

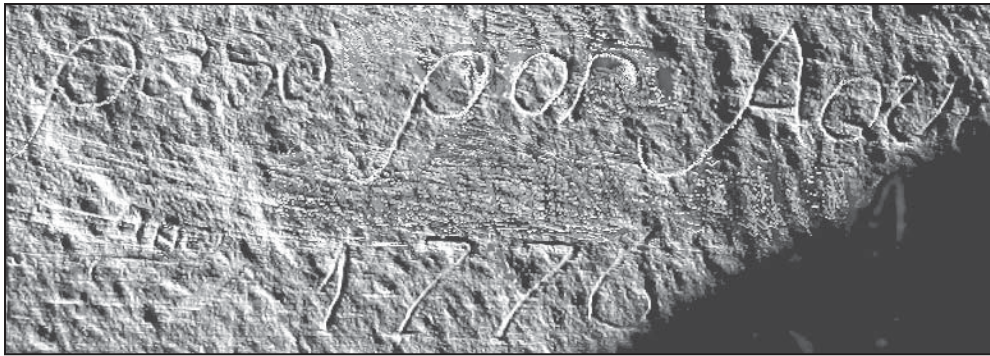
SPANISH TRACES



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Glen Canyon Inscription *Paso Por Aqui 1776* Stirs the Imagination

The recent report of an inscription in the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GCNRA), with a possible link to the 1776 Domínguez-Escalante expedition, is creating a stir. Faint Spanish-style inscriptions were reported last fall by volunteers working for the Lake Powell Graffiti Removal and Intervention Team (GRIT). These volunteers seek out and remove sandstone graffiti left behind by Lake Powell boaters. Jim Page, the “True Grit” volunteer houseboat pilot and new OSTA Armijo Chapter president, immediately recognized the importance of the *paso por Aqui* phrase which was accompanied by the carefully inscribed date of 1776. Part of

the phrase has been vandalized by modern graffiti. The inscription panel is 30 inches long and 12 inches tall. The faintly carved letters are approximately 3 inches tall in a style described by one calligrapher as “18th-century New World Spanish Cursive.”

The phrase *pasó por aquí* (“passed by here”) was a favorite phrase of the Spanish explorers and missionaries and the U.S. soldiers and pioneers who recorded news of their historic travels at El Morro National Monument in New Mexico. The most famous writing on the El Morro inscription rock is a 1605 inscription by Governor Don Juan de Oñate which begins with this phrase.

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THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL ASSOCIATION

The Old Spanish Trail (OST), one of America's great long distance trade routes, is our country's fifteenth National Historic Trail. From 1829 to 1848 the OST took traders and pack mules on a six-week trek from northern New Mexico to Southern California, where New Mexico's woolen goods were swapped for horses and pack stock raised on California's ranchos. Many took the trail—traders, frontiersmen and trappers, a handful of hardy families moving West, military expeditions, and Indian guides.

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

Visit the OSTA Website

<http://www.oldspanishtrail.org>

The OSTA website now contains a set of maps, including NPS and BLM versions; an overview history of the OST, including a bibliography; a listing of relevant books, with links to sites where they can be purchased; an updated news page, currently containing a link to the recently published Report on the OSNHT Public Scoping Meetings held earlier this year, and containing links to program notes, playable excerpts and a downloadable Podcast of the Old Spanish Trail Suite. The web page also links to NPS and BLM webpages which have further links to public documents (e.g. the OSNHT Feasibility Study, the Scoping Report, and news about the Comprehensive Management Plan) and maps of the OST.

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. The next deadline for submissions is April 15, 2007.

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

Deborah and Jon Lawrence
44 Harvey Court
Irvine, CA 92617
E-mail: dlawrence@fullerton.edu
Telephone: 949-509-1714

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Mail your check to: OSTA
PO Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270

Governing Board of Officers and Directors 2007

PRESIDENT:

Reba Wells Grandrud
2322 E. Cholla St.
Phoenix, AZ 85028
602-992-0339
rgrandrud@cox.net

PAST PRESIDENT:

Steve Heath
207 S 500 W
Cedar City, UT 84720
435-586-9334

VICE-PRESIDENT:

Mark Franklin
2914 Junction St.
Durango, CO 81301
970-385-1279
mf@animas.net

SECRETARY:

Judy Knudson
89 Fir Drive
South Fork, CO 81154
719-873-5239
ponchapass@fone.net

TREASURER:

Kenn Carpenter
PO Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270
360-653-5330
knlcarp@earthlink.net

DIRECTORS:

Paul Ostapuk – AZ
PO Box 3532
Page, AZ 86040
928-645-6577
postapuk@cableone.net

Doug Knudson – CO
89 Fir Drive
South Fork, CO 81154
719-873-5239
rosejems@fone.net

Cliff Walker – CA
1204 Gen Court
Barstow, CA 92311
760-256-5570
cjwalker@mindspring.com

Pat Kuhlhoff – NM
14 Duende Rd.
Santa Fe, NM 87505
505-466-4877
PGLK@earthlink.net

Carol Corbett – NV
5036 N. Cimarron Rd.
Las Vegas, NV 89149
702-658-0725
lookout@sprintmail.com

Al Matheson – UT
8847 West 2200 South
Cedar City, UT 84720
435-586-9762
citabriair@yahoo.com

From the Editors

In this issue of *Spanish Traces*, we include an article by **Paul Ostapuk** on the newly discovered *paso por Aqui* inscription in Glen Canyon. Part of the phrase has been vandalized by modern graffiti, which raises the issue of preservation versus public access. A primary purpose of trail organizations like OCTA and OSTA is to promote use of the trail, through education and interpretation. An equally important purpose is to conserve the natural and historic objects along the historic trails so that future enthusiasts can enjoy the trail as well. Resource protection and public use clearly can be in conflict with one another. What can OSTA do to contribute to and maintain the balance between preservation and public use?

The new Armijo and Southern Utah Chapters are both up and running. The former is taking a leading role in determining whether the *paso por Aqui* inscription is authentic. The latter has an ambitious agenda to promote the trail. And, as in the past, the Salida del Sol Chapter held a joint meeting with the Santa Fe Trail Association—given the small membership in the trail organizations, it is a very good idea to involve people in more than one trail.

We feel fortunate to be able to include in this issue an interview with **David Weber**, one of the leading scholars of the U. S. borderlands. Weber helps us

view the Old Spanish Trail in the larger context of the history of the American Southwest during the eras of Spanish and Mexican control, including the impact that the Spanish/Mexican settlers had on Native Americans during those time periods.

In this issue, **John Robinson** contributes both a book review and an article on Francisco Garcés, which adds his word to the discussion as to why the OST was not run straight through northern Arizona. We remind the reader that John's recent book, *Gateways to Southern California* (Big Santa Anita Historical Society, 2005), is a true *magnum opus* of the history and development of Southwestern historic trails. **Debra Danielson**, who contributed a review of a book on Mormons in the California Gold Rush, is an instructor of English at California State University, Fullerton. **Judy Querfeld**, past editor of *Spanish Traces*, returns to these pages with an article on the noted OST historian, **Dr. Joseph Sánchez**.

Mark your calendars for the June OSTA conference in Barstow.

Deborah and Jon Lawrence

OSTA's Online Store

www.cafepress.com/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.

Chapter Contacts

Armijo Chapter (AZ)

Jim Page
Page, AZ
413-675-9122
leavenotrace2003@yahoo.com

La Vereda del Norte Chapter (CO)

Pat Richmond
Creede, CO
719-658-2377
patsjoy@netzero.net

Nevada Chapter (NV)

Liz Warren
Goodsprings, NV
702-874-1410
mizlizzard@aol.com

North Branch Chapter (CO)

Bill Chenoweth
Grand Junction, CO
970-242-9062
cheno@bresnan.net

Rancho Chapter (CA)

Rick Whitaker
Garden Grove, CA
714-534-5710
rwhitake@ci.ontario.ca.us

Salida del Sol Chapter (NM)

Pat Kuhlhoff
Santa Fe, NM
505-466-4877
PGLK@earthlink.net

Southern Utah Chapter (UT)

Rob Dotson
Enoch City, UT
435-586-6746
rgdotson@hotmail.com

Tecopa Chapter (CA)

Cynthia Kienitz
Tecopa, CA
760-852-4360
ranchhouseinn@earthlink.net

William Workman Chapter (UK)

William Ramsay
Cumbria, England
[c/o david.fallowfield@btinternet.com](mailto:c/o.david.fallowfield@btinternet.com)

News from the Trail

Chris Kincaid, GCNRA archeologist indicates that “based on the location, the style, and the wording,” the inscription is probably authentic. “However, we don’t have any definitive word on this yet,” reported Max King, GCNRA Chief of Interpretation and OSTA Armijo Chapter advisory board member. The exact location of the inscription has been withheld from the public to protect the site from further vandalism until experts can complete their field work.

The Armijo Chapter of the Old Spanish Trail Association has coordinated a field research project that will begin the authentication process in mid-February. Western Mapping Company, under the direction of President James Holmlund, will conduct a night-time laser scan of the inscription using a process that will provide information regarding the relative age of the inscription as compared to modern graffiti. This will allow creation of a three-dimensional model of the inscription, to within 0.1 mm resolution, that will aid further handwriting analysis.

The party of the Domínguez - Escalante expedition traveled approximately 1700 miles across New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona over a 159-day period. The expedition journal makes reference to only a single inscription, the Don Joaquin Lain tree carving of September 14, 1776. This cottonwood tree, which grew along the Green River in Utah, no longer exists.

Paul Ostapuk

Archives: Carol Corbett, OSTA’s archives manager, recently placed a number of articles, clippings, photographs, videos, correspondence, and official reports and documents in the OSTA archives, which are housed in the Western History Center of the Denver Public Library. Carol reminds the readership of *Spanish Traces* that any member can submit materials to her for inclusion in the archives.

Armijo Chapter: The first meeting of the new Armijo Chapter was held in August, and in September, the new officers were announced: James Page, President; Frank Talbott, Vice President/Treasurer; Paul Ostapuk, Secretary. Recent activities included a boat ride to Padre Bay where the Domínguez-Escalante and the Antonio Armijo parties crossed the Colorado River.

Robb Commemorative Marker: Bill Chenoweth reports that work continues on the North Branch chapter’s project to place a marker in Grand Junction’s Eagle Rim Park commemorating the work of the late James Robb in obtaining National Historic Trail status for the Old Spanish Trail and its North Branch. The Rio Blanco Stone Company has donated a large sandstone boulder, which the Grand Junction Parks Department will install. Fund raising is underway to cast the bronze plaque to be placed on the stone.

Salida del Sol held a joint meeting with the Santa Fe Trail Association in November. Joy Poole, the current president of the local chapter of the SFTA, gave a presentation on several trail diaries and journals.



Churros on the OST: Doug Knudson reports that Marvin Muñiz raises churro sheep for meat, asking bargain prices for the wool. These are the sheep that kept the OST in business, providing a main source of export income for New Mexico for over 200 years. Marvin is an in-law of the Salazars, the Colorado senator and representative. *photo by Doug Knudson*

Old Spanish National Historic Trail

Visit www.oldspanishtrail.org



Looking Glass Rock

Old Spanish National Historic Trail

Visit www.oldspanishtrail.org



Chama Valley

Old Spanish National Historic Trail

Visit www.oldspanishtrail.org



Casa Colorado

Old Spanish Trail Bookmarks: Kenn and Lorraine Carpenter have developed a set of bookmarks with the intent of giving one to each fifth grader in schools located along or in the vicinity of the Old Spanish Trail. If the bookmarks are given out yearly, with a brief explanation of the OST and its history, then a very large number of young people will be introduced to the trail. Recently, as a trial, a number of bookmarks were distributed to GATE students in the Barstow area.

Southern Utah Chapter: The Southern Utah Chapter of OSTA is up and running, with Rob Dotson as President, David Browning as Vice President, Sharon Lewis as Secretary-Treasurer, Sherrie Singleton as Historical Librarian, Leon (Al) Matheson as Trip Co-ordinator and Blaine Nay as Webmaster/Newsletter Editor. Some of the efforts of the group are to increase membership, mark the trail with new signs, preserve older monuments, educate local young people about the trail, develop and distribute brochures

to visitors, and work with local officials to increase awareness of the trail. They are considering an ambitious plan for an OST museum in Enoch City, coupled with fundraising efforts on both the local and federal level. The group has published several newsletters, which can be found on their new website www.three-peaks.net/spanish_trail.htm. The newsletters include reports of their recent field trips to such locations as Squaw's Cave near Cedar City and Johnson's Springs, an important layover point on the OST.

Old Spanish Trail News: The OSNHT Planning Team distributed their second newsletter this fall, summarizing comments collected during the 2006 scoping process. The issue includes articles on trail definition, mapping, interpretation, education and community opportunities. Those wishing to receive a copy can contact Sharon Brown at Sharon_brown@nps.gov.

Web Site: Monthly visitation to the newly formatted website, which was introduced in July, has grown from 1,500 to over 7,000 "hits" per month.

Trail Calendar

The **14th Annual OSTA Conference** will be held in Barstow, California, on June 7-9, 2007.

The **Santa Fe Trail Rendezvous** will be held in Raton, New Mexico, on June 10-16, 2007.

The **25th Annual OCTA Convention** will be held in Gering, Nebraska, on August 7-11, 2007.

The **Santa Fe Trail Symposium** will be held in Trinidad, Colorado, on September 27-30, 2007.

The California Parks Service is sponsoring a series of events to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the San Antonio and San Diego ("Jackass") Mail. A list of events can be found on the Archaeology, History, and Museums subpage of the California State Park website www.parks.ca.gov

Book Reviews

California Colony: Genealogy, Land Grants and Notes of Spanish Colonial California

By Doris Shaw Castro.

Bloomington: Author House, 2004.

ISBN1-4184-3910-X.

