Old Spanish National Historic Trail

Comprehensive Administrative Strategy

Chama Crossing at Red Rock, New Mexico

United States Department of the Interior
Bureau of Land Management – National Park Service
2017

Old Spanish National Historic Trail
Comprehensive Administrative Strategy

Bureau of Land Management
National Park Service
Department of the Interior

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United States Department of the Interior

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Dear Reader:

The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and National Park Service (NPS) are pleased to present the final Comprehensive Administrative Strategy (CAS) for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. Congress added the trail to the National Trails System on December 4, 2002. The legislation authorizing the trail identified four major routes (Armijo Route, Northern Route, North Branch, and Mojave Road) that include approximately 2,706 miles of trail, extending from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Los Angeles, California. The designation of the trail commemorates the commercial trading activities between New Mexico and California during the period from 1829 to 1848. New Mexico traders loaded mules with merchandise such as blankets and clothing, then crossed extremely rugged terrain to California to trade for mules, horses, and other goods, and then returned home. These trade routes, and specific sites and segments along the trail, are associated with events that made significant contributions to our nation's history.

The act requires protection of the resources and values of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail and promotion of public information, interpretation, education, and recreational use related to the trail. The legislation also authorized the Secretary of the Interior to administer the trail; the BLM and NPS co-administer the trail through authority delegated by the Secretary. The purpose of this strategy, co-authored by BLM and NPS, is to establish the administrative objectives, protocols, processes, and guidelines necessary to fulfill preservation and public use goals for the entire trail.

Section 5(f) of the National Trails System Act requires the development of a comprehensive plan for all designated national historic trails. This administrative strategy, focusing on trail administration, will function as the core component of the planning portfolio for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail comprehensive strategy.

The BLM's Utah State Director leads the agency's co-administration effort on behalf of the other five BLM state directors with management responsibilities for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The NPS Intermountain Regional Director leads the planning and co-administration efforts on behalf of the NPS. All other federal agency land managers along the length of the trail have responsibility for assuring that their land use and land management plans and other undertakings comply with the requirements, mandates, and goals of the National Trails System Act.

The goal of this administrative strategy is to develop a foundational document to assist in future trail planning efforts through the establishment of key national historic trail inventories and resources currently found in relation to the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. This strategy provides guidance for the administration of the entire trail, and a vision to be fulfilled through future specific resources studies and site and segment management plans. Much of the basis for the CAS was developed during an earlier comprehensive management plan efforts. Trail administration consulted with federal partners, state and local government agencies, landowners, federally recognized American Indian tribes, area residents, trail-user organizations, BLM and NPS program and unit managers and resources staff, and the public. A mutually agreed-on approach to administration facilitates the work of partners in accomplishing specific goals identified here and in future planning efforts. In conjunction with the administrative strategy, federal land management agencies along or adjacent to the trail will continue to manage lands on or adjacent to the trail, and trail resources and values in accordance with the mandates of National Trails System Act and in accordance with other

respective agency policies, laws, and authorities. The federal agencies managing portions of the national historic trail may develop management documents according to their agency policies and guidelines, as appropriate, and in conformance with National Trails System Act mandates.

This document includes the list of high potential sites and route segments for the entire trail required in the National Trails System Act, and provides information that will assist decision makers and the public in evaluating the relative merits and impacts of future site-specific actions.

The BLM and the NPS look forward to implementing this strategy in collaboration with other federal agencies, Indian tribes, State and local governments, the Old Spanish Trail Association, and the public. The document is available online at https://parkplanning.nps.gov/Final-OLSP-CAS. Printed copies may be obtained by request from either agency.

Sincerely,

Kate H Hansen for Date 12-18-2017

Sue E. Masica
Regional Director
Intermountain Region
National Park Service

Edwin L. Roberson Date 12-8-2017

Edwin L. Roberson
Utah State Director
Bureau of Land Management

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Virgin River Canyon Recreation Area, Bureau of Land Management, Arizona

Executive Summary

The United States Congress added the Old Spanish National Historic Trail to the National Trails System on December 4, 2002. The legislation authorizing the Old Spanish National Historic Trail identified four major routes (Armijo Route, Northern Route, North Branch, and Mojave Road) that cover approximately 2,706 miles of trail, extending from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Los Angeles, California. The designation of the trail commemorates the commercial trading activities between New Mexico and California that began in 1829 and ended around 1848. New Mexico traders loaded mules with local merchandise such as blankets and clothing, then crossed extremely rugged terrain to California to trade for mules, horses, and other merchandise, and then went back across the deserts to New Mexico. These trade routes, as well as the sites and segments along the trail, are associated with events that made significant contributions to broad patterns of our nation's history.

The legislation also authorized the Secretary of the Interior to administer the trail. The Secretary designated the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the National Park Service (NPS) as the co-administrators of the entire trail. The agencies have collaborated in the development of this document. The purpose of this strategy is to establish the administrative objectives, protocols, processes, and guidelines necessary to fulfill preservation and public use goals for the entire Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

Although the National Trails System Act (NTSA) designating the Old Spanish National Historic Trail does not specifically require the development of a planning document, Section 5(f) of the Act requires that a comprehensive plan be developed for all designated national historic trails. This administrative strategy will function as the core component of the planning portfolio for the Old Spanish Trail comprehensive strategy, focusing on administration. The federal agencies managing portions of the national historic trail may develop management documents according to their agency policies and guidelines, as appropriate, and in conformance with National Trails System Act mandates. The National Trails System Act also requires trail administrators to consult with federally recognized tribal governments and appropriate federal, state, and local agencies in the planning and development of the trail, and to work with private landowners for protection and promotion of the trail.

The BLM's Utah State Director leads the agency's co-administration effort on behalf of the other five BLM state directors along the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The National Trails Intermountain Region

program with staff in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Salt Lake City, Utah, leads the planning and co-administration efforts on behalf of the NPS. All other federal agency unit land managers along the length of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail have responsibility for assuring that their land use and land management plans and other undertakings conform with the requirements, mandates, and goals of the National Trails System Act. The act requires protection of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail and its resources and values and promotion of public information, interpretation, education, and recreational use related to the Trail.

On June 19, 2014, the NPS's Intermountain Regional Director and the BLM's Utah State Director met with the NPS / BLM joint agency planning and administrative team for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail regarding the completion of a comprehensive plan for the administration of the national historic trail. The planning and administrative team had completed a comprehensive management plan and draft environmental impact statement in compliance with the National Trails System Act and the National Environmental Policy Act. However, policy changes within the BLM then resulted in a lack of concurrence with the plan. To resolve this issue, the NPS Regional Director and BLM Utah State Director agreed that the draft comprehensive management plan/environmental impact statement would be modified and presented as a comprehensive administrative strategy. They also agreed that the strategy would provide the BLM with the opportunity to outline how the agency would meet all applicable national historic trails policies separately after development of the strategy found in this document. The NPS agreed that the change to a comprehensive administrative strategy would not impede their collaborative efforts to administer trail resources and values.

The strategy described here provides guidance for the administration of the entire trail and a vision to be fulfilled through future, specific resources studies, and site and segment management plans. Much of the basis for the "Comprehensive Administrative Strategy" was developed during the earlier comprehensive management plan efforts. Trail administration consulted with federal partners, state and local government agencies, landowners, federally recognized American Indian tribes, area residents, trail-user organizations, BLM and NPS program managers and resources staff, and the public. A mutually agreed-on approach to administration facilitates the work of partners in accomplishing specific goals identified here and in future planning efforts. In conjunction with the administrative strategy, federal land management agencies along or adjacent to the trail will continue to manage lands on or adjacent to the trail, and trail resources and values in accordance with the mandates of National Trails System Act and in accordance with other respective agency policies, laws, and authorities.

In accordance with responsibilities delegated to the administrators by the Secretary of the Interior, this document includes the required list of high potential sites and route segments for the entire trail. It should be noted that the identification of sites and segments on the list and subsequent additions are not "actions" or "undertakings" under the National Environmental Policy Act or the National Historic Preservation Act. There is no potential to affect the resources by recognizing them as high potential sites or route segments. No federal action, funding, permits, licenses, or substantial involvement with any activity that may affect those resources that can be defined as an undertaking is implied by a high potential site or route segment designation.

This strategy does not include any federal actions identified in 43 Code of Federal Regulations 1508 that will require the application of the National Environmental Policy Act nor does it constitute a federal undertaking subject to Section 106 consultations as specified in the National Historic Preservation Act implemented in regulations of 36 Code of Federal Regulations 800. The goal of this administrative strategy is to develop a foundational document to assist in future trail planning efforts through the establishment of key national historic trail inventories and resources currently found in relation to the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. This document provides the framework for future compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act and the National Historic Preservation Act for activities that could affect resources associated with the trail. This strategy provides information that will assist decision makers and the public in evaluating the relative merits and impacts of future site-specific actions.

The comprehensive administrative strategy also outlines a certification process through which nonfederal trail sites and route segments may become protected segments of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail by application to the trail administrators and negotiated development plans and implementation strategies.

Amargosa River on the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, Tecopa, California

CHAPTER 1:
Introduction

Emigrant Pass on the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, California

CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

The National Trails System

The National Trails System Act of 1968 [1] created the National Trails System to provide for the ever-increasing outdoor recreation needs of an expanding population and to promote the preservation of, public access to, travel within, and enjoyment and appreciation of the open air, outdoor areas, and historic resources of the Nation. The National Trails System is composed of congressionally designated national scenic trails, national historic trails, national recreation trails, and secretarially designated connecting and side trails. The Act provides for a lead federal agency to administer each national scenic and national historic trail in cooperation with a variety of partners, including other federal agencies, state and local agencies, American Indians, local communities, private landowners, and others.

National historic trails are established by an act of Congress. National historic trails identify and commemorate historic and prehistoric routes of travel that are of significance to the entire nation. They must meet all three criteria listed in Section 5(b) (11) of the National Trails System Act as follows:

a) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant because of that use; the route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should accurately follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variations offering a more pleasurable recreational experience.

[1] 16 United States Code 1241

b) It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, or military campaigns; to qualify as nationally significant, the historic use of the trail must have had a far-reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture.

c) It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historic interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation; the potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail; the presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

Old Spanish National Historic Trail Feasibility Study

In 2001, the NPS prepared a feasibility study to determine the eligibility of the Old Spanish Trail for designation as a national historic trail. Congress based its decision to establish the national historic trail on this study, which included a historic overview, period of significance, and a statement of significance. The environmental assessment offered three alternatives for the administration: protection, interpretation, and management of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

Alternative C of the Environmental Assessment proposed the designation of Old Spanish Trail routes in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California as a national historic trail under the provisions of the National Trails System Act. Alternative C also proposed that if designated by Congress as a national historic trail, the Old Spanish Trail would be managed through cooperative partnerships with public agencies, nonprofit organizations, and landowners. The federal role would be to set and ensure consistent preservation, education, and public-use programs. There would be little, if any, federal acquisition of private land. The alternative recommended that authorities be enacted so that land would be acquired only from willing sellers. Alternative C also proposed three principal routes for designation: Armijo's Route, the Northern Route, and the North Branch. The law designating the trail included these three routes and added the Mojave Road.

The NPS also studied the eligibility of the western fork of the North Branch, the Fishlake Cutoff, and the Kingston Cutoff during the preparation of the feasibility study. These three variants met most of the criteria for national historic trail designation, but were not recommended for designation because no data were available to show that they were used in conducting trade and commerce between New Mexico and California during the 1829–1848 period.

The feasibility study concluded that future investigations might uncover additional information that shows these trail variants were used for trade and commerce during the period of significance. Because these routes met all other study requirements of the National Trails System Act, the feasibility study suggested that any legislation developed to designate the Old Spanish Trail should also authorize the Secretary to add these specific trail variants to the Old Spanish Trail if sufficient documentation is presented to verify their association and use.

Legislative History of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail

After the feasibility study was completed and submitted, Congress passed a bill creating the Old Spanish National Historic Trail and sent it to the White House on November 15, 2002. President George W. Bush signed the bill into law (Public Law No. 107-325) on December 4, 2002, thus creating the national historic trail (Appendix A).

In addition, Public Law 107-325 includes the following provisions:

- The United States shall not acquire for the trail any land or interest in land outside the exterior boundary of any federally-managed area without the consent of the owner of the land or interest in land.
- The Secretary of the Interior shall consult with other federal, state, local, and tribal agencies in the administration of the trail.
- The Secretary may designate additional routes if they were included in the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study, but were not recommended for designation, or if it is determined that additional routes were used for trade and commerce between 1829 and 1848.

On June 5, 2003, the Secretary of the Interior assigned joint administrative responsibility for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail to the BLM and the NPS.

Nature and Purpose of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail

Many of the more than 2,700 miles of the Old Spanish Trail are characterized by stark landscapes that recall those described by early users of the trail. The trail corridor is informally considered by the NPS to lie five miles on either side of the centerline of the trail alignment to include the nearest elements of the view shed, parts of the cultural landscapes, landmarks, and traditional cultural properties near the trail. The BLM follows direction from their trail administration manual to establish a trail corridor.

The trail corridor is rich with open stretches of western terrain with few modern intrusions, offering exceptional opportunities for the public to enjoy and appreciate both the natural and cultural environment. The trail has been described as "the longest, crookedest, most arduous pack mule route in the history of America (Hafen and Hafen 1982)."

The trail routes cross the rugged terrain of the American West, characterized by extremes in elevation from the highs of the Colorado Rockies to the lows of the Mojave Desert (Map 1). The routes through southern Colorado cross an area that is often among the coldest places in the continental United States, whereas southeastern California has some of the hottest temperatures in the country. Natural and cultural resources surrounding the trail are as diverse and rich as the geology, climate, and elevation of the route. The Old Spanish Trail, even by today's standards, remains an arduous route, one where public users can encounter the landscapes and experience the adventure of yesteryear.

The Old Spanish Trail also honors the persistence and courage of early 19th century Mexican traders from New Mexico. These intrepid souls found their way back and forth across the freezing mountains and burning deserts to Los Angeles, California, helping blaze the way westward for later migrants, from gold-rush era 49ers to the Dust Bowl refugees of the Midwest symbolized by the Joads of Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*.

Trail Period of Significance

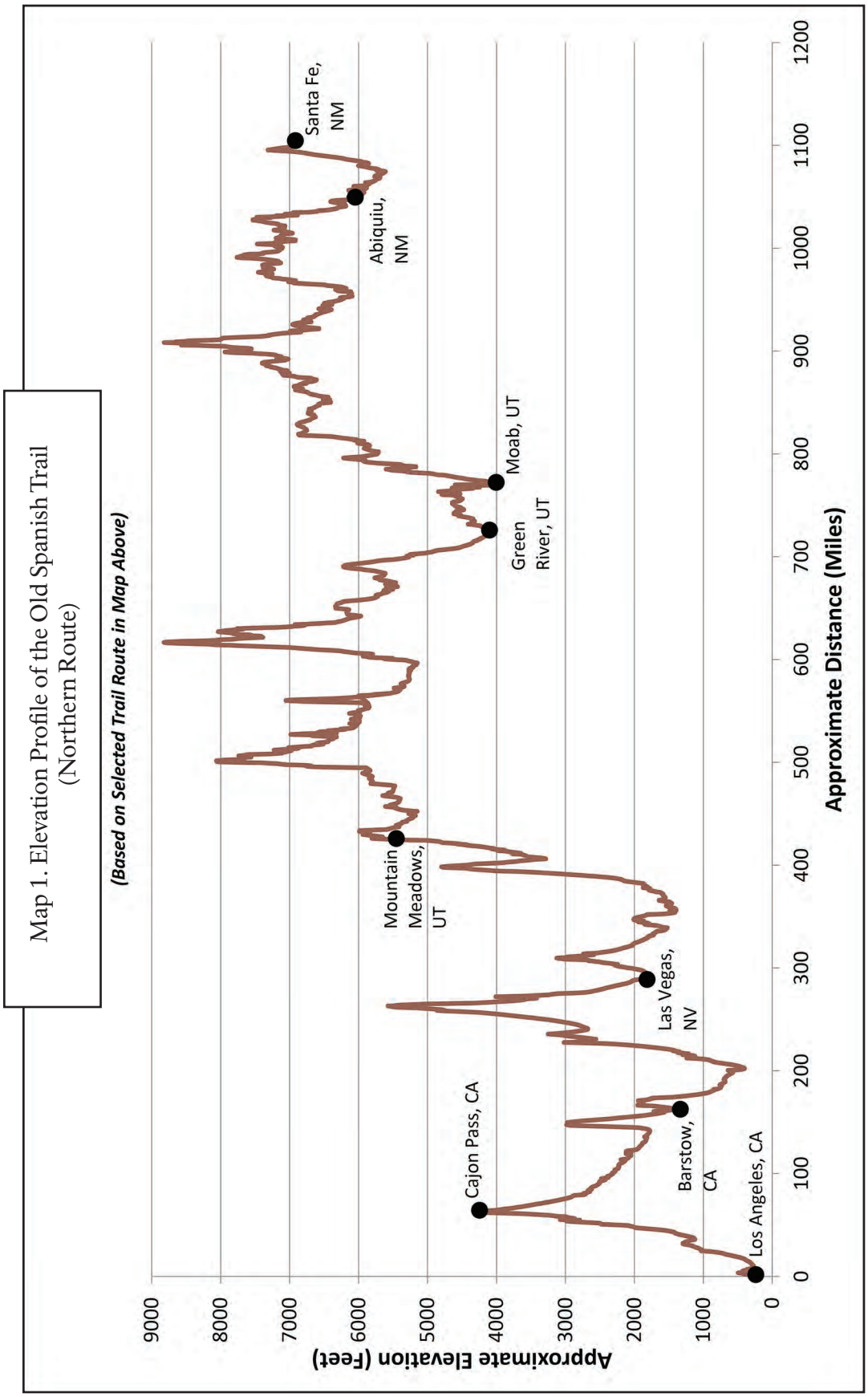
The period of significance for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail identified in the legislation extends from 1829, when New Mexico trader Antonio Armijo began his trip to California, until 1848, when use of the eastern section of the trail diminished as a trading route. The function of the trail evolved after 1848 from a collection of commercial trading routes to more of a set of immigration routes. The various routes to the north and southern trails across Arizona became the main routes of travel to California.

Trail Significance Statement

Trail significance statements express why a trail's resources and values are important enough to warrant national historic trail designation. Statements of a trail's significance describe why the trail is important within an international, national, regional, and system-wide context. Significance statements are directly linked to the purpose of the trail, are substantiated by data or consensus, and reflect the most current scientific or scholarly inquiry and cultural perceptions.

The following have been identified as the significance statements for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail:

- Beginning in 1829 and continuing to 1848, the Old Spanish Trail was the principal overland route in northern Mexico between the provinces of New Mexico and Alta California.
- Established by and for traders, the Old Spanish Trail was part of an international trade network that included the Santa Fe Trail, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, and El Camino Real de las Californias.
- Commercial traffic on the Old Spanish Trail intensified and accelerated irreversible changes to the livelihood of American Indian tribes who lived along the trail routes.
- The Old Spanish Trail includes portions of significant early overland exploration and trade routes throughout the northwest frontier of colonial Spain and Mexico, including the Juan Rivera expedition of 1765, the Father Francisco Garcés expedition of 1776, the Fathers Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Escalante expedition of 1776, the Father Pascual Nuez' expedition of 1819, and the Jedediah Smith expeditions of 1826 and 1827. These routes of exploration helped define the trade routes later followed by the travelers along the Old Spanish National Historic Trail between 1829 and 1848.
- The Old Spanish Trail was a route used by Americans, Mexicans, and others from New Mexico to immigrate to California during the 1829-1848 period of significance. Many descendants of these immigrants became important Californios and their descendants remain today.
- Portions of the Old Spanish Trail continued to be used after 1848 by the United States Army for expeditionary and military purposes, and immigration purposes (primarily Mormon). Those uses and accounts aid in better understanding and verification of the original Old Spanish Trail routes.



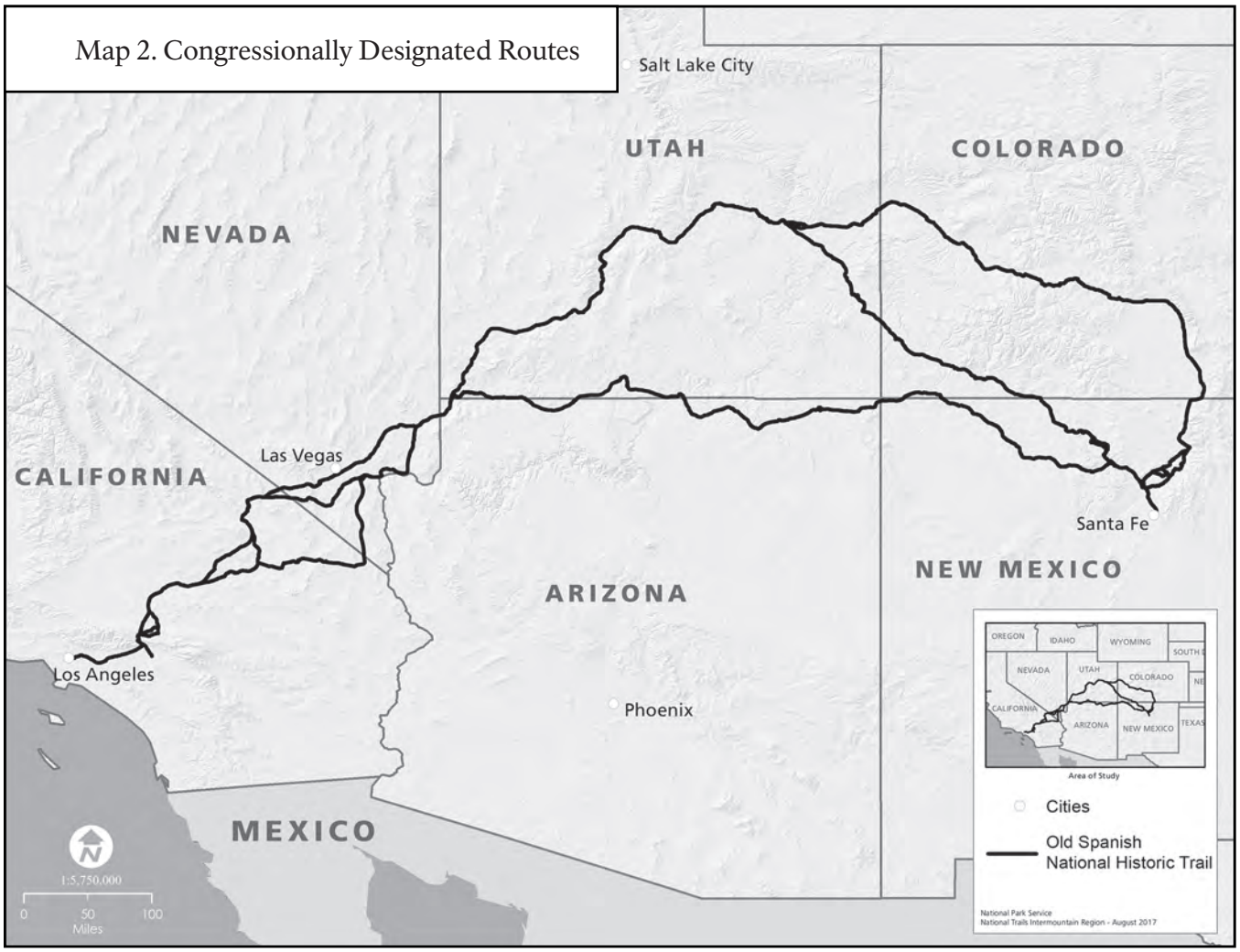
Map 1. Elevation Profile of the Old Spanish Trail (Northern Route)

(Based on Selected Trail Route in Map Above)

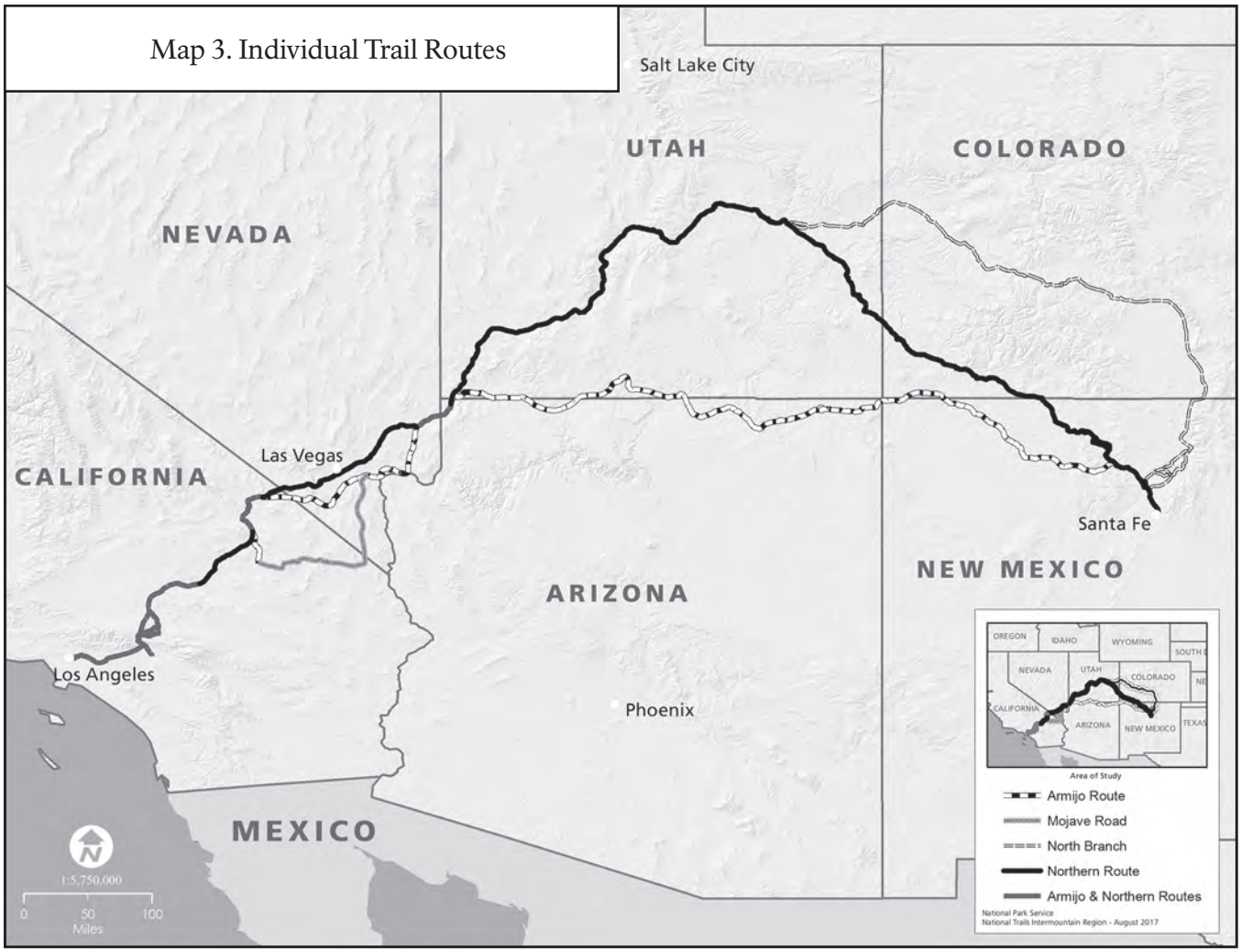
Brief Description of the Trail Routes

The Old Spanish Trail ran between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Los Angeles, California (Map 2). Adjustments to changing conditions, such as weather, availability of forage and game, water sources, and the presence or absence of American Indian tribes along the way caused travelers to create several variants of the trail. Congress designated four named routes for the trail: (1) the Armijo Route; (2) the Northern Route; (3) the North Branch; and (4) the Mojave Road (see Map 3).

Map 2. Congressionally Designated Routes



Map 3. Individual Trail Routes



The Armijo route follows Antonio Armijo's 1829 trade caravan route more or less directly west through New Mexico, with segments in southern Colorado, northern Arizona, southern Utah, southern Nevada, and then on to Los Angeles, California. The Northern Route follows the trail taken by subsequent traders between Santa Fe and Los Angeles. This route arcs through southern Colorado and Utah to avoid the treacherous river gorges of the Colorado River and possibly increase the likelihood of finding water sources. The North Branch was developed by trappers and traders doing business with the Utes. This section of the trail passes east and north of the Northern Route in New Mexico and Colorado, and joins the Northern Route just east of what is now the Green River, Utah. The Mojave Road was approximately 151 miles long and traversed a more southerly route through the Mojave Desert with outposts at what are now known as Piute Springs, Rock Spring, Marl Springs, Soda Springs, and Camp Cady following some alignments of prehistoric Indian paths known collectively as the Mojave Trail.

Approximately 43%, or over 1,100 miles, of the Old Spanish Trail-designated routes are on federal lands (see Table 1 for breakdown of land ownership patterns along the designated trail routes). With the designation of the Old Spanish Trail, designated trail route segments become federally protected components administered and managed in compliance with section 3(a)(3) of the National Trails System Act. The rest of the trail, over 1,500 miles, is located on state, county, municipal, private, tribal, and other nonfederal land (see Table 1).

Table 1. Land Ownership along the Old Spanish National Historic Trail by Agency

Land Status	Mileage	Percentage
USDA Forest Service	141	5.22%
Department of Defense	49	1.79%
Department of Energy	0.5	0.02%
USDOI BLM	792	29.27%
USDOI Bureau of Reclamation	12	0.46%
USDOI NPS	174	6.44%
Tribal Trust Lands (Administered by USDOI Bureau of Indian Affairs)	359	13.25%
State Lands	121	4.48%
Other Lands (Private, City, County, Tribal Trust, etc.)	1,537	56.82%
Total Trail Length	2,706	100%
Total Trail Length on Federal Lands (not including Tribal Trust Lands)	1,168	43.18%

Source: Bureau of Land Management, Surface Management Area geodatabase, version of 20160322[2]

Purpose of the Comprehensive Administrative Strategy

Comprehensive plans for national historic trails are long-term documents that provide a vision for the future of the trail, including an administrative philosophy and a framework to be used in making future decisions and solving problems. As with other comprehensive planning documents that focus on the administration of national historic trails, this comprehensive administrative strategy will provide administrative guidance for approximately the next 15–20 years.

The purpose of this comprehensive administrative strategy is to establish the administrative objectives, protocols, processes, and management guidelines necessary to fulfill preservation and public-use goals for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The National Trails Systems Act (16 United States Code 1244(a)) and also Public Law 107-325, titled "An Act to Amend the National Historic Trails System Act to Designate the Old Spanish National Historic Trail" established these directives.

Although the act designating the Old Spanish National Historic Trail does not specifically ask for the development of a comprehensive administrative strategy, Section 5(f) of the National Trails System Act requires that a comprehensive plan be developed for all designated national historic trails. The National Trails System Act also provides for the Secretary of the Interior to consult with appropriate state and local agencies in the planning and development of the trail. This comprehensive administrative strategy includes

- specific objectives, including the identification, evaluation, and protection of ethnographic, archeological, and historic resources, and evocative landscapes and other natural resources;
- specific details of expected cooperative agreements with other federal or state government agencies, local governments, or private organizations or individuals;
- protection strategies for high potential sites and segments;
- user-capacity assessment; and
- implementation details.

[2] Different data sources (e.g., Protected Areas Data – United States and the Bureau of Land Management Land Status layers) present slight variations in the mileage for each of the land-ownership categories identified in the table.

Next Steps and Strategy Implementation

The comprehensive administrative strategy provides a long-term approach to national trail administration. Trail co-administrators and partners will take incremental steps toward reaching its goals. Once it is approved, additional research and resource studies and more detailed planning and environmental documentation can be completed as part of individual site and segment management plans.

Implementation will be ongoing over the course of the strategy's life, usually 15 to 20 years. There are several reasons that explain this: 1) full implementation will require additional funding; 2) expanded knowledge on resources and the history of the trail might result in shifts in priorities; 3) land ownership patterns and land use might change; 4) volunteers/other partners might shift priorities. Once approved, components of the strategy will be prioritized and implemented as funding becomes available.

In compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act, along with sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act, the impacts from each ensuing plan, construction project, trail program, and/or various other projects will be assessed, as required by the implementing regulations set forth in the Code of Federal Regulations and other applicable federal, state, and county regulations. In all cases, planning for the trail and for trail facilities will be carried out in close consultation with landowners, American Indian tribes, trail organizations, community groups, local residents, and state and local governments.

Back Through Red Pass, San Bernardino County, California

CHAPTER 2:

Approaches to Administration

Chama Crossing at Red Rock, New Mexico

CHAPTER 2:
Approaches to Administration

Introduction

This comprehensive administrative strategy presents several options for how administration can be implemented along the entire trail. These approaches to administration provide for general preservation, protection, and public access and meet the goals of the National Trails System Act. Administration activities will focus on providing an outdoor recreation experience that promotes the preservation of the public's access to, travel within, and enjoyment and appreciation of the Old Spanish Trail's historic resources. This includes its cultural landscapes, and efforts to maintain and enhance the "historic significance," "historic remnants," "scenic quality," and "freedom from intrusion." This also encompasses opportunities to vicariously share the experience of the original users of [the] historic route[s], while also developing trail experiences that will benefit both traditional and modern communities.

This section of the document describes possible options for the administration of the entire trail. These options are derived from a previous initial planning process that included public scoping; discussions (informal and formal) with American Indian communities; federal agency representatives; state, county, and municipal officials; and a number of individuals and interested parties, including the Old Spanish Trail Association. While trail administrators determined that the development of a comprehensive administrative strategy did not require detailed environmental analysis, the results of the initial stages of the public scoping process did provide useful information that is incorporated into this document.

On June 5, 2003, the Secretary of the Interior assigned joint administrative responsibility for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail to the BLM and the NPS. The two agencies began working on a comprehensive plan and environmental impact statement in 2004, which has evolved into a comprehensive administrative strategy. This strategy outlines the operating principles and procedures for future planning, administration, trail signing, promotion, outreach, partnerships, and other administrative duties, and lays out roles and responsibilities for each administering agency.

The BLM and the NPS, as co-administrators of the trail, will coordinate their activities, prioritize trail programs and projects, and respond to requests for technical assistance and support as appropriate and in keeping with program and project funding and resources.

Administrative and Management Responsibilities[1]

Administration

Administrative responsibilities include overall trail-wide leadership, such as coordination, planning, and signing; resource preservation and protection (such as protection of high potential sites and segments); review of trail site and segment development; trail-wide resource inventories and mapping (including developing and maintaining geographic information systems); certification, interpretation, and visitor use cooperative/interagency agreements; and limited financial assistance to other government agencies, landowners, interest groups, and individuals. This document focuses on the administrative responsibilities of the BLM and the NPS.

The two administering agencies exercise trail-wide responsibilities under the National Trails System Act for the entire Old Spanish National Historic Trail, subject to available funding. Trail administrative duties for the BLM initially resided with the New Mexico State Office, in Santa Fe, New Mexico, pursuant to a six-state Memorandum of Understanding between BLM states with Old Spanish Trail responsibilities signed in 2006. Later, trail administrative duties were transferred to the Utah State Office, in Salt Lake City, Utah. The administrative duties for the NPS are carried out by the superintendent of the National Trails Intermountain Region with staff in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Salt Lake City, Utah.

Trail administrators work closely with other federal, state, and local agencies, tribes, private landowners, nonprofit organizations, and volunteers to support the trail resources, qualities, and values and associated settings for which the Old Spanish National Historic Trail was designated and to support other activities as required by the National Trails System Act. As described in this administrative strategy, trail administrators will provide technical assistance, review, and coordination between the various trail stakeholders and groups, including site and segment owners and managers, user and interest associations, and governmental agencies at the federal, state, and local levels. The Utah State Office administrative lead will provide national coordination for individual state, district, and field office leads and experts within the BLM. The National Trails Intermountain Region will take the lead in coordination with and among the various NPS units with management responsibilities for trail segments and sites, and will also lead coordination with internal NPS divisions and work groups, including the Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program.

Under this administrative strategy, trail administrators will seek to establish cooperative agreements (which may include transfers of funds, goods, or services) and/or agreements of mutual understanding concerning shared goals for trail resource management. These agreements may be with state and local institutions, including historic preservation offices, park, monument, and historic site managers and owners, and volunteer associations, including trail associations with interests in trail preservation, access, and use.

The NPS National Trails Intermountain Region serves as the lead for managing and maintaining the trail administrative files; file duplicates (including electronic copies, where appropriate) will be maintained by the Utah State Office. These file duplicates will be included in the BLM serialized case file for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The serialized case file includes copies of the National Trails System Act, the Old Spanish National Historic Trail enabling legislation, legislative history, feasibility study, official map

[1] Both the Bureau of Land Management and the National Park Service have issued publications that address trail administration. The Bureau of Land Management has issued Manual 6250—National Scenic and Historic Trail Administration, which describes how to conduct national scenic or historic trail feasibility studies, how to administer a national scenic or historic trail upon designation by Congress, and the responsibilities of national scenic or historic trail administration. The National Park Service has issued Director's Order 45, which clarifies the differences between administration and management.

depicting the congressionally designated trail, a list and general map of high potential sites and segments, the comprehensive administrative strategy, information related to partnership certifications, and any statewide management plans, implementation plans, and resource protection plans developed for trail resources. The serialized case file will also include documentation of administration and management issues associated with the trail and the recommended right-of-way, which will be developed in future planning efforts. The administering agencies each maintain a public-facing website to facilitate public access to the above-noted administrative files (NPS: https://www.nps.gov/olsp/index.htm; BLM: http://www.blm.gov/ut/st/en/prog/blm_special_areas/national_scenic_and/olsp.html).

Bureau of Land Management Requirements for National Historic Trail Administration

In September 2012, the BLM issued its *Manual 6250—National Scenic and Historic Trail Administration*, which describes requirements for BLM national historic trail administration. Many of these requirements are addressed in this strategy, but some will be addressed in future planning. BLM *Manual 6250* requirements addressed in this comprehensive administrative strategy include the following:

- Identify and determine the nature and purpose of the trail.
- Establish goals and objectives to safeguard the nature and purpose.
- Identify ways to provide for maximum compatible outdoor recreation potential and protection; conservation and enjoyment of the nationally significant scenic, historic, natural, and cultural qualities of the areas and associated settings through which the trail may pass; as well as the primary use or uses of the trail.
- Provide ways to encourage and assist tribes, affected agencies, willing landowners, and interested parties in the planning, management, education, and interpretation of the trail.
- A general description of the overall resources, qualities, values, and associated settings (comprised of the scenic, historic, cultural, recreational, natural, and other landscape values of the land areas through which the trail passes) including the primary use and uses.
- Ensure adequate public involvement in administration activities.
- Identification and mapping of high potential historic sites and high potential route segments.
- Address national historic trail administration-level functions.

BLM *Manual 6250* requirements to be addressed in future planning will include, but are not limited to the following:

- Strategies regarding protection, sufficient access, transportation, and land or easement acquisition planning and criteria.
- Ensure that the resources, qualities, values, and associated settings and primary use or uses are inventoried and the federal trail data standards and related national geospatial standards are used.
- Select a national historic trail right-of-way based on the general route location designated by Congress and the best available resource data.
- After selection of the national historic trail right-of-way, the BLM shall publish a Notice of Availability of the appropriate maps or descriptions in the Federal Register.

- To the extent practicable, conduct a viewshed analysis in cooperation with other land managing agencies to inform the selection of the required national historic trail right-of-way. Refer to BLM *Manual 6280 (Management of National Scenic and Historic Trails and Trails under Study or Recommended as Suitable for Congressional Designation)* for inventory processes.
- Propose exemplary connecting and side trails that adjoin two points along the trail. Evaluation and recommendation of connecting and side trails shall occur in accordance with the provisions established in *Manual 8353—Trail Management Areas* (secretarially designated national recreation, water, and connecting and side trails) and any supplemental guidance or instruction developed nationally.
- Identify auto tour routes to retrace and commemorate the historic route, to the extent practicable.

All actions identified in BLM policy that have not been fully addressed in this strategy concerning BLM's administrative responsibilities will be addressed in a future plan. Where applicable, this strategy and future BLM plans will be used to inform BLM's Resource Management Plans and implementation-level planning in accordance with *Manual 6280*.

Management

Management responsibilities rest with private landowners, government land managing agencies, and other organizations that have ownership jurisdiction for national historic trail-related land and resources. Site-specific land use plans govern the management actions of federal and state agencies. National historic trail management responsibilities include planning and compliance with applicable laws and regulations; developing trail segments or specific sites, including trail construction, site interpretation, site stabilization and protection; and managing visitor use.

Federal land management agencies with trail resources under their jurisdiction will continue to manage those resources in accordance with their respective agency policy guidance, laws, and authorities. This might include inventorying high potential sites and route segments and subsequently establishing appropriate protection corridors, as well as considering development-related actions within national historic trail areas through the National Environmental Policy Act process.

Decisions related to compensatory mitigation will be determined at the local level depending on land ownership policies and procedures. Trail administration will work with each land management agency or landowner to encourage a consistent appropriate approach when compensatory mitigation is the only available option.

Various government agencies, tribal agencies, organizations, and private individuals own or manage lands and resources along national historic trails, and these entities are responsible for trail resources on their lands. The BLM and the NPS have broad authorities under the National Trails System Act to provide support for management activities and can provide guidance and technical assistance to land owners and land managers when requested, as funds and resources allow. Under this administrative strategy, trail administrators will foster relations with land managing agencies and private landowners by providing technical assistance to support management actions, which is consistent with the goals outlined in this document and the purposes of the national historic trail.

Federal land management agencies with trail resources under their jurisdiction will continue to manage those resources in accordance with their respective agency policy guidance, laws, and authorities. This might

include inventorying high potential sites and segments and subsequently establishing trail rights-of-way and appropriate protection corridors.

