NPS Form 10-900-b
(Revised March 1992)

OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

_X_ New Submission ____ Amended Submission DRAFT

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Old Spanish Trail

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

International and National Commerce 1821-1855
Regional Settlement 1831-1881
Government Exploration 1844-1859
Military Use 1846-1881

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation.
(See continuation sheet for additional comments [ ].)

State Historic Preservation Officer
Signature and title of certifying official — Date

State Historic Preservation Office, Colorado Historical Society
State or Federal agency and bureau

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Jonathon C. Horn, Principal Investigator

organization Alpine Archaeological Consultants, Inc. date February 19, 2025

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city or town Montrose state Colorado zip code 81402

D. Certification

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheet in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

Page Numbers

Primary location of additional data:

[X] State Historic Preservation Office
[ ] Other State Agency
[X] Federal Agency
[ ] Local Government
[ ] University
[ ] Other

Name of repository:
National Park Service, Santa Fe
Bureau of Land Management, Utah State Office

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number E Page 1

STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Introduction and Purpose of the Old Spanish Trail Multiple Property Documentation Form

The Old Spanish Trail (OST) is a diverse trail system with multiple variants on routes that pass through six western states: New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California.[1] The Old Spanish National Historic Trail (OSNHT) was designated by the U.S. Congress as a National Historic Trail (NHT) in 2002. At that time, four distinct trail units were recognized: The Armijo Route, the Northern (Main) Route, the North Branch, and the Mojave Road (Maps 10-11). The NHT designation recognizes an 1829–1848 period of significance as a commercial trade route between New Mexico and California. This Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) does not consider the OST strictly as it fits the designation as an NHT, but as an entity that has important connections to history beyond the 1829–1848 OSNHT period of significance. Consequently, it includes the four trail units of the NHT designation and variants to those that flesh out the trail system (Figure 1). The trail had a wider role in international and national trade than as a caravan route between New Mexico and California, and its routes were also used for regional settlement, government exploration, and military activities. These uses have intersecting histories that originated from the desire to develop commercial linkages northward and westward from the settlements of northern New Mexico and culminated when the long-distance travel for commerce and settlement ceased. This MPDF broadens the period of significance through a variety of Historic Contexts that demonstrate an overall period of significance between 1821 and 1881. This expanded period of significance is conveyed by four historic contexts. The first, International and National Commerce 1821-1855, has at its core use of the route for commercial trade between New Mexico and California for which the trail was designated a NHT, but extends it to include earlier trade facilitated by the Santa Fe Trail in 1821, which opened the fur trade westward through Taos, Santa Fe, and Abiquiu, and later trade that culminated in sheep drives to California, which ended in 1855. The three other historic contexts, Regional Settlement 1831-1881, Government Exploration 1844-1859, and Military Use 1846-1881, demonstrate the dynamic interplay of historic events and human actions facilitated by the trail.

NHT designations confer national significance on trails that have exceptional historic value to the American public. Because of their linear nature, some loss of integrity is expected to a degree greater than would be acceptable for National Historic Landmarks. "Congress did not intend, however, to authorize designation of NHTs without integrity" (National Park Service 2019:294). Rather, a "substantial degree of integrity" is expected, sufficient that "certain segments of the trail would be considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places" (National Park Service 2019:294). It is in this vein that this MPDF for the OST is prepared. An MPDF allows recognition of the entire trail by highlighting those portions that retain integrity.

Under the National Trail System Act (NTSA), in order to be designated an NHT, a route must be established by historic use and be historically significant as a result of that use (National

[1] Throughout this document, modern place names are used as points of reference. No settlements existed between northern New Mexico and southern California during the majority of the Old Spanish Trail period.