602 pages, appendices, index.

Softcover, \$25.

Imagine a single large volume that gives biographical details on all the important, and many of the less important, individuals and families in Spanish and Mexican California. Such a work would be a godsend. *California Colony* is just such a book. This large-format reference work, based on extensive use of archival and mission records, lists births, marriages, deaths, and other biographical material on hundreds of *Californios* who resided in the province from 1769 until the American conquest in 1848. Also included are foreigners who married into Spanish and Mexican families, and maritime visitors to California ports such as San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and Yerba Buena (San Francisco). All the Spanish and Mexican land grants in Hispanic California are listed, along with the grantees and dates the grants were awarded.

The author, Doris Shaw Castro, is no stranger to genealogical research. She began compiling information on early California families in the 1960s. In 1975 she published a genealogy of the Castro family, believed to be the first such study of a family living in colonial California. Over the past forty

years, Ms. Castro has spent hours, days, weeks, and months searching archives and mission records in California. She has made trips to archives in Mexico and Spain in her exhaustive efforts to make known the people who lived and worked in Hispanic California.

Most meaningful to *aficionados* of the Old Spanish Trail is Ms. Castro's fully documented entry on Antonio Maria Armijo, providing further evidence that this leader of the first trade caravan between Abiquiu and Los Angeles in 1829 settled in California very soon after the completion of his historic expedition.. The Armijo entry reveals that he was born in New Mexico (date not listed), that he married *Maria de los Dolores Engracia Duarte y Peralta* at Mission Santa Clara on April 30, 1831, and that he was in San Jose, California, and 37 years of age, in 1841, according to the Mexican census. (This census record would indicate his birth in 1804.) Seven children of Antonio and Maria, all born in California between 1832 and 1844, are listed along with their birth dates. Antonio's father, Jose Francisco Armijo, also born in New Mexico, was granted some 13,000 acres in what are now the northern California counties of Solano and Napa in 1840. This became Rancho Tolenas, also known as the Armijo grant, that became Antonio Maria's after his father's death. Also listed is one Salvador Armijo, residing in Los Angeles in the years 1839 to 1846. His relation, if any, to Jose Francisco or Antonio Maria Armijo is not known.

Included in the hefty volume are eleven appendices, covering such subjects as the architecture of Hispanic California, the California missions and their dates of founding, the Spanish and Mexican governors of the province, and gold and silver mining *before* the American Gold Rush.

Doris Shaw Castro's *California Colony* is a splendid compilation of people and places in the coastal province, complete with documentation for each entry. The volume is, and should continue to be, an extremely valuable research tool for scholars and genealogists delving into California's Spanish and Mexican past.

John W. Robinson

Gold Rush Saints: California Mormons and the Great Rush for Riches

By Kenneth N. Owens

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, reprint edition 2005.

ISBN: 0806136812

400 pages, illus.. Paperback, \$19.95.

Kenneth Owen's book *Gold Rush Saints* examines the central but often overlooked role that Mormons played in settling California and opening the West. The book documents the early arrival of Mormons in California, their presence at the discovery of gold at Coloma, Mormon Island, and Natomas, the opening of the Carson Pass Wagon Road (the Mormon Emigrant Trail), and the relationship of the California Saints to the church

leadership, initially in Illinois and later in the Salt Lake Basin. Through excellent research, documentation, historical narrative, and personal accounts, Owens examines the events causing Mormon settlers to come to California in 1846, and their part in the discovery and the rush for gold. Well chosen diary entries, journal accounts, letters and recollections from men and women exhibit a contrary vision of the Gold Rush as both easy wealth and disappointing hardship. Owens shows us the burgeoning, hard new country of California through the eyes of the optimistic Henry Bigler, the more practical James Brown and many other persons.

The early chapters of the book document the movement of the first two groups of Mormons to California: the settlers aboard the ship *Brooklyn* and the men and boys of the Mormon Battalion. According to Owens, Brigham Young approved the expedition of these groups into California to explore potential relocation sites for the main body of the LDS church. The Mormon Battalion was also considered to be a means to raise much needed funds for the church. Owens simultaneously traces the movements of the “Brooklyn Mormons,” the “Battalion Boys,” and the main body of Saints moving westward from Illinois to the Salt Lake Basin. The Brooklyn Saints arrived in Yerba Buena (San Francisco) in 1846, and under the direction of the notorious Samuel Brannan established the New Hope colony. Many of the New Hope settlers eventually abandoned the colony to ranch or to seek their fortunes mining gold. After the Mormon Battalion members were released from duty, a group made their

way north to Sutter’s Fort in the hope of finding employment to supply themselves for travel to join the main body of the church in Salt Lake. Owens argues that the presence of the Mormon Battalion workers helped to facilitate the discovery of gold at Coloma, which site had been initially planned for Sutter’s Mill. Without the influx of these skilled, dependable workers who were willing to accept a promise of future pay, Sutter could not have moved forward with his plan to build his mill, and thus, the gold discovery would have been delayed.

Owens’ central discussion of the January 1848 gold discovery at Coloma by John Marshall includes three versions of the event “that complement, clarify and reinforce” one another (96). Personal accounts, often used to authenticate the date of the discovery, include Henry Bigler’s diary, Azariah Smith’s journal and James Marshall’s narrative from 1857. Other personal accounts are added to reveal a wider picture of the people and the small community of Coloma. Owens states that a side-by-side examination of these accounts provides “a multidimensional historical perspective that greatly enhances our understanding of the importance of the LDS veterans to the discovery itself, then to the slowly growing realization of its significance, and finally to the developments that grew from the discovery”(96).

By April 1848, gold was found on the South Fork of the American River by seven Mormon Battalion veterans working the site. In May, Samuel Brannan’s newspaper spread the word, and people flocked to the area by the dozens. Mormon Island and the Natomas placer diggings especially attracted the California Saints who

became “gold rich” in a short time. John Borrowman’s journal gives a daily account of his diggings and the amount of gold he found, which was often \$30 or less per day. A miner’s hard earned profits were quickly eaten up by levies and the exorbitant cost of supplies. Although Brigham Young felt California gold digging was a spiritually evil enterprise, he collected tithing from Mormon miners, which brought much needed cash to the impoverished church in the Salt Lake Basin. Later, Young asked Henry Bigler to return to California to prospect for the church.

Further accomplishments of the “Battalion Boys” are presented in a chapter on the opening of the Carson Pass Wagon Road, also known as the Mormon Emigrant Trail. This route was heavily traveled by gold seekers, emigrants, freight wagons, and cattle and sheep drovers from 1849 through the 1860s. Part of this old road is included in modern highways.

Gold Rush Saints presents a well-melded array of personal accounts documenting the crucial role of Mormons in the California Gold Rush and their contributions in opening California and the West to other emigrants. Owens provides extensive references for most of the many individuals he mentions, along with a lengthy bibliography which may help researchers find a missing link in their family stories, as it did for this reader. The book is an assessable, enjoyable read, and an excellent resource for the historian, the California history buff and the LDS family history researcher alike.

Debra Daniels



Know Your Historian: Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez

Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez is superintendent of both the Petroglyph National Monument and the Spanish Colonial Research Center, the latter being a partnership between the National Park Service and the University of New Mexico. He is also founder and editor of the *Colonial Latin American Historical Review*. Before his career with the National Park Service, Dr. Sánchez was a professor of colonial Latin American history at the University of Arizona, Tucson. He has also taught at the University of New Mexico, Santa Ana College in Southern California, and at the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara in Mexico. Throughout his career he has researched in archives in Spain, Mexico, France, Italy, and England. He has published several studies on the Spanish frontier in California, Arizona, New Mexico,

Texas, and Alaska. Dr. Sánchez has served as Acting Superintendent at Fort Davis National Historic Site and at Pecos National Historical Park.

In May 2000, Sánchez was awarded the Medalla de Acero al Mérito Histórico Capitán Alonso de León by the Sociedad Nuevoleonesa de Historia, Geografía y Estadística, Monterrey, Mexico, for his lifelong work in colonial Mexican history. In April 2005, he was inducted into the Orden de Isabel la Católica as Knight Commander. This is one of Spain's most prestigious awards given to a foreigner. The award was conferred by King don Juan Carlos of Spain and was presented by don Julio Montesino, Consul General of Spain, in a ceremony held in Albuquerque's Old Town Plaza. In 2006 he was invited to chair the History Commission of the Pan American Institute for Geography and History which is headquartered in Mexico City. This commission is associated with the Organization of American States.

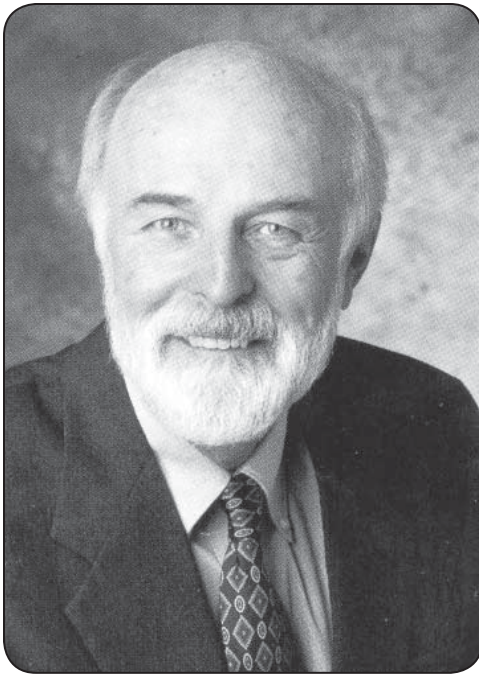
Dr. Sánchez' book *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850* (University of Utah Press, 1997) is one of the most important scholarly works on the OST. He has given OSTA members a perspective on the trail within a broad historical context, as well as a view of how the trails affected American Indians, the Spanish Empire and the emergence of Mexico. A glimpse of the wealth

of his knowledge of the Old Spanish Trail can be experienced by reading his keynote addresses to the 1999 OSTA conference in Las Vegas, NV (*ST* Vol. 5 No. 2 Fall 1999) and the 2004 OSTA annual conference in Page, AZ (*ST* Vol. 10 No. 3, Fall 2004). His research and collaboration with the National Park Service and the Old Spanish Trail Association has been invaluable to the establishment of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail.

Among his other published books are *Pecos, Gateway to Pueblos and Plains*, with John V. Bezey (Southwest Parks and Monumentds Association, 1988); *The Rio Abajo Frontier, 1540-1692* (Albuquerque Museum, 1987); *Spanish Bluecoats: The Catalanian Volunteers in Northwestern New Spain, 1767-1810* (University of New Mexico Press, 1990); and *The Aztec Chronicles: The True History of Christopher Columbus, as narrated by Quilaztli of Texcoco: a Novella* (TQS Publications, 1995). In addition, Dr. Sánchez has published over 90 articles and has reviewed over 600 books.

Judy Querfeld





Interview with David Weber

*conducted by Deborah and
Jon Lawrence*

David Weber is the Dedman Professor of History and the Director of the Clements Center for Southwest Studies at Southern Methodist University. He is widely acknowledged as the leading scholar of the American Southwest during the Spanish and Mexican eras. He is author or editor of twenty-two books and sixty scholarly articles. He has received many academic honors for his books, including the Ray Allen Billington Prize from the Organization of American Historians and the Caughey Prize from the Western History Association. His non-academic awards include being knighted by the King of Spain and named to membership in the Order of the Aztec Eagle of Mexico. We

interviewed Weber in his country home near Ramah, New Mexico, on 12 August 2006. We focused on four of his books of most relevance to the Old Spanish Trail: *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*; *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846*; *On the Edge of Empire: The Taos Hacienda of Los Martínez*; and *Richard H. Kern: Expeditionary Artist in the Far Southwest, 1848-1853*.

ST (Spanish Traces) *The Mexican Frontier* gives a very balanced presentation of the situation existing in the frontier areas of the current American Southwest during the era of Mexican control (1821-1848). The book makes it clear that the reason the Americans could take over so easily was that Mexico as a whole was economically weak and in constant political turmoil. Why was that? America had already developed a fairly stable two-party system and a reasonably robust economy. Why wasn't that the case in Mexico?

DW (David Weber) This is the sixty-four dollar question because it goes straight towards the heart of the difference between the development of the United States and the development of *all* of Latin America, not just Mexico. I think there are two broad ways to think about this. First, some of the explanation is to be found in that particular historical moment. The war of independence that was fought in Mexico from 1810 to 1821 destroyed the economy and destroyed the mines that were a

major source of revenue. The war took the lives of one out of every ten Mexicans, the majority being males who were involved in the fighting, and who were mostly of a productive age. So Mexico experienced a terrific devastation that the United States did not. By 1821 the United States was already two generations old, if you do twenty-year generations. So the United States, which had a kind of maturity, was competing at that same time with a Mexico that had been recently devastated.

Another phenomenon of that historical moment was the expulsion of the Spaniards. The Mexicans expelled many businessmen, priests, and government officials who were Spanish born. Suddenly a whole generation of leadership was wiped out. I think that made a huge difference.

ST We hadn't appreciated this about the devastation that took place. It was much more minor in the American colonies, where smaller numbers were killed and where only a few of the Tories ran off to Canada, while many were allowed to stay.

DW Another consideration is the way that Spain ran its colonies versus the way the English did. As a colonial power, Spain tightly controlled its colonies. The British tried to run their colonies tightly, but colonists rebelled. The Spaniards ran quite a different operation, from the top down. Bureaucrats were key to running the operation, and the bureaucrats

were heavily tied in with the central government. This differed strongly from the *laissez-faire* approach of the British, where there were thirteen colonies with no strong central government and there was no viceroy on the ground holding it all together.