Coordinating activities along the Old Spanish National Historic Trail is challenging. The trail corridor crosses six states as it covers over 2,700 miles. Within a 10-mile radius of the designated routes lie 30 BLM administrative field offices (including the BLM-administered Grand Staircase-Escalante and Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monuments), 15 national forests, 23 Indian reservations, 18 NPS units, other federal recreational facilities such as Abiquiú Lake (managed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers), and many state, county, and local parks, monuments, and recreational facilities. The nation's current concern about energy independence is clear as the lands the trail crosses are being considered for increased energy development, particularly wind and solar farms and associated transmission lines. These initiatives have raised awareness of the need to protect the cultural landscape of the trail to allow visitors to appreciate and enjoy the unique values of the sites and segments associated with the trail. However, coordination among most landowners, private or public, needs improvement.

The BLM's Manual 6280 provides direction for how information contained in this strategy and information gathered in later plans may be used to inform the creation of management corridors on all high potential sites and high potential route segments on BLM lands. This will be done as part of the resource management plan revision process and will be included in the appropriate National Environmental Policy Act document developed with the resource management plan revisions. The information gathered for the comprehensive administrative strategy provides information that should be considered when agencies develop land use planning documents.

Partners and Trail Resource Stewards

Section 2 (c) of the National Trails System Act emphasizes the valuable contributions that volunteers and private, nonprofit trail groups have made to the development and maintenance of the nation's trails and "In recognition of these contributions, it is further the purpose of this Act to encourage and assist volunteer citizen involvement in the planning, development, maintenance, and management, where appropriate, of trails."

Trail administrators will provide leadership for volunteers, partners, and stewards. Trail resource stewards will include federal, tribal, state, and local governments; landowners; trail organizations; and interested individuals.

One of the volunteer groups that has worked with trail administrators and receives federal support is the Old Spanish Trail Association. This is a nonprofit organization whose mission is to "study, preserve, protect, interpret, and promote appropriate use of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail." This organization sponsors events, research, publications, and government partnerships in order to promote public awareness of the trail, and advocates protection of the trail's resources and values.[2] It was established in 1994, and now has over 400 members in 27 states with 13 local chapters in six western states and the United Kingdom. The membership is inclusive and involves historians, archeologists, public land managers, educators, writers, American Indians, and direct descendants of those who traveled the trail.

A Trail Stewardship Program was started in 2009 by the Old Spanish Trail Association with financial support from the BLM Arizona Strip District and later supplemented to extend to all BLM-managed trail segments with Washington Office funding. The purpose of the two assistance agreements that financed this project was to establish a trail corridor baseline condition and establish a permanent program for periodic monitoring through a partnership with the Old Spanish Trail Association.

[2] More information on this organization can be found at http://www.oldspanishtrail.org.

There were three components of the project:

- preparing a training manual
- conducting a series of workshops for the Old Spanish Trail Association chapter members and interested public hosted by federal land managing agency field offices
- fielding a corps of trained personnel that could be sustained beyond the initial project funding to collect baseline information, monitor trail conditions, and be available for other trail stewardship activities

Workshops were conducted at Kanab (Utah), St. George (Utah), and Mesquite (Nevada) in 2010 sponsored by Arizona Strip District, at Montrose (Colorado) and Richfield (Utah) in 2011, and at Taos (New Mexico) and Barstow (California) in 2012. The Richfield workshop was hosted by the Fishlake National Forest and the one in Taos was hosted by the Carson National Forest. The workshops include two components: (1) classroom exercises, including Power Point presentations with background on a number of pertinent topics, such as an overview of the Old Spanish Trail, the mission of the Old Spanish Trail Association, safety considerations, map reading, use of field equipment (especially Global Positioning System receivers and SPOT emergency satellite locators), and field monitoring methods; and (2) field exercises where participants have the opportunity to experience trail resources and apply the information received during the classroom exercises.

The Trail Steward programs initiated by the Old Spanish Trail Association and the BLM New Mexico State Office and Arizona Strip District Office will be revitalized, expanded, and enhanced to include the development of volunteer trail steward units with federal oversight provided through BLM field office staff and other federal staff along the trail route.[3] These steward programs can serve as models for similar efforts across the length of the trail. An implementation strategy will be developed and program emphasis will include site- and segment- based condition monitoring as well as reporting on potential threats to resources from management actions or proposed developments.

Resource Identification, Protection, and Monitoring

National historic trail resource identification is an administrative responsibility identified in the purpose statement of the National Trails System Act (Section 3(a)(3)), "National historic trails shall have as their purpose the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment." This responsibility applies to the entire trail, regardless of land ownership and administering entities, and is distinct from "management" activities such as compliance under the National Environmental Policy Act and the National Historic Preservation Act. The BLM's *Manual 6280* provides more detail pertaining to the process for resource identification and protection for management purposes on BLM lands. The identification of trail resources through field and archival research programs will be an administrative goal, as will be the development of protection plans and monitoring programs for the entire trail.

The National Trails System Act requires trail administration to develop strategies to protect the entire designated route and its historic remnants and artifacts. Trail administrators will comply with laws and executive orders as administrative responsibilities are carried out, and will encourage compliance by owners or managers with responsibilities involving the Old Spanish National Historic Trail resources. Trail

[3] The Bureau of Land Management Arizona Strip Office and the New Mexico State Office have long supported the development of a Trail Steward program that offered volunteers training activities, such as trail resource identification, operation of Global Positioning System handheld units, mapping, monitoring resource conditions, and reporting.

administrators will provide landowners and managers with guidance and assistance to ensure that trail resources, qualities, and values are protected while providing for public enjoyment and appreciation.

Trail administrators will maintain data on trail resources, particularly high potential sites and segments, and will make appropriate data available on public-facing websites. Data will include resource location (archeological site locations are exempt from Freedom of Information Act requests (36 Code of Federal Regulations 296.18)), associated primary historic documentation, and archeological records. Site and segment owners as well as land managers will be encouraged to share with trail administrators trail-related data that they might develop. Handling of any sensitive information, including dissemination, publication, distribution, and/or sharing, will follow protocols established by the land managers or owners, or protocols agreed to by the land managers and owners. Trail administrators will also review resource identification materials developed by independent researchers, site and segment owners, and managers, and will review and comment on proposals affecting the trail environment.

Trail administrators will directly and indirectly support protection of the high potential sites and route segments identified for the trail in this document, and any resources already listed or determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Where proposed actions may affect trail resources on public lands managed by the BLM, the appropriate BLM office will take the lead for project review and comment, in coordination with the National Trails Intermountain Region office. For all other proposed actions, the BLM and NPS will coordinate appropriate review and comment and assign lead responsibilities on a case-by-case basis.

Currently, trail protection corridors range from zero to five miles (or more) on either side of the trail route. These are arbitrary and conceptual approaches. Trail administrators will encourage a landscape- or viewshed-based approach for trail corridor establishment and protection.

Trail resource monitoring may be partially undertaken by partners and adequately trained volunteers and/or members of the Old Spanish Trail Association or similar organizations. One of the programs with which the Old Spanish Trail Association has been involved (with the support of the BLM Arizona Strip Office) is the development of a cadre of volunteers who can assist in the inventory and monitoring of trail resources. As part of this program, the Old Spanish Trail Association prepared a training manual for trail stewards and conducted training workshops during 2011 and 2012. One of the key objectives identified in the manual calls for establishing long-term field monitoring of high potential sites and segments along the trail.[4] The program goal was to create a pool of engaged citizens to assist with inventory and long-term monitoring of trail resources. Several BLM District offices identify this trail steward program in their recently prepared or revised resource management plans. This trail steward program should be revitalized and expanded to other geographic locations along the entire length of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

Where funds and resources permit, trail administrators will work closely with other federal offices, tribal agencies, other land managers, and landowners to provide coordination and technical assistance in establishing and following agency standards for identification, protection, and monitoring programs, and to support compliance with applicable federal law and regulations. Any studies of trail resources supported by trail administrators will comply with applicable state and federal guidelines for inventory and/or documentation standards.

National Historic Trail Rights-of-Way

The Old Spanish National Historic Trail routes identified in the 2001 Old Spanish National Historic Trail Feasibility Study, and formally adopted by Congress, and/or relocated within the authority granted to

[4] The Trail Steward Manual and Workshop Training Guide can be accessed at www.nps.gov/olsp.

the Co-Administrators under the National Trails System Act, shall be considered the centerline for the development of a national historic trail right-of-way on the federal land portions of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. Individual federal land management agencies shall pursue any formal associated National Trail right-of-way designations for such route corridors in accordance with their individual National Trail right-of-way regulations and policy and in coordination with Trail Administration. Such right-of-way designations shall be updated as necessary as the Trail Administrators may make further relocations as authorized by NTSA Boundary Adjustments.

The designation of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail commemorates a significant route of travel. The legislation does not include identification of specific legal boundaries and does not provide for federal land acquisition without the consent of the owner.

Furthermore, most national historic trail routes are mapped at a very coarse scale, and their specific historic location is often not known. The accurate identification of many of these routes will require intensive research and ground truthing, expensive and time-consuming tasks that will be ongoing throughout the life of this strategy. As new research reveals more accurate information, the location of the designated routes might be slightly modified. However, at the time this strategy is being prepared, no additional routes are contemplated for inclusion or further study.

Three additional routes studied during the feasibility study – the west fork of the North Branch, the Fishlake Cutoff, and the Kingston Cutoff – met most of the criteria for national historic trail designation, but no data have been made available to link them to commercial activities between New Mexico and California during the period of significance of the trail (1829–1848). During the process of developing this document, an effort was made to pursue information on these routes, but no such evidence was uncovered.

Refinement of Congressionally Designated Routes

During the development of this strategy, new historic and archeological information became available that led the study team to make a series of refinements to the congressionally designated routes of Old Spanish National Historic Trail. Research associated with the BLM-sponsored American Recovery and Reinvestment Act project of 2009 (AECOM 2012) unveiled previously unknown route data. Research conducted by independent scholars and members of the Old Spanish Trail Association also reinforced the need to modify slightly some of the routes to make them better correspond with a travel corridor likely to have been used by traders during the period of significance of the trail.

Some routes were modified because of the results of surveys and research conducted for the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act project of 2009. Additional route refinements were made in response to recommendations for which consensus could be reached during the Old Spanish Trail Association Mapping Workshop of 2013. All maps in this document reflect these route refinements.

High Potential Sites and Route Segments

Under Section 5(e)(1) of the National Trails System Act, it is the responsibility of the administering agencies to identify high potential sites and segments as part of the comprehensive planning process for a national historic trail. The identification of these sites and segments are not “actions” or “undertakings” under the National Environmental Policy Act or the National Historic Preservation Act. The recognition of certain sites and segments as high potential sites or segments has no potential to affect the resources. No federal action, funding, permits, licenses, or substantial involvement with any activity that may affect those resources that could be defined as an undertaking is implied by a high potential designation. Therefore, the trail administrators have identified high potential sites and high potential route segments of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

According to Section 12 of the National Trails System Act:

- High potential sites are those historic sites related to the route or sites in close proximity thereto, which provide opportunity to interpret the historic significance of the trail during the period of its major use. Criteria for consideration as high potential sites include historic significance, presence of visible historic remnants, scenic quality, and relative freedom from intrusion.
- High potential segments are those segments of a trail that afford high-quality recreation experiences along a portion of the route having greater-than-average scenic values or affording an opportunity to share vicariously the experience of the original users of a historic route.

Note that historic significance is not the only criterion; high potential sites or segments must have scenic, interpretive, and recreational potential. Sites must be "historic sites related to the route…during the period of its major use." Segments must "afford high-quality recreation experiences." Like most legalistic language, there is room for interpretation.

Even so, identifying high potential sites and segments for the Old Spanish Trail has proven difficult. The process of selecting high potential sites and segments for the Old Spanish Trail required the analysis of information from 34 counties in the states of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California. Members of the BLM and the NPS study team, assisted by trail experts with extensive experience identifying high potential sites and segments, have visited the majority of sites/segments included in the list and identified those which should be included. During a 2013 planning and mapping workshop, these preliminary lists of high potential segments and sites were presented to Old Spanish Trail Association experts who suggested additions and modifications. The study team also considered public comments provided during the review period for the draft comprehensive administrative strategy. The information presented in this document is informed by the consensus of both trail experts and the study team.

Three lists have been developed: (1) verifiable high potential sites, (2) verifiable high potential segments, and (3) other sites that might merit inclusion later on but for which we currently lack sufficient information needed to determine if the resource meets the criteria identified in the National Trails System Act (see Tables 2–5 below).

After careful consideration, 62 high potential sites and 43 high potential route segments have been selected for inclusion (see Tables 2–4). Their approximate location is depicted on the Maps 4, 5, and 5a–5m. In addition, 94 sites and segments have been classified as tentative high potential resources (see Table 5). Typically such resources were not included in the selected high potential resource lists because they either had inadequate documentation of use for trade and commerce between New Mexico and California during 1829-1848, did not appear to be historic sites, had poor locations, had low historic integrity, or failed to meet one or more of the NTSA high potential site or segment criteria. Being placed on the tentative list does not imply that the sites or segments are not historically significant. Historic significance is only part of the criteria. Additional research and information could provide the opportunity for one or more of the tentative high potential resources to meet all of the high potential resource criteria.

Table 2. High Potential Sites

Site Name	State	County
Abiquiú	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Agua Mansa Cemetery	California	San Bernardino
Amargosa Spring	California	San Bernardino
Big Springs National Register Archaeological District (Las Vegas Springs)	Nevada	Clark
Bitter Springs	California	San Bernardino

Table 2. High Potential Sites

Site Name	State	County
Blue Diamond (Cottonwood) Spring	Nevada	Clark
Bunker Site	Colorado	Saguache
Camp Spring	Utah	Washington
Canyon Pintado	Utah	San Juan
Casa Colorado Wash	Utah	San Juan
Colorado River Crossing near Moab	Utah	Grand
Cross Canyon Springs (Tierra Blanca)	Colorado	Mesa
Crossing of Los Pinos River	Colorado	La Plata
De Siena Springs	California	San Bernardino
Vincent Lugo Adobe	California	Los Angeles
Enoch Johnson [Jones] Spring	Utah	Iron
Green River Crossing	Utah	Emery
Hacienda de los Martinez	New Mexico	Taos
Hesperus-La Plata Crossing	Colorado	La Plata
Holt Canyon	Utah	Washington
Juan Matías Sanchez Adobe	California	Los Angeles
Kane Springs	Utah	San Juan
Kit Carson Home and Museum	New Mexico	Taos
Laguna Hedionda	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Lane's Crossing (Oro Grande Junction)	California	San Bernardino
Las Tinajas Waterholes	Utah	San Juan
Looking Glass Rock	Utah	San Juan
Los Angeles Plaza, Church, and Cemetery	California	Los Angeles
Los Luceros	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Magotsu	Utah	Washington
Michael White (Miguel Blanco) Adobe	California	Los Angeles
Mission San Gabriel Archangel	California	Los Angeles
Mountain Springs	Nevada	Clark
Nambe Pueblo	New Mexico	Santa Fe
Picuris Pueblo	New Mexico	Taos
Pipe Spring National Monument	Arizona	Mohave
Piute Springs (UT)	Utah	San Juan
Plaza del Cerro (Chimayo)	New Mexico	Santa Fe
Point of Rocks/Helendale	California	San Bernardino
Pojoaque Pueblo	New Mexico	Santa Fe
Politana	California	San Bernardino
Punta de Agua/Fork of Roads	California	San Bernardino
Ranchos de Taos Plaza	New Mexico	Taos
Resting Spring	California	Inyo
Robidoux Inscription	Utah	Grand
Salt Springs	California	San Bernardino

Table 2. High Potential Sites

Site Name	State	County
San Antonio del Río Colorado (Questa)	New Mexico	Taos
San Bernardino Estancia	California	San Bernardino
San Ildefonso Pueblo	New Mexico	Santa Fe
San Rafael Swell ruts	Utah	Emery
Santa Cruz Plaza and Church	New Mexico	Santa Fe
Santa Fe Plaza	New Mexico	Santa Fe
Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiú Chapel and Village	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Simon Turley's Mill and Distillery	New Mexico	Taos
Stuart Ranch pictographs	Nevada	Clark
Stump Spring	Nevada	Clark
Taos Downtown Historic District	New Mexico	Taos
Taos Pueblo	New Mexico	Taos
Tesuque Pueblo	New Mexico	Santa Fe
Trujillo Adobe	California	Riverside
William Knight Inscription	Utah	Iron
William Workman Home	California	Los Angeles

Table 3. High Potential Route Segments

Segment Name	State	County
Afton Canyon	California	San Bernardino
Amargosa River	California	San Bernardino/Inyo
Aztec-La Plata	New Mexico	San Juan
Beaver Dam	Arizona/Utah	Mohave/Washington
Big Bend of the Virgin	Arizona	Mohave
Blue Diamond	Nevada	Clark
Blue Hills	Utah	Grand
Book Cliffs	Utah/Colorado	Emery/Grand/Mesa
Box of the Paria	Utah	Kane
Bulldog Canyon	Utah	Washington
Cajon Pass	California	San Bernardino
California Crossing	Nevada	Clark
Cañada de Apodaca	New Mexico	Taos / Rio Arriba
Chama River	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Cochetopa Creek	Colorado	Uncompaghre
East Canyon	Utah	San Juan
El Vado South	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Emigrant Pass	California	Inyo
Fool's Hill	Colorado	Delta/Mesa
Fork of Roads	California	San Bernardino
Great Sand Dunes	Colorado	Alamosa/Saguache

Table 3. High Potential Route Segments

Segment Name	State	County
Gunsight Pass	Utah	Kane
Hamblin Ranch	Utah	Washington
Hidden Valley	Nevada	Clark
La Joya/Embudo	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Largo Canyon	New Mexico	Rio Arriba / San Juan
Long Canyon	Arizona	Coconino/Navajo
Long Valley	Utah	Sevier/Piute
Mancos Canyon	Colorado/New Mexico	Montezuma/La Plata/San Juan
Mormon Mesa	Nevada	Clark
Mountain Meadow	Utah	Washington
Mule Shoe Wash	Utah	San Juan
North Cedar City	Utah	Iron/Washington
Red Pass	California	San Bernardino
Saguache Creek	Colorado	Saguache
San Rafael Swell	Utah	Emery
Sand Hills	Utah	Kane
Seven Mile	Colorado	Mesa
Southern Mojave	California	San Bernardino
Spanish Canyon/ Impassable Pass	California	San Bernardino
Sweetwater Springs	Arizona	Apache
Taos Overlook	New Mexico	Taos
Wilson Pass	Nevada	Clark/Nye

Table 4. Total High Potential Resources by State

State	Sites	Segments	Segment Notes	Total
Arizona	1	4	1 is also in UT	5
California	18	8		26
Colorado	4	6	1 is also in NM	10
Nevada	5	5		10
New Mexico	19	7		26
Utah	15	13	1 is also in CO	28
Total	**62**	**43**		**105**

Table 5. Tentative High Potential Sites and Segments

Site/Segment Name	State	County
Abiquiú National Register Archaeological District	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Abiquiú Reservoir wagon roads, vicinity of Dominguez/Escalante marker	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Adelanto Springs/Topipabit	California	San Bernardino
Alkali Canyon trail traces	Colorado	Dolores
Alvord Mountain alternative route trail segments	California	San Bernardino
Antelope Springs	Utah	Iron
Avila Adobe	California	Los Angeles
Balanced Rock	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Beale's Road/Mojave Road	Arizona	Mohave
Bear Valley trail traces	Utah	Iron
Beaver Dam Creek inscriptions	Arizona	Mohave
Blanca trail ruts and segments	Colorado	Costilla
California Valley/Pahrump Valley divide trail traces	Nevada	Clark
Camel Rock	New Mexico	Santa Fe
Camino de la Cañada Corraque	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Camp Cady	California	San Bernardino
Carracas Canyon	Colorado	Archuleta
Casa Colorado Wash trail segments	Utah	San Juan
Castle Cliff	Utah	Washington
Cerro Pedernal	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Chama Overlook	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Chama Wagon Road	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
China Ranch	California	Inyo
Cochetopa trail traces	Colorado	Saguache
Crowder Canyon National Register Archaeological District	California	San Bernardino
Curecanti National Register Archaeological District	Colorado	Gunnison
Durango Home Depot trail segments	Colorado	La Plata
El Vado de Los Padres/Crossing of the Fathers	Utah	Kane
Ferganchick Orchard National Register Rock Art Site	Colorado	Delta
Ford of Uncompahgre River just south of Olathe	Colorado	Montrose
Formidable Pass	California	Inyo
Fort Mojave rock figures, Northern Avenue petroglyphs	Arizona	Mohave
Georgia O'Keefe Home National Historic Landmark	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Grand River Crossing	Colorado	Delta
Hamblin Townsite	Utah	Washington
Highway 20	Utah	Iron
Inscription "Paso por aqui 1776"	Utah	Kane
Iron Springs	Utah	Iron
Irwin Spring trail traces	Colorado	Dolores
Jesse Smith House	Utah	Iron

Table 5. Tentative High Potential Sites and Segments

Site/Segment Name	State	County
Jicarilla Apache National Register Historic District	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Julien Denis Inscription I	Utah	Grand
Julien Denis Inscription II	Utah	San Juan
La Casa Primera/La Casa Alvarado/Rancho San Jose	California	San Bernardino
La Loma Plaza National Register Historic District	New Mexico	Taos
La Morada de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	New Mexico	Taos
La Valle Townsite	Colorado	Costilla
Lees Ferry	Arizona	Coconino
Martinez, Severino House	New Mexico	Taos
Meeks-Green Farmstead	Utah	Iron
Mission de San Geronimo	New Mexico	Taos
Moab Trail	Utah	Grand
Mojave Desert petroglyphs near Needles	California	San Bernardino
Mojave villages along the Colorado	Arizona	Mohave
Mormon Rocks	California	San Bernardino
Muscopiabit	California	San Bernardino
Old Irontown	Utah	Iron
Old Salt Lake Road, Big Springs, and Mormon Fort trail segments	Nevada	Clark
Old Spanish Trail – Mormon Road National Register Historic District	Nevada	Clark
Oro Grande junction of trail variants	California	San Bernardino
Orphan Rock	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Pahrump Springs landmark	Nevada	Clark
Paiute Pass National Register Archaeological District	California	San Bernardino
Paiute Wash, west of Bullhead City, trail traces	Nevada	Clark
Paragonah inscriptions, 1831	Utah	Iron
Parowan Gap petroglyphs	Utah	Iron
Parowan Rock Church	Utah	Iron
Pinnacle Site	Utah	Iron
Pojoaque Pueblo archaeological site	New Mexico	Santa Fe
Rancho de Taos archaeological site	New Mexico	Taos
Rancho del Chino and Rancho Cucamonga	California	San Bernardino
San Francis de Assisi Mission Church	New Mexico	Taos
Santo Tomas de Abiquiú Chapel	New Mexico	Rio Arriba
Sawpit Canyon	California	San Bernardino
Slover Mountain	California	San Bernardino
St. Basil's Wells, Peach Springs, Hualapai Reservation	Arizona	Mohave
Stinking Water (La Verking Springs)	Utah	Washington
Sycamore Grove	California	San Bernardino
Tapia Adobe	California	San Bernardino

Table 5. Tentative High Potential Sites and Segments

Site/Segment Name	State	County
Tesuque Village	New Mexico	Santa Fe
The Arrowhead and Arrowhead Springs	California	San Bernardino
The Causeway	New Mexico	Taos
Trail segment northwest of Moab	Utah	Grand
Trail segments along Mojave River near Point of Rocks	California	San Bernardino
Trail segments at Um Creek and near the spring east of Koosharem	Utah	Sevier
Trail segments by Gunnison River south of Grand Junction	Colorado	Mesa
Trail segments east of Castle Dale: Buckhorn Flat, Furniture Draw, Walker Flat, Iron Springs Camp, Big Hole	Utah	Emery
Trail traces west of Barstow	California	San Bernardino
Turner Ranch	California	San Bernardino
Ute Mountain Ute Mancos Canyon National Register Historic District	Colorado	La Plata/Montezuma
Vincent Lugo adobe	California	Los Angeles
Westwater Campsite	Utah	Grand
Whitewater Hill Road identified as remnant of Salt Lake Wagon Road/Old Spanish Trail	Colorado	Mesa
Wolfskill-Yount Inscription	Utah	Iron

Table 6. Tentative High Potential Resources by State

State	Number
Arizona	6
California	23
Colorado	14
Nevada	5
New Mexico	21
Utah	25
Total	**94**

Adding Additional Routes to the Designated Trail

The feasibility study and the law are quite explicit on the process for adding three possible routes to the designated trail, as cited below.

From the 2001 Feasibility Study, pp. 75-76:

> *Other identified variants of these routes were studied in the preparation of this feasibility study, including the western fork of the North Branch, the Fishlake Cutoff, and the Kingston Cutoff. These three variants are included as part of the overall study area and met the criteria for National Historic Trail designation, but are not recommended for designation at this time, because data is lacking to show that they were used in conducting trade and commerce between New Mexico and California during the period 1829-1848. Future investigations may uncover additional information on these variants that shows they were used for trade and commerce during the period of significance. Because these routes have met all other study requirements of the National Trails System Act, this alternative includes the suggestion that any legislation developed to designate the Old Spanish Trail should also authorize the Secretary to administratively add these trail variants to the National Historic Trail if sufficient documentation is presented to verify their association and use.*

From the 1968 National Trails System Act, as amended:

> *...(F) ADDITIONAL ROUTES - The Secretary may designate additional routes to the trail if –*
>
> > *(i) the additional routes were included in the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail Feasibility Study, but were not recommended for designation as a national historic trail; and*
> >
> > *(ii) the Secretary determines that the additional routes were used for trade and commerce between 1829 and 1848.*

The process will thus require the trail administrators to recommend the addition of either the western fork of the North Branch, the Fishlake Cutoff, or the Kingston Cutoff to the Secretary of the Interior after evaluating documentation of the association and use of any of those routes for trade and commerce between 1829 and 1848. None of the information provided thus far or in public comments on the draft of the comprehensive administrative strategy can confirm that these three routes were used for trade and commerce between 1829 and 1848.

Proponents for the designation of any of those three routes may provide any new information suggesting those routes meet the requirements of the National Trails System Act to the trail administrators for evaluation. If the trail administrators conclude that the information meets the requirements of the Act they will then send a recommendation to the Secretary of the Interior that the routes be added to the designated trail.

The addition of any other routes besides these three to the designated trail would require congressional action.

Process for Additional Refinements of the Trail Alignment

Mapping the Old Spanish National Historic Trail has been an ongoing, iterative, and data-driven process. The trail alignments found in this document represent the current level of knowledge on route alignments as of the date of publication. They have also been informed by agencies' studies, and work with trail proponents at two mapping workshops in 2006 and 2013. Due to the ephemeral nature of historic travel on the trail, and the

scarcity of written accounts of trail use, the Old Spanish National Historic Trail can only be closely mapped on the ground in a few places. In most instances, the alignment is best thought of as a corridor. As new information and existing data are reinterpreted and corroborated, trail administration has the authority to further refine trail alignments to achieve the greater historical accuracy and authenticity. The following steps specify this process:

1. Notify trail administration in writing that a realignment is proposed.

2. Provide persuasive evidence justifying the realignment in the form of documentary, mapping, or field data.

3. Trail administration will evaluate the evidence and present their decision to the proponents of the realignment.

Process for Adding High Potential Sites and Segments

The lists of high potential sites and segments contained in this document are complete as of the date of publication. Also included are lists of tentative high potential sites and segments. Any of these sites or segments may be identified as high potential if trail administration determines new information or reinterpretations of existing data verifies their eligibility for the revised listing. Trail administration will also consider staff, agency, tribal, and outside recommendations for additional high potential sites and segments if the site/segment meets the criteria in the National Trails System Act (see p. 16) and has demonstrable association with trade and commerce between New Mexico and California during 1829-1848, and definable locations. The following steps specify this process:

1. Notify trail administration in writing that a high potential site or segment is proposed.

2. Provide persuasive evidence demonstrating how the resource meets the high potential sites and segment criteria in the National Trails System Act in the form of documentary, mapping, or field data.

3. Trail administration will evaluate the evidence and present their decision to the proponents of the high potential resource.

Mapping and Resource Inventory

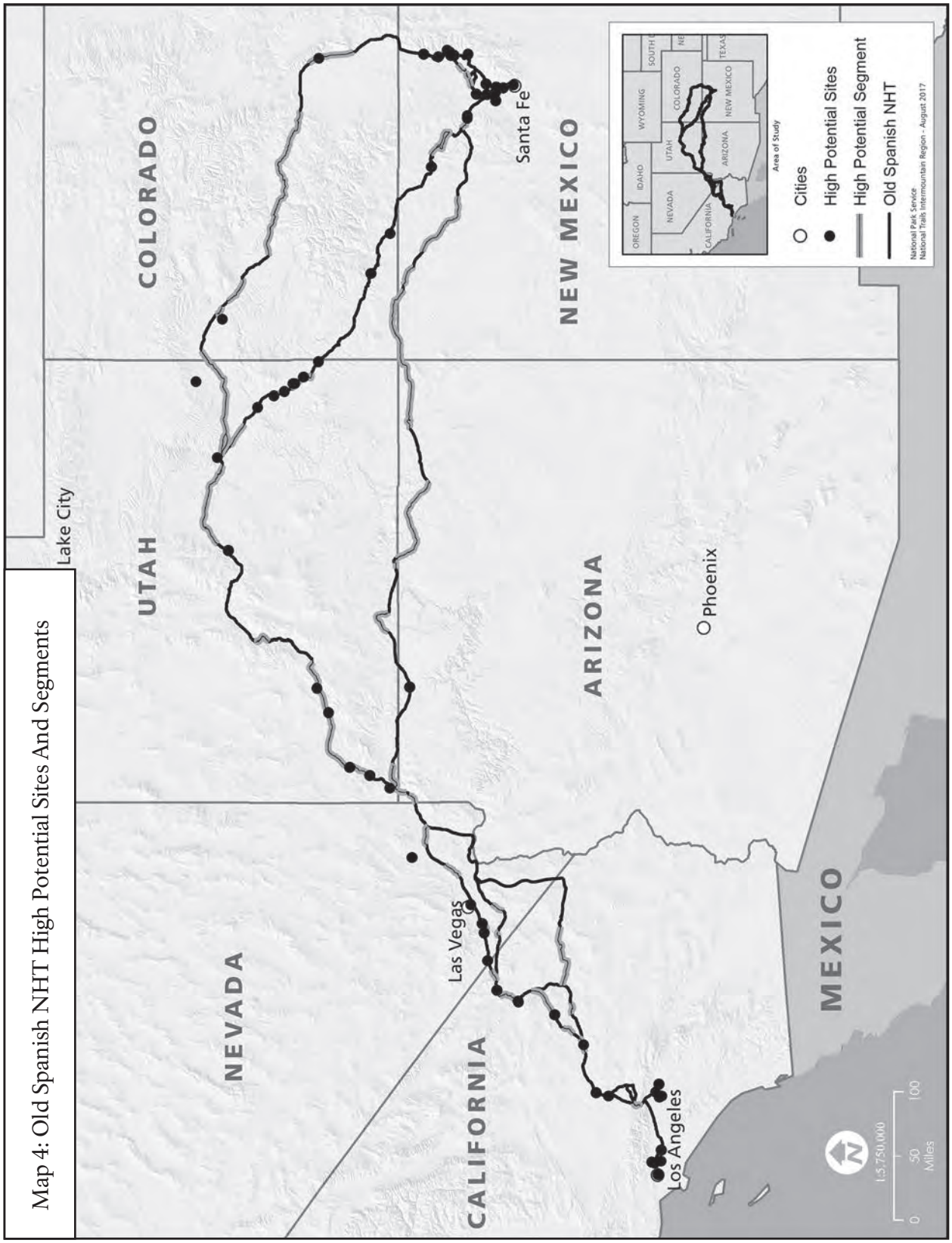
Federal trail data standards will be used to maintain data in coordinated geographic information systems that will meet national agency data standards (Federal Trail Data Standards 2010). All trail resource inventory data collected on historic and archeological resources will be gathered in accordance with applicable BLM and NPS requirements for each state where the inventory is conducted. Visual resource inventory projects will meet BLM standards and inventory requirements for trail resources lying on BLM administered lands.[5]

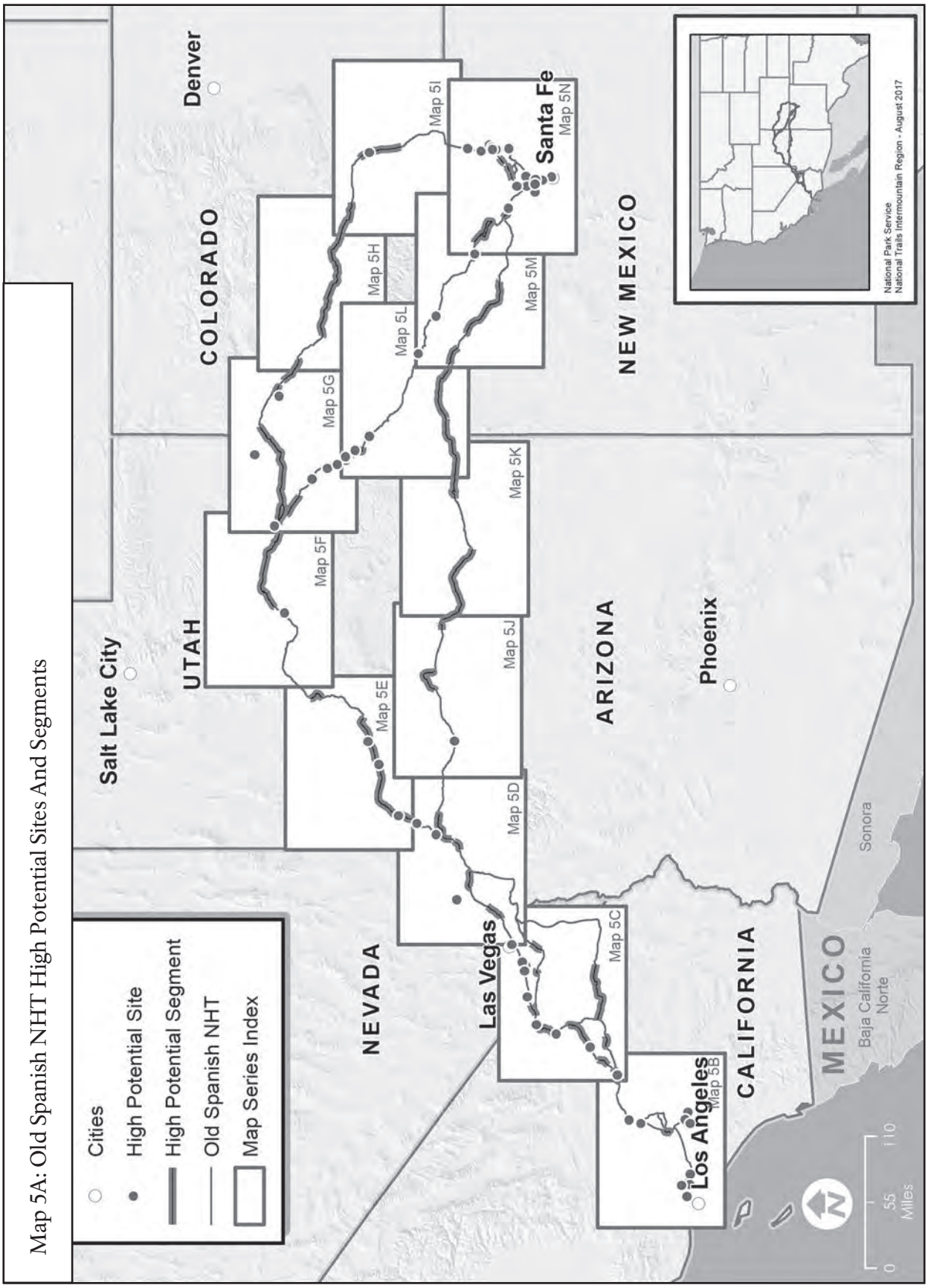
Trail administrators will establish a process in consultation with other federal agencies for developing a master trail administration data set and will provide for data sharing. Trail administrators in the Utah State Office and National Trails Intermountain Region will lead the process. The process will include identification of master trail administration data sets, identification of the storage location for the authoritative data sets, and the development of a plan for how they will be maintained and updated with information from trail managers and others.

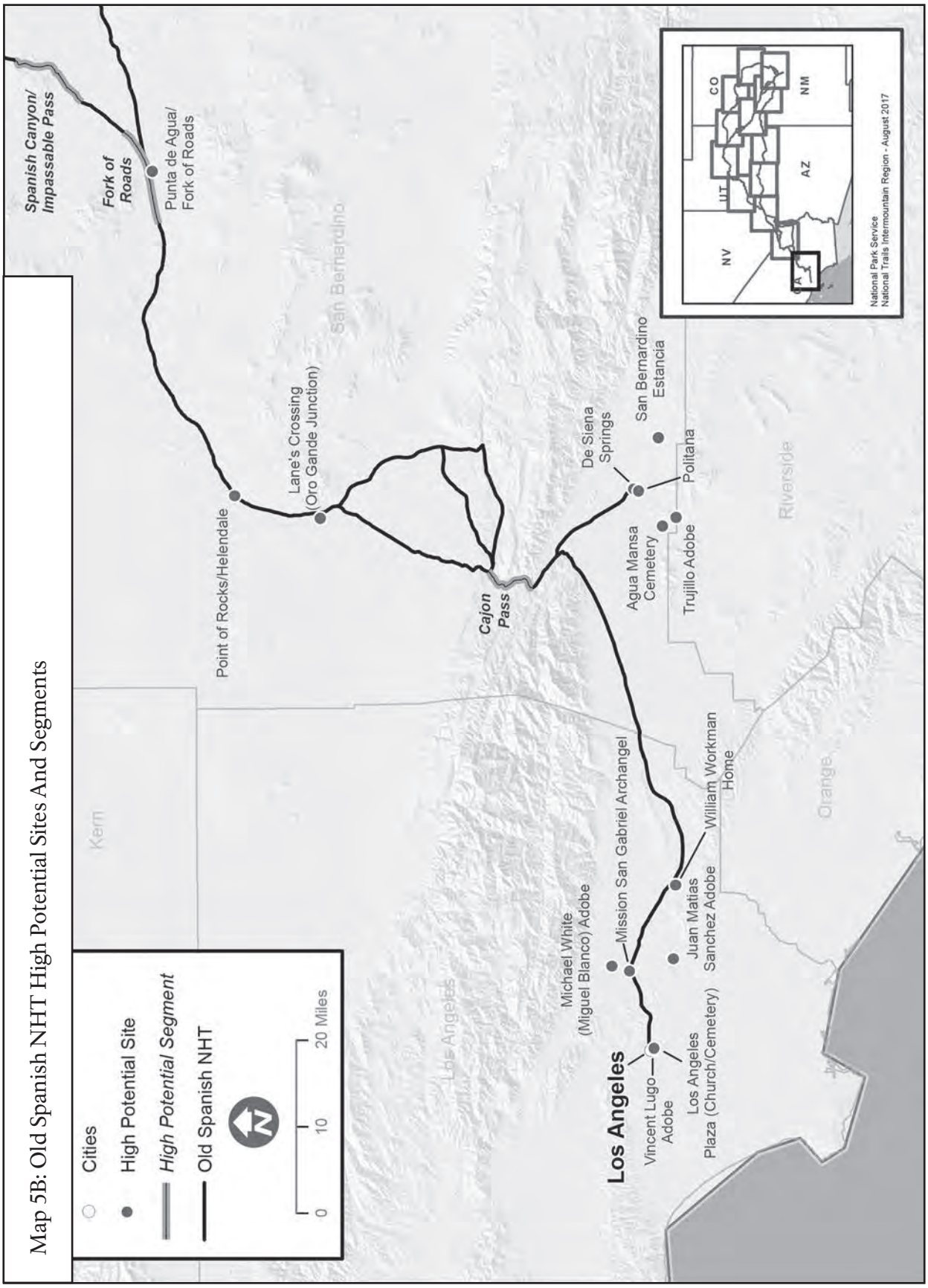
[5] Visual Resource Management is a system which involves inventorying scenic values and establishing management objectives for those values through the resource management planning process, and then evaluating proposed activities to determine whether or not they conform to management objectives. For a more detailed discussion of the Bureau of Land Management's Visual Resource Management guidelines, see https://www.blm.gov/programs/recreation/recreation-programs/visual-resource-management. The National Park Service is also in the process of developing visual resource standards.

