

## **ELIGIBILITY AND FEASIBILITY**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The determination of the eligibility of a route as a National Historic Trail is based on the criteria set forth in the National Trails System Act (16 USC 1241, et seq.). Section 5(b)(11) of the act provides three broad criteria that a trail must meet to qualify for designations. These criteria are set forth and the trail is evaluated in the following sections.

Additionally, the National Trails System Act, Sec. 5(b)(3) also states that a trail study should include:

... the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate Secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic or National Historic Trail; and in the case of National Historic Trails the report shall include the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior's National Park System Advisory Board as to the national historic significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (40 Stat. 666; 16 USC 461).

The Historic Sites Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to identify and recognize properties of national significance (National Historic Landmarks) in United States history and archeology. National Historic Landmark criteria have been developed to help define properties that have national significance. Therefore, the criteria developed for the evaluation of national significance as part of the National Historic Landmark process are incorporated into the analysis of national significance under the National Trails System Act (Sec. 5(b)(11)(B)).

The National Trails System Act states that National Historic Trails should generally be "extended trails," which means they should be at least 100 miles long, although historic trails of less than 100 miles in length are permitted. The distance from Santa Fe to Los Angeles along the main route of the Old Spanish Trail is over 1,160 miles; the North Branch extends over 500 miles from New Mexico to its juncture with the main route; and the Armijo Route extends over 1,020 miles from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. Many additional miles of trail result from other variations in these primary routes.

The following sections evaluate the Old Spanish Trail with respect to each of the three criteria in the National Trails System Act. The "Historical Overview" section of this document should be read before looking at the following analyses.

### **ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL TRAILS SYSTEM ACT CRITERIA**

#### **Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion A**

(A) It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result 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.

There are three elements of criterion A that are discussed in the following sections.



### ***1. Was the Old Spanish Trail a trail or route established by historic use?***

This element of the criterion is met.

The intent of this part of the criterion is to ensure that the route being considered was indeed a definable trail used in the historic period and not an arbitrarily created entity. Documentation of the establishment of all routes by historic use is clearly demonstrated in the historical overview.

The Old Spanish Trail was primarily a horse, mule, and burro pack route between New Mexico and Los Angeles. It developed from a number of earlier routes followed by American Indians and Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American explorers, trappers, and traders.

The "Historical Overview" section documents the development of the trail from the earlier routes to its establishment as a connection between New Mexico and southern California. Travel along the route by a variety of individuals and groups is clearly indicated. As demonstrated in the "Historical Overview" section, the "Statement of Significance" section, and the "Other Themes Considered with Respect to National Significance" section, the Old Spanish Trail existed as a trail in the minds of the people during the historic period, as evidenced by direct references to the trail in historic reports, maps, and other documents.

### ***2. Is the Old Spanish Trail significant as a result of the use that established it?***

This element of the criterion is met.

In the "Statement of Significance" section of this document, the Old Spanish Trail will be evaluated with respect to national significance. At this level, it is only necessary to establish that Old Spanish Trail use was significant—that is, that it played a role in and had some influence on historical events. A finding of significance at this level does not imply that the requirement for national significance is met.

As described in the "Historical Overview" section, the Old Spanish Trail evolved out of a number of routes followed by American Indians and Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American explorers, fur trappers, and others. The first successful New Mexico trade caravan in 1829, led by Antonio Armijo, created a complete route between New Mexico and the Los Angeles area. The last known regular New Mexican trade caravan arrived in California in 1847 and returned in 1848. After 1848, the use of the section of trail from New Mexico to Utah fell into limited, often local, use, and the more northern and more southern trails to California became the primary routes of travel (Hafen and Hafen 1982:361), although some use of parts of the Old Spanish Trail continued. Subsequently, travelers to and from California occasionally used the route.

Travel between New Mexico and California along the completed route also tied in to other activities previously occurring along various sections of the trail and beyond, including trade with American Indians, trade in American Indian slaves, the fur trade, and illegal trade in horses and mules. As on other trails across the West, travelers along the trail contributed to changes in Indian lifeways and relations between tribes and the Mexicans and Americans. Trade along the Old Spanish Trail tied in to and contributed to a broader economic system, including the Santa Fe Trail/Chihuahua Trail trade and the ranching and maritime trade economy of California. Some immigration occurred along the route involving both New Mexicans and Americans, in which they added to the population of California and became involved in a variety of social, political, economic, and other activities. The Old Spanish Trail trade was part of the economies of California and New Mexico and was, at a minimum, of state-level



significance under the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places. (See discussion of National Register/National Historic Landmark criteria in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion B" section.)

### *3. Is the location of the route of the Old Spanish Trail sufficiently known?*

Overall, this element of the criterion is met.

The determination of the location of the trail under the National Trails System Act is related to the concept of "integrity of location" under the National Register/National Historic Landmark evaluation processes. Location is one of seven aspects of integrity. "Location is the place where the ... historic event[s] occurred. The relationship between the property and its location is often important to understanding why the property was created or why something happened. The actual location of a historic property, complemented by its setting, is particularly important in recapturing the sense of historic events and persons" (National Park Service 1998:44). Other aspects of integrity are discussed in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion C" section.

The identification of the Northern and Southern Routes of the Old Spanish Trail and their several variants was based largely on travel diaries and military expedition records. The most specific of these accounts are: Domínguez-Escalante (1776); Orville Pratt (1848); Gunnison (1853); Huntington (1855); Addison Pratt (1849); Cheesman (1850); Macomb (1859); and Parley P. Pratt (1851).

More recently, historians and archeologists have studied the various routes followed by trappers, traders, immigrants, and military expeditions. For example, see Hafen and Hafen (1982); Crampton and Madsen (1994); Sánchez (1997); Warren (1974); and Walker (1986).

Because of the limited and vague nature of the diaries, insofar as geographic details are concerned, it is difficult or impossible to determine the precise routes taken by many individual groups of travelers, especially the New Mexican pack caravans. Assumptions must be made that later travelers (after 1848) were traveling the same routes that were established during the Old Spanish Trail period of significance. Many of the travelers of the Old Spanish Trail were involved in illegal activities such as slave trading and horse or burro theft, and they may also have been taking measures to avoid paying taxes on transported goods. Consequently, these travelers left few written records. Other travelers on different trails connected with the Old Spanish Trail and followed segments of it rather than running the entire length of the trail.

In places, the routes are defined by the topography that limits the potential routes of travel. Mountain passes, river valleys and distinctive crossing points, and springs have been used to define the specific route of the Old Spanish Trail.

The known travelers' accounts helped identify likely major and variant routes along the Old Spanish Trail corridor by describing geographical features, cultural sites, and peoples along the trail. Based on differing translations of Mexican and Spanish documents, and possessing a knowledge of landmarks, geography and geology, and Indian tribes, researchers have mapped likely Old Spanish Trail routes between New Mexico and California. It is clear from travelers' accounts that the route(s) were dictated by several factors, including water sources, forage, ease of travel (terrain and climate), presence of tribes they thought of as "friendly" (often for trading purposes), and absence of those they felt to be "hostile."



