right, when I fell in with some indians who I suppose were runaways from some mission as they had some horses. I ascertained by enquiry of them that there were some streams and lakes ahead. I engaged a guide to conduct me to them and after two days travel still continuing my N W direction I arrived at a Lake called by Spaniards Too Larree or flag Lake.”²⁹ Smith’s account is not

detailed enough to ascertain his exact route over the Tehachapi Mountains that separate the Mojave Desert and Antelope Valley from the great San Joaquin Valley. Some historians have written that he went over “Old” Tehachapi Pass, called Oak Creek Pass today, but this is unlikely. To cross by this pass at the eastern end of the Tehachapis, Smith would have had to travel north across the widest section of Antelope Valley, whereas he clearly states that he continued in a northwest direction. It appears almost certain that he crossed the mountains via either Cottonwood and Tejon creeks, the original or “Old” Tejon Pass, or via the present Tejon Pass and Grapevine Canyon, the route of present-day 1-5. The lake near the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley was undoubtedly Buena Vista and/or Kern Lake, which in times of high runoff were sometimes joined as one body of water. Smith was in the vicinity of present-day Bakersfield. Jedediah Smith and his party then headed north along the eastern edge of the San Joaquin Valley, fording numerous creeks that emit from the great Sierra Nevada to the east. The terrain was mostly barren at first, but as he continued north the country became more fertile. Beaver were found in the creeks, and elk, deer, and antelope roamed the foothills. By the end of April 1827, Jedediah had worked his way as far north as the American River in the Sacramento Valley, and his horses were packing some 1,500 pounds of beaver pelts. But getting all these pelts to the summer rendezvous north of the Great Salt Lake became a problem, as he could find no “Buenaventura River” that pierced the wall of the Sierra Nevada. Smith’s first attempt

to cross the range, which he called "Mount Joseph" in honor of Father José Sanchez, was via the canyon of the American River. Heavy snows blocked his way, and he was forced to return to the Central Valley. Word reached Governor Echeandía, now in Monterey, that Smith had violated their agreement. The angry governor ordered the trapper's arrest. Jedediah, meanwhile, had set up a secure camp along the Stanislaus River, east of present-day Stockton. He realized that he would be unable to reach the annual rendezvous, set to begin July 1, with his load of pelts.

Jedediah left Harrison Rogers and ten of his men with the furs and most of the horses in the Stanislaus camp, and with two men, seven horses, and two mules, set off to cross the snow-packed Sierra on May 20. He apparently made his way up the North Fork of the Stanislaus to Ebbetts Pass, and down the eastern slope to the East Carson River--the earliest known crossing of the great barrier of the Sierra Nevada by a non-Indian. From the East Carson, Smith's small party headed east to Walker Lake, then struck out across the Great Basin of Nevada. Their route was through central Nevada, slightly north of today's Highway 6, then northeast to the Great Salt Lake. It was a difficult journey and they were obliged to kill several of their horses for food. On July 3, 1827, they reached the trappers' rendezvous at Bear Lake in northeastern Utah.

The 1827 rendezvous lasted until July 13, an orgy of drinking and womanizing in which Smith did not

participate. He had more important things on his mind. He planned to return to California to rejoin the eleven men he had left along the Stanislaus, then trap his way north to the Columbia River.

Jedediah, reoutfitted with eighteen men and provisions for two years, set out once again on July 13, 1827. He would not return via the "Great Sandy Plain," as he called the Great Basin, nor would he try to follow the Buenaventura River which he now realized did not exist. He would take the roundabout route he knew from his first journey to California--south, then southwest to the Colorado River, west across the Mojave Desert, then north to relieve his men on the Stanislaus. Then his united party would trap their way north through northern California and Oregon. "I of course expected to find beaver which with us hunters is a primary object but I was led on by the love of novelty common to all which is much increased by the pursuit of its gratification."³⁰ In brief, the grand adventure would be enhanced by profit.

Smith and his men reached the Mojave villages in mid-August 1827. The Mojaves appeared to be friendly, as before. Here the trappers remained for three days, resting their horses and trading a few articles for beans, corn, pumpkins, and melons. All seemed to be well.