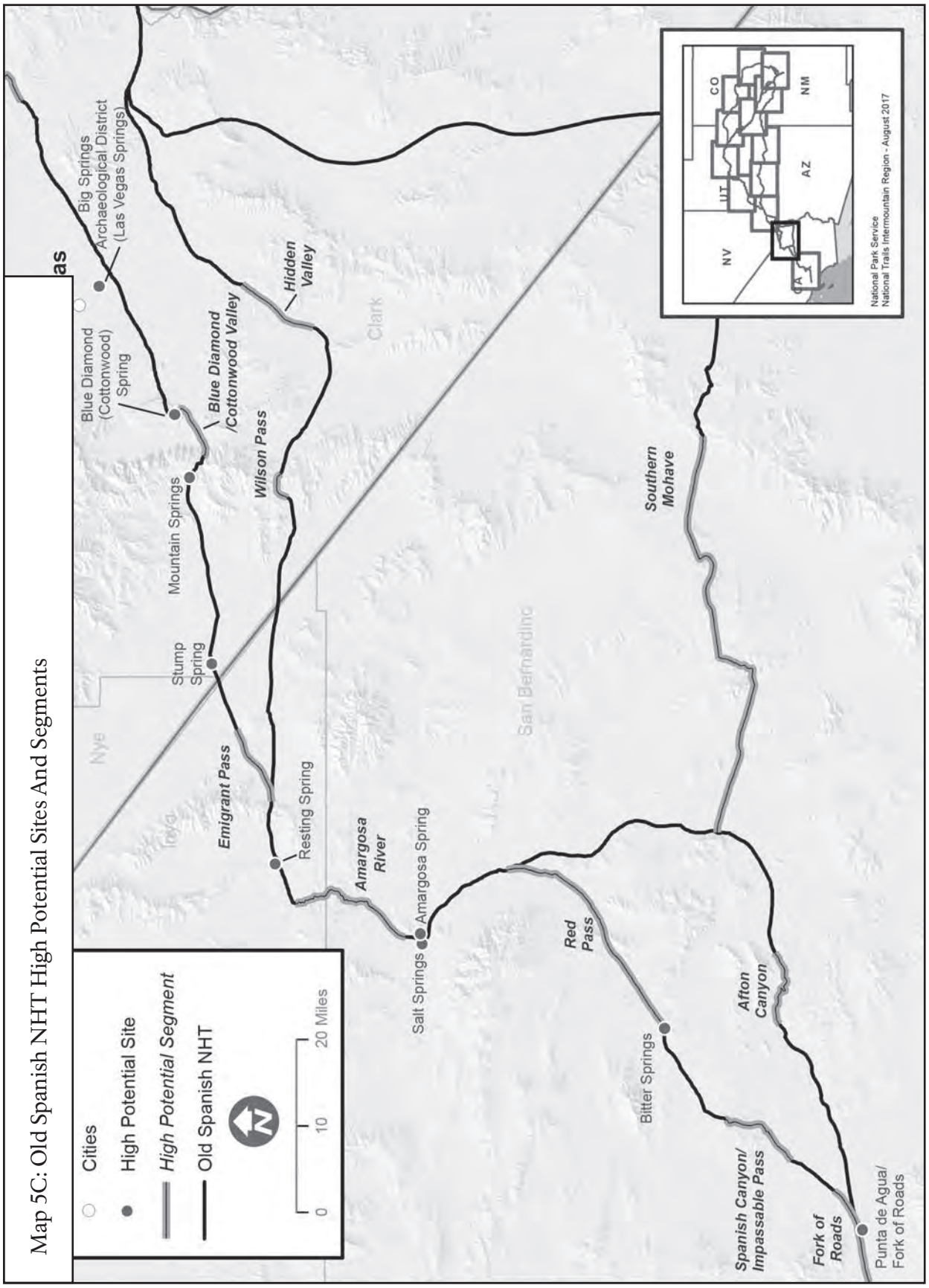
Trail administrators will promote and support projects resulting in high quality mapping of trail resources and inventories of historic resources that document values, condition, and setting qualities of sites and segments, and remote sensing studies of trail resources. Non-sensitive mapping and inventory data will be maintained by trail administrators cooperatively and shared with the public through media and under circumstances that will assure preservation and protection of trail resources. The process will also identify how the authoritative data sets will be shared.

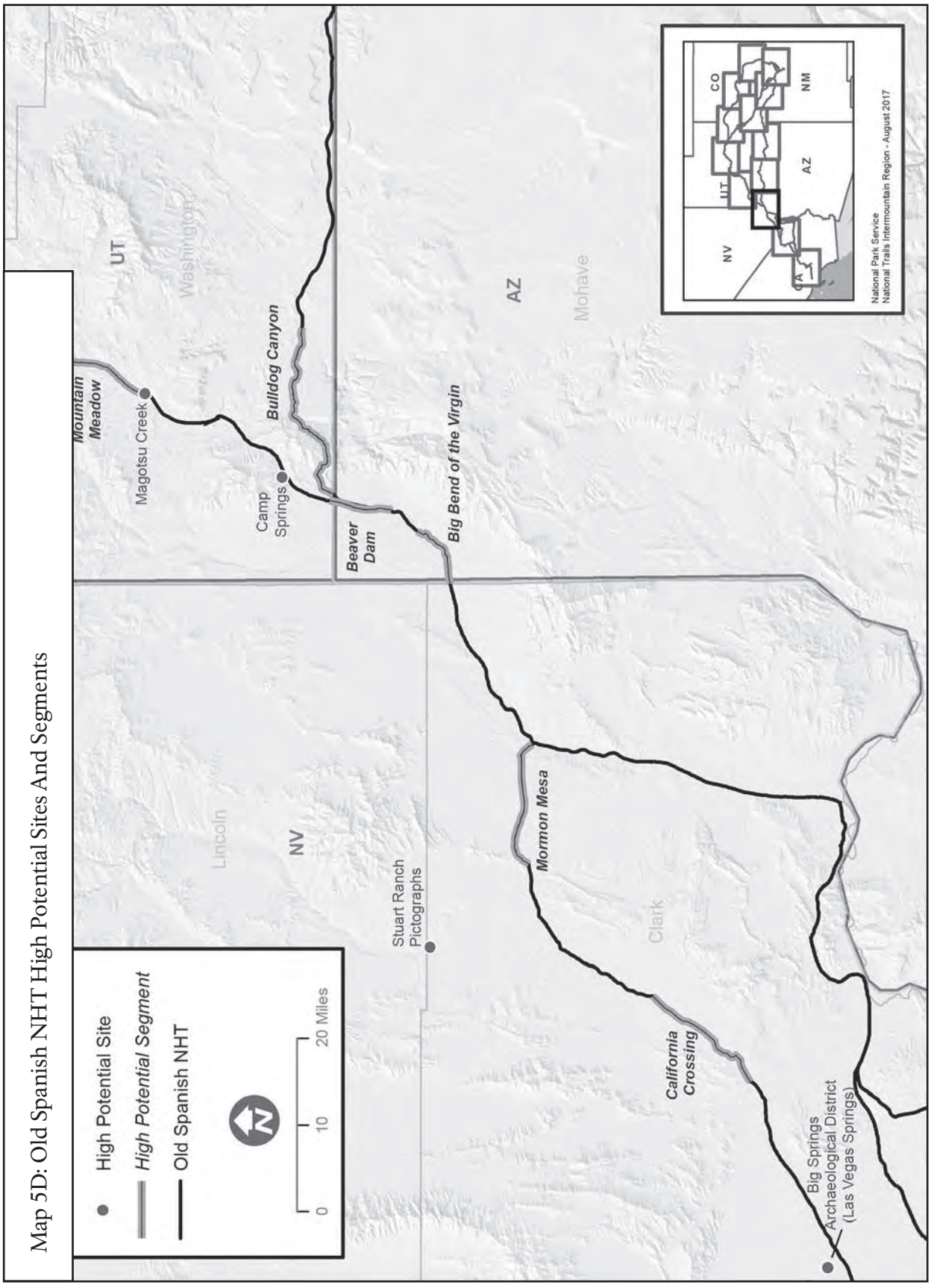
Map 4: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites And Segments

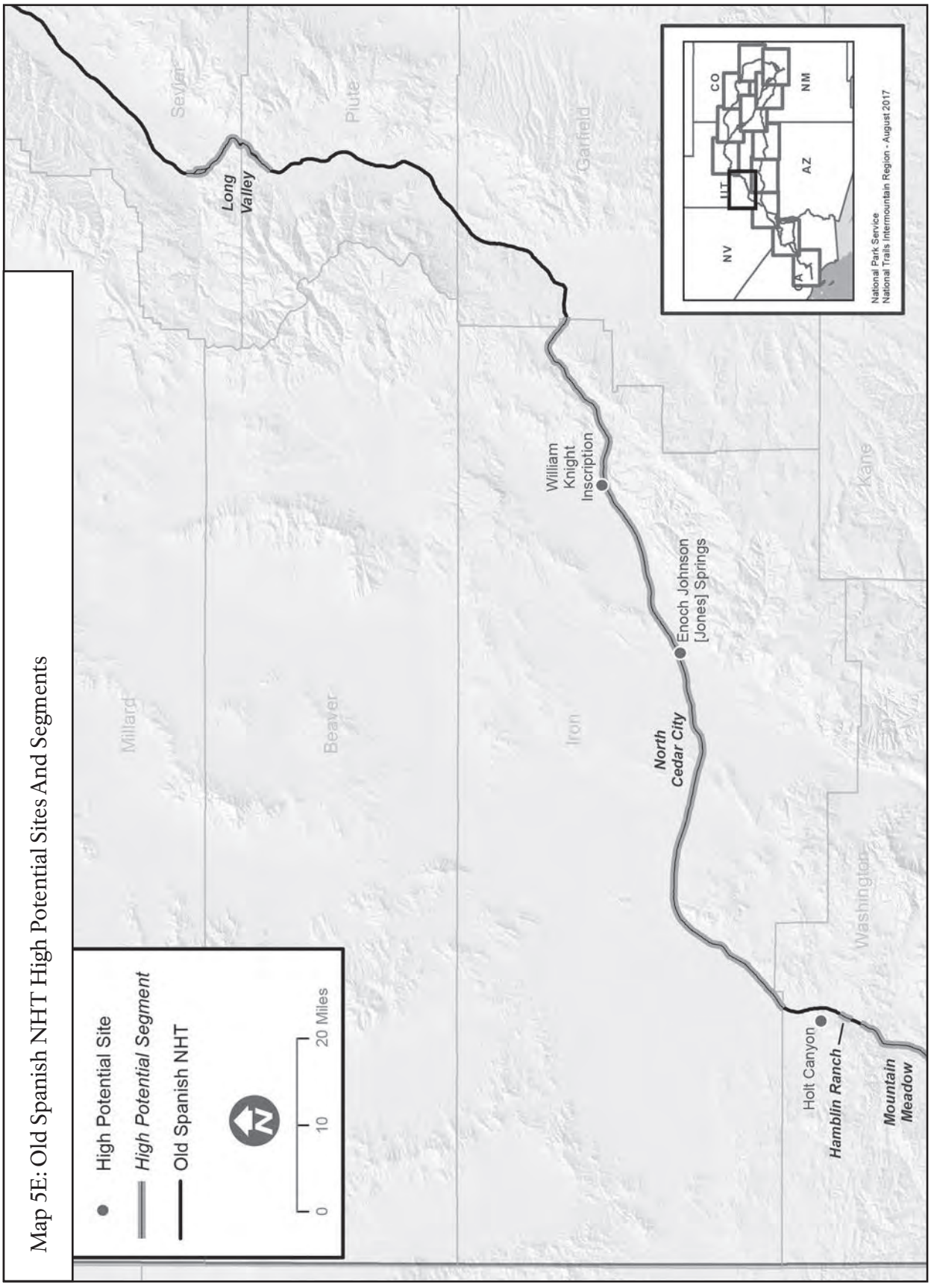


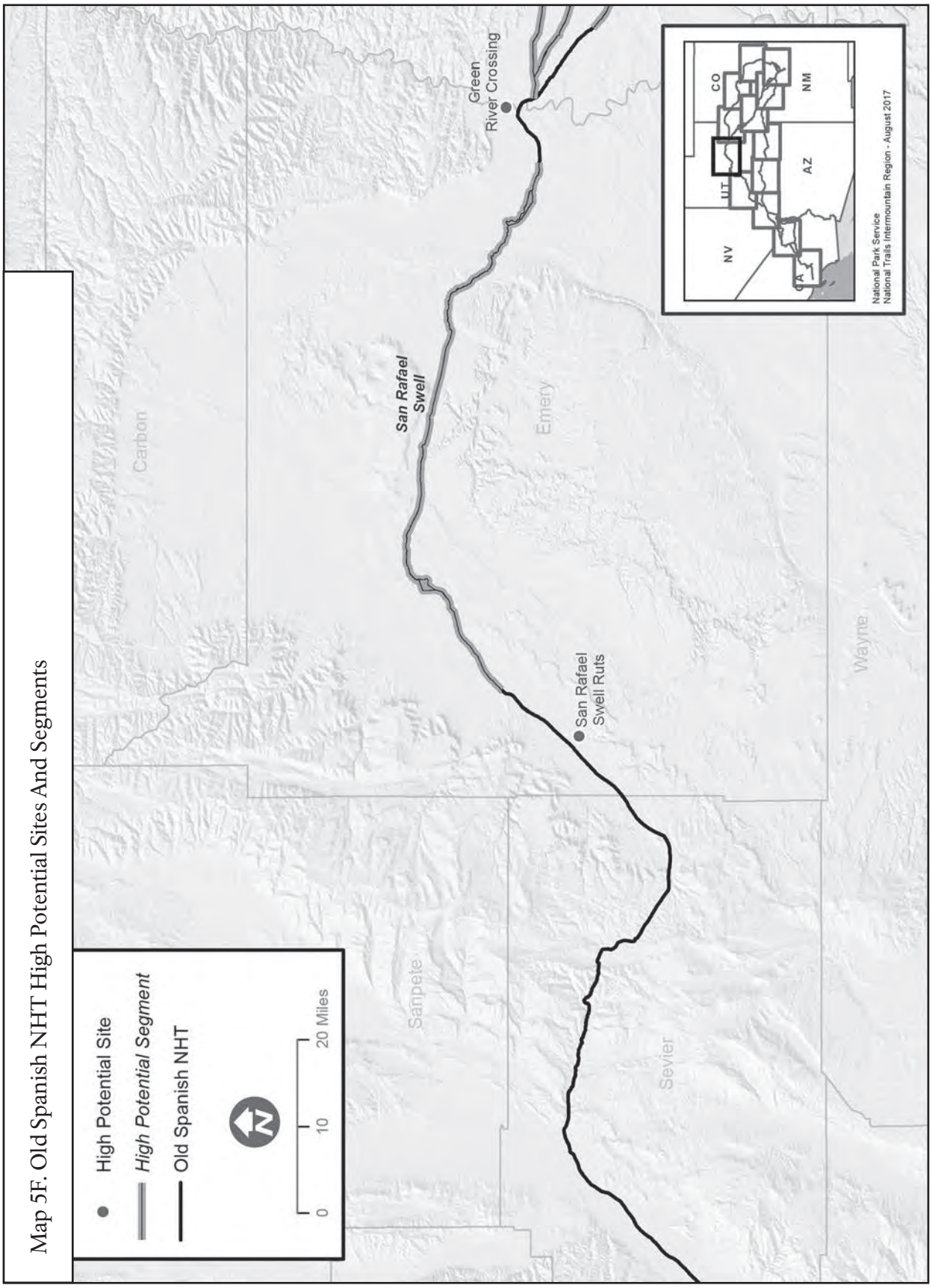

Map 5A: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites And Segments
Cities
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
Map Series Index
Denver
Salt Lake City
Phoenix
Las Vegas
Los Angeles
Santa Fe
COLORADO
UTAH
NEVADA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
Baja California Norte
Sonora
Map 5B
Map 5C
Map 5D
Map 5E
Map 5F
Map 5G
Map 5H
Map 5I
Map 5J
Map 5K
Map 5L
Map 5M
Map 5N
0 55 110
Miles
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

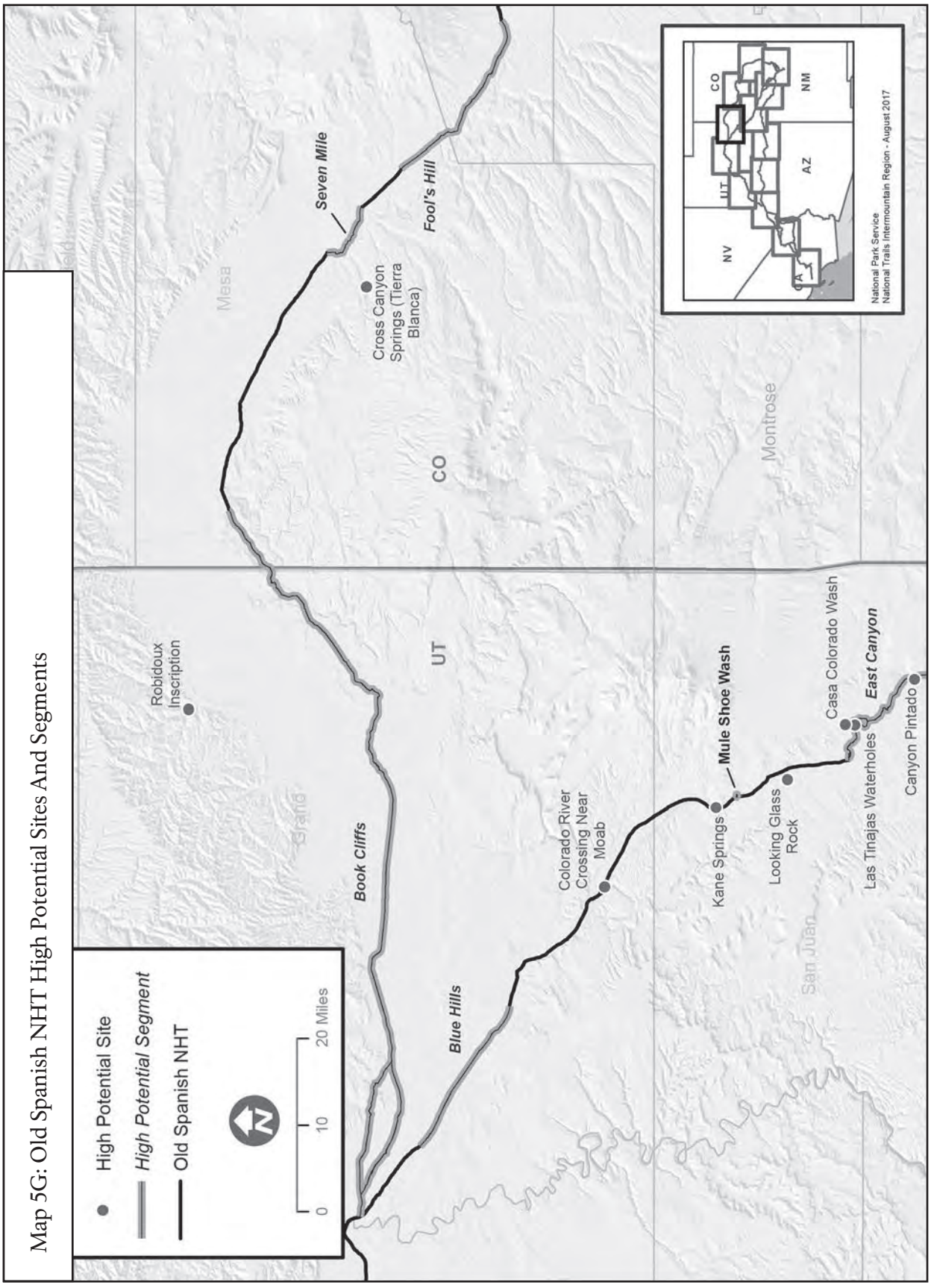

Map 5B: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites And Segments
Cities
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
Spanish Canyon/ Impassable Pass
Fork of Roads
Punta de Agua/ Fork of Roads
Point of Rocks/Helendale
Lane's Crossing (Oro Grande Junction)
Cajon Pass
De Siena Springs
San Bernardino Estancia
Politana
Agua Mansa Cemetery
Trujillo Adobe
Michael White (Miguel Blanco) Adobe
Mission San Gabriel Archangel
Juan Matias Sanchez Adobe
William Workman Home
Los Angeles
Vincent Lugo Adobe
Los Angeles Plaza (Church/Cemetery)
Kern
San Bernardino
Riverside
Orange
Los Angeles
NV
UT
CO
AZ
NM
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

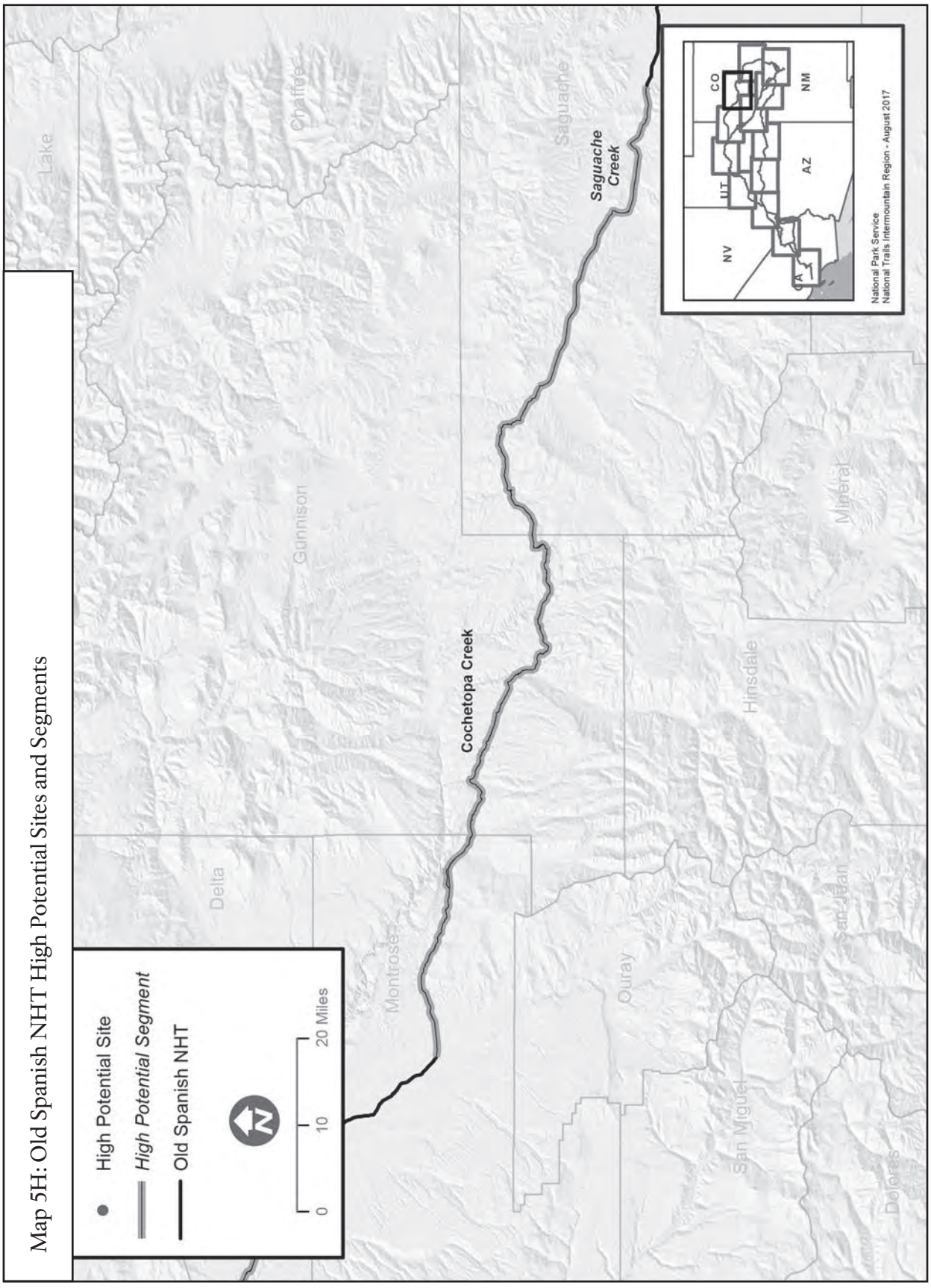

Map 5C: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites And Segments
Cities
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
Big Springs Archaeological District (Las Vegas Springs)
Blue Diamond (Cottonwood) Spring
Blue Diamond /Cottonwood Valley
Hidden Valley
Wilson Pass
Mountain Springs
Stump Spring
Emigrant Pass
Resting Spring
Amargosa River
Amargosa Spring
Salt Springs
Red Pass
Bitter Springs
Afton Canyon
Spanish Canyon/ Impassable Pass
Fork of Roads
Punta de Agua/ Fork of Roads
Southern Mohave
Nye
Clark
San Bernardino
NV
UT
AZ
CO
NM
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

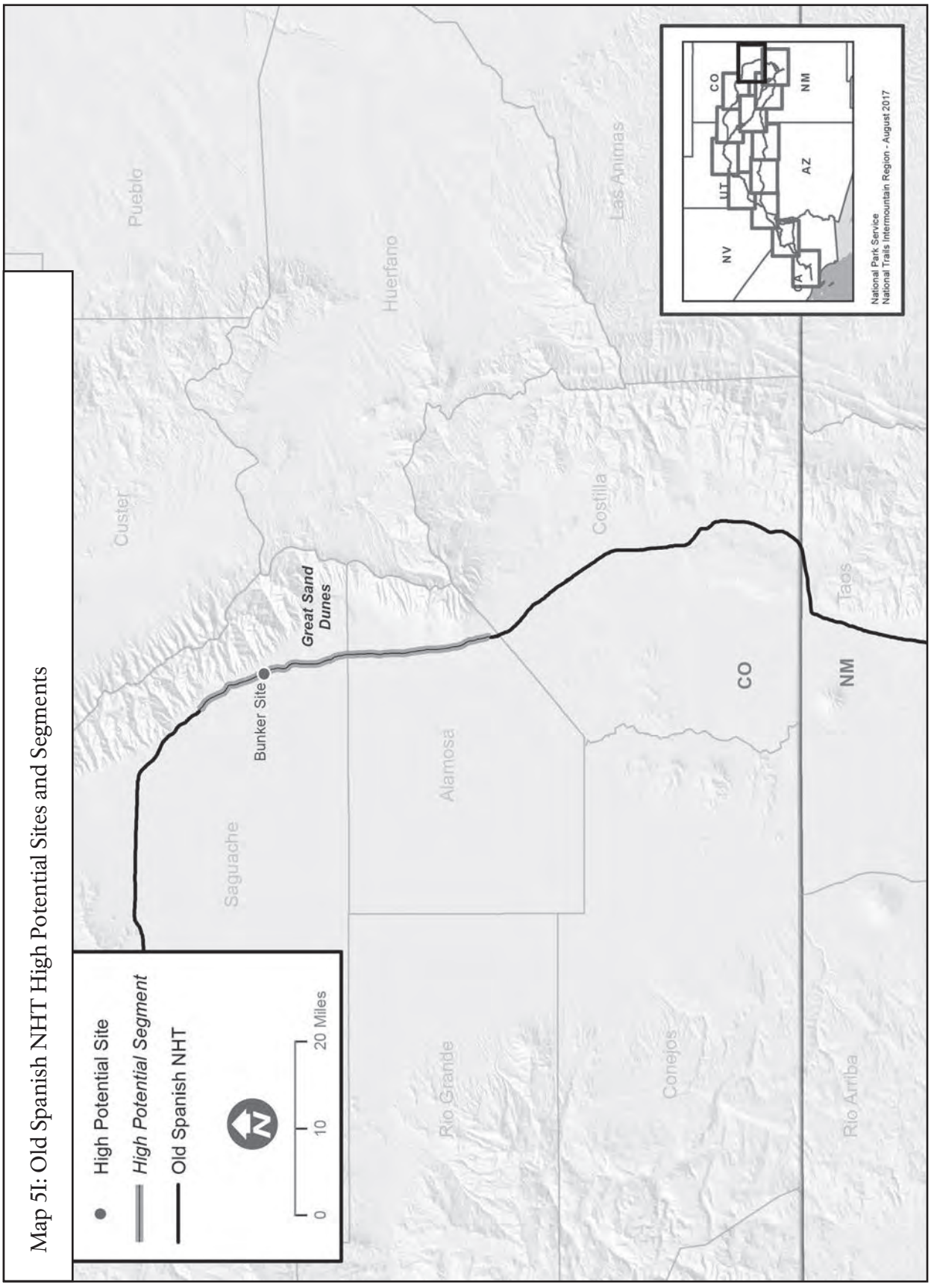

Map 5D: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites And Segments
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
UT
Washington
Lincoln
NV
Clark
AZ
Mohave
Mountain Meadow
Magotsu Creek
Bulldog Canyon
Camp Springs
Beaver Dam
Big Bend of the Virgin
Stuart Ranch Pictographs
Mormon Mesa
California Crossing
Big Springs Archaeological District (Las Vegas Springs)
CO
NM
UT
AZ
NV
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

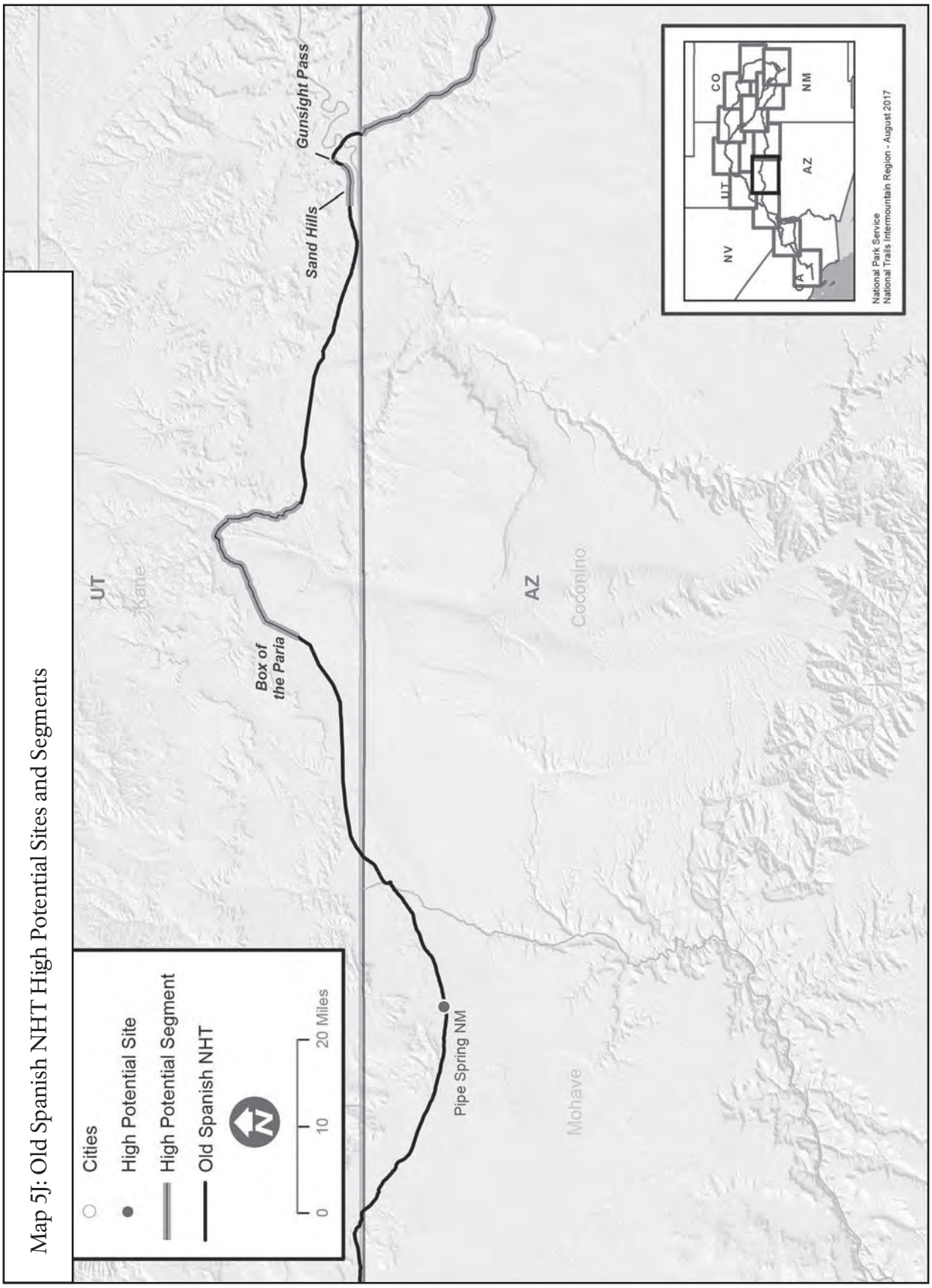

Map 5E: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites And Segments
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
Sevier
Millard
Beaver
Piute
Garfield
Iron
Kane
Washington
Long Valley
William Knight Inscription
Enoch Johnson [Jones] Springs
North Cedar City
Holt Canyon
Hamblin Ranch
Mountain Meadow
NV
CO
NM
AZ
UT
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

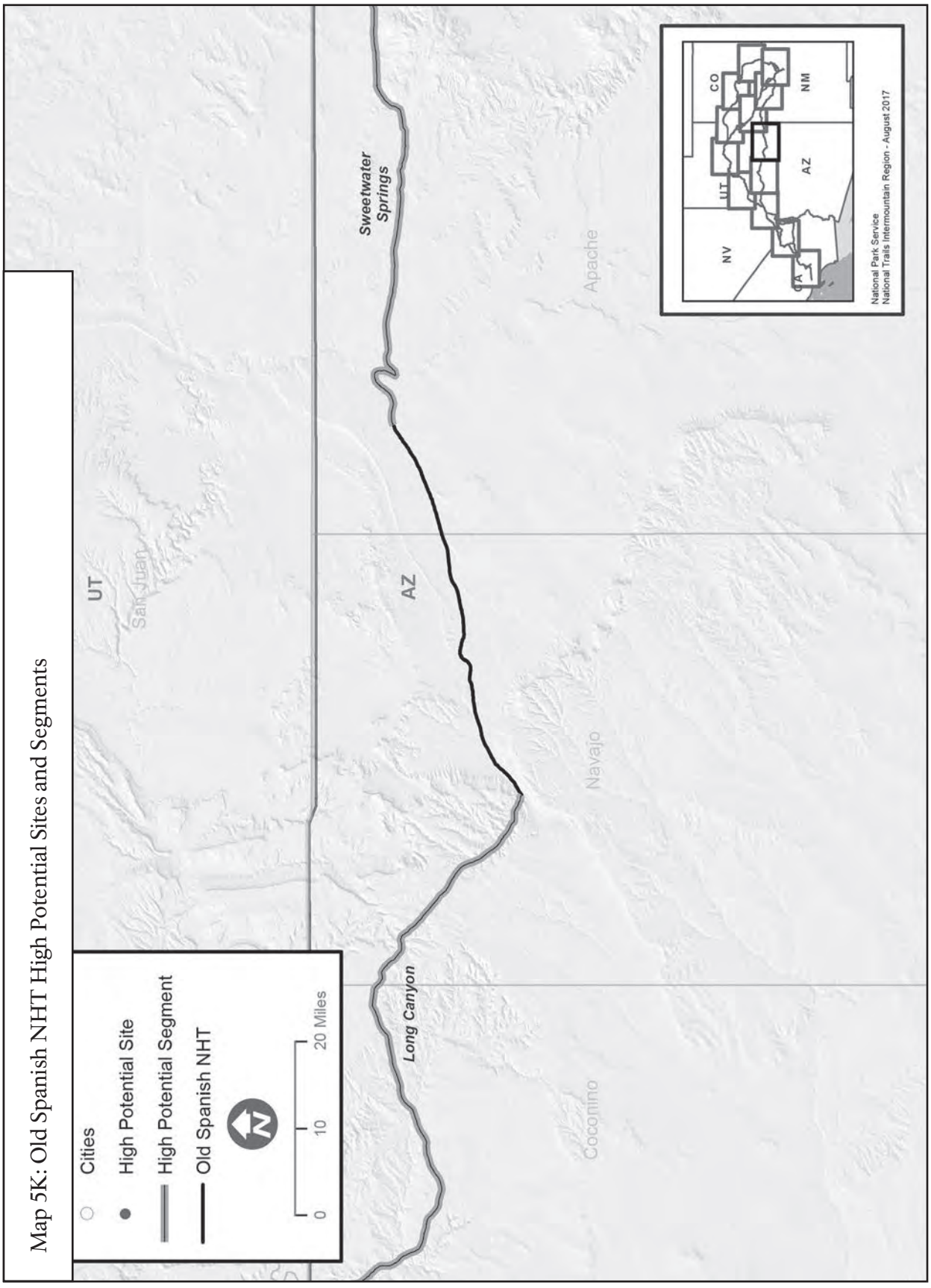

Map 5F. Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites And Segments
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
N
Green River Crossing
San Rafael Swell
San Rafael Swell Ruts
Carbon
Emery
Sanpete
Sevier
Wayne
CO
NM
AZ
UT
NV
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

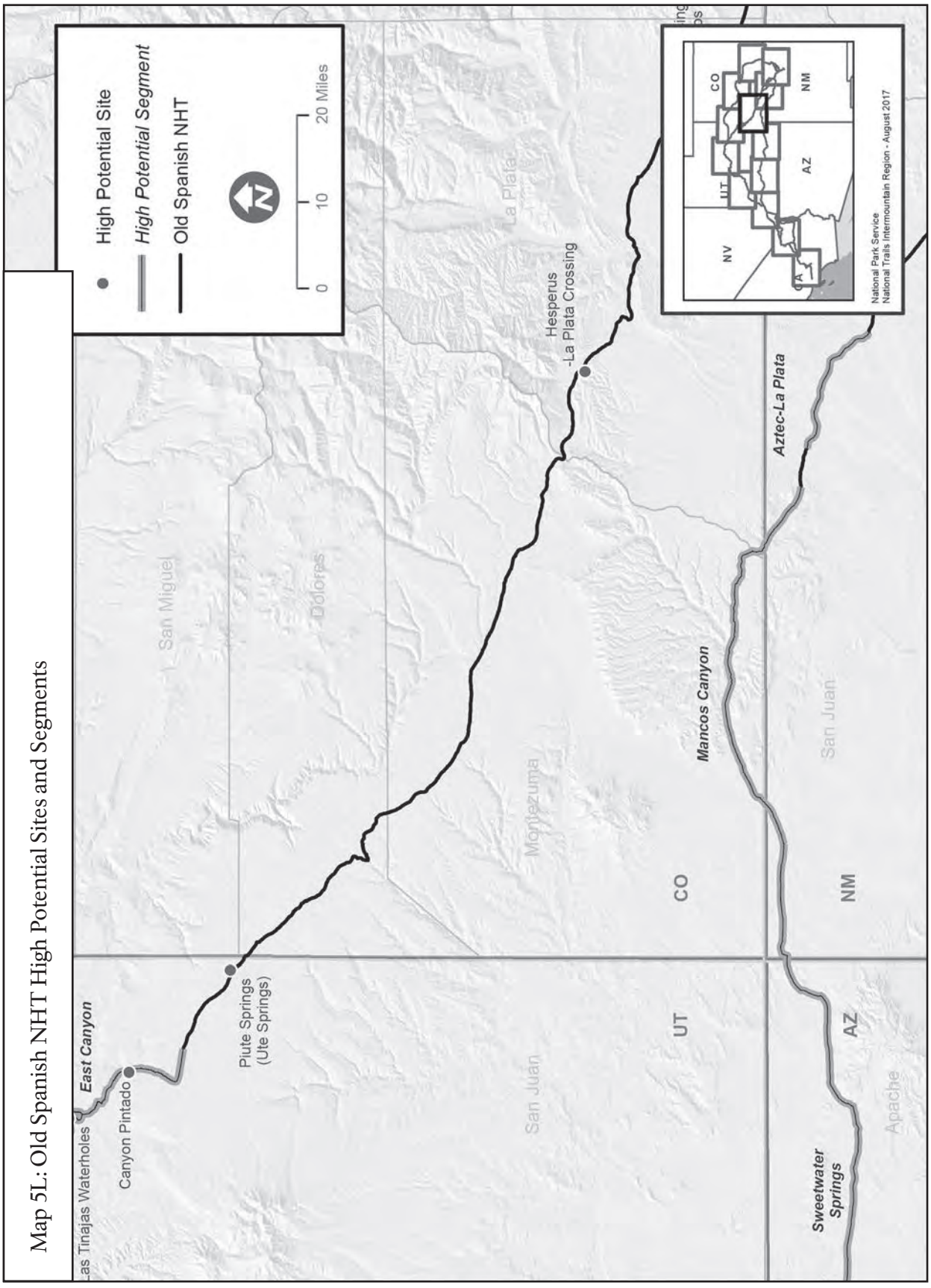

Map 5G: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites And Segments
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
N
Robidoux Inscription
Book Cliffs
Blue Hills
Colorado River Crossing Near Moab
Kane Springs
Mule Shoe Wash
Looking Glass Rock
Las Tinajas Waterholes
Casa Colorado Wash
East Canyon
Canyon Pintado
Cross Canyon Springs (Tierra Blanca)
Seven Mile
Fool's Hill
Mesa
Grand
San Juan
Montrose
UT
CO
NV
AZ
NM
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017


Map 5H: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites and Segments
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
Cochetopa Creek
Saguache Creek
Lake
Chaffee
Saguache
Gunnison
Delta
Montrose
Ouray
Hinsdale
Mineral
San Miguel
San Juan
Dolores
CO
NM
AZ
UT
NV
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

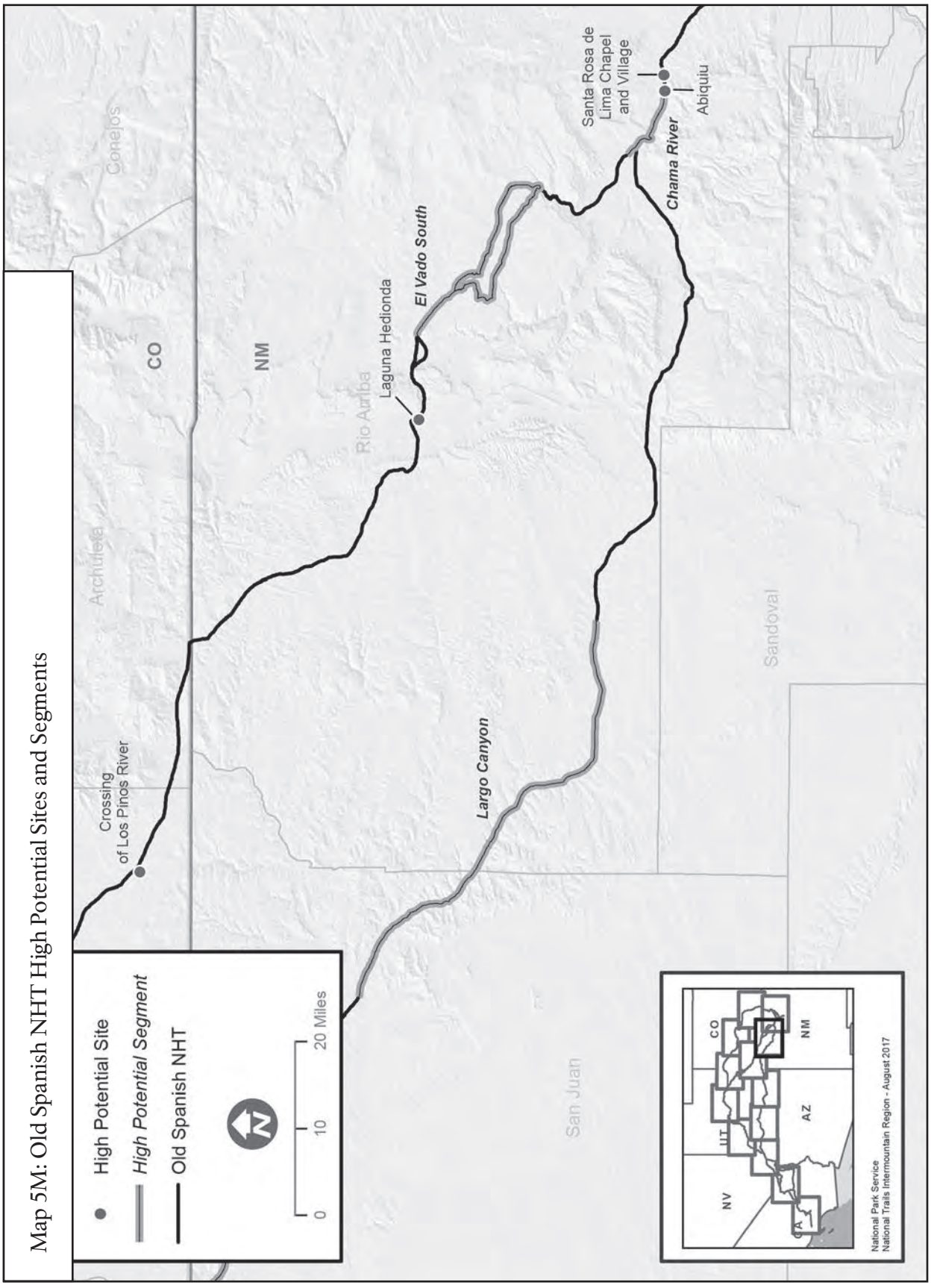

Map 5I: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites and Segments
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
N
Bunker Site
Great Sand Dunes
Pueblo
Huerfano
Las Animas
Custer
Costilla
Saguache
Alamosa
Taos
Rio Grande
Conejos
Rio Arriba
CO
NM
NV
UT
AZ
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

