

Chronicles of the Trail



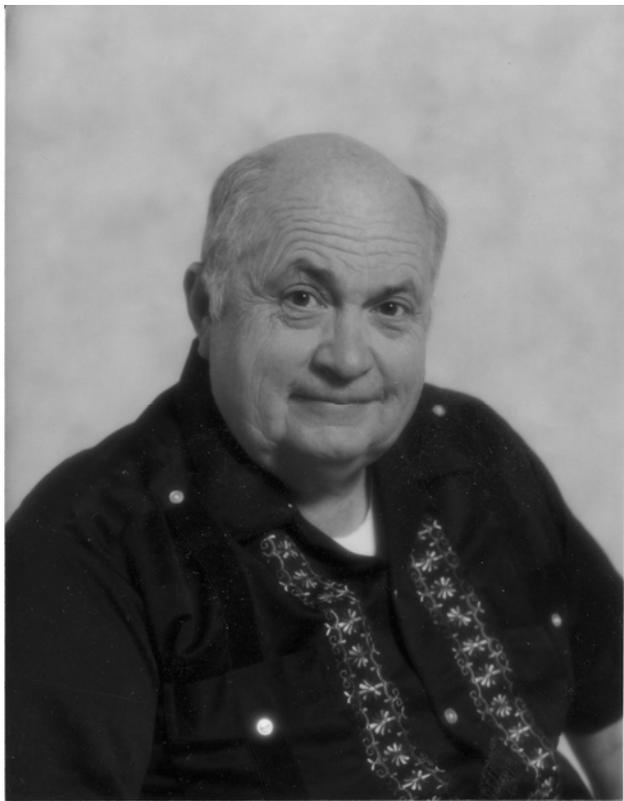
*Quarterly Journal of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
Trail Association*

Volume 5, No. 1

Winter 2009



Artifacts from Yost Mesa, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro



In early October 2008, Ben Brown (International Liaison Officer for CARTA) and I met with Mario and Martina Madrid. Sr. Madrid is the official town historian of Janos, Mexico. He is currently writing a history of Janos and we gave him some additional material and leads for his endeavor.

October 9th: I spent three and a half hours on a conference call with all the interested parties about the Spaceport Memorandum of Agreement (MOA). A large number of changes were made which were later to be incorporated into the MOA, reviewed and signed by the major parties involved.

October 24th: Human Systems Research (HSR) started on a project near Yost Draw to collect, record and identify artifacts and sites along El Camino Real. This is an on-going CARTA project which is a challenge-cost-share grant from the Bureau of Land Management. HSR is currently working on starting a second stage on this project. The eventual costs for the archaeological work could reach \$30,000. (50% BLM, 50% CARTA; our contribution is in volunteer hours)

November 8th: I attended a meeting in Albuquerque at the Tetra Tech office dealing with the Spaceport Memorandum of Agreement. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss and resolve all comments received by the October 31st deadline. The goal was to come to agreement on all issues in the revised Programmatic Agreement, particularly

A principios del mes de octubre de 2008, Ben Brown (Coordinador de Enlace Internacional para CARTA) y yo nos reunimos con Mario y Martina Madrid. El Sr. Madrid es el historiador oficial de Janos, México. Actualmente está escribiendo sobre la historia de Janos y le proporcionamos material y datos adicionales para su trabajo.

9 de octubre: Pasé tres horas y media en una conferencia telefónica con todas las partes interesadas en el Memorandum de Acuerdo de Spaceport (MOA por sus siglas en inglés). Se hicieron muchos cambios para que posteriormente se incorporaran al MOA, se revisaran y se firmaran por las partes principales involucradas.

24 de octubre: Human Systems Research (Investigación de Sistemas Humanos – HSR por sus siglas en inglés) comenzó un proyecto acerca de Yost Draw para reunir, registrar e identificar artefactos y sitios a lo largo de El Camino Real. Éste es un proyecto constante de CARTA que consiste en una beca de reto y costo compartido (challenge-cost-share grant) de la Oficina de Administración de Tierras (BLM por sus siglas en inglés). Actualmente, la HSR está trabajando para iniciar la segunda etapa de este proyecto. Los costos eventuales para el trabajo arqueológico podrían ascender hasta \$30,000.00 (50% BLM y 50% CARTA de nuestra contribución en horas voluntarios).

8 de noviembre: En Albuquerque, asistí a una reunión en la oficina de Tetra Tech relacionada con el Memorandum de Acuerdo de Spaceport. El propósito de la reunión fue discutir y resolver todos los comentarios recibidos antes del 31 de octubre, fecha límite. La meta era llegar a un acuerdo sobre todos los puntos del Convenio Pragmático revisado, especialmente aquellos en los que había puntos de vista en conflicto entre las partes.

21 de noviembre: Edgar Urban, de la oficina del Patrimonio Universal del Instituto Nacional de Arqueología e Historia de México (INAH) y Rubén Durazo, del INAH Durango, estuvieron en Nuevo México para revisar El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro al norte de la frontera internacional para la nominación del sendero como Patrimonio Universal. Michael Romero Taylor (del Servicio de Parques Nacionales) y yo los acompañamos a lo largo de una parte de El Camino Real en la Jornada del Muerto. Visitamos varios sitios rumbo al norte, más allá del paraje llamado San Diego hasta Yost Draw.

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PRICE: \$5.00

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**Cover photograph
courtesy of Human
Systems Research**

**Editors: William M
Little and John Porter
Bloom**

From the Editors

For this issue we have articles on topics ranging from book reviews to a detailed tracing of the route of El Camino Real near El Paso. Of particular interest is the announcement of this summer's National Trails Conference in Missoula. CARTA hopes to send at least two representatives. We are also introducing our new Executive Director, Jean Fulton, formerly CARTA secretary. CARTA is pleased and grateful that Cameron Saffell has agreed to serve as interim recording secretary until September.

HELP STILL WANTED: Your *Chronicles* editors are still hoping to retire as of publication of this issue. We are looking for one or two talented CARTA members to take over. This is far and above the most enjoyable role to play in supporting CARTA and we encourage you to take a turn at the oars. *Chronicles* enjoys a wide reputation within the area and it will be a privilege to carry on. The association has sufficient resources to fund commercial layout and formatting services, so the major task will be finding and editing suitable material. A moderate honorarium is available. We even have articles on the shelf for the next issue. Talk to one of us about what is needed.

CHRONICLES OF THE TRAIL is a quarterly publication of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association (CARTA), PO Box 15162, Las Cruces NM 88004-5162
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CARTA looks forward to receiving contributions to *Chronicles of the Trail*. The purpose of our publication is to stimulate interest in the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, encouraging readers to join in the adventure of memorializing and exploring one of the great historic trails of North America. Our target audience is the intellectually alive and curious reader who might also be interested in magazines such as the *American Heritage*, *Smithsonian*, or *Archaeology*. We can accept articles that range from 1,000 or 1,500 words up to 8,000 or 10,000 words in length. We can accept line drawings and black and white photographs, preferably in digital form, in a proportion that will fit in one or two columns.

Membership in CARTA is open to all. A membership application form is on page 32 and always on our Website., www.caminorealcarta.org.

CARTA Board and Officers

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President's Message*(Continued from page ii)*

those where there were conflicting viewpoints among the parties.

November 21st: Edgar Urban, of Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Arqueología é Historia (INAH) World Heritage office, and Ruben Durazo, INAH Durango, were in New Mexico to look at El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro north of the international border for a World Heritage nomination of the trail. Michael Romero Taylor (National Park Service) and I escorted them through part of El Camino Real on the Jornada del Muerto. We visited several sites going north beyond paraje San Diego to Yost Draw.

On January 29, 2009, I met with a group of people who are doing a re-use study for the City of Las Cruces, NM, on the historic Amador Hotel, which was one of the main hotels on the southern New Mexico portion of El Camino Real.

February 3rd: I submitted CARTA's response to the "Archaeological Data Recovery Plan" for the proposed Spaceport America Facilities Sierra County, New Mexico, which was prepared by Zia Engineering and Environmental Consultants, LLC.

February 4th: I submitted CARTA's response on the "Cultural Resources Protection, Preservation, and Mitigation Plan for Spaceport America."

In mid-February CARTA hired a part-time Executive Director. Jean Fulton, now resigned from valiant service as CARTA Secretary, was chosen from a field of very qualified persons. All of the final applicants (five) whom we interviewed would have made excellent Executive Directors. As part of the interview committee and one who in the past has personally hired more than a hundred individuals, this was one of the hardest decisions I ever had to make. I wish all of those who applied the best in the future and thank you for your interest in El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, and in CARTA in particular.

Mid-February: Newly hired CARTA Executive Director Jean Fulton and International Liaison Officer Ben Brown attended the Partnership for the National Trails System board meeting in Washington, DC, as CARTA's representatives.

Now is time for all of you to think seriously about giving a paper at our annual meeting in September in Las Cruces. We will have one or two days of presentations relating to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, or about persons or

*(Continued on page 19)***Mensaje del Presidente***(Continued from page ii)*

El 29 de enero de 2009 me reuní con un grupo de personas que están haciendo el estudio de re-utilización para la ciudad de Las Cruces, NM, acerca del histórico Hotel Amador que fue uno de los hoteles principales en la parte sur de Nuevo México de El Camino Real.

3 de febrero: Envié la respuesta de CARTA al "Plan de Recuperación de Datos Arqueológicos" para las Instalaciones de Spaceport America del Condado de Sierra, Nuevo Mexico, que fue elaborado por el despacho de consultores Zia Engineering and Environmental Consultants, LLC.

4 de febrero: Envié la respuesta de CARTA acerca del "Plan de Protección, Conservación y Mitigación de Recursos Culturales para Spaceport America".

A mediados de febrero, CARTA contrató a un Director Ejecutivo de medio tiempo. De un grupo de personas muy competentes, se eligió a Jean Fulton, quien renunció al valeroso servicio como Secretario de CARTA. Los cinco solicitantes que entrevistamos y que quedaron como finalistas hubieran podido fungir como excelentes Directores Ejecutivos. Para mí, como parte del comité encargado de hacer las entrevistas y alguien que en el pasado ha contratado personalmente a más de cien personas, ésta ha sido una de las decisiones más difíciles que he tenido que tomar. A todos los candidatos que participaron en la elección les deseo lo mejor para el futuro y les agradezco su interés en El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro y en CARTA en particular.

Mediados de febrero: La Directora Ejecutiva de CARTA recientemente contratada, Jean Fulton, y el Coordinador de Enlace Internacional, Ben Brown, asistieron a lJunta directiva de la Asociación para el Sistema de Senderos Nacionales en Washington, DC, como representantes de CARTA.