For purposes of this study, the route descriptions provided in this document generally follow the trail routes defined by Crampton and Madsen (1994), Sánchez (1997), Walker (1986), Warren (1974), Steiner (1999), and Kessler (1995). It should be noted that some route researchers, such as Crampton, Madsen, Kessler, and Steiner, field tested possible routes on the ground and rejected or accepted a particular route section based on correspondence with written materials, or in some cases based on terrain features deemed too difficult or as likely obstacles to travel. Not all routes and route variants have received the same level of scrutiny, and some route sections, such as the Armijo Route, especially between the Crossing of the Fathers and southwest Utah, would benefit from further on-the-ground testing of possible routes. During scoping meetings for this study, for example, it was suggested that the later use of the Crossing of the Fathers on the Armijo Route would have been impossible for pack trains to negotiate, although the Armijo trade caravan did successfully use the crossing.

Antonio Armijo wrote that his party improved steps carved into the canyon wall by Domínguez and Escalante. The ascent was further improved by later New Mexican caravans, according to reports of the Powell expeditions, which questioned locals (Kelly 1948-1949:350,n. 69). Members of the Powell surveys of 1869 and 1871 referred to "El Vado de los Padres" as the "old Spanish crossing" or the "old Spanish trail." They discussed its use by Mormons, who referred to the crossing as the "old Ute Ford" (Darrah 1947:118; Gregory 1948-1949:54, 71, 98n). Thus, from the time that Domínguez and Escalante were told of this traditional Indian crossing in 1776 to the 1870s there was a transmitted knowledge and ongoing use of the same crossing. The Crossing of the Fathers was, in the 1870s, a route over which Navajos stole stock from Mormon settlements north of the Colorado River. In order to protect themselves, the Mormons blasted away a significant portion of the approach to the river. Only then did the crossing become impassable (Gregory and Moore 1931:11; Birney 1931:117).

Armijo's successful trek was announced in an official publication of the Mexican government. It ended with the statement that such a road between New Mexico and California would be useful to the nation as a whole, as well as to New Mexico (Estados Unidos de Mexico 1830:150). The Armijo Route is an important part of the Old Spanish Trail, because it was the pioneering trade caravan between New Mexico and California. More research may show that other trade caravans also followed this route, as some researchers have suggested (Sánchez 1997:104).

Although there are some disagreements among researchers, and there is potential for other route variants and some corrections of commonly identified routes, it is reasonable to conclude that the identified trail routes were likely utilized by the traders or other travelers along the Old Spanish Trail. However, with a few exceptions, information about most of the trade caravans and immigrants indicates that they left a particular place in New Mexico and arrived in southern California and/or that they left California and arrived in New Mexico. Secondary historic accounts do provide some information in identifying the trail location and identifying it as a place used by identified "Old Spanish Trail travelers." On October 10, 1853, First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith, who wrote the report of the Gunnison expedition, recorded, "The Spanish Trail, though but seldom used of late years is still very distinct where the soil washes but slightly. On some spaces today we counted from fourteen to twenty parallel trails, of the ordinary size of Indian trails or horse-paths on a way of barely fifty feet in width" (Beckwith, in Chenoweth 1999:28). Such a description suggests that there had been considerable use along the trail.

The National Trails System Act does not require that the route of the trail be known exactly, but only sufficiently to evaluate its potential for recreational use and historic interest. This requirement recognizes that the location of trails cannot always be determined as precisely as the location of specific historic sites because the route connecting such sites may have no visible or archeological remains.



## **Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion B**

**Background.** The second of the three National Trails System Act criteria that must be met requires that a trail:

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

This criterion sets out the conditions relating to national significance that must be met for a route to become a National Historic Trail. The terms "of national significance," "broad facets of American History," and "far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture" clearly and specifically define the nature of that trail, and the high standard it must meet. Thus, by its very nature, and by definition, a National Historic Trail must possess exceptional national values.

National Trails System Act Criterion B also provides that: "Trails significant in the history of Native Americans may be included." The sentence in the criterion regarding trails significant to Native Americans does not mean that all trails that had impacts upon American Indians are automatically eligible for National Historic Trail status. Indeed, virtually all historic trails had impacts, often very severe, on tribes. In considering the use of a historic trail, impacts upon American Indians would be considered along with other historic impacts of trail use, even without this language in the Trails act. Those impacts must be still be "far reaching" and national in scope.

The specific language in the act, however, recognizes that the history of the United States did not begin with the arrival of Europeans. American Indians lived, traveled, traded, and interacted here for thousands of years prior to contact with Spanish, and later English and other, explorers and settlers. Trails used by American Indians prior to and even after contact are to be considered as potentially eligible for designation as National Historic Trails. However, they must still meet all the criteria in the act, and must still be found to have had "far reaching effects on broad patterns of American [or more specifically American Indian] culture."

National Historic Landmark criteria parallel the concepts of the National Trails System Act, and provide that:

The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, technology and culture; and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association ...

There are a number of individual criteria that have been developed for the National Historic Landmark program. Criterion 1 is appropriate for the primary evaluation of the Old Spanish Trail. (Criterion 2 will be discussed later.) Under Criterion 1, national significance is ascribed to a property:

That is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained;

Guidelines for the interpretation and application of these criteria are set forth in two National Register Bulletins entitled "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (1998)" and "How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations" (1999).



The events associated with the property must be outstandingly represented by that property and should be related to broad national patterns of U.S. history.... The property can be associated with either a specific event marking an important moment in American prehistory or history or with a pattern of events or a historic movement that made a significant contribution to the development of the United States.

The property that is being evaluated must be documented, through accepted means of historical or archeological research, to have existed at the time of the event or pattern of events and to have been strongly associated with these events. A property is not eligible if its associations are merely speculative. Mere association with historic events or trends is not enough to qualify under this criterion. The property's specific association must be considered of the highest importance.

A key principle in National Historic Landmark studies is that they be comparative in nature. A particular property being evaluated should be compared with other similar properties related to the same context (National Park Service 1999).

Properties that are not deemed to be of national significance may qualify by being of local or state significance under the criteria for the National Register of Historic Places.

National Historic Landmark Criterion 2 applies to properties "that are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States." (National Park Service 1999:36)

This criterion relates to properties associated with individuals whose specific contributions to American history can be identified and documented. The person(s) associated with the property must be individually exceptionally significant within a national historic context. The association must be with the person's productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance.... Each property associated with an important individual must be compared to other associated properties to identify the one that best represents the person's nationally historic contributions. ..." (National Park Service 1999:36).

In applying this criterion to a historic trail, consideration must be given to the National Trails System Act, which requires that the "use of the trail" must have had "far reaching effects on broad patterns of American culture." It is not enough that a nationally significant person followed a trail; rather, that person must have engaged in nationally significant activities on that trail in a way that had a broad impact upon America.

National Historic Landmarks are evaluated for national significance by applying the appropriate criteria to the property within the framework of major themes in United States history. In 1996, The National Park Service Thematic Framework was revised to provide a more comprehensive historical perspective for the evaluation of resource significance, in order to better take into account the diversity and complexity of the human experience. The National Park Service has found that in practice, it is helpful to use the Revised Thematic Framework in conjunction with the 1987 Thematic Framework, which helps provides focus on a more basic, topical conceptualization of the past within the broader themes.