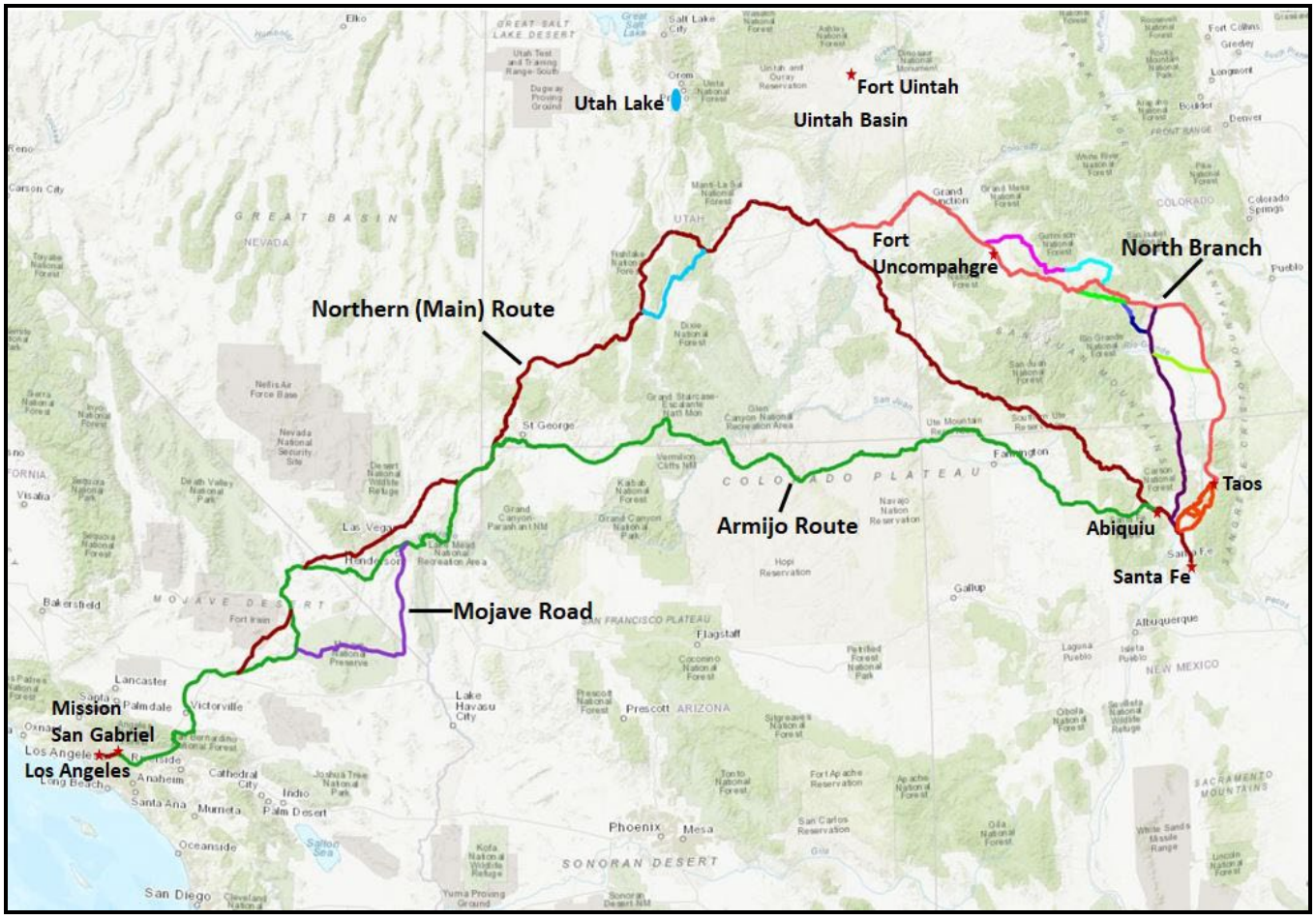

Figure 1. The Four trail units of the Old Spanish Trail with variants shown. Also shown are key beginning and ending points, Fort Uncompahgre, and locations important to its history farther north.

Trail System Act [NTSA] 1968). The route does not need to be discernible, but must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of its public recreation and historic interest potential. Consequently, an NHT must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. Designation of an NHT denotes national significance (NTSA 1968 Section 5, Part 11 A, B and C). The primary management of NHTs is the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants, sites, and artifacts for public use and enjoyment (NTSA 1968 Section 3[a][3]). Furthermore, reasonable efforts are to be made to provide sufficient access opportunities to the public but also to avoid activities that are incompatible with the purpose for which an NHT was established (NTSA 1968 Section 7[c]).

The potential for designation of sections of the OST as NRHP properties is compatible with its designation as an NHT. As an NHT, the primary goal is to make the historic routes accessible to the public for recreation and an appreciation of the trail's history, so long as those recreational uses are not detrimental to the important physical and visual characteristics of the trail: its

cultural landscape. For management purposes, the NPS and its administrative partner, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), in cooperation with the Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), have made strides in identifying "High Potential" trail sections and sites, principally on federal lands.

According to Section 12 of the National Trails System Comprehensive Administrative Strategy (NPS-BLM 2016:20):

> • 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.

The NHT feasibility study for the OST did historical research and identified potential routes of the OST sufficient for the trail to be designated an NHT on December 4, 2002 (National Park Service 2001; Maps 1-9)). Trail routes were depicted on large-scale maps with the knowledge that subsequent research and fieldwork would likely refine the trail locations. Such an opportunity arose with the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) of 2009 that financed the BLM's 2010–2011 National Historic Trails Project, which included research and inventory of High Potential segments of the OSNHT in each of the states through which the trail passes. The project resulted in additional historical research for the trail, field inventory, and refinement of trail routes on what individual BLM Field Offices prioritized as likely High Potential trail segments. The NPS hosted the OSTA Mapping Workshop in 2013 that refined alignments of the OSNHT, benefitting from the results on the 2010-2011 NHT Project. The ARRA NHT Project was restricted to only certain portions of the potential OSNHT route on BLM lands. Subsequent work has taken place in Colorado on additional BLM lands and on lands managed by the U.S. Forest Service. Little, if any, work has been done on private, state, or tribal lands. As a result of research and fieldwork conducted up to 2017, fewer routes than those initially proposed in the Feasibility Study are currently considered officially designated OSNHT routes.

In 2016 and 2017, the NPS and BLM, as co-administrators of the OSNHT, developed a Comprehensive Administrative Strategy (National Park Service-Bureau of Land Management [NPS-BLM] 2016; Bureau of Land Management-National Park Service [BLM-NPS] 2017; Maps 12-26). In this document, it was noted that additional routes can be officially designated by Congress as part of the NHT "if they were included in the OSNHT 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" (BLM-NPS 2017:5). The refinement of trail routes is also recognized as ongoing management by federal agencies and includes "Identification and mapping

of high potential historic sites and high potential route segments" (BLM-NPS 2017:15). Consequently, one of the goals for this MPDF is to facilitate continued historical research and field inventory not only on already-identified officially designated High Potential trail segments and sites, but also on portions of trail previously identified in the feasibility study and not currently officially designated. It is also possible that this MPDF may enable sections of the OST to be listed on the NRHP as a result of Historic Contexts presented herein that extend beyond the 1829–1848 period of significance for the OSNHT that may or may not be officially designated in the future as OSNHT trail segments.