Es ahora cuando ustedes deben pensar seriamente en presentar una ponencia durante nuestra asamblea anual de septiembre que se verificará en Las Cruces. Dedicaremos uno o dos días a presentaciones relacionadas con El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro o acerca de personas o lugares vinculados con el sendero durante los siglos que tiene en uso. ¡Sabemos que muchos de ustedes, nuestros miembros, tienen intereses especiales, particularmente en aspectos de la extraordinaria historia de El Camino! Para mayor información, favor de comunicarse por teléfono o enviar un

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Disintegrating Boots: Archaeological Collaboration on El Camino Real a Success

Jean Fulton, Human Systems Research, Inc. Volunteer for the Day

Spirits were high, and the camaraderie borne of pleasant hours working hard together was immediately evident. The cheerful band of experienced volunteers, under the direction of Karl Laumbach from Human Systems Research, Inc., made me feel right at home. They explained their tried-and-true techniques as we wended our way down a stretch of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

Human Systems Research, Inc. is a non-profit firm located in Las Cruces NM that is dedicated to anthropological research. HSR archaeologists David Kirkpatrick and Karl Laumbach have studied this region's history and prehistory for more than three decades. Their collective knowledge and zeal is surpassed only by their passion for passing along their expertise to others.



After Bobbie Hudson discovered an artifact with the metal detector, Steve Phillips and Rae Gunderson prepare to pinpoint its location and carefully excavate and curate it.

know how to do it. The monumental silence of this rugged and serene terrain was punctuated by beeps and chirps as the presence of metal was detected. Watchful eyes scanned the soil surface for the glint of glass or some other lost and forgotten anomaly.

By the end of the day, more than 50 metal, glass, and pottery fragments had been recovered. Mostly, the tiny wrought nails and horse-shoe fragments seem to tell a story about shoes. Rather, it's the story of the gradual disintegration of shoes from miles upon miles of unimaginable hardship, wear, and tear. It takes a lot of footsteps to get to this desolate destination, especially if your journey began in Mexico City.

We were focused on a segment of the trail south of Yost Draw that cuts through the Jornada del Muerto near Upham NM. With patience and skill, the veteran volunteers wheeled their metal detectors into coaxing long-lost metal artifacts from their soil burials. There is a trick to it, and these guys and gals



Pinky Kingsley and John Fitch methodically photograph and record each of the artifacts.

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Disintegrating Boots

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Each item is given a Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) coordinate that pinpoints its location. The artifact is then photographed, bagged, and tagged for laboratory analysis.

Laumbach’s preliminary analysis indicates that many of the artifacts appear to date to the decades leading up to the Civil War, and into the mid- 1860s. He is struck by the narrowness of the time period. Ordinarily, Karl explains, an archaeological survey of a road would recover items from the road’s entire lifespan rather than harking back to a small slice of time. His working hypothesis is that perhaps trail segments parallel to this one (as yet not identified) were used before and after the mid-1800s, possibly to avoid the small rise to the north. Future surveys may be needed to locate and identify these parallel routes.

The current survey was the second in a series of planned “hardening” activities funded through the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). The intent is to locate and recover artifacts prior to hosting the general public in this area. Interpretive signage provided by the National Park Service is in the design phase, and one parking lot for heritage tourists has been constructed by BLM. The collaboration between CARTA, federal agencies and Human Systems Research, Inc. has been fruitful, not to mention fun! Similar future partnerships will undoubtedly enjoy the same success.



Various nails from Yost Mesa, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro through the Pass of the North, Part 1

By George D. Torok [reprinted by permission from *Password*, volume 50, No. 4, Winter 2005.

The El Paso County Historical Society, El Paso TX.]

The Pass of the North has been an important transportation corridor for hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of years. Well before historic time, Native-Americans followed the Rio Grande, trading goods from the interior and coastal regions of Mexico with northern Pueblo settlements. These Indian footpaths crossed the barren Chihuahua Desert, followed the rocky banks of the river, and cut through the Sierra de Juárez and Franklin Mountains. When sixteenth century Spaniards entered Mexico and made their way north through the frontier, they often followed ancient Indian trails. As they conquered the Aztec empire and established new settlements, they made these same trails part of a vast road network that expanded the boundaries of New Spain. A series of *caminos reales*, or royal roads, served as official passageways of the Spanish government, linking provincial capitals with Mexico City. These *caminos reales* wound through the scattered mining towns, missions, haciendas, and fortresses of the frontiers. One of the four royal roads that led out of the capital, the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, or the Royal Road to the Interior Land, moved north into the booming mining regions of Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, and Zacatecas. By the 1580s, the road ended at Santa Bárbara, near today's Parral, Chihuahua.¹

In 1598, Juan de Oñate, a wealthy Zacatecas nobleman, pushed the Camino Real hundreds of miles further as he led settlers north from the Valle de San Bartolomé to establish a new colony, a "New" Mexico. The Oñate expedition crossed the vast Chihuahua Desert, traveled through the Pass of the North, survived the Jornada del Muerto, and eventually arrived at San Juan Pueblo, near today's Espanola, New Mexico. Carts or *carretas* drawn by oxen, and wagons or *carros* moved by mules, transported Oñate's caravan through the frontier. Hundreds of colonists followed on horseback and on foot. This vast extension of the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* became the main route north, soon used by soldiers, missionaries, colonists, and countless travelers and wagon trains. Villas, missions, haciendas, and presidios were later established along the trail. For more than 220 years the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* served as the lifeline of the Spanish empire in the north. After Mexican independence in 1821, the Camino Real was renamed the *Camino Nacional*. It continued to be a major commercial route and new ties were forged with American traders. Merchants from Missouri traveled west to Santa Fe along the Santa Fe Trail and then ventured six hundred miles south along the Camino Real to Chihuahua City on what became known as the Chihuahua Trail.

Even though the Mexican War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 created a new international boundary and severed the old Camino Real, the trail continued to play an important role in local and regional trade. It was used well into the late nineteenth century as a path for stage coaches, post roads, and transport. It is still in use today as the base of our modern railroads and highways, carrying countless thousands of people, vehicles, and consumer goods, as it has for the past four hundred years. As a major transportation corridor, almost 1,500 miles in length, it played a particularly important role in the development of the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez area. Located at a vital point along the trail, the Pass and its surrounding missions and settlements grew and prospered, becoming a thriving part of New Mexico. The trail also provided a pathway for Spanish and Mexican culture, European technology, agriculture, live-

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El Camino Real De Tierra Adentro through the Pass of the North,
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stock, and ranching. It brought most of the settlers to the region, including many who inhabit El Paso and Ciudad Juárez today, and shaped much of the modern American Southwest. Today, the Camino Real remains a living, working trail, crossing borders and linking two nations. But despite its tremendous importance, by the mid-twentieth century it was all but forgotten. Until very recently, few had ever heard of the Camino Real.

Fortunately, as the twentieth century drew to a close, there was new interest in *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*. Historical and archaeological studies, conferences, and publications have brought attention to the trail once again. National and international agencies began working together to study and mark the trail in both the United States and Mexico. In October 2001, *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* was designated as a National Historic Trail in the United States, administered by the National Park Service (NPS) and the federal Bureau of Land Management (BLM). It became recognized as an international historic trail with interest developing in the United States, Mexico and Spain. In 2003, CARTA, Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association, was formed to preserve, protect, and promote the trail. Working with federal and international agencies, CARTA is helping to identify and certify historic sites and to educate the public about the importance of this international historic trail. In years to come, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro will regain its faded reputation as the longest, oldest, and most historic trail in the Americas.²

But where was the path of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro? The trail led through the desert land of northern Chihuahua, along the mission settlements of the Lower Valley, into El Paso del Norte, through the Mesilla Valley and off to the dreaded Jornada del Muerto. Over time, the path of the Camino Real changed. It was usually near the river, but floods carved out new river channels. New paths were made, new fords were developed, and missions, presidios, haciendas, and settlements were relocated. Sources of water and good places to stop and rest were identified. These sites became known as *parajes*, or campsites. Today, the urban sprawl of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez has obliterated many traces of the trail, but with careful observation one can still find the old Camino Real. It continues to shadow or parallel some of the major thoroughfares of our area and its approximate path can be followed well into the surrounding rural areas, both north and south of the cities.

The path of the Camino Real can be traced by examining a variety of sources. The 1598 Oñate expedition had a scouting party of sixteen men led by Oñate's nephew Vicente de Zaldívar.³ Although they did not produce a map of the trail, they left an official record of the journey with detailed geographic and geological information which can be used to approximate the route. Later travelers made maps, wrote accounts of their journeys, and recorded general information about the Camino Real. Alonso de Benavides, New Mexico's custodian of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, traveled hundreds of miles and produced his *Memorial of 1680*, the only surviving early seventeenth century account of the trail. A 1698 publication by fray Agustín de Veltancurt provided some descriptions of sites along the trail. The founding of Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos del Paso del Norte in the 1650s brought more trade and travel to the Pass. The 1680 Pueblo Revolt exiled thousands of Spaniards and Indians and led to the establishment of new settlements along the river. Records of their flight south along the Camino Real to El Paso del Norte, and the later establishment of new settlements in the Lower Valley, provide valuable clues about the location of the trail.⁴

More detailed accounts were written by eighteenth century military, government, and church officials. In 1724 Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera conducted a two-year inspection of

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Spanish military sites on the northern frontier- Accompanying Rivera was a cartographer, Francisco Barrieros, who mapped segments of the trail. In the 1760s, the Marqués de Rubí conducted a second inspection of the northern frontier. Nicolás de Lafora, the expedition chronicler, kept a detailed account of the inspection and Joseph Urrutia, a military engineer, drew detailed plans of the villas of Santa Fe and Paso del Norte. In 1760, Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral visited New Mexico and wrote an account of his journey along the trail. Cartographer Bernardo Miera y Pacheco produced another map of the Camino Real in the 1780s.⁵ The first Anglo-American account was written by Zebulon Montgomery Pike, an explorer captured by the Spanish and taken down the trail to Chihuahua City in 1807.⁶

After Mexican independence, American traders began to travel south along the Chihuahua Trail recording their experiences. Josiah Gregg, who frequently made the trip in the 1830s, published his *Commerce of the Prairies: The Journal of a Santa Fe Trader*. The 1840s brought Susan Shelby Magoffin, the sister-in-law of early El Pasoan James Magoffin, who wrote an account of her travels. Dr. Frederick Adolph Wislizenus, a Swiss-educated German, traveled with the U.S. Army during the Mexican War and wrote his *Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico*. Wislizenus left the best scientific account noting many natural and geographic features along the way, recording distances, and drawing a detailed map. British traveler George F. Ruxton and American soldier George Gibson also wrote of their experiences. Other references can be found in the history of early American El Paso.