It was around August 18--Smith's journal does not give the date--when the trappers set out to cross the Colorado. Leaving the horses and ten men on the east bank, Smith and eight of his trappers embarked

on cane rafts to cross the river. The Mojaves had waited for this moment. Without warning they pounced on the ten men left behind and within seconds killed them. Two Indian women accompanying the party were made captives. The horses and most of the provisions were seized. It appeared likely that Jedediah and his eight men on the rafts would suffer a similar fate when they reached the shoreline. Scattered some distance back from the west bank were several hundred Mojaves making menacing sounds. Fortunately Smith and his surviving men, with only five guns between them, were able to land, pack what few supplies they could carry, and start across the desert on foot. They had moved only a short distance when the Mojaves began to close on them. Jedediah directed his men back to the shoreline where, with the river guarding their rear, they had the best chance at survival, or at least could sell their lives as dearly as possible. They took up a "last stand" position in a thicket of small cottonwoods.

"With our knives we lopped down the small trees in such a manner as to clear a place in which to stand while the fallen poles formed a slight breast work," wrote Smith afterwards. "We then fastened our butcher knives with cords to the end of light poles so as to form a tolerable lance, and thus poorly prepared we waited the approach of our unmerciful enemies.... It was a fearful time, eight [nine] men with but five guns were awaiting behind a defence made of brush the charge of four or five hundred indians whose hands were yet stained with the blood of their companions.... I directed that

not more than three guns should be fired at a time and those only when the shot would be certain of killing. Gradually the enemy was drawing near but kept themselves covered from our fire. Seeing a few indians who ventured out from their covering within long shot I directed two good marksmen to fire. They did so and two indians fell and another was wounded. Upon this the indians ran off like frightened sheep and we were released from the apprehension of immediate death.”³¹

What caused the Mojaves, so friendly on Smith’s first visit, to turn to treachery? They might have been angry because another trapping party, this one from New Mexico and led by Ewing Young, had descended the Gila and moved north along the Colorado into Mojave territory, killing several Indians, since Smith’s first visit.³² We may never know for certain.

There were no further attacks and the Mojaves appeared to retreat out of sight. Just before nightfall the nine survivors struck out westward. They traveled all night, putting as much distance as possible between themselves and the Mojaves. Early the next morning they reached the first waterhole, probably Piute Spring that Smith had visited on his first journey. Here they remained all day to avoid traveling in the scorching August heat of the desert. As evening approached, the trappers continued their westward walk. Without an Indian guide, they depended on Jedediah’s memory. But in the dark, landmarks are difficult to see, and Jedediah became lost. As dawn approached he climbed a low hill but recognized nothing. Smith and one of his men went on to a high-

er hill in search of water and the trail he had followed nine months before. Below the hill they found a small spring and Jedediah sent his companion back to fetch the men who had stayed behind. With the party reunited, Smith climbed another high hill and finally saw terrain he recognized. They were about five miles north of the trail and a good water source. Jedediah rejoiced, and the party headed south to the abundant spring he remembered, reaching it at ten o’clock the next morning. This was most likely Marl Spring. “We then remained during the remainder of the day and the following night, and in the morning early we started but instead of following the old trail I turned to the left and struck directly for the Salt Plain [Soda Lake],” Smith wrote. “The day was extremely warm and consequently we suffered much from thirst, my men more than myself for they had not been accustomed to doing without water as much as I had.”³³ Jedediah and six of his party reached a small water seepage on the edge of the salt plain; water was taken back to the two men who had faltered and the whole party was reunited by nightfall. After dark they crossed the plain to waterholes Smith had dug on his previous trip.

Next day they reached the canyon mouth of Smith’s “Inconstant River,” the Mojave. Jedediah found it drier than the year before. Eight miles up the sandy riverbed, they came upon a small Paiute party with two horses. With some cloth, knives, and beads he had carried from the Colorado, Jedediah traded for the horses. Water became more plentiful as they ascended the Mojave. Near present-day Hesperia they came upon a Vanyume

village, undoubtedly *Atongai*, where they received a friendly greeting--Jedediah had been there the previous November--and were able to purchase two more horses.