American Indian Trails and Trail Concepts

Routes recognized as the OST were utilized by Spanish explorers, traders, and fur trappers that were linkages of earlier American Indian trails that became more continuous as the Ute, in particular, acquired horses and became a highly mobile people. Because of this direct connection with Indian trails, sections are presented below that outline how trails develop and Ute cosmology that helps explain how long-distance trails developed. The following section is adapted from a study of Ute trails in the San Juan Mountains near Silverton, Colorado (Horn 2017).

Second Lieutenant C. A. H. M'Cauley, Acting Engineer Officer of the Third Artillery of the U.S. Engineers visited the San Juan Mountains in 1877 and reported upon the condition of transportation networks. An important observation that he made about trails throughout the Rocky Mountains was that they originated as game trails and were formalized as "the lines of shortest communication" by Indians, noting that "the most important sections are connected by old Indian trails, without which the forests and rocky defiles are wholly impassable" (M'Cauley 1878:1802). These routes were then utilized by Europeans entering an area, and many were later improved as wagon roads.

It is important to remember that initial trails in an area probably date into antiquity and were first traveled on foot. Trails are something that all moving animals make in the realm in which they live. In his study of trails, Robert Moor notes (2016:25), "ant trails, game paths, ancient ways, modern hiking trails—they all continually adapt to the aims of their walkers. Hurried walkers make straighter paths and leisurely walkers make curvier ones…" Trails metamorphose through time and use. "An explorer finds a worthwhile destination; then every walker who follows that trail makes it a little better" (Moor 2016:24). In this gradual refinement, Moor (2016:24) states that "a trail sleekens to its end." This is a natural process. "The path of a runner often diverges from that of a walker, because though both may be headed to the same place, they do so with differing priorities" (Moor 2016:25).

With initial acquisition and use of the horse by the Ute in about the mid-1600s, trail travel changed for those who were mounted. Through time, more individuals became mounted until the eastern Ute had transitioned to a fully equestrian society by at least the time of the fur trade in the early 1800s. In the early twentieth century, William Herbert Guthrie-Smith, a sheep rancher in New Zealand, observed that horse trails in open country meander and bend with the contours of

the topography with the horses staying on the sinuous track and minimizing their effort. However, trails gradually straighten when horses trot, canter, or gallop, as the horses "cut the inside corners off the curves, straightening them" (Guthrie-Smith 1921:187). At racing speed, Guthrie-Smith (1921:187-188) believed horses "would gradually create routes in almost perfectly straight lines." According to Moor (2016:25) "the lesson to be found here is not just that the trail of a galloping horse streamlines. It is that both the fast horse and the slow one seek the path of least resistance. When aims differ, trails do too." As such, "American Indian trails normally don't grow into hiking trails, because their objectives differ. Native trails reach their destinations as quickly as possible, sticking to ridgelines while avoiding peaks and gullies…They tend to charge up slopes in a straight line, following the 'fall line'—the path water would take while flowing downhill" (Moor 2016:166).

Although a trail is the means for connecting places in a way that is economical, it also becomes a part of the culture. Moor (2016:202) notes that "when humans make themselves at home in a new landscape, they initially behave much like deer—seeking out resources, learning routes, making signs—but over time, that field acquires an additional layer of significance. The land grows to contain not just resources, but stories, spirits, sacred nodes, and the bones of ancestors" (Moor continues, saying that "trail-walking cultures often grow to see the world in terms of trails"[Moor 2016:200]). As trails were traveled, places along the routes were subjects of stories of people and events that took place there, providing a deep connection to the landscape. As a result, "though Native trails prized speed over ease (and erosion resistance), they also often detoured from the most mechanistically efficient route, for reasons specific to each culture" (Moor 2016:166). In this, although it describes the concepts of the Blackfoot in regard to landscapes and trails, the introduction to Gerald A. Oetelaar and D. Joy Oetelaar's article "People, Places and Paths: The Cypress Hills and the Niitsitapi Landscape of Southern Alberta" (Oetelaar and Oetelaar 2006:375) may be applicable to the world view and role of trails with the Utes and other American Indian groups through which the various routes of the OST pass:

> The landscape of the Blackfoot is a series of named locales linked by paths, movements and narratives. The places are often outstanding natural features, river crossings, or resource patches perceived as focal points of spiritual energy. Myths and oral traditions explain how these landmarks were created through the actions of Napi [their creator figure] who left behind songs, sacred objects, and practices to commemorate his creative acts on earth. This landscape is also created by people through their experience and engagement with the world around them and through their activities and movements on the ground. As reflections of this habitual behavior, paths represent the accumulated imprint of countless journeys as people move from place to place conducting their everyday business. Although created by people, the resultant network of places and paths constrains the patterned movement of groups over the landscape. From this perspective then, the landscape is not only the natural and cultural features of a region but also the names, oral traditions, and ceremonies, which establish the continuity between ancestral beings, social groups and the land.

In the case of the Blackfoot, "as people moved from place to place in the landscape, performing rituals, telling stories, and singing songs at sacred sites, they reenacted the travels of Napi" (Moor 2016:200). According to Gerald Oetelaar, in order for the group "to complete the annual ritual cycle, to establish the social and ideological continuity of the group, and to ensure the renewal of resources" the entire landscape is needed (Moor 2016:25).

Ute cosmology appears to be similar to that of the Blackfoot in some ways. A portion of the Ute origin myth, as relayed by Dr. James Goss (2003), is informative of the Ute world view and the importance of trails.