The Old Spanish Trail will be evaluated with respect to a number of themes and topics in American history. Each analysis will consider what the effects of the use of the trail are with respect to the theme and what effects are to be considered of the "highest importance" in American history in comparison to other similar properties. If the trail is deemed to be nationally significant, a period of significance with respect to the theme will also be identified. In the case of Criterion 2, the period of significance would



be the time period in which the person used the trail. Specific theses put forth in the literature about the significance of the Old Spanish Trail will be considered where appropriate.

### **Statement of Significance: Analysis/Conclusion.**

#### **Statement of Significance**

The conclusion of this study is that the Old Spanish Trail is **nationally significant** within the theme of the Changing Role of the United States in the World Community, and the topics of trade and commerce, during the period of 1829-1848. Therefore, the Old Spanish Trail meets Criterion B, Section 5(b) 11, of the National Trails System Act.

The Old Spanish Trail was the first viable Euro-American overland route between Mexico's isolated frontier provinces of New Mexico and California. First blazed by Hispanic traders in 1829, the Old Spanish Trail tied California's burgeoning ranching economy to New Mexico's pastoral industries, and, in the process, was the final link in the first overland international trade network to span the North American continent. Poised at the western terminus of the Santa Fe Trail, the northern end of the Camino Real, and the eastern edge of the Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe, New Mexico became the pivotal cog in this international commercial network. Moreover, northern variants of the Old Spanish Trail integrated elements of the Rocky Mountain fur trade into this commercial web on Mexico's far northern frontier. Old Spanish Trail trading activities had profound impacts on diverse Indian groups and interethnic relations. In many cases, interethnic trade activities that had evolved over the previous two centuries and even earlier underwent significant change. Old Spanish Trail trade led to an increase in illicit trade in stolen herds from California and Indian slavery, and the empowerment of certain tribes, such as the Ute, to the detriment of others, such as the Paiutes. By the time of the U.S. conquest and incorporation of Mexico's northern territories in 1848, American traders sought more direct and accommodating routes to California. Although segments of the Old Spanish Trail continued to be used, other, newer routes eclipsed the trail's importance as the overland trade link between New Mexico and California.

When Mexico achieved its independence from Spain in 1821, the infant nation inherited a vast northern frontier that stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico. It included nearly a million square miles north of what, in 1772, the Spanish colonial administrator the Marques de Rubi called the colony's line of effective occupation (Rubi: [1772] 1982). The lands were diverse but characterized primarily by vast, prohibitive deserts broken by huge, seemingly impenetrable mountain ranges. Good cultivable lands were rare oases lightly settled by hardy, self-reliant Hispanic settlers who learned to survive with only weak assistance from the federal government. These small population centers stretched like grasping fingers northward from the rest of Mexico. The most durable and important of these were the settlements in New Mexico that extended from Chihuahua along the Camino Real and the Rio Grande, and concentrated in and around the provincial capital of Santa Fe. Small Hispanic population centers had also taken hold in other provincial areas such as California and Texas. Isolation, federal neglect, and self-reliance characterized all of them. Under Spanish rule, colonial regulation and environment combined to control the frontier towns' connection to the rest of the world directly south to Mexico City. At the time of Mexican independence, the articulation of the Mexican nation state on the northern frontier was in danger. The frontier towns' connection to the central republic was weak and the lack of inter-provincial trade and communication enhanced the sense of isolation and vulnerability. Moreover, autonomous or resistant bands and tribes of diverse Indian groups often competed with the Hispanic settlements for control of the deserts and mountains of northern New Spain and young Mexico. While some had coexisted with Hispanic colonial and early national cultural patterns, others remained highly autonomous and resistant to any Hispanic encroachments in their



territory. Warfare and wary coexistence were common features of interethnic relations on the frontier. With the exception of certain tribes and bands near the Hispanic settlements and occasional trading ventures into the Indian territories, there was little attempt to integrate the more isolated bands into the Mexican economy or culture.

Compounding the threats to stability and development on the frontier was the threat of foreign intrusion into Mexico's lands. Defense against both resistant Indian bands and foreign encroachments was historically a significant reason for population settlement on the northern frontier. After the independence of the United States, that nation's expansionist tendencies became clear, and on the verge of Mexican independence Spain hastily negotiated a treaty to protect its colony's northern frontier from U.S. expansion. The new Mexican nation almost immediately felt pressure from the U.S., whose citizens coveted the rich agriculture lands that lined the river valleys of Texas, the rich valleys of California, and the new Mexican markets accessible overland from Missouri to Santa Fe. After Spain's prohibitive colonial trade policies evaporated in 1821, opportunities for international trade with northern Mexico increased. In the decades after Mexican independence, and before the U.S. conquest of far northern Mexico in 1848 and the ensuing rush of American settlers across the West to California and the other western territories, trade was the catalyst for expansion and interethnic contact on Mexico's northern frontier.

The explosion of trade activities into Mexico's northern provinces was immediate. Fur trappers pushed into the mountain forests and river bottoms across the frontier in search of beaver pelts, establishing key trade depots in Taos and other smaller points to the north. Most important, the first link in an overland trade network between the United States and Mexico was established in 1821 when traders from Missouri brought manufactured goods to Santa Fe to trade for silver from Mexico and the basic wool goods New Mexicans produced. The final link in the overland network was achieved in 1829 when the New Mexican trader Antonio Armijo became the first Euro-American to blaze a trail for commercial purposes between Santa Fe and California. The goal had eluded Spanish colonials and Mexican nationals for generations. Armijo's route was informed by information gathered by scores of exploration and trading expeditions that had emanated from New Mexico to the north and west in the proceeding centuries, and by previous trade, missionary, and exploration activity from California to Sonora.

The significance of Armijo's feat in establishing the first variant of what became known as the Old Spanish Trail was apparent throughout the Mexican republic. The achievement was announced in the federal government's official newspaper, which noted the major step forward the trailblazer took in breaking down the isolation of the northern frontier provinces (*Estados Unidos Mexicanos*: 1830, 150). Others quickly followed. The following year, the fur trappers William Wolfskill and George Yount led a trade caravan to California from New Mexico. That group scouted a more northerly variant of the trail, which became the preferred route for later travelers, although some traders may have continued to use the Armijo route. During the next twenty years, the Old Spanish Trail and its variants became the primary overland trade routes between the frontier territories.

The Old Spanish Trail had notable significance for Mexico, the United States, and the numerous Indian groups in the affected area. The effects of the creation of the first overland trade link that spanned the continent and linked the frontier trade to the Camino Real and the rest of Mexico were unmistakable. Each area contributed its own resources to the trade. California's sprawling ranches became a significance source for horses, mules, and other related breeds. New Mexico's pastoral enterprises supplied woolen goods to California and markets to the east and south. From the north and northwest, trappers brought fur pelts along a variant of the trail called the North Branch. Over the Santa Fe Trail,



traders brought manufactured goods from the markets in the United States. Silver specie came up the Camino Real from the mines in Chihuahua and northern Mexico. All roads led to Santa Fe.