Smith had now decided, after his disaster at the Colorado, to return to the California settlements to replenish his supplies and buy more horses, risking the wrath of Governor Echeandía. “I concluded to again try the hospitality of the Californians,” he wrote. “I had left with my party on the Appelamminy [Stanislaus] a quantity of beaver furs, and if the Governor would permit me to trade, and I could find any person acquainted with the value of furs, I might procure such supplies as would enable me to continue my journey to the North.”

From the Vanyume village Smith now took a different route to the California coastal plains. He wrote, “Instead of traveling south east around the bend of the stream [Victorville Narrows] I struck directly across the Plain nearly S S W to the Gape [sic] of the mountain [East Cajon Creek].”³⁵ Thus Jedediah Smith became the first American to cross Cajon Pass, although Spaniards had traversed it on several occasions--Pedro Fages in 1772, Father Zalvidea in 1806, and the Nuez-Moraga party in 1819.

On reaching the San Bernardino Valley, probably on August 28, the trappers encamped and set about killing several cattle and drying the meat, enough to support the party “through the barren country between Bernardino and the Appelamminy.” Smith sent word to the Rancho San Bernardino *estancia*, on the southern edge of the broad valley, about what

his men were doing. The *majordomo* rode out and invited Jedediah to the rancho headquarters. Smith was treated as an honored guest and was able to buy a few horses.

The party remained at San Bernardino five days, recuperating and replenishing their provisions. During the stay, Jedediah wrote to Father Sanchez, explaining the situation, but did not visit Mission San Gabriel. Two of the trappers decided to remain at San Bernardino--Thomas Virgin, who had not yet recovered from his wounds, and Isaac Galbraith, a "free trapper" who preferred to stay in this verdant, sunny land.

On or about September 2, Smith and his six remaining trappers set out for the Stanislaus River. Jedediah traveled north via the same route he had previously used, crossing into the great Central Valley of California by one of the Tejon passes, and reached the camp on the Stanislaus on September 18. (Smith's journal now becomes precise on dates, although he wrote August 18 instead of the correct September 18 in this particular entry.) Harrison Rogers and the ten trappers left there the previous May appeared well but somewhat anxious in anticipation of Smith's arrival. They had passed a pleasant summer hunting deer, elk, and antelope and had gotten along well with the Indians. A Mexican unit had visited their camp and appeared satisfied with Rogers' explanation of why they were there.

Jedediah stayed two days at the Stanislaus camp, making arrangements for the fall beaver hunt, then set out with three men for Mission San Jose, seventy miles west, "to try once more

the hospitality of the Californians." He and his men arrived on September 23. Fathers Narciso Durán of Mission San Jose and José Viader of Mission Santa Clara appeared shaken by Smith's sudden appearance and "did not appear disposed to hear me, and told me I could go no further and soon showed me the way to the guardhouse. My horses were [taken] away and for two days I could get no satisfaction whatever."³⁶ Jedediah was visited by an American living in San Jose by the name of William Welch. He asked Welch to intercede with Father Durán and gain him an interview. But all the priest would tell him was that an officer from the Presidio of San Francisco would soon arrive to determine his fate.

When Lieutenant Ignacio Martínez finally arrived from San Francisco, Jedediah was informed that he was to be tried as an intruder and for claiming land in the San Joaquin Valley. Smith remained in detention in San Jose awaiting trial. On October 26 he wrote to Governor Echeandía in Monterey in an effort to explain his presence, to obtain provisions and to get authorization to leave California. Echeandía ordered Smith brought to him in Monterey under armed guard.

The governor was not satisfied with Jedediah's explanations and again threatened to send him to Mexico City. Why had the trapper not left California by the way he came as he had agreed to do after his first intrusion into Mexican territory? Why had he returned without authorization? Fortunately for Smith, there were people in Monterey who agreed to vouch for his conduct (although none of them had known him before).