If this isn't too much of a digression, the Spanish and the British church structures were also different. The English Protestants had multiple churches that were not very centralized. They had priests or married ministers operating self-sustaining parishes. On the other hand, the Catholic missionaries were operating out of a religious order, where everything was centralized. By expelling the Spanish priests, the Mexican revolution hit where it hurt, right up to the bishops' level. The Vatican didn't recognize Mexico for a while, and so suddenly the church was in turmoil.

ST Western expansion is frequently viewed as an Anglo-American invasion into foreign territory. Can expansionism on Mexico's northern frontier be viewed as an *economic* penetration that profited both local Hispanics and Anglo-Americans? For example, isn't it true that Hispanic traders ultimately accounted for 50% of the trade on the Santa Fe Trail? Doesn't Severino Martínez¹ defense of François Robidoux² seem to speak to co-operation with Americans and perhaps under-the-table common business interests? And consequently, can we view Hispanic locals not as passive victims of western

expansion, but as active agents in trade negotiations with Anglo-Americans? How *welcome* were the Americans?

DW I think this is one of those questions that has a lot to do with the way we think today. During the period of the Chicano movement, from the late sixties into the seventies, a Hispanic who worked together with an American was a *collaborator*, a negative term. There was a sense that all Hispanics should stand against the vile Anglo-Americans. After that period passed, people working in Southwestern American history were much more willing to look again at the co-operative nature of the whole enterprise. It was not just "them versus us," but you had matters of class. Upper-class Hispanics were most welcoming of Anglo-Americans because the upper classes were where business relationships could be forged. Furthermore, daughters were married off, as in California where the de la Guerra family³ married daughters to foreign businessmen, creating family and kinship ties that helped transcend both nationalism and ethnicity. In New Mexico, a lot of that same kind of thing went on.

Not so much of this occurred in Texas because the Anglos there were primarily in East Texas and the Hispanics were in San Antonio. I think it created more tension when the revolution came in 1836, because there were fewer family connections holding people together. That's not to say there weren't some ties, but the room for

animosity was much greater. Most Anglos did not accommodate in any way. They did not assimilate into the Hispanic culture.

So, the answer to your question depends in part on which of the provinces you are looking at, and it also varies with time. After the Texas revolution occurred and the Texans tried to invade New Mexico, the Anglo-Americans were less welcome in Santa Fe or Taos.

ST That's why Workman⁴ went to California.

DW That's right, Rowland⁵ too. So, as with many things it's a question of time and place. But, to generalize: the Hispanic locals found it in their interests to cooperate with the Anglo-Americans, but they were also torn because culturally they were Mexican, Hispanic. From the little bit we know – and we don't know a lot about this – they often regarded the Anglo-Americans as crude, vulgar, Protestant, and interested only in money. So there was a cultural tension between the *patria*, Mexico, and these newcomers with something else to offer. And the less that Mexico could fulfill their needs, the more the Anglo-Americans started to look attractive.

ST The Mexican officials in New Mexico and California had tremendous difficulties enforcing trade and business laws in the face of the stratagems of the American trappers and traders. But wasn't this already true for the behavior

of the Hispanic frontiersmen – e.g. the fur and slave traders to the Utes, the Comancheros in the high plains? And wasn't there considerable "civil disobedience" on the part of local officials on the frontier towards the dictates of the central Mexican government?

DW. There was a long tradition of lawlessness. Frontier areas in general tend to be lawless places. They attract people who want to live on the edge where there's more freedom from the restraints of highly developed institutions. On the frontier there were weak institutions and, of course, a vast landscape for people to escape into. So in a certain sense, the Anglo-Americans did continue a pre-existing tradition of wandering off into the woods where they were not supposed to be.

On the other hand, I think there's a sense in the Hispanic world that civilized people shouldn't go out too far from the urban areas. There is an expression for people who go off and live elsewhere; they are "*sin rey, sin ley, sin fe*."⁶ It is only in the cities and towns where people are gathered that you're supposed to have civilization. Hence, the Anglo-Americans were suspect on this basis for wandering around out there. But then there were plenty of Hispanics doing this kind of thing too.

ST Can you comment on the ease with which many Americans gave up their citizenship to become Mexican citizens? Stephen Austin⁷ worked for years to keep Texas in the Federal Republic – as

though U.S. citizenship was not so important to Americans in the early 1800's.

DW I think Anglo-Americans were not deeply nationalistic at this time, especially those out on the frontier regions. Even Andrew Jackson⁸ signed a letter saying he would become a Spanish subject at one point.

ST Really!

DW Yes, it's a fairly obscure fact. There's an article in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* about it. Moses Austin,⁹ Steven Austin's father, moved to Missouri and become a Spaniard and intended to move into Mexican Texas. So, you went where the main chance was. You went where opportunity led you. That's not surprising – we still do that. People put their own family's fortunes ahead of their nationality. I think we have a sense that nationalism is more important to Anglo-Americans, that it is something that we somehow don't give up. But that was definitely not the case for many people in the early 1800's.

ST A number of trappers and traders became Mexican citizens. The lists you give in *Taos Trappers* suggest that the majority who sought citizenship in New Mexico were of French ancestry – was this because of shared Catholicism?

DW Many of the people moving into New Mexico were French, but I think that had less to do with Catholicism than with the fact that New Mexico was on the edge of

what had earlier been Louisiana. There were many Frenchmen around, and they were a highly mobile group, trapping, trading with Indians, so they disproportionately wound up in New Mexico.

ST The fur trade was disproportionately French as a whole.

DW Yes. I think that's the reason. It's hard to see that they had a very strong Catholic bent when they got to New Mexico. [Laughter] So I'm not sure that that's a big issue.

ST A number of the naturalized citizens of New Mexico later moved to California: Rowland, Workman, Wolfskill,¹⁰ Roubidoux,¹¹ Yount¹² and many others. Some left in a hurry. Was the political climate in California more accepting of the American presence than in New Mexico?

DW It was. As I said earlier, the welcome reception in New Mexico for the Americans seems to have been limited to the 1820's and 30's. In the 1840's, the New Mexicans started to become concerned. Armijo¹³ started to give out big land grants around the edge of the territory, sometimes to foreigners to keep foreigners out. The Mexicans used the same kind of strategy in Texas: "Let's bring some foreigners in, and turn these Anglo-Americans into Mexicans in order to keep the other Americans out." They didn't have a lot of choices under the circumstances. I think New Mexico became more suspicious in the 1840's, and that's when the exodus to California occurred.

But there were other reasons for the exodus. There's a great letter from Louis Roubidoux to Manuel Alvarez, the American Consul in Santa Fe, that I edited for the *Southern California Quarterly* years ago.¹⁴ This is not Francois Roubidoux, but his brother Louis who wound up in Riverside. Louis Roubidoux was married to a New Mexican, who went with him to California. His letter to Alvarez concerns California's perfect climate. He writes, "How the New Mexicans are like ants. They have to live under the ground all winter because it's cold. But here in California, this is paradise." That must have been a big factor. It was still an agricultural society, and as the word spread about what a wonderful place California was, people thought, "Why put up with New Mexico and its aridity?" I think that that factor should not be minimized.

ST Kearny and his Army of the West conquered New Mexico without firing a shot. Why was there so little resistance? Had the twenty-five years of exposure to Americans convinced the frontier Mexicans of the futility of opposition?

DW We don't know a whole lot about New Mexico during the United States-Mexico War, and we may never find out what really happened. But I think that one of the key things that has not been very well understood is that prior to the war with the United States, New Mexico was at war with the Utes and the Navajos. They were getting beaten up, out

on their western and northern edges. So, when they had an invading force coming from the United States, they were at war on multiple fronts. I think that's often overlooked in trying to explain how it was that Armijo decided he was not going to fight. He had received enough intelligence about the strength of the U.S. Army to know, too, that this could be a losing battle.

ST He was badly outnumbered.

DW Armijo was badly outnumbered. Really, in a way, he did the smart thing. But there were at least a hundred New Mexicans who signed a letter to the president of Mexico that said, in effect, "You know, we really disagree with the governor over this. We're still loyal." So, the fact that New Mexico surrendered without a shot is partly due to the way Armijo orchestrated the whole affair. When Lieutenant Governor Vigil¹⁵ surrendered to the U. S. forces, a lot of middle level officials seemed to not want to go along with this. It is too easy to say, "Yes, the New Mexicans all welcomed the Americans." I think they were not particularly welcoming. I think they were just caught between a rock and a hard place. Some of them thought, "We should have kept on fighting." And others like Armijo thought, "No." I think this was a very divided community.

ST On the other hand, an anti-American rebellion *did* break out in Taos. What special conditions prompted this belated revolt?

DW When considering the Taos Revolt,¹⁶ it may seem that these were the people who would have fought. But I think there was another dynamic going on there, otherwise the same revolt would have occurred all over New Mexico. The fact that the Taos Indians were so involved in the revolt speaks to a very specific phenomenon. The deep dislike of the Anglo-Americans in Taos Pueblo was specifically aimed at Charles Bent,¹⁷ the new governor. It was Bent's Fort¹⁸ that brought American buffalo hunters to the edge of New Mexico. They started hunting out the buffalo. New Mexicans needed to go farther and farther west to hunt them.

ST Including the Taos Indians.

DW Especially the Taos Indians. Padre Antonio Martínez¹⁹ sent a letter to Santa Anna²⁰ in 1843 complaining about this. He said that the buffalo were being diminished, and that the Bents had too much influence on the New Mexican's border region. Finally, I think a lot of this anti-American sentiment occurred in Taos because that's where most of the Americans were.

ST Susan Magoffin²¹ was an eyewitness; she was one of the first white women to come into Santa Fe. Maybe her impression of just how welcome the Anglos were was skewed as a result of her interactions with only a subset of people.

DW I think that would be true. I edited a book, one that is very scarce, that consists of a collection

of rare imprints from Northern Mexico [*Northern Mexico on the Eve of the United States Invasion*]. It contains Padre Martínez' letter to Santa Ana of 1843. It's when you're reading these primary sources that you really start to get a feeling for what was going on.

ST Earlier, you said we don't have much information about what was going on in New Mexico at that time. Are there not many extant letters from New Mexicans saying what they really felt about the situation?

DW Such documentation is not very extensive. Of course, there may well be documentation out there that we're not aware of. When I did the Martínez hacienda book, I got in to a collection of papers in Taos that are owned by a woman named Rowena Martínez. I was told that I wouldn't be able to see these papers, that she didn't show them to anybody. Somehow I was lucky enough to get her to allow me to see them. There's a section in the book about the U.S.-Mexico War where my discussion of what was going on in Taos at that point of time was taken from these papers. They opened up a whole new window. No historian had ever looked at these papers before. One wonders how many more private collections there are in Taos and Santa Fe or even, for goodness sakes, in the pueblos, that we haven't seen. I suspect there's more out there, but I think also that a lot was never written down, and I'm pessimistic that we're ever going to get much more information.

ST The Old Spanish Trail is notorious for the Indian slave trade. This apparently followed a longer era of slave trade with Utes and Comanches during the Spanish era. There are some indications that it had a relatively benign aspect – e.g. Severino Martínez gave property to his ex-servants in his will, and many slaves ultimately were freed into *genízaro* status.²² How extensive was such slavery on the northern frontier and in Mexico as a whole and how, in your opinion, does it compare to slavery in the American South?

DW I don't think that the analogy with slavery in the South is very useful. I don't even like to use the word "slavery." The Spanish government said that in general Indians could not be enslaved. The exception was when there was a rebellion of some sort, then Spaniards took Indians captive for a 10-year sentence, according to the law, sending some to the mines. But this was very different from slavery. They did not have a lifetime sentence, and they and/or their children could not be sold like cattle. So, legally the idea of slavery just wasn't there.

ST Sending them to the mines was more like sending them to prison.

DW Yes, like a work camp, and similar to the old southern prisons where you had a chain and ball and chain gangs. Now, this doesn't mean that some people didn't enslave individuals. But there wasn't an institutionalized system of slave ownership that was part of the whole legal and

cultural fabric of the society. What you did have were Indians working off sentences or working off indentures as servants. Many of these were *genízaros*. Where did they come from? They usually came from ransom, where another Indian group, let's say a group of Comanches, had captured a Ute child who they brought into New Mexico and traded to the Spaniards. The Spaniards were really in a bind because the Comanches could say, "If you don't take this Ute child from us, we're going to kill him." But if they took the child, it encouraged the Comanches to go out and capture more Ute children and bring them back. The government officials were very ambivalent about this whole business. At some points they said they should stop it. At other points they said, "We have a responsibility." If you were a good Catholic, then once you had a Ute child, you had a responsibility to baptize the child and to bring the child up in your household. And then, presumably under the law, when the child reached his or her majority, you let that child go. The child was then part of the community. Many people apparently did that.

In the 1990's my wife and I were in Bolivia where I was doing research on my book *Bárbaros*, and we were invited to lunch at an upper class home. We were introduced to a little Indian girl. It was explained to us that this child's parents were deaf mutes. Our hosts were in the mountains somewhere and found the child. She was five years old. They took

the girl away from her parents so that she could be raised properly. Although you might consider it to be a barbaric act to steal this child from the parents, their sense was that the child needed to be brought up properly. So the child was there going to school with their kids and becoming part of the family – but, I’m sure, she was never fully part of the family. I imagine that this child would be like the New Mexican *criados*. This is also the word in Bolivia; it means servant. It has a double meaning. “*Crear*” is to create, to raise the child; but at the same time they use the word “*criada*” for maid or servant. A double-edged sword. But I think that, in these situations, the idea of a servant is more accurate than that of a slave.

ST On the other hand, a number of authors on the Californio era have stated that, following secularization of the missions, the huge ranchos that developed were similar to southern plantations in the treatment of Indians. What we have read is that the Indians didn’t have much choice but to work in some kind of peonage. Take, for example, the Indians in Helen Hunt Jackson’s novel *Ramona*.