Zenos Lenoard, the oft-quoted fur trader familiar with this trade network remarked about the contribution the Old Spanish Trail made to this international network. Noting the preparations made in California for the annual trade caravan, he recalled that,

The dry season is occupied by the inhabitants in gathering the mules into large droves and driving them off to market at Santa Fe, ... Here they meet with ready sale at a profitable price from traders at Missouri, who repair to Santa Fe annually for that purpose. These traders are generally well supplied with merchandise which they exchange at Santa Fe for gold and silver, and with these Californian traders for mules and Spanish hides. The price of a mule at Santa Fe is generally from \$6 to \$10. (Zenos Leonard, 1829: 53-55)

The amount of trade over the Old Spanish Trail was negligible in terms of the total national domestic trade. However, fragmentary figures suggest that in some years the horse and mule trade from California to Santa Fe could have been significant. For example, in 1842 Francisco Estevan Vigil brought over 4,000 mules and horses from California. In California each animal was worth approximately \$12 each or could be traded for two serapes. But in Santa Fe and St. Louis, mules could be sold for as much as \$45 per head, suggesting that Vigil's merchandise in 1842 could have been valued as high as an astounding \$180,000. (Unruh, 1993: 39-43; O'Brien, 1994: 82, 110)

Trade on the Old Spanish Trail consisted almost exclusively of woolen goods moving west and horses and mules coming east. The manufactured goods that were a large part of the Santa Fe trade, with its ties to the east coast and even to Europe, were being supplied in California via the maritime trail. Although some goods from the maritime trade, such as Far Eastern silks, entered into the Old Spanish Trail trade, the extent of this part of the trade is poorly documented. The California economy of maritime/rancho trade would appear to be self-sustaining, as the manufactured goods were being traded for California-produced materials. However, horses and mules from California were fed into the Santa Fe trade.

It has been suggested that horses and mules traded legally and illegally from California were essential to immigration from Missouri to the Pacific Coast along a number of western routes and the Santa Fe trade. Joseph J. Hill noted that "One of the factors of prime importance in the opening of the trails to the Far West at this time was the Missouri-Santa Fe trade and its demand for mules. California had great numbers of mules, which were noted for their size [see discussion below] and quality. This led to the organization of expeditions to that country in the effort to supply the demand of the Missouri traders" (Hill 1921:464-465). Traders sold Spanish mules from California to both markets. Grinnel (1919-1922:48) suggests that the famous Missouri mule trade began with mules from California funneled through Bent's Fort. The famed "Missouri mules," it is claimed, were bred from stock from California as well (Missouri State Board of Agriculture, 1924). The actual case, as will be explained further, is more complicated.

California stock was a very important part of the overall trade on the Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe Trail, and Camino Real. Emmett Essin (1999), who has studied the horse and mule trade across the United States, suggests that an important factor relating to California livestock was the high quality of the California horses, which came from fine Arabian stock. An Arabian mare with a good jack produced a good mule. And while it was smaller than other mules, it was also tougher. As one emigrant recorded in his journal, "It was a noble sight to see those small tough, earnest, honest Spanish mules, every nerve



strained to the utmost, examples of obedience, and of duty performed under trying circumstances (Stewart, 1962, pp. 113-114). “

Essin also points out that the trade along the Old Spanish Trail was part of a much wider trade in horses and mules. The mule industry in the United States began in the late 1700s and there were centers in Texas, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee as well as in California and New Mexico. Juan de Oñate brought mules, jacks, and jennets to New Mexico, as early as 1598. By the 1820s and '30s, Santa Fe had a good stock for breeding mules, which were traded on the Santa Fe Trail. (Essin, 1999) For example, in 1823 the Cooper party returned from Santa Fe with 400 “jacks, jennies, and mules” (Duffus, 1931, p. 81.). According to Essin, the Missouri mule industry began as early as 1821. Missourians bred for large mules using Portuguese and Mexican derived jacks. Mexico also provided a source of mules for Texas and New Mexico. Bryant, (1985, p. 34) for example, while en route to California in 1846, reports passing returning Santa Fe traders driving a herd of about 1,000 mules which they purchased in Chihuahua for \$20 per head.

Santa Fe traders and emigrants also used oxen. No solid statistics are available as to the proportion of types of stock used by these groups. Unruh (1993 p.108), speaking of emigrant groups says that “more than half of all overlander’s wagons were pulled by oxen. Horses and mules, in that order, followed in frequency of use.” Some emigrants brought livestock from their homes in the east. Stewart (1962, pp. 113-114) concludes that the determining factor in using oxen was the comparatively high price of mules.

Overall, however, the horse and mule trade along the Old Spanish Trail was one of the key links in the total trade and it provided some of the finest quality stock that would be preferred by those that could afford it. Prices were high enough to make the arduous journey to California to trade and to risk the dangers of engaging in livestock theft on a large scale.

Perhaps the most important impact trail trade was on the American Indian populations. Evidence has arisen showing that traders who brought New Mexico’s woolen goods to trade in California actively encouraged Indian groups to raid the abundant horse and mule herds around California’s ranchos and missions. These animals, gotten either in fair barter or through illicit trade with the Indian groups, formed the bulk of the goods brought eastward over the Old Spanish Trail. American fur trappers also became involved in this trade. Jim Beckwourth and others justified their involvement in horse stealing as an attempt to aid the U.S. war effort against Mexico (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, p. 245-247). While it may not have actually had any military impact, the livestock theft, taken as a whole, certainly had some effect. “These raids...reached such a scale by the 1840s, that they had badly weakened the Mexican ranchos by depleting the herds. (White, 1991, p. 43) Bryant (1985, p. 445) reports that in 1831 there were 64,000 horses, mules, etc. in California and by 1842 there were 30,000.

The legal and especially illegal trade along the Old Spanish Trail continued and expanded earlier patterns of trade with American Indians. Notably the New Mexican traders traded with tribes, principally the Ute, for slaves taken from other tribes, some of whom were taken to California (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, p.269). Slave raiding expanded with the extension of the Old Spanish Trail to California (Malouf and Findlay, 1986, p. 503). In addition to trade for horses, fur trappers traded guns, tobacco, knives and other goods with the Ute for furs. The trade in slaves and livestock helped some tribes, principally the Ute, become stronger and others, such as the Gosiute and Southern Paiutes, suffered as a result. The Ute became a horse-rich nation and horses and mules they obtained were dispersed through other Indian groups and sold to other travelers. The Ute culture quickly adopted the horse into its cultural and economic activities. The new mobility empowered the Ute to the detriment of neighboring tribes. The rapid rise in the number of traders into Ute territory quickened the inclusion of



these peripheral peoples into the international economy. Ute and other tribal groups along the Old Spanish Trail quickly learned the benefits of trading with the annual caravans. Traders following the trail more often included stops in Indian Territory as part of their trading itinerary. Tragically, Indian enslavement became a critical part of this trade as more powerful Indian groups used Indian captives for barter in the lucrative Old Spanish Trail trade.