> In the beginning there was only water. Water Grandmother floated in her basket in the midst of the waters. She thought and created the land from her own body. She thought, and sang, and stretched the land. She circled in the sunwise direction, and bit by bit, she added to the land.
>
> When the land was so large that she could no longer see the waters, she sent Sinawavi to see if it was large enough. Sinawavi ran from center to edge, again and again, checking and rechecking. Finally, Sinawavi returned, all out of breath, shouting, "It fits! It fits!"
>
> He measured the earth so that it had the proper proportions for the people to come. The earth was created to "fit" the pattern that Mother Earth thought into being.
>
> In Ute traditional belief, Water Grandmother is Mother Earth, and Sinawavi is her helpmate, created to become the steward of Her body. He made the trails from the mountain center of the earth to the edges where the earth meets the sea and surrounds us. Only Sinawavi has the power to make the trails or measure the earth. No mere man can presume to make trails, to measure the earth, or to cut up Her flesh. To do so would be the direst sacrilege.

The trails that developed throughout Ute territory evidently became ingrained through use. Perhaps the origin myth has something to do with the tenaciousness that the Ute had in following existing trails without deviation that John Wesley Powell noted (Fowler and Fowler 1971:39):

> It is curious to notice with what tenacity an Indian clings to a trail; a path which has been followed by his forefathers is sacred to him, and though in the constant and rapid erosion of the gulches and sides of the hills and mountains these trails have become very difficult yet he never abandons them when they can by any possibility be followed, even though a shorter and better road is very perceptible.

For the Ute, Puwa is the animistic power of the universe, with many "personalized spiritual beings, objects, and phenomena" that can be "used for good and evil" (Lewis 1994:31). Puwa could be inherited or obtained through "dreams and visions of power animals who instructed them in songs, and paraphernalia they should use" (Lewis 1994:31). That the Ute word "poo" is used for trail and also the spiritual path shows the connection of trails to the spiritual world

(Campbell 2007:872). This connection dates into prehistory and prior to the acquisition of the horse, but has been carried forward to the present time. Prior to the Ute obtaining horses, Utes traveled in more restricted seasonal ranges on foot and in small family or band units. The domain of a band was focused on a sacred mountain that was always kept in view with other mountains demarcating their territorial limits that identified the margins of the four directions. Within this sacred domain, the group moved in a seasonal round (centrifugal rotation) for their subsistence in what may have become a somewhat ritualized pattern with the uplands used in the summer months and the lowlands used during the winter months (Campbell 2007:875). The homeland was defined by the central mountain and activities radiated out from it until the central mountain could no longer be seen. Once beyond the view of the mountain, the Ute became disoriented, as they were no longer in their homeland/heartland. Ceremonies were not on the central mountain, but within the surrounding landscape (James Goss, interview by Carol Patterson, 2009).

Carol Patterson, who has studied Ute rock art extensively and has talked to Ute informants about some of the rock art potentially being trail maps, indicates that the Ute would typically travel to a destination in one direction and return by another (Carol Patterson, personal communication to Jon Horn, July 22, 2017). This may be a reflection of the ritualized seasonal round that originated among walking Ute in prehistory, carried forward with the acquisition of the horse, and continued to some degree to the present day. According to Dr. James Goss (2000:32), for the Ute, the "high mountains are the center of their universe" and "the sacred places were different places in their environment….The bands of Utes traditionally oriented themselves around the sacred mountain and plotted their annual movement around that point of reference" (Goss 2000:34). Goss (2000:32-33) notes that for the Ute, everything moves in a right-handed (left to right) or clockwise direction, and they prefer to move and do things in that direction. This, again, probably ties back into prehistory and may be a pattern of the seasonal round and trail use. According to Goss, acquisition of the horse changed the pattern, because horses gave the Ute more mobility, expanded their range, enabled them to carry more, and resulted in their living in larger groups (Goss 2000:34 and 43). Still, the overall pattern probably persisted, but on a larger scale.

Early European travelers into and through American Indian lands did not find routes of their own, but used existing trails: those of the American Indians. Where difficult topographic situations existed, the American Indians found easier ways around. Because of displacement of American Indians from their former domain, informants with direct knowledge of ancestral trails are often no longer alive (James Goss, personal communication to Jon Horn, June 19, 2017); however, traditional knowledge may persist among American Indian groups pertaining to travel routes and landmarks. Identifying ancestral trails may be a way of providing important cultural context to modern American Indians, but there may be no way to fully revive the importance of the landscape because, as Gerald Oetelaar states (Moor 2016:200), "those places remain alive only as long as people visit them, remember the names, remember the stories, remember the rituals, remember the songs."

Because so much time has elapsed since ancestral trails were used, many have returned to

a natural state and may not be recognizable. Others were subsequently used for other purposes different from their original intentions, such as the OST and later roads that continue to use the travel corridors. It is popular to try to determine trail routes using computer modeling that define "least-cost pathways" across the landscape. In cases where topographic situations frequently dictate where travel could occur, but, as described above, the paths taken in the past by American Indians may not be calculable by modeling because the reasons for travel cannot be fully comprehended, the horsemanship of the American Indians may not be fully appreciated, topographic situations may have become altered through time, and cultural complexities associated with the routes cannot be accounted for. As Oetelaar states (Moor 2016:166), "all landscapes have histories."