The lives of T. Frank White, James Magoffin, Hugh Stephenson, Simeon Hart, and Benjamin Franklin Coons were all related to commercial activities along the trail. U.S. Boundary Commissioner Josiah Russell Bartlett worked with Mexican General Pedro García Conde to negotiate the new international border between the United States and Mexico. Documents and maps produced in their work also provide valuable information about local wagon roads and the changing course of the river.⁷

As Americans settled the north bank of the Rio Grande in the 1850s, new roads were developed linking the Pass with the rest of the nation. John Butterfield's Overland Mail service between St. Louis, Missouri and San Francisco, California was begun in September 1858. The 2,700 mile route passed directly through the town of Franklin (future El Paso) and provided twice weekly service for the next eleven years. The Overland Mail route made use of the old Camino Real from Hart's Mill north to the Las Cruces area where it made a sharp turn to the west. In the 1930s, Roscoe and Margaret Conkling followed the Overland Mail route across the American West and published a detailed account of their journey. The Conklings surveyed the region at a time when local residents could still remember the trail and point out landmarks, ruins, and pathways. By then the automobile age was well underway and many of our present streets and highways were in use. Their account provides valuable information for identifying and following this segment of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro during a transitional period.⁸

New Mexico's Royal Road, the classic study of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, was written almost fifty years ago by Max Moorhead and remains the definitive work on the trail. Moorhead carefully examined trade and travel along the Chihuahua Trail and plotted many of the villages and *parajes*, making references to modern settlements, highways, and roads.⁹ Many

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scholars have expanded on his work, especially since the 1980s, and have added greatly to our knowledge of the trail. A wealth of archaeological studies have located mission sites, pueblos, and *parajes* that existed in the colonial and Mexican eras. The local works of Rex Gerald, Herbert Morrow, and John Peterson made frequent references to the Camino Real. In the late 1980s Michael Marshall oversaw an early survey of the trail and speculated about its path through our region. More recently, Edward Staski conducted a series of studies north of El Paso and located pristine segments of the trail. These works have helped approximate and verify the general route of the Camino Real through our region.

The existing landscape can also lead us to the trail. Many modern railroads and highways were built along the path of the Camino Real. Looking at historic highway maps and examining contemporary accounts can often reveal clues. Geological changes affected the path of the trail. Shifting riverbeds, sand hills, and newly carved channels may indicate its path as well. When all else fails, we can approximate the location of the trail by estimating how travelers would have moved from one location to the next. By examining all of these various sources, the route of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro can be traced through the Ciudad Juárez-El Paso area and into the surrounding countryside.

North from Carrizal

When traveling north in the colonial era, the only regularly inhabited site between Chihuahua City and El Paso del Norte was Carrizal. From here, we can begin our journey north along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Carrizal was a true oasis, the last reliable source of water and the last refuge for weary travelers as they set north into the barren desert. Although a hacienda existed here earlier, the site was formally settled in 1758 as San Fernando de las Amarillas. By 1774 a new Presidio de San Fernando de Carrizal was established to protect traffic along the trail.¹⁰ A walled fortress-village was built and served as home to more than three hundred soldiers and their families. Presidio soldiers often accompanied large caravans along stretches of the trail that were particularly dangerous. Many eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors described Carrizal, including Bishop Tamarón, Nicolás de Lafora, Zebulon Pike, and Adolphus Wislizenus.¹¹ The fort was occupied until 1847 when Colonel Doniphan's troops took control of Chihuahua during the Mexican War. George Gibson, a soldier with Doniphan, described the fortress as "much dilapidated" and predicted that it would soon be in ruins.¹²

Carrizal continued to maintain a small population long after its days as a presidio. Today, it is a quiet village, well off the main highway. The fortress is no longer intact but a series of small adobe mounds reveal its outline.¹³ Carrizal is located about seven miles southwest of Villa Ahumada, off of Mexican Federal Highway 45.

About fifteen miles north of Carrizal was a site called San Vicente, visited by the Oñate expedition in 1598. Because of the many ducks that were often in the area, it later became known as Lago de Patos. Beyond Lago de Patos, near a spring known as Ojo Lucero, the Camino Real split, offering two different routes into El Paso del Norte.¹⁴ The original Camino Real headed northeast toward the Rio Grande Valley while a later, more direct route, led north into the sand dunes. The Oñate expedition had hoped to blaze the trail straight north through the Chihuahua Desert to the Rio Grande, but after stopping near Ojo Lucero they began to experience problems. On April 10, 1598 they entered the edge of *Los Médanos*, the Samalayuca sand dunes, a formidable plain of blowing and shifting sand that covers more than 770 square miles south of today's Ciudad Juárez. From April 12th to 19th the expedition rested as scouts searched many miles north for a pathway through the dunes. After listening to their reports, Oñate concluded it

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would be impossible to continue crossing Los Médanos with wagons and carts. Instead, he ordered the caravan east, through a pathway to the river. They appear to have followed a break in the mountains, the Puerto Presidio, to the Rio Grande.¹⁵ After arriving at the river they continued northwest along the bank between present-day Guadalupe del Bravo, Chihuahua and San Elizario, Texas. Before the early nineteenth century, the main channel of the river ran northeast of its present-day course (See Map 1). It took several days for the remaining wagons to catch up with the expedition but by April 27th they had all reached the banks of the Rio Grande. The Oñate caravan continued traveling northwest until April 29th when they camped somewhere near present-day San Elizario.¹⁶ On April 30, 1598 the expedition held a great feast of thanksgiving and a ceremony known as "La Toma" in which Governor Juan de Oñate took possession of the lands of New Mexico in the name of King Philip II of Spain.¹⁷ Although the

exact location of this site is unknown, it remained an important one during the colonial era. In 1665, a small Franciscan mission, *Las Llagas de Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco*, was briefly established near here. When some of the first refugee camps were established following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 they returned to the site of La Toma.¹⁸

La Jornada de Cantarrecio and the Mission Trail.

Later colonial travelers sought a better pathway to the river and by the early seventeenth century the Spanish had opened an easier route around the Médanos, completely avoiding the dunes. Instead of passing through Puerto Presidio, they went southeast of the Sierra el Presidio, through a gap known as Puerto Ancho, a hard dirt area on the trail where some of the best preserved ruts of the Camino Real can still be observed.¹⁹ This route, through the Jornada de Cantarrecio, made its way north toward the river arriving in the valley between present-day Praxedis G. Guerrero and El Mimbres, Chihuahua. From here, the Camino Real continued northwest along the river near the path of Mexican Highway 2, toward Guadalupe del Bravo, and San Isidro.²⁰ With the river to the northeast, travelers could continue through today's lower valley settlements without having to ford the river. This became the main path of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro for the rest of the colonial period and remained in use during the nineteenth century. It took travelers away from the sand dunes, brought them to the lush banks of the river, and provided a welcome refuge from the desert heat. Later, as missions, haciendas, and a presidio were established along the way, this "Mission Trail" of the Camino Real through Cantarrecio connected the settlements of the Rio Grande Valley and provided a safe, reliable route into El Paso del Norte. Doniphan's troops took the Canterrecio route rather than venture into the sand dunes, even though it was described as the "worst part of the road to Chihuahua."²¹ In 1847, Susan Shelby Magoffin recorded her journey through Cantarrecio.²² In 1853, Bartlett's party passed through Cantarrecio where they found good spring water.²³ This



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part of the old Camino Real became a segment of the main coach road to Chihuahua City by the mid-nineteenth century and the first auto road in the twentieth century.

The river bank near San Elizario often served as a welcome *paraje*, or campsite, because of the abundance of fish, wildlife, and dense vegetation. By the mid-eighteenth century the hacienda of *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Tiburcios* was established here, flourishing for several decades and bringing hundreds of new settlers to the area. In 1789, years after the hacienda was abandoned, the presidio of San Elceario (later called San Elizario) was moved here to re-settle the local Apache and provide protection from Indian attacks for travelers along the Camino Real. By the 1790s a thriving community developed around the fortress and San Elizario became an important center of trade. Many American travelers frequented San Elizario on their way to Chihuahua City. It was described by Zebulon Pike in 1807.²⁴ Susan Shelby Magoffin stayed at the home of commercial agent José Ignacio Ronquillo, the Mexican commander of the presidio.²⁵

The Camino Real entered San Elizario along the path of Alarcon Road, passing Casa Ronquillo and the San Elizario Presidio Chapel as it followed the west wall of the fortress. The wall of the presidio was located close to the path of today's Alarcon Road and the trail ran between that wall and the San Elizario Lateral, located just to the west. The main entrance to the presidio was at the intersection of today's Main and Church Streets. San Elizario is laid out in a grid pattern which was a common Spanish colonial village design. The San Elizario Historic District, listed on the National Register of Historic Places, appears much as it did during the mid-nineteenth century and has a number of structures dating from the time when the trail was still in use. The Ochoa Building, the Lujan Store on Main Street, and the barracks building on Church Street may all date from the presidio era. The Butterfield-Overland Mail Line used this part of the Camino Real as its route into American El Paso in the 1850s and, according to local tradition, the private residence at 1500 Paseo del Convento was a station for the stage line. The Lalo Madrid Building on Main Street near Glorieta Road may have also been a stage stop on the San Antonio-El Paso Road and the Butterfield Overland route. The present-day San Elizario Presidio Chapel, which dominates the plaza, was constructed in 1882 and stands near the site of the original presidio chapel. A series of historical markers in the plaza of San Elizario note the Spanish expeditions that passed through here and the important role played by El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.²⁶ From the fortress, the trail continued northwest along Glorieta Road following the path of the San Elizario Lateral northwest. It merged with today's Socorro Road and continued north to Socorro.

The Mission Trail of the Camino Real changed over time and spurs connected new settlements to the main road. One eighteenth century branch led east to a river ford and two important settlements located in the area of North Loop Drive and the Rio Vista Farm site. These two settlements, a major hacienda and a mission, were the only ones located on the opposite side of the Rio Grande in the colonial era. Governor Antonio de Valverde Cosío established the Hacienda de San Antonio in the early eighteenth century and it soon became one of the largest agricultural complexes in the area, producing wheat and grapes, milling grains, and processing wool. The hacienda spread across both sides of the river and served as a popular *paraje*, providing a comfortable campsite along the river and protection from Suma Indian attacks.²⁷ Another nearby settlement was the Santa Maria de las Caldas mission which briefly operated in the mid-eighteenth century. Las Caldas mission was ordered by the Bishop of Durango in 1730 as a way to break Franciscan control of missions in the area. Las Caldas was not a mission

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church. It was entrusted to a diocesan priest and became the first parish church established in the El Paso Valley. Although it worked mainly with local Suma Indians, it had a small mestizo and Spanish population, but was abandoned in 1749 following a series of revolts. The Valverde hacienda was apparently abandoned about the same time. Even though the ruins of the mission were indicated on maps for years to come, by the nineteenth century Las Caldas was forgotten. Twentieth century research brought renewed attention and today it is often referred to as El Paso's "lost mission." Although the exact locations of these two settlements have yet to be discovered, the Camino Real would have certainly included a major branch to San Antonio and Las Caldas.²⁸

From the hacienda and mission, the Camino Real continued northwest near the path of Socorro Road to Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepcion de los Piro de Socorro del Sur, originally established as a Franciscan mission that served the Piro Pueblo of the Rio Abajo. The first Socorro mission was located near present-day Socorro, New Mexico in the 1620s and moved to the Pass following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. When the mission moved south, the Piro were joined by Manso Indians and a small number of Spaniards.²⁹ Major floods in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century destroyed a series of mission churches and forced the Socorro community to seek higher ground. The original site of the mission was about one and one half miles to the southeast, near Buford Road, closer to Interstate 10. Studies conducted by UTEP's Dr. Rex E. Gerald in the 1980s located the remains of the original church and convent as well as many artifacts dating from the late seventeenth century. There may have been as many as six different mission churches built in the colonial era and following each flood, the settlement moved northwest toward the present site. Today's church was built after the 1829 flood and was completed in 1843. As the mission settlement moved, so did the Camino Real. It too veered further to the west, perhaps one to one and a half miles from its colonial era path.³⁰

Socorro began as a mission settlement but a pueblo of non-Indians and Spaniards grew up around the site. The nineteenth century town center was located near the 10100-10200 blocks of Socorro Road and remained a hub of commercial activity well into the twentieth century. Oral tradition indicates that 10245 Socorro Road, a Texas Historical Commission Landmark known as the Tienda de Carbajal, was a supply center for freight caravans to Chihuahua City and Mesilla in the nineteenth century. A hacienda existed on the site until mid-century when Juan Carbajal used its remains to construct a store. Just beyond, at 10167 Socorro Road, Casa Ortiz, another Texas Historical Commission Landmark, was also said to be part of the merchant trade between Chihuahua, New Mexico and West Texas. The road narrows in this area and a number of crumbling adobe ruins can be seen along the way.³¹

The first Socorro mission was located near present-day Socorro, New Mexico in the 1620s and moved to the Pass following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. When the mission moved south, the Piro were joined by Manso Indians and a small number of Spaniards.