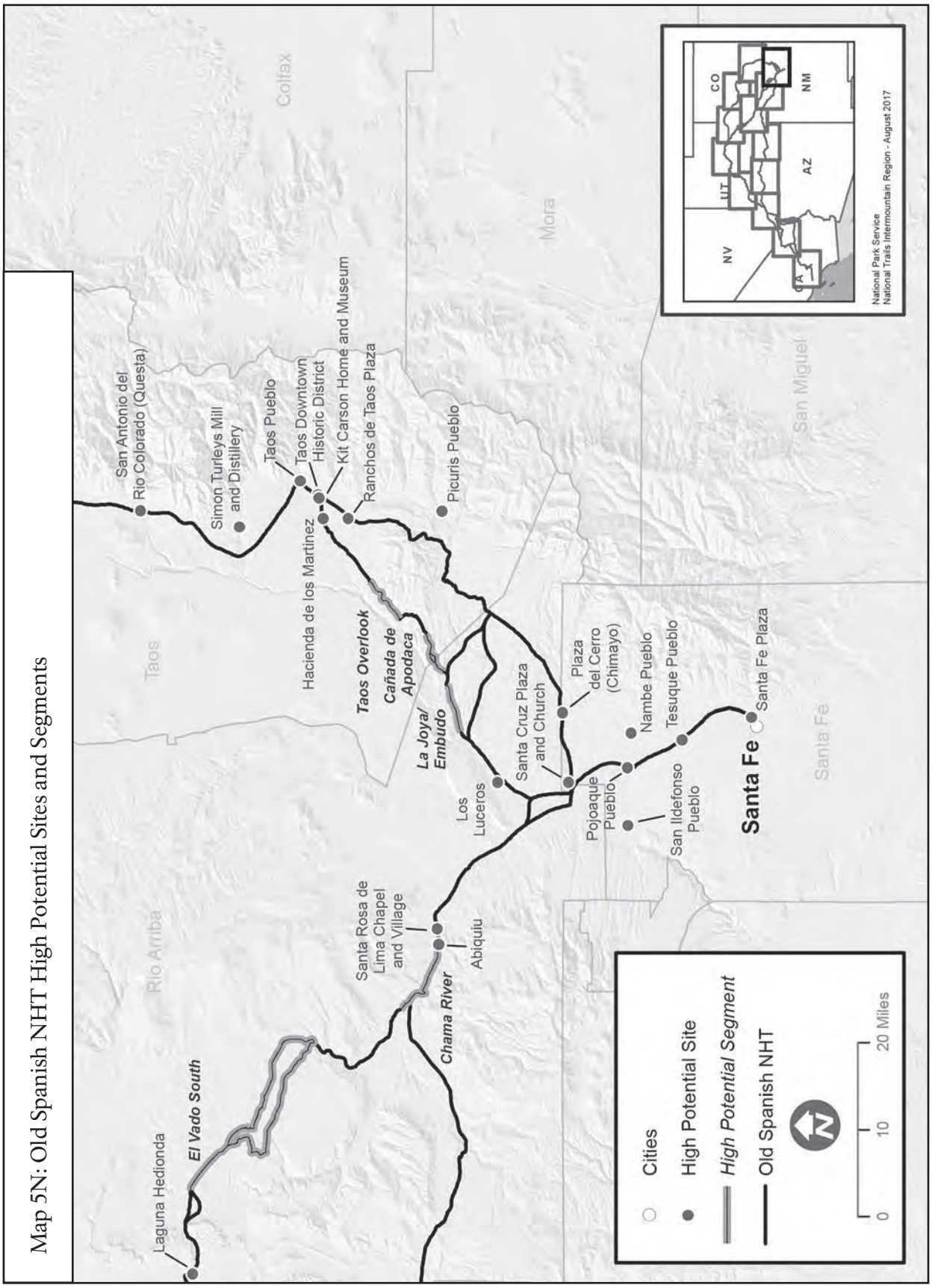

Map 5J: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites and Segments
Cities
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
N
UT
Kane
AZ
Coconino
Mohave
Box of the Paria
Sand Hills
Gunsight Pass
Pipe Spring NM
CO
NM
UT
AZ
NV
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017


Map 5K: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites and Segments
Cities
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
N
0
10
20 Miles
UT
San Juan
AZ
Apache
Navajo
Coconino
Sweetwater Springs
Long Canyon
CO
NM
UT
AZ
NV
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017



Map 5L: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites and Segments


Map 5M: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites and Segments
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0
10
20 Miles
N
CO
NM
Conejos
Archuleta
Rio Arriba
Sandoval
San Juan
Crossing of Los Pinos River
Largo Canyon
Laguna Hedionda
El Vado South
Chama River
Santa Rosa de Lima Chapel and Village
Abiquiu
NV
UT
AZ
CO
NM
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017


Map 5N: Old Spanish NHT High Potential Sites and Segments
Cities
High Potential Site
High Potential Segment
Old Spanish NHT
0 10 20 Miles
Laguna Hedionda
El Vado South
Rio Arriba
Santa Rosa de Lima Chapel and Village
Abiquiu
Chama River
Los Luceros
La Joya/ Embudo
Cañada de Apodaca
Taos Overlook
Hacienda de los Martinez
Taos
Colfax
Mora
San Miguel
Santa Fe
San Antonio del Rio Colorado (Questa)
Simon Turleys Mill and Distillery
Taos Pueblo
Taos Downtown Historic District
Kit Carson Home and Museum
Ranchos de Taos Plaza
Picuris Pueblo
Santa Cruz Plaza and Church
Plaza del Cerro (Chimayo)
Pojoaque Pueblo
Nambe Pueblo
San Ildefonso Pueblo
Tesuque Pueblo
Santa Fe
Santa Fe Plaza
CO
NM
AZ
UT
NV
CA
National Park Service
National Trails Intermountain Region - August 2017

Partnership Certification Program

Congress has established each national historic trail for the purpose of identifying and protecting a "historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment." At the same time, the National Trail System Act has recognized that when deemed to be in the public interest, such Secretary [charged with the administration of a national historic trail] may enter written cooperative agreements with the States or their political subdivisions, landowners, private organizations, or individuals to operate, develop, and maintain any portion of such a trail either within or outside a federally administered area. Such agreements may include provisions for limited financial assistance to encourage participation in the acquisition, protection, operation, development, or maintenance of such trails [16 United States Code 1242 Section 7 (h) 1].

Partnership certification is a tool used by federal trail administrators, with the consent of the landowner, to recognize, preserve, and interpret trail resources on nonfederal land. The product of the partnership certification program is not simply a paper certificate acknowledging a property's link to trail history but an enduring partnership between the property owner/manager and trail administrators to work together to benefit the trail resource and the visiting public.

Partnership certification begins with a conversation between the property owner/manager and federal trail administrators about the historic significance and management needs of a particular trail-related property. As shared public recognition, preservation, and public use interests emerge, the land owner/manager and federal trail administrators may wish to enter into a voluntary partnership to manage, protect, and interpret the site for visitors. Commitment to that partnership is formalized with a simple, legally nonbinding agreement that says that the parties will work together toward those general mutual goals (see Appendix B for sample partnership certification agreement). Federal trail administrators could provide many forms of technical assistance, including trail signing and interpretation on a case-by-case basis. It will also provide a certificate and national historic trail identification signing with the official logo designating the property a national historic trail-certified site or segment.

In authorizing national historic trails, Congress prohibited or restricted federal agencies from purchasing lands or interests in lands outside the boundaries of federal areas. Through partnership certification, however, nonfederal parties may choose to work with the appropriate federal trail administrators to manage their trail properties as part of a national historic trail.

Partnership certification extends national trail status and protection to nonfederal trail resources. Therefore, the purpose of partnership certification is to afford a degree of protection to nonfederal trail remnants, artifacts, and interpretive sites to allow for public use and appreciation. Partnership certification is not exclusively for the benefit of the property owner/manager or even for the sole benefit of the resource, but for the public as well. Conditions of certification should include some allowance for "public use and enjoyment"—a way for people to experience parts of the trail that otherwise will be unavailable for visitation.

Trail-related interpretive facilities are also eligible for inclusion in the partnership certification program. To qualify, facilities on non-federal lands will have to maintain active exhibits and/or displays featuring the Old Spanish Trail and be open to the public on a regular basis. If these facilities hold collections that include material related to the Old Spanish Trail and its period of historic significance, they will have to meet minimum curatorial standards.

Shared public recognition, preservation, and public use interests in nonfederal trail resources will be recognized in voluntary partnership agreements that are formalized through the development of a nonbinding partnership certification agreement between resource owners and administering agencies. The

agreement will acknowledge mutual interests in working cooperatively on planning, interpretation, resource management, and other matters, including but not limited to site protection, design and development, managing visitor use, research, and signing.

The National Trails Intermountain Region office will lead this program and will provide the Utah State Office an opportunity to review and comment on certification applications. Certifications will be reviewed and approved by both administering agencies. The process for property certification will be as follows:

1) The owner and trail administrators begin discussions.

2) Trail administrators determine the eligibility of the property for certification.

3) National Trails Intermountain Region will take the lead in processing the agreement.

4) The agreement will be approved and signed by the BLM Utah State Director and the Superintendent of the National Trails Intermountain Region.

Trail Use Experience

Visitors to the Old Spanish National Historic Trail will have a variety of opportunities to experience the trail. Development of recreational retracement trails, visitor facilities, and signing along the trail and at trail sites will be provided, as well as interpretation and educational media and programs to meet visitor interest and needs. Emphasis will be placed on a range of trail-related recreational experiences in a variety of settings both on and off the trail.

Orientation

Orientation aids (materials) will assist visitors with both trip planning and way finding. The range of aids will include maps, publications, mobile applications, and web sites; all developed to answer pre-trip questions, prepare visitors for their trail visit, and to provide safety messages. Other resources, such as signing, will direct visitors to trail-related sites and segments. These information sources will be updated as new information is available.

Background information about the Old Spanish National Historic Trail by NPS is currently available from:

- The NPS website at http://www.nps.gov/olsp
- The NPS-produced brochure and full color trail map is available at https://www.nps.gov/olsp/planyourvisit/publications.htm.

A BLM website at https://www.blm.gov/programs/national-conservation-lands/national-scenic-and-historic-trails/old-spanish provides additional information:

The Old Spanish Trail Association website at: http://www.oldspanishtrail.org/.

Wikipedia information about the Old Spanish Trail at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Spanish_Trail_(trade_route).

Trail Logo

The logo developed for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail will be displayed within the standard triangular shape of the National Trails System marker. The logo is a unifying emblem representing the national historic trail and may be used in a variety of mediums. The logo is a federally protected insignia and its use must be approved by the federal trail administrators. Its use will be restricted to identification for the public of trail sites and segments and for projects furthering the purposes of the trail.

Request for use of the logo must be submitted in writing to the trail-administrators, who must agree on approval of all requests. Trail administration must respond with approval in writing before the logo can be used for any purpose. Trail signing will use the logo developed for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail and follow national historic trail sign guidelines. National historic trail signs will be erected and maintained on the Old Spanish National Historic Trail on federal lands by the managing agency or their designee.

Trail Identification

Official national historic trail road and pedestrian signs exist for signing and "branding" the national historic trail regardless of management or ownership of any given trail site or segment. This signing or "branding" of the trail is an essential component to development of the trail and establishing its visibility and identity to the public along its entire length regardless of ownership. Official national historic trail road and pedestrian signs will direct visitors to find and enjoy trail sites and segments, including high potential sites and segments. All land managers and owners of historic trail sites and segments where public access is provided will be encouraged and supported to use the official national historic trail road and pedestrian signs with the official trail logo.

Both road and pedestrian signs share a common design to establish public familiarity with the signs and their identification with the national historic trail. All of the signs use the publicly recognizable white text on brown panels associated with cultural and historic sites. They also include use of the national historic trail logo in a consistent format. Road signs provide direction to historic trail sites and segments, identify where roads may exist that were the historic or "original route" of the trail and places where the historic trail crosses modern roads, as well as to mark tour routes connecting visitors to numerous trail sites and segments.

Pedestrian signs are used to allow visitors wishing to hike the national historic trail to find and identify the developed non-motorized national historic trail retracing the historic route. Use of the national historic trail pedestrian signs require the trail to be developed on the ground and can be used in urban or rural and pristine trail environments. In some instances, a developed trail following the historic route may already exist and only the addition of pedestrian signs and perhaps some road directional signs to a trailhead or parking area are needed. Examples might be a sidewalk through a town or an existing backcountry trail through public land. In other instances, and usually most common, a trail following the historic route may not yet exist and must

be planned and developed in order to provide a hiking retracement experience. Signing the national historic trail will range from providing signing where existing roads or trails are already developed and may provide an opportunity to follow the historic route or visit a historic site to signing a new hiking trail as a part of future trail construction efforts.

In addition to official national historic trail road and pedestrian signs, trail administrators support projects to determine the feasibility and effectiveness of trail orientation and interpretation using tablets, smart phones, and other handheld electronic devices. Trail administrators will coordinate and assist interested partners in signing of the national historic trail along existing paved roads as resources permit. It will encourage the use of official national historic trail signs, which follow design guidelines. Fabrication, installation, and maintenance of trail signs will be the responsibility of local road jurisdictions. Federal trail administrators will provide technical assistance.

Recreational Opportunities

Trail administrators' efforts will focus on providing a wide range of recreational opportunities. Trail administrators will assist landowners and managers to develop trail-related activities such as hiking, equestrian, pack train, and wagon uses of appropriate sections of the trail. As resources permit, trail administrators will provide technical assistance including planning, project design and review, development, and interpretive programs. Where recreation programs are already established or where established programs involve historic sites and/or segments associated with the Old Spanish Trail, trail administrators will develop trail-related interpretive programming to augment the current recreation experience.

Trail administrators will seek and give priority to opportunities for coordinating trail route and recreation projects. These opportunities will include existing local and regional route designations such as scenic byways; local recreation trails; and local, regional, state, or federal recreation areas.

Trail administrators will include recreational opportunities that preserve the sense of remoteness and lead to exploration, discovery and adventure, and activities symbolizing high values for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

Trail administrators will consider and promote the development of a variety of use options. It will also promote programs that segregate uses where feasible. Recreation use modes will be planned to coordinate and complement existing local and regional trail, greenway, and recreational route modes.

Motorized vehicle recreation (two-wheel and single-track, as well as four-wheel) is widely enjoyed in the region crossed by the trail. Where appropriate, trail administrators will promote and support motorized vehicle use only on designated travel routes on public lands or on segments of routes on nonfederal lands that are designed, managed, and maintained for such uses. Motorized vehicle use on historic route alignments will be discouraged.

Administrators will develop programs that connect with existing recreational trails. To promote the broadest range of trail experiences, trail administrators will support the development of recreational opportunities, including affording access to underwater segments through interpretation, water-based transport, on-water signage, and other management strategies. Trail administrators will also support the development of local tour routes as well as local, regional, and trail-wide bicycle tour routes on existing roads on approved and designated supporting travel routes.

Local Tour Routes

Trail administrators will provide an adequate framework for establishing tour routes at the local level. Technical assistance will be offered to communities along the trail as well as partner organizations interested in identifying and developing local opportunities for exploring sections of the trail.

Communities and partners will be encouraged to work in conjunction with the various state departments of transportation to ensure that signage meets their guidelines.

Interpretation/Education

Trail administrators will coordinate interpretation and signage initiatives with federal and nonfederal landowners and entities, including the Old Spanish Trail Association and other interested parties. Trail administrators will ensure that interpretation and signage supported by federal funds follow the interpretive themes, plans, and design program outlined in this document.

A variety of trail-related interpretation and education media and programs will be available both on and off the trail. These media and programs include audiovisual media, exhibits, outdoor wayside exhibits, publications, interactive technologies, educational lesson plans and curricula, and personal services.

Both personal services programs and interpretive media at historic sites will incorporate the primary and secondary interpretive themes outlined in this document. Trail-related interpretation will focus on the experience of the original trail users, the traditional communities along the trail, and the difficulties posed by travel across the rugged, unmapped lands that separated those communities.

Special emphasis will be placed in supporting trail interpretation at already existing museums and interpretive centers. Trail administrators will encourage managers of such facilities to seek assistance in updating their facilities to provide visitors with high-quality opportunities to learn about and appreciate trail resources.

Trail administrators will support the implementation of an activity-based curriculum for students in K-12. Such curriculum will foster appreciation of trail resources and stewardship principles. The Old Spanish Trail Association may take the lead in implementing such educational programs across the entire length of the trail. In addition, trail administrators will encourage lifelong learning activities across the entire trail.

The National Trails Intermountain Region, with the collaboration from staff of the Rio Grande and the Carson national forests and assisted by the Old Spanish Trail Association, completed a program that aims to bring underserved youth to learn and appreciate trail resources and the principles of stewardship. With the financial assistance of the National Park Foundation's Americas Best Idea Program, high school curriculum focusing on the Old Spanish Trail was developed and implemented in the fall of 2012 at two northern New Mexico high schools: Peñasco and Taos. The materials developed in association with this program are available to those interested and the general public at: http://www.nps.gov/olsp.

An educational trunk[6] is in the process of being completed and soon will be made available to educators in all of the trail states. This project is a result of the cooperation of trail administration and the Old Spanish Trail Association.

[6] An "educational trunk," also known as a "traveling trunk" is a box or packet of ideas, props, and materials made available to educators for use in a classroom setting. There are ideas for stand-alone activities as well as materials that can supplement classroom curriculum.

Primary Interpretive Themes

Primary interpretive themes connect the trail's resources to relevant ideas, meanings, concepts, contexts, beliefs, and values. They support the desired interpretive outcome of increasing visitor understanding and appreciation of the significances of the trail's resources. Primary interpretive themes are based upon the trail's purpose and significance. The following have been identified as the primary interpretive themes for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail:

- The transportation system associated with the Old Spanish Trail relied on mules and equipment characteristic of Spain's heritage; this tradition of muleteering became prevalent across the west and is still present in scattered parts of the west today.
- The mid-19th century trade network spanning the American Southwest brought together American Indian, Mexican, and Euro-American resources and traditions that can still be seen and experienced today.
- Unforeseen consequences of commercial trail traffic contributed to changes in the relationships and balance of power among American Indian tribes living within the shadow of the Old Spanish Trail.

Secondary Interpretive Themes

Secondary interpretive themes serve to connect more distinct trail resources to relevant ideas, meanings, concepts, contexts, beliefs, and values. Secondary interpretive themes are used to focus interpretive efforts more clearly, whereas primary themes provide overall guidance.

- Hispanic Culture
  - Continuing Hispanic cultural influences can be traced to today through local place names, traditions, language, art, and food.
- Wayfinding
  - The success with which traders and their pack animals negotiated the rugged landscapes of the Old Spanish Trail in the 1830s and 1840s reveals determination, skill, and resourcefulness.
- Natural History
  - There are places along the Old Spanish Trail where the historic setting – including native vegetation, water sources, and indigenous animals – still evokes the 19th century experience.
- Antecedents
  - The Old Spanish Trail is a network of traditional American Indian trails, some of which have been in use for centuries.
- Post-1848 Use
  - Even after the political transfer of land following the Mexican War, use of the Old Spanish Trail routes continued as emigrants and others took advantage of well-established and familiar routes of travel.

Health and Safety

Health and safety issues will be addressed as appropriate. Trail users will be warned about potential risks, such as rough terrain, low-lying vegetation that could become entangled in footwear and cause a fall, danger of heat-related exhaustion due to elevated temperatures, and failure to adjust to the high elevation common in a large portion of the trail, lack of drinking water, etc. Necessary precautions will be included in brochures and other written information, such as postings on the trail's website, signs at trail sites, and other forms of interpretive media.

User Capacity

The National Trails System Act requires that carrying capacity be addressed in a comprehensive plan. This strategy addresses these issues for the national historic trail. NPS planning guidelines have replaced the term "carrying capacity" with the term "user capacity." User capacity is defined as the type and level of visitor use that can be accommodated while sustaining the desired resource and social conditions and visitor experience that complement the purpose of a national historic trail and its desired conditions.

The ever-changing character of the 2,706-mile-long Old Spanish National Historic Trail presents a unique challenge to planners attempting to quantify acceptable user capacity. The trail crosses numerous old and modern landscapes and rural and urban settings. Trail boundaries are difficult to determine. While a considerable number of high potential sites and segments are managed by public agencies, many others are in private hands, have uncontrolled access, and serve multiple uses. The capacity of each site or segment to withstand various types of use depends on complex combinations of environmental, cultural, and social factors; these range from extremely susceptible to remarkably resistant to impacts. Land uses and visitor experiences cannot easily be monitored or controlled by any one entity. Nevertheless, a meaningful strategy is necessary to determine and evaluate sustainable uses and levels for individual sites and segments over time, thereby ensuring that the full range of the trail's most significant resources are preserved to maintain the values and characteristics for which the trail was established as part of the National Trails System.

The premise behind user capacity is that some level of impact invariably accompanies public use; therefore, public agencies must decide the level of impact that is acceptable and the actions needed to keep impacts within acceptable limits. Two important components of user capacity for any national historic trail are (1) the condition of trail-related resources, and (2) the condition or acceptable level of social capacity. The condition of trail-related resources includes, among other things, the visual integrity of cultural sites, the ecological integrity of the area crossed by the trail, climatic conditions, and the condition of the trail surface, pedestrian traffic, and erosional patterns. Conditions of social capacity include those levels of congestion and crowding that affect solitude and the opportunity to vicariously experience the nature of the trail.

Most land-management agencies employ user capacity methodologies that follow the "limits of acceptable change" process developed by the United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service in the mid-1980s. The process involves the following steps:

- Develop prescriptions for resource and visitor-experience conditions in various land units or zones.
- Identify indicators (measurable variables) of conditions that can be measured over time.
- Set quantifiable standards that represent minimum acceptable conditions.
- Monitor conditions in relation to indicators and standards.
- Adopt management actions to ensure that conditions remain at or above standard.

Using this approach, it is clear that user capacity is not a set of numbers or limits, but a process that involves establishing desired conditions, monitoring, and evaluation, followed by actions to manage visitor use to ensure that trail values are protected.

Applying this methodology will require substantial time and financial resources as well as periodic physical access to trail resources over the life of this document. Therefore, the study team has concluded that neither the NPS nor the BLM will be able to conduct user capacity studies for the entire trail during the life of this strategy document. However, the team recommends that user capacity studies be undertaken for select high potential sites and segments. In addition, efforts will be made to collaborate with partners to monitor periodically the condition of significant trail resources and to encourage partners to pursue studies that will provide a greater understanding of user capacity issues along the trail.

Costs

The implementation of this administrative strategy will depend not only on future NPS and BLM funding and service priorities, but also on partnership funds, time, and effort. The approval of this document will not guarantee that the funding and staffing needed to implement the strategy will be forthcoming, and full implementation could take many years.

Operations

At any given time, NPS staff at the National Trails Intermountain Region office could all be providing administrative support for Old Spanish Trail activities. BLM staff providing a portion of their time to the administration of the trail will include the trail administrator, archeologists, geographic information system specialists, and staff from several district offices. Staff will collaborate with partners on a limited basis to carry out the provisions of the National Trails System Act. NPS base funding of $226,700 (Fiscal Year 2016) will pay for annual operations, including the salary and benefits for staff, travel for routine technical assistance to partners, office equipment, supplies, phone, signs, brochures, and publications. The total staff time will amount to less than 1.4 full-time positions. Support for partner activities will continue, but may diminish due to flat or reduced budgets. A stagnant budget, which has been the reality in recent years, will portend long-term declines in all aspects of trail administration.

Trail administrators will continue to respond to requests for assistance from federal land managers, state, municipal, tribal, and private landowners on an ad hoc basis.

Funding

Trail administrators will provide funding for the annual operating costs from their base operating budgets. Funding for brochures, other interpretive media, signs, and other needs may be available for mutually beneficial partnership projects through the competitive Connect Trails to Parks, the Challenge Cost Share Program, or other funding sources. The Challenge Cost Share Program is an appropriation from Congress that fluctuates in size from year to year and may not be available on a permanent basis. In addition:

- Trail administrators will request funding for technical assistance projects beyond administrative staff capabilities from other appropriate BLM or NPS sources.
- Trail administrators will seek funds to develop projects on nonfederal lands from state or local governments or private groups or individuals, sponsorships, or federal or state highway enhancement programs, either directly or in partnerships.

- Trail administrators will seek funds for cooperative preservation efforts for high potential sites and segments, aid from state and county preservation fund sources and programs as well as funds from donations, grants, and other sources.

Table 7 provides an estimate of operating costs for an average 10-year period for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

Table 7. Annual Estimated Costs (Average for a 10-year Period) for the National Trails Intermountain Region and Bureau of Land Management

Item	Estimated Range of Costs	Full-time Equivalent
Trail Administration salaries and benefits	$402,000–422,000	<2.4
Trail Administration office equipment and supplies	$5,000–10,000	
Trail Administration travel	$30,000–40,000	
Trail Administration brochures, interpretive materials, signs	$20,000–30,000	
Support to partners	$156,000.00	
Total Annual Operations	**$613,000.00–658,000.00**	**<2.4**

Information Sources and Research Needs

Most of the information for this comprehensive administrative strategy has come from documents prepared specifically for this project. They include (1) a cultural resources inventory, (2) an ethnographic overview, (3) a socioeconomic overview, and (4) a natural resources overview. However, due to the considerable length of the designated route and the limited knowledge about major sections of the trail, much remains to be learned about the Old Spanish National Historic Trail routes and associated resources.

The preparation of this comprehensive administrative strategy highlighted the need for continued research and study of the people and the resources associated with the trail. Furthermore, during the preparation of this document the BLM adopted new internal policy manuals to guide trail administration and management. *Manual 6250* encourages tribes, affected agencies, willing landowners, partners, and interested parties to request BLM assistance for the inventory, monitoring, and data or database management for national trail resources, qualities, values, and associated settings and the primary use or uses. The manual also calls for a viewshed analysis to be conducted in cooperation with land managing agencies to inform the selection of the required national trail right-of-way.[7]

[7] Bureau of Land Management *Manual 6250* and *Manual 6280* define a trail right-of-way as: term used in Section 7(a)(2) of the National Trails System Act to describe the corridor selected by the national trail-administering agency in the trail-wide comprehensive plan and which includes the area of land that is of sufficient width to encompass national trail resources, qualities, values, and associated settings. The national trail right-of-way, in the context of the National Trails System Act, differs from a Federal Land Policy and Management Act Title V right-of-way, which is a grant issued pursuant to Federal Land Policy and Management Act authorities. It becomes a key consideration in establishing the national historic trail management corridor in a resource management plan.

For the above reasons, trail administration recommends that the following studies be considered as time and funding become available. This is a preliminary list, not limited to the following:

- stewardship inventory, monitoring of the national trail, or national trail resources, qualities, values, and associated settings and the primary use or uses
- archeological resources monitoring during construction projects
- viewshed analysis of the national trail or national trail resources, qualities, values, and associated settings
- research linking the high potential sites and segments, and other significant resources, to the period of significance of the trail
- on-the-ground archeological investigations to verify routes in nonfederal lands, including excavations and remote sensing
- preparation of cultural landscape reports and inventories along the trail and possible protection strategies
- research on the textile industry in New Mexico before and during the period of significance of the trail
- research on mule packing and transportation strategies
- research on relations between merchants and the various American Indian tribes along the trail
- research on trade relations between New Mexican merchants and others along the route
- research on Californios and others from the Pacific coast possibly traveling east to trade in New Mexico
- research on how the trail place names reflect American Indian and traditional Hispanic heritage
- research on the disposition of goods from New Mexico in California, the Pacific Coast, and around the Pacific Rim
- research on environmental conditions of the lands crossed by the trail during the period of significance
- ethnographic studies of American Indians along the trail corridor
- ethnographic studies of Hispano communities along the trail
- research into ethnohistoric and prehistoric trail use along or near the Old Spanish Trail
- development of site/segment protection strategies that take into account special environmental conditions along the trail
- research on the illicit trade on the Old Spanish Trail, including its rise and fall, the raids by Chief Walkara, the Chaguanosos, Jean-Baptiste Chalifoux, and the disposition of goods from those raids

Appropriate Use

Section 7(c) of the National Trails System Act outlines appropriate uses along national historic trails, which states "national historic trails may contain campsites, shelters, and related-public-use facilities. Other uses along the trail, which will not substantially interfere with the nature and purposes of the trail, may be permitted by the Secretary charged with the administration of the trail. Reasonable efforts shall be made to provide sufficient access opportunities to such trails and, to the extent practicable, efforts shall be made to avoid activities incompatible with the purposes for which such trails were established."

Further, Section 7(j) of the National Trails System Act states that potential trail uses may "include, but are not limited to, the following: bicycling, cross-country skiing, day hiking, equestrian activities, jogging or similar fitness activities, trail biking, overnight and long-distance backpacking, snowmobiling, and surface water and underwater activities. Vehicles that may be permitted on certain trails may include, but need not be limited to, motorcycles, bicycles, and four-wheel-drive or all-terrain off-road vehicles. In addition, trail access for handicapped individuals may be provided. The provisions of this subsection shall not supersede any other provisions of this Act or other federal laws, or any state or local laws."

Amargosa River in Tecopa, California

CHAPTER 3:

Resources of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail

Stump Spring, Bureau of Land Management, Nevada

CHAPTER 3:

Resources of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail

The following information is provided as background for future planning efforts. This information will serve as the foundation for understanding the various cultural and natural resources related to the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The historical narrative below is derived from a variety of sources. Most of these are found on the Old Spanish Trail Association website at: http://www.oldspanishtrail.org/learn/bibliography.php.

Historical Background[1]

Old Spanish Trail routes were traveled historically by American Indians, explorers, missionaries, trappers, entrepreneurs, and others. Each of these travelers had different objectives in using the routes. American Indians, such as the Ute, vigorously participated in the fur trade and trade fairs; some actively engaged in warfare. Some Spanish, Mexican, Anglo, and French entrepreneurs used the trail to raid for horses and mules. Some engaged in slave trading. Some set out to explore and look for riches; some hunted for souls to convert. Some Europeans and Americans hunted for furs; others aimed to establish profitable trade outposts. In most cases, the trips were sporadic and covered only certain portions of the designated routes.

The Armijo expedition of 1829 was the first to travel a complete route, which would be named after Antonio Armijo, its leader. Its purpose was to establish trade relations between New Mexico and California. The following year William Wolfskill and George C. Yount traveled a different alignment that would be called the Northern Route. The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail followed well-traveled paths to Taos and eventually moved west across Colorado to join the Northern Route. The last documented trade caravan that

[1] General historical information about the Old Spanish Trail is available at the following website: https://www.nps.gov/olsp/learn/historyculture/bibliography.htm, and particularly from such sources as Crampton and Madsen (1982), Sanchez (1997), and Steiner (1999).

used the Old Spanish Trail returned to Santa Fe in 1848, at the end of the war between the United States and Mexico and the beginning of the United States' political jurisdiction over the entire trail.

This chapter of the document focuses primarily on the commercial activities that took place during the period of significance (1829–1848) identified in the Old Spanish National Historic Trail legislation. The first section outlines the background of historic developments prior to the two decades when the Old Spanish Trail became an important trade connection between New Mexico and California, the northernmost provinces of the Republic of Mexico.

Before 1829

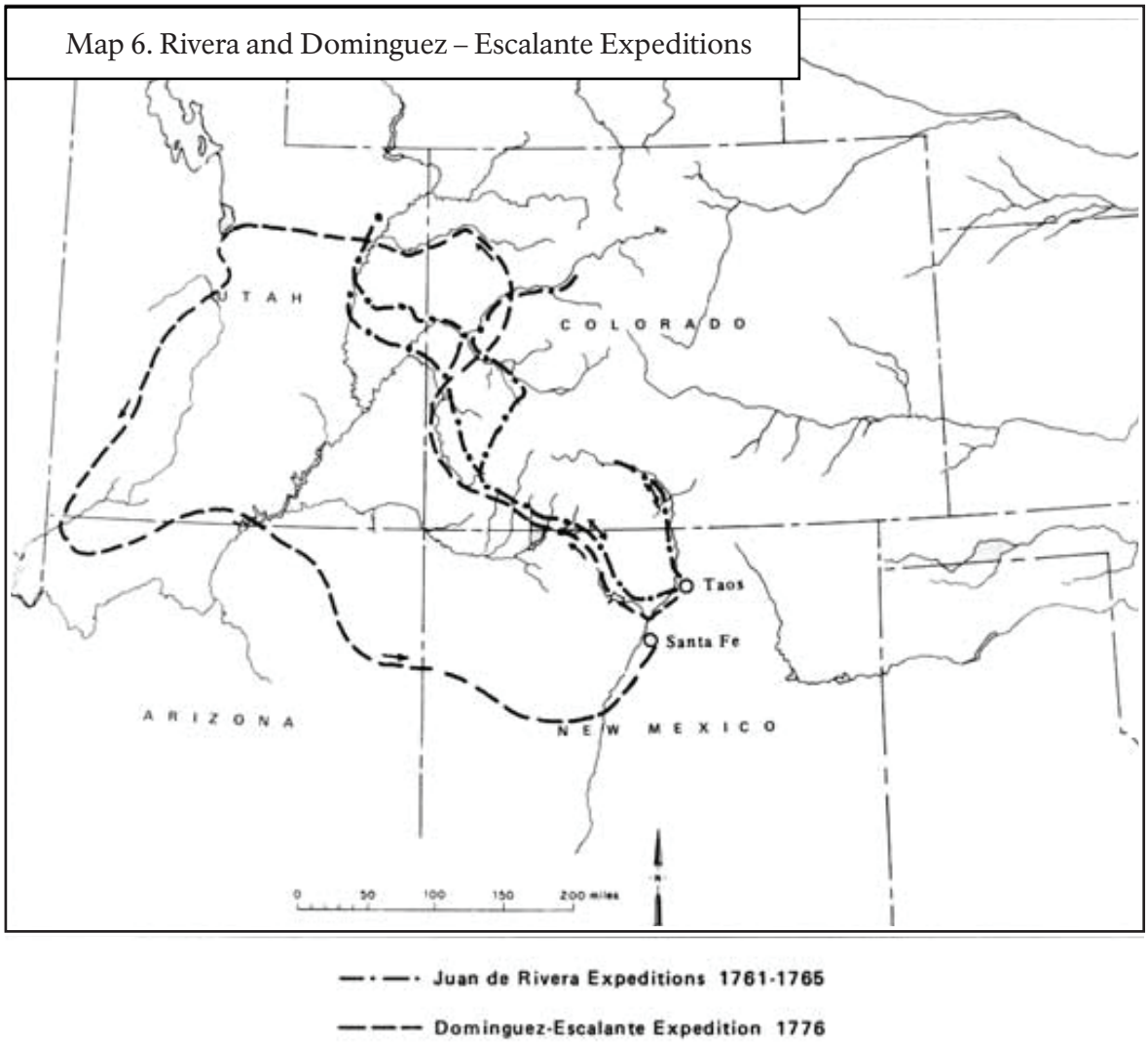
Trail experts have speculated that the Old Spanish Trail developed out of a network of traditional American Indian trails that connected the Pacific Coast and the Four Corners area for centuries. This network of Indian trails had to be adapted for travel by horse and mule riders, but users of the Old Spanish Trail seem to have navigated along the trail by using many of the same landmarks while seeking many of the same water sources. These American Indian trails had many purposes. Some were used for trade and for the transportation of goods over long distances, and this activity foreshadowed the commercial functions that would be conducted by non-Indian traders on the Old Spanish Trail. Until the arrival of the Spanish, the transportation system depended on human beings and sometimes on dogs, but with the introduction of draught animals such as mules, donkeys, horses, and oxen, the nature of the transportation system along the trail changed dramatically as larger quantities of merchandise could be transported over much longer distances.[2] Some trail segments may have led to shrines or other culturally significant locations that could have been used for ceremonial purposes. Some places along this system of trails were public, such as hot springs and agricultural villages that would normally be visited by strangers interested in trading and resting during travel. Others were ceremonial in nature, to be visited only by trained religious leaders who had specially prepared themselves for their encounter with a powerful place.

During the 1820s, the vast majority of the territory crossed by the Old Spanish Trail was still the domain of nomadic American Indians with no permanent or substantial settlements, but the trail corridor continued to be used as sustaining territory by a number of tribes. Slightly to the east, along the Rio Grande, sedentary Indian pueblos, such as Taos, Santa Clara, and Picuris remained important trading links between Spanish settlements and nomadic tribes, such as the Comanche, Apaches, Utes, and Navajos.

Between the two ends of the trail in Los Angeles and Santa Fe, there were small communities of primarily mixed Hispanic and American Indian settlers. These included Abiquiú and Mission San Gabriel as eastern and western trailheads respectively. The villages on the eastern and western ends of the trail—no European settlements existed in the vast expanses that most of the trail crossed—were established from the 1600s through the 1800s and reflected the predominantly Indian–Hispanic demographic character of the region. Some of these communities still hold ancestral affiliation to the lands crossed by the trail; in addition, some are connected to the trail through the presence of populations descending from trail users of the mid-19th century as well as populations descending from communities in place during the trail's period of significance. Finally, some communities are associated with the trail through the historic development of transportation networks that are only tangentially linked to the Old Spanish Trail commercial enterprise beginning in the early 19th century.

[2] Domestic livestock also facilitated trading along extensive, rugged terrain because it made "food on the hoof" available. A lot of lore survives about European traders eating horses, mules, and dogs. John Clark was disgusted because his fellow travelers on the "Corps of Discovery" ate dogs. Armijo and others note eating their mules. Wolfskill and Yount and other mountain men drove "beeves" for food, as did Fremont. According to Eleanor Lawrence, sheep were regularly driven along because of the scarcity of wild food on the Mojave.

Map 6. Rivera and Dominguez – Escalante Expeditions



Source: http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/blm/co/10/chap3.htm

Starting in the second half of the 18th century, Spain established initial settlements in California, after which it attempted to establish a viable overland link between its holdings in California and New Mexico.[3] Some of the indigenous routes through the Mojave Desert that later became part of the western portion of the Old Spanish Trail were explored in 1774 when Father Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés set out from the Gila River and crossed the Colorado Desert to the California missions. Two years later, as part of Anza's second expedition to California, Garcés left Anza at the Gila River and traveled north to the friendly Mojave villages along the Colorado River, where he obtained guides who led him along indigenous trails to the Mojave River. Garcés followed the Mojave for several days, reaching Mission San Gabriel via a pass between the San Bernardino–San Gabriel ranges.

Spanish colonial efforts to trade with the Utes also began in the middle of the 18th century. Officially sanctioned expeditions from New Mexico into Ute country, composed partially of men who had previously traded illegally with the Utes, reflected renewed Spanish attention to the Ute country. In 1765, Juan María

[3] In 1769, Spain established settlements in southern California to prevent ongoing Russian and English encroachments. Supplying these settlements by sea was difficult because of unfavorable winds and ocean currents. The first land route to southern California was extended from La Paz, in Baja California, to San Diego in 1769. In 1775 and 1776, Juan Bautista de Anza led settlers north into California from Sonora, Mexico.

Antonio Rivera led two expeditions to explore southwestern Colorado, and perhaps southeastern Utah.[4] Eleven years later, in 1776, another expedition left Santa Fe following Rivera's route to the Uncompahgre Plateau and beyond to the Great Basin in western Utah. This expedition, led by two Franciscan priests, Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Francisco Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, was intended to establish a route between Santa Fe and Monterey in California. Although the expedition failed in its objective to reach the coast of the Pacific Ocean, Domínguez and Escalante succeeded in providing more information about the interior land and its people (Map 6).

During the next four decades, travel either northward or westward from New Mexico is not well documented. However, with Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, New Mexicans and Anglo-Americans expanded their trade in the Ute country. Anglo-American fur trappers, in particular, were interested in meeting European demand for beaver hats with new sources of fur from the Rocky Mountains. While trapping for beaver, these men explored the region where some decided to establish business operations. For example, sometime in the 1820s, Antoine Robidoux built Fort Uncompahgre (Fort Robidoux) near present-day Delta, Colorado, and somewhat later built Fort Uintah in the Uintah Basin of northeastern Utah, centralized trading areas where various Indian groups brought furs to trade. These furs were then transported to Santa Fe or Bent's Old Fort using some of the Old Spanish Trail routes. Documents indicate that the route now designated as the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail was used to supply these trading posts.[5]

In late summer 1826, Jedediah S. Smith led a small party of trappers westward from the fur trade rendezvous at Cache Valley, Utah, utilizing portions of what would become the Old Spanish Trail as he headed southwestward toward California. After wintering among the *Californios* (Mexican settlers in California), Smith and some of his party made their way to the 1827 rendezvous at Bear Lake near the present Utah–Idaho border. Leaving that rendezvous in July, Smith again headed for California, generally retracing his steps of a year before. This time, several of his men died in a bloody clash with Mojave Indians when they attempted to cross the Colorado River at a Mojave village. Smith noted that several other trapper parties from Taos were active along the lower Colorado and Virgin Rivers.