DW I’ve been talking specifically about New Mexico and about the Hispanic families and their household servants. The Californio missions were a whole different story. It was really peonage and came close to slavery in some cases. If Indians didn’t work, or if they drank, they got thrown in jail. They were sometimes released from jail into the custody of Abel

Stearns, or another *hacendado*,²³ and taken off to do obligatory work until they worked off their jail sentence. Yes, that was nasty stuff. And some of the Indians were auctioned in California. I don’t know whether their children were ever sold, or born into slavery in a legal sense.

ST It was more like the South after Reconstruction.

DW Yes, that would be a good analogy.

ST In your talk at the Huntington last November,²⁴ you stressed the high level of military control of the missions during the Spanish era. Yet wasn’t it true that, following the Pueblo Revolt, the Spanish had to cede considerable local control back to the Indians in New Mexico so that a combined indigenous/Catholic culture evolved? Some groups, such as the Yaqui (at least according to Spicer²⁵), welcomed the Catholics, but on their own terms. Didn’t some fraction of the Indians see advantages in living in the missions, in the form of improved farming, technology, etc.? They weren’t all being forced there by the military.

DW To rephrase the question, what degree of force was used to bring Indians to and keep them in the missions? For the longest time, most historians who have written about this have been church historians. They’ve been very friendly to the missions. They assumed that the Indians were living in darkness and that in bringing civilization, the

padres were bringing them light. Civilization is a great advantage and they assumed Indians understood this. When you heard me speak about the use of force in the missions, it was an example of what so often is the case: a historian writing against an earlier tradition. Generally in my books, I try to tell the whole story. But what you were listening to was an essay that was trying to make an argument in a particular direction, against that earlier tradition.

ST We can appreciate that because every mission we’ve been to in California tells the story from the church’s perspective and, of course, we know this is incomplete.

DW In addition, what you heard me talk about at the Huntington will be an essay in an art museum catalogue. What I am doing here is a little bit subversive. Usually, art historians talk about all the wonderful art in these missions, the beautiful Virgin Mary statues, and how well constructed the buildings are. Today we walk into these peaceful quiet churches and contemplate the divine. But historically there was an atmosphere of fear. Priests felt it and Indians felt it. I wanted to bring out some of these tensions. If I were to put this in a more balanced way than I was doing in trying to emphasize that one theme, then I would absolutely agree with the thrust of your question – that these were places where many Indians found advantage. In California, in some of the missions, though not in all,

Indians found advantage because they were so disadvantaged by living outside of the mission. There had been ecological change, which worked against them living outside, there was disease – little did they know that disease would be worse in the missions because of the crowded conditions. But their choices started to become circumscribed. Then the question arises as to what degree of force was necessary to keep them there, once they were in the missions. It is a very complicated question because the Franciscans had a very clear idea that the mission Indians were much better off in the mission, where they could be near to preaching and where they would not fall back into apostasy. However, if they couldn't feed the Indians and maintain them in the missions, then they were doing them a real disservice. So, the success or failure of the strategy depended on very material considerations. Some of the missions, like San Diego apparently, did not do so well at producing a lot of food. Indians were allowed to go back and forth to their villages, to go out and hunt and gather. Others missions that had a greater ability to support Indians did seem to be able to force them to stay.

ST Who has written about the California missions, comparing the specific missions?

DW One book that does that is by Kent Lightfoot.²⁶ He's an anthropologist at University of California, Berkeley. He compares two types of missions

in California: the type that maintained Indians better and the type that didn't. And he compares the California mission Indians to the Indians who were kept up by Fort Ross in trading with the Russians there. And then he looks at the present-day consequences of this as to whether or not these Indians are regarded as tribes by the U.S. government. His assumption is that the Indians who were kept in the missions most successfully, who didn't go back and forth, became detribalized, became integrated, and so today when they try to ask the U.S. government for federal aid...

ST Or for a casino...

DW Exactly! Federal recognition, so they can get a casino. The detribalized ones have difficulty becoming defined as Indians. James Sandos, at the University of Redlands, and Steve Hackel, of Oregon State University, also have recent books²⁷ about the missions in California. So all of a sudden there are three really important new books on the subject. There's a wonderful magazine, called *Boletín* published by the California Mission Studies Association, which had a symposium on Jim Sandos' book; they had several people comment on it in a seminar, and then they published the seminar. They did the same thing with Kent Lightfoot's and with Steve Hackel's books. So you can read a number of historians, anthropologists, and church people reacting to these books.²⁸

ST We were delighted to learn of and read your book on Richard Kern.²⁹ The way you tell the story of his life and incorporate his art kept us turning the pages. We especially like the way you discussed how fortunate you were in being able to look at his paintings. Together with his brother Edward³⁰ and with Lt. Abert,³¹ Richard Kern gave some of the earliest visual representations not only of the southwestern landscape and of the Indian villages and ruins, but also of the Hispanic Southwest. Were there earlier artists, in particular Hispanic artists, who rendered reasonably accurate views of New Mexico and California?

DW Strangely enough, we don't have images from prior to the American period. We know that Coronado brought an artist with him, a painter it was said, and yet nothing remains of that work. Coronado talks about sending an image on a tanned skin back from Zuni Pueblo to the viceroy, but these things are just gone. And we have an early image of a buffalo by López de Gómara³² that appeared in a publication of the sixteenth century. But after that, there's just nothing.

ST When Domínguez came to review the churches in New Mexico, were there no artists along?

DW None. My impression is that artists at this time were not finding their way to New Mexico or Texas. We have no images from the interior of what is today the

American Southwest, from Texas all the way over to the California coast. The California coast was the exception, because people could come by ship, and they were on larger errands.

ST These were French or English.

DW La Pérouse,³³ yes. And Malaspina³⁴ had artists on board.

ST We were introduced to him by your new book. The paintings are very good.

DW The paintings are wonderful. There's a book called *Malaspina in California*, by Donald Cutter, that contains a number of these paintings. There are a number of newer books; there's almost an industry in Spain of people producing works on Malaspina. The Spanish re-discovered that they had a great around-the-world scientific expedition in their past.

ST We close with a cultural question. We're interested in the myth of the frontier. Is there something like that in Mexico today with respect to the northern frontier? We've seen Mexicans wearing cowboy hats and listening to Norteño music, which suggests such a myth.

DW I think there is. Mexicans are very aware of Norteño culture. The Norteños themselves are exceedingly proud of it. They distance themselves from people in Mexico City. But the difference is, I think, that Norteño culture has not rebounded to the Nation's core and influenced the culture in

central Mexico the way that we believe our frontier experience has shaped whole political culture. This is the old Turnerian³⁵ idea that the frontier made us as a people more mobile and more democratic. Of course, we're still not sure whether Turner's idea is really valid, but in any case, Mexicans just don't ever talk about their frontier having this impact on them. I think it didn't. In Mexico, there weren't a lot of individuals going out onto the frontier alone or in small groups trying to make it. There was much government support along the way; they took the whole institutional apparatus and plunked it into the wilderness.

Years ago I met the great Mexican historian with the improbable name of Edmundo O'Gorman. He had grown up in a British-Mexican family and he was perfectly bilingual. Somebody asked him if he would translate Frederick Jackson Turner's essay into Spanish. He said, "I started to do it, but it really wasn't very interesting. And so I stopped." He was telling me this in the context of why the whole frontier myth, which is so big to us, was really meaningless to Mexicans.

Endnotes

1. The father of Padre Antonio Martínez, Severino Martínez traded along the Chihuahua Trail. He had a flourishing mercantile business. By the time of his death in 1827, his hacienda had grown to twenty-one rooms. Martínez' defense of François Robidoux, who had been charged with selling guns to the Indians, is discussed in Weber's book *On the Edge of Empire*.

2. A Missourian of French-Canadian descent, François Robidoux trapped and traded in the West in the 1820s and 1830s.
3. José de la Guerra y Noriega was born a Spanish noble in 1779 in Santander, Spain. At the age of 13, he was sent to Mexico to live with an uncle. In 1801 he came to California as an officer in the Spanish Royal Army. He was first stationed at the presidio in Monterey, and shortly thereafter assigned to the presidio in Santa Barbara. He became military *comandante* of Santa Barbara in 1816 and his progeny stood among the local elite.
4. Born in England in 1802, William Workman came to America as a youth and settled in Franklin, Missouri. Later, he moved to Taos, New Mexico, where he opened a store and became involved in the fur trade. In 1841, he and John Rowland formed a group who followed the Old Spanish Trail to California. Both he and Rowland applied for Mexican citizenship, and in 1842 they received title to Rancho La Puente. For a discussion of Workman and Rowland's decision to leave New Mexico in a hurry, due to the wrath of Governor Armijo at their alleged involvement in the Texas-Santa Fe affair, see the exchange between John Robinson and Paul Spitzer in *Spanish Traces* Vol. 12, No. 2.
5. A native of Pennsylvania, John Rowland traveled the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico in 1823. For several years he trapped beaver. Later he married a Mexican woman and settled in Taos where he ran a store. In 1841 he and Workman and a party of emigrants left Abiquiú, New Mexico, for California. They became co-grantees of the 48,000-acre Rancho La Puente, ten miles south of Mission San Gabriel.
6. "Without king, without law, without faith."
7. Born in Virginia and raised in southeastern Missouri, Stephen Austin

- is considered the founder of Anglo-American Texas. In 1821, he journeyed to Texas where he planted the first legal settlement of Anglo-Americans between the Brazos and Colorado rivers.
8. See Robert V. Remeni, "Andrew Jackson Takes an Oath of Allegiance to Spain," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 4 (Spring 1995): 1-15.
 9. The father of Stephen Austin, Moses Austin was the first man to obtain permission to bring Anglo-American settlers into Spanish Texas. In 1819, he made a plan to settle three hundred American families in Spanish territory. Moses Austin was granted 200,000 acres (800 km²) of land at the mouth of the Colorado River.
 10. Kentucky-born William Wolfskill was a trapper and frontiersman. He came to California in 1831. Seeing the potential demand for large-scale grape and citrus farming, he was granted possession of a ranch on a hillside slope in what is today downtown Los Angeles. Before long, his farm increased to 28 acres of planted citrus. In 1839 he planted the first vineyard of table grapes in California. He was the first person to ship grapes to northern California gold miners.
 11. In 1844, Louis Roubidoux arrived in Southern California with his family and, shortly thereafter, purchased the Jurupa Rancho. He became one of the most prosperous stock raisers in Southern California, and also planted orchards and vineyards, raised grain, built the first grist mill in the area, and operated a winery.
 12. The year after Antonio Armijo's first annual commercial trade caravan to California, William Wolfskill and George Yount formed the first party to travel over most of what was to become known as the Old Spanish Trail.
 13. Manuel Armijo (c. 1793–1853) was a New Mexican statesman who served three times as governor of New Mexico. He was appointed to his third governorship in 1845. The following year, General Stephen Kearny brought 1,700 soldiers to conquer New Mexico. As Armijo fled to Chihuahua, Kearny and his force entered Santa Fe and claimed New Mexico for the U.S. without a shot being fired. Armijo was tried in Mexico City for cowardice and desertion in the face of the enemy, but he was acquitted of the charges.
 14. "Louis Robidoux: Two Letters from California, 1848," translated and edited by David Weber, *Southern California Quarterly* 54 (Summer 1972):105-116. Reprinted in the *Westport Historical Quarterly* 8 (March 1973):106-117.
 15. Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid served as acting governor of New Mexico after Armijo withdrew to central Mexico. Vigil's public speech before Kearny, as well as the letter of the 105 citizens to the president of Mexico, are reproduced in Weber's book *Foreigners in Their Native Land*.
 16. The Taos Revolt of 1847 was an insurrection against the Americans during the Mexican-American War. On January 19, 1847, the insurrectionists began the revolt in Don Fernando de Taos (present-day Taos, New Mexico). Led by Tomás Romero, the Indians went to the home of Governor Charles Bent and scalped him in front of his wife and children. Several other government officials were also murdered and scalped.
 17. In 1846, Charles Bent was appointed as the first governor of New Mexico Territory by Stephen Watts Kearny. He was assassinated on January 19, 1847, during the Taos Revolt.
 18. Located on the Santa Fe Trail in southeastern Colorado, Bent's Fort was built in 1833 by William and Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vain to trade with Plains Indians and trappers. For much of its sixteen-year history, the adobe fort was the only major permanent white settlement on the Santa Fe Trail between Missouri and the Mexican settlements.
 19. Padre Antonio José Martínez was a New Mexican priest, educator, rancher, community leader, and politician. In 1833, he created the first coeducational school in New Mexico. He brought the first printing press to Taos in 1834 and founded "El Crepusculo," a weekly newspaper, in 1835. His attempt to preserve the Hispanic character of the Catholic Church was challenged by Bishop Lamy. Their disagreement is the subject matter of Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*.
 20. Born in Mexico in 1794, Antonio López de Santa Anna became president of Mexico in 1833 in a democratic election. Shortly thereafter, he determined that Mexico was not ready for democracy and made himself dictator. The supreme commander of Mexican forces during the U.S.-Mexican War, Santa Anna received much of the blame for Mexico's defeat.
 21. Susan Magoffin, an eighteen-year-old bride, traveled the Santa Fe Trail from Independence, Missouri, to Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1846. Her diary, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, is filled with daily observations of life on trail, people she met, and details of the countryside.
 22. "Genízaros" was a term used in eighteenth century New Mexico to denote detribalized Indians who typically had initially been captured as slaves and placed as servants in Hispanic households, and were later freed from servitude. They often lived in their own enclaves, e.g. the town of Abiquiú.
 23. A "hacendado" was the owner or manager of a hacienda. Born in Massachusetts, Abel Stearns came to California in the late 1820's, and became a Mexican citizen. He married into the wealthy Bandini family and in 1840 bought the huge Rancho Los Alamitos.