From Mission Socorro, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro continued northwest about two and one-half miles to Ysleta. The trail paralleled today's Socorro Road, sometimes veering to the west. Just south of Ysleta it followed Old Pueblo Road which served as the southern entrance to the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo. This portion was known as "La Entrada por el Alto," the "Entrance by the High Bridge," which crossed over the Acequia Madre del Ysleta. Continuing along Old Pueblo Road the trail passed between the mission church and the Old Ysleta Pueblo located on the west

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and east sides of the road. The original mission was established at Isleta, near Albuquerque, New Mexico, as a Franciscan site for the Tiwa Pueblo. During the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Isleta Tiwa were brought south by the Spanish and established Corpus Christi de la Ysleta de los Tiguas, or Ysleta del Sur. The Ysleta del Sur Pueblo and Mission was founded in 1682 near the present site. The pueblo dwelling was a compact U-shaped multi-story adobe structure that housed several hundred residents. By 1700 it consisted of several housing blocks, a ceremonial chamber, a main plaza, and a cemetery. The original mission church was built in the same period. In 1740 a major flood destroyed the pueblo and church and both were rebuilt just east of the original site. The Tigua community produced wheat, corn, and fruits, and gathered salt at a nearby river channel. Their crafts included ropework, baskets, blankets, and pottery, all commonly traded along the Camino Real. Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, a Native-American community, has been inhabited since the 1680s, making it the oldest continuously settled site in Texas. Some of the farmlands around the mission church have been producing goods for more than three hundred years. Although Ysleta has grown and prospered during the late twentieth century, the area around the mission church continues to serve as the center of activity for the community. Travelers throughout the nineteenth century noted the persistence of Tigua traditions in Ysleta making it the only former mission settlement in the El Paso area where Native American culture has been preserved.³²

Leaving the Ysleta mission, the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro followed the path of Old County Drive, joined Alameda Avenue (TX 20), and continued northwest. Somewhere before Ascarate Park, the trail turned west, continuing along the south bank of the river, toward Mission Senecú. Today the Rio Grande runs southwest of its nineteenth century path and serves as an international boundary between the United States and Mexico. From 1598 to 1829, San Elizario, Socorro, and Ysleta were located south of the river but after a series of major floods the main channel of the Rio Grande shifted. By 1852 it was close to its present location,³³ placing San Elizario, Socorro, and Ysleta northeast of the river and dividing the lands of Mission Senecú. Much of Mission Senecú was in today's Ciudad Juárez, west of the 6300 block of Alameda Avenue in El Paso. To follow the path of the Camino Real, modern travelers need to continue north on Alameda Avenue toward the Chamizal National Memorial, cross the Bridge of the Americas, and take Avenida de las Americas to Avenida 16 de Septiembre.³⁴

Originally founded south of present-day San Antonio, New Mexico in the late 1620s, Mision San Antonio de Senecú de los Piroas was also abandoned and re-established at El Paso after the Pueblo Revolt.³⁵ Flooding changed the boundaries of Mission Senecú several times during the colonial era and the remains of the earliest churches and settlements have yet to be discovered. There is an early twentieth century church located in the Valle de Senecú district that is most likely near the spot of the original colonial churches. An old acequia passes nearby. Early settlements were probably in the area of the golf course and the Juárez campus of the Monterrey Technological Institute. Unlike the lower valley mission settlements, Senecú has been absorbed by the growth of Ciudad Juárez and has lost its identity as a separate community.³⁶

From Senecú, travelers continued west into today's San Lorenzo district, probably close to

Some of the farmlands around the mission church have been producing goods for more than three hundred years. Although Ysleta has grown and prospered during the late twentieth century, the area around the mission church continues to serve as the center of activity for the community.

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the path of Tomas Fernandez Boulevard. About two and one half miles away they entered the Real de San Lorenzo, established for the exiled New Mexican government following the Pueblo Revolt. While many of the early residents were Spanish, by the eighteenth century San Lorenzo had Tiwa, Suma, and Piro Indians who were overseen by Franciscan missionaries. When El Paso historian Cleofas Calleros visited San Lorenzo in 1952 he described it as a "quaint little town" outside of the city. Like Senecú, San Lorenzo has been absorbed into Ciudad Juárez. Today, a late nineteenth century church is located in San Lorenzo and may be close to the site of the original mission church. From here, the Camino Real probably continued west along the path of today's Camino Viejo a San Lorenzo and Avenida Alanis. After Avenida Lopez Mateos, it continued through the PRONAF area, along Paseo de la Republica, and Avenida 16 de Septiembre. It entered El Paso del Norte and led to the Guadalupe Mission, about four miles away.³⁷

This closely approximates the path of the original Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, opened by the Oñate expedition in 1598 and followed by countless missionaries, soldiers, traders, caravans, settlers, Indians, and slaves into the nineteenth century. The trail through Cantarrecio and along the river avoided the worst of the sand dunes, took travelers through missions, haciendas, pueblos, and a presidio, and brought them to the Guadalupe Mission in the heart of El Paso del Norte. Despite adding a few days to the journey, heavy wagons carrying cargo, always chose this "Mission Trail." The route survived well into the mid-twentieth century as automobiles traveled on the Cantarrecio road, bypassed the sand dunes, and followed the lower bank of the Rio Grande along today's Chihuahua Highway 2 into Ciudad Juárez. The Cantarrecio route remained a vital transportation corridor long after the Camino Real was severed and many local roads and highways on both sides of the border continue to make use of its more than four hundred-year-old path.

GEORGE D. TOROK is a native of Buffalo, New York and completed his Ph.D. in history at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1991. He currently lives with his wife Blanca in El Paso, Texas and teaches history at El Paso Community College. Torok has written many works on regional history over the years, including *A Guide to Historic Coal Towns of the Big Sandy River Valley* (2003). He has produced video and photographic records of historic sites in New York, Kentucky, West Virginia and throughout the American Southwest. Research and documentation for this project was conducted under a 2004 El Paso Community College Faculty Professional Leave with assistance from a 2002-2004 National Endowment for the Humanities Grant. Torok also served as founding president of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association (CARTA) and has begun work on a book about this great historic trail.

ENDNOTES

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BOOK REVIEW

Howard McCord, Walking to Extremes in Iceland and New Mexico*

In this aptly titled book, Howard McCord takes the reader on walks through two culturally and geographically separate lands: Iceland and New Mexico, places that would not seem to share many similarities. But what they do share are the extremes of the landscape and the author's passion for experiencing them. The first part of the book narrates his walk across Iceland, through the desolate, beautiful setting of lava plains, bisected occasionally with canyons and rivers. His narration is mostly introspective; wonderful passages about walking in barren surroundings: "A desert's power is unalterable emptiness.... It is the most simple nowhere you can achieve by walking."

A walk across the Jornada del Muerto (Journey of the Dead One) in 1987 is the primary focus of the second half of the book. This ninety mile stretch of pretty much waterless desert in south central New Mexico is one of the most pristine, austere and isolated segments of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro along its entire 1,600 mile length from Mexico City to Santa Fe. Don't look for insights into the history of El Camino Real because they are not there, nor is it a goal of the book to present this history. The author uses aspects of the Camino's lore as a backdrop to his personal narrative about walking in extreme surroundings. "The Jornada del Muerto is a place where you feel you could walk a thousand miles and still be in the same place." McCord and his companion walked the "Jornada" in the heat of the summer with water being the biggest weight of their forty-pound packs: "Water is the only source of order.... There is nothing like the consideration of water to straighten one's path." I have also walked the ninety miles of the Jornada del Muerto. When people would be surprised to learn that I had done such an unusual walk, I would have to remind them, and myself, that thousands of people have done the same "jornada" over the centuries, many of them without the luxury of the water and food that I had. As

McCord relates: "It seemed strange to walk in such an empty place and yet feel throngs about me."

McCord has spent a lifetime working, walking, and exploring places in Asia, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere. In 1953 he began publishing poetry while serving in the navy. Since then he has written over thirty books and taught for forty-three years as a professor. He received a Fulbright award to do work in India and southeast Asia and two fellowships from the National Endowment of the Arts. But his landscape roots have always been Southwestern, having grown up in the El Paso area, spending many days hiking in the Hueco, Guadalupe, and Organ Mountains. A return hiking trip to the Organ Mountains in the 1980s is told in a short chapter at the end of the book.

McCord's observations are what many of us have sensed and experienced while walking in isolated areas, but have never been able to put into words in the masterful way McCord does. His observations and introspections are the anchor of the book: "A lifetime of meditation has led me to believe that there is little that is better to do in this world, or more pleasurable, than to walk unfrequented places."

If you want to get a first-hand sense of the book, Google Howard McCord and click on his YouTube - Walking to Extremes. I highly recommend this publication for those of you who appreciate the desert and walking, and especially for those of you who seek the vicarious experience of trekking along isolated stretches of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. This wonderful book was a real delight to read.

Michael Romero Taylor
La Cienega, New Mexico

* Howard McCord, *Walking to Extremes in Iceland and New Mexico*. Kingston NY: McPherson & Company, 2008. 144 pp., paper, \$15.00. ISBN 978-0-929701-86-8.

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27. Hendricks and Timmons, *San Elizario*, 11-12.; Peterson, Graves, and Hill, eds., *San Elizario Plaza*, 31, 35; Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, inside cover.
28. Charles L. Sonnichsen, *Pass of the North: Four Centuries on the Rio Grande* (2 vols. El Paso, TX 1968-80), I, 75; (El Paso) *Herald-Post*, Oct. 13, 1979; Peterson, Graves, and Hill, ed., *San Elizario Plaza*, 31.
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36. Conkling and Conkling, *Butterfield Overland Mail*, II, 56; (El Paso, TX) *Times*, June 15, 1952; Gerald, "Introduction to Missions," 53, 54.
37. Timmons, *El Paso*, 18, 19; Gerald, "Introduction to Missions, 54; Cleofas Calleros, "San Lorenzo Mission In Mexico First Erected North of River," *El Paso Times*, May 25, 1952; Author conversation with John A. Peterson, April 1999. Peterson speculates that the original settlement may have been near the end of Viejo Calle de San Lorenzo, on the grounds of a nearby housing project.