Period of Significance (1829–1848)

New Mexican trader Antonio Armijo led the first official trade caravan on what is now a designated route of the Old Spanish Trail. The party, which left Abiquiú (Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiú) in 1829, successfully traveled a route to the southern California settlements, where Armijo traded *serapes* and other New Mexican goods (*efectos del país*) for horses and mules. Following known American Indian and Spanish paths, Armijo traveled west through Navajo and Paiute territory and forded the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers—an indigenous crossing used by Domínguez and Escalante in 1776. From there, Armijo generally traveled back and forth across the present state boundary between Arizona and Utah until he reached the Virgin River. From the Virgin River, he traveled south of present-day Las Vegas and made his way to the Amargosa River. He then headed south to the Mojave River and followed it upstream to the Cajon Pass, then continued on to San Gabriel Mission. Armijo's course of travel bears his name: Armijo Route.

A year later, William Wolfskill and George C. Yount followed a different route that would become in part the Northern Route of the Old Spanish Trail. Wolfskill and Yount departed Abiquiú in 1830 and went to California by a route described as being "farther north than that adopted by the Spaniards in traveling

[4] While many scholars assert that Rivera entered Utah, Steven Baker—in his book "Juan Rivera's Colorado, 1765" (Lake City, Western Reflections, 2015)—disputes that notion, claiming that Rivera never went farther west than Delta, Colorado.

[5] In 1842, the section of the North Branch from the Grand Junction vicinity into Taos was also used as a route for several travelers to and from Oregon Territory to the United States East Coast including Methodist missionary Marcus Whitman and political activist Rufus Sage.

between California and New Mexico" passing through some of the Ute heartland. The Wolfskill-Yount route headed northwestward to a crossing of the Colorado River, then westward and southwestward through Utah. They returned to the Colorado River and followed it to the Mojave villages, where they rested, fed their animals, and traded with the Mojave. The party then proceeded westward to Los Angeles, arriving there early in 1831.

The North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail used American Indian and Spanish colonial routes from Santa Fe and Taos northward into the San Luis Valley (Colorado), and then westward over Cochetopa Pass into the Uncompahgre and the Gunnison River valleys.

A letter from trapper Antoine Leroux, written in 1853 to support Senator Thomas Hart Benton's desire to have a transcontinental railroad route originate from his home state of Missouri, identified the North Branch as an alternate route to California from Taos. Its two greatest attractions were that (1) Cochetopa Pass had less snow than other mountain crossings, allowing travel throughout the winter, and (2) wagons had traveled this route all the way to California prior to 1848. Both of these claims were partially correct. Cochetopa Pass is the lowest pass across the Continental Divide in Colorado and has less snow than other routes, and it is possible that the Pope–Slover party–contrary to virtually all other Old Spanish Trail travelers–pulled some sort of wheeled vehicle over the route in 1837.

With time, traders selected different routes trying to take advantage of better water sources and to shorten the length and time of travel. By 1848, they had developed several variations of the route to the Sevier River to avoid the Sawtooth Narrows of Salina Canyon, Utah. Another route, developed later still, was the Kingston Cutoff, which led travelers southwestward from Mountain Springs, Nevada, to Silurian Dry Lake, California. Several routes were also opened through Cajon Pass, north of San Bernardino. Some went over Cajon Pass to the summit and descended into the San Bernardino Valley. The selection of route often depended on a variety of factors, such as party composition, the amount and type of load carried, whether the weather was wet or dry, the time of year, and the presence of customs inspectors trying to detect contraband.

Historic Use of the Trail

After 1829, the principal reason for travel on the Old Spanish Trail was to carry New Mexican-manufactured products to be exchanged for horses and mules in California. Caravans usually left on the three-month journey late in the summer or early in the fall and returned in the spring of the following year.

Substantial numbers of mules were used to carry these goods, and a substantial number of animals (either mules or horses) was necessary for the *arrieros* (muleteers), *conductores* (conductors), and *peones* (laborers), who accompanied the loads. Most of the *conductores* and the *arrieros* camped out with their *atajos* (strings) of pack mules. They often traveled with their cantinas (large wallets or leather boxes) filled with provisions, and on top of these they lashed a mattress and all the other "fixings" for bed furniture. Travelers were astonished to see how little they managed to live on and noted that they used every part of a hog or beef, including heads, feet, and entrails. Their only meal, a small piece of meat, chile colorado, beans, and tortillas, sustained them for 24 hours without any other nourishment except for a cup of chocolate and a piece of bread (Frazer 1981).

Hispanos had an excellent reputation as horsemen and muleteers. Josiah Gregg marveled at the dexterity and skill with which they harnessed and adjusted packs of merchandise: "Half a dozen [men] usually suffice for 40 or 50 mules. Two men are always engaged at a time in the dispatch of each animal, and rarely occupy five minutes in the complete adjustment of his *aparejo* (pack saddle) and *carga* (load) (Gregg 1954; Moorhead 1958)."

Experienced travelers suggested that Mexicans be used as teamsters for they "can catch up and roll up in half the time the average person does" (Sunseri 1975). Traders relied on a mule pack system that by the 19th century had become highly sophisticated, efficient, and remarkably well suited to conditions in the Mexican territory. The United States Army eventually adopted Mexican techniques for loading, names for the equipment, and uses of the mule as demonstrated in H. W. Daly's *Manual of Pack Transportation*, published in 1908.

The Mexican mule, although short in stature, had been bred exclusively for pack service. The average animal weighed between 700 and 800 pounds and could carry half its own weight. The mules' incredible strength, much greater than that of a horse or an ox, allowed them to travel over long distances and in areas where forage and water were scarce. Their physical ability and small hooves were well suited to the region's rugged terrain. The Mexican mules became famous for a remarkable blend of physical characteristics, stamina, and intelligence and were a highly prized asset in many areas of the western United States.

According to tradition, in 1822, William Becknell of Howard County led the first trading party over the Santa Fe Trail and returned with a herd of Mexican mules and donkeys. Missouri breeders, quick to recognize the need for a hardy animal to endure the rigors of the 900-mile journey, developed the large, intelligent draft mule that efficiently pulled the wagons west. By 1840, the mule industry flourished, and Missouri, the "jumping-off" place, funneled hundreds of thousands of pioneers to the great frontier. The mule is the state animal of Missouri (University of Missouri 2016).

In addition to the mule pack system, New Mexican traders used equipment that was well suited for carrying heavy loads. The *aparejo* (pack saddle), the central piece of gear, was described by an expert packer from the Hudson's Bay Company as nearer to perfection in a pack saddle than any other form of pack saddle yet invented. The superiority of the *aparejo* stemmed from its capacity to allow the mule to carry heavy, odd-sized items safely over long distances without injuring the animal. It consisted of two leather bags stuffed with dried grass and joined at the top to form an arch or gable. It was designed to resist condensation and distribute the weight over the mule's rib cage and away from its back. New Mexicans have been known to carefully custom-fit each mule with its own *aparejo*. Once done, packsaddles were not switched between animals for fear of injuring a loaded mule's back or front or rear quarters. To identify each *aparejo*, packers embroidered a telltale sign on the *corona* (a blanket used with the saddle). Often the *grupera* (a leather band attached to the rear of the *aparejo* that prevented the load from shifting forward) was also distinctively sewn or inlaid with cut Mexican silver coins.

The mules and the equipment were important, but they would have had little impact without men skilled in the trade. By the 1850s, Mexicans were the majority of packers in most of the west and were always in demand, as packing required a variety of skills. They had to secure loads with intricate knots, splices, and hitches; they acted as veterinarians and blacksmiths, and Gregg marveled at their speed and efficiency in shoeing mules. They had to estimate the safe carrying capacity of a mule, identify and treat an animal suffering from an improperly balanced load without detaining others, and govern the length of the day's trip to stop at some meadow or creek bottom that would provide good grass for the animals. Packers also had to be able to lift heavy loads, had to be good farriers, and "accomplish marvels with the axe, a screw key, and a young sapling for a lever (Gregg 1954; Moorhead 1958; and Gamboa 1990)."

There is limited available information on the size of the caravans and the type and quantity of merchandise carried to California. The size of the caravans seemed to have fluctuated from year to year. Some of the documented trading parties include Antonio Santi-Estevan and 30 men in 1831; José Avieta and 125 men in 1833–1834; José Antonio Salazar and 75 men in 1839–1840; Francisco Estevan Vigil and 35 men and others (possibly about 134 people) in 1841; Tomás Salazar and 170 men in 1843; and Francisco Estevan Vigil and 209–225 men in 1847. Little or no information seems to be available as to the size of the caravans in 1838,

1840, and 1845. No annual trade caravans were identified for 1834–1835, 1835–1836, or 1846. Other travelers, such as Santiago Martín, went to California with 15 men in 1832 for personal reasons rather than trade.

According to Frenchman Duflot du Mofras, the 1841 Vigil group included 200 New Mexicans and 60 or more North Americans. Du Mofras suggested that the annual caravans routinely consisted of 200 men, and that they returned to New Mexico with about 2,000 horses. In some years, the documented number of livestock was more than twice du Mofras' estimate and in others only a fraction of that amount.

Questions remain regarding documentation of trade between New Mexico and California during the period of significance of the Old Spanish Trail. After 1821, when Mexican authorities allowed the opening of the Santa Fe Trail and the introduction of foreign products into the New Mexican territory, any shipment of merchandise to any Mexican province required a *guía* (passport, listing of the goods shipped). [6] This document allowed the transportation of goods from one Mexican province to another. *Guías* detailed the name of the person carrying the merchandise, sometimes the name of the owner of the products, the amount and nature of the merchandise, its specific destination in Mexico, and in some cases an estimate of the value of the goods. It is not clear why only three *guías* issued by the Custom House at Santa Fe identified shipments to California and their specific destination in California. The first one was given to Francisco Quintana in September 1839. He carried six bundles of domestic manufactures worth 78 pesos and 4 *reales*. Juan Arce received the second *guía* issued to a merchant going to California. In August 1843, he hauled two bundles worth about 487.50 *pesos*. The third shipment recorded on a *guía* was much more valuable. It was issued to Francisco Rael, who, in September 1844, carried five bundles of domestic manufactures and sheep worth 1,748 *pesos*.

Similar to those who traveled south using El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, traders going to California are likely to have specialized in hauling domestic manufactures and possibly sheep. Domestic manufactures (*efectos del país*) included woolen goods, like *sayal* (woolen cloth), *gerga* (another type of woolen cloth), *sarapes*, *frazadas* (blankets), ponchos, and *medias* (socks, stockings). They are also likely to have transported a variety of hides – *gamuzas* (deer hides), *cíbolos* (buffalo robes), *osos* (bear skins), and nutrias (beaver skins) as well as hats, shawls, *colchas* (quilts), *tirutas* (finely woven Tarahumara blankets), and quilts. Sheep also constituted an important percentage (15%) of the shipments traded south along the Camino Real to Chihuahua and Durango during the peak years of 1821–1846, and they might have been an important component of those going west as well. The sheep trade away from New Mexico is thought to have languished during the Mexican War, but with the discovery of gold in California and its accompanying population boom (after the trail's period of significance), a new market was opened and profits were substantial.

Although there was also considerable legal trade in horses and mules from California to New Mexico, data can be found for only some of the years in which trade caravans operated. The numbers vary from year to year. Some of the known groups include Armijo in 1830; José Antonio Salazar, with an estimated 2,500 animals in 1839; Francisco Estevan Vigil, with 4,141 animals in 1842; John Rowland, with 300 animals in 1842; a group, with 252 animals in 1843; a Frenchman called Le Tard, with 231 animals in 1848; and Francisco Estevan Vigil, again, with 4,628 animals in 1848.

Horse and mule theft was common, both by regular traders and adventurers. Americans claiming to be beaver trappers, fugitive Indians from the missions, Indians from the frontiers, particularly the Utes, and New Mexicans worked together to gather horses and mules for the drive to New Mexico. This illegal trade was of great concern in California and resulted in laws to restrict the access of New Mexican traders. Several general

[6] New Mexicans were exempt from obtaining guías for local products until 1830, which might explain why there is no record of Armijo's shipment. However, it is not possible to establish why so many shipments to California were able to travel without documentation because Mexican authorities in following the Spanish tradition were excellent record keepers.

reports survive detailing livestock theft. In 1833, Jesus Uzeta and others stole 430 animals; in 1837 Jean Baptiste Chalifoux and his men stole 1,400–1,500 mules and horses; in 1842, John Rowland stole 300 animals; in 1844, Jim Beckwourth, according to his claim, took 1,800 horses from California to Bent's Old Fort in 1844; and in 1846, Joseph Walker took 400–500 horses and mules from California, presumably following the Old Spanish Trail into Utah, then north to Fort Bridger and across the emigrant route, and south to Bent's Fort. In 1848, Miles Goodyear left California with 231 legally obtained animals, but reportedly drove an estimated 4,000 animals to Utah and east to Missouri, where he found declining prices due to increased supply and a decrease in emigration. He returned with the horses to California via the Humboldt River route, where he sold them at a handsome profit due to increased demand as a result of the Gold Rush of 1849.

Mountain men, such as Beckwourth, Joseph Walker, Pegleg Smith, and New Mexican traders encouraged Yokuts and other Indians of the California interior to steal horses from the ranchos for resale in New Mexico. The Yokuts, who had already begun stealing horses for food, now stole them for trade. In California, the wide-ranging Utes, the Yokuts of the Central Valley, and other Indians struck the ranchos fairly regularly.

American travelers along the Old Spanish Trail also participated in the fur trade. Many trapped as they went. William Wolfskill and others who stayed in California gave up beaver trapping to hunt sea otters, at least for a while, before becoming landowners. Furs were sometimes traded for horses and mules. Antoine Robidoux used the North Branch as a route to supply the forts he had established. The fur trade activity along the Old Spanish Trail was part of a massive operation extending across the western half of the continent.

Captives and Traders

Captivity was widespread in the areas crossed by the Old Spanish Trail. [7] It was already in place when Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's men traded with Cicúye (Pecos) in the 1540s. A century later, in the 1630s, Navajos arrived at the Pecos trade fairs with hides, meat, and slaves to exchange for corn, pottery, and blankets. Captive men, but principally women and children, became part of an extensive trade network in specialized commodities between the pueblos and hunter-gatherer groups. [8] Demand for Indian captives continued, and by the end of the 17th century more than 21% of New Mexicans were non-Pueblo slaves. Captives were often put up for sale or ransom (*rescate*) at the trade fairs that characterized the western economy during the 17th,18th, and 19th centuries.

The horse-mounted and highly mobile Utes were able to obtain slaves primarily from Paiutes in western Utah and Nevada, who did not have horses. They also obtained slaves through warfare and raiding of the Navajo in northern New Mexico and Arizona and of plains groups in eastern Colorado, western Kansas, northeastern New Mexico, and southern Wyoming. They found a ready market in the New Mexican settlements and, later, among the early Mormon settlers.

Although there is no clear evidence linking slavery to the trade caravans, it is likely that Old Spanish Trail traders participated in the ongoing traffic in American Indian slaves. Since the slave trade was illegal, it was not recorded. Traders and trappers often captured slaves on their way to California, where they were sold, and then did the same on the return trip to New Mexico, where slaves were also sold.

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[7] In the Southwest, slavery was different than the peculiar institution that characterized the plantation economy (tobacco/cotton) of the American Atlantic colonies and that eventually extended to the southern states.

[8] The Comanche raided other native societies for captives before European contact and became, in the early 18th century, the dominant slave traffickers of the lower midcontinent (Hämäläinen 2008).

Captive Indians are likely to have been important sources of labor in the production of the textiles that were taken to California. Boys herded the sheep, women processed the wool, and it appears that both male and female *criados* (domestic servants) [9] did the weaving. Spanish and Mexican records document extensive weaving particularly by Navajo *criadas*. Information on wills from Taos and Albuquerque and other records from Abiquiú and Chimayo also establish the existence of *obrajes* (workshops) where native women, either captives or servants, processed wool and manufactured a variety of *efectos del país*, such as *frazadas*, knitted socks and hats, *gergas*, *serapes*, and other weavings. These captives also played a crucial role in the New Mexico household economy throughout the Mexican period.[10]

Slave raiding did not end when the Anglo-Americans took control of the southwest away from Mexico. American military commanders, like their Spanish and Mexican counterparts, either engaged in this practice or ignored it. Militia companies, recruited during intense outbreaks of Indian depredations, were often reimbursed for their participation in a campaign by being permitted to retain all captives as personal property. In fact, recent research indicates that slavery continued past the outbreak of the Civil War and even into the early decades of the 20th century (Brooks 2011; Rael-Galvez 2010).

Migration

The Old Spanish Trail also became a migration route to California for New Mexican families, Anglo-Americans, and others. Some New Mexicans accompanied American immigrants, such as the Rowland–Workman party. Others accompanied Mexican trade caravans, and some traveled on their own. In 1837, José María Chávez, with family members and several others, escaped New Mexico by way of Utah to California. They had been singled out for execution for siding with Governor Albino Pérez, who was slain in the New Mexico Rebellion of 1837. In California, they joined a similar rebellion and were captured by government forces under General José Castro. They were later released, and José María quickly returned to New Mexico. Julian Chávez, the brother of José María Chávez , had arrived in southern California in 1835, and later settled in the Chávez Ravine in Los Angeles. In 1838, Lorenzo Trujillo and six other New Mexicans left New Mexico for California. En route, a member of Trujillo's party, Maria Manuela Martin y Larrañaga, gave birth at Resting Springs, California. This party arrived at La Politana (near present-day San Bernardino) but moved on soon afterward. Other New Mexicans soon arrived in southern California. Several more groups arrived in 1842, including a party of 40 from Abiquiú, New Mexico, who settled at Agua Mansa, just south of present-day Bloomington, and a group of 19 families who eventually settled in San Luis Obispo. In 1843, 10 families accompanied the regular caravan; another 10 families possibly traveled with a group under John Rowland; and 5 families arrived at Agua Mansa in 1844.

Beginning with the Wolfskill–Yount party in 1830, a number of Americans followed the Old Spanish Trail to California. Approximately 29 Americans immigrated between 1830 and 1838. William Pope and Isaac Slover, who led a group in 1837, had previously been to California via a route far south of the Old Spanish Trail. In 1841, the Rowland-Workman party also immigrated on the trail. Most of the men in this group were Americans, but several were native New Mexicans. Two of the New Mexicans brought their families. Nine members of the Rowland party did not stay in California. In 1844, Louis Robidoux and Jean Jeannet immigrated to California after traveling with a Mexican trade caravan, possibly along the Old Spanish Trail.

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[9] Marianne L. Stoller (1994) prefers to use the term criados/as instead of captives or slaves to refer to those who had been reared or educated as a servant groom, or godchild.

[10] Estevan Rael-Galvez (2010) prepared a report for the Ute Heritage Museum in Ignacio, Colorado, documenting the existence of slavery in northern New Mexico well into the end of the 19th century; James Brooks'(2011) presentation "Women and Slavery in New Mexico" cited the example of a number of women who moved to Hubbell's Trading Post looking for assistance once they had been freed. In the San Luis Valley, the number of criados had appreciably increased by 1879, long after the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. Census information on American Indians in the San Luis Valley in 1865 reported 85 captives of which 63 were Navajo, and 45 of these were female.

Although 1828 regulations opened California to settlement by foreigners, there was little land available, and initially Mexican officials were not supportive of grants to foreigners. However, with the secularization of the missions in 1834, lands that had been previously closed to settlement became available. In the 1840s, Mexican officials opened large amounts of land to private development, and foreigners were permitted to purchase land in California. Many became owners of large holdings. About one-third of the land granted in California went to Anglo-Americans. The secularization of the missions also meant that thousands of Indians from those missions were now available as a source of cheap labor. In addition, an outside market existed for products of California ranches, primarily hides and tallow. These factors produced intense competition for land among Mexicans and foreigners.

Emigrants were also drawn to California as a result of endorsements written about the area, beginning as early as 1808 with the journal of a sea-otter trader, Captain William Shaler, Hall Jackson Kelley's 1839 report to Congress, Richard H. Dana's *Two Years before the Mast*, and others. Tales heard from fur trappers and the published words of hide and tallow traders and travelers helped to fuel the American appetite for expansion. Other promoters, such as John Marsh and John Sutter, were also active in luring overland travelers to California.

Some of those who immigrated to California on the Old Spanish Trail participated in the American underground that worked to hasten the takeover of California. This takeover was generally a goal of the various entrepreneurs, like John Rowland and William Workman, both of whom had been involved in the Republic of Texas' failed 1841 invasion of New Mexico. They became active in annexationist intrigues, joining with many, such as Abel Stearns, who were already in California. Rowland and Workman, along with other members of their emigrant party, were involved in the *Californios*' military uprising in 1845 against Governor Manuel Micheltorena, as well as later uprisings.

Later Exploration Routes

Over the years, a number of military expeditions followed portions or all of the Old Spanish Trail. At the forefront of exploration of the West was the United States Army Corps of Topographic Engineers—and the most famous member of that group was John C. Frémont. Already renowned for his earlier explorations, Frémont led a wide-ranging government-sponsored expedition, his second of four, across the West in 1843–1844. His primary objective was to travel from Missouri to the Oregon Territory. When he reached Fort Vancouver, his official duty was done, but he chose to head south into California, exploring along the way.

In southern California, the expedition picked up the Old Spanish Trail. It left the trail near Parowan in southwestern Utah, continued northward to Utah Lake, traveled eastward along the Uinta Mountains and into Colorado, southward to Pueblo, Colorado, and then eastward back to Saint Louis. In his writings, Frémont referred to the trail as the "Spanish Trail," a designation that was picked up by others, thus leading to the popular name for the trail. Frémont published maps and detailed descriptions of the route along the Amargosa River.

In late 1847, Kit Carson carried dispatches west along the Old Spanish Trail and again in 1848 when he traveled eastward from Los Angeles along the Old Spanish Trail to Santa Fe and on to Washington, D.C. George Brewerton, who accompanied Carson, kept an account of the trip, which contains the only surviving description of a trade caravan.

Post-1848 Railroad Surveys

With the American takeover of California, interest in completing a railroad connection to the Pacific increased dramatically as well as competition among proponents of different routes to make that connection. A number of expeditions followed several northern, southern, and central routes. In 1853, Congress authorized a

government survey of all the principal routes under the direction of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, who was to submit his report in January 1854.

Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale, appointed as Indian Commissioner to California, led a group along the North Branch and then down the Old Spanish Trail to California in 1853. Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri secured Beale's appointment and the funding for his trip. Gwinn Harris Heap, Beale's cousin and a newspaperman, wrote a widely distributed account of the trip that favored the route through Cochetopa Pass. That same year, Captain John Williams Gunnison led an expedition to explore a possible 38th parallel railroad route across Cochetopa Pass. After entering the San Luis Valley in Colorado, the group followed the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail into western Colorado and on to Utah. On October 26, after leaving the Old Spanish Trail, a group from the expedition was attacked, reportedly by Pahvant Ute Indians; Gunnison and others were killed, leaving only four survivors. The main party reached the scene two days later, and First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith led them to Salt Lake City.

Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who was a strong proponent of the 38th parallel route for the railroad, secured private funding and sent a survey party led by his son-in-law, John C. Frémont, behind Gunnison with the intent of showing that the route could be easily traversed in winter. They followed Gunnison's tracks on the North Branch and continued into Utah, following parts of the Old Spanish Trail. Entering the Rocky Mountains in December 1853, the group passed with no difficulty over the Continental Divide through Cochetopa Pass, but encountered difficulties in central Utah, forcing them to first walk while the animals carried their supplies, and then to cache all but their most important baggage in order to ride. Eventually, as the animals gave out, they were eaten and their riders had to walk. The travelers suffered severe hardships and one man died before the party was rescued by Mormon settlers and reached Parowan, Utah.[11]

In 1859, Captain John N. Macomb, Jr., chief of the U.S. Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers in New Mexico, conducted an exploring expedition from Santa Fe through the Four Corners region to locate a passage across the Colorado and Green rivers, near the junction of the streams in southern Utah. One important objective of Macomb's survey was "to examine especially . . . the region . . . traversed by the old Spanish trail." As a result, his party methodically surveyed and mapped the region transected by the Old Spanish Trail and delineated more than 200 miles of the Northern Route (Madsen 2011).

Use of the Old Spanish Trail between central Utah and California continued, sporadically, during the 1850s and 1860s. The eastern half of the trail, however, diminished after 1848, as travelers began using other trails such as the various California Trail routes as well as routes through Arizona. Although later wagon roads and, eventually, highways often followed segments of the Old Spanish Trail, other sections received limited and mostly local use after about 1850. The establishment of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and other railroads led to the gradual displacement of many old trails as immigration and commercial routes.

Cultural Resources

The designated trail routes cross extensive lands that have a very rich and complex cultural past. Documented occupation of a large portion of this territory dates back to several thousand years. However, because of the relatively narrow period of significance of the trail (1829–1848) and the few documents produced by traders, it is difficult to establish a link or clear association between specific cultural groups and historic/archeological sites and the two decades during which commercial caravans traveled between New Mexico and California.

[11]Frémont had also led an expedition in 1848 for Benton exploring a 38th parallel route for the railroad in Colorado, which was not on the Old Spanish Trail and which ended in the deaths of many of the party when the group encountered severe weather and heavy snow. As was typical of Frémont, he was attempting to show that passage through the Rocky Mountains was possible during winter, but failed to find the route through Cochetopa Pass and became waylaid by deep snow.

Portions of the trail were used by members of several American Indian tribes; Hispanic communities in northern New Mexico, southern Colorado, and central and southern California; and by entrepreneurs drawn to the interior of the West from Mexico and the United States. The lands it crossed were occupied by small settlements of primarily American Indian and Hispanic origin, and used as sustaining territories by a number of American Indian tribes for many centuries. Hispanic settlements at the eastern and western ends of the trail were established from the late 1600s through the mid-1800s. Anglo populations began to enter the country only shortly before Antonio Armijo traveled to California.

American Indian sovereign nations, and communities and municipalities ranging in size from small hamlets to the metropolitan areas of greater Los Angeles, California, and Las Vegas, Nevada, currently occupy the lands along the trail. Some of these communities hold ancestral affiliation to the territory crossed by the trail. Others are connected to the trail through the presence of descendant populations (populations descending from trail users, and populations descending from communities that existed during the period of significance). Still others are associated with the trail through the historic development of transportation networks only tangentially linked to the commercial enterprise associated with the period of significance of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.

Cultural Landscapes

A cultural landscape may be defined as "a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein) associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values" (Department of the Interior 1996)." Four main types of cultural landscapes have been defined: historic designed landscape, ethnographic landscape, historic site, and historic vernacular landscape (note: these four types are not mutually exclusive). The Old Spanish Trail is essentially a linear cultural landscape significant for its "association with a historic event, activity, or person" (ibid.), and comprised of numerous historic sites and defining features. An outstanding characteristic of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail is the presence of extensive cultural landscape elements that still retain integrity. For the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, cultural landscapes are intricately related to the essential nature of the trail. Trail administration considers them essential for trail administration and management.

The Old Spanish National Historic Trail, characterized by open stretches of western terrain somewhat free of modern intrusions, offers exceptional opportunities for the public to enjoy and appreciate both the natural and cultural environment. In general, few physical traces remain that can be directly linked to the period of significance identified in the legislation. In other places, the original traces have been superseded by wagon roads, cattle drive traces, and other later uses. However, the natural landmarks that guided travelers still can be seen today.

The current federal trail administrators—BLM and NPS —are seeking to identify joint and mutually agreed-upon strategies that will allow for the protection of resources that are essential to providing visitors with the opportunity to relive the experience of the original users of the trail as specified in the National Trails System Act. Both the BLM and the NPS have adopted different approaches to identify, manage, and protect these resources, as described below.

NPS policy regarding cultural landscapes is guided by the Secretary of the Interior's *Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*. According to the NPS, cultural landscapes enjoy the same protections as other cultural resources.

The methodology developed by the NPS for the systematic analysis of landscapes is described in a series of bulletins prepared to facilitate nominations for the National Register of Historic Places. It is composed of three basic steps:

1) Identification of landscape characteristics, such as land uses and activities, patterns of spatial organization, response to the natural environment, cultural traditions, circulation networks, boundary demarcations, vegetation related to land use, buildings, structures and objects, clusters, archeological sites, and small-scale elements. The first four characteristics are processes instrumental in shaping the land. The remaining eight are physical components. This classification system is a tool for gathering and organizing information—it allows the development of historic context, it evaluates the significant properties of a rural area, and it facilitates the determination of the significance and integrity of any property (National Register Bulletin No. 15).

2) Evaluation of significance according to the four categories of the National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Eligibility (associations with events, people, and/or styles that were important in history, or potential or actual yielding of information important in prehistory or history).

3) Assessment of historic integrity. Once again National Register of Historic Places Criteria for integrity, such as location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, are applied. Only four (location, setting, feeling, and association) of the seven criteria are generally applicable to historic trails.

This methodology, however, is not well suited to historic trail corridors that have strong natural resources components and can include a variety of cultural properties—agricultural; mining; lumbering; fishing; shipbuilding; hunting or fishing camps; transportation systems; water delivery systems, such as irrigation ditches and canals; ceremonial sites; and others. Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes acknowledge that preservation planning for cultural landscapes involves a broad array of dynamic variables as well as the cultural landscape's ever-changing nature and also admit that for some cultural landscapes, "especially those considered ethnographic or heritage," the Guidelines may not apply (Department of the Interior 1996).

Historic trails pose major challenges to cultural resource managers because natural components predominate and the application of traditional historic preservation standards is difficult, if not impossible. Most historic trails, as such Old Spanish Trail, have been used for centuries, often have several periods of significance, represent multiple uses and cultural values, are part of ethnographic landscapes, and are subject to mixed management—federal, state, local agencies, and private individuals. Legal property limits seldom match those of the landscape. It is difficult to establish when one landscape ends and the next one begins. The horizon is often the only clear boundary and can be 30 miles away or more in any direction. Additionally, historic documentation for specific segments is hard to find.

Several of the landscape characteristics used to gather and organize information, such as patterns of spatial organization, boundary demarcations, vegetation related to land use, building structures and objects, and clusters are irrelevant or very difficult to apply. The major landscape characteristics are a function of environmental factors, such as vegetation, climate, topography, and soils. Variations among these can sometimes help identify boundaries among numerous component landscapes. The width of the corridor fluctuates as it incorporates variations in routes and alignments (the result of environmental factors) and is dependent on landforms. The resource corridor might include narrow canyons or extensive viewsheds; it traverses a variety of ecoregions that create a multitude of landscapes of varying lengths and widths. It is not possible to "freeze" or restore them as they were during their period of significance or to keep them from changing in unique and unpredictable ways.

Because of the nature of these linear landscapes, they can function as an integrating force for nature and culture. Images of the Old Spanish Trail corridor provide a good example. In numerous locations, the trail stretches across extensive areas of fairly pristine vegetation with few, if any, visual intrusions. Natural resources are essential components of this cultural landscape. However, there is little agreement on the resource that needs to be protected. Traditionally the "ruts" or "swales" have been considered the resource, but inventories and studies of the historic setting clearly show that the landscape of the Old Spanish Trail is often the primary resource.

The results of research conducted by landscape ecologists may assist in developing protection practices that are realistic and sensitive to the special nature of such landscapes. To do so, it is important to explore the relationship between ecologists' perspectives on landscapes and the evaluation process recommended by the National Register of Historic Places. Of the three steps in the evaluation process—identification of landscape characteristics, evaluation of significance, and assessment of historic integrity—only historic significance is not intimately affected by the ecological perspective. Identifying landscape characteristics and establishing integrity are closely connected. The analysis of integrity determines the degree to which the significant landscape features are still present. The first obstacle results from the inability to identify logical boundary demarcations, a major challenge in studying, preserving, and managing these landscapes.

Landscape ecologists also struggle in establishing boundaries. They view landscapes as open systems that are not static and cannot be easily defined. Understanding the fundamental mechanisms, spatial dynamics, and variability of ecological flow of materials, energy, and information across landscapes boundaries is central to their research (Knight 1994). An approach that can be used to afford trail landscapes a level of protection given these challenges includes the use of Geographic Information System technology to map and design protected viewsheds where visual intrusions are prohibited as it was done in the BLM's Rock Springs District in the late 1990s. This project, which aimed to protect the cultural landscape of South Pass, Wyoming, a National Historic Landmark, established a six-mile buffer zone (three miles on each side of the trail) where oil and gas exploration will be limited to those areas not visible from the trail. [12] The three-mile criterion was selected, not because development will not be visible at this distance, but because of management agreement. Although not an ideal solution, it affords some level of protection to a National Historic Landmark and attempts to address the issue of landscape boundaries.

Identifying other landscape characteristics (land uses and activities, patterns of spatial organization, response to the natural environment, cultural traditions, circulation networks, vegetation related to land use, buildings, structures and objects, clusters, archeological sites, and small-scale elements) is not as challenging as determining boundaries. However, these activities should also be carried out keeping in mind the perspective of landscape ecology—that patterns of change in any landscape will be unique, highly variable, and unpredictable.

Assessing the historic integrity of trail landscapes is another task that should also consider the research landscape ecologists have conducted. These studies conclude that landscapes are the result of a continually changing, dynamic configuration of natural elements that emphasizes disturbance as a constant agent of change within the system. Disturbances (droughts, floods, fires), including those caused by humans (introduction of exotic plants), are integral to any system and central to our cultural heritage. In this view, the specific dynamics of any one system will be contingent on its history, on the accidents of arrivals as species disperse into the site, and on the nature of the system's interaction with the surrounding landscapes (Cook 1996).

Reaching an agreement on landscape integrity issues can be easier than establishing logical boundaries for extensive historic trail corridors. Simple solutions might be possible and more cost effective, although they may require substantial political support. For example, the photographs of William Henry Jackson provide

[12] South Pass was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1981. At the time boundary demarcation was not a requirement for the nomination process. As of today, no agreement exists as to the legal boundaries of the site.

extensive evidence of what the landscape of Southern Wyoming was like during the 1870s. In some areas, changes have been dramatic. In others, the landscape retains a remarkable level of integrity (Johnson 1987). It is unlikely that landscapes that have lost their integrity can be restored to their condition in the 19th century. It seems that where change has been dramatic and integrity is mostly lost, restoration is not a realistic option given the size of the area and the unpredictable nature of landscape processes. It might be prudent to direct new development to these areas where integrity has already been compromised.

Because of the complexity and the size of landscape resources, it is difficult to develop a single answer on how to design and adopt practical, sensible, and scientific-based guidelines to assist with the protection of such an important component of our heritage. However, the first step may be to agree and systematically address the importance of protecting these landscapes in order to reach some degree of consensus, even if it means agreeing on that there will not be a single protection strategy for all these landscapes. There may also be some general guidelines that will complement existing historic preservation strategies. This could be done in a series of multidisciplinary workshops sponsored by those federal agencies that manage most of the lands affected. Landscape ecologists, cultural geographers, landscape architects, historians, other scientists, managers, landowners, and representatives of other pertinent groups could be invited to participate.

The complexity and fluidity of the processes that influence the nature of landscapes are likely to preclude the development of rigidly and easily applied guidelines. Continuous dialogue with land management agencies can assist with making decisions that take into consideration costs, political reality, agency mission, and the nature of the resources in need of protection. Recently developed scientific approaches might be helpful. For example, since evidence of historic integrity is not always available, it might be possible to use the ecoregion concept as a preliminary basis for identifying landscape characteristics and degree of integrity.[13] Various federal agencies, such as the Environmental Protection Agency and the United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service are conducting systematic work on this topic, and the information is widely available and distributed. Ecoregions are developed by delineating and classifying ecologically distinctive areas of the earth's surface. Each area is viewed as a discrete system, the result from the interplay of geology, landforms, soils, vegetation, climate, wildlife, water, and human factors. The dominance of any one or a number of these factors varies with the given ecological land unit. This holistic approach to land classification can be applied incrementally on a scale-related basis from very site-specific ecosystems to very broad ones. Each ecological land unit has certain characteristics that reflect how processes have been instrumental in changing the land (Cook 1996).

Using already designed ecoregions can potentially assist in making rough estimates of the historic integrity of the cultural landscapes of historic trails. Determining the ecological characteristics of these landscapes and their degree of integrity is a site-specific activity that requires intimate knowledge of both the historic and ecological context of the area. At the same time, since trail corridors extend for hundreds of miles and across various ecoregions, it is not likely that a single prescription for an entire trail will be adequate. Flexibility will be necessary to address the distinctive issues and problems associated with each component landscape.

Protection strategies should also consider that while the visual characteristics of a landscape are important, other sensory components make important contributions to their historic significance and help us make sense and value of what we see. The feel of the wind, the scent of vegetation, the presence of wildlife, and the sound of creeks, rivers, and birds are all key historic elements that are an integral part of the exceptional nature of some of these resources. Protecting visual characteristics does not necessarily prevent resource damage.

[13] Ecoregions denote areas of general similarity in the type, quality, and quantity of their environmental resources. They are designed to serve as a spatial framework for the research, assessment, management, and monitoring of ecosystems and ecosystem components. By recognizing the spatial differences in the capacities and potentials of ecosystems, ecoregions stratify the environment by its probable response to disturbance. These general-purpose regions are critical for structuring and implementing ecosystem management strategies across federal agencies, state agencies, and nongovernment organizations that are responsible for different types of resources within the same geographical areas. For more information see: http://www.epa.gov/wed/pages/ecoregions/ecoregions.htm.

An integrated planning process is needed to address cultural landscapes instead of the exclusive focus on traditional historic preservation tools. Many opportunities exist to use some of the strategies from natural resources management to assist in the development of strategies that can successfully complement and enrich the current historic preservation models.

Ethnographic Resources

The geographical extent of the designated routes and the level of complexity of their ethnographic development are important factors in understanding this trail. More than 40 federally recognized American Indian tribes have ties to the territory along the designated routes of the Old Spanish Trail.

American Indian reservations include the following:

- Arizona and California: Colorado River Indian Tribes of the Colorado River Indian Reservation; Fort Mojave Indian Tribe
- Arizona: Havasupai Tribe of the Havasupai Reservation; Hopi Tribe; Hualapai Indian Tribe of the Hualapai Indian Tribe Reservation; Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians of the Kaibab Indian; San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe Reservation; Navajo Nation
- California: Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians of the Agua Caliente Indian Reservation; Augustine Band of Cahuilla Indians (formerly the Augustine Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Augustine Reservation); Cabazon Band of Mission Indians; Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians of the Cahuilla Reservation; Chemehuevi Indian Tribe of the Chemehuevi Reservation; Paiute–Shoshone Indians of the Lone Pine Community of the Lone Pine Reservation; Morongo Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Morongo Reservation; Pechanga Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Pechanga Reservation; Ramona Band or Village of Cahuilla Mission Indians; San Manual Band of Serrano Mission Indians of the San Manual Reservation; Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Indians (formerly the Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Santa Rosa Reservation); Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians of the Santa Ynez Reservation; Soboba Band of Luiseño Indians; Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Mission Indians; Torres-Martínez Desert Cahuilla Indians (formerly the Torres-Martinez Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians)
- Colorado: Southern Ute Indian Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation; Ute Mountain Tribe of the Ute Mountain Reservation
- Nevada: Fort Mojave Indian Tribe; Las Vegas Tribe of Paiute Indians of the Las Vegas Indian Colony; Moapa Band of Paiute Indians of the Moapa River Indian Reservation; Confederated Tribes of the Goshute Reservation
- New Mexico: Navajo Nation; Ute Mountain Tribe of the Ute Mountain Reservation; Jicarilla Apache Nation; Ohkay Owingeh (formerly the Pueblo of San Juan); Pueblo of Jemez; Pueblo of Nambe; Pueblo of Picuris; Pueblo of Pojoaque; Pueblo of San Ildefonso; Pueblo of Santa Clara; Pueblo of Taos; Pueblo of Tesuque
- Utah: Navajo Nation; Ute Mountain Tribe of the Ute Mountain Reservation; Confederated Tribes of the Goshute Reservation; Paiute Indian Tribe (Cedar City Band of Paiutes, Kanosh Band of Paiutes); Skull Valley Band of Goshute Indians; Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation

In some cases, their occupation of the lands crossed by the trail extends for over one thousand years. In others, tribal migrations to lands along the trail can be dated back only a few centuries, as is the case for the Navajo Nation.

The routes that Congress designated as the Old Spanish National Historic Trail are thought by trail experts to have evolved from a network of traditional Indian trails and places; some may have been in use for thousands of years. Some Indian trails were used to transport trade goods for long distances. As such, they foreshadowed the commercial functions that were conducted by the non-Indian traders on the trail. The uses and functions of the trails are mentioned above in Cultural Landscapes. The uses included pilgrimages, agriculture, trade, rest stops, and ceremonial areas.

This document does not attempt to provide a detailed description of all of the American Indian tribes with direct or indirect association with lands crossed by the trail. However, an ethnographic study that was prepared to support development of this comprehensive strategy addresses in depth the ethnographic background of some tribes who have occupied lands along the trail, including a detailed description of traditional cultural properties. Because of the number of tribes involved and the extent and complexity of their occupation patterns, this topic has been identified in Chapter 1 as requiring further research.

Culturally Affiliated Tribes

To identify, protect, and manage cultural resources, government agencies find it useful to identify the tribes that are culturally affiliated (i.e., culturally connected) with the lands and resources within a management area, such as the Old Spanish Trail. Federal agencies use the term cultural affiliation in various ways for different purposes. American Indian tribal governments and cultural resource departments also have their own definitions for this term. At the broadest level, cultural affiliation exists when a portion of land has become culturally central to an American Indian ethnic group. Connections between the Indian people and the land may have been established before Europeans arrived (pre-1492), while Europeans were occupying and claiming the land (pre-1848), and/ or during the historic period following 1848.