24. "Arts and Architecture, Force and Fear: The Contest for Sacred Space on New Spain's Northern Frontier." A talk by David J. Weber at the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, 30 November 2005.
 25. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, Chapter 2.26. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries and Merchants*.
 27. Sandos, *Converting California*; Hackel, *Children of Coyote*.
 28. For the Sandos, Lightfoot and Hackel symposia, see *Boletín*, V21, No.2, 2004; V22, No. 1, 2005; and V22, No.2, 2005 respectively.
 29. Weber, *Richard Kern*.
 30. Richard Kern's brother Edward was also an expeditionary artist. See Robert Hine's *In the Shadow of Frémont*.
 31. Lieutenant James W. Abert was a topographical engineer with the US Army, stationed in Santa Fe in 1846 and 1847. Several early engravings based on his drawings are reproduced in Weber's *Richard Kern*.
 32. Francisco López de Gómara was a sixteenth century Spanish historian who, although he had not visited the New World, wrote on the early history of the Spanish conquest of North America.
 33. Jean François Galaup de La Pérouse was the leader of a French exploratory mission to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition left France in 1785, visited Monterey, California, in 1786, and met disaster in the South Pacific in 1788. A few of the drawings and a map produced by the expedition are contained in the book *Life in a California Mission*.
 34. Alejandro Malaspina was a Spanish naval officer who led a scientific and exploratory expedition to the west coasts of South and North America during the years 1789 to 1794. Art from the expedition is reproduced in Weber's book *Bárbaros*.
 35. Frederick Jackson Turner, an important American historian of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is perhaps best remembered for his paper on the closing of the American frontier, published in 1893, in which he argued that American culture and identity was strongly shaped by the frontier experience.
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Francisco Garcés: Intrepid Missionary- Explorer of Spanish California and Arizona

by John W. Robinson

In the annals of Hispanic exploration of the American Southwest, no name stands ahead of the Franciscan missionary Francisco Garcés. Garcés' lonely *entradas*, often performed alone, or with one or two Indian guides, encompassed the western half of Arizona and what are now the California counties of Imperial, San Diego, Riverside, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, Kern and Tulare. He journeyed mostly on foot, adapting himself to the life of the native inhabitants, motivated by a faith that burned deep in his soul. But unlike some religious zealots, Father Garcés was a mild-mannered man of God who tried to convert with kindness and gentle persuasion. Undeterred by hardship, with a physical endurance equaled by few, this gray-clad padre of the desert made known to his Spanish masters' vast swaths of the interior lands of northwestern New Spain, today known as the American Southwest.

Francisco Tomas Hermenegildo Garcés was born in the Villa of Morata del Conde, in the Spanish province of Aragon, in 1738. He entered the Franciscan order as a novice at the age of 15 and studied literature, science, philosophy and theology for ten years. At the age of 25, he was ordained a priest. Garcés was accepted for missionary work in "the Indies," as America was

often called at the time, and spent five years in training at the Holy Cross College of Queretaro, Mexico. Early In 1768 he was judged by his superiors ready for missionary work on the northwestern frontier of New Spain. He was assigned to the frontier mission of San Xavier del Bac, just southwest of present-day Tucson, Arizona.¹

From his home mission of San Xavier del Bac, Garcés made five separate *entradas* ("entrances," or journeys of discovery) during the years 1768 to 1776 into the little-known lands that lay to the northwest. His first two *entradas*, in 1768 and 1770, took him down the Gila River to the Colorado, where he made friends with the Yumas. It was on his third *entrada* in 1771 that he first entered California. Garcés left San Xavier del Bac on August 8, 1771, with three Indian guides. He went southwest, then west along the terrible *Camino del Diablo* pioneered by Father Eusebio Kino, and finally northwest to the Gila a few leagues above its junction with the Colorado. He visited with the friendly Yumas and looked for a possible mission site. Garcés then became confused as to just where he was; he followed the Colorado almost to its mouth, thinking he was still on the Gila. He forded the Colorado delta to visit some *Cajuenche* (Cócopa) Indians, then turned northwest along the eastern foot of the Cócopa Mountains, well south of today's international border. He was now alone, as his guides had deserted. Still not realizing he had crossed the Colorado, Garcés rounded the northern tip of the Cócopas, passed close to the vast

alkali bed of the *Laguna Salada*, and turned north into the Imperial Valley. Here he encountered Indians from San Diego who told him Spaniards were only a few days to the west. Still looking for the Colorado, he continued northwest, noticing the *Sierra Madre de California* on his left. From his northernmost point of travel, somewhere close to the then-dry Salton Sink, he saw two openings in the mountains. Garcés then turned eastward, crossed the sandy wastes to the Colorado, which he finally recognized, and returned to San Xavier del Bac. He had traveled some 300 leagues, or 780 miles, most of the distance by himself over some of the driest desert country in North America. He was the first European to cross the Imperial Valley almost to the foot of the coast ranges, and he discovered an opening in the mountains later used by Anza.²

Garcés' fourth *entrada* was with the famous expedition of Juan Bautista de Anza in 1774. By that year Spain's hold on Alta California was rather tenuous. The frontier colony, founded in 1769, was supplied only via a long sea voyage, or by the difficult sea and land route up through Baja California. The new Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua, believed a more direct land connection between Sonora and California would strengthen Spain's hold on the latter. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, a 36 year old frontier fighter from Sonora, requested permission to establish such a route. Bucareli granted Anza's request and gave the veteran soldier authority to lead an expedition from Tubac,

a military outpost in Sonora, to the California settlements of San Gabriel and Monterey. From his base in Tubac, Anza gathered a force of 20 soldiers, several muleteers, an Indian guide, and two Franciscan padres, Frays Garcés and Juan Diaz. The expedition set out from Tubac, about 50 miles south of Mission San Xavier del Bac, on January 8, 1774.

Fortunately, we know much about Anza's two overland expeditions from Sonora to California in 1774 and 1775-76, thanks to detailed diaries not only by Anza himself, but also Garcés and Diaz on the first journey and Fray Pedro Font on the second. In a brilliant *tour-de-force*, Spanish borderlands historian Herbert Eugene Bolton followed Anza's trail by car, horseback, and on foot, identifying the precise route and day by day campsites. Bolton published the fully annotated diaries in his classic five-volume *Anza's California Expeditions*.³

Because Apaches had raided Tubac and stolen a good part of the horse herd, Anza was obliged to detour south to the mission of Caborca to replenish his livestock, instead of taking the more direct route north-west to the Gila River. But the mission was able to supply only two skinny mules. The southern detour having been in vain, the expedition turned northwesterly and began the long march to the Colorado River. Ahead of them stretched the harsh, sandy wastes that had been crossed with such difficulty by Father Kino 75 years earlier and by Garcés three years before. For two and a half weeks, they struggled over what later became known as *El Camino*

del Diablo, The Devil's Highway, often traveling several days in succession without water. Their lives often depended on rainwater collected in *tinajas*, rock "tanks" or hollows. They left the land of the friendly Pimas and entered the country of resourceful desert nomads known as Papagos.

After a long, difficult desert journey they reached the confluence of the Gila and Colorado Rivers on February 7. The Yumas, or Quechans, who inhabited the lower Colorado, came to greet them. Anza and Garcés parlayed with Chief Olleyquotequibe, renamed Salvador Palma by the Spaniards. Anza distributed gifts to Chief Palma's people while Garcés ministered among them. Palma, swearing friendship, led the Anza party to a shallow spot where they could ford the Colorado, thereafter known as Yuma Crossing.

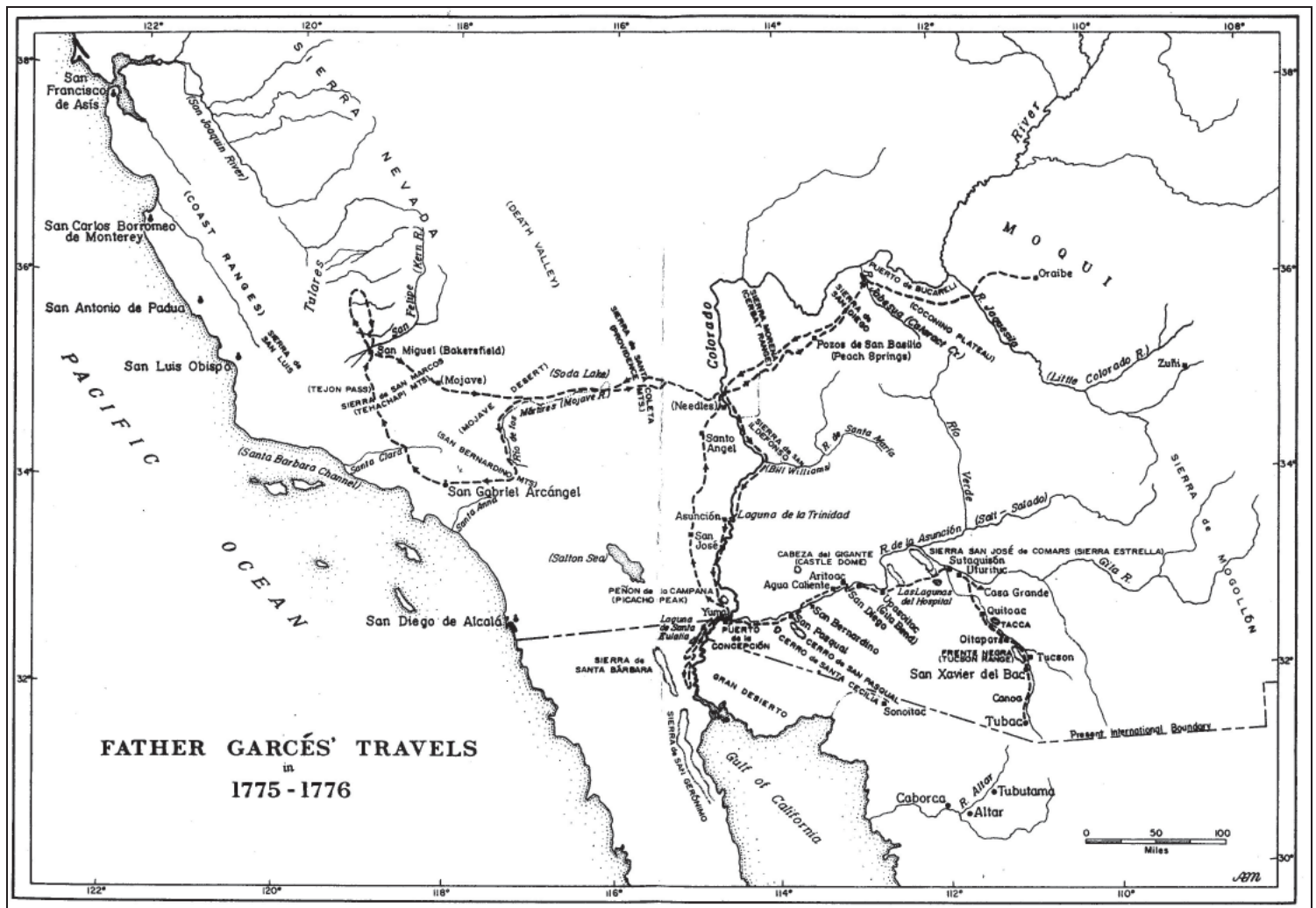
Upon fording the Colorado, the expedition entered an arid wilderness little known and never before crossed by any white man. Garcés had encountered this barren country in 1771 and urged Anza to follow the river northward to the Mojave villages, but Anza opted to head south and then westerly,

the most direct route he thought. They were soon bogged down in an expanse of windswept sand. A discouraged Anza wanted to send half the soldiers and pack animals back to the Colorado—apparently in the belief that a small party of the strongest men and horses stood a better chance of getting through this hellish wasteland—but Garcés dissuaded him. The whole party continued westward, some 30 miles south of the present international border. Three days travel over sand and silt of old flood channels brought them to a brackish watering place Anza called *Laguna de Santa Olaya*.

They were in the country of the Cócopas, Indians Anza found sullen and unfriendly. But Garcés was



Juan Batista de Anza. from the collection of John Robinson



overwhelmed with missionary zeal. “Oh, what a vast heathendom! Oh, what lands so suitable for missions! Oh, what a heathendom so docile,” he exclaimed in his diary.⁴ Despite Anza’s fears for his safety, Garcés wandered away from the main party to show the sign of the cross to the heathens. The Cócopas, apparently respecting the padre as a man of peace, did not molest him.

The expedition veered northwesterly around the northern edge of the dry Cócopa Range and reached a vast dry lakebed now called *Laguna Salada*. To the west, visible in a blue haze, they could make out the spine of the *Sierra Madre*—the “Mother

Range,” the Spanish name for the main mountain backbone of Baja and Alta California. They turned northwestward and crossed the present international boundary into today’s Imperial Valley. Crossing a difficult waterless plain covered with broken slabs and shale, paralleling the eastern foot of the *Sierra Madre de California*, they reached a watery marsh at the junction of Carrizo Creek and San Felipe Wash, just east of present-day Anza Borrego State Park. Anza named it *San Sebastian* after their Indian guide Sebastian Tarabal.