Summary of 17 January 2009 CARTA Board of Directors Meeting

President Pat Beckett announced that he signed and returned the Programmatic Agreement among the Concurring Parties regarding the Spaceport America Project to the FAA.

Secretary Jean Fulton summarized a variety of recently received publications relevant to CARTA, including: The Final FAA Spaceport America EIS and related documents; the recently published Groundwork Doña Ana Feasibility and Strategic Plan that recommends active partnerships among Cornerstones Community Partnerships, Groundwork Doña Ana, CARTA and others; and the Draft "Vision 2040" comprehensive planning study that features CARTA's accomplishments to date (Available on-line at:

<http://www.vision2040.nmsu.edu>). Jean offered to make copies of these documents available to members upon request.

International Liaison Officer Ben Brown informed the Board that he is working to help sponsor (either through funding, event planning, or both) a Spanish Colonial exhibit that he and Pat saw and were impressed with in Seville. Pat explained that the exhibit includes a remarkable display of original documents, journals, maps, and period artifacts. The Palace of the Governors is also interested in bringing the exhibit to Santa Fe. Sarah asked Ben and Pat to prepare a written request for 2011 BLM funding to support the exhibit; both BLM and NPS will need a good description of what the exhibit entails.

Ben summarized progress to date on arranging partnerships and research related to Oñate's family hacienda (Panuco). Sarah Schlanger (BLM) has written a funding request for the Panuco landscape documentation. She and Ben will work together to sort through the current political situation and to identify potential partners.

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INTRODUCING CARTA'S FIRST EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

President Patrick Lucero Beckett in his comments at the front of this issue of CHRONICLES expressed his great satisfaction that CARTA now has an Executive Director - even though, for the present, only part-time - and that it is Jean Fulton. She is well known and much appreciated by him and by many members for her work, for nearly four years, as Secretary. In this role she will be missed. (Any volunteers?) But she is moving on to greater responsibilities now, to some extent as the public face of CARTA. She deserves to be better known to all our members and friends.

Jean's summary résumé reveals nothing of her earliest years on the East Coast, but informs us of her having earned two B.A. degrees at two universities with three majors. An over-achiever early on! The first B.A. was earned (Magna cum Laude) at West Virginia University with majors in English and Anthropology; the second at the University of Mary Washington in 1993 with the major of historic preservation. She said, "I left my first job as a technical writer for the Navy (Alexandria, VA) to become a finish carpenter in Charlottesville, VA. (What else does one do with an English degree?) For nearly ten years, I developed my passion for restoring historic buildings from the handle end of a hammer, and then went off to get my degree in historic preservation."

Eschewing the East at this time (The Lincoln National Forest Heritage Division staff brought her out to La Luz, NM in 1991 to write National Register Nominations and to do cultural resource clearance surveys for them), she is recorded to have attended an Adobe Preservation Workshop in Lincoln, New Mexico, and soon afterwards a historic preservation conference in Montana. Other activities recorded in the 1990s have her at Holloman Air Force Base and Fort Selden, in New Mexico, and in the early 2000s at Casas Grandes, Mata Ortiz and at Chihuahua City and Zacatecas, Mexico. Meanwhile she obtained her Master of Arts degree from New Mexico State University's Public History program, in 2000. Her studies in this outstanding program included "archival theory and practice, oral history, recent American history and the American West, civil rights, labor history, racist thinking, heritage tourism, and the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920," she states.

It was in this millennial year of 2000 that she entered the employ of Cornerstones Community Partnerships, headquartered in Santa Fe, New Mexico. This work took her in many directions from her residence in Las Cruces.

Preparing historic structure reports and conditions assessments and preservation plans, she has done highly regarded reporting in La Mesilla, Isleta Pueblo, Bernalillo, Las Cruces and Los Lunas, New Mexico; and also, in Texas, at San Elizario, Socorro and Marfa. This broad background in terms of borderlands geography and the rich array of studies will serve her and CARTA well in her new assignment as Executive Director. Add to it a factor that impressed the selection committee notably, namely, her strong passion for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and all things connected with it.

There is more, much more, that could be added, but this is surely enough to substantiate President Beckett's pleasure with her coming on board. Welcome!



Jean Fulton, CARTA Executive Director
And Bob

12th Conference on National Scenic & Historic Trails

"Gearing up for the Decade for the National Trails: Outreach, Protection and Capacity"

July 12-15, 2009 - Missoula, Montana

Hosted by: Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

Assisted by: Nez Perce Trail Foundation, Continental Divide Trail Alliance

Join us in the shadow of the Bitterroot Mountains to launch the "Decade for the National Trails." Workshops will elaborate ways we will accomplish the three goals we've set for the National Trails Decade:

Expanding Outreach about the National Trails to all Americans;

Protecting the natural and cultural resources and completing the on-the-ground trails; and

Increasing the Capacity of public agencies and non-profit organizations to sustain the trails and their resources.

NEW FEATURES FOR THIS CONFERENCE INCLUDE:

Discussion session for non-profit organization staff members to share their challenges, concerns, obstacles and successes and learn from one another;

Focus on involving younger people in our scenic and historic trails; and

A community service project to leave the place we visit a little better than we found it.

JULY 11 SATURDAY – PNTS Board and Leadership Council Meetings and Capacity Building Training

JULY 12 SUNDAY – All day at Travelers' Rest State Park

Conduct a Community Service Project

Travelers' Rest volunteers and staff will host a half-day of walking tours and workshops related to our conference theme

Barbecue

Evening speaker on archaeology at Travelers' Rest

JULY 13 MONDAY

Plenary Session and Workshops, Non-profit and agency staff meetings

Bart Smith will present his "Walking Down the Dream" journey along all eight National Scenic Trails

Oregon-California Trails Association will present a sneak preview of its film "In Pursuit of a Dream," which follows a wagon train of young people headed to Oregon

JULY 14 TUESDAY

Historic and Scenic Trails Caucus meetings

Workshops and Closing Plenary Session

Awards banquet, raffle and auction

More information at
http://www.nationaltrailspartnership.org/09_NTS_conference.asp

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*Twelfth Conference on National Scenic and Historical Trails**(Continued from page 18)***JULY 15 WEDNESDAY**

All-day field trips include presentations and discussions related to the three workshop tracks

Big Hole Valley: Visit the Lee Metcalf Wildlife Reserve and Chief Joseph Pass where Lewis and Clark, Nez Perce and Continental Divide trails converge. Spend several hours at the Big Hole Battlefield.

Blackfoot River: Learn the history of the “Road to the Buffalo” and discuss cooperative conservation measures in the valley with leaders of the “Blackfoot Challenge” on this whitewater float trip

Lolo Trail: Join archaeologists and trail experts for a day of hiking and exploration of the routes followed by Lewis and Clark in 1805 and Chief Joseph in 1877. Discuss what it takes to balance recreational needs with cultural preservation and how to integrate the interpretation of two historic trails on the same route.

JULY 16-18 – Post-convention field trips

Big Hole Valley (planned by the Continental Divide Trail Alliance and US Forest Service)

Upper Missouri River float trip (planned by the Bureau of Land Management)

Make your reservations at the Holiday Inn Downtown by e-mailing reservations@himissoula.com or by calling 800-399-0408. Use group code NSH to receive our group rates of \$106 per night. The cut-off date is 6/18/09.

Estimated Conference costs: Registration \$75 (late fee is \$125); Food and activities \$290; All-day field trips \$50 to \$75; watch for registration information in April.

*(President's Message**Continued from page 2)*

places connected with the trail during its centuries of usage. We know that lots of you members have special interests in particular aspects of El Camino's remarkable history! For more information call Pat Beckett at (575) 644-0868 or e-mail at pat@coasbooks.com.

CARTA board members (and other CARTA members) remember my challenge at last year's annual meeting - **YOU NEED TO GET AT LEAST ONE NEW CARTA MEMBER!!!**

There will be a prize for the member who gets the most members and a special roast for those board members who do not bring in at least one new member.

Hasta,

Patrick Lucero Beckett
President, CARTA

*Mensaje del Presidente**(Continued from page 2)*

correo electrónico a Pat Beckett (575) 644-0868 o pat@coasbooks.com

Miembros del Consejo de CARTA (y otros miembros de CARTA): Recuerden el reto que les hice durante la asamblea anual del año pasado: **¡NECESITAN TRAER CUANDO MENOS A UN NUEVO MIEMBRO DE CARTA!**

Habrà un premio para el miembro que consiga el mayor número de miembros y una “quemada” especial para aquellos miembros del Consejo que no traigan cuando menos a un nuevo miembro.

Hasta pronto.

Patrick Lucero Beckett
Presidente, CARTA

BEN AND JEAN REPRESENT CARTA AT NATIONAL TRAILS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON DC, February 20-23, 2009

Jean Fulton, Executive Director, and Ben Brown, International Liaison Officer

The Partnership for the National Trails System (PNTS) convenes every February to brainstorm and strategize, to share success stories, and to educate those present on how best to appeal to federal legislators on behalf of the trails system. The National Trails System is the network of scenic, historic (including our beloved Camino Real de Tierra Adentro) and recreation trails created by the National Trails System Act of 1968. PNTS was established in 1995 to facilitate interaction and cooperation among involved private groups and government agencies.

On Friday, February 20, Jean and Ben set out for this event. Ben hadn't visited Washington in more than twenty years and was looking forward to seeing how it had changed and learning more of the importance of the PNTS.

The flight to Atlanta went well. Boarding the flight to Washington, Ben discovered that he was seated next to Jere Krakow, recently retired Director of the National Historic Trails for the National Park Service. Quite a surprise! They immediately chatted about CARTA and the needs of El Camino Real. At the Washington hotel everybody began to greet Jere, and Jean and Ben were introduced to the leadership of trails from coast to coast. Jere was definitely the man of the moment! After socializing the CARTA duo enjoyed dinner with Sarah Schlanger (BLM, Santa Fe, NM) at an Ethiopian restaurant.

Saturday was filled with sessions that gave Ben and Jean the opportunity to see not only how the PNTS works but also that we are not out there alone.

Many, if not all, trail groups suffer from the same challenges as CARTA – grandiose goals, lack of funds, need to expand membership, etc. And there are successes such as enthusiasm from members and a growing

commitment by local authorities to support trail work. There was lots of discussion on how to make better use of time and money. (Ben wonders if that's not a contradiction!)

The time was not all spent glued to chairs in enthralling committee sessions – forgive a hint of sarcasm (ed.). Dinner Saturday for our sophisticated duo was at a Malaysian restaurant. And Ben played hooky briefly to see the Leon Trousset painting of “Old Mesilla Plaza,” so strong a favorite of Mike Taylor. Ben wrote: “It is even better than I expected! You can see the details of the Organ Mountains and San Albinos. While it is not signed, the clouds, the people, the flags, the signs over the doorways, and the animals all leave little doubt as to the artist.”