William Hartnell, an Englishman who had resided in the then California capital for several years and was on friendly terms with Echeandía, was most helpful. Hartnell came up with a plan that, after protracted negotiations, resulted in Jedediah's release. Captain John Rogers Cooper of the American trading schooner *Franklin*, along with the captains of three other vessels anchored in Monterey Bay, agreed to post bond and guarantee Smith's final departure from California. Jedediah was able to sell enough furs to the cargo master of the *Franklin* to outfit his party and buy some horses. On November 15, 1827, Smith received his passport and boarded the *Franklin*, bound for San Francisco. He had instructed Harrison Rogers and the rest of his trapping party to meet him there.

Upon reaching San Francisco, Smith called on Luis Argüello, *comandante* of the presidio and port. Argüello insisted that Smith and his men follow Echeandía's instructions to the letter--skirt the southern shore of San Francisco Bay, then proceed north to Mission San Francisco Solano, northernmost California mission, in today's Sonoma. A military escort would accompany the trappers to that point, and "from there the Americans may continue toward the north until leaving our territory." Argüello did give Smith permission to spend a few days at San José to prepare for his journey. Before leaving San Francisco, Jedediah sold the remainder of his furs to the master of the *Franklin*, which allowed him to purchase much needed supplies and 250 horses at ten dollars apiece, which he planned to drive to the next annual trappers' rendezvous and sell at a considerable profit.

Jedediah's reunited party moved south to the "farm," as he called it, near Mission San Jose. Here they would pasture the horses and prepare for their long journey. Tensions between Smith and Mexican authorities mounted again when Argüello insisted that the trappers obey the governor's instructions to go north under military escort and Smith demurred. Jedediah used the excuse that he could not find a boat to cross Carquinez Strait of the Sacramento River at the northeastern end of San Francisco Bay, which he still called the "Buenaventura River" even though he now knew that it did not flow from Salt Lake. But his true reason, obvious from his later journal entries, was his desire to revisit the beaver-rich streams to the east, emitting from "Mount Joseph" [The Sierra Nevada] .

In the face of Argüello's intransigence, Jedediah decided on a course of deception. "I apparently acquiesced but left him [Argüello] with a determination fixed to take my own course."³⁸ When his party was finally ready to leave, Smith lied to Father Durán, telling the priest that they were heading a short distance east "under the pretense of moving to better grass."³⁹

On December 30, 1827, Jedediah and his trappers slipped away from San Jose in the rain. In the next few days they moved east, then northeast, and crossed the "Buenaventura" River (in this case the San Joaquin) to trap the abundant streams that flowed down from the great Sierra. "Having been so long absent from the business of trapping and so much perplexed and harassed by the folly of men in power, I returned again to the woods,

the river, the prairie, the camp & the Game with a feeling somewhat like that of a prisoner escaped from his dungeon and his chains."⁴⁰ Jedediah was overjoyed to be freed from the constraints of Mexican authorities and to be back in the wilderness.

Comandante Argüello, on the other hand, was furious upon learning of Smith's illegal departure. In a letter to Governor Echeandía, he called the American trapper devious, ungrateful, and lawless.

Jedediah Smith never returned to Southern California. A brief summary of the three adventure-filled years left to him will suffice. During the early months of 1828, Jedediah and his men, twenty in all, moved north through the Sacramento Valley, trapping and hunting. Near the northern end of the great valley, they veered northwest through difficult mountain country--today called the Klamath Knot--and reached the ocean on May 19. They left Mexican territory and traveled north along the Oregon coast, passing the Rogue River and turning up the Umpqua to its northern tributary later known as the Smith River, in Jedediah's honor. Along the way they had several unfriendly encounters with Kelawatset Indians. On July 14, 1828, Smith and two of his men set out to find the best route through the mountains to the Willamette Valley. Jedediah instructed Harrison Rogers not to allow any Indians into camp, but for some unknown reason Rogers allowed a large party of around a hundred Kelawatsets to enter. The Indians, in revenge for recent incidents that caused them humiliation, suddenly fell upon the trappers and butchered all but one man, Arthur Black, who managed

to escape into the woods. When Smith and his two companions returned, they were fired upon by the Indians but managed to escape. The Umpqua Massacre, as it came to be called, took the lives of Harrison Rogers and fourteen trappers.