American Indian Background

Numerous American Indian groups were residents of the territory traversed by the branches of the OST (Maps 36-38). Many of the early records of Spanish activities in the 1600s were destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, reducing the full understanding of the American Indians encountered during the initial years of contact with the Spanish (Callaway et al. 1986:354). Arguably, the most important of these groups was the Ute of northern New Mexico, central and western Colorado, and central and eastern Utah. Many of the Ute bands quickly became highly mobile after Spanish contact because of the horse and were certainly instrumental in stringing together trails that became the Main Route and North Branch of the OST from New Mexico to California. The Ute were the primary aboriginal inhabitants of western Colorado, eastern and central Utah, and portions of northern New Mexico at the time of European contact.[2] Prior to Spanish contact, the Ute were hunters and gatherers with bands that occupied small, overlapping territories that they exploited using a seasonal round that took them to high elevations in the summer and to valley lowlands in the winter where they may have aggregated in larger villages. The first direct encounter of the Ute and Spanish was probably soon after the entry of Don Juan de Oñate to the region in 1598, and certainly by at the early 1600s. It appears that Ute populations may have been sufficiently dispersed that Old World diseases may have not traveled through Ute groups as quickly or with as much devastation as in more densely populated areas

[2] Ute bands in northern New Mexico were primarily the Moache (Muache, Moghwachi) and Capote (Caputa, Kapuuta, Kapota, Kahpota) bands. The Moache extended northward into the San Luis Valley. The Capote were the easternmost band in New Mexico and had a range that extended northward along the edge of plains along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains into Colorado. The Weeminuche extended from northwestern New Mexico into southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah where they intermingled with the Navajo and an isolated band of Southern Paiute. The Tabeguache (Taviwachi) were primarily in the Uncompahgre and Gunnison valleys and mountains eastward, on the Uncompahgre Plateau, and in the northwestern San Juan Mountains. The Parianuche were primarily in the Grand Valley of Colorado and Utah and the surrounding uplands. The Yampa (Yamparika) were in the Yampa and White River areas of northwestern Colorado. In Utah, the Timpanogos (Timpanogots) were focused on Utah Lake and the surrounding Wasatch Front. The Pahvant (Pavant, Pahva-nits) were west of the Wasatch Front in the Pahvant Mountains and in the Sevier River Valley. The Moanunt were in central Utah along the Sevier River and in the mountains around Fish Lake. The Sanpitch (Sanpit, San Pitch, Sanpiche, Sampetches, Sanpitc) were in the Sanpete and Sevier River valleys and surrounding uplands. The Seuvarits (Sheberitch, Sahyepeech) were along the Colorado River in the Spanish Valley of Utah and the neighboring La Sal Mountains. The Uintah (Tavaputs) were in the Uintah Basin and Tavaputs Plateau.

(Malouf and Findlay 1986:504-506).

In northern New Mexico, various resident Puebloan groups probably utilized trails that became portions of all three branches of the trail.[3] Like American Indian groups in New Mexico, the OST passed through the homelands of the Mojave, Chemehuevi, Serrano, Cahuilla, and Gabrielino in northwestern Arizona and southern California. The roles of these groups in development of early trail systems are presently not well known; however, what is known as the Mojave Road is an ancient trail route used by the Mojave and Chemehuevi Indians to trade with Indian groups westward to the California coast. It would have facilitated trade in pottery, shells, obsidian and food items (Warren et al. 1980:170). The Puebloans of northern New Mexico and Arizona were mostly sedentary agricultural groups living in permanent villages during the OST period and probably did not venture far from their villages. However, trails existed between villages for trade and social events, into areas where natural resources were obtained from surrounding lands, and for ritual pilgrimages.

Also present in northern New Mexico and south-central Colorado were the Jicarilla Apache, who were closely allied with the Ute. Although horse-mounted, the Jicarilla were not as far-ranging as the Ute and carried out a mixed subsistence that included agriculture, hunting, and gathering (Tiller 1983:440-461). Farther west in northwestern New Mexico, southwestern Colorado, southeastern Utah, and northeastern Arizona were the Navajo, who were like the Jicarilla Apache in that they were horse-mounted and practiced a mixed economy of agriculture, hunting, and gathering (Brugge 1983:489-501). They were typically not as far-ranging as the Ute, and their role in the development of trails in the region is not well understood.

In far southwestern Utah, southern Nevada, and southeastern California, the Main and Armijo routes of the OST passed through land occupied by the Southern Paiute. The Southern Paiute were loose bands of hunters, gatherers, and farmers who never became truly horse-mounted, mostly because the land that they resided upon was unable to support the grazing of horses to the degree necessary for horse husbandry to take hold. Because they occupied small ranges and moved on foot, the Southern Paiute were frequent victims of Utes, Navajos, and travelers along the OST and were often captured and sold in settlements in California, Utah, and New Mexico (Kelly and Fowler 1986:368-397). Because the Southern Paiute traveled by foot, trails through their territory were probably less continuous until horse mounted Ute and fur trappers entered the area.

Along the Colorado River separating Arizona and California, the Mojave and Chemehuevi were agriculturalists with established villages. Farther west in California, the Serrano, Cahuilla, and Gabrielino lived somewhat settled lives with semi-permanent villages made possible by the resource-rich environments in which they resided. Trails existed that connected all of these

[3] There are 19 recognized pueblos in northern New Mexico: Acoma, Cochiti, Jemez, Isleta, Laguna, Nambe, Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan), Picuris, Pojoaque, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Sandia, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, Zia, and Zuni. At the time of Spanish contact, considerably more occupied villages were present.

groups that enabled trade to take place.

Antonio Armijo certainly utilized existing trails along the route that he used to make the first commercial connection between New Mexico and California in 1829. The ruggedness and aridness of most of the terrain he passed through and the difficult crossing of the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers did not encourage later travelers to follow his route. Instead, trails farther north became the Main Route of the OST leading northwestward from Santa Fe and Abiquiu. These passed from Ute territory through Southern Paiute territory as the Ute extended their sphere of influence westward and as fur trappers moved westward from the Great Basin into California. Those trail linkages quickly became the route used by the annual caravans from New Mexico to California. Heading northward from Taos, the North Branch was almost entirely within the land of the Ute from the San Luis Valley northward and westward into Utah and was also the result of linkages of trails heading into prime trapping and trading areas.