According to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, cultural affiliation indicates a relationship of shared group identity that can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe, Alaska Native, or Native Hawaiian organization, and an identifiable earlier group. [14] When seeking consultation with American Indian tribes, recognizing aboriginal title is also important. Aboriginal title refers to land possessed by a particular tribe (actually ethnic group) up until the United States government acquired title. For example, the aboriginal territory of the Southern Paiute and Ute ethnic groups document that they are culturally affiliated with large portions of the lands along the Old Spanish Trail. Cultural affiliations include the following: Chemehuevi Indian Tribe, Colorado River Indian Tribe, Las Vegas Paiute Indian Tribe, Moapa Band of Paiutes, Pahrump Paiute Indian Tribe, Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Shivwits Band of Southern Paiutes), and Southern Ute Indian Tribe.

For purposes of this document, the following eight American Indian groups have been identified as being culturally affiliated with the Old Spanish National Historic Trail: (1) Pueblos (including Santa Clara and Taos), (2) Apaches, (3) Navajos, (4) Utes, (5) Southern Paiute, (6) Shoshone, (7) Mojave, and (8) Serrano-Vanyume. Other American Indian groups that operated along lands crossed by the Old Spanish Trail include Plains Indian tribes, such as the Comanche and the Kiowa. However, because their ancestral lands are not within the trail corridor, they have not been included in this section.

[14] http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/mandates/25usc3001etseq.htm.

Pueblos

Several Indian pueblos are situated along the trail in northern New Mexico and anchor the eastern end of the trail. Some pueblos, like Taos, were both the point of departure and return from California and places where trade events, such as fairs, occurred long before the Spanish arrived and during the Spanish and Mexican periods. Pueblos recognize that trails and trading are essential dimensions of their history. However, the relationship between the commercial caravans that linked New Mexico and California and the various Pueblos is not clear. There were *obrajes* (sweatshops) in the village of Taos, such as Hacienda de los Martinez, where textiles for trade could have been manufactured, but clear historical documentation does not exist at this time.

Several New Mexican pueblos might have been involved in the trading activities associated with the Old Spanish Trail; however, specific documentation on this participation is not available. Only Taos and Santa Clara Pueblos have been selected to highlight the role of the Pueblo people in trade.

Santa Clara Pueblo[15]

Santa Clara Pueblo was an important stopping point for travelers on the Old Spanish Trail. The settlement is approximately 2.5 miles south of Espanola and 27 miles northwest of Santa Fe, immediately to the west of the Rio Grande River. It is one of the six Northern Tewa speaking Pueblos—the others being Ohkay Owingeh, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Pojoaque, and Tesuque.

The early role of the pueblo as a site along the Old Spanish Trail was recorded during the Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776, which made their first stop at Santa Clara. Traditionally, the people of Santa Clara Pueblo were self-sufficient and did not rely on trade for their community's subsistence goods. When trade at Santa Clara did occur, religious leaders oversaw the exchange of ceremonial or luxury items. Luxury items obtained through these exchanges often elevated one's status, and the very experience of trading and interacting with other groups heightened a person's reputation. While the Pueblo lacked the necessary surpluses to make extensive trading possible, their physical location allowed them to serve as intermediaries between the Plains Indians and the northern and southern Pueblos.

During the 17th and early 18th centuries, a somewhat formalized trade flourished with the Comanche and to a lesser extent with the Kiowa and other Plains Indian groups, the Southern Ute, and the Jicarilla Apache. Interchanging cornmeal, wheat flour, bread, and woven materials, the Santa Clara received buffalo robes and deer hides, pipe pouches, tortoise shells, rawhide articles, and pemmican.

During the Spanish period, trade fairs brought many Pueblos into contact with both Plains Indian traders as well as early Spanish colonists. By the late 18th century, trade fairs were being held and regulated by the Spanish Colonial authorities in places such as Abiquiú in 1776 and Santa Clara in 1791. These trade fairs further established relations between Colorado tribes and the Pueblos in New Mexico. The fairs also increased the integration of Spanish material culture into the various Indian groups who participated at the fairs.

Before the official opening of the Old Spanish Trail in 1829, trade with Santa Clara was largely conducted between Plains Indian tribes such as the Comanche, Kiowa, and groups from the north, such as the Utes. Direct trade with Hopi and Zuni occurred infrequently, but goods from those groups as well as the Navajos often made their way to Santa Clara, where they were distributed to other Pueblos and the Plains Indian

[15] Santa Clara Pueblo declined to formally participate in the ethnographic study associated with this project, but recognizes that the involved trails and trading were essential dimensions of their history. The information in this section is derived solely from published literature and has been written to give the reader a brief understanding of the Pueblo's role as a trading center in pre-Spanish times to establish a background for understanding the Pueblo's role in the Old Spanish Trail.

groups. Plains Indian groups would frequently come to Santa Clara seeking wheat in exchange for hides and meat. While Santa Clara largely traded with other American Indian groups, they were affected by the influx of goods from the east brought by traders along the Santa Fe Trail and were also apt at incorporating woolen goods from groups to the west as well as introduced crops into their trading stock. Their central location, as well as their good relations with the Comanche and the Utes, made them an ideal trading partner for many of the Indian groups in north-central New Mexico, as well as Colorado, Arizona, and parts of Oklahoma and Kansas.

Taos Pueblo

Taos Pueblo recognizes that trails and trading are essential dimensions of their history. Located 75 miles northeast of Santa Fe and 62 miles south of San Luis, Colorado, Taos is the northernmost Pueblo settlement and has been continuously inhabited for at least several hundred years, making it one of the oldest continuously occupied spaces in North America.[16]

Traditionally, Taos was the center of trade for other Pueblo groups and people from the Great Plains. It has had a long-standing history as a trading center on the upper Rio Grande, because it is centrally located with groups living to the north and east. This portion of the upper Rio Grande Valley provides travelers with easy access to the Rocky Mountains through the San Luis Valley and the Great Plains via mountain passes to the east of Taos.

When Don Juan de Oñate and several hundred Spanish settlers entered the region in 1598, he noted that there was active trade occurring between Pueblo people and neighboring Indian peoples. Early Spanish records documented that trade took place at three Pueblos – Pecos, Picuris, and Taos. The Pueblo trading centers were an important part of maintaining relationships between Pueblo groups and their neighbors. Plains Indian groups exchanged hides and dried meat for food and ceremonial items. By taking part in this exchange relationship, the Plains Indian groups were granted access to Pueblo territories to spend the winters.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Taos continued to be an important trading center for Indian people. After the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, the Comanche became active traders at Taos. They were more attracted to Taos and the mountains than the more southerly pueblo of Pecos. As a result, Taos rose in importance and eventually replaced Pecos as the principal trading center in the region.

After the Spanish reconquered northern New Mexico in 1692, they wanted to control Indian interactions and heavily regulated the trade with the Pueblos, Ute, Comanche, and other Indian groups. The Spanish tried to ban transactions of specific merchandise with non-Christianized Indians. These attempts were futile, because illegal interactions occurred frequently. As a way to profit and gain materials from the American Indian communities, the Spanish colonial government entered the trading market. It was hoped that in addition to material gain, the Spanish would establish peaceful relations with the other tribes.

The annual trading fairs at Abiquiú, Pecos, and Taos were officially licensed by the government and were overseen by government officials. The fairs drew Hispano, Pueblo, and Apache traders, as well as French traders from the plains and merchants from Chihuahua. An important aspect of the Taos fair was that it occurred immediately before the yearly Spanish caravan left New Mexico for Chihuahua along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

[16] The first European to enter the Rio Grande Valley near Taos was Don Juan de Oñate in 1598. The pueblo is present on Escalante's 1776 map of the area and consistently appears on maps throughout the following centuries. The present name of the Pueblo comes via Spanish from an altered Tiwa name, "To-wi." Due to its location and distance from the other Pueblos, Taos remained less influenced by the Spanish than other Pueblos in the region (Francisco Domínguez and Silvestre de Escalante 1995).

Apaches

The Athabaskan-speaking Apache probably moved from west-central Canada to the American Southwest sometime in the early 1500s. Francisco Vásquez de Coronado encountered them in 1541 and called them Querechos, but Spaniards soon settled on the term Apache, giving each tribe a regional or descriptive epithet. For example, those living west of the northern Pueblos, north of Zuni, and east of Hopi were termed the Apaches de Nabajó. Their agricultural practices were noted by the early Spanish, who observed that they lived in flat-roofed houses or *rancherías* (small rural settlements), with fields of maize, melons, squash, and beans nearby using irrigation to supplement the scanty rainfall.

Coronado reported that they ate raw meat and drank the blood of the cattle they killed, that they dressed in the skins of the cattle. He also reported that they lived in well-constructed tents, made with tanned and greased cowhides. They took these tents with them as they followed the cattle and used dogs to carry their tents, poles, and belongings. Another report from the Coronado Expedition also provides evidence for trade between the Apaches and Picuris Pueblo. Their close relationship continued after the Pueblo Revolt, when the Picuris lived for more than a decade with Apache groups on the plains at Cuartelejo, in western Kansas.

Upon arrival to the Southwest, the Apaches appeared to have attacked the Pueblos. When their attacks failed, they made peace and became important traders of Plains Indian products to the Pueblos. They participated in the later summer and fall trade fairs, the largest and best known at Taos, and at lesser fairs in Picuris and Pecos. During the truce periods, the Apaches pitched their camps adjacent to the Pueblos and exchanged slaves, buffalo robes, buckskins, jerked meat, and horses for the agricultural and woven cotton goods of the villagers.

Spanish sovereignty over the area eventually disrupted trade between the Pueblo people and the various Apache groups. The Apache quickly acquired horses, improving their mobility for quick raids on settlements. In addition, since the Pueblo people were forced to work Spanish mission lands and care for mission flocks, they had fewer surplus goods to trade with their neighbors.

In the mid-1700s, pressure from hostile Indians, especially the Comanche and Utes, forced Apaches to abandon their small villages with a variety of house types and irrigated fields mentioned in earlier accounts. As the Comanche expanded onto the southern plains and pushed the Apaches against the Spaniards, more Apache women and children were taken captive. It is not possible to tell from the records how many were taken captive by the Spaniards themselves and how many were captured by Comanche who then sold them in New Mexico. Warfare with Apaches and enslavement of Apache and Navajo captives became unquestioned realities in the region and continued throughout the period of significance of the Old Spanish Trail.

Navajos

The Navajo are the largest federally recognized tribe of the United States with more than 300,000 enrolled tribal members. The Navajo speak the Southern Athabaskan languages, which are closely related to the Apache language. Navajo and Apache are believed to have migrated from northwestern Canada and eastern Alaska, where Athabaskan speakers still reside.

Until contact with Pueblos and the Spanish, the Navajo were largely hunters and gatherers. The tribe adopted crop-farming techniques from the Pueblo peoples, growing mainly corn, beans, and squash. When the Spanish arrived, the Navajo began herding sheep and goats as a main source of trade and food, with meat becoming an essential component of the Navajo diet. Sheep also became a form of currency and status symbol among the Navajo based on the overall quantity of herds a family maintained. In addition, the practice

of spinning and weaving wool into blankets and clothing became common and eventually developed into a form of highly valued artistic expression.

The Spanish first used the term Apaches de Nabajó in the 1620s to refer to the people in the Chama Valley region east of the San Juan River and northwest of present-day Santa Fe, New Mexico. The best observations of Navajo culture from the period of 1625–1629, written by Fray Alonso de Benavides, described a semi-sedentary people who planted maize and perhaps other crops, but moved to areas distant from their fields for hunting. They traded meats, hides, and mineral products, primarily salt and alum to the Pueblos. They lived in "underground" homes in *rancherías*; and built special structures for the storage of their harvests.

Initially relations with the Spanish were friendly, but relations soon deteriorated and bitter warfare became the rule throughout the 17th century. The Navajos were closely allied with the Pueblos in their efforts to throw off Spanish rule; they participated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and shared in the captives taken. During the Reconquest period, after 1692, when the Spanish regained control of the province, many Navajos and Pueblos fled. Some went to the Plains Apache and others to Hopi, while many moved to the San Juan River valley near present-day Farmington. Permanent settlement of Navajos in this area, which was crossed by traders using the routes that eventually became part of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, seems to have begun between 1710 and 1715. These settlements were located in the canyons tributary to the San Juan River, including Largo Canyon, Gobernador Canyon, Frances Canyon, and on the south along the Los Pinos and Animas rivers.

Oral history also indicates a long relationship with Pueblo people and a willingness to adapt Pueblo ideas and linguistic variance into their culture, as well as long-established trading practices between the groups. Spanish records from the mid-16th century speak of the Pueblos exchanging maize and woven cotton goods for bison meat, hides, and stone from Athabaskans traveling to the pueblos or living near them. In the 18th century, the Spanish reported the Navajo maintaining large herds of livestock and cultivating large crop areas.

Antonio Armijo's diary relates a couple of encounters with Navajos. On November 26, 1829, he encountered six of them near the San Juan River; two days later, he came upon a *ranchería* where he hired a Navajo to guide the party and protect them from the pilfering for which the Navajos were known. On his return trip, he also blamed the Navajos for the loss of some animals.

As in the case of the Apaches, enslavement of Navajo captives became a reality in the region and continued throughout the period of significance of the Old Spanish Trail. It is quite likely that captive Navajo women were the weavers who worked in sweat shops producing the *efectos del país* that were central to the commerce from New Mexico to California between 1829 and 1848.

Utes

The original homeland of the tribes that spoke Uto-Aztecan languages is generally considered to have been in the area of Arizona and New Mexico as well as part of the Northern Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora. From this area, speakers of Uto-Aztecan languages gradually diffused northward and southward. Unlike many other tribal groups in this region, the Utes have no tradition or evidence of historic migration to the areas now known as Colorado and Utah. Ancestors of the Ute appear to have occupied this area or nearby areas for at least a thousand years.

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the Utes occupied significant portions of what is today eastern Utah, western Colorado, including the San Luis Valley, and parts of New Mexico and Wyoming. The Utes were never a unified group within historic times; instead, they consisted of numerous nomadic bands that

maintained close associations with other neighboring groups The Utes' first contact with Europeans was with early Spanish explorers in the 1630s. At that time, the Utes occupied a territory of over 130,000 square miles, mostly on the Colorado Plateau, in present-day Colorado and Utah. At least seven different bands inhabited parts of southern Colorado alone. They adopted the horse, obtaining mounts through trading with the Spanish colonists in New Mexico or theft from their settlements. Because of the new mobility, Ute culture changed dramatically in ways that paralleled the Plains Indian cultures of the Great Plains. The resulting social upheaval produced various degrees of consolidation, political realignment, and tension between the various Ute groups.

The Utes are thought to have traded with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico before the Spanish arrived, but it is likely that the Spanish joined this trade in the early 17th century, well before any English or Americans were in the area. Later, New Mexicans' trade with the Utes was also a means of securing the northern borders of New Spain against perceived threats from the British and the Americans, and as a way to control trade in guns.

The Utes were enemies of the Spanish and the conquered Pueblos. They engaged in a long series of wars, in some cases three-sided, with the Navajo, various other Apache tribes, and the Comanche, especially in the plains of eastern Colorado and northeastern New Mexico. After Mexico gained its independence from Spain, trading relations between Utes and New Mexicans continued. However, while Spain had prohibited unlicensed trade and exploration, Mexico promoted trade and even settlement outside the province. The ambiguous boundaries that Mexico inherited from Spain meant that the northernmost borders of the territory were undefined, unconsolidated, and contested. Starting in the last decades of Spanish rule, the Utes increasingly migrated into other tribes' homelands, particularly those of the Paiutes, displacing and subjugating local Indians and spreading their control over peoples and lands that were outside their territorial range. They systematically raided other tribes and used the captives from these skirmishes as items to be exchanged for horses or other desirable trade goods. These patterns of captivity and ransom were exacerbated as the commercial activities in the area became more substantial.

In general, Utes guided, welcomed, and joined trading parties in their homeland. Few records of trappers' travels in western Colorado and Utah remain, but evidence of such traffic exists. Ewing Young and William Wolfskill possibly traded in the area. Many others followed suit and eventually dozens of trading and trapping parties moved into the region. Some were able to establish lucrative trade centers with Ute and other Indian people, while others suffered and even perished from Indian attacks, cold, and hunger. The most successful was Antoine Robidoux, who set up two trading posts in Ute territory, one in Western Colorado along the Gunnison River and the other east of Utah Lake Valley on the Green River of northeastern Utah. At these and other similar locations, Utes annually traded for guns, metals, beads, and other manufactured goods. Robidoux's operations depended upon stable relations with Ute communities. These outposts were far from settlements and only moderately fortified, but they served the central purpose of replenishing trapping parties in the west, purchasing the furs, and transporting them south to Taos. Robidoux's forts continued provisioning overland travelers until 1844, and they have been clearly linked to trading along the Old Spanish Trail.

The Ute bands of western Colorado and Utah successfully traded with foreigners on their southern, eastern, and northern borders. However, as the West became part of a larger continental economy, Ute trade relations shifted and hostilities intensified. Utes joined Navajos to attack New Mexican settlements at Ohkay Owingeh and showed great bellicosity toward American traders along the Santa Fe Trail.

Despite increasing hostilities, travel and trade continued throughout the region. There was little effort to enforce laws forbidding trade and travel, and former colonial regulations. At the same time, *genízaros* (captives and slaves) continued to maintain social relations with Indian communities. When Ute *rancherías* were visited, the former and now Hispanicized captives and their children reconnected with families and friends. *Genízaros* continually guided, translated, and traded throughout the region. Towns such as Abiquiú

and their residents remained deeply connected to Indian peoples, and their historic cultural and economic connections only intensified during the Mexican period through the expansion of trade, traffic, and slavery in the Great Basin.

According the Ned Blackhawk's *Violence over the Land*, Utes and traders from New Mexico were the main users of the Old Spanish Trail. However, he stresses that the trail's many traders defy easy classification. Bands of Ute raiders often included a hodgepodge of American and New Mexican traders while Mexican parties depended upon Indian guides. Dozens of such parties traveled along the trail and relied on Ute and Southern Paiute communities. The travails of George Yount and William Wolfskill in their 1830–1831 trip as they pioneered the Northern Route of Old Spanish Trail are good indicators of the support traders received from Indian tribes. As they entered the Sevier River Valley, they were warmly received by Utes who shared food and goods with the party and granted them permission to hunt and trap in their territory. After getting lost in Southern Utah, they traced tributaries of the Colorado River where they met Mojave Indian bands who offered crucial food and guidance.

As the presence of Anglo-Americans became more widespread in the Utes' lands, they were diplomatic enough to obtain some financial benefits from use of their lands. When Hispanos moved into the San Luis Valley, the Utes were initially resistant to settlement of the area and often resorted to violence or destruction of property to force settlers out. However, in 1847, the Utes permitted Atanasio Trujillo and his family to settle along the San Luis River. This was a clear attempt on the part of the Utes to maintain control of their lands through cooperation with the Mexican authorities. The Utes pledged peace and assisted the Hispanos who settled in the area. The Utes found the New Mexicans to be excellent sources of income through the leasing of land.

Southern Paiute

Paiute refers to three closely related groups of Native Americans – the Northern Paiute of California, Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon; the Owens Valley Paiute of California and Nevada; and the Southern Paiute of Arizona, southeastern California, southern Nevada, and Utah. The Southern Paiute traditionally lived in the Colorado River basin and Mojave Desert.

Before the horse, the Paiutes were much like the Utes with a slightly greater emphasis on hunting and gathering than on farming. The horse did not do well with unfenced gardens so a choice had to be made—Utes rode horses, which made them the center of their new trading culture, while Paiutes killed and ate horses, thus protecting unfenced gardens and delicate springs. From a largely common background, two ways of life emerged, each using trails for somewhat different, yet similar purposes. For hundreds of years, the Ute people used the horse for trade with anyone, but they were especially interested in European goods coming from the Spanish to the south and French and English to the east. Southern Paiutes remained farmers, but were impacted by European diseases, carried and spread by traders and others who traveled along trade routes.

While the Utes rode and traded long distances, Southern Paiutes walked and farmed. In a sense, the Utes served as a buffer for the Southern Paiutes by controlling trade and traders who traveled along the trails from the Rio Grande. While the Ute people became increasingly dependent on horses and trade, Paiute people remained agriculturalists as they had been for a thousand years. While Utes became involved in new kinds of alliances and hostilities, Paiutes remained at arm's length from the conflicts in Northern New Spain and coastal California.

Indian people in the Great Basin would exchange goods for medicines and other items to be used in ceremony. Specific Southern Paiute communities, for example, had access to medicines and ceremonial items within their territory, but they would not always use the items found within their boundaries. They would

acquire these items through exchange with different Southern Paiute communities. Obtaining these items had to do with a specific aspect of many American Indian tribes as well as Southern Paiute culture, known as *Puha*. *Puha* is best described as power or a life force that exists in everything on Earth. *Puha* derives from creation and it exists on three levels: upper (where powerful anthropomorphic beings live), middle (where people now live), and lower (where extraordinary beings with reptilian or distorted humanoid appearance live). In addition, it can move between these levels. *Puha* continuously flows back and forth from center to the periphery—both concentrically and radially—therefore it connects, disconnects, and reconnects every element of the universe. The physical and the spiritual effects of *Puha* are experienced every time people interact with the landscape. In Southern Paiute culture, *Puha* is rationalized and enters into the social memory. *Puha* exists throughout the universe, but as with differences in human strength, *Puha* will vary in intensity from element to element, object to object, and place to place. It varies in what it can be used for and it determines what different elements can do.

The Paiutes had long been the target of enslaving raids from the Utes that became more common and fiercer in the last decades of Spanish rule. During this time, the Utes increasingly migrated into the Paiute homeland displacing and subjugating many bands and spreading their control over peoples and lands that were outside their territorial range. These captives became items to be exchanged for horses or other desirable trade goods. Many of them were sold at trade fairs and became servants in Spanish and Mexican households. In some cases, these captives would be identified as *genízaros*, although the historic record often failed to provide a clear identification of the *genízaros* tribal origin. For example, many are described as Utes, although it is quite likely that they were Paiutes who had been acquired from the Utes.

Theft and travel associated with the Old Spanish Trail came through Southern Paiute homelands and became intimately linked with Paiute slavery. On their journeys to and from California, Ute raiders forced Paiute bands to trade their women and children or be killed. Mexican and American traders conducted similar transactions, and by the end of the Mexican period Paiute bands reports show staggering gender disparities and harrowing tales of enslavement.

Armijo's terse diary documented five encounters with Paiute bands. Even though he expected possible animosity, he noted their peaceful behavior, "a gentle and cowardly nation." From these encounters, it is difficult to assess the repercussion of Armijo's party intrusion. A group of Paiutes fled "in terror" at the presence of the traders. They were likely small bands, extended family units that lacked the warriors, horses, and weaponry to resist.

Shoshone

The Shoshone are an American Indian tribe with three large divisions: the Northern, the Western, and the Eastern. The Northern are concentrated in eastern Idaho, western Wyoming, and northeastern Utah. The Eastern lived in Wyoming, northern Colorado, and Montana. Conflict with the Blackfoot, Crow, Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho pushed them south and westward after about 1750. The Western ranged from central Idaho, northwestern Utah, central Nevada, and in California around Death Valley and Panamint Valley. This group is sometimes called the Panamint and is likely to have been among those who encountered Old Spanish Trail traders.

The Shoshone language is one of the Uto-Aztecan languages spoken by numerous peoples ranging from the Great Basin to coastal Southern California in present-day United States, down through central, western, and southern Mexico; and into Central and South America.

The Western Shoshone were organized into loosely affiliated family bands that subsisted on wild plants, small mammals, fish, and insects. Each family was independently nomadic during most of the year and joined other families only briefly for activities such as rabbit drives, antelope hunts, or dancing; like other Great Basin

Indians, they were sometimes referred to by the derogatory name "diggers," taken from their practice of digging tubers and roots for food.

Western Shoshones were generally non-equestrian, and their culture suffered from the arrival of Anglo trappers and traders, who quickly exterminated the beaver and other fur-bearing animals in the region. Horse traders along Old Spanish Trail are likely to have also caused major food shortages as their animals depleted grasses, water, and game.

Much like the Paiutes, Apaches, and Navajos, Western Shoshones were the target of enslaving raids that eventually displaced them from their accustomed lands and water sources. When the first American migrants and settlers ventured into the region in the 1840s, they were horrified by the violence that characterized the everyday lives of the Paiutes and Shoshones, many of whom initially welcomed Euro-American settlement as a reprieve from decades of enslavement.

Armijo's diary does not make any specific reference to the Shoshone, but other documents indicate that an unspecified Shoshone band aided the pioneers of the Northern Route of Old Spanish Trail, George Yount and William Wolfskill. After getting lost in southern Utah the traders followed tributaries of the Colorado River and traveled west until they met Shoshone bands or "digger Indians" in the Mojave Desert.

Mojave

The Mojave or Mohave (Mojave: 'Aha Makhav) is an American Indian group indigenous to the Colorado River in the Mojave Desert. The Mojave held lands that stretched from the north at Hoover Dam to about 100 miles below Parker Dam on the Colorado River. They were mainly farmers who, following age-old customs, planted in the overflow of the Colorado.

Although a river tribe, the Mojave made no canoes, but when necessary had recourse to rafts, or balsas, made of bundles of reeds. They had no large settlements, instead living in clusters of scattered dwellings. Dwellings were four-sided and low, with four supporting posts at the center. The walls, which were only two or three feet high, and the almost flat roofs were formed of brush covered with sand. Their granaries were upright cylindrical structures with flat roofs. The Mojave hunted rarely; their chief food was the cultivated products of the soil, such as corn, pumpkins, melons, beans, and a small amount of wheat, to which they added mesquite beans, *piñón* nuts, and fish to a limited extent. They did not practice irrigation, but relied on the inundation of the bottomlands to supply the needed moisture. When there was no over-flow, their crops failed. Articles of skin and bone were little used, materials such as the inner bark of the willow, vegetable fiber, etc., taking their place. They manufactured pottery and obtained baskets from other tribes.

Mojaves were first seen in the Colorado River Valley by the Spaniards of Juan de Oñate's expedition in 1604. The Mojave territory was too far from the Spanish centers of religious and political influence to be directly affected by Spanish activities and received visits only at very protracted intervals. A documented Spanish visitor was Father Francisco Garcés who in 1775–1776 estimated the population of the Mojave tribe at 3,000. No missions or Spanish settlements were ever established in Mojave territory. There appears to have been few changes in Mojave culture and life-ways during the Spanish period, although the Mojaves acquired a few horses in raids upon the Spanish missions in California.

After Mexico's independence from Spain, as more traders began to travel through Mojave territory, their reception of strangers became highly unpredictable. Some parties of Anglo-Americans experienced a lot of animosity and in some cases blood was spilled. However, it was a Mojave band that in 1830 assisted Wolfskill and Yount when they followed tributaries of the Colorado River after getting lost in southern Utah.

Serrano-Vanyume

The term Serrano comes from the Spanish word meaning highlander or someone who lives in the mountains. It is nearly impossible to assign definitive boundaries for Serrano territory due both to Serrano sociopolitical organization features and lack of dependable data. The relationship between the Serrano and the Vanyume is complicated, but recent research indicates that the two were much more closely related than was previously realized.

Most research places the desert branch of the Serrano in the San Bernardino Mountains east of Cajón Pass, at the base and north of these mountains in the desert near Victorville, eastward as far as Twentynine Palms, and south to and in the Yucca Valley. To date there have been no archeological research projects determining the relationship between the Serrano historic and prehistoric periods.

Contact with Europeans may have occurred as early as 1771, when Mission San Gabriel was established. In 1775–1776 Fray Francisco Garcés described the Serranos near Tejón Creek, under the name Cuahajai or Cuabajay (their Mojave name), as living in large square communal houses of toile mats on a framework of willow, each family having its own fireplace. Garcés indicated that they made small baskets, flint knives, and vessels inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and conducted much trade with the natives of the coast near Santa Barbara. Garcés named one of their *rancherías* San Pascual. He also commented on the Serranos who lived on the upper waters of the Santa Ana River and called them by their Mojave name, Jenequich (Hanakwiche), describing them as approachable

> *and of middling good heart; they are of medium stature, and the women somewhat smaller, round-faced, flat-nosed, and rather ugly; their custom is for the men to go entirely naked, and the women wear some sort of deerskin, with which they cover themselves, and also some small coat of otter or of hare.*

The Serrano-speaking villages of the southern Antelope Valley were, according to Fray Francisco Garcés, affiliated with this desert branch of the Serrano. Garcés had traveled the length of the Mojave River in early 1776, and then crossed the southwestern Antelope Valley some weeks later. Garcés was accompanied by Mojave Indian guides from the Colorado River who knew where the tribal boundaries were. These southern Antelope Valley native communities had strong ties with Serrano-speaking communities on the upper Mojave River and in the areas of the northern San Bernardino and San Gabriel mountains.

In 1811, there was a forced removal of Serrano to San Gabriel Mission, and mass baptisms of Serrano that year and again in 1813. In 1819, an *asistencia* (mission outpost) was built near Redlands. Between that time and secularization in 1834, most of the western Serrano were removed to the missions, after which too few remained to reestablish their native culture.

Although the Serranos occupied the territory crossed by the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, no specific documentation survives of their activities after 1834, when the California missions were secularized.

The Vanyume or Beñemé, as Fray Francisco Garcés called them, lived beyond and along much of the length of the Mojave River, from the eastern Mojave Desert to at least the Victorville region, and perhaps even farther upstream to the south. They also appear to have lived in the southern and southwestern Antelope Valley. They intermarried with the Serrano and spoke a dialect of the Serrano language, so they may be thought of as a desert division or branch of the Serrano proper. Garcés described them as being very poor, but possessing baskets, otter and rabbit coats, and some very curious snares, which they made of wild hemp. They subsisted on wild game and acorns.

Some accounts note that the Vanyume living along the Mojave River were quite wealthy in shell-bead money and other items, perhaps on account of the active trade route running along the Mojave River, connecting the Colorado River tribes and the Indian nations of the Southwest with the Indian groups of coastal southern California.

The Vanyume had a culture and food supply practices that were similar to those of the Serrano. Despite living in the desert, they had the advantage of receiving and using large quantities of acorns gathered in the San Bernardino and San Gabriel mountain ranges to the south. This allowed large villages to be supplied with abundant food far out in the desert, far north of where oak trees could be found. Garcés reported having been given acorn porridge at a Vanyume village just to the southwest of modern Barstow, far from any oak grove.

As in the case of the Serrano, very little is known of the Vanyume, a sparse population living along the Mojave River. They seemed to have differed from the Serrano.

Traditional Cultural Properties[17]

A traditional cultural property can be defined generally as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community. The traditional cultural significance of a historic property is significance derived from the role the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices.

Traditional cultural values are often central to the way a community or group defines itself, and maintaining such values is often vital to maintaining the group's sense of identity and self-respect. Properties to which traditional cultural value is ascribed often take on this kind of vital significance. Infringement upon them is perceived to be deeply offensive, and even destructive, to the group that values them. It is important that traditional cultural properties be considered carefully in planning; hence it is important that such properties, when they are eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, be nominated or otherwise identified in inventories for planning purposes.

Traditional cultural properties are often hard to recognize. A traditional ceremonial location for example may look like merely a mountaintop, a lake, or a stretch of river; a culturally important neighborhood may look like any other aggregation of houses, and an area where culturally important economic or artistic activities have been carried out may look like any other building, field of grass, or forest in the area. Such places may not necessarily become known through the conduct of archeological, historical, or architectural surveys. The existence and significance of such locations often can be ascertained only through interviews with knowledgeable users of the area, or through other forms of ethnographic research. The subtlety with which the significance of such locations may be expressed makes it easy to ignore them; it also makes it difficult to distinguish between properties having real significance and those whose alleged significance might be false. As a result, clear guidelines for evaluation of such properties are needed.[18]

An ethnographic study prepared in association with this document identified 19 traditional cultural properties associated with American Indian tribes along the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. Because of the sensitivity of these resources, this information cannot be made public; however, trail administration could make this information available to individuals interested in its use and who have permission from the various tribes.

[17] Information from this section comes from: http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb38/nrb38%20introduction.htm#tcp.

[18] At the time this document was being prepared the National Register Bulletin 38 on Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties is in the process of being revised.

Hispano Communities

The preparation for developing this comprehensive administrative strategy included support for a partial ethnographic/historic study of certain Hispano communities that were impacted by the Old Spanish Trail. Criteria for selecting communities included the following; (a) communities associated with the development of the trail, such as Abiquiú, New Mexico; (b) communities founded by emigrant populations known to have used sections of the trail as migration routes in the 19th century, such as Agua Mansa, California; and (c) other population clusters along the trail, such as San Gabriel Mission, in California. Additional key Hispano communities were located at the trail termini: Santa Fe, New Mexico and Los Angeles, California. The study team acknowledges that substantial additional research needs to be conducted before major questions can be answered regarding the nature of the commercial activities and their impact on settlements along the trail during and after the period of significance of the trail.

Individuals interviewed during the ethnographic study identified the communities of Coyote, Youngsville, La Ciénega, and Cañones, New Mexico, and Vacaville and San Luis Obispo, California, as places that have been affected by trail establishment and trail traffic. These individuals suggested that other communities, such as Davis, Fairfield, New Almaden, San Juan Bautista, and San Diego, California, might also have been affected by the commercial activities associated with the trail. The sample of communities involved in this study, however, does provide useful insights into the lasting effects that the trail has had on Hispano settlements across the Southwest.

Abiquiú, New Mexico

Abiquiú is a community that identifies itself with its *genízaro* ancestors as much as with its Spanish ancestors. Most residents have homes within the Abiquiú merced (land grant). Abiquiú was a major trade center and an important stop on the trail. After acquiring trade goods and livestock, Antonio Armijo set out for California from there in 1829.

The history of Abiquiú, however, goes back thousands of years. Historic accounts note early names for the site as coming from the Indians at Ohkay Owingeh who knew the old pueblo at Abiquiú as Fe-jiu. According to Ralph Twitchell (1914), others knew it as Jo-so-ge, Jo-so being the Tewa's' name for the Moquis (Hopis).

Before Spanish contact in the 16th century, the lower Rio Chama and Piedra Lumbre valleys were occupied by a variety of ethnic groups, including Navajo, Ute, and Apache. The Tewa people lived in the Chama Valley only until the early 17th century, but continued to visit the area, including the Piedra Lumbre Valley, to graze sheep, goats, and cattle; to harvest *piedra lumbre*, a highly valued aluminum salt; and as a trade route from the Río Grande to the Ute country of southern Colorado. Milich noted that the Tewa people brought trains of pack animals with them along the Rio Chama route when they engaged in trade with the Utes. The traditional activities of the Tewa continued up to the mid-1700s when Hispano settlers moved in with their own sheep, and Hispano traders took over the Pueblo trading expeditions to Ute country.

The history of Abiquiú is also closely tied to the trail along the Rio Chama, a precursor to the Old Spanish Trail. Before Spanish contact, Ute bands used the trail to reach the pueblos along the Rio Grande. In the early to mid-1700s, the Spanish began to explore the Rio Chama in efforts to settle the Chama Valley and prevent Ute and Comanche raids, which discouraged the Spanish from moving west of Santa Cruz de la Cañada (east of present day Española). A pattern emerged in which after Indian attacks receded, settlers would return to the valley, and renewed attacks would drive them out again.

Prior to Spanish contact, the Ute people used the Rio Chama route to reach the llanos (plains) in the winter where they hunted antelope. After contact, the Apaches de Navajo, 17th century Athabaskan speakers who lived between the Rio Chama and the San Juan River to the north, used the Rio Chama route to drive the Spaniards from their capital at San Gabriel del Yunque in 1608. They continued to use this trail to raid and harass the settlers in the area of Santa Cruz de la Cañada for more than a century.

In the 17th century, the Rio Chama was considered the easiest route to both Navajo and Ute countries from Ohkay Owingeh, the Santa Clara Pueblo, and other places to the south. In the Piedra Lumbre area, travelers usually crossed the Rio Chama to follow the Arroyo Seco north since following the Rio Chama through Cañón de Chama was a greater challenge.

Abiquiú was established in the early 1730s along the Rio Chama. The settlement was confirmed with a *merced* to Bartolomé Trujillo and others in 1734. Most historians believe that the original plaza, known as Santa Rosa de Lima de Abiquiú, was located roughly two miles downstream from present-day Abiquiú at the current chapel site. [19] Repeated attacks by the Utes drove the settlers away until the early 1750s when, with the help of some *genízaros*, a community was reestablished at the present site, near an old pueblo still known as Moki (Hopi). This newer community was renamed Santo Tomás de Abiquiú. As population increased scarcity of arable land caused an expansion from the Abiquiú region and the Santa Rosa plaza declined in importance. The 1787 census enumerated only 19 families in Santa Rosa consisting of 80 persons attached to the chapel. In the early 1800s, some families, including that of the influential Antonio Severino Martínez, left their Santa Rosa homes and settled as far away as the Taos Valley. During the first quarter of the 19th century, this population explosion also resulted in numerous new settlements within this area, including Cañones (seven miles west of Abiquiú), Barranco, El Rito, La Puente (also called Mariana; specific location is unknown), Tierra Azul (three miles east of Abiquiú; name is a translation of the site's Tewa name), Río de Chama (near present-day Medanales), Casitas (12 miles south of El Rito near the junction of New Mexico State Route 554 and U.S. Route 84), Plaza Blanca [20] (four miles northeast of Abiquiú), San Francisco (also called San Francisco El Duende; north of Hernández), La Cueva (north of Ojo Caliente; takes its name from Cañada de la Cueva, which enters the Río Ojo Caliente from the west), San Rafael (also called San Rafael del Quiqui or Guique), and Gavilán (six miles north of Lindrith; also called Tapicitos). The residents of these communities continued to be under the jurisdiction of Santo Tomás, which became a full parish rather than a mission, and *ayuda* chapels were licensed to serve their needs on a smaller scale.

Genízaros have been central to the history of Abiquiú. Traditionally they were Indian captives sold to Spaniards. Many became household servants. Sometimes they were ethnically mixed Indians who fought for the Spanish. Most *genízaros* in New Mexico were Plains Indians captured as slaves of another Plains Indian tribe and then sold to Hispanos or Pueblos. Traffic in *genízaros* was originally sanctioned by the Spanish authorities as a method of Christianizing Indian captives, but the teaching of Christian doctrine was often ignored by Spaniards, who placed greater emphasis on the amount of work their *genízaro* servants performed.

The treatment of Indian captives varied from slave treatment to familial inclusion, although they had specific rights, even if only nominally. Indian captives played an important role economically and demographically, while Indian fighters played equally important roles in the defense of Spanish communities in the area. Abiquiú and other Chama Valley settlements differed from those along the Rio Grande in that they were somewhat distant from other Spanish and Pueblo villages. The *genízaros* preferred this arrangement, having found more economic and social opportunities in the periphery of Spanish settlement. In addition to their importance individually as captives and fighters, *genízaro* communities constituted a buffer between the raiding tribes and the Spanish settlements. As one of those settlements situated along an Indian trail favored

[19] Frances León Quintana (1991) believes that Santa Rosa was settled in the 1750s and that the original site was at La Puente.

[20] The Plaza Blanca Land Grant was made to Manuel Bustos in 1739 by Governor Gaspar Domínguez de Mendoza.

by Apaches, Utes, Navajos, and Comanche, Abiquiú suffered frequent attacks by these tribes when they were not engaged in trade fairs with the Utes and other natives. Most of this trade, including the annual trade fair at Abiquiú, was not legally sanctioned but carried out between individuals.

The Utes established peaceful relations with the Spanish in the mid-1700s when their former allies, the Comanche, acquired guns from the French and the Utes. Comanche and Ute raids on the Rio Chama settlers did not end, however, and Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín had to issue a ***bando*** (proclamation) that prohibited the settlers from abandoning the Rio Chama lands. Not wanting to lose their land grant, the settlers, including 100 ***genízaros***, stayed. Yet they continued to trade as evidenced by the 1783 trial of Abiquiú residents for illegal trading.

In an effort to restrict the activity, another ***bando*** was issued that prohibited residents from leaving their districts without permission. Sheer necessity, however, drove many New Mexicans to continue illegal trading in spite of the bando. Early 1800s trade traffic along the Rio Chama continued to be vital to the outlying communities. New Mexicans would head northwest with their packed ***muladas*** (mule trains) as soon as the winter storms had subsided. The Ute, Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa peoples traveled down the Rio Chama for the trade fairs. All trade travel was suspended by winter storms in November until springtime. The trade restrictions imposed by the Spanish government remained until Mexico gained its independence in 1821.

Abiquiú became even more important when Armijo and his successors used the Old Spanish Trail, because it was the last stop for supplies before traders and others headed northwest. Concurrent with the lifting of the trade restrictions was a relatively peaceful period when attacks and raids on the Mexican settlements by the Utes and other native populations declined. In light of the reduced threat, restless New Mexico families hungry for fresh opportunity packed their belongings in ***carretas*** (wooden cart or wagon), gathered their modest flocks, and rode, walked, and herded in all directions beyond the existing settlements. The Rio Chama trail became a migratory trail as well as a trade route.

Abiquiú's importance as a trade center continued to grow with its main exports including sheep, sheepskins, wool, ***piñón*** nuts, hides, Indian blankets, and dried meats obtained from the Utes.

Agua Mansa, California

The history of Agua Mansa is closely tied to Abiquiú, New Mexico. Within a decade of the 1829 Armijo trip establishing a viable route to Los Angeles, owners of southern California ranchos decided to recruit ***genízaros*** from Abiquiú, New Mexico, to protect their livestock from raiding Indians. In the fall of 1838, seven inhabitants of Abiquiú - including Lorenzo Trujillo and Santiago Martinez —made the trek, departing Abiquiú on September 22 and arriving on December 12 at Sycamore Grove, about eight miles northwest of San Bernardino. Maria Manuela Martín y Larrañaga was pregnant when they left Abiquiú, and thought she could reach California before giving birth. Her son, Apolinario Martinez, however, was born along the trail. Before long, they settled in a fledgling village called Politana, located just south of present-day San Bernardino. However, by 1843, Trujillo and others decided to move a few miles southwest, on Rancho Jurupa land.