Arthur Black, believing he was the only survivor, made his way north to the Columbia River, reaching the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver on August 8. Two days later, Jedediah and his two companions came in. Dr. John McLoughlin, the Hudson's Bay Company's factor at the post, sent an expedition to punish the Kelawatsets and recover as much of Smith's goods and as many of his stolen horses as they could. Jedediah accompanied the party. In a three-month search, about half of the furs were recovered and a few of the horses.

Jedediah sold most of the recovered furs and horses to the Hudson's Bay Company. In March 1829, accompanied by Arthur Black (the other two surviving trappers remained in Oregon), Smith journeyed up the Columbia River and over the northern Rockies to Flathead Post, in what is now Montana. In the fall, winter, and spring of 1829-1830, Jedediah, part of the time accompanied by another well-known mountain man named Jim Bridger, trapped the mountain streams from western Montana into Wyoming. At the 1830 rendezvous on the Wind River, Smith and his partners, David Jackson and William Sublette, sold their fur business. Jedediah returned to St. Louis and became involved with the Santa Fe trade. He left St. Louis with a large trade caravan in April 1831. On a dry stretch of the

Santa Fe Trail between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, Smith left the caravan and went looking for water. He was surprised at a waterhole by a party of Comanches and killed on May 27, 1831. He was not yet thirty-three years of age.

During his short life, Jedediah Smith became arguably the greatest of the Western mountain men. He made the effective discovery of South Pass through the Rockies, was the first white man to reach California overland from the American frontier, was first to cross the Sierra Nevada, first to travel the length and width of the Great Basin, and first to go by land from California to Oregon. True, he was no saint; he flouted Mexican sovereignty, broke the rules, and lied to officials and priests alike during his two sojourns in California. But his leadership qualities, his persistence in the face of hardship, his fearlessness, and, most of all, his adventurous spirit, placed him in the front ranks of Western explorers. And he pioneered the way for what first became a trickle, then a stream, and finally a flood of Americans into California.

This article appeared originally in the Dogtown Territorial Quarterly.



End Notes

1. Dale Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1953), pp. 19-20. Morgan's definitive biography replaced Maurice S. Sullivan, *Jedediah Smith: Trader and Trailbreaker* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1936), an excellent first biography of the trailblazing trapper.
2. Morgan, p. 193.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
4. George R. Brooks (ed.), *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977), pp. 77-78.
5. Brooks, p. 78.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
14. Harrison Clifford Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1941), p. 194.
15. Dale, p. 195.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
18. Brooks, pp. 109-110. Francisco and Antonio Ignacio Avila were two of the children of Cornelio Avila, who settled in Los Angeles in 1783 (Bancroft, *Pioneer Register*, p. 45.)
19. Brooks, pp. 108-109.
20. Dale, pp. 201-202.
21. Quoted in Richard F. Pourade, *Time of the Bells* (San Diego: Union Tribune Publishing Co., 1961), p. 110.
22. Morgan, p. 205.
23. David J. Weber, *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827: A New Cache of Documents* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1990), pp.

14-15, 19.

24. Morgan, p. 207.
25. Weber, p. 19.
26. Brooks, p. 126.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
30. Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline Including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder* (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1934), p. 26.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
32. Morgan, pp. 238-239.
33. Sullivan, *Travels*, p. 32.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
37. Weber, p. 50.
38. Sullivan, *Travels*, p. 50.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Review the BLM National Scenic and Historic Trails Plan

Of the twenty-three National Scenic and Historic Trails, twelve cross public lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). For the first time, the BLM is taking a closer look at how it will manage these trails by developing a National Scenic and Historic Trails Strategy and Work Plan. In the spirit of citizen participation embodied in the National Trails System Act, the agency is making the draft plan available for comment until July 1, 2005. This is an opportunity for the public to assist the BLM in setting the stage for managing this program now and in the future. Individuals interested in reviewing the plan can request an electronic or printed copy by calling (202) 208-3516.