Spanish Settlement of New Mexico

Northern New Mexico (Nuevo Mexico) was the far northern province of Spanish settlement in the New World. Beginning with initial entry northward from Mexico by Coronado's expedition in 1540, the area of what became northern New Mexico was gradually explored. It was not until 1598 that Don Juan de Oñate established the first colonies in northern New Mexico's Rio Grande Valley. Oñate's entry into Mexico's northern realm of New Mexico was to prospect for new silver mines and to acquire Indian labor for his family's mines in Zacatecas of northern Mexico. When silver was not found in New Mexico, Indians were taken to Mexico and sold. Oñate forced females between the ages of 12 and 20 and males from 12 to 25 into 20 years of servitude to New Mexican colonists. Indians resistant to Oñate's arrival in New Mexico in 1598 were subject to punishment and enslavement. Spanish conquistadors settled in New Mexico as colonists, and the city of Santa Fe was established in 1610 as the capital of the New Mexican frontier. The *encomienda* system converted conquistadors into settlers by granting them licenses for forced labor or paid tribute of native people. Although not initially intended as a means of enslavement, this is what the *encomienda* system became, despite Spanish and Papal prohibitions against slavery. Governors and other public officials used their positions to gain wealth primarily through the forced Indian labor. Catholic priests exploited Indians as unpaid laborers and slaves under the pretext that it was for religious good. Beginning in the 1630s and 1640s, colonists without *encomiendas* were able to acquire servants to work in sweatshops (*obrajes*) for home weaving, hide preparation, and pinyon nut harvesting operations; they occasionally sold captives in Mexico for goods. The first slaves came from the Pueblos, but this alienated the Indians that the Spanish depended upon for foodstuffs. The Spanish then turned their attention to the Ute and Apache, who had not yet acquired the horse, and victimized them with unprovoked attacks. The most notorious was an attack on a Ute encampment in 1639 by Governor Luis de Rosas to obtain captives. The primary destination of Indians from New Mexico was the silver mines of Mexico. The Utes in contact with the Spanish began acquiring horses in the 1640s and 1650s, enabling them to put up more consequential resistance and raiding of Spanish settlements and other American Indian groups in the area. New Mexico became a supply center for the Parral silver mines of southern Chihuahua in

particular through theft of goods from the Indians and forced labor. Increased demand for human labor at the Parral mines in the 1650s resulted in greater enslavement in defiance of official prohibitions against slavery. Slaves from Africa and elsewhere in the world were expensive in comparison to Indians from more local sources. The purpose of colonization throughout the Spanish realm was for the extraction of resources and the conversion of native people to Christianity. Spanish King Philip IV began issuing policies against slavery in the 1650s and 1660s. These policies were detrimental to the economic development of the Spanish colonies in the New World, which was based on slavery and the forced labor of Indians. Anti-slavery proclamations were difficult to enforce in more remote areas like northern Mexico and New Mexico. Slaves were freed throughout the Spanish realm in 1672, but this was resisted and the slave trade from New Mexico persisted, though more clandestinely. The need for mining labor resulted in the development of a *repartimiento* system that compelled Native Americans to work for low wages, while still recognizing them as free. This was a reaction to further official prohibitions of slavery that changed the approach to one of forced labor through indenture or debt fulfillment. Laborers were provided by municipalities for agricultural or mining activities, which often sent them great distances away from their communities (Blackhawk 2006:24-25; Reséndez 2016:35-37, 67, 71, 116, 120-122, 128, 132-134, 139-141, 166-169).

The tenuous hold on northern New Mexico was briefly broken by the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. Trafficking in Indian slaves, including Puebloans, was a major cause of the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 and was the main reason that the Apache and Ute supported the revolt (Reséndez 2016: 118-119, 123). Beginning in 1692, Don Diego de Vargas began a gradual reconquest of the territory. During the reconquest of northern New Mexico, de Vargas ventured northward and sacked Taos Pueblo. To avoid reprisals, he detoured northward into the San Luis Valley of Colorado before turning southward to return to Santa Fe; this is the first documented exploration in that direction (Colville 1995; Blackhawk 2006:33). With their safety somewhat assured, organized groups of colonists once again moved northward from El Paso and Mexico City to recolonize the areas abandoned during the Pueblo Revolt. Colonists settled first in the Santa Fe area and gradually expanded outward from there over the next 100 years, forming numerous small agricultural settlements along the Rio Grande River and its tributaries in northern New Mexico.

The Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico and other revolts elsewhere under the control of Spain changed how human trafficking was carried out thereafter. In northern New Mexico, some argue that the Pueblo Revolt resulted in alliances between the Pueblos and Apache, Navajo, and Ute that was a reestablishment of earlier relationships where the Pueblos traded agricultural products and pottery with nomadic groups for meat and hides. Others suggest that it increased conflict between groups, particularly between the Ute and the Navajo. This conflict drove the Navajo south of the San Juan River and resulted in their fortifying themselves in stone masonry pueblitos. The Revolt also put greater numbers of horses in the hands of the mounted Indians, making them more successful in hunting, trading, and war than pedestrian groups (Reséndez 2016:171, 174-175; Blackhawk 2006:30-31).

Changing Dynamics after the Pueblo Revolt

After the reconquest of New Mexico, Governor de Vargas encouraged the Ute to resume trading in Santa Fe, as they had before the Pueblo Revolt. By 1712, Governor Juan Ignacio Mogollon forbade traders to venture northward from the Spanish settlements to trade in Ute territory. A royal decree to this end was already in place, but New Mexicans were apparently unaware of the decree or chose to disregard it and often made their way northward to trade with the Ute (Weber 1971:22).