Another significant impact to the American Indians tribes along the trail was the effect the heavy trail trade had on the local environment. The frequent passing of large herds of horses and mules played havoc on the sensitive desert environment. Scarce water holes and pockets of grasslands used by impoverished tribes such as the Paiute were routinely destroyed by the passing caravans. This enhanced their vulnerability to attacks from neighboring tribes and subjected the tribes to more desperate survival activities that included trading their young for subsistence. (Van Hoak, 7; Kelly, 1976: 91)

The significance of the Old Spanish Trail is complex. During its period of significance, the trail was entirely within Mexico. The trade activity that occurred along the trail helped to break down the isolation between Mexico's frontier provinces and likely contributed to the sense of a national identity on the frontier. The two decades that immediately preceded the U.S. conquest of the region were crucial years in the development of the Mexican nation and its frontier, and in the evolution of trade, settlement, communication, and Indian relations. These factors had a direct impact on the manner in which the U.S. would acquire this territory. (Webber, 1979, p.135) The Old Spanish Trail began as essentially a Hispanic trade route between two Mexican territories. But over time North American traders played a greater role in trade and the trail became a multicultural trade route that facilitated the transfer and sharing of North American, Mexican, and Native American trade practices. Moreover, the trade route crossed the territories of several autonomous Indian groups and impacted others that were already undergoing significant cultural change as a result of sustained contact with Spaniards and Mexicans.

#### **Period of Significance: Trade and Commerce.**

Within the context of national trail studies, the period of significance is the time period in which the nationally significant use occurred on the trail. This study identifies the period of significance of the Old Spanish Trail as 1829 to 1848. Notably, during this period the Old Spanish Trail was entirely within the territorial jurisdiction of the Republic of Mexico.

The Old Spanish Trail provided a commercial connection between New Mexico (and via the Santa Fe Trail to the United States) and California. It developed out of various trails used earlier by American Indians, Spanish explorers, and others. The connection was first completed in 1829 by the Armijo expedition, and the Wolfskill-Yount party completed another connection in 1830-1831. The last known regular New Mexican trade caravan returned to Santa Fe in 1848, which coincided with the end of the War between the U.S. and Mexico and the establishment of U.S. jurisdiction over all portions of the trail. After this period, routes, both north and south, were receiving the bulk of travel to California (Hafen and Hafen, 1993, p.361)

The eastern part of the trail was, for the most part, little used as a route to California after 1848. Two groups of travelers, both in 1853, noted this in their accounts. Gwynn Harris Heap reported, "At our noon halt, we struck a trail which we supposed to be the old trail from Abiquiú to California; but it has been so long disused that it is now almost obliterated" (Heap, 1854, p.89). First Lieutenant Edward G. Beckwith in his report of the Gunnison expedition wrote; "The Spanish Trail, though but seldom used of late years is still very distinct where the soil washes but slightly" (Chenoweth, 1999, p.28). Heap was actually looking at the Fishlake Cutoff, a trail variant that came into common use after 1848, and



not the main trail, but the quote suggests that he considered the "old trail from Abiquiú to California" to be no longer actively used.

Although two groups are documented as taking sheep to California along part or all of the Old Spanish Trail in the early 1850s, this activity also reflects the replacement of the trail by other routes. Many thousands more sheep were taken to California primarily along the Gila and other routes through Arizona. One group, including Kit Carson, took a herd of sheep north along the Front Range in Colorado and followed the emigrant trail to California in 1853. They returned along the Gila where they passed thousands of sheep being driven to California. Baxter (1987) documents other groups, primarily using the routes through Arizona in the 1850s. The routes followed by a few groups are unknown, although it would appear that the Gila Route was preferred. There was a lull during the Civil War. After the war, New Mexicans resumed taking sheep to California through Arizona.

Use of the western end of the trail entered a new era beginning in the 1847-48 season, with a documented increase in use by 1850. A wagon road was developed connecting Salt Lake City and the Los Angeles area. Used by Mormons, gold seekers, emigrants, and others, this road utilized much of the western end of the Old Spanish Trail pack route, but varied in places from the pack trail as wagons could not always negotiate the same terrain as pack trains.

The Mormon Road/Mormon Corridor overlaps much of the western end of the Old Spanish Trail and its use during the post 1848 period has some ties to the earlier uses along the Old Spanish Trail. However, it can also be considered a separate historic route with its own coherent pattern of uses and its own period of significance. As a route used by as many as 20,000 gold seekers and other California bound emigrants between 1849 and 1869 (Lyman, 1999, p. 520), it might more appropriately be considered as a variant of the California Trail. As a route reflecting Mormon settlement it could perhaps be considered as an extension of the Mormon Pioneer Trail. Including the Mormon Road in the Old Spanish Trail ignores the section of the former from Salt Lake City to its junction with the Old Spanish Trail. An evaluation of the entire Mormon Road is outside the scope of this study.

The activities of the many and diverse groups of people who created the history of the United States interrelate in complex patterns and the routes that they followed form a network of trails that intersect and overlap. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the Mormon Road is considered to be a separate historic route that has sufficient historical identity to be evaluated on its own merits as to whether or not it is significant in its own right, or an important component of the California or other trail. Conceptually, this is a parallel situation to the overlapping of other historic trails. The Oregon, California, and Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trails share the same route for a considerable distance. The Cherokee Trail, used by emigrants to California in the Gold Rush, overlaps the Santa Fe Trail, which was primarily a trade route. In both of these examples each route maintains its individual identity and reasons for significance.

Therefore, the suggested period of national significance for the Old Spanish Trail is 1829 to 1848.

### **Analysis Of National Trails System Act Criterion C**

**Background.** The third National Trails System Act criterion states that the route

(C) ... must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical 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 recreational



potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

Potential for public recreational use and historic interest derives from several factors, including the existence of actual trail resources and historic sites tied to the period of significance of the trail; sections of the trail and sites with good integrity; sufficient information about the trail as a whole and about specific historic sites and events found along it; and potential for the development of opportunities for the public to retrace the original route.

**Analysis.** The conclusion of this study is that the Old Spanish Trail possesses some strong characteristics of historic interest and recreational potential, and some that are weaker, but that overall it meets this criterion.

A list of historic sites along the trail route is included in this report in the "Archeological and Historic Resources" section. Not all of the sites listed would be eligible for certification as components of a National Historic Trail. The Old Spanish Trail currently has fewer documented historic sites relating to some users when compared to other historic routes of similar length, especially with respect to sites that can be tied to the New Mexican trade caravans. No accounts by New Mexican traders have been found, except for the Armijo trip in 1829, although there are a few second-hand accounts describing trade caravans and incidents on the trail. Without such accounts, knowledge is limited about how the caravans traveled, what was eaten, their encounters with American Indians, where they camped, difficulties they dealt with, diseases, deaths, weather, and all the other day-to-day occurrences on the trail.

Still, the Old Spanish Trail offers potential for interpreting the story of the trail as it relates to those broad themes in American history in which it played a part. Some sites (see the "Archeological and Historical Resources" section) provide good opportunities for helping people learn more about history as it relates to the lives of the Anglo-Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, and others who traveled, traded, and interacted along the route. Interpretation of pre-trail-era travel can contribute to visitors' understanding of the little-known politics and problems the Spanish, and later Mexican, governments encountered in trying to hold on to far-flung northern and western territories in the pre-trail period. Within a National Historic Trail administration program, however, interpretation of events leading to the creation of the trail is primarily done to provide context for the trail's period of significance, which is the main focus of interpretation. Because much of the interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail with respect to certain users is not site specific and relates to broad trailwide stories, it may be best accomplished in existing museums and interpretive facilities along the route.