Sunday morning brought more discussions on how to improve the effectiveness of trail organizations, the role of leadership, the delegation of responsibility, and also the importance of cooperation with other organizations with related objectives. One of the most interesting presentations was by a television producer from the PBS channel in St. Louis, Missouri. He wants to produce a 13- (or maybe 26-) part series on the national trails. Each program is to highlight one trail. Re-enactors will be needed (CARTA has them! at Fort Selden in southern New Mexico, for instance, and the Juan de Oñate procession in Española). Think also of sights (vast expanses of the Jornada del Muerto, Pueblo architecture of the upper Río Grande, etc.), traditions (Pueblo ceramics, Roman Catholic faith, tortillas, chile, etc.), and other features. Our Camino Real has it all!

Ben Brown has offered to be CARTA's point of contact. Anyone willing to serve on a new CARTA committee designed to assist the filmmakers is encouraged to contact Jean at

(Continued on page 21)

National Trails Conference*(Continued from page 20)*

jeanfulton@earthlink.net, or by calling her at 575.528.8267.

On Monday and Tuesday PNTS scheduled a number of preparatory meetings to help the various representatives of the many trails present to prepare for "Hiking the Hill." In this annual event, in which CARTA did not participate this year, PNTS folks make appointments with (or "cold calls" on) senators, members of Congress, and other federal officials to plug the importance of trails in their respective jurisdictions, support appropriations for NPS, BLM, US Forest Service, etc., etc. Ben commented pointedly: "It would have been very productive to have attended these meetings and assisted in the ensuing process. I recommend that whoever goes to the PNTS meetings in 2010 should stay for the whole week and lobby like they've never lobbied before."

Decades Committee

Jere Krakow, ex-Director of the National Historic Trails for the National Park Service, chairs the "Decades Committee" that is already planning the 50th anniversary of the creation of the trails system in 2018. In the meetings he outlined long-term goals including interpretation, preservation, acquisition, trail-building, maintenance, resource stewardship, organization capacity building, marketing, and fundraising – all with an eye toward improving and celebrating the trails system. Jean has offered to serve on this committee so that CARTA can be on the forefront in helping achieve its goals.

Board Meeting Summary*(Continued from page 16)*

Joy Poole accepted Pat's request for her to chair a nominating committee to identify candidates for the 2010 Board members and all of the officers.

Both BLM and NPS will need new cooperative agreements to be put in place this summer. The existing agreements are due to expire.

PNTS Conference in Missoula, Montana (July 2009)**Announcing a thrilling summer opportunity for all trail enthusiasts!**

Organized by the Partnership for the National Trails System, hosted by the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, with assistance from the Nez Perce Trail Foundation and the Continental Divide Trail Alliance; the 12th Conference on National Scenic & Historic Trails will convene in Missoula, Montana, July 12-15, 2009. Titled, "Gearing up for the Decade for the National Trails: Outreach, Protection and Capacity," the setting, the sessions, and the sightseeing promise to be most memorable. All-day guided field trips to Lolo Pass, Big Hole Valley and Lolo Trail have been arranged especially for conference participants. For more information, please see page 18 or visit the conference website at: http://www.nationaltrailspartnership.org/09_NTS_conference.asp.

Marching Orders

In addition to the foregoing announcements and initiatives, each conference participant was given a "To Do" list to improve their respective trails and to assist the national partnership. Jean is in the process of compiling these short- and long-term goals into a "road map" to help CARTA planning in coming years. She will present these goals and objectives in draft form at the May 2009 Board meeting in Santa Fe. Afterwards, a revised version incorporating suggestions and recommendations will be posted on the CARTA website, published in the following issue of *Chronicles*, or perhaps mailed to members for greatest effect.

(Continued on page 31)

APACHE RAID ON THE LUCERO WAGON TRAIN

Patrick Lucero Beckett

In an earlier issue of "Chronicles of the Trail" (Vol. 2, No.1) I wrote on "Juan Lucero's Exploits on the Jornada del Muerto and its Connecting Roads," and promised a follow-up article on one of the Apache attacks on a Lucero wagon train.

The Luceros, descendants of Pedro Lucero de Godoy of northern New Mexico, freighted along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, also known as the Chihuahua trail, going into Mexico and also along the Santa Fe Trail to Kansas City and St. Louis from the Mesilla valley before the railroad came. The wagon trains going north and returning would have 300 men, 150 wagons and nearly two thousand animals (oxen, mules and horses) to pull and support the wagon train. From the large Lucero family, those who had wagons and oxen would join up with other Mesilla Valley merchants and individuals and would be gone from April to September on their trips to Missouri. These families also had farm and ranching interests in the valley that had to be worked by family members during their absence.

When the A. T. & S. F. railroad finished building south from Albuquerque through the Jornada del Muerto beside the old Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, and arrived in El Paso in 1881, it meant the death of wagon train freighting on the Camino Real in southern New Mexico. However many families and individuals continued to earn a living wagon freighting to and from railheads to smaller towns and mining camps. One such family was the Luceros from Doña Ana County.

When the railroad reached Las Cruces in April of 1881, the Lucero family had to make a decision as to whether or not to continue freighting. They decided that there were still profits to be made on local runs. They decided that the route from Clifton, Arizona, to the Lordsburg, New Mexico railhead would yield profits for the Lucero families. The Lucero brothers involved were Bárbaro, Concepción, Juan, Román and their brother-in-law, Máximo Rico. Bárbaro's oldest son, Francisco, was put in charge of the wagon train; none of the Lucero owners were actively involved. They ran this route for about a year before the train was ambushed.

The best record of the Apache attack was related to the newspaper, the "Rio Grande Farmer," in 1927 by then sheriff of Dona Aña County, José R. Lucero, brother of the wagon master and cousin to the lone survivor of the massacre - Santa Rosa Rico. José was told of the incident by his older brother, Francisco, on his death bed and by his cousin, the lone survivor, Santa Rosa Rico. Here is the newspaper account:

Sheriff Lucero Tells of Indian Fight When his Brother Was Killed

The stories of the old days in Las Cruces which have been running in the Farmer for the past few weeks have proven popular with people who lived here in those days and have brought to light a number of interesting stories of happenings that do not appear in the papers. One of the most interesting was told by Sheriff Jose Lucero of the killing of his oldest brother by the Indians in May 1882, when a band of Indians swooped down on a freight train of sixteen wagons and killed all the drivers but two. The story as told by Mr. Lucero follows:

"My father, Barbaro Lucero, used to have a freight train in those days and when the railroad was built into Las Cruces they moved over to Clifton and operated between Clifton and Lordsburg and my oldest brother, Francisco, was put in charge of the teams and men. They had fourteen or sixteen wagons and teams of oxen, they used oxen for freighting in those days, and there was usually one or two horses for the riders who watched out for Indians."

(Continued on page 23)

*Lucero Wagon Train**(Continued from page 22)*

“It was on the fifteenth of May, 1882, that the Indians made the raid when my brother was killed. I remember that my father and I had gone out to plant corn on what is now the Quesenberry farm, but then owned by my father, and a boy brought the message out to the field, telling us that the wagon train had been attacked by the Indians and everyone but Santa Rosa Rico and another man, I don’t remember his name, and my brother were killed. When we got up there we found my brother was not dead but he died about eighteen days later. The wagons and what freight they did not steal had been burned and the oxen scattered. We recovered a few but most of them we never found.”

“I don’t know how many Indians were in the band but the story as my brother and Santa Rosa told it, was that about 4 o’clock in the afternoon of the day before the attack, they broke a wheel and had to stop to fix it and while they were fixing the wheel a boy rode up and told them the Indians were on a raid and were headed in that direction and everyone was warned to gather at a certain farm house for mutual protection. When they had the wheel finished, my brother said they had better go on to the farm house for the night but one of the men objected. He said they were sixteen men and all heavily armed and he would be ashamed to seek protection and he thought they were equal to any band of Indians that were liable to come and as most of the men were older than Francisco, he was only twenty-one, he said nothing more, but one man spoke up and said he thought they ought to go on and when he found out the others wouldn’t go he said if he saw anything suspicious that he was going to run and he wouldn’t stop to give the alarm either. They arranged their wagons in a circle for camp and went to bed and early the next morning, before daylight, began to get ready to move on. They always had one or two horses for the look-out to ride and they had wandered off during the night and Santa Rosa went out to look for them while Francisco made the fire and got breakfast. My brother was fixing the fire and an Indian came out of the mesquite bushes with a rifle on his arm, and spoke to my brother. Said he was a good Indian and was friendly but all the time he was talking he was maneuvering to get my brother separated from the others and his gun and suddenly drew his gun and shot. The shot hit Francisco in the leg below the knee but knocked him down. The other men immediately grabbed their guns but before they could shoot the Indian ran back into the bush and the Indians came running out of the bushes from every direction. My brother tried to get up and get his gun and another Indian came up and shot him through the groin, shattering the hip bone and of course he could not get up, but was trying to roll over to where his gun lay when another Indian came up and picked up an ax and struck him on top the head, cutting a gash about four inches long in the scalp but did not break the skull. Francisco was unconscious then and they left him for dead, and he knew nothing more about what happened for he did not come to until after they found him and carried him away. All the other men that were with him were killed except the man who said he would run away and he was never seen again, so we never knew if he escaped or the Indians caught him in the brush and killed him.”

“Santa Rosa had tracked the horse quite a ways from the camp down near the river and was leading him back when the shooting started and he said as he was trying to get on the horse, he was excited and trying to get away, and some Indians came running out of the brush and began shooting at him. He kept the horse between him and the Indians until he got near some brush and he turned the horse loose and ran in the brush where he emptied his six shooter at them. He was then about three quarters of a mile from a farm house so he worked his way over there but found it barricaded, but finally found a back door that was unlocked and got into the empty room. He said there were several men, some women and children in the barricaded rooms but they wouldn’t take chance to let him inside. He said there was a perfect stream of Indians went past the house while

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Lucero Wagon Train

(Continued from page 23)

he was there. After the danger was over he and the men went to where my brothers train was camped and took care of my brother and then got word to my father. Francisco became conscious and the wound in his head was healing but he died eighteen days later from the wound in the groin. The shock and grief over my brother's death caused my mother to lose her mind for about a year, in fact she was never the same after that."

Santa Rosa Rico, the only survivor of that attack died May 30, 1926. He was city marshal of Las Cruces for a number of Years prior to the last election, in April, 1926, when the new town board appointed marshal Roan in his place and was one of the best known characters of the town. Almost everyone knew Santa Rosa but very few knew his stirring adventures with Indians in the early days. (Rio Grande Farmer 8/18/1927)

Fifteen years after the wagon train attack Bárbaro tried to get recompense from the federal government for the wagon train losses as the Federal government was responsible for the Apaches and their containment. The following is a transcript as recorded before a Notary Public in Doña Ana County:

BARBARO LUCERO VERSUS THE UNITED STATES AND CHIRICAHUA APACHE INDIANS

On April 14th, 1897, filed a Deposition No. 3158 before A. L. Christy, a Notary Public for the Territory of New Mexico and County of Dona Ana, for retribution for property lost on an Apache Indian raid in 1882. It is also the skirmish in which his oldest son Francisco Lucero, the wagon master, was killed.