Being sufficiently distant from Santa Fe, an underground economy focused on Taos, which had been an Indian trade center for generations. The Ute in New Mexico and Colorado had acquired the horse by the middle 1600s and were a funnel for horses traded northward (Shimkin 1986:517). The Pueblo Revolt resulted in a surge of horses coming into the hands of the Ute, Navajo, and Apache and, thence, to the Comanche by way of the Ute. The horse resulted in expansion and movement of the eastern Ute and other Indian groups, some of which were in direct contact with the Ute. The Comanche moved southward along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains of Colorado and the plains of Kansas to northeastern New Mexico in the early 1700s. They probably heard about the area from the Ute in Colorado, with whom they were allied at the time, and were enticed by the promise of horses and goods from the Spanish. The Apache of southeastern Colorado were put on the defensive by the Comanche and Ute and were rapidly driven southward into New Mexico (Kenner 1969:28-30). Trade with the Comanche began at Taos in 1706, when the newcomers were first brought there by the Ute (Twitchell 1914:269). Upon encountering the scattered Spanish settlements in northern New Mexico, the Comanche found both trade partners and new victims to plunder. They also found an outlet for captives that they acquired from an expansive area of the Great Plains. The slave trade and looting was the prime impetus for the Comanche to leave the Colorado Plateau/Uinta Basin for the plains beginning in the early 1700s. Some were still present in the Uintah Basin in the middle 1770s, as shown by the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition, but their departure seems to have been complete soon thereafter (Reséndez 2016:180-181).

The Comanche quickly became the principal source of captives to the Spanish in the early and middle 1700s, though the Ute also contributed with captive Southern Paiutes and, to a lesser degree, Navajo and Apache. The Comanche ranged widely throughout the Plains and came into contact with the Pawnee, Jumano, and French by way of the Great Lakes and Louisiana. As a result, they became well armed and no longer required peaceful relations with the Ute by the later 1740s with whom they were openly hostile by the 1750s. The break between the Ute and Comanche resulted in the Ute desiring an alliance with the Spanish for their mutual protection. The Ute took their alliance with the Spanish seriously and served as participants in military actions against other American Indian groups, particularly the Apache, Comanche, and Navajo. With loss of access to most of the Plains when relations with the Comanche soured, the Ute focused on trade of hides for horses with a smaller amount of trade in captives, which they began to acquire from the Southern Paiute in the Great Basin of Utah and Nevada (Brooks 2002:151-153; Blackhawk 2006: 60-64).

Prior to the Pueblo Revolt, the main customers for captives were the Governors, *alcaldes*, and

other government officials, who had the means to market them profitably. A change in the dynamic after the Pueblo Revolt was that slaves were no longer in demand for the Parral silver mines. Women and children remained in great demand as family servants, whereas men were not desired because they were more difficult to control and their allegiance to their Spanish captors was not trusted.[4] As a result, the Comanche and Ute typically killed the men of groups that they attacked and rounded up the women and children. With the great increase of captives provided by the Comanche and, to a lesser degree, the Ute, government officials no longer needed to attack nomadic groups for slaves, mostly because the well-mounted Comanche and Ute actively acquired captives from Indian groups from greater distances. Some Spanish traders continued to acquire captives opportunistically on trading ventures through the trade caravan period of the OST from 1829–1848 (Reséndez 2016:176-177; Blackhawk 2006:47-49, 74-78). At first, the Spanish attempted to refuse purchasing captives from the Comanche, Ute, and Navajo, citing the laws prohibiting slavery, but more likely because they desired to control the trade themselves. This quickly changed to being coerced into purchase captives by the horse-mounted Indians, who made the Spanish their market. Peace agreements with the Ute in 1740 and the Ute and Comanche in 1752 formalized the relationships with the Spanish, and annual trade fairs served as regulated trading forums and arenas of diplomacy. These agreements further stimulated the trade in captives (Reséndez 2016:177-179, 191, and 195).

Because the silver mines of Mexico no longer served as a safety valve for excess captives and New Mexican households could only absorb so many, captives acquired social status as members of Spanish society. Ransomed captives, *Indios de rescates*, became a recognized lower-status social group, *genizaros*, after a period of servitude.[5] *Genizaros* were non-Pueblo Indians incorporated into Spanish society as ransomed captives or war captives. Indians captured as children could choose to return to their tribe of origin or become recognized *genizaro* citizens when they reached a certain age. Most chose the latter option, because they no longer retained a strong connection with their heritage and were far from their place of patrimony; their descendants retained *genizaro* status. *Genizaros* were aggregated into new settlements, often placed on the fringes of Spanish settlements to serve as buffers to Indian raiders (Blackhawk 2006:57-58; Reséndez 2016:180). *Genizaro*'s role in society was to protect the frontiers, fight raiding nomadic Indians, and scout for the military. They

[4] The act of acquiring individuals through warfare or raiding and incorporating them into their captors' households dates into antiquity among American Indian groups of the Southwest and elsewhere. It is different than enslavement, which denotes ownership of an individual. Hispano households in New Mexico and California acquired Native American captives and incorporated them into their households in a similar way, without the concept of ownership that comes with enslavement. Although there may have been some expectation of servitude in their position in the households, the captives had the freedom of self-determination after a certain age and were able to depart or join Spanish society, though at a low social status. The goal of incorporation of captives into households was to Christianize them and turn them into Spanish citizens. Captivity and separation from their original social group would have been devastating, and the likelihood that an individual would or could rejoin their group of origin was low, particularly if they were taken as a child. American Indian captives were incorporated into Mormon households with most of the same goals as the Spanish, but had a different perspective because of their Mormon beliefs and because they did not have a long tradition of incorporating American Indian children into their households (Reséndez 2012; Bennion 2012).