The trail has very strong potential for the development of retracement opportunities. Large sections of the trail cross through undeveloped terrain, including national forests and Bureau of Land Management lands. Over 1,190 miles of the trail are on lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management; the USDA Forest Service manages over 310 miles; and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service manage almost 120 miles. This relative lack of development facilitates public access, and minimizes possible conflicts with private land uses. Hiking/horseback trails could be developed on public land where there are longer continuous sections of the historic route. There may also be sections of the trail on private land through which such hiking trails could also be developed if landowners are willing. Such retracement trails could be enhanced by appropriate interpretation.

Historic maps and diaries created by a few travelers—before, during, and after the period of significance—help document trail locations, and many segments of the original routes and some associated sites have been identified. Present-day highways follow parts of the route, and physical



remnants of the trail are present in some areas. The Old Spanish Trail cuts across varied life zones and scenic areas of the Colorado Plateau, the Great Basin, and the Mojave Desert. Portions of the trail follow existing roads, while other parts provide opportunities for a more pristine wilderness experience. This allows for a varied, if general, interpretive experience of the trail period.

Five guidebooks for all or parts of the Old Spanish Trail are already in existence: *In Search of the Spanish Trail. Santa Fe to Los Angeles, 1829-1848*, by C. Gregory Crampton and Steven K. Madsen (1994); *Re-Tracing the Old Spanish Trail, North Branch*, by Ron Kessler (1995); *The Mojave Road Guide*, by Dennis Casebier (1986), which covers the Old Spanish Trail's southern fork across the Mojave Desert; Harold Steiner's publication, *The Old Spanish Trail Across the Mojave Desert: A History and Guide* (1999); and *Backdoor to California*, by Clifford Walker (1986).

The Old Spanish Trail has potential for both historical interest and recreational use related to historical interest. A number of historical organizations and agencies along the trail have expressed support for trail designation, thus indicating the type of grassroots support that is needed to develop National Historic Trail programs. A trailwide organization, The Old Spanish Trail Association, has been in existence for several years.

National Historic Trail programs generally focus primarily on the period of significance. Interpretation of the story of the broad cultural heritage of the areas through which the trail passes that are not covered in National Historic Trail program can still be carried out by other agencies and organizations.

**Integrity of Resources.** The potential for historical interest and recreational use related to historical interest is in part a result of the integrity of the trail. In National Register of Historic Places terminology, "Integrity of Resources" is much more than a simple determination of resource condition. Rather, the integrity of a resource is the *composite effect* of seven different qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These elements measure the ability of a resource to convey its significance. It is important to ask whether the trail today reflects the spatial organization, physical components, and historical associations that it attained during the historic period. The concepts of design, materials, and workmanship are primarily intended for the evaluation of historic buildings, formal gardens, bridges, and other similar properties that have been built by man. Although there may be limited evidence of road "building" on the Old Spanish Trail, it cannot be evaluated as an example of a built road, but rather as a place where historic events occurred. These three elements of integrity will not be considered because they are not relevant to this analysis.

Integrity of location is evaluated in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion A" section, with respect to its relationship to National Trails System Act, Sec. 5(b)(11)(A).

For a trail, setting, feeling, and association are closely related. Setting is defined as the physical environment of a historic property. Feeling is a property's expression of the esthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time; it results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property's historic character. Association is the direct link between an important historic event and a historic property. A property retains association if it is the place where the event occurred and if it is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer. Like feeling, association requires the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character. Association, like feeling, depends on individual perceptions.

The historic character of much of the Old Spanish Trail is tied to its route through the natural environment and the existence of landscapes relatively unchanged from the trail period. In some cases



(for example, changes in land use, especially in the Las Vegas and Los Angeles areas) the setting has changed dramatically. However, in areas of the route that are relatively untouched by changes in land use—such as the mountains of Colorado and Utah and the western deserts—the setting remains much as it was historically. Large-scale features such as mountains, rock formations, and deserts, largely unchanged over the past 150 years, help to give the route much of its integrity.

The awesome surrounding landscapes and the modest physical remains of the route continue to echo and evoke the historic scene. The cumulative effect of the setting—mountains and desert, contrast, and vast vistas—creates a sense of past time and place for any visitor with sufficient knowledge of the historic travel that occurred along the route.

Vegetation still shows a linear patterning along the visible route segments. Much present-day vegetation along the route in the Mojave Desert and away from population centers is similar in type, scale, visual effect, and species to that described historically in route narratives. For example, writers described reaching the Joshua trees on the slopes leading up to Cajon Pass—and despite increasing urbanization, undeveloped areas in California along the route retain stands of Joshua trees.

The trails were functional. They led between water holes and grazing areas, generally over the easiest and most economical routes. In many areas, the mule trail has been overlain and obliterated by later wheeled vehicle traffic. Although the appearance of the single track has been changed, the setting and feeling remain much the same as they were for this historic transportation corridor. Because of the nature of a pack trail, these are subtle concepts, and visitor appreciation is dependent on knowledge of the events of the trail period.

Taken as a whole, many sections of the routes of Old Spanish Trail today are not unlike they were in trail days. Overall, the trail has sufficient integrity of setting, feeling, and association to meet the requirements of the National Trails System Act.

### **Feasibility and Desirability**

Section 5(b) of the National Trails System Act requires that other elements of a trail designation be explored in a trail study. The National Trails System Act contains the following language:

The feasibility of designating a trail shall be determined on the basis of an evaluation of whether or not it is physically possible to develop a trail along a route being studied, and whether the development of a trail would be financially feasible.

Whether or not it would be physically possible to develop a National Historic Trail along the route of the Old Spanish Trail would depend on the ability to identify the historic route across the landscape. It would also depend on the possibility of providing for public use and enjoyment through the establishment of a network of existing or proposed recreational facilities and interpretive sites where visitors could see and travel remnants of the trail. The information in this document clearly demonstrates that physical development of a trail is possible, because the historic route and some associated historic sites are known. Additional sites may be identified with future research.

To determine the financial feasibility, consideration must be given to the cost of a management plan, operational costs, and partnership involvement. There are several different approaches to determining the financial feasibility of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail. The initial funding needed for a new trail would be for the development of a comprehensive management and use plan. In the past, the development of such plans for existing National Historic Trails has cost approximately



\$250,000 to \$350,000. Preliminary estimates for at least one ongoing trail plan project may exceed those amounts. There may be additional planning costs related to the Old Spanish Trail because the much of the route is on federal lands, and national historic trail designation may require revisions to existing land use/management plans.

Trails require a base operating budget for the federal administering agency. On the basis of current National Historic Trail operations, it is estimated that \$400,000 annually would be required to provide a minimum level of professional staff and support services to operate a multi-state National Historic Trail. Experience with existing National Historic Trails indicates that, as trails develop successfully, there is likely to be an increased demand by state and local agencies, organizations, and landowners for services and funding for trail programs.