Sebastian Tarabal, who guided Anza across the desert and later

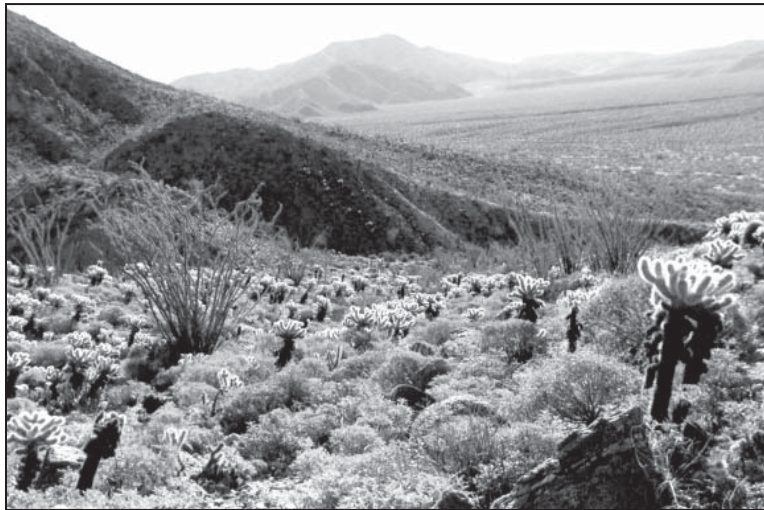
accompanied Garcés on many of his travels, was one of those mysterious figures in history who seem to come from nowhere, shine briefly, then fade into obscurity. Tarabal was a Christianized Indian from one of the Baja California missions who apparently accompanied Father Junípero Serra on his famous trek north in 1769. The neophyte, as Christianized Indians were called, was assigned to Mission San Gabriel shortly after its founding in 1771. Tarabal apparently became weary of the mission routine and strict discipline and decided to run away with his wife and a relative or two (some accounts say his brother, others say his parents). Tarabal

and his small party deserted San Gabriel in August 1773 and made their way southeastward across the desert. Tragedy hit them as they struggled over the sand dunes just west of the Colorado. Tarabal's wife and relative died, victims of heat, thirst, and exhaustion. Tarabal managed to reach the Yuma villages along the Colorado, where he regained his strength under the care of Chief Olleyquotequibe (translated as "Wheezer"—the chief probably suffered from asthma). When Tarabal had fully recuperated, the chief escorted him to the Spanish settlement of Altar, Sonora, about 65 miles southeast of Tubac. Thus Sebastian Tarabal gained the distinction of being the first Christian to make the overland journey between California and Sonora.⁵ Anza, upon learning of Tarabal's overland journey, recruited him as a guide for his first expedition. Anza dubbed him *El Peregrino* (The Wanderer), and for almost two years he accompanied Anza, then Garcés, across the deserts and mountains of Southern California. Although he proved to be a less than adequate guide, Tarabal was a loyal companion of Garcés until May 1776, when he disappeared into the mists of history.

From the marsh of San Sebastian, Anza and his men turned westward and followed San Felipe Wash into today's Anza

Borrego State Park. They reached an abundant spring surrounded by lush grasses that Anza called *San Gregorio*, now Borrego Springs. Tarabal pointed them north toward the broad, sloping mouth of Coyote Canyon, the well-watered route through the mountains. Anza recounted his joy:

Monday, March 14 1774—A little before daylight we set forth toward the north, and having traveled about six leagues . . . arrived at a spring



Entrance to Coyote Canyon. photo by John Robinson

*or fountain of the finest water, which runs for about two leagues, having many willows . . . At its head we halted for the night, and to the place I gave the name Santa Catarina. Here was found much grass and other green plants, as well as wild vines and trees, which announce to us an improvement in the country from here forward.*⁶

Plentiful water and forage nourished Anza's men and horses

as they ascended Coyote Creek. They encountered numerous Indians, who by their jerking gyrations and loud chatter seemed to resent the Spanish presence. Garcés called them *Cajuenchés*. They were probably Cahuillas as we know them today. He described them as timid, hard to approach, and not as naked as the Yumas. "With their *macanas*, a crude wooden ax or club, they are accustomed to kill many rabbits and some deer, with whose skins the women cover themselves

behind, but in front they wear aprons of the fiber of arria, made of the inner bark of trees . . . all cover themselves well, and even the little girls three years old or even infants are never seen naked," wrote Garcés.⁷

The expedition ascended to the forks of Coyote Canyon and then scrambled up a ridge to a campsite just below the boulder-strewn gap on the mountain crest. Next day they climbed to the gap and marveled at the scene before them. Anza exclaimed,:

Right here there is a pass which I named the Royal Pass of San Carlos. From it are seen most beautiful green and flower-strewn prairies, and snow-covered mountains with pines, oaks, and other trees which grow in cold countries . . . Moreover, it is now proved that the Sierra in which we are traveling connects with the

*sierras of lower California. In the course of the journey made today we have seen an improvement in the country in every way and have concluded from its moisture that it may be suitable for seasonal crops and the planting of fruit trees, and that there are pastures sufficient for maintaining cattle.*⁸

Anza's *Puerto Real de San Carlos*, or Royal Pass of St. Charles, brought the expedition into today's Anza Valley, an extensive plain high in the *Sierra Madre de California*. The snow-capped San Jacinto Mountains loomed ahead on their right. The expedition traversed the vast plain, then descended northwestward down today's Bautista Cannon into the San Jacinto Valley, which they named *Valle de San Jose*. The valley was lush and green from spring rains, with the snowy San Jacinto Mountains as a lofty backdrop. Garcés called them *la gran Sierra Nevada*, the grand Snowy Range, a name later bestowed on California's highest mountain range several hundred miles to the north.

The party hurried northwestward, then west below the foot of the San Gabriel Mountains, and reached Mission San Gabriel on March 22, 1774, which was 74 days after leaving Tubac. Anza wrote,

I arrived at sunset and announced myself to the corporal of the guard of this new establishment. We found here four friars, its missionaries from the College of San Fernando in Mexico, who welcomed us with unrestrained jubilation

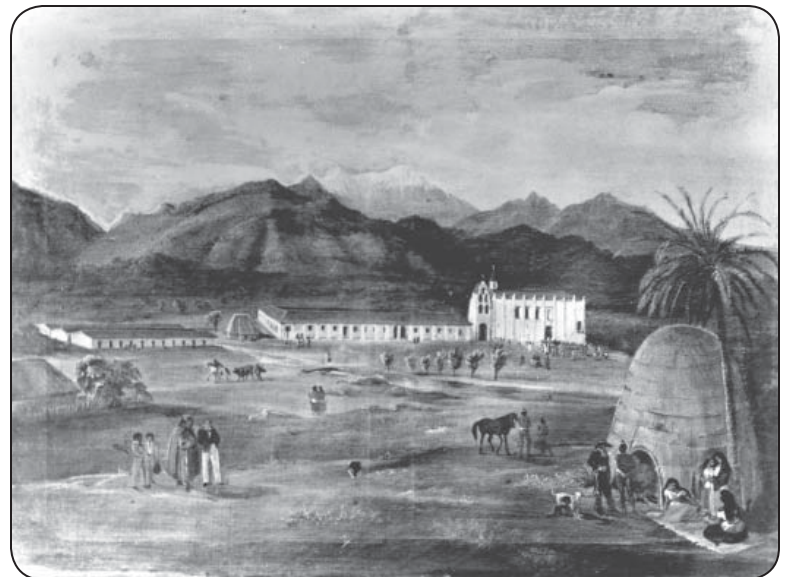
*and joy, solemn pealing of bells and chanting of the Te Deum in thanksgiving for our safe arrival.*⁹

Father Garcés left the Anza expedition (which continued north to Monterey) at Mission San Gabriel. Accompanied by several Indians, the Franciscan padre returned across the desert to the Colorado, as directed by Viceroy Bucareli, to maintain peace and friendly relations with the Yumas. He remained as a guest of Chief Salvador Palma until Anza returned from Monterey. While the main expedition went directly back to Tubac, Garcés went by way of the Gila River to visit some native peoples north of Gila Bend. He returned to San Xavier del Bac on July 10, 1774, traversing the desert alone in the heat of summer. Thus ended his fourth *entrada*.

It was Father Garcés' fifth *entrada* that places his name in the forefront of Southwest exploration. Thirty-seven years of age in 1775, in superb physical condition, absolutely fearless, burning with the zeal of a true believer, he was to travel some 2,000 miles in 11 months, accompanied most of the way by one or more Indian guides.

He began his fifth *entrada* as part of Anza's second overland expedition. At the start there were two other Franciscan fathers, Tomas Eixarch and Pedro Font. The expedition left Tubac on October 21, 1775, destined for San Francisco Bay. But Garcés and Eixarch traveled with Anza only as far as the Colorado, where they were to remain until Anza returned. Garcés was directed to "... look over the country and treat with the nearby Indian nations, determining if they were disposed and ready for religious instruction and for becoming subjects of our Sovereign."¹⁰ But Garcés was not inclined to spend his time among the Yumas, many of whom were already converted; his urge to explore was too strong in him.

Hardly had Anza crossed the Colorado when Father Garcés took off after him, accompanied by Sebastian Tarabal, the Indian who had guided Anza on the latter's first overland *jornada*. Garcés and Sebastian crossed the river,



San Gabriel Mission, circa 1830.
courtesy Huntington Library

headed southwest, and caught up with the slow moving expedition a few days later. One can only imagine Anza's surprise on seeing Garcés again, for his diary says nothing about the reception he received. The intrepid missionary-explorer left Anza a few days later and spent most of December exploring the Colorado delta, going from one Indian village to another, and returned to the Yumas on January 3, 1776.

We are indebted to Father Pedro Font, diarist on Anza's second expedition, for giving us the best description of Garcés' missionary style. Font noted that Fray Garcés carried with him a piece of canvas with a picture of the Blessed Virgin holding the Christ-child in her arms; the other side of the canvas had a representation of a man burning in the flames of hell. This appeared to be quite effective in gaining converts, according to Font, who wrote:

*Padre Garcés is so well fitted to get along with the Indians and to go among them that he appears to be but an Indian himself. He sits with them in the circle, or at night around the fire, with his legs crossed, and there he will sit musing two or three hours or more, oblivious to everything else, talking with them with much serenity and deliberation. And although the foods of the Indians are as nasty and dirty as these outlandish people themselves, the father eats them with great gusto and says that they are good for the stomach and very fine. In short, God has created him, as I see it, solely for the purpose of seeking out these unhappy, ignorant, and rustic people.*¹¹

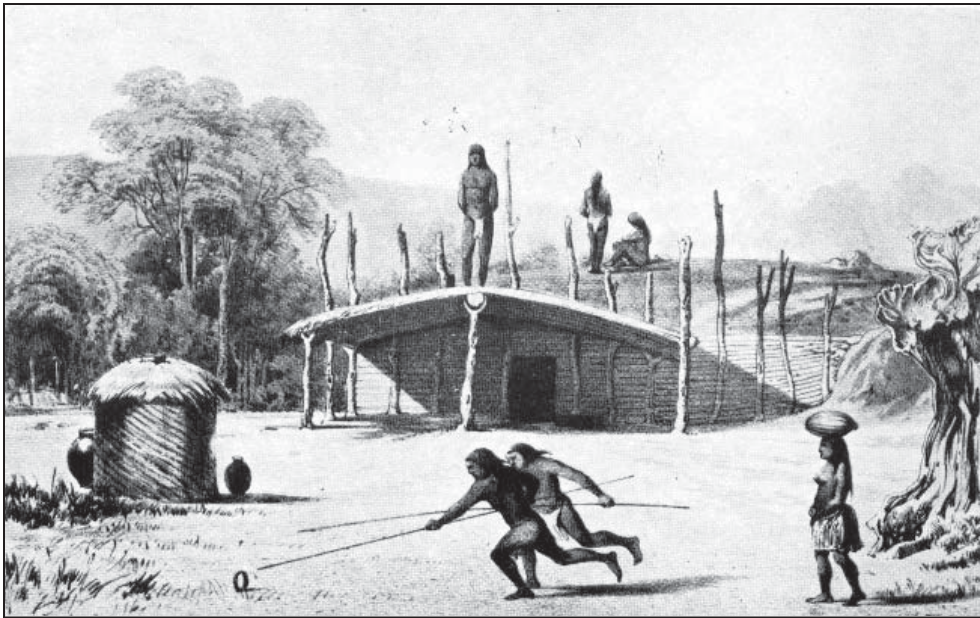
On February 14, 1776, Garcés set off again, accompanied by Tarabal and an Indian he does not name. They traveled north, up the Colorado, into desert country unknown to the Spaniards. On February 28 he reached the river villages of the Mojaves—*Jamajabs* he called them—near present-day Needles. He was warmly greeted by the Mojaves, whom he described as healthy and robust, the women comely. He noticed that some of the women were wearing beads and other decorations made of blue abalone shell, and asked where they obtained them. The Mojaves told him that their young runners made many trips across the desert to the coastal regions, and offered to guide him there. Garcés accepted, with the hope that this Mojave Trail would be a better route to Missions San Gabriel and San Luis Obispo than Anza's southern route.¹²

Historians have long held varying beliefs as to Garcés' precise route across the desert. A resolution of this issue is made difficult by the fact that the Mojave Trail was actually a series of roughly parallel routes going from spring to spring, depending mainly on the seasonal availability of water. The latest historian to trace Garcés' route, with the padre's diary and good maps in hand, is Raymund F. Wood. We have accepted his interpretation of the great missionary-explorer's itinerary from the Mojave villages to San Gabriel.¹³

Garcés, accompanied by the ever-loyal Sebastian Tarabal and three young Mojave guides, set out across the desert on March 4, 1776. He

traveled southwest, around the southern end of the Dead Mountains, to a marshy spot that he called *Pozos de San Casimiro*, today's Sacramento Springs, just northwest of the junction of highways 1-40 and US 95. He traveled two and a half leagues this first day, about 6.7 miles. On March 5, Garcés and his guides journeyed west-northwest, aiming for the flat basin north of the Sacramento Mountains, then "west one quarter southwest, on a road level and grassy" to some small springs, eight leagues (21 miles) for the day. That evening they camped about seven miles northwest of present-day Goffs, according to Wood's calculations. March 6 they went "five leagues west and three west-southwest through flat and grassy country," crossing numerous small washes running south from the New York Mountains. Garcés then "came to a mountain range with small pines; I called it the *Sierra de Santa Coleta*. The watering place has little yield and is high up. Pasturage is ample and of good quality." He was almost certainly at Foshay Spring in the southern part of the Providence Mountains. Here he came upon four *Jamajabs* (Mojaves) carrying shell beads from the coast back to their villages—evidence that he was on a main Indian trail between the Colorado River and the coastal Chumash villages.