Some of the families met with Antonio Lugo at his Rancho San Bernardino, and Juan Bandini at his Rancho Jurupa. The Abiqueños accepted Lugo's proposal of a 2,200-acre allotment to be held in common in exchange for protecting Lugo's herds and property from raiding Indians, marauders, and horse thieves. Martinez and his family settled on a bluff overlooking the Santa Ana River, while the others wintered nearby. They assisted Los Angeles authorities who were preparing a large herd of horses and mules to take back to Santa Fe over the Old Spanish Trail in the spring of 1839.

Espinosa went back to Rancho San Bernardino with his family in 1840 and settled near Martinez; the fledgling settlement, just south of present-day downtown San Bernardino, was called Politana. Trujillo returned with his family in 1841, traveling with the Rowland–Workman caravan, which included 1,200 sheep. The Trujillos settled near Espinosa and the following spring had the first wedding among the settlers when their eldest daughter married Enrique Anselmo Sepúlveda at San Gabriel Mission.

Trujillo and Espinosa returned to Abiquiú to assist other families who wanted to move to southern California. They escorted 10 families in 1842 who settled at Politana. Another 10 families arrived in 1843. Problems with Lugo's family and employees had become intolerable by this time, and Trujillo, in consultation with the other heads of families, decided to take Bandini's 1838 offer and relocate to Rancho Jurupa. Some of the families moved in 1844 and settled on the south bank of the Santa Ana River about four miles downriver from Politana. Their community was called La Placita de los Trujillos. The others joined them the following year and settled on the north bank. The area encompassing the two communities was known as Agua Mansa.

During the Mexican War in 1846, the Agua Mansans fought for Mexico, but resigned themselves to American rule when their country lost the war. The gold rush of 1849 was the next big event in Agua Mansa life, although it did not include the Agua Mansans. The impact came from the increasing population, as unsuccessful gold seekers decided to buy land to settle and farm in California. The first federal census of 1850 listed 16 families of 86 people for Agua Mansa. Lorenzo Trujillo was still the community leader, a position he retained until his death in 1855. Trujillo had been instrumental in bringing priests from San Gabriel Mission for local services and eventually succeeded in establishing the new parish of San Salvador de Jurupa in 1852. Unfortunately, the church site was a poor choice, as it was located in quicksand causing the church to collapse. The second site was on the north side of the river where the church was completed in 1853. Lorenzo Trujillo's final contribution to his community was to establish a cemetery on the hill behind the church in 1854.

The Agua Mansa site today shows few traces of the former community. The community's cemetery, located on a bench above the floodplain, remains. The ruin of an old adobe house (Trujillo Adobe), which is the last surviving building of La Placita on the south bank of the Santa Ana River, also remains. The church bell remains, but is located now at the Riverside Mission Inn courtyard. This is the second Agua Mansa bell, which replaced the original bell around 1866. The original bell, along with the church, had survived the major 1862 flood, but developed a crack in 1863 that prevented further use. The ringing of the original bell alerted the Agua Mansans to the flood and prevented loss of life. The new bell was slightly disfigured and not as pleasant-sounding as the original bell, but it served the community for over fifty years. Also surviving are several Stations of the Cross, which mark where Agua Mansa founder Lorenzo Trujillo's casket rested on its journey to the Agua Mansa cemetery from the church. The stations were small piles of rocks surmounted with a wooden cross. Trujillo died in 1855 and his stations miraculously survived the 1862 flood.

Descendants of the Agua Mansa Old Spanish Trail travelers, including those of Lorenzo Trujillo, live throughout southern California and the West, many in Colton (the cemetery is within the Colton city limits). In recent years, renewed interest in genealogy and history has drawn descendants to the cemetery where they have organized walks and other small-scale events. The San Bernardino County Museum has worked with them to record the burials and make them accessible in an online database.

Descendants have expressed interest in improving the cemetery, protecting the dilapidated adobe, and retrieving the church bell. The relationship between the Old Spanish Trail and Agua Mansa is still quite strong today, and the descendants of the original settlers still search for information about their ancestors. Those from California as well as from Abiquiú, New Mexico, have expressed interest in finding relatives and sharing their histories. While Santa Fe and Los Angeles are considered the ends of the trail, Abiquiú and Agua Mansa were the last settlements before the long journey between them. Agua Mansa served both as an endpoint for

community members traveling the trail to trade or reconnect with Abiquiú, as well as a place to re-supply. The trail has served to maintain a strong connection between Abiquiú and Agua Mansa, the latter a community that would not have existed without the Old Spanish Trail. Agua Mansa supported travel along the trail, and the resulting trade was vital to its founding and success. Descendants of the original settlers strongly feel that the role of Agua Mansa in the Old Spanish Trail has been mostly ignored. Their interest in their history and the role of their ancestors in the development of southern California provide the seeds for local collaboration to recognize the community and trail.

San Gabriel Mission, California

The history of San Gabriel Mission begins during the early Spanish colonial days. The establishment of the mission precedes the opening of the Old Spanish Trail by almost 60 years. Travelers along the trail used San Gabriel Mission as a place to rest and replenish scarce food, water, and supplies.

During the second half of the 18th century, soldiers and priests were dispersed in northward directions from Mexico as part of the Spanish crown's exploration and claim of new territory. The Baja Peninsula, sometimes referred to as Baja California, was the starting point of many who came to Alta California, including today's southern California. San Gabriel Mission, fourth in a 21-mission plan developed by the Franciscan Order and the Spanish government, was established in 1771 by Fray Junípero Serra. Fathers Fray Angel Somers and Fray Pedro Benito Carbon were the first priests appointed to San Gabriel.

The missions were pioneer institutions and involved pacification of the native inhabitants, the introduction of a new civilization and religion, and development of an economic system that would allow for its subsistence. Missions were based on adequate lands for farming and a dependable water supply for irrigation. Nearby Indian populations, the availability of timber and access to the ocean for trade purposes were other requisites for mission sites. The original location chosen for San Gabriel Mission was endowed with all of these features. However, it was immediately below Whittier Narrows through which the San Gabriel River passed, an area that was subject to severe flooding. The American Indians there also proved to be hostile; in 1775, San Gabriel Mission was relocated to its present site.

Attempts to bring settlers to California followed after the first missions were established. One of them was led by Juan Bautista de Anza who followed an overland route to California starting in 1775. During this trip, which lasted 138 days, de Anza guided 240 colonists and 1,000 head of livestock to California. The colonists included 198 settlers; over half of the party consisted of people 12 years of age or younger. Starting at Tubac (near Nogales), Arizona, the group followed the Santa Cruz River north to the Gila River, where the colonists turned west and followed it to the Colorado River. Crossing the sand dunes and deserts of southern California, the travelers turned northwest toward the Santa Ana Valley. They traveled through the Riverside area and arrived at Mission San Gabriel Archangel on January 4, 1776. Some stayed at San Gabriel while others continued up the California coast reaching an area near Monterey on March 10, 1776. Many of the colonists that traveled to San Gabriel relocated to El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles de Porticula, which was established in 1781 and would later become known as Los Angeles.

In its new location, San Gabriel Mission became one of the largest and most productive of the missions. It had 17 ranchos for horses and cattle, and 15 ranchos for sheep, goats, and pigs. As the Spanish installed irrigation systems, they struggled with the extremes of flooding and low water flows. They eventually built a huge system of aqueducts throughout California to irrigate extensive gardens, orchards, and vineyards. The missions prospered until 1821 when Mexico separated from Spain. In 1833, the Secularization Act ended the Mission Era by taking ownership of the mission lands to make the vast acreages available to ranchers seeking new lands. As Spanish and Mexican ranchers acquired land grants, they were able to establish large ranchos. Along the Los Angeles River, early ranchos included Rancho Encino at the head of the river, Rancho Los Nietos, and Rancho Los Cerritos. Along the Santa Ana River, the early ranchos included Rancho San Juan

Cajón de Santa Ana, granted title in 1837; Rancho Jurupa, granted title in 1838; and Rancho San Bernardino, granted title in 1842.

The impacts of the missions and the settlement of the more arable lands by ranchers disrupted Indian settlements and land use patterns and populations. With the end of the Mission Era, some Indian people chose to find jobs and continued to pursue their Christianized lifestyle, while others joined those who had resisted the Spanish and Mexicans. The latter were those who drove the ranchos to seek protection of their livestock, which eventually led to the recruitment of settlers from Abiquiú, New Mexico.

In spite of the secularization of the missions, San Gabriel Mission continued to provide the settlers with religious services. Distant communities, such as those associated with Rancho San Bernardino and Rancho Jurupa, had small churches at San Bernardino and Agua Mansa that were outposts or *estancias* to San Gabriel Mission. Greater changes came to the San Gabriel Valley in the latter 1840s. The Mexican–American War brought fighting from 1846 to 1848, after which the treaties of Cahuenga (1847) and Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) were signed, and the United States acquired the contemporary Southwest.

Mexican ranching gave way to American farming, mining, and urban development. The American farms tended to be smaller acreages and the farmers used the land more intensively. The end of the war coincided with the discovery of gold in northern California, which increased the population by over 500% between 1848 and 1850, and by 1,900% by 1852. The arrival of the transcontinental railroad in 1876 provided access to distant markets, and agricultural production expanded greatly. The railroads also brought more people eager to take advantage of the abundant sunshine, farmland, water, and business opportunities in southern California.

Some descendants of the original San Gabriel Mission families participate in *Los Pobladores* annual walk, a reenactment of the original settlers' final 9-mile trek from San Gabriel Mission to El Pueblo de la Reina de Los Angeles on September 4, 1781. It is perhaps the most visible remnant of that history. The route they follow is also the last segment of the Old Spanish Trail.

The San Gabriel Mission, or Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, is recognized for its role in California's history as a California State Historic Landmark. The Old Plaza, the final destination of *Los Pobladores*, is recognized as well as a California State Historic Landmark. In spite of being in a heavily developed area, the "trail" between these two points presents 9 miles of opportunity for Old Spanish Trail interpretation.

Descendants of San Gabriel Mission and Agua Mansa families are familiar with, and in some cases related to, each other. Like Agua Mansa, San Gabriel was one of the last stops along the Old Spanish Trail in California, a place for travelers to stay and resupply. The Old Spanish Trail brought trade to San Gabriel, but travelers also stole cattle and horses from local residents. Along with economic impacts, community participants also felt that the Old Spanish Trail brought more settlers looking for land, some of whom then married local Indian women. Similarly to Agua Mansa, *genízaros* from Abiquiú were also brought in to protect the settlers' cattle. Due to San Gabriel and Agua Mansa's close location and function along the Old Spanish Trail, they were also similarly impacted, and today descendants recognize a connection.

San Luis, Colorado

San Luis is on the north branch of the Old Spanish Trail in southern Colorado, approximately 67 miles north of Taos. For the community of San Luis, travel through the valley and along this Northern Route played an important role in its settlement and history.

The San Luis Valley lies within the traditional territory of the Capote band of Ute Indians. In addition to the Utes, Tewas from Ohkay Owingeh also had contacts to the area because it was where they traditionally

gathered "ceremonial water fowl feathers from the valley's wetlands and turquoise from the hills." Starting in the 17th century, Utes in this area began having contact with Spaniards, and the early 19th century saw the first contact between other Euro-Americans and Utes.

The earliest recorded contact between the Spanish and the Utes living in the San Luis Valley dates from 1694 during an expedition led by Governor Diego de Vargas. Although this is the earliest detailed travel record that exists today, Vargas's journal reveals that many of the places in the San Luis Valley already had Spanish names, suggesting the presence of Hispanos in the area prior to the Pueblo revolt of 1680. Throughout the Spanish period, the Utes remained focused on defensively maintaining their territory against Plains Indian groups, especially those areas like the San Luis Valley, which was so richly endowed with natural resources. The Utes constructed stone blinds into the valley, as well as other defensive structures made of logs. In 1779, after his settlement activities in California, Juan Bautista de Anza led a military campaign into the San Luis Valley against Comanche who had been raiding Taos and Santa Fe. De Anza noted in his diary that three previous expeditions had traveled the valley using the same route. Kessler documented that de Anza followed the very popular trail through the valley that Diego de Vargas in 1694 had used and that Zebulon Montgomery Pike in 1807, Jacob Fowler in 1822, Edward Beale and Gwinn Heap in 1853, Juan Bautista Silva in 1859, and John Lawrence in 1867 would use afterwards. De Anza's diary also reveals that he and his men traveled the trail largely at night, implying that the trail through the San Luis Valley was distinct enough to be seen by moonlight. In 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, the first United States citizen whose travels have been documented, moved into the San Luis Valley and erected a stockade before the Spanish arrested him. The Mexican government offered gifts to the Utes throughout the 1820s, and in return, the Utes granted the Mexicans passage on the Old Spanish Trail without the threat of any violence from Ute bands.

In the 1840s, the first permanent settlers, generally poor Hispano farmers who were migrating north in search of new land, began to reach the San Luis Valley. The first structures they erected were *jacales* (structures made of upright wooden poles daubed with adobe and roofed with timber, straw, and adobe). In those areas where these settlements survived, villagers built *acequias*, a system of ditches that uses gravity to create common watershed areas. This system assured an equal and fair access to the area's limited water supply. The San Luis Peoples Ditch, an *acequia* constructed in April of 1852, symbolizes the Hispanos' approach to water distribution, and has been legally recognized as the oldest water rights in Colorado.

When Hispanos moved into the San Luis Valley, the Utes were initially resistant to settlement of the area, and often resorted to violence or destruction of property to force settlers out. However, in 1847, the Utes permitted Atanasio Trujillo and his family to become established along the San Luis River. This was a clear attempt on the part of the Utes to maintain control of their lands through cooperation with the Mexican authorities. The Mexican–American War would bring new challenges. The Utes pledged peace and assisted the Hispanos who settled in the area. In addition, the Utes found the New Mexicans to be excellent sources of income through the leasing of land.

In 1851, the town of San Luis was officially founded in what was then the territory of New Mexico. Today it is the oldest town in Colorado. Hispano settlers from Taos who had only recently become American citizens subsequently founded other towns, such as San Pedro and San Acacio.

Upon gaining control of vast tracts of land from the Spanish in 1821, the recently established Mexican Republic was intent upon protecting its land claims from American Indian groups internally and from American settlers who were attempting to settle in the area. One of the programs instituted to induce settlement of what was considered to be harsh regions involved offering land to foreign nationals in exchange for a vow of loyalty to the Mexican government. Since 1598, Spain and the Mexican Republic issued nearly 200 land grants in lands that became part of the United States. Of these grants, 69 date to the 19th century and

23 were granted between 1840 and 1847. This rapid land handout led to encroachment problems; however, with grantees often overlapping because of vague language and poorly defined borders between grants.

This method of land grabbing by foreign nationals proved to be especially popular among the traders centered at Taos. In New Mexico, land speculation had become a major source of income. As such, the competition for grants in Taos was fierce. Eleven grants were approved within six years and the governor openly played favorites, which made the allotment of land a major political and economic force.

The settlement of lands in the San Luis Valley became legal with the approval of the Sangre de Cristo Land Grant in 1843. The approval of this land grant involved Carlos Beaubien, the son of a Canadian fur trader, and three other New Mexicans. Beaubien was a wealthy landowner and one of the first recipients of a Mexican land grant in 1832. By 1843, his wealth made him ineligible for additional grants, so he applied for grants for his son Narciso and for Stephen Luis Lee, a Missourian living in Taos. With these two listed as the recipients, Beaubien was able to get approval for the Sangre de Cristo Land Grant. The Sangre de Cristo Land Grant was perhaps one of the richest and most profitable awards made before the Mexican War. Although its boundaries were largely undefined, as was the case with most land awards, it included a substantial portion of the valleys of the Costilla, Culebra, and Trinchera rivers in the San Luis Valley and extended from the Rio Grande to the summit of the Sangre de Cristo range covering over a million acres. The land was granted with the express purpose of settling it.

Two major factors, however, prevented permanent settlement until the 1850s, one being resources. The San Luis Valley is in high mountain desert grassland with limited rainfall, and successful agriculture would require extensive cooperation among settlers concerning water. This cooperation would eventually lead to the construction of a communal water channel to ensure that all members of the community had access to water for irrigation and daily needs. Additionally, the Utes, who had a series of traditional trails running through the valley, continued to control the San Luis Valley and resisted settlement for eight years after the land grant was issued.

Despite these obstacles, attempts to settle the area can be dated to the 1840s. Since a long period usually follows a claim before it is officially recognized, the first permanent settlement of the area was not until 1851 with the building of the People's Ditch. Both members of the San Luis Hispano community and the Utes recount that following initial hostilities, the two groups came to an understanding, which resulted in often-friendly relationships between the Utes and the Hispano settlers. Although the first attempt in 1850 to establish a community around an *acequia* (aqueduct) did not succeed due to Ute opposition, the following year saw the establishment of such a community at Culebra. This was more than a year before the United States military had a garrison in the area and three years before the official end to Ute resistance in the area. This suggests that Hispano settlers were able to come to an amicable agreement with the Utes without the need of military presence.

Settlement of the Sangre de Cristo land followed the same pattern as the other awards made by the Mexican territorial government. This fertile track of land would have been nearly irresistible to a population when faced with either working in trade along the Old Spanish or Santa Fe trails or joining a settlement community to expand the influence of Mexico in the northern territory. Residents of these outlying Mexican communities were also rewarded for their efforts, which often materialized in communal property rights, such as grazing lands, non-commercial access to timber, and water privileges. This particular vestige of Spanish and Mexican land law would prove to be incompatible with the new American system.

The outbreak of the Mexican–American War complicated the situation of those who had received land grants. As the cession of Mexican-held territory to the United States became a reality, some Mexican citizens, such as Charles Bent and Charles Beaubien, quickly saw the advantage of supporting the United States. Partially as a reward for this change in loyalty, they were appointed governor and territorial judge, respectively.

These appointments, along with the added rumor that the land grants were soon to be registered with an American territorial secretary, led to the conclusion among some Mexican citizens still living within the New Mexico territory that the American government would likely confiscate their land. By December 1846, these rumors had led to the development of a plan to overthrow Governor Bent and chase all Americans from the territory. By January 1847, a group of Pueblo Indians and Hispano families attacked Taos, killing Bent, Lee, and Narciso Beaubien, among others. Both Charles Beaubien and Ceran St. Vrain managed to escape. Known as the Taos Rebellion, the attack appears to have been a catalyst for some families to relocate from Taos to the San Luis Valley. According to Howard Lamar, the Taos Rebellion has been called a failure, but it held up the land schemes of ambitious American speculators for a generation.

The Hispano settlers of San Luis came from northern New Mexican communities that were intimately tied to the Old Spanish Trail and maintained close connections to these home communities. This is evident in both the ethnographic information collected during the study associated with this project and by census data from Gallina. These data indicated that many settlers had ties not only to Culebra but also to other communities by and near the trail, such as Ojo Caliente, Abiquiú, Los Angeles, Aqua Mansa, Coyote, Chama, and Cañones.

The Old Spanish Trail and the San Luis Valley have a shared history, which differs from other communities on the trail such as Abiquiú and Agua Mansa. Most obvious is that the San Luis Valley communities did not predate the trail, as did Abiquiú, nor were they founded during the trail's period of significance, as was Agua Mansa. San Luis was not officially founded until after 1848. Despite this seeming conflict, census data and ethnographic research reveal that in the 1830s and 1840s travelers actively used the trails around San Luis and that the area was settled and often visited by Hispano farmers from northern New Mexico prior to the town's founding. Additionally, the descendants of the original San Luis relatives continue to identify strongly with the Hispano origins of their communities as is evident in their struggle to maintain the communal rights granted to their ancestors by the Mexican government.

Gallina, New Mexico

Gallina is a Hispano community in northern New Mexico approximately 35 miles west of Abiquiú. In 1829, Antonio Armijo reached the Gallina area after travelling west for two days. The Gallina area history is deeply entwined with both the Spanish and Mexican periods and is closely associated with the Old Spanish Trail. The relationship between the people of Gallina and the Old Spanish Trail needs clarification, since the *acequia*-based settlement of Gallina was not officially established until 1876. The settlers who founded the community were largely members of families who had lived in the local region for generations and as such had acquired traditional rights to use and settle the Gallina area as an *acequia*-based settlement.

By 1800, portions of the frontier of northern New Spain were occupied by Spanish families who used these lands seeking resources for themselves, but these lands also served as a buffer defining the boundary between Spanish territory and what was termed "wild Indian" lands. The Spanish term *indios bárbaros* (wild Indians) was often used to describe these "uncontrolled" Indian peoples. Unlike the various American Indian irrigated agricultural communities located elsewhere along major rivers, the hunting, gathering, and gardening lifestyles of Ute, Apache, Navajo, and Comanche peoples placed them beyond the direct control of the Spanish military and government command. After 1680, when the Pueblo Revolt temporarily banished the Spanish from most of northern New Spain, Spanish property and resources were distributed among Indian communities and groups. Foremost among these resources was the horse, which would permit distant peoples to shift from previous ways of life and develop an economy and lifestyle centered on trading and raiding. These *indios bárbaros* would threaten settlements in northern New Spain (until 1821), during the Mexican period, and finally during the early Anglo-American state period until about 1878. For 200 critical years, between 1680

and 1878, the northern frontier was a problematic place for settlers. Those who were able to gain a foothold in this area by 1800 did so by developing unique and often officially illegal relationships with the "wild Indians."

American Indian people who fall under the designation of "wild Indians" believe they were not predisposed toward violence or war any more than their Pueblo Indian neighbors were. Instead, contemporary scholars point out that before the Spanish arrived, all Indian groups systematically traded. Conflicts did occur between Indian groups in pre-Spanish times, but trade was valued above war. Conflicts between the Spanish and Indian peoples were initiated as encroachment proceeded. The line between the outside-of-control and inside-of-control tribes defined for the Spanish the notion of being wild. Today the "wild Indians" believe that this designation is not indicative of how they view themselves.

The northern boundary of New Spain served as a line of first warning of impending attacks as well as a place of possible defense. Quite often, Spanish people of the northern frontier needed to maintain positive relationships with the Indian people to facilitate trade and peace. Due to the shortage of troops and the cost of maintaining them, the Spanish established no presidios north of Santa Fe. Settlers in these unprotected areas tended to be different from those typically found along the Rio Grande. These settlers often were *genízaros*, Indian people who had been captured by other tribes and ransomed by the Spanish. The terms *indios genízaros*, *indios de rescate*, *criados*, and *huérfanos* were all used interchangeably to refer to Indian people acquired by the Spanish through ransom.[21] After receiving their freedom, these Indians rarely returned to their natal tribal communities but tended to be distributed amongst the Spanish colonists for whom they became domestic servants and laborers.

Genízaros were a new caste of persons under Spanish law. They were baptized and given Christian names and instructed in the ways of the Catholic Church. *Genízaros* were often granted permission to establish and join communities along the northern frontier. Such communities had the advantage of multiculturalism. With a sufficient cultural combination of *genízaro* members, the members of a frontier Spanish *genízaros* community were able to speak all of the languages of the trading tribes, understand the protocols of trading, and be in a position to intermarry and establish political alliances.

An important benefit of settling in the frontier under Spanish rule pertained to land grants. Settlers were awarded legal access to land by the Crown through land grants that included defined boundaries and a list of individuals who could jointly use the land's resources. Grantees were thus made a part of common property organization, which was designed to satisfy fully the needs of the members. There would be permanent water for irrigation; places for homes, a church, and a central plaza; grazing lands; hunting lands; forests for timber; and mineral rights for mining. In a sense, when the Crown gave a land grant, there was an expectation that it was there for all the grantees to use in common. Grantees tended to already be established in the area and have a reputation of being both good citizens and capable of successfully establishing and maintaining normal rural Spanish lifestyles. On the frontier, being able to stay and survive were probably the most important criteria for becoming a member of the land grant.

Many of the families who would settle the *acequia* community of Gallina between 1873 and 1877 came from nearby communities. Some, like those in the pueblos of Santo Tomás and Canyon del Cobre, had been in the area for many generations. As population pressures increased demands for early land grant resources, the Crown established the San Joaquín del Rio de Chama Grant (1806–1819), which became the foundation land grant for this area. The 29 settlers who were placed in possession of these lands would found Gallina and most of the nearby *acequia* settlements.

[21] In Arizona, Chihuahua, and Sonora the term used for detribalized Indians and their offspring was nixoras. As in other parts of the west many nixoras would blend into the large Spanish community, adding complexity to an ethnic classification system that aimed to convey the reality of the region's shifting demographics (Jacoby 2008).

These settlers and their land grant communities (excepting Gallina) were present in 1829 when Antonio Armijo and his caravan traveled along a patchwork set of unconnected Indian trails from Abiquiú to California. He crossed through *acequia* settlements in the southern portion of the San Joaquín del Rio de Chama Grant. Even if this southern route to California was rarely used for later caravans to California, much of the route had been used for generations by the members of the San Joaquín Land Grant, and subsequently they would continue to use portions of this trail until well into the 20th century. The lives of the people living in the San Joaquin Land Grant communities would be greatly impacted by trade passing along these trails, including the initial trip by Armijo to California.

Evidence from the Gallina 1880 census reveals that several families living there had spent time in or were born in the San Luis Valley, both prior to and after the official establishment of the town. Of the 74 families listed for the town, 14 had a least one member who was born in Culebra or in the San Luis Valley. The oldest of these individuals was Antonio José Jaquez, who was 35 at the time of the census, thus having been born in 1845, 6 years before the official founding of San Luis. This evidence helps support the notion that, while the town of San Luis was officially established in 1851, there were many settlers and others who were living in the valley before this time.

The Hispano communities of northern New Mexico and the American Indian tribes of the Southwest have always had a complex relationship. The community of Gallina, New Mexico, has been home to Hispanos and many different Indian tribes. The Utes, Navajos, and Apache have lived and coexisted in the Gallina area with Hispanos since the early 1800s. The relationship between Hispanos and the Utes has been one of fighting, trading, and mutual respect.

The year 1806 brought the eventual settlement of people into the Gallina area. At this time, residents from the Abiquiú area who had established peaceful trade relationship with the Utes began to look at the fertile valleys to the north of Abiquiú to grow their crops and raise their sheep and other livestock. They petitioned for agricultural lands to the north and west of the village. Eventually Governor Joaquín Real Alencaster approved a land grant. Governor Alencaster was quite specific about the size of each tract of land, which was to be large enough to be "planted with three *cuartillas* of wheat, three *almudes* of corn, another three of beans, and to having built on them a small house with a garden." Each settler was to receive a deed describing his land. The remaining land was to be used for grazing and other common uses.

The San Joaquin Land Grant included lands along the Chama River in the north and the lands of the Rio Gallina and Rio Capulín in the south. Where valleys were involved, common rights extended to the surrounding crests of the mountains that defined the river valleys. Officially, the boundaries were, to the north, the Rito de la Cebolla; to the south, the Rio Capulín; to the east, the Piedra Lumbre Grant; and to the west, the Cejita Blanca. The official website of the San Joaquin Land Grant has an elaborate photo album, which illustrates all of the key places in the original land grant. Early settlement was along the Rio Chama, in 1808, where proximity to Abiquiú afforded some protection, and the latest settlements in the land grant were Gallina/Capulín beginning in 1873.

José Antonio Chacón was one of 31 settlers who came in possession of land in the Cañón del Río Chama on March 1, 1808. Grantees built their homes and continued to use the land in accordance to the specifications of the grant. Despite the presence of troops around the area, Indian raids continued. In the winter of 1818–1819, Ute and Navajo attacks continued forcing the settlers back to Abiquiú. In 1828, they made another attempt at settling in the Cañón del Río Chama. This time it was farther north, at the confluence of the Río Gallina and the Río Chama. Despite being unable to live permanently in the area, grantees continued to use the land for wood gathering and grazing their livestock. Grantees would pasture their sheep in the Gallina area in the summer and then move them to winter pastures in the Cañón Largo area, west of Gallina. The areas to the west of Abiquiú in the Gallina area were lower in elevation and were ideal to pasture sheep during the winter and spring seasons. The areas around Cañón Largo were ideal for the lambing season.

Changes began to take place in New Mexico in the 1840s. In 1846, New Mexico became a territory of the United States. Its citizens were now American citizens. However, the village of Abiquiú continued to serve as a regional center in the northern part of New Mexico. Abiquiú also continued to be the gateway to California via the Old Spanish Trail. Many traders would travel through the Gallina area on their way to Los Angeles and other California cities. Traders and travelers would continue to use the Antonio Armijo Route, which had been used by Coyote and Gallina residents for many years while tending to their sheep in their winter pastures.

The settlers' relationship with the Indians worsened under the leadership of the United States government. In northern New Mexico, Utes and other Indian groups continued to raid the villages. They also continued to steal women and children and then trade them. In an attempt to control this behavior, the United States government established the Ute Indian Agency in Abiquiú. An employee of the Ute Agency was Tomás Chacón, the son of José Antonio Chacón, who was one of the original grantees to the San Joaquín del Río de Chama Land Grant. His job at the Ute Agency was as an interpreter, as he was fluent in Spanish, Capote Ute, Jicarilla Apache, and spoke English. Tomás had learned the Indian languages when he and his family traveled into the Gallina area on their journeys into the Cañón Largo area while trading with the different Indian tribes. Early in 1868, United States government officials and American Indian officials met to sign the 1868 Treaty, also known as the "Kit Carson Treaty." This treaty created one piece of land in Colorado for all the Ute Indians in Colorado and New Mexico. Tomás Chacón was asked to help negotiate and interpret for the proceedings. The meeting served to strengthen the relationship between the native groups and United States government officials.

The route that Antonio Armijo used in 1829-1830 was seldom used again, at least in its entirety. Many other businessmen and merchants, however, continued to cross between New Mexico and California via other routes. Upon his return from California, José María Chávez and his family set up a store in Gallina. In 1875, Patricio Chávez moved his property and family to Gallina, which is when the Chávez family set up their store in Gallina. The Chávezes recognized the need for a store that would serve travelers on their way to California from New Mexico.

Over the years, the Old Spanish Trail became known as the Cañón Largo Trail. A tollgate was created to charge traders who traveled to and from New Mexico to California. In later years, Tomás Chacón's children and grandchildren continued to use the trail as a way to transport their sheep into the Cuba area for winter and spring pastures. Other men from the Gallina and Coyote areas would use the trail as they made their way to Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming in search of employment on sheep and cattle ranches. The trail also connected people from Gallina to family members in the Blanco and Durango areas.

Many of the communities on the frontier of northern New Mexico were connected by family ties, systems of friendship such as *compadrazgo*, mutual exchange of services and goods, and systems of protection and defense. Evidence documents the movement of people to and from all the communities involved Agua Mansa, California; Gallina, New Mexico; Abiquiú, New Mexico; and Culebra (San Luis Valley), Colorado. The families in these communities were largely in place in northern New Mexico by the late 1700s and developed these networks of relationships as a cultural adaptation to what was, and continued to be until the 1880s, a hostile social environment due to American Indian perceptions of these settlers as illegal intruders. Trade was always a key dimension of the relationships of these communities with each other and with the surrounding American Indian peoples. Trade took place along traditional Indian trails, some of which would be used by Armijo in 1829. After Armijo, these trails continued to serve their original functions.

On the northern frontier of northern New Spain, people tended to settle in small *placitas* (nucleated villages). Each *placita* tended to consist of a series of homes built wall to wall encircling a small enclosure. These settlements resembled small fortresses, designed to protect the occupants from attack by Indian people. Eventually, the spaces between the various nearby *placitas* would be occupied and then the settlement

pattern would become a combination of plaza-centered and line settlements (*rancherías*) usually along the main route of communication.

In their valuable book *Cañones: Values, Crisis, and Survival in a Northern New Mexico Village*, Paul Kutshce and John Van Ness (1981) present a model of a typical land grant village, which is useful in the Gallina analysis. According to this analysis, in Spanish custom, land is a source of livelihood. *Mercedes* (grants) are given to a group of persons who will subsequently make a community. If it fails to prosper, then it loses access to the grant, which reverts to the Crown. The purpose of the *mercedes* from the Crown's perspective was to provide a source of livelihood for respected citizens and to defend a portion of the Crown's territory. A typical community *merced* involves three categories of land: (a) house plots of about a quarter-acre located in the *placita* or nearby, (b) irrigable farming plots located downslope of or just along water sources, and (c) common lands, the bulk of the *mercedes*, which were used and transferred through usufruct—that is, rights given because of being in continued use by members of a common ownership community. The common lands included grazing lands and lands for gathering firewood and collection of wild foods and medicines. Common lands ranged from the irrigated field in the valley bottoms to the crest of mountain ridges or mesas. When extreme topography occurred in the *mercedes*, herding often involved moving long distances between winter and summer pastures.

San Joaquín del Rio de Chama Land Grant

The initial settlers of the *acequia* community of Gallina came from various communities as is evidenced in the 1880 United State Census report for the Gallina and Capulín communities. Malcolm Ebright's analysis documents three waves of settlement. The first came from nearby communities in 1873 and 1874, the second wave from the California communities of Spadra, near Pomona, California, and Agua Mansa in 1875 and 1876, and the third wave came from the San Luis Valley, Colorado, communities located along the Rio Culebra in 1876 and 1877.

Analysis of the 1880 census data reveals the place of birth of the parents and the last community of residence before coming to Gallina. The former data provide a sense of the difference between where people were born and where they recently lived. These data also document relationships between communities and the pattern of expanding out from established settlement to elsewhere in a land grant when resources are overtaxed by human and animal population pressures on natural resources.

The heads of households who settled Gallina and who appear in the 1880 United State Census were primarily born in nearby communities located either in the San Joaquín or Abiquiú area land grants. Abiquiú (30%), Chama (28%), and Cañones (13%) are the three most frequent communities of birth for household heads. Unanalyzed here, but present in the birthplaces of household children, is a consistent pattern of moving from land grant community to land grant community. Coyote (41%), Abiquiú (23%), and Chama (19%) are most often the last community of residence for the families who moved to Gallina by the time of the 1880 United States Census. These people were largely from other northern New Mexico *acequia* communities, but likely came to settle in Gallina because the natural resources of their previous community were overtaxed. Such natural resource pressures account for much movement between land grant communities. The people who settled Gallina probably already had rights to settle because their ancestors were a part of the San Joaquín del Río de Chama Land Grant. Additionally, people wanted to enact their rights in the land grant even if they had been living elsewhere. For example, a number of people from nearby communities had gone to California in the 1830s and 1840s as part of the general relocation of families to California to take advantage of trading opportunities due to the Old Spanish Trail. By the 1870s, however, they recognized the need to re-connect with their New Mexico roots.

Some members of the families who would settle Gallina traveled back and forth to California. José María Cháves, for example, went to California in 1837 because he was on the wrong side of a political revolt. He

brought *serapes* with him to trade and presented himself to authorities in Los Angeles as a trader. He traveled back to New Mexico in 1838 after he, and perhaps his brothers, who were living in California, were involved in another rebellion there. He returned permanently to New Mexico in 1840 after making several trips back and forth.

Many of the New Mexico families settled on new land grants in southern California and established settlements with names like San Salvador, Spadra, Machado, Ballona, and Agua Mansa. The Old Spanish Trail became a place for what sociologists call "stem family migration" in which migrants move back and forth from natal communities to distant migrant communities. The concept of stem family migration is important, because it involves families moving in and out of natal and arrival migrant communities and using this movement to maintain family ties and access to resources in both locales. In this way, the people of northern New Mexico were able to take advantage of resources in natal and migrant communities. Many of these families were to become relatively wealthy through trade and eventually set up key commercial stores back in New Mexico.

Two of the returning families became financially powerful and a part of the new elite in Gallina. Candelario Sotelo and Patricio Chávez were business partners in California. They returned from California and settled next to each other in Gallina by 1875. Within three years, Chávez had substantial livestock herds (probably managed by Sotelo), extensive farms, and owned a mercantile store in Gallina. Chávez sold wool in the area that would become Alamosa, Colorado, and cattle to miners in Colorado. His and his servants' homes were located in the most prestigious spot in Gallina near the church. Near these homes were those of the three Velarde families who had lived in California in Spradra and Agua Mansa. While the return of the stem families is an interesting aspect of the *acequia* settlement of Gallina, most settlers had been living in Coyote before the move to establish Gallina. These settlers likely had already established a claim to the Gallina area through enactments of their rights of usufruct under the 1806 San Joaquín del Rio de Chama Land Grant. People living in the *acequia* community of Coyote were grazing their sheep herds west in the Gallina area and beyond before Armijo passed through the area in 1829. For a portion of this trip, he traveled along an old Indian trail that had been partially transformed into a Hispano herding trail.

If this hypothetical pattern of grazing to the west is accurate, it is also likely that the people of Coyote who moved to Gallina in the1870s had agreed upon usufruct rights to graze in the Gallina area and to establish jacales and gardens along the Rio Gallina and Rio Capulín waterways. Ebright (2003) concluded that the first settlers in Gallina in 1873 were familiar with the area because they had been using it to graze their sheep and cattle. Herders spent grazing seasons with their flocks, during which time they constructed simple houses for protection from the sun and rain and opened small vegetable gardens. Additionally, because it was the practice of subsequent Gallina herders, the Coyote sheepherders would have spent the winter with their herds miles further to the west across from the lakes of Cañón Largo, farther west of what is today the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation. This area has been used in recent years by Gallina herders because the Rio Gallina and Rio Capulín are at such high elevations (above 7,000 feet) that the sheep are endangered by winter cold and heavy snows. If this pattern of transhumant movement of sheep from summer pastures in the Gallina area to winter range west of Cañón Largo was established before 1829, then Armijo would have traveled a largely Spanish herding trail most of the way west from Coyote to near the present-day town of Blanco, New Mexico.

Evidence for the existence of an early Hispano stock trail from the Gallina area down Cañón Largo Wash to the west comes from an interview with an Apache who offered an informal tour of the old Hispano stock trail as it passed from Lindrith to the extreme eastern edge of the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation. The initial reservation, which was established in 1887, was expanded in 1907. The southern portion included a traditional Hispano stock trail from the summer pastures near Gallina to the winter pastures west of the reservation. This trail, termed Drive-a-way, had existed long before the southern portion of the reservation had been established, so the federal government told the Jicarilla Apache tribe they had to continue to permit

the sheep to pass along the Drive-a-way. The Apache tribe decided they could extract a head toll for each sheep that passed. They built a tollhouse for a toll keeper.[22] During an onsite visit to the Drive-a-way, an Apache elder had pointed out all of the springs where the sheep would have to drink during the drive. These springs occur at the edges of Cañón Largo Wash. At the large lakes near the western end of the Drive-a-way, where the tollhouse (actually a series of buildings) was established by the tribe, the Hispano herders had rested near the good water and grass, allowing the herd to recover before traveling the remaining distance to the winter pastures. The Hispano herders and the Apache toll keeper(s) had had good relationships based on the exchange of various resources and services.

Archeological Resources

Archeological resources along the trail, defined here as sites with artifacts and features, but without standing buildings, are quite numerous, but it is difficult to establish with certainty their specific link or association to the trail's period of significance. Archeological resources may be prehistoric or historic. A preliminary inventory of all archeological resources listed in the 34 counties crossed by the trail was conducted in association with this study. Thousands of archeological sites, mostly classified as prehistoric Anasazi, were identified. Their association with the Old Spanish Trail is primarily spatial. Historical archeological sites have been difficult to date to the period of significance. Up to the spring of 2016, archaeologists have been able to date very few, if any, artifacts or datable features to the 1829–1848 period at archeological sites thought to be associated with the trail.

For several decades, researchers have been looking for archeological evidence regarding the Old Spanish Trail. A considerable portion of the research conducted on the trail so far has focused primarily on the travels of Spanish missionaries and explorers and to a much lesser degree on the more elusive activities of fur trappers. During the first three decades of the 19th century, the trappers traded with various American Indian tribes without the permission of Spanish and Mexican authorities.

One of the most systematic and thorough archeological research projects was conducted between 1987 and 1989 along a 48.3-mile section of the trail from Las Vegas Springs (near downtown Las Vegas) to the California border. The authors (Myhrer, White, and Rolf 1990) demonstrated that the alignment that was the focus of the project was a well-traveled route for the Old Spanish Trail. They recovered 77 artifacts including bottles, ceramics, cans, can lids, barrel hoops, clasps, tobacco tins, cartridges, and some unclassifiable materials. They also identified 8 items related to the care of horses and mules.

An analysis of bottle and can manufacturing practices revealed that no bottle remains can be tied to the 1829–1848 period. The earliest probable date for an artifact found in this study is a dark amber bottleneck with a finish application technique that was developed in the 1850s. It is also possible that a couple of hole-in-cap cans found could date from the late 1840s, although the authors suggest a range from 1847 to 1904 for its manufacturing.

Since the designation of the trail in 2002, trail research has increased, in part because the enabling legislation establishes that additional routes could be designated as part of the Old Spanish Trail if historic documentation determines that they were used for the purpose of trade and commerce between 1829 and 1848.

Two such routes are the West Fork of the North Branch and Fishlake Cutoff. Serious efforts, such as the study by Thomas Merlan, Mike Marshall, and John Roney in 2011, have been undertaken to document the use of the West Fork of the North Branch during the period of significance of the trail. Even though this exhaustive study does a masterful job of collecting documentation, it fails to prove that traders used the West Fort of

[22] The oral history of this place was told by a relative of the toll keeper.

the North Branch to carry merchandise to California. Bob Leonard of the Fishlake National Forest has also done extensive and highly creative work on the Fishlake Cutoff; however, he has been unable to document commercial use between 1829 and 1848.

A Multiple Property Documentation process undertaken between 2010 and 2011 did not identify archeological studies that were able to tie any artifact to the trail's period of significance conclusively. Although some archeological investigations have produced good contextual evidence of some of the trail alignments, nothing specific can be related to the 1829–1848 period.