12th Annual OSTA Conference *Community Connections for the National Trails System*

Mark your calendars for the 12th Annual OSTA Conference on June 17-19, 2005 in Las Vegas, Nevada. The Conference will be held jointly with the Partnership for the National Trails System's 10th Annual Conference on National Scenic and Historic Trails. *Community Connections for the National Trails System* is the joint conference theme.

An educational line-up of speakers has been arranged for Friday's symposium, which will be chaired by Paul Ostapuk. Symposium presenters will be Eva Jenson who will give us some insight on "Southern Nevada's 'Lost City,' Prehistory along the Old Spanish Trail"; Greg Seymour who will discuss "The Las Vegas Springs, A Crossroads in the Mojave Desert"; and John Robinson and Liz Warren who will share their research on Antonio Maria Armijo.

On Saturday, after the chapter reports and presentations, the

Keynote Address will be delivered by Steve Elkinton, the Program Leader of the National Trails System Program, National Park Service. The General Membership Meeting and the Meeting of the New Board will follow. On Saturday afternoon, conference goers will be able to attend the PNTS Capacity-Building Workshop (Part 1) or spend the afternoon on their own. Dinner will be at the Embassy Suites Hotel; our after-dinner speaker will be Dr. Michael Green, author, editor, and professor of history at the Community College of Southern Nevada. Dr. Green's talk is entitled "Las Vegas: What Happens Here Could Happen Anywhere?"

On Sunday, June 19, conference goers will have a choice of attending the morning Capacity-Building Workshop (Part 2) and selecting between the two afternoon field trips *or* taking one of the two full-day field trips, one east and the other west of Las Vegas. The two all-day

trips, one south and the other north of Las Vegas will be conducted by motorcoach with Old Spanish Trail tour guides on board. Hal Steiner will lead the day trip south to Amargosa Valley and China Ranch. Char Cruze will lead the tour north to Muddy River/California Crossing. This event will provide OSTA conference attendees with the opportunity to socialize with our fellow trail representatives from some 30 different scenic and historic trails, and federal agencies. On Sunday evening there will be a barbecue at Spring Mountain Ranch.

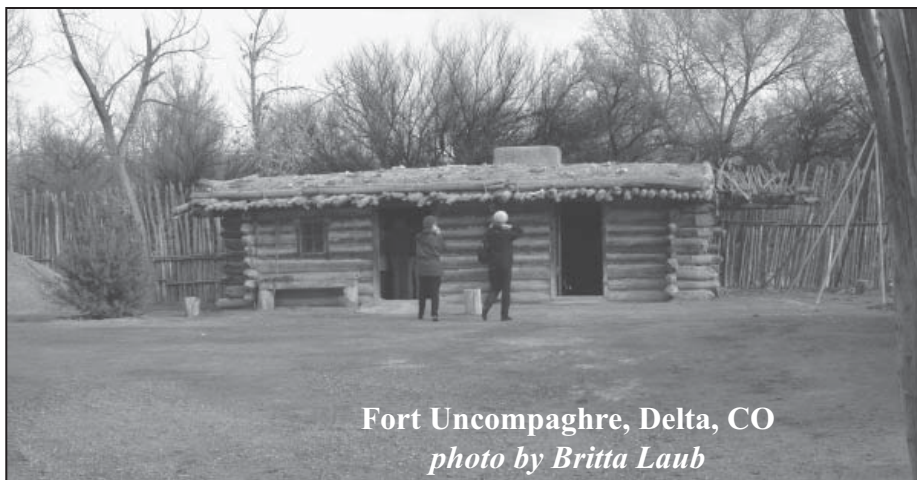
From Monday, June 20 through Wednesday, June 22, OSTA members are encouraged to attend the plenary and workshop sessions of the PNTS Conference on Scenic and Historic Trails.

For continuing updates, visit the conference website at
<http://oldspanishtrail.org/assn/conference.shtml>.

Conference Hotel:
Embassy Suites
4315 Swenson Street, Las Vegas
Telephone: (702) 795-2800
or 1-800- EMBASSY
www.embassysuites.com



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Fort Uncompaghere, Delta, CO
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