The following day, March 7, Garcés got a late start, traveling only four leagues west-northwest. "I crossed the mountain range by a good pass, he wrote, "and entered a small valley with sandy knolls at its sides: I called it *La Cañada de Santo Tomás*." His route is easy



Mojave Indians near the Colorado River play the game known as *takersia*. Heinrich Mollhausen recorded the scene in the 1850's. *from the collection of John Robinson*

to determine: He crossed Foshay Pass near the southern end of the Providence Mountains and descended Winston Wash, almost to its junction with Kelso Wash.

Garcés traveled six leagues west-southwest on March 8, following the broad floodplain of Kelso Wash, which runs west between the rocky Bristol Mountains on the south and the sandy wasteland of Devils Playground to the north. Garcés and his Indian guides made camp near some lush waterholes in the lower wash which he named *San Juan de Diós*, Saint John of God, after a 16th-century Portuguese soldier who turned to a life of helping the sick and the poor and became the patron saint of hospitals.¹⁵ On March 9 they went five leagues west to a pass in the desert mountains.

"I gave it the name Pinta because of the veins of various colors that are in it. I found a streambed of rather

brackish water and named it Arroyo de los Martires," wrote Garcés.¹⁶ He had crossed the southwestern edge of the huge sink known today as Soda Lake, south of present-day Baker, and reached the brackish terminus of the Mojave River, the great watercourse of the desert that would be used for a century by trappers, traders, and settlers bound for the Southern California coastal lowlands. Garcés was the first white man to see any part of this important desert river. The water was brackish only at its terminus; upstream it was potable. The pass he called *Pinta* is today's Afton Canyon.

For the next two weeks Garcés and his Indian guides followed the Mojave River west, then south, and they made their way toward the river's headwaters. They found plenty of water, but food was scarce. On March 1-2, they were obliged to kill one of their horses for food. The closer they got to the mountains,

the more Indian *rancherías* (small villages) they passed. These Indians, called *Benemes* by Garcés and later known as Vanyumes, were poor but willing to share their shell beads and acorns with the visitors. Garcés was impressed with their friendliness.

As their route alongside the river curved south, and even slightly southeast near the present-day site of Victorville, Garcés grew concerned. Using a quadrant that Father Font had loaned him, he realized that they were moving away from the 35th parallel and the direct route to Mission San Luis Obispo. "I urged the Indians to take me toward the west, but they refused, saying they knew no other route," Garcés wrote.¹⁷ Once through the Victorville Narrows, the river again turned south. A *ranchería* of 80 people, probably the Vanyume village of *Atongaibit*, was reached. Here, wrote Garcés, "I was joyfully received and treated to a shower of acorns."

As the river emerged from the northern rampart of the San Bernardino Mountains, the vegetation became increasingly lush—many cottonwoods, alders, oaks, junipers, and "very tall conifers."

On March 22 Garcés climbed over the Sierra:

*After three leagues I crossed the mountain range south-southwest. The trees mentioned yesterday reached its top, whence the Ocean is in view; the Santa Ana River, and the San José Valley. On the downslope of the range there are few trees. At its foot I found a village where they received me very gladly.*¹⁸

How did Garcés cross the San Bernardino Mountains? It is obvious that he did not go over Cajon Pass, as the ocean cannot be seen from there. It appears evident that he followed the Mojave River to its Forks, where Deep Creek Dam now stands, then took the Mojave's West Fork as it curved southwest, then south into the mountains, passing through the valley now covered by Silverwood Reservoir. He ascended the Mojave Indian Trail up Sawpit Canyon to the crest near today's Monument Peak. (The monument placed there in 1931 honors Garcés and Jedediah Smith, who crossed this way fifty years later.) He then descended the open ridge between Devil and Cable canyons into lower Cajon Wash. Garcés was slightly confused as to geography. *Valle de San José*, named by Anza in 1774, was the San Jacinto Valley; he was looking down into the unnamed San Bernardino Valley. However, he was correct about seeing the Santa Ana River, which flows through the latter valley before curving southwest. The Serrano village at the southern foot of the mountains was probably *Amupke*, known to later Spanish explorers as *Santisima Trinidad*.²⁰

Once over the mountains, Garcés turned west and traversed the western end of the San Bernardino Valley into the Pomona Valley, keeping close to the southern foot of the San Gabriel Mountains, to *Arroyo de los Alisos*, Creek of the Sycamores, today's San Antonio Creek. Two days later, on March 24, 1776, Garcés and his Indian guides reached Mission San Gabriel, now located at its permanent site one league north of its original 1771

location. Here he was joyously received by the fathers, but greeted with much less enthusiasm by the military authorities. He remained at the mission two weeks, during which time he was engaged in a dispute with the corporal in charge, and later with Captain Rivera y Moncada, military *comandante* of California, who was returning from San Diego where he had just suppressed the Indian rebellion in which Father Luis Jayme had been murdered. Garcés wanted supplies, fresh horses, and a military escort, but Rivera y Moncada refused the explorer-padre's request. The military, facing native revolts, was shorthanded as it was and was unable, or unwilling, to help Garcés.

Garcés had originally planned to travel north on *El Camino Real* to reach Mission San Luis Obispo, but faced with Rivera y Moncada's obstinacy and apparent disdain, he decided to take an inland route to the mission. Accordingly, his Franciscan brothers at San Gabriel provided him and his faithful native guides with supplies and, on a horse the military commander had grudgingly allowed him to take, Garcés embarked on another epic inland journey, heading west from the mission on April 9. With him were Sebastian, two Mojave guides (the third had earlier returned home), and two Gabrielino guides who left him at the end of the first day.

The small party passed through present-day Pasadena and crossed the Arroyo Seco, keeping the San Gabriel Mountains close on their right, into the San Fernando Valley. After resting a day while one of

his Indian guides returned to San Gabriel to fetch a book Garcés had left there, they turned northwest and crossed the vast plain to a small Indian village somewhere near the future site of mission San Fernando, not established until 1797.

Garcés' diary entry for April 13 states, "I crossed a mountain range running to the west-northwest from the [Sierra] Nevada and after two leagues north I arrived at the Santa Clara Valley; then, after one and a half leagues west-northwest, I came to its marsh."²² He had crossed the short but precipitous San Fernando Pass, probably on the same trail used by Portola seven years earlier, and descended to the Santa Clara River, very close to present-day Santa Clarita. Here he remained for 11 days because one of his Mojave guides had fallen ill. He visited several small Indian villages, probably the people anthropologists today call Tataviam, and baptised an old chief. While there, Garcés encountered five Mojaves who were on a trading journey; the native traders were using the Santa Clara River trail, probably to reach the Chumash of the Santa Barbara coast.

Garcés resumed his journey on April 23, heading "west, later turning north and going up over the high mountains, covering altogether nine leagues. I stopped at a marsh on the way down." Next day, "traveling half a league northeast, I came to a pool and near it a rancheria where there were signs that Captain Pedro Pages had passed that way."²³ (Pedro Pages crossed the desert between San Diego and San Luis Obispo in pursuit of deserters in 1772.

See *Dogtown Territorial Quaterly* #29.) Garcés' exact route across the mountains is open to question, but it appears he went northwest through present-day Santa Clarita, then north up San Francisquito Canyon, crossing the Liebre-Sawmill Mountain ridge at its east end to the vicinity of present-day Green Valley. The pool he mentions could be today's Elizabeth Lake, a mile west of Leona Valley.

The following day, April 25, Garcés wrote, "Crossing the valley, I came to another high mountain range, a branch of the Sierra Nevada running northeast, which I called the Sierra de San Marcos, and having gone four leagues to a watercourse, and in the afternoon another league, still northward, I stopped in the same stream bed. In this mountain range there are lofty pines, oaks, and other trees."²⁴ The intrepid padre and his loyal Indian guides had crossed Antelope-Valley northward and entered the *Sierra de San Marcos*, Garcés' name for the Tehachapis. Since they traveled northward and not northwest as Fages had, it seems very likely they entered the Tehachapis via Cottonwood Creek and crossed the range via Old Tejon Pass, some 20 miles east of the Tejon Pass of today. Once over the top, they must have descended Tejon Creek Canyon into the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. The vast expanse of California's great Central Valley, nearly 450 miles long and 30 to 40 miles wide, must have been an impressive sight, but Garcés made no mention of the scene. His concern was for the spiritual conversion of the many native peoples he came upon, probably Yokuts.

Garcés gave a long description of the manners and customs of the Indians he encountered in the valley. He sought to convert them, and encouraged by his apparent success with these people, he set out again on April 27, reaching more native villages somewhere southeast of present day Bakersfield. Here Sebastian and his Mojave guides refused to go any farther among these tribes completely unknown to them. Even the local villagers urged him not to go on, as the Indians farther north were considered to be unfriendly. But nothing could stop Garcés when he thought there were souls to be saved.

On April 30 Garcés set out northward, accompanied by a single old man from the village. The following day, Garcés wrote, "after a league's travel northwest I came to a big river, the waters of which, beautiful and crystal-clear, make a great noise as they issue from the San Marcos range, for where they come from the eastward they are narrowly boxed in."²⁵ He named this great watercourse the *Rio de San Felipe*. It was the Kern River, just below the narrow gorge where its churning waters emit from the Sierra Nevada, which Garcés called the *Sierra de San Marcos* as he considered it the same range as the Tehachapis that curved to the southwest from here. Garcés descended the rushing river several miles, seeking a place to cross. Since the river was deep and he could not swim, four friendly natives, each holding a leg or an arm, pulled him across. Others brought his garments and saddle over in water-proof baskets. The village people on the

north bank celebrated his arrival and fed him; he returned the favor with tobacco and glass beads. The Indians wanted the charismatic missionary to stay, but Garcés was anxious to continue north. On May 2 he crossed *Rio de Santiago*, today's Pozo Creek, and next day reached a large village alongside a watercourse he called *Rio de Santa Cruz*. This was present-day White Creek in southern Tulare County and his northernmost point. Here he baptised a dying boy, the first known Christian ceremony in the San Joaquin Valley.

The natives told him of a great river seven days to the northwest which was, of course, the San Joaquin River, the largest watercourse in the San Joaquin Valley. He also learned from several Indians who spoke a few Spanish words that Mission San Luis Obispo was just a few days travel westward. Much as he would have liked to visit the big river and then turn west to San Luis Obispo, he realized that he should not. He had promised to rejoin Tarabal and his Mojave guides in four or five days, and he had already been gone eight days. So Garcés reluctantly returned, going by way of several small villages on the upper White River, then south to the Kern, which he crossed farther downstream than on his northward journey. Anxiously he looked for his companions who, he learned, had been searching for him. Tarabal rejoined him first, and the next day he was reunited with the Mojaves, two of which had already headed home. However, two others, recent arrivals from the Colorado, consented to join him. This indicated that there was, at the time, a fairly steady flow of travel

and commerce between the peoples of the Colorado River and those of the great valley and the seacoast.

On May 14 Garcés and his companions headed southeast, aiming to cross the Tehachapis via a different route. His Mojave guides were reluctant to go this way; they evidently always crossed the Tehachapis via Tejon Pass. They halted the first night at what Garcés called *Arroyo de la Ascension*, probably present-day Tehachapi Creek. Next day they surmounted the range by Tehachapi Pass, or possibly Oak Creek Pass a few miles west—Garcés diary entry is very brief here. They reached the desert somewhere near today's Mojave and struck south-southeast "over an immense plain that clearly was in former times a lake-bed."²⁶ Most likely they were crossing Rogers Dry Lake, which has water only in times of heavy rainfall. On May 19, five days after they left the Kern River area, Garcés and his companions reached the *Rio de los Martires*, the Mojave River, probably close to the future site of Barstow. They retraced their route east along the Mojave River as far as *Pozos de San de Dios*, the "Wells of Saint John of God," along present-day Kelso Wash, then followed a slightly more northerly route back to the Colorado. They reached the great river on May 30 to the tumultuous welcome of the Mojave villagers.

Upon his arrival at the Mojave villages, Garcés found letters awaiting him from Anza (who, by this time, was already back in Tubac) and Father Eixarch, asking him to return to Yuma "within three

days." Since it was weeks since the letters had been dispatched, Garcés chose to ignore the instructions. Instead, he decided to accompany, at least part way, some visiting Hualapai Indians east to Moqui, the land of the Hopi Indians. On June 5, 1776, Garcés commenced an entirely new journey that would take him through much of northern Arizona, an exploration fully as noteworthy as the one he had just traveled. The Mojaves tried to dissuade him. "The strongest objections were raised by the Jamajobs [Mojaves], because they feared that they [the Moquis] might kill me; but my insistence finally prevailed."²⁷

Accompanied by several friendly Hualapais, Garcés crossed the Colorado and headed northeast. Traversing semi-arid country, he reached a Yavipai rancheria, near today's Kingman, Arizona, on June 10. Four days later, he reached the languid pools of Peach Springs, which he called *Pozos de San Basilio*. "After traveling four leagues northeast and north with thickets of juniper and pine on either hand . . . we stopped at a mountain ridge where the earth was red, and the Indians told me that the Colorado River was near by."²⁸ Garcés now stood on the brink of Cataract Canyon, a deep gash in the forested plateau. Within its shadowy folds, far below, was (and is) the home of the Havasupai Indians. Descending into the "hideous abyss" of the canyon, partly on a rickety wooden ladder, the padre spent five days with the friendly Havasupais, the "People of the Blue Water," feasting on corn, vegetables, and agave, all of which

the Havasu Indians raised on their irrigated canyon terraces (as they still do today). Garcés noted that the people were "decently clothed," many of them with red cloth "which they call Spanish because it comes from New Mexico." He noted that the Havasu women "are so light in color... because the place where they live is so deep down that the sun scarcely gilds it before ten o'clock in the forenoon."²⁹

On June 25 Garcés bade farewell to these friendly Havasupais, climbed out of the canyon, and set out again on his journey to Oraibe, the chief rancheria of the Moqui (Hopi) people. Traveling eastward, accompanied by several Havasupai guides, he passed "in sight of the succession of very deep gorges among which flows the Colorado River... Although to my sight it seemed quite near, it was very hard to reach on account of the canyons in between."³⁰ Garcés had reached the south rim of the Grand Canyon. He named the mighty abyss *La Puerto de Bucareli* in honor of the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua, who had supported the Anza expeditions and Garcés' travels. He was the first European to look down upon this stupendous, multi-hued wonder of nature since Garcia Lopez de Cardenas of the Coronado Expedition had stood on the rim 236 years earlier.