Bárbaro had enlisted his nephew Santa Rosa Rico, Manuel Lopez, Roman Lucero and Francisco Rel, to be sworn in as witnesses in the case.

The following is the testimony of Santa Rosa Rico:

Q. What is your name, age, residence and occupation, and what relation, if any, are you to the claimant in this case?

A. My name is Santa Rosa Rico; my residence is Las Cruces, Dona Ana County, New Mexico; my age is about 31 years; I am not quite certain as to my age. I am a laborer and a farmer. I am related to Don Barbaro Lucero; he is my uncle.

By Judge S. B. Newcomb, Attorney for claimant:

Q. Where were you in the month of April, 1882?

A. I was in the Territory of Arizona freighting between Lordsburg and Clifton.

Q. Whose freighting outfit was it?

A. The freight teams belonged to four different parties, three brothers and a brother-in-law; Barbaro Lucero was one of them, Concepcion Lucero was the other, Juan Lucero was another one, Roman Lucero was another of the owners; they were the four brothers, and the other owner Maximo Rico; They were the owners of the teams.

Q. State whether or not you had any difficulty with the Indians during the time you were freighting there?

(Continued on page 25)

Lucero Wagon Train*(Continued from page 24)*

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Now go on in your own way and state fully what occurred and when and where it occurred.

A. We were attacked by the Indians on the Gila River just as we were about to leave the river going to Clifton. It was on the 22nd day of April about six o'clock in the morning.

Q. April of which year?

A. April of 1882.

Q. Go ahead and tell what the Indians did?

A. We were in camp; the people were getting ready to cook breakfast when we were attacked by the Indians; we did not hear them as they were coming; the first we knew of them they shot at us; I was about 150 yards away from the camp and was leading my horse going towards the wagons. I heard the shots, I looked up and saw the Indians; I saw our men, some of them fell dead and others run around; one of the Indians came up close to me at a distance of about 25 yards and he shot at me with a rifle, and he stopped me from going to the teams; then I turned back and took the road; four Indians came after me and they nearly came up with me and began to shoot at me and tried to catch me, but I kept on running going toward the ranch; that ranch was about a mile and a quarter from that place; I kept on running away from the Indians; they wanted to catch me; before I got to the ranch three more Indians came up, and I fell in an arroyo; and there I had to leave my horse; I could not cross the arroyo with the horse; I was very close to the ranch at that time and kept on going along the arroyo and the Indians were still firing at me. I went into the corral and I kept on going until I got to the house, and then I went inside of the house on the ranch; the Indians then left me and went away.

Q. Do you know to what band or tribe the Indians making this attack belonged?

A. As I was then informed, they were Indians under Geronimo, belonging to the San Carlos Reservation.

Q. Do you know anything about that of your own knowledge?

A. Judging from the direction from whence they came, yes sir.



The Man on the left is Santa Rosa Rico, the lone survivor of the ambushed wagon train. He served in a number of law enforcement positions: NM Mounted Patrol, Sheriff's Deputy, Las Cruces Deputy Constable, and Town Marshal until 1926. The man on the right is Frank C. Brito, Las Cruces Town Constable. Frank was the last surviving member of Roosevelt's Rough Riders; he died in 1973.

Photo, early 1920s, courtesy of Doña Ana Sheriff's Museum.

(Continued on page 26)

Lucero Wagon Train

(Continued from page 25)

Q. From what direction did they come?

A. They were coming from the San Carlos.

Q. How long after the attack on the wagon train before you returned to the train?

A. About an hour or an hour and a half afterwards. That is, in about that time the Indians went by the place where I was.

Q. After the Indians went by the place where you were you returned to the wagon train did you?

A. Yes sir, the owner of the ranch and myself went back to the wagon train.

Q. State what you found when you returned to the wagon train?

A. When we got back there we found five dead bodies, and one was missing, Vicente Parra escaped; he was not found there.

Q. In what condition did you find the property when you returned there?

A. The wagons were destroyed; the wagon covers had been taken off the wagons, and of course the freight that we had was coal; some of the wagons they had opened the gates of the wagons and some of the coal had been raked off and everything in the shape of tools was scattered all around. The oxen were all gone.

Q. How many wagons did Barbaro Lucero have in the outfit?

A. Two wagons.

Q. How many oxen did Don Barbaro Lucero have in the outfit?

A. I am not quite sure, but I think five yoke of oxen to one wagon and four to the other.

Q. Did Don Barbaro have any other property in that outfit that belonged exclusively to himself?

A. No, that is all.

Q. Do you know anything about any money belonging to the owners of the freighting outfit?

A. Yes sir.

Q. State what you know about it?

A. His son had \$500.00 in cash, Francisco Lucero. Francisco Lucero, who was killed there, had \$500.00 in cash belonging to the different owners of the different teams.

Q. Do you know became of the money?

A. It disappeared; the trunk was broken.

Q. Was the money there before the Indians attacked it?

A. Yes sir.

Q. And after the attack you could not find it?

A. After the attack we did not find any of the money, and we could not find his clothes either.

(Continued on page 27)

Lucero Wagon Train

(Continued from page 26)

Q. Do you know anything about the rifles or pistols in the outfit?

A. Yes sir, they were all carried away.

Q. Do you know whether any of those rifles or pistols belonged to Barbaro Lucero?

A. His teamsters had their rifles and pistols belonging to him.

Q. How many rifles and pistols belong to Don Barbaro were taken away by the Indians?

A. As I understand it, he had two rifles and one pistol, but if he had any more I did not know it.

Q. Do you know where Vicente Parra is now?

A. No sir, I never saw him again.

Q. You do not know whether he is living or dead?

A. No sir.

Q. Now all of this property in which you have testified in regard to being carried away and destroyed was carried away and destroyed by these Indians making the attack there was it?

A. Yes sir.

Q. State whether or not these Indians had any just cause or provocation of making this attack, either from those other persons in your party or from their agent?

A. No sir.

[End of Santa Rosa Rico's testimony.]

Why was the Lucero Wagon train carrying coal? Coal was a very desired commodity in southern New Mexico and southeastern Arizona in the 1880's. The expanding population into this region quickly used up the available wood for building, heating and cooking. Areas around Silver City and Clifton were denuded of forest and even scrub brush. Some towns like Las Cruces did not even have enough wood to build caskets. Local newspapers pleaded with anyone coming to town in wagons to bring firewood. After the trains arrived in 1881, timber, bricks and coal were brought in from other parts of the country. As rail lines did not go into some of the smaller towns and mining camps for a number of years, wagon freighting was for a short time a profitable business.

According to both Jose R. Lucero's story and his cousin, Santa Rosa Rico's testimony nothing was ever heard of Vicente Parra again. He had vowed the night before when he found out they were not going to the farm house he would run and not give alarm if he saw something.

Whether he was killed away from camp or succeeded in getting away will never be known for sure. If he died because of the raid, Santa Rosa Rico was the lone survivor; if not then there were two survivors.

As far as the Bárbaro Lucero's claim against the government went, the author is still pursuing that question.

Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War*

Brian DeLay

History News Network Op-Ed Submission

January 29, 2009

A hot and humid summer day in St. Louis, 1847. Church bells pealing, flags lolling in the heavy summer air, the city had assembled to toast the arrival of Capt. Alexander Doniphan and his band of Missouri volunteers from the Mexican War. A hush came over the massive crowd as Senator Thomas Hart Benton, the keynote speaker, took to the stage. The senator invoked the remarkable triumphs of the “American Xenophon” and his hardscrabble men. Benton’s gravely voice boomed as he recounted the bloodless subjection of New Mexico; the swift and unaccountably lopsided conquest of Chihuahua; and the daring march east to rendezvous with General Zachary Taylor and his army.

The senator told these familiar stories with relish. But he devoted far more time to another story, one that many in the audience would have known but that we have since forgotten. In May of 1847, a detachment of Doniphan’s men led by Captain John Reid rode into the town of Parras in the Mexican state of Coahuila and found that it had just been attacked by Comanche Indians. Moved to pity by the townspeople’s lament, Reid and his soldiers pursued the raiders, killing scores and redeeming several hundred horses and eighteen captive women and children.

“Here presents an episode of a novel, extraordinary, and romantic kind,” Benton explained. “Americans chastising savages for plundering people who they themselves came to conquer, and forcing the restitution of captives and of plundered property. A strange story this to tell in Europe, where backwoods character, western character, is not yet completely known.” The senator held up a piece of paper; a letter of thanks from Parras’s grateful mayor praising Reid’s “noble soul,” and his determination to defend “Christians and civilized beings against the rage and brutality of savages.” “This is a trophy of a new kind in war,” Benton informed the jubilant crowd, “won by thirty Missourians, and worthy to be held up to the admiration of Christendom. The long march from Chihuahua to Monterrey, was made more in the character of protection and deliverance than of conquest and invasion.”

For more than 150 years, the tale of the U.S.-Mexican War (1846-1848) has been one about states. Whether Mexicans or Americans, whether writing in the 1840s or the 2000s, historians have crafted narratives of the war with virtually no conceptual space for non-state actors like the men who attacked Parras. Thus while few in Benton’s audience would have puzzled over his preoccupation with Indian raiders, these actors are invisible or at best trivial in the historiographies on the U.S.-Mexican War, Manifest Destiny, U.S. westward expansion, and Mexico’s own early national period.

Drawing upon archives, periodicals, and scholarship from both sides of the Rio Grande, my book *War of a Thousand Deserts* reframes the story of the U.S.-Mexican War by putting Indians at its center.

In miniature, the story goes like this. In the early 1830s Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, Navajos, and others abandoned imperfect but workable peace agreements they had maintained with northern Mexicans (and their Spanish forbears) since the late eighteenth century. Men from these Indian communities began attacking Mexican ranches and towns, killing and capturing the people they found there and stealing or destroying the Mexicans’ animals and property. When able, Mexicans responded by doing the same to their indigenous enemies. The conflicts esca-

(Continued on page 29)

*Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War**(Continued from page 28)*

lated through the 1830s and 1840s, until much of the northern third of Mexico had been transformed into a vast theater of hatred, terror, and staggering loss for independent Indians and Mexicans alike. By the eve of the U.S. invasion these varied feuds spanned all or parts of nine states. They had claimed thousands of Mexican and Indian lives, scarred tens of thousands more, ruined critical sectors of northern Mexico's economy, stalled its demographic growth, and depopulated much of its countryside—turning once-thriving settlements into ghostly “deserts.”

With deserts multiplying throughout the north, the region's beleaguered residents began asking basic questions: Who was a Mexican? what did Mexicans owe local, state, and national governments, and what did these governments owe them? what did Mexicans owe each other? These remained open questions throughout the 1830s and 1840s, and fierce disagreements, even armed rebellions, failed to settle them. The violence ate away at fragile connections binding Mexicans to one another at local, state, regional, and national levels, and, by 1846, northerners found themselves divided, exhausted, and embittered just in time to face another, very different kind of invasion.