Funding levels would not include large-scale projects such as video or film productions, major exhibit design and production packages, or extensive resource preservation. These kinds of projects would have to be funded through line item congressional appropriations or fund-raising efforts. In recent years, National Historic Trails have benefited from the authorization by Congress of funding designated for Challenge Cost-Share Programs based on a fifty-fifty match of federal and non-federal funds. Because the non-federal share can be supplied through volunteer time and other in-kind services, these programs are especially attractive to the volunteer trail organizations and historical groups who support trails. Many small projects have been accomplished along the existing National Historic Trails through cost-share funding.

In the designation of a route as a National Historic Trail, consideration must be given to the need for overall federal coordination and assistance, and the willingness of public agencies, nonprofit organizations, and individuals to participate in the protection, interpretation, and management of the trail.

Federal coordination of and assistance with visitor use and preservation is addressed in the "Alternatives" and "Environmental Consequences" sections.

The willingness and interest on the part of public agencies, private organizations, and individuals in participating in the protection, interpretation, development, and management of the trail have been demonstrated by many activities and projects that are under way or have been completed, some of which are documented in the "Potential Partnerships" section. Those activities are directly related to the protection and interpretation of resources related to the Old Spanish Trail. As is outlined in this study, in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion C" section, there is good potential for public recreation and historical interpretation along the Old Spanish Trail.

Section 5(b) of the trail act also requires that the feasibility study address the following elements. The following indented paragraphs are the elements from the National Trails System Act. They are followed by a discussion of the Old Spanish Trail relative to each element. In a few cases, there may be further discussion of the element elsewhere in the document.

- (1) the proposed route of such trail, including maps and illustrations

Maps are provided in Appendix C of this document..

- (2) the areas adjacent to such trails, to be used for scenic, historic, natural, cultural, or development purposes



The significant natural and cultural resources associated with the Old Spanish Trail are described in this study. If it is designated a National Historic Trail, only the route segments and sites that have a direct and significant tie to the historic period would be developed for public use and/or be eligible for preservation assistance in cooperation with landowners and land managers. However, other agencies and organizations could provide for protection and interpretation of other resources along the trail route, and, where appropriate, could provide interpretive media coordinated with Old Spanish Trail media at trail sites, using non-National Historic Trail funding sources. Such coordinated activities have been successfully conducted for other National Historic Trails, providing for a broader and richer visitor experience.

(3) the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic or National Historic Trail; and in the case of National Historic Trails, the report shall include the recommendation of the secretary of the interior's National Park System Advisory Board as to the national historic significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (40 Stat. 666, 16 USC 461).

The national significance of the Old Spanish Trail with respect to the Historic Sites Act is discussed in the Statement of Significance in the "Analysis of National Trails System Act Criterion B" section. The determination of significance identified in this feasibility study is based on a revision to an earlier draft that found insufficient data upon which to determine significance. Research was ongoing, however, during the period of public review, and the National Park Service eventually determined that sufficient data existed to revise its previous findings. The revised findings were presented to the National Park Service Advisory Board's National Historic Landmark Committee in November 2000. The Landmarks Committee deferred making a judgement on the study's findings until the revisions were incorporated into the document. The revised study was reintroduced to the Landmarks Committee in May 2001, at which time the Landmarks Committee supported the determination of significance, but recommended that the revised document undergo another round of scholarly review. The National Park Service Advisory Board met later in May and endorsed the findings of the Landmarks Committee.

The National Park Service distributed copies of the feasibility study for review to the four historians, who were contracted in 1999 to review and evaluate the draft feasibility study. In 2000, the four scholars were divided on their evaluation. Two said that they felt the trail was probably nationally significant, but agreed with the draft feasibility study's conclusions that insufficient data existed to make that claim using the criteria stated. The other two agreed that the evidence did not support a finding of national significance, and doubted that any additional research would yield new information. Both agreed the trail was probably of local or state significance. In 2001, one of the historians chose not to comment. The two historians, who originally felt the trail was significant, agreed with the revised finding. After considering the new analysis, the fourth historian reconsidered his earlier statement that the trail was not nationally significant and gave full support for the revised study's findings and for the designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a national historic trail.

(4) the current status of landownership and current and potential use along the designated route

Landownership and land use are discussed in more detail in the "Landownership and Land Use" section. Approximately 1,700 miles of the over 3,560 miles of trail route are on federal lands; about 295 miles are on American Indian reservations and trust lands; about 277 miles are on state-owned lands; and about 1,290 miles are on private lands. The land use along the route alignments varies, and includes intensive agriculture and grazing, recreational and multiple use federal lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management and USDA Forest Service, National Park System areas, low-density rural residential lands, and urban and industrial uses.



(5) the estimated cost of acquisition of land or interest in land, if any

Little or no federal land acquisition is anticipated. The management of the National Historic Trail would depend on cooperative partnerships among the administering federal agency, interested property owners or land managers, and other entities.

(6) the plans and costs for developing and maintaining the trail

See the introduction to this section for a discussion of plans and costs.

(7) the proposed federal administering agency

The assignment of national historic trail administration duties has generally followed the recommendation found in Section 5(b) of the National Trail System Act, which states that the Secretary of Interior shall conduct trail feasibility studies "through the agency most likely to administer such trail." The Secretary assigned responsibility for this feasibility study to the National Park Service.

The established practice of assigning agency trail administration duties is currently under review. The National Park Service administers 10 of the other 13 designated national historic trails. The National Park Service Long Distance Trails Group Office in Santa Fe administers or co-administers the Santa Fe Trail and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trails. In early 2001 the Secretary of Interior directed the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management to co-administer El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail. This approach to trail administration is currently in the planning stages. If the Secretary directs the National Park Service to administer the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail, then it would be appropriate to administer the trail from the Santa Fe office.

To protect the resources along the trail and to provide for public use and interpretation, the lead federal administering agency would work in partnership with key trail-managing federal agencies (such as the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management and the USDA Forest Service); the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California; and organizations and individuals, to render mutual support. Agencies, organizations, and private landowners retain management responsibility for their lands and participate in trail programs on a voluntary basis, assuming that federal land acquisition is limited. An existing memorandum of understanding providing for cooperative activities along national trails among the National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management, and USDA Forest Service was revised and strengthened in 2001, and now includes also the Federal Highway Administration and the National Endowment for the Arts.

(8) The extent to which a state or its political subdivisions and public and private organizations might reasonably be expected to participate in acquiring the necessary land and in the administration thereof

Little or no land acquisition is envisioned. Recent National Historic Trail legislation restricts federal land acquisition to willing-seller/willing-buyer situations. Donations of land may occur, and it is usually beneficial to have ownership of such donated land remain at the local level. However, based on state, regional, and local support, states and counties, as well as nonprofit and other public organizations, would become more supportive in the subsequent management of the National Historic Trail. As is mentioned in the "Potential Partnerships" section, there is a growing commitment and involvement on the part of agencies, organizations, and individuals along the trail.