Garcés and his Hualapai guides turned northeast and forded the Little Colorado River on June 28. Four days later, on July 2, they climbed to the hilltop village of Oraibe, the chief community of

the Moqui (Hopi) Indians. The Hopis were decidedly unfriendly to Garcés and resisted his spiritual advances, just as they had resisted his Franciscan colleague Francisco Velez de Escalante, coming from New Mexico, the previous year. He was forced to spend the night in the open, guarded from further insult by his faithful Havasupais. While the Hopi women and children gazed at the visiting padre from the pueblo rooftops, the Hopi men made gestures urging Garcés to leave.

On July 3 there arrived by chance three Indians from Zuni pueblo in western New Mexico. They recognized Garcés as a colleague of their spiritual leader Father Escalante (who at that same time was in Utah on his own exploring expedition). They invited Garcés to accompany them back to Zuni. Garcés was tempted to go but his Havasupai friends refused to travel any further east. He turned the Zuni offer down, preferring to return west with his Havasupai companions. He had proved his point that one could travel directly between California and New Mexico, and felt there was no need to go farther east. He wrote a letter describing his travels addressed to the reverend superior at Zuni, asking him to forward it to the governor in Santa Fe. The letter, written in Oraibe and dispatched with the returning Zunis, was dated July 4, 1776—certainly a fateful date in American history.³¹

Garcés retraced his steps westward, again lingering several days with the friendly Havasupais in Cataract Canyon. He was back in the Mojave villages by July 25, greeted with

great joy by the natives who had heard rumors that he had died. His one disappointment was that his faithful companion of two years, Sebastian Tarabal, was gone, his destination unknown. Very possibly he had returned to Baja California; in any event he disappears from history. Next day Garcés said farewell to his Mojave friends and departed for the Yuma villages. He visited a number of Chemehuevi and Halchedhoma rancherias on the way south, crossing and re-crossing the Colorado several times. Upon his arrival among the Yumas on August 27, Chief Palma and his people gave the missionary-explorer a warm greeting. At last, on September 17, 1776, Garcés returned safely to his home mission of San Xavier del Bac. His fifth and final *entrada* of exploration had taken him, by his own reckoning, 698 1/2 leagues, about 2,000 miles. During the last 1,200 miles he had not seen a single white man. Garcés spent the last few months of 1776 at San Xavier del Bac, writing up his diary in proper form to submit to the viceroy and helping Father Font draw up a detailed map of the Southwest. He then resumed his missionary duties at San Xavier and later among the Yuman peoples he loved.

Sad to say, Father Garcés had only five years to live after he returned from his final *entrada*. He was beaten to death with a club during the Yuma Massacre of July 1781. How this tragic event came to pass is a complicated story that we can only summarize briefly here. The primary fault probably was that of Teodoro de Croix, nephew of a former viceroy of New Spain and

at the time commandant-general of the frontier provinces. Croix has been described as hard working, well meaning, but rather stupid.³² He had been directed by the king of Spain to set up missions among the Yumas, but the commandant-general decided to go one better. He would establish Spanish colonies as well as missions along the Colorado. Two of these colony-missions were established in the winter and spring of 1780-81: *Purísima Conception*, on the hill where Fort Yuma later stood, and *San Pedro y San Pablo*, about eight miles upriver.

There were troubles from the start. Chief Palma had been led to believe that the missions, which he had long wanted, would be for his people only, and that they would receive horses, tools, blankets, and the like to make their life better. Instead, the Yumas were set upon by a horde of colonists, with soldiers to back them up, who appropriated the choicest lands along the river and sent their cattle to graze at will in the Indian corn fields. And then, to make matters worse, Captain Rivera y Moncada arrived with more colonists and soldiers, destined for California. Most of the people moved on to the coastal settlements, but the captain and about a dozen of his soldiers stayed, setting up camp along the Colorado directly opposite from the Gila, where their animals did further damage to the Indian fields.

Although Palma was hesitant to act, a number of angry young men from his tribe decided to rebel. They organized a massacre of all Spaniards along the river. On

July 17 they attacked *Purísima Conception* while Father Garcés was saying Mass. They killed the two soldiers on guard but spared the priests, evidently because of their high regard for Father Garcés. They spared no one at *San Pedro y San Pablo*, slaying two padres and most of the soldiers and settlers.

Next day the young rebels returned from their slaughter of Rivera y Moncada and his men and murdered almost all of the remaining Spanish males, sparing some 65 or 70 women and children to use as hostages. The angry rebels completed their gruesome job on July 19. Chief Palma appealed to his unruly subjects to spare the lives of Fathers Garcés and Barreneche, the only Franciscan padres who remained alive, but to no avail. Urged on by a visiting Apache, who warned that if these two were left alive all would be lost, the Yumas brutally clubbed the two missionary fathers to death.

In three tragic days of slaughter, the greatest missionary-explorer in New Spain's northwestern frontier country since Kino met his end, along with three other Franciscan friars, Captain Rivera y Moncada, some 30 soldiers, and an unknown number of colonists.³³ The Anza Trail from Sonora to California was closed for all practical purposes

with the continued hostility of the Yumas, not to reopen for almost half a century. Spanish California would now be supplied only by sea.

A fitting eulogy to the martyred missionary-explorer was supplied by a fellow Franciscan Pedro Font:



Statue of Francisco Garcés in Yuma, AZ, near the site where he was murdered. *from the collection of John Robinson*

Altogether, his pathfinding, accomplished without the aid of a single white man, covered more than a thousand miles of untrod trails and furnished an example of physical endurance

*and human courage that has rarely been excelled.*³⁴

In recent years, John Galvin, who translated and edited Garcés' diary, described the gray-clad padre as,

*... a hardy, generous, essentially warm hearted man. His approach to the heathen was direct and friendly . . . Father Garcés was a devoted priest; at the end of his life, a martyr. He was a pathfinder worthy of remembrance, an indefatigable traveler, uncomplaining under stress of hardship, bold under challenge. In sum, he is one of the most attractive and respectable figures in all the early history of the Southwest.*³⁵

Francisco Garcés is honored today with a bronze plaque in the garden of San Gabriel Mission; another plaque atop Monument Peak in the San Bernardino Mountains where the ancient Mojave Indian Trail crossed that range, honoring both Garcés' 1776 crossing and Jedediah Smith's 50 years later; a heroic-

sized statue in Bakersfield; Bakersfield's Francisco Garcés High School; and a statue of Garcés on Yuma Hill, California, near the spot where the padre was murdered.

Anyone familiar with the *jornada* of Francisco Garcés and the return portion of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition is aware that there are no major geographical obstacles for a nearly direct journey between Santa Fe and Mission San Gabriel. With this route across northern Arizona known to Spanish authorities, thanks to the twin 1776 expeditions, the question arises as to why the Old Spanish Trail did not use this much shorter “path of the padres” Today’s Interstate 40 easily traverses this plateau country some distance south of Garcés’ route from the Colorado River to the Hopi villages. There seems to be no reason why the Old Spanish Trail could not have followed a similar route.

End Notes

1. Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1969, pp. 92-93.
2. Herbert E. Bolton, “The Early Explorations of Father Carets on the Pacific Slope,” H. Morse Stephens (ed.), *The Pacific Ocean in History*. New York: MacMillan Co., 1917, pp. 317-330; Geiger, pp. 93-94.
3. Herbert Eugene Bolton (ed.), *Anza’s California Expeditions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930, 5 volumes. This is the definitive work on Anza’s two overland journeys from Sonora to California. Bolton personally traveled Anza’s entire route.
4. “Garcés Diary from Tubac to San Gabriel, 1774,” in Bolton, *Anza’s California Expeditions*, Vol. II, pp. 339-340.
5. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California, Vol. 1, 1542-1800*. Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebbard, 1966 reprint of 1885 edition, p. 221; Bolton, *Outpost of Empire*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, pp. 44-45; and Walt Wheelock, “Sebastian Tarabal, El Peregrino,” *The Wrangler*, San Diego Corral of Westerners, Vol. 25, No.3, 1992.
6. Bolton, *Anza’s California Expeditions*, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.
7. “Garcés Diary from Tubac to San Gabriel,” pp. 341-342.
8. Bolton, *Anza’s California Expeditions*, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
10. John Galvin (ed.), *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776, Fray Francisco Garcés*. (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967, p. 1.
11. “Font’s Complete Diary,” in Bolton, *Anza’s California Expeditions*, Vol. IV, p. 121.
12. Garcés Diary for his fifth and longest entrada is covered in two books: Elliott Coues (ed.), *On The Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest) in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776*. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900, 2 vol; and John Galvin (ed.), *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776, Fray Francisco Garcés*. (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967. The two editions vary slightly in translation. Coues’ double-volume work contains copious footnotes and detailed interpretations of Garcés route. More recent scholarship indicates that Coues is often in error (for example, he has Garcés crossing the San Bernardino Mountains via Holcomb Valley rather than via Sawpit Canyon farther west). Calvin’s work contains few footnotes and only a four-page introduction, but the translation is slightly smoother and the fold-out map of Garcés’ route is far superior to Coues’ several small maps.
13. Raymund F. Wood, “Francisco Garcés in the Mojave Desert, 1776,” *Branding Iron*, Los Angeles Corral of Westerners, No. 221, Fall 2000. Wood also wrote “Francisco Garcés, Explorer of Southern California,” *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. LI, No. 3, Sept. 1969, which gives an excellent overall description of the Franciscan padre’s travels. See also Dix Van Dyke, “A Modern Interpretation of the Garcés Route,” *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California*, 1927, pp. 353-359. Coues mistakenly has Garcés taking a more northerly route across the desert.
14. Galvin, p. 35; Coues, I, p. 237.
15. Galvin, p. 36; Coues, I, p. 238.
16. Galvin, p. 36; Coues, I, p. 239.
17. Galvin, p. 37; Coues, I, pp. 243-244.
18. Galvin, p. 38; Coues, I, pp. 245-246. Coues incorrectly has Garcés crossing the mountains via Holcomb or Bear Valleys. See George William Beattie, “Historic Crossing Points in the San Bernardino Mountains,” unpublished manuscript, 1931, at San Bernardino County Library; and Beattie, *Heritage of the Valley: San Bernardino’s First Century* (Claremont: Saunders Press, 1939), p. 3. Beattie leaves little doubt that Garcés ascended via Sawpit Canyon to the crest near Monument Peak and descended on the ridge between Devil and Cable canyons, the route of the Mojave Indian Trail.
19. Beattie, *Heritage*, p. 3.
20. Arda M. Haenszel, “The Lost Rancheria in Cajon Pass,” *Journal of the Archaeological Survey of Southern California*, Fall-Winter 1988, pp. 51-61.
21. Galvin, pp. 39-41; Coues, I, pp. 251-253. See also Wood, “Francisco Garcés, Explorer of Southern California,” p. 193.

22. Galvin, p. 43; Coues, I, pp. 267-268.

23. Galvin, p. 44; Coues, I, p. 269.

For Pedro Pages' 1772 *jornada*, see *Dogtown Territorial Quarterly* #29, Spring 1997.

24. Galvin, p. 44; Coues, I, pp. 271-272.

25. Galvin, p. 47; Coues, I, pp. 280-282.

For Garcés route in the southern San Joaquin Valley, see Ardis M. Walker, *Francisco Garcés: Pioneer Padre of Kern*. Bakersfield: Kern County Historical Society, 1946. Walker refers to Garcés as "the gray-clad padre of the desert."

26. Galvin, p. 58; Coues, I, pp. 305-306.

Coues suggests Garcés crossed the Tehachapis via Tejon Pass (note 41, p. 303). Modern scholars believe the padre traversed Tehachapi Pass, or possibly Oak Creek Pass. See Walker, p. 72.

27. Galvin, p. 61; Coues, II, p. 318.

28. Galvin, pp. 63-64; Coues, II, pp. 329-331.

29. Galvin, pp. 65-66; Coues, II, p. 345.

30. Galvin, p. 67; Coues, II, p. 354.

31. Galvin, p. 70; Coues, II, pp. 363-364.

32. Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period*. New York: MacMillan Co. 1921, p. 231. Chapman devotes much of chapter 25 to Croix's policies and activities, and all of chapter 26 (pp. 330-342) to the Yuma Massacre.

33. Mark Santiago, *Massacre at the Yuma Crossing: Spanish Relations with the Quechans, 1779-1782*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998, gives a detailed, scholarly account of events leading up to the massacre, the massacre itself, and unsuccessful Spanish attempt to punish the Yumas (Quechans) and reopen the overland route.

34. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, Vol. II, p. 121.

35. Galvin, pp. viii-ix.



Local museum members from the Mojave River Valley Museum in Barstow and the Mohave Historical Society in Victorville find a remnant of the Old Spanish Trail north of I-15 and southeast of Spanish Canyon in the Alvord Mountains. Cliff Walker, desert historian, is pointing out the OST to fellow museum members. This portion of the mule trail is heading southeast toward the Mojave River and Minneola Road. The next day's *jornada* would have taken the New Mexican traders to the Barstow area, the site of the 2007 14th Annual OSTA Conference. Be there!



P.O. Box 7
Marysville, WA 98270