Politicians in the United States took a keen interest in Mexico's trouble with independent Indians, and like their Mexican counterparts, they came to use the word *desert* to describe much of northern Mexico. But in American mouths the term became an indictment rather than a lament. When they looked at abandoned homes and villages, Americans saw perversion and opportunity: perversion because Mexican settlers seemed to be reversing the arc of history by falling back before savages, and opportunity because, characteristically, Americans thought they could do better. Throughout the late 1830s and early 1840s, editors, diplomats, congressmen, and administration officials invoked Mexicans' manifest inability to control Indians in order to denigrate Mexico's claims to its northern territories, first in Texas and, later, across the whole of the Mexican north.

These fateful attitudes reached their logical conclusion in 1846 and 1847, when the United States invaded Mexico and exploited the tensions and tragedies of the ongoing Indian war to more easily conquer the north and, critically, to discourage insurgency or guerrilla war. Finally, as with Benton and his “trophy,” the history and ongoing reality of Indian raids allowed the United States to style the dismemberment of Mexico as an act of salvation. Americans had come to conquer not Mexico, but a desert—to defeat barbarians and redeem the Mexican north from what they saw as the Mexicans' neglect.

Indians mattered. Pursuing their own varied and shifting goals, Indian peoples living above the Rio Grande remade the ground upon which Mexico and the United States would compete. Neither the lopsided course of the U.S.-Mexican War, nor the astonishing fact that it ended with Mexico losing half its national territory, make sense in the absence of these nonstate actors. Thus the story of the war has to be something more than a story about states. And it would be insufficient merely to concede that Indian raids affected the international contest. What's called for is a new narrative, one that takes the economic and political context of Indian raiding as seriously as the economic and political contexts of U.S. expansion and the weakness of the Mexican state. This is what *War of a Thousand Deserts* tries to do, devoting equal attention to indigenous polities and the nation-states surrounding them, and presenting an integrated narrative of their colliding histories. A “strange story this to tell,” but one that is at once messier, more contingent, and, I hope, more compelling in the end.

* Reprinted by permission. Mr. DeLay, Assistant Professor of History, University of Colorado, Boulder, is the author of *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (2008). See also <http://www.colorado.edu/history/delay/>

RUTAS DEL CORAZON

The lead article of the Fall 2008 issue of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW (Vol. 83, no. 4) is of very special interest to CARTA members. Written by Enrique R. Lamadrid with striking photographs by Miguel Gandert, both of the University of New Mexico, its full title is "Rutas del Corazon: Pilgrimage and Cultural Commerce on the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro." Lamadrid teaches folklore and directs the UNM Chicano/Hispano/Mexicano Studies program, and is memorable especially as co-curator of the permanent exhibit at the International Camino Real Heritage Center between Socorro and Truth or Consequences, New Mexico. This article focuses on special aspects of cultural history, by contrast with so much literature which has concentrated on genealogy and on military, commercial, religious and technological history. Gandert's extraordinary skill in photography is well illustrated here, and in public exhibits and publications too numerous to recount.

NMHR Editor Durwood Ball has generously given permission for CHRONICLES to reprint the brief appendix to this article, which will give readers an impression of the content of the article, and perhaps a guide for future travel:

Appendix. *Nos vemos en el Camino.*

We close with a brief list of the northern pilgrimages along the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, which unite the people of northern Mexico and the Southwest United States in a common transnational legacy. This partial list is a call for travel and discovery, for a reconnection with Mexico, for future research, collaboration, and celebration:

- To Tepeyac and the Virgen de Guadalupe from Querétaro (and many other points of departure), all year round, but especially for the feast day on 12 December.
- To Cerro la Bufa and la Virgen del Patrocinio in Zacatecas, who is credited for delivering the city from the U.S. Army in 1847
- To Aguascalientes and the feast of Santiago on 25 July and la Asunción de María on 15 August, which features a miraculous appearance of Santiago on a white horse bringing an army of dead Moors back to life.
- To Zacatecas for the feast of the Martyrdom of San Juan Bautista and the phenomenal Morisma de Bracho in the hills east of the city on 29 August. (Morisma battles and celebrations also occur in many other cities and towns of the state of Zacatecas; the feast of San Juan on 24 June and the feast of Santa Cruz on 3 May are examples.)
- To Plateros, Zacatecas, and the Santo Niño de Atocha from all points of the compass, which is the second largest pilgrimage in México all year round, but especially at Christmas.
- To Cuencamé, Durango, and el Señor de Mapimí, from Mapimí and all northern Mexico, on 6 August.
- To El Tizonazo, Durango, and el Señor de Guerreros, a Chichimeca shrine and mission (with no accompanying village) on the first Friday of March.
- To El Zape, Durango, and la Virgen de la Macana, a wounded survivor of Indian rebellions, on the feast of la Virgen de Inmaculada Concepción, 8 December.

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American Soldier Observations*(Continued from page 30)*

- To the San Lorenzo church in Juárez, where refugees of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 settled, with Matachines in procession from the Guadalupe Mission in central Juárez, on New Years Day and 10 August.
- To the Guadalupe Mission at the central plaza of Juárez, from barrios, towns, and villages all over Chihuahua for the feast of Guadalupe on 12 December.
- To Monte Cristo Rey, a monumental Christ figure on a mountain near El Paso where Texas, New Mexico, and Chihuahua meet for Holy Week. (The U.S. Department of Homeland Security has fenced off the routes of this pilgrimage in fear of international terrorism.)
- To Tortugas Mountain near Las Cruces, New Mexico, for the feast of Guadalupe on 12 December.
- To the large Calvario at Cerro de Tomé near Belén, New Mexico, for Holy Week. (In this pilgrimage, people have symbolically reclaimed the lost common lands of the Tomé grant.)
- To Zuñi Pueblo, New Mexico, and a Santo Niño figure rescued from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, probably the oldest santo in New Mexico, all year round.
- To Bernalillo, New Mexico, for the grand fiesta of San Lorenzo, 10 August.
- To the Santuario de Chimayó and Santo Niño de Atocha for the holy earth of el Señor de Esquipulas, all year round but especially for Holy Week.
- To all points of the compass, every town and city, and all the local sacred sites for Holy Week in our polycentric pilgrimage tradition - the center is everywhere.
- And finally back to Santa Fe to more fully understand its fiesta, which in spite of cultural differences and the contradictions of our history, would seek to join us together in celebration.

After visiting primos and hermanos along the Camino Real, then we will finally be truly ready to visit our abuelos in Spain.

Board Meeting Summary*(Continued from page 21)*

Andi Sullivan declared that her group (~18+) in Socorro is in the process of defining trail segments between Engle and La Joya, and that they may request NPS funding for translating the results of their work into Spanish. They are also interested in forming a local chapter of CARTA and will report back to the Board.

Louann Jordan reported that several CARTA members, including Harry Myers, Joy Poole, Sarah Schlanger, Mike Taylor, and Hal Jackson, are already discussing a multi-organizational trail meeting set for 5-7 August 2010 (Santa Fe, NM). The proposed "Meeting of the Trails" will include representatives from several different historic trails and historic Route 66. Planners envision a series of tours, field trips, and casual meetings.

The Board is contemplating an overnight or full weekend retreat to brainstorm, revise the written Strategic Plan, and resolve certain issues prior to the fall elections. Ben suggested that potential committee chairs also be invited. The Retreat should take place after the new Board convenes (possibly in January). Hal Jackson offered to facilitate the January retreat.

Hal Jackson gave a short presentation on his upcoming 5-day tour in May to educate volunteers about the Camino Real by traveling the length of the Trail on this side of the border. He will host 16 volunteers from public sites along the Trail (El Paso, Fort Selden, etc.) in an effort to make each more aware of the Trail in its entirety. He plans on creating an educational DVD for the staff working at each site to use as they see fit. His goal is to create "ambassadors" for the Trail.



CARTA was founded to facilitate goodwill, cooperation and understanding among communities and to promote the education, conservation and protection of the multicultural and multiethnic history and traditions associated with the living trail. We invite you to join us as an ongoing member and to help in writing a new chapter in the history of the trail. Please fill out the form below and mail it, along with your check made out to CARTA (address below).

EL CAMINO REAL DE TIERRA ADENTRO TRAIL ASSOCIATION

- Membership Application -

Annual membership fees (see below) are due by January 1 each year. The fee for new members who join after July 1 each year will be discounted by 50% for the remainder of that year. The full annual fee will be due on January 1 for the following year.

Date: ___/___/___

New ___ / Renewing ___ Member

Name(s): _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip/Postal Code: _____

Phone: Work or Home? (optional) _____ E-Mail: (important) _____

Annual membership fee:

_____ Individual \$25

_____ Joint \$30

_____ Student (Include Copy of ID) \$15

_____ Institutional/Corporate \$100

I would be interested in helping CARTA by:

Serving as a Officer/Board Member _____

Writing trail history _____

Organizing tours _____

Organizing conferences _____

Developing tourism ideas _____

Other _____

Serving as committee chair or member _____

For more information, contact Jean Fulton, Executive Director, at jeanfulton@earthlink.net or by writing to:

CARTA, P. O. Box 15162, Las Cruces NM 88004 USA

Association Business News

Upcoming Meetings

The CARTA Board of Directors will meet on Saturday, 30 May 2009. The meeting is scheduled for 9:00 a.m. — 3:00 p.m. in Santa Fe, location to be determined. This, and all Board meetings, are open and CARTA members are more than welcome. Contact Pat Beckett, 575-644-0868, or pat@coasbooks.com.

Our Annual Meeting and Symposium are Scheduled for the weekend of 18 — 20 September. At the present time, we are planning to hold the event in Las Cruces at Mission Inn. Friday and Saturday will be for presentation of papers and board and annual general business meetings. Sunday will be for a guided tour from Fort Seldon and the Paraje at Detroit Tank, north to Engle. More details will be available for the next issue of *Chronicles*. These symposia have always been exciting events, with knowledgeable speakers and plenty of time to visit with colleagues. *Save the Date!*

Looking ahead, CARTA, The Santa Fe Trail Association, and the Old Spanish Trail Association are planning a joint meeting in Santa Fe during August 2010. That should be a treat!

Elections

Just when you thought election season was over — at least for a little while, CARTA needs you to gear up for our next round of elections. Terms of office for all of the officers and four Board members are up this coming fall. Each of the officers is term-limited,

so all five will need to be replaced. There will also be opportunities to serve on the Board of Directors.

Please give serious thought to volunteering. Any of the incumbents will tell you that this is an important and satisfying experience. Members of the nominating committee will be canvassing the membership in the spring.

Dues are Due

Renewal of CARTA memberships for calendar year 2009 were due by the end of the year.* Please fill out the garishly colored insert in the last issue or photocopy the membership form on the opposite page and use that. Rates remain the same as in previous years

* BYLAWS of the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association

Adopted 15 March 2003

Revised 27 September 2008

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ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

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SECTION 2, DUES

Membership dues shall be established and modified by the governing board of officers and directors, hereinafter referred to as the Board, at any regular meeting of the Board. The membership year shall be the calendar year, with annual dues payable each January 1. Members who have not paid for renewal by July 1 will be deemed delinquent and will be dropped from membership. Delinquent members may be reinstated without penalty by paying dues for the current year.



Camino Real del Tierra Adentro Trail Association
(CARTA)
P O Box 15162
Las Cruces NM 88004-5162
www.caminoREALcarta.org