Efforts continue to identify trail resources. An intern working for the BLM in Barstow, California, identified a potential segment in the Silurian Valley through remote sensing, survey, and archeological analysis.[23]

Recent extensive research conducted between 2009 and 2012 on a property known as the Bunker Site in Saguache County near San Luis Valley, Colorado, clearly documents the challenges archeologists face in trying to relate specific traces, sites, and artifacts to the period of significance and to the trail itself. Investigators uncovered an extensive and varied artifact assemblage, some of which may date to the 1829–1848 period of significance for the trail, but, as always, it is difficult to determine the ethnicity of the users of the site. Using dendrochronology, they were able to verify use during the period of significance. The study demonstrates that archeological documentation of the Old Spanish Trail in the San Luis Valley, and in general along the designated routes, is a difficult and time-consuming endeavor.

The challenge is that points along a trail may be historically documented (i.e., trading posts or town sites), but it would have been rare for traders along Old Spanish Trail to lose or discard culturally or temporally diagnostic artifacts along the trail. The type of commercial enterprise exemplified by the Old Spanish Trail that took place between 1829 and 1848 is unlikely to have left abundant traces. The historic artifacts that the trail is likely to yield may be sparse or localized in favored campsites and other associated sites. Trading campsites were usually occupied by small numbers of individuals with few material goods for a short duration, and their use of those sites probably resulted in little alteration of the landscape. For this reason, trade camps associated with the Old Spanish trail traders may be rare resources because of their ephemeral nature. In addition, it is difficult to differentiate campsites created and used by American Indians during trail's period of significance, which may not be related to trade and commerce from those which are. Because of the two-way trade that went on, campsites created and used by Euro-American traders may be indistinguishable from contemporaneous American Indian sites.

Even with the difficulties, archeological investigations are likely to continue because they offer almost the only tools that researchers can use to verify trail-associated sites. The type of economic enterprise that characterized the Old Spanish Trail during the period of significance is not likely to have left much in the way of trail traces or archeological sites. The "pitch zone" concept that is applicable to other historic trails might not work for the Old Spanish Trail, since traders would be unlikely to discard materials that could possibly be reused in their long and arduous journeys. Like the terse Armijo diary, traders carried only what was essential for their trip and would have preferred to reuse any artifact that fell to the ground, if they were aware it fell. However, it is fair to point out that archeologists have identified and recorded thousands of ephemeral archeological sites, sometimes consisting of no more than a stain on the ground and an artifact or two, from both prehistoric and historic horizons. Hope remains that some of these sites, or other undiscovered manifestations, may be determined through modern or future analyses to be associated with the Old Spanish Trail during its period of significance.

[23] An Exploration of Remote Sensing as a Tool for the Detection and Intensive Analysis of Historical Trail Features as Applied to the Old Spanish Trail in the Silurian Valley, California" by Amy M. Oechsner, United States Bureau of Land Management. Poster prepared for the 2013 Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meeting, Seattle, Washington.

American Recovery and Reinvestment Act Project

A major effort was undertaken by the BLM in 2009 to inventory national historic trails, including the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The overall purpose of the project was to meet the goals of the National Trails System Act by conducting archeological field inventory and documentation for historic trail features, conducting condition assessment survey work for trail features, documenting baseline visual conditions for trail features, and conducting visibility analyses for selected high potential route segments and high potential historic sites. The work is summarized in a report prepared for the BLM by the prime contractor (AECOM 2012).

This project completed the following tasks:

- Undertook a Class I (archival) research program focused on identifying and analyzing historic records that aided in locating physical traces of historic trail use.
- Created a geographic information system database to analyze the archival sources.
- Conducted cultural resources inventories to verify, locate, and/or document selected portions of the historic routes on public lands.
- Recorded and documented historic resources located during the pedestrian survey to BLM standards (applying national standards and applicable state standards).
- Located and verified high potential route segments.
- Conducted a condition assessment of trail features, and high potential sites and route segments, including historic sites, facilities, developed and potential interpretive sites, and developed and potential recreation sites associated with the national historic trails.
- Identified inventory observation points for historic resources and high potential sites and route segments.
- Established an inventory of observation points that included visual, audible, and experiential elements.
- Developed viewshed analyses for selected trail features and high potential route segments.

This information, including sensitive cultural data, was used to help identify the high potential sites and segments on BLM lands found in this study.

Historic Resources

Historic resources along the trail, defined here as sites discussed in historical documents or shown on historical maps, are also quite numerous, but for many of these resources it is difficult to establish with certainty their specific link or association to the period of significance of the trail. Part of this is because it is often difficult to establish the exact locations of historical sites, particularly those without built features or buildings, mentioned in historical documents just from their descriptions. Historical maps are often not accurate enough to establish on the ground locations with certainty. This applies to both historical archeological sites and the built environment. An inventory of previously recorded cultural resources, both historic and prehistoric, that is part of the database from the six state historic preservation offices along the trail (Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah) was conducted in association with the preparation of this document. Unfortunately, the results were far from conclusive and demonstrated the difficulty of collecting pertinent information on the period of significance of the trail. For example, the Taos

Plaza is listed in the National Register of Historic Places, but the documentation prepared for its designation does not mention Old Spanish Trail. The same is true of the majority of sites that have been so far identified.

There are at least three major reasons for the inability to gather pertinent information on trade and commerce along the Old Spanish Trail between 1829 and 1848. First, with the exception of Antonio Armijo, traders did not leave written accounts of their travels. In some instances, years after the trip some reminiscences were published that furnish valuable yet scarce information on routes of travel, motivation, and the nature of the commercial enterprise. Armijo was an extremely laconic writer, and it is quite challenging to extract specific information on many aspects of his trip. His entries are often only a few words long and for the most part provide just a rough idea as to the areas where he camped. It is probable that the majority of traders were illiterate and not likely to document their travels.

Second, it is possible that some official documentation regarding the trade with California could be obtained through the careful examination of the over 40 rolls of microfilm that comprise the Mexican Archives of New Mexico. However, the thousands of documents involved are hard to read and would have to be transcribed and translated, a task that would require a prohibitive amount of time.

Third, it is probable that a substantial number of the caravans engaged in some form of illegal activity. Some irregularity is evident since between 1825 and 1847 the Custom House at Santa Fe recorded only three ***guías*** for traders who identified California as a destination. Many of the American traders who became Mexican nationals had encountered legal problems for having often violated Mexican law regarding trade and commerce, and for that reason, they traveled to California without having obtained a ***guía***.

For several decades, researchers have been looking for archeological and historical evidence regarding the Old Spanish Trail. A considerable portion of the research conducted on the trail so far has focused primarily on the travels of Spanish missionaries and explorers and, to a lesser degree, the activities of fur trappers that during the first three decades of the 19th century traded legally and illegally with various American Indian tribes without the permission of Spanish and Mexican authorities. This research often offers valuable insights on the commercial activities that would develop after 1829, yet it falls short of providing a clear understanding of the motivation and mechanics of the trade. Generally, research emphasis has not been on the narrow period of significance of the trail (1829–1848).

The following section describes the main classes of historical resources associated with the trail. Following the general guidelines of the National Trails System Act, resources are classified as segments or sites. If the resource is linear but measures less than one mile, it has been listed under sites. If it is longer than one mile and can offer visitors the opportunity to share the experience of the original trail users, it has been classified as a segment.

Trail Segments

In many cases, the physical traces of the mule caravans are gone, but the general travel corridor is relatively easy to identify. Quite often, the physical evidence of the Old Spanish Trail has been obliterated or obscured by erosion, sedimentation, animals, and other natural factors, later use such as urban developments, agricultural activities, or other man-made changes. However, a remarkable number of landscape elements still survive in good condition and can provide visitors an excellent opportunity to experience the landscape of the trail as it was during the first half of the 19th century. In some areas, disagreements exist as to the specific routes of travel because investigations have often been inconclusive in identifying the exact routes the traders followed.

This comprehensive administrative strategy identifies 43 high potential route segments that meet the criteria established in the National Trails System Act. Several are of sufficient length to provide an excellent opportunity to relive the experience of the original users. Other tentative high potential segments may be found on Table 5.

Trail Sites

A variety of sites are associated with this trail, and it is quite possible that additional types of sites will be discovered in the future. The following are the most common sites that have been identified: (1) springs, (2) river crossings and ***parajes*** (stopping place, campsite), (3) Spanish and/or Mexican communities, (4) missions, (5) churches, (6) ***asistencias***, (7) cemeteries, (8) ranches, (9) natural landmarks, (10) mountain passes, (11) forts, (12) inscriptions, (13) individual homes, (14) intersecting roads, (15) Indian pueblos, (16) Indian villages, (17) plazas, and (18) submerged resources.

Of these resources, 62 sites meet the criteria for high potential sites, including historical significance, presence of visible historic remnants, scenic quality, and relative freedom from intrusion established in the National Trails System Act for high potential sites. Several could provide an excellent opportunity to relive the experience of the original users. Additional research will likely reveal even more such sites.

Springs

Given the importance of water to trail travelers, springs are a common type of resource associated with the trail. The designated routes cross, for the most part, terrain that is unusually arid, and springs were important waypoints. Armijo noted in his diary that he traveled two consecutive days without water. Some springs may have been important ceremonial sites for some of the American Indian groups associated with the trail.

River Crossings and Parajes

A substantial number of river crossings are also associated with the trail. One of them, the Crossing of the Fathers, precedes the period of significance of the trail by almost half a century and now lies underwater in Lake Powell. In its time, however, it became a natural landmark for travelers, such as Armijo, who indicated in his journal that the crossing was the place they needed to reach. River crossings quite often were the places where travelers stopped to provide feed for the animals and water for the next day's journey. ***Parajes*** (campsites for resting) were usually near places where water was available.

Communities – Spanish, Mexican, Genízaro

Several communities pre-date the period of significance of the trail, yet they are closely associated with its history. Abiquiú can be considered Spanish or Mexican, but also ***genízaro***. Abiquiú was the starting point of the Armijo trip and played a significant role in the development of trade and commerce in New Mexico throughout its history. Other communities, such as Agua Mansa, were established between 1829 and 1848 and were also closely linked to the history of the trail. Finally, communities such as Gallina and San Luis were officially established after 1848; however, research suggests that settlers had resided in the region surrounding these communities for years prior to 1848 and is likely to have participated in trade-related activities.

Missions

Missions were important landmarks of the Old Spanish Trail. In California, missionary activities lasted longer than in other states along the trail. San Gabriel mission in California became one of the largest and most productive of the missions. It had 17 ranchos for horses and cattle, and 15 ranchos for sheep, goats, and pigs. The Spanish installed small-scale irrigation systems as they struggled with the extremes of flooding and low water flows. Eventually, they built a huge system of aqueducts to irrigate extensive gardens, orchards, and vineyards. The mission prospered until 1821, when Mexico obtained its independence from Spain. Thereafter it began to decline but continued to operate until the 1830s, when the California missions were secularized. Spanish missionary activities in New Mexico were not closely associated with the trail. By the mid-18th century, Franciscan efforts in the territory had declined as Durango was recognized as the diocesan authority. In spite of Franciscan objections, a viceregal decree in 1731 upheld Durango's diocesan jurisdiction over New Mexico.

Churches

Several churches survive that have close ties to the development of the Old Spanish Trail. They include those in the eastern communities, such as Abiquiú, Gallina, San Luis, and others. Communities such as those associated with Rancho San Bernardino and Rancho Jurupa had small churches at San Bernardino and Agua Mansa that were outposts or *estancias* to San Gabriel Mission. However, no visible remains are left of the church in Agua Mansa in California.

Estancias

In Southern California, the Franciscan hierarchy recognized three levels of ecclesiastical establishments. Missions, the most independent, were located near the coast, and those closest to the Old Spanish Trail included missions (from south to north) San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel (astride the trail), and San Fernando. Subsidiary to the missions were asistencias, which Father Zephryrin Engelhardt defined as "a mission on a small scale with all the requisites for a mission, and with Divine service held regularly on days of obligation, except that it lacked a resident priest." Also called *visitas* or sub-missions, they were quite common in the Spanish borderlands. No asistencias were located adjacent to the Old Spanish National Historic Trail; the closest was at Pala, in present-day northern San Diego County.

Lowest in rank were estancias, small building complexes that functioned as outposts for cattle grazing activities. One such property is associated with the Old Spanish Trail. It was established in 1819 as a part of the Mission San Gabriel's Rancho San Bernardino. The existing *estancia* buildings are reproductions built in the 1930s and lie approximately one mile east of the original *estancia* site. In 1820, Americans Indians are thought to have dug a *zanja* (irrigation ditch) to serve the area. At the same time, Carlos García, the Spanish *mayordomo* (overseer) of the rancho, directed construction of an *enramada* (rustic shelter) for worship, an adobe administration building with storerooms, and a personal residence. *Mayordomo* Juan Alvarado, who served from 1826 to 1834, relocated the *estancia* to its present site in 1830, where he constructed a new 14-room complex of adobe and timber. By 1834, this facility was abandoned by the mission. Soon after, the Mexican Decree of Secularization ended mission control in California. Brothers José del Carmen, José María, and Vicente Lugo, along with their cousin Diego Sepúlveda, were granted title to the San Bernardino Rancho by the Mexican governor of California in 1842. Included in the property's inventory were the abandoned *estancia*, a gristmill, a tile kiln, and a lime kiln. José del Carmen Lugo repaired the rancho structures and resided at the *estancia* until 1851.

Cemeteries

Cemeteries provide an important link to the trail's human use and formal development as communities and towns emerged along the trail. There are several well-known cemeteries and burial sites along the Old Spanish Trail routes. The most famous is the Agua Mansa cemetery in California, which bears testimony to the struggles of the original settlers. Another well-known cemetery is located in downtown Los Angeles, adjacent to the Los Angeles Plaza Church.

Ranches

Ranches along the trail provided travelers with necessities, such as food, fresh animals, and others. In some cases, they were key to the survival of many trading parties. Some of these establishments, such as the Hacienda de los Martínez in Taos, New Mexico, are likely to have functioned as *obrajes* (sweat shops), where the textiles that traders carried to California were produced. In California, the ranchos located closest to the Old Spanish Trail included Rancho San Juan Cajón de Santa Ana (1837), Rancho Jurupa (1838), and Rancho San Bernardino (1842), all located along the Santa Ana River.

Natural Landmarks

Natural landmarks were important to guide travelers. Their appearance in the landscape assured trail users that they were following the right routes. They are mentioned in the surviving accounts, such as the Armijo diary. Armijo noted major landmarks, *"la boca del Cañón Largo"* (the mouth of Largo Canyon); and *"el capulín"* (name of a mountain near the village of Gallina).

Mountain Passes

Due to the rugged nature of the trail, mountain passes became important landmarks on the Old Spanish Trail (see Map 1, Chapter 1).

Forts

Forts, in the context of the Old Spanish Trail, refer mostly to trading posts, not necessarily to military installations. The Spanish used the word ***presidio*** to refer to military forts. Antoine Robidoux's commercial enterprises acted as centers where American Indians and Anglo and Hispano traders exchanged necessary merchandise to survive and to trade.

Inscriptions

Given the paucity of written documentation about travel along Old Spanish Trail, inscriptions serve to document the presence of individuals who traveled the trail. Following the model of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition, Antoine Robidoux left an indelible mark of his intentions at the Green River in Utah. In November 1837, he wrote that he passed by Grand County, Utah, to establish a trading post at the Green River. Robidoux had, by this time, already established one trading post in that area: Fort Robidoux, near present-day Whiterocks, Utah. As it turned out, he never established the promised fort along the Green River. The inscription testifies to his intention, however, and it also documents the location of the trail in this area.

Individual Homes

Travelers and traders often resorted to assistance from settlers who had established small informal posts where mules could be replaced, provisions acquired, and/or assistance offered. Information on these sites is not abundant.

Roads/Cutoffs

Roads and cutoffs served as waypoints. In some cases, they facilitated crossing rugged terrain; in others, they served as references as to their current location.

Indian Pueblos

Indian Pueblos in New Mexico have a long history of participation in trade and commerce with Plains Indians. Taos, Picuris, and Pecos are prime examples of locales where trade fairs were so important that conflicts were set aside to allow for their operation. It is not clear how close the association between Pueblos and traders was during the 1829–1848 period.

Indian Villages/Rancherías

Plains Indians often established temporary settlements (Indian villages or *rancherías*) near pueblos and Spanish villages. Although often the main motivation for the *rancherías* was trading, quite often their presence resulted in theft of livestock and basic foodstuffs from nearby establishments. Archeologists have not yet found any evidence of Plains Indian villages or *rancherías* near the pueblos and villages on the eastern part of the trail. However, in the case of other tribes farther west, such as the Paiutes, several traditional properties in the form of Indian villages or *rancherías* have been identified linking this tribe to the trail.

Plazas

The Old Spanish Trail was a commercial route, which required the preparation of animals and loads as well as the recruitment of muleteers or packers skillful and hardy enough to withstand the rugged trip between New Mexico and California. It is likely that these preparations took place in the plazas that were typical of most of the New Mexican communities in the eastern edge of the trail. Abiquiú, Taos, and Santa Fe in New Mexico; San Luis and Culebra in Colorado; and Los Angeles and San Gabriel in California are among the communities that have distinctive plazas that could have witnessed the departures and arrivals of the trade caravans.

Submerged Resources

A portion of the Armijo Route lies underwater in Lake Powell and Lake Mead. About 16 miles of the route lie under Lake Powell, including the Crossing of the Fathers mentioned by Armijo and the "Pasó por aqui" inscription of Dominguez and Escalante. The inscription was visible for a while in 2014 due to drought. No one has identified trail-related resources along the 33 miles of the Armijo Route lying under Lake Mead, although they may well exist. Drought could lower the lake levels enough to identify additional trail resources in both areas. These types of resources challenge managers who are in charge of their protection, particularly since they may require monitoring.

Natural Resources

In general, the region is warm and dry, and surface water resources are scarce. Average annual rainfall along the route varies widely from traces in the California deserts to more than 40 inches a year in the San Juan Mountains of Colorado. Mean annual Fahrenheit temperatures range from the 30s to the 70s along the trail route, and vary dramatically by season. The highest temperatures recorded along the route have been over 120°F in the Mojave Desert, and the lowest temperatures, colder than 60°F below zero, in the mountains of Colorado. Relative humidity is generally low when compared with other parts of the nation. The study area is generally drier than surrounding regions, and naturally occurring water is scarce in nearly all places. The

elevation gradient of the trail ranges from near sea level (233 feet) at Los Angeles to over 10,000 feet in the mountain passes of Colorado.

Natural conditions along each route reflect unique combinations of topography, geology and soils, and climate. Much of the intermediate and long-distance landscape elements of the trail appear to have remained relatively unchanged since the trail's period of significance, whereas the visual elements of the trail corridor have changed substantially since the 1800s. Urban development, roads, freeways, and fences are now almost unavoidable along all the trail routes. Nonetheless, visitors today can easily imagine the hardships faced by the original travelers such as extreme temperature fluctuations, limited availability of water, and seemingly insurmountable travel through a rugged landscape of mountains, canyons, escarpments, and deserts. The routes follow valleys, waterways, and lower elevations as much as possible.

Visual Resources

The BLM has developed a system to assess the visual quality of resources. Visual Resource Management involves inventorying scenic values and establishing management objectives for those values through the resource management planning process, and then evaluating proposed activities to determine whether they conform to the management objectives.[24] The BLM's Visual Resource Management system helps guide current actions on public lands in a way that may benefit the landscape and adjacent communities in the future.

The Visual Resource Management system was designed to address the following two main issues:

1) Different levels of scenic values require different levels of management. For example, management of an area with high scenic value might be focused on preserving the existing character of the landscape, and management of an area with little scenic value might allow for major modifications to the landscape. Determining how an area should be managed first requires an assessment of the area's scenic values.

2) Objectivity and consistency can be greatly increased by using the basic design elements of form, line, color, and texture, which have often been used to describe and evaluate landscapes, and to describe proposed projects. Projects that repeat these design elements are usually in harmony with their surroundings and do not create contrast. By adjusting project designs so the elements are repeated, visual impacts can be minimized.

The BLM's Visual Resource Management system consists of two stages:

Inventory (Visual Resource Inventory). The inventory stage involves identifying the visual resources of an area and assigning them to inventory classes using the BLM's visual resource inventory process. The process involves rating the visual appeal of a tract of land, measuring public concern for scenic quality, and determining whether the tract of land is visible from travel routes or observation points. [25] The results of the visual resource inventory become an important component of the BLM's resource management plan for the area. The resource management plan establishes how the public lands will be used and allocated for different purposes, and is developed through public participation and collaboration. Visual values are considered throughout the resource management planning process, and the area's visual resources are then assigned to management classes with established objectives.

[24] A description of the process can be found at: http://www.ntc.blm.gov/krc/uploads/35/VRM%20Notebook%20FINAL%202007%20-%209%206%2007.pdf.

[25] The process is described in detail in Bureau of Land Management Handbook H-8410-1, Visual Resource Inventory.

The system comprises the four following classes:

- Class I Objective: To preserve the existing character of the landscape. The level of change to the characteristic landscape should be very low and must not attract attention.
- Class II Objective: To retain the existing character of the landscape. The level of change to the characteristic landscape should be low.
- Class III Objective: To partially retain the existing character of the landscape. The level of change to the characteristic landscape should be moderate.
- Class IV Objective: To provide for management activities which require major modification of the existing character of the landscape. The level of change to the characteristic landscape can be high.

Analysis (Visual Resource Contrast Rating). The analysis stage involves determining whether the potential visual impacts from proposed surface-disturbing activities or developments will meet the management objectives established for the area or whether design adjustments will be required. A visual resource contrast rating process is used for this analysis, which involves comparing the project features with the major features in the existing landscape using the basic design elements of form, line, color, and texture.[26] The analysis can then be used as a guide for resolving visual impacts. Once every attempt is made to reduce visual impacts, BLM managers can decide whether to accept or deny project proposals. Managers also have the option of attaching additional mitigation stipulations to bring the proposal into compliance.

This methodology is highly sophisticated, helps lend objectivity to the visual resource assessment, and is suitable to the identification and protection of the scenic value of visual resources. It is an ideal tool to use in the protection of scenic trails. However, it is not adequate for historic trails because it ignores the significance and integrity of the landscapes, two of the most crucial characteristic of cultural resources, and the integrity of the natural resources in the trail corridor. Although cultural and ecosystem integrity can be associated with scenic quality, this is not always the case. Both significance and integrity are fundamental to understanding, identifying, and protecting cultural landscapes. Cultural landscapes are crucial to providing visitors with the opportunity to relive the experience of the original users of the trail, who were not looking for scenic values but trying to find suitable travel ways.

[26] This process is described in Bureau of Land Management Handbook H-8431-1, Visual Resource Contrast Rating.

Old Spanish National Historic Trail, California

CHAPTER 4:

Consultation and Coordination

Amargosa River, Tecopa, California

CHAPTER 4:

Consultation and Coordination

Introduction

A variety of coordination and consultation activities took place during the development of this comprehensive administrative strategy. Meetings occurred internally between the NPS and BLM staff and externally with other public agencies, partner organizations, and the public. The study team conducted 21 public meetings in towns along or with a strong association to the trail. At these meetings input from the public, government agency representatives, federally recognized American Indian tribes, trail organizations, and individuals was systematically recorded. The study team also received comments by letters. Every comment was considered in developing this document.

Members of the interagency study team also helped identify issues that will likely affect the administration of the trail as well as the range of optional activities that should be considered in regarding the administration of the national trail.

Consultation and Coordination

Federal Agencies

The BLM manages 29.3% of the land along the trail (see Chapter 1, Table 1). As a federal land manager and a co-administrator of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, the BLM played a significant role in the development of the comprehensive administrative strategy. The BLM Washington office, all six state offices and 19 district and field offices were consulted regarding the identification of trail resources, issues regarding their protection and management, as well as interpretive and educational opportunities. Twenty-two BLM representatives and 2 NPS representatives provided comments on the agency review draft of this document in June 2015.

Throughout the original planning process, the study team consulted with other federal agencies, such as the United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service (Carson, Rio Grande, Santa Fe, Gunnison, Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, Pike and San Isabel, San Juan, Manti-La Sal, Fishlake, Dixie, Kaibab, Humboldt-

Toiyabe, San Bernardino, and Angeles National Forests) that are within a 10-mile radius of the designated routes. As manager of over 5.2% of the lands along the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, the Forest Service has been a close collaborator in the development of this document. The NPS manages about 6.4% of the lands along the various routes of the trail. Nineteen NPS units lie within a 10-mile radius of the trail.

On March 28, 2016, trail administration consulted with 14 federal agencies and three tribes regarding route refinements along the trail for the strategy. We received no responses or requests for additional information.

State and Local Agencies

This comprehensive administrative strategy was developed in consultation with the six state historic preservation offices along the trail. They provided documentation for some of the historic resources, particularly for the high potential sites and segments. They also prepared national register nominations for trail segments in California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico. State historic preservation offices will become important partners in the implementation phase of this comprehensive administrative strategy.

Some state departments of transportation helped develop portions of this strategy. Trail co-administrators will collaborate with the state transportation departments to develop signage plans and other pertinent projects.

Public Outreach

During the planning process, members of the study team traveled the entire length of the trail on multiple occasions and met with the public in many places along the trail. Concerted efforts to assess resources and to gather input from trail advocates and landowners took place throughout the process. Beginning in 2006, the study team traveled to various locations along the trail to meet with interested parties, discuss trail-related issues, and develop familiarity with the resources. Presentations at professional meetings, Old Spanish Trail Association gatherings and workshops also provided the public with updates about the comprehensive administrative strategy process.

Members of the Old Spanish Trail Association, interested landowners, and other trail advocates assisted the team in identifying and providing access to significant trail resources. They also provided important information and reviewed sections of this document.

Refinement of the congressionally designated routes took place at two workshops. The first one was conducted on March 30–April 1, 2006 at Phoenix, Arizona. Workshop participants discussed trail routes and significant trail resources at this first workshop. A second workshop took place in the summer of 2013 at Santa Fe, New Mexico. At the second workshop, participants discussed information from recent investigations such as the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act project. Following the workshop, the study team reviewed and added proposed refinements to co-administration geographic information system for the trail. The list of high potential sites and segments was prepared with the assistance of trail experts, many of them Old Spanish Trail Association volunteers.

The draft of this document and a mapbook showing the route refinements was released for public review on the NPS PEPC site on July 29, 2016. The comment period was extended until October 17, 2016. Trail administration received, reviewed, and responded to 346 comments from 21 commenters during the preparation of the final comprehensive administrative strategy.

Consultation with American Indian Tribes

Government-to-government tribal consultation is the basic means by which American Indian tribes and federal agencies approach and resolve differences in the application of policies and regulations. Government-to-government consultation recognizes that tribes are sovereign nations within the United States and that there is a unique legal and historic relationship between the United States government and Indian tribes, shaped by treaties, congressional acts, court decisions, executive orders, and other actions of the executive branch.

The decision for an agency to enter into government-to-government consultation with American Indian tribes depends upon the agency's adherence to federal law, regulation, and agency policy, as well as on the nature and scale of the project. Tribal governments may also, at their discretion, request formal consultation on issues of interest.

Trail administration aims to abide by the language contained in the National Historic Preservation Act (16 United States Code 470w):

> *An Indian tribe means an Indian tribe, band, nation, or other organized group of community, including a Native Village, Regional Corporation or Village Corporation, as those terms are defined in Section 3 of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 U.S.C. 1602), which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians.*

The key word in this law is "recognized," meaning federally recognized tribes. According to the *Federal Register* (volume 76, number 95) an Indian tribe is "any Indian or Alaska Native Tribe, band, nation, pueblo, village, or community that the Secretary of the Interior acknowledges to exist as an Indian Tribe pursuant to the Federally Recognized Indian Tribe List Act of 1994, 25 U.S.C. 479a."

Trail administration aims to abide by a government-to-government relationship with federally recognized tribes; however, this government-to-government relationship does not apply to groups who are not federally recognized.

Methodology

A challenge for administrators of the Old Spanish Trail is that there are 46 federally recognized American Indian tribes whose homelands are closely associated with the lands crossed by the trail's Congressionally designated routes. They include the following:

- Colorado River Indian Tribes of the Colorado River Indian Reservation – Arizona and California
- Havasupai Tribe of the Havasupai Reservation – Arizona
- Hopi Tribe of Arizona
- Hualapai Indian Tribe of the Hualapai Indian Tribe Reservation – Arizona
- Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians of the Kaibab Indian Reservation – Arizona
- Navajo Nation – Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah
- San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe of Arizona
- Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians of the Agua Caliente Indian Reservation – California

- Augustine Band of Cahuilla Indians (formerly the Augustine Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Augustine Reservation) – California
- Cabezon Band of Mission Indians – California
- Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians of the Cahuilla Reservation – California
- Chemehuevi Indian Tribe of the Chemehuevi Reservation – California
- Fort Mojave Indian Tribe – Arizona, California, and Nevada
- Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Lone Pine Community of the Lone Pine Reservation – California
- Morongo Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Morongo Reservation – California
- Pechanga Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Pechanga Reservation – California
- Ramona Band or Village of Cahuilla Mission Indians of California
- San Manual Band of Serrano Mission Indians of the San Manual Reservation – California
- Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Indians (formerly the Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Santa Rosa Reservation) – California
- Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians of the Santa Ynez Reservation – California
- Soboba Band of Luiseño Indians – California
- Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Mission Indians of California Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Mission Indians of California
- Torres-Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians (formerly the Torres-Martinez Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of California)
- Southern Ute Indian Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation – Colorado
- Ute Mountain Tribe of the Ute Mountain Reservation – Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah
- Las Vegas Tribe of Paiute Indians of the Las Vegas Indian Colony – Nevada
- Moapa Band of Paiute Indians of the Moapa River Indian Reservation – Nevada
- Jicarilla Apache Nation – New Mexico
- Ohkay Owingeh (formerly the Pueblo of San Juan) – New Mexico
- Pueblo of Jemez – New Mexico
- Pueblo of Nambe – New Mexico
- Pueblo of Picuris – New Mexico
- Pueblo of Pojoaque – New Mexico
- Pueblo of San Ildefonso – New Mexico
- Pueblo of Santa Clara – New Mexico
- Pueblo of Taos – New Mexico
- Pueblo of Tesuque – New Mexico

- Confederated Tribes of the Goshute Reservation – Nevada and Utah
- Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Cedar City Band of Paiutes, Kanosh Band of Paiutes) – Utah
- Skull Valley Band of Goshute Indians – Utah
- Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation – Utah
- Ute Mountain Ute – Utah
- Northern Ute – Utah
- San Manuel Band of Mission Indians – Utah
- Las Vegas Paiute – Utah
- Paiute Tribe – Utah
- Moapa Band of Paiute – Utah

Few surviving historic accounts of travel along the trail during the period of significance established by the legislation (1829–1848) exist, and these accounts provide little, if any, information on these tribes. However, trail administrators recognize the important role played by American Indian groups in establishing routes that would later became the Old Spanish Trail; therefore, the study team made a special effort to engage all potentially affected American Indian tribes in the planning process.

Tribal consultation on a government-to-government basis began almost immediately after the pre-plan agreement was signed, and it continued through the initial development of this comprehensive administrative strategy. Tribal liaison Otis Halfmoon from the National Trails Intermountain Region prepared letters of introduction to all 40 tribes (February–June 2005) as well as follow-up letters explaining the process of developing a comprehensive administrative strategy (2006). This correspondence was followed by telephone calls and in a few instances by face-to-face meetings. The tribal liaison offered to visit each tribe to answer any questions from the governing authority, the tribal council, the council of elders, or the tribal contact. Those tribes showing a particular interest in the trail received phone calls to respond to questions and issues. Upon request, designated tribal contacts, including the governing authorities, were sent copies of the Old Spanish Trail Feasibility Study. Follow-up visits were arranged if possible. Tribes were consulted in 2016 concerning the refinements to the route that appeared later in the draft comprehensive administrative strategy.

During the initial planning effort, the issue of tribal association to the trail received considerable attention. In the 21 public meetings held in towns along or with a strong association to the trail, special attention was paid to the need to incorporate multiple voices into the interpretation of the trail and to recognize that the heritage of the trail is shared by a diverse community, including American Indian tribes. Many of the received comments expressed the hope that tribal participation in planning and administration would encourage interpretation and education through multiple perspectives, and they suggested that the best way to do this would be through oral history projects, extensive consultation with tribal members, and school participation. Tribal participation was seen as a way to help young people become more aware of their history, familiarize themselves with the land and its resources, and generally remind the public that tribes have a vital interest in the American landscape.

Tribal Listening Session

Consultation also included tribal listening sessions as a way of getting to understand the concerns of the various tribes associated with the trail. The first tribal listening session in association with the development of the comprehensive administrative strategy for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail took place in Las Vegas, Nevada, on September 9-10, 2009. The meeting was attended by 15 American Indians representing 11 federally recognized tribes as well as representatives of the Old Spanish Trail Association, the BLM, and the National Trails Intermountain Region. Tribes attending were Ute Mountain Ute, Navajo, Northern Ute, San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, Las Vegas Paiute, Paiute Tribe of Utah, Chemehuevi, Jicarilla Apache, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla, Moapa Band of Paiute, and Colorado River Tribe.

The overall objective of the session was to enlist the participation of the federally recognized tribes in the various aspects of trail administration. An effort has been made to recognize the tribal story since the trail was designated by Congress in December 2002. The development of the comprehensive administrative strategy was and is seen by trail administration as a great opportunity to reach out to the tribes so that their perspective informs the development of the document and they become active both in the administration and interpretation of the trail.

Some of the concerns expressed by the American Indian leaders include the following:

- concerns about people coming into the reservation to visit sites that might not be adequately respected and protected
- interest in marketing, preservation, and interpretation of the trail along the reservation roads
- the need to promote the trail and to allow the tribes to tell their own story their own way;
- the need to get the tribes' input in dealing with federal agencies and in particular the National Historic Preservation Act Section 106 process when the comprehensive administrative strategy might impact tribal lands
- the need for consultation at a local level
- the need for more documentation and maps showing the location of the tribes and the designated trail
- concerns about the impact of oil and gas development on cultural resources
- concerns about the disclosure of sensitive site locations
- concerns about the lack of a management plan prepared by the American Indian tribes
- the need for trail administration to go beyond the required consultation and to work with the tribes in incorporating their wishes and desires into the plan
- the need for greater involvement on the part of tribal and state historic preservation offices
- concerns about the destruction of sacred sites outside the reservation; such sites can be destroyed by just walking on them; the general public has little or no understanding of the importance of such sites to the tribes
- the need to gain the trust of the impacted federally recognized tribes, particularly because many of the tribes strongly distrust the federal government; however, gaining trust is a long-term process that requires regular communication on an on-going basis

Some of the recommendations that would assist in the development of better relations with the federally recognized tribes along the trail include the following:

- visit the tribal councils of the tribes—it would be an opportunity to meet the various organizations and to learn more about the tribes
- provide maps to the tribes that show the location of the Old Spanish Trail and where it might impact their homelands
- show present-day Indian reservations on trail maps
- show traditional homelands during the period of significance of the trail on maps
- include the tribes in the development of brochures and other publications
- continue communication with the tribes that did not attend: Pueblos (Ohkay Owingeh, Santa Clara, Picuris, Nambe, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Taos, Tesuque, and Jemez), Hopi, Kaibab Paiute, San Juan Southern Paiute, Havasuapi, Goshute, Southern Ute, Cabazon Band of Mission Indians, Twenty-Nine Palms, Santa Inez, Augustine Band, Lone Pine, Morongo, Pechanga, Ramona Band, Santa Rosa Band, Soboba Band, Torres-Martinez, Cahuilla Band (Anza), and Fort Mojave
- organize an Old Spanish Trail Association Chapter composed of these federally recognized tribes

A second listening session took place in Las Vegas, Nevada on November 1–2, 2010. Four tribes sent representatives, Jicarilla Apache, Goshute, Moapa Paiute, and Southern Ute. Some of the follow-up actions agreed upon at this meeting include the following:

- assist tribes with their website development
- develop a brochure focusing on the affiliate tribes
- invite the tribes to the National Trail Intermountain Region offices in Santa Fe and Salt Lake City
- consider organizing a third listening session in California

Continued Consultation and Assistance

Because of periodic changes in the political leadership of American Indian tribes, a continuing effort to establish and maintain communication has been part of the government-to-government consultation associated with the development of this comprehensive administrative strategy. Tribal consultation has continued including, whenever possible, face-to-face meetings with tribal leaders. For example, in April 2010, the tribal liaison visited with the Kaibab Paiute tribal historic preservation officer; in July of the same year, a visit was made to the Taos Pueblo tourism office where a discussion took place regarding the possibilities of working with trail administration on the Old Spanish Trail. As indicated, an earlier listening session had taken place during September 2009.

Trail administrators prepared a brief study in 2013 to identify issues of concern among tribes. It provided a brief summary of the project and asked a number of questions requiring specific answers and examples. Late in 2013 and in 2014, all tribes were contacted by phone, and the central issues addressed in the planning efforts were discussed with tribal representatives.

The NPS has financially supported and participated in projects involving some of the tribes. One of them is a Speakers Series conducted at the Southern Ute Tribal Cultural Center focusing on how the Old Spanish Trail affected the Southern Ute people. Another project recently completed focuses on an oral history for the Jicarilla Apache. Trail administrators encourage tribes to propose other worthy projects.

Summary

Trail administration has completed the final comprehensive administrative strategy for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The document is available online on the NPS PEPC site. A limited number of copies have been printed. Since it has been approved by the two agencies, it will be implemented. The study team has expended considerable time and effort consulting with agencies, tribes, private landowners, and the public regarding this planning effort for the Old Spanish National Historic Trail. The results of these consultations have played a large role in the preparation of this comprehensive administrative strategy. Trail administrators look forward to continued consultations with all interested parties as they collaborate in "the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment" of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail.[1]

[1] National Trails System Act, Section 3, Part 3, the purpose of a national historic trail.

Old Spanish National Historic Trail, Utah

Study Team and Preparers

Harry Wade Exit Route, Old Spanish National Historic Trail, California

Study Team and Preparers

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Old Spanish National Historic Trail, Utah

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Old Spanish National Historic Trail

Glossary of Terms

Glossary of Terms

Acequia: ditch, aqueduct.

Almud: an amount of dry or sometimes liquid measure ca. 1.5 pints; the amount could vary with time and across different regions.

Aparejo: pack saddle.

Arriero: muleteer.

Asistencia: "a mission on a small scale with all the requisites for a mission, and with Divine service held regularly on days of obligation, except that it lacked a resident priest" (Fr. Zephyrin Englehardt). In California, an asistencia is defined as a sub-mission.

Atajo: team of pack mules.

Athabaskan: second largest family in North America in terms of number of languages and the number of speakers, following the Uto–Aztecan family, that extends into Mexico. Members include Apaches and Navajos.

Ayuda: an activity of contributing to the fulfillment of a need or furtherance of an effort or purpose; a chapel: a subordinate church with resident priest, similar to asistencia or vicaria.

Bando: proclamation.

Boca: mouth (of a river).

Californios: name given to California settlers before the Mexican–American War, primarily referring to Hispanic settlers of Alta and Baja California, their descendants and their culture

Carga: load.

Carreta: cart, wagon.

Cejita: small brow in reference to a geomorphological feature.

Chumash: American Indian group who historically inhabited south-central coastal regions of California.

Colcha: quilt.

Compadrazgo: a system of kinship (godparenthood). It sets up a relationship between the child's biological mother and father and (possibly unrelated) persons who become spiritual parents through baptism of a child into the Christian church. The latter sponsors the child's acceptance into the Church and, theoretically at least, are responsible for his or her religious education. The biological and spiritual parents refer to each other as *compadres* (co-parents), and this relationship is normally accompanied by a degree of behavioral and linguistic formality.

Conductor: person in charge; leader of a caravan.

Corona: a blanket used with a saddle.

Criado: servant; another term for *genízaro*.

Cuartilla: dry measurement equivalent to 0.4 bushels (cuartilla = ¼ of a fanega; fanega = 1.6 bushels).

Efectos del país: locally produced (New Mexican) merchandise including coarse textiles, such as serapes, blankets, shawls, hides, wool socks, etc.

Enramada: arbor.

Estancia: outpost.

Frazada: blanket.

Gamuza: deer hide.

Genízaro: American Indians who lost their tribal identity, spent time as captives and/or servants, and who were living on the margins of Spanish society.

*Gerga (*also *jerga):* coarse woolen cloth.

Grupera: leather band part of the pack saddle.

Hispano: Name for the primarily Hispanic settlers of 'old' New Mexico (i.e., today's north and central New Mexico and southern Colorado), their descendants and their culture.

Indios bárbaros: "wild" Indians; Indians who were outside the control of the Spanish government.

Indios de rescate: rescued Indians; another term for *genízaros*.

Jacal: structure made of upright wooden poles daubed with adobe and roofed with timber, straw, and adobe.

Llanos: plains, flat lands.

Mayordomo: administrator; person in charge of a ditch.

Media: sock.

Merced: Spanish land grant, especially in New Mexico.

Mulada: mule train.

Nixora: detribalized Indian, often originally a captive. This term was used instead of *genízaro* in southern Arizona, and in Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexico.

Obraje: sweat shop.

Oso (piel de): bear skin.

Paraje: stopping place, campsite.

Peón: a person who does menial or repetitive tasks and has a low rank. Also an unskilled laborer or farm worker.

Peso: Spanish and Mexican monetary unit that was equivalent to the dollar.

Piedra lumbre: highly valued aluminum salt, flint.

Placita: nucleated village.

Pobladores: settlers.

Puha: power; a source of individual competence, mental and physical ability, health, and success.

Ranchería: a small, rural settlement. In the American West, the term was applied to native villages and to the workers' quarters of a ranch, or in California, to Indian reservations. In general, these clusters of dwellings were more permanent than the camps of the nomadic American Indians.

Real: known in English as “pieces of eight”

Rescate: ransom.

Serape [sarape]: all-purpose blanket.

Sayal: coarse woolen cloth.

Tiruta: a finely-woven Tarahumara blanket.

Visita: sub-mission (in California, a sub-mission is an “asistencia.”

Zanja: ditch.

Old Spanish National Historic Trail, Nevada

Index

Index