(9) The relative uses of the land involved, including the number of anticipated visitor-days for the entire length of, as well as for segments of, such a trail; the number of months that such trail, or segments thereof, will be open for recreation purposes; the economic and social benefits which might accrue from alternate land uses; and the estimated man-years of civilian employment and expenditures expected for the purposes of maintenance, supervision and regulation of such trail

The designation of the Old Spanish Trail as a National Historic Trail probably would lead to some increase in visitation and tourism revenues. The increase would probably not be significant on a regional and statewide scale. Tourism could increase in local communities along the trail corridor. Other federal, state, local, and private entities would benefit from the overall coordination of activities to preserve and protect trail-related resources, to interpret the trail, and to provide consistent opportunities for visitor use. The coordination of visitor services and interpretation could potentially increase tourism revenue.

Designation would have locally beneficial effects on the socioeconomic environment. Local communities would benefit from some increased recognition and possibly greater understanding of cultural heritage, as well as from greater opportunities to interpret the trail.

The effects on land values resulting from designation would be few and limited. As previously mentioned, little or no land acquisition is anticipated. Restrictive language in the actual trail designation legislation, as is the case with other National Historic Trails, could limit federal land acquisition to willing sellers only. Some landowners might benefit from the sale of lands and easements. It is possible that local municipalities would prohibit incompatible development that would adversely affect trail resources. Landowners and developers could be adversely affected by such actions of local governments. The owners of adjacent property might benefit from such land use actions.

Protected trail segments with recreational values might increase nearby residential property values. In some cases, there could be a loss in property values because of visitor use on adjacent properties, although the study team is not aware of evidence of this on current National Historic Trails. Adverse impacts would be mitigated by involving affected landowners and other interests in the protection of the trail and the natural and cultural landscapes that are near the trail.

(10) The anticipated impact of public outdoor recreation use on the preservation of a proposed National Historic Trail and its related historic and archeological features and settings, including the measures proposed to ensure evaluation and preservation of the values that contribute to their national historical significance

If the Old Spanish Trail is designated as a National Historic Trail, a comprehensive management and use plan would be prepared that would address the general locations and levels of recreational use. Mitigating measures would be adopted to ensure that there would not be any degradation of resources. Public use levels would be managed so that resources would not be adversely affected. All federally funded, approved, or sponsored projects on National Historic Trails are subject to compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act, the Historic Preservation Act, and other federal and state resource protection laws.



## **Potential Partnerships**

Numerous trail segments are within or adjacent to federally owned land managed by agencies such as the USDA Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and National Park Service; and Defense Department installations at Fort Irwin in California, Nellis Air Force Range in Nevada, and White Sands Missile Range/Utah Launch Complex near Green River, Utah.

In Colorado, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has worked on documenting and interpreting the route. For example, the Gunnison River Bluffs public use plan was drafted by the Bureau of Land Management's Grand Junction Field Office, with input and support from Mesa County planners and commissioners, the Mesa County Riverfront Commission, the City of Grand Junction, and numerous other public and private groups and interested citizens. This plan incorporated measures for interpretation and public use of sections of the Old Spanish Trail. The county purchased land, trailheads were constructed, and a brochure was developed. This successful cooperative effort has set aside areas of open space and provided for public education and recreation for the benefit of all.

BLM's San Luis Resource Area manages the Limekiln Wagon Tracks site in the San Luis Valley. The bureau has provided for construction of a parking lot, road diversion, and overlook. These public facilities help to protect these extant resources while helping the public to learn about their history.

The Montrose District BLM researched Old Spanish Trail locations within their area, and erected an interpretive kiosk for the public at Wells Gulch on U.S. Highway 50. Brochures on the Old Spanish Trail have been developed and distributed by the BLM's Anasazi Heritage Center in Dolores, Colorado.

The Bureau of Land Management surveyed the route of the Old Spanish Trail from Las Vegas, Nevada, to the California border, and documented extant trail segments and associated artifacts. The California Desert District and the Barstow Field Office of the BLM in California have established a hiking trail along a segment of the Armagosa River, and are working with Friends of the Armagosa River toward wild and scenic designation for the river.

The USDA Forest Service and the BLM have joined the Río Grande County Tourism Board and the Old Spanish Trail Association as partners in preserving, protecting, and interpreting the trail. These partners are planning for heritage tourism (for example, interpretive stations and artwork related to the route) to enhance visitors' experiences in the San Luis Valley.

One of the important campsites/water holes along the trail, Bitter Spring, is located within the Defense Department's Fort Irwin Military Reservation in California. Fort Irwin personnel have arranged for site inventories, and have adopted protective measures for the site.

The Utah Historical Society is interested in developing an official, easily recognizable sign logo.

The Old Spanish Trail Association reports more than 260 members. These memberships include historians, archeologists, public land managers, educators, writers, photographers, and members of the public. This group has been active in supporting a National Historic Trail designation, and conducts tours, conferences, and seminars; distributes newsletters and educational brochures; and actively explores and documents sections of the route.

A group of interested citizens in Durango, Colorado has erected a memorial marker to the Old Spanish Trail, Domínguez-Escalante, and Juan Rivera.



The Grand Junction chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution donated funds to place a bronze statue to memorialize pioneer women who entered the Grand Valley over the North Branch of the Old Spanish Trail. This statue has been placed in a new city park that overlooks the Colorado River and an identified stretch of the Old Spanish Trail.

The Grand Junction/Mesa County Riverfront Commission passed a resolution designating the Old Spanish Trail (Northern Branch) as a historic trail. This resolution was distributed to all members of the Colorado and Utah congressional delegations.

Friends of the Mojave Road in Essex, California, publish a newsletter, conduct tours, document sites and road segments, and maintain a large reference library of materials related to the Mojave Road, and to the Old Spanish Trail of which it became a part.

The Las Vegas Valley Water District has been active in supporting the Mojave Desert Preserve, and has developed a master plan for its preservation. The district's North Well Field, within the preserve, contains significant prehistoric and historic cultural resources, including the Big Springs Archaeological District. Big Springs was an important camping area on the Old Spanish Trail.

The route traverses several Indian reservations, so tribes might be interested in cooperative education and resource preservation efforts.

The Workman and Temple Family Museum, City of Industry, California, features artifacts and interpretation relating to the Workman family, including their journey along the Old Spanish Trail. Visitors to this local history museum come to appreciate the broad impact that the trail had on the development of California and the West.

Other specialized museums and archives with an active interest in the Old Spanish Trail include the Diocese of San Bernardino Office of Archives; the San Bernardino County Museum Association in Redlands, California; the Riverside Municipal Museum; and the Barstow River Valley Museum in Barstow, California. The Utah Westerners have helped to locate and sign route segments.

The master plan for San Bernardino County, California, includes recognition and interpretation of the Old Spanish Trail. In addition, the City of Victorville is working on riverwalk trails that may parallel or follow the actual route of the Old Spanish Trail.

A new memorial to the Old Spanish Trail on the Pueblo de Los Angeles Plaza was created through the combined efforts of private individuals, Los Pobladores de Los Angeles, and the Old Spanish Trail Association.

The Amigos de Anza and Los Californianos groups have expressed interest in the Old Spanish Trail.

The Virgin River Land Preservation Association (Utah) is working on an extensive trail system in the Virgin River Basin, which would likely include trail sections along the Old Spanish Trail and the Domínguez-Escalante Route, and key access points and facilities.