[5] The word is adapted from Italian and has its roots from the Turkish word yeniçeri for slaves trained as soldiers, known in English as janissary.

often had to pay off their ransom in servitude and then were able to join *genizaro* communities. In some cases, they also obtained captives on their military forays or by raiding (Brooks 2002:122-132). *Genizaro* settlements were established through land grants. *Genizaro* communities in New Mexico included Belen (Cerro de Tome) in 1740; Rancho de Taos in 1750; Las Trampas in 1751; Abiquiu and Ojo Caliente in 1754; San Miguel de Carnue in 1763; San Jose de las Huertas in 1765; Socorro (near El Paso del Norte) in 1773; San Miguel del Vado in 1794; and Anton Chico in 1822 (Brooks 2002:130).

Despite being connected to Mexico City by the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, the Royal Road, northern New Mexico was too far away and too poor to be of much economic benefit to the central authority but grew into a largely self-sufficient outpost of the Spanish domain. The lack of deeper economic connections with Mexico City meant that goods were difficult to obtain in New Mexico and could usually only be afforded by the wealthy elite. Trade southward from New Mexico was of agricultural products and handmade goods that were undervalued in comparison with the luxury goods desired in trade.

The Spanish attempted to use trade as a way of keeping peace with the Comanche and Ute, but raiding limited security on the Spanish frontier and inhibited growth there. By 1750, the Ute had become a dependable source of animal pelts to the Spanish, and many New Mexicans settlers depended on Ute for finely tanned buckskin, dried meat, and furs for their livelihood, trading them to Vizcaya and Sonora, Mexico. In return, the Ute received horses, knives, blankets, and corn meal (Hafen and Hafen 1954:84; Kenner 1969:37; Weber 1971:23, 28). To enhance their economic opportunities, many New Mexicans went north to trade with the Ute rather than wait for the Ute to come to the New Mexican settlements. As time went on, the Spanish became increasingly worried about encroachment by other European powers on their borders and hoped to keep their American Indian neighbors, particularly the Ute and Comanche, on favorable terms to provide a buffer. The Spanish believed that one way of ensuring their security was to attempt to relegate trade to their frontier settlements and make it illegal for Spanish citizens to venture onto the frontier to trade on their own. This was because they had found that uncontrolled traders often created problems that resulted in conflict with their Indian trading partners.

One of the important frontier settlements of northern New Mexico at the time was Abiquiu, founded in 1742 by 24 Tewa Indian families led by Father Francisco Delgado who had been residing with the Hopi in Arizona. By resettling Tewa families at Abiquiu, New Mexicans hoped they would provide protection from raiding Apache, Comanche, and Navajo. The town was attacked by the Comanche in 1747 and briefly abandoned. In 1754, Governor Tomas Velez Cachupin granted land to 34 *genizaro* families in return for their agreement to defend the frontier (Twitchell 1914:219; Hafen and Hafen 1954:62). Abiquiu, as a community of *genizaro* tasked with protecting the New Mexican frontier, was ideally situated for trade with the Ute to the north and became the jumping off point for Spanish explorers. It was the last New Mexico settlement on the eastern end of the Armijo and Main routes of the OST. Abiquiu was a hybrid Indian/Spanish community that "blurred distinctions between 'Indian" and 'New Mexican'" with genizaro citizens frequently fluent in the Ute language. Most illegal traders northward into Ute territory came from Abiquiu and the close relationship

between the genizaro community at Abiquiu and the Ute facilitated exploration northward and into the Great Basin (Blackhawk 2006:65, 80-81).

Spanish Exploration and Trade Northward from New Mexico and into California

Peaceful relations with the Ute beginning in the 1750s made them important and reliable trading partners. Wishing to know more about the lands beyond the New Mexican northern frontier and attempting to verify rumors of rich silver in the mountains of southwestern Colorado, Juan María Antonio Rivera was sent out on two expeditions in 1765. These expeditions were the first officially sanctioned explorations of the northern reaches of Spanish territory north of New Mexico and attempted to verify the rumors of mineral wealth. Rivera's explorations took him from the outpost of Abiquiu, northwest of Santa Fe, into southwestern Colorado where he sought silver in the La Plata Mountains. Among those traveling with Rivera were Antonio Martin of Abiquiu, Gregorio Sandoval of Ojo Caliente, Jose Abeita, Andres Chama, and Joaquin, a Kiowa *genizaro* of Abiquiu. Also known to have been along, but not mentioned in Rivera's journal, were Andres Muniz and Pedro Mora, *genizaros* from Abiquiu. Rivera's first foray, from June 25–July 30, 1765, took him as far north as just beyond the Big Bend of the Dolores River in southwestern Colorado. The second expedition began in late September 1765 with a party that included Antonio Martin, Gregorio Sandoval, and Joaquin as interpreter. and took him beyond the Big Bend of the Dolores River onto the western side of the Uncompahgre Plateau and over the Plateau to the crossing of the Gunnison River northwest of present Delta, Colorado, on October 15, 1765. On October 10, on the western side of the Uncompahgre Platea, the party met a group of Tabeguache Utes who were aware that they were on the way because a Tabeguache visiting Abiquiu had learned of the venture and passed that information along. Importantly, despite knowing that Rivera was on the way, the Ute asked Rivera what they were doing and where they were going because the Ute had never seen Spaniards passing through their land before. The Ute warned Rivera of travelling farther north because of danger from Comanche Indians, who they had just had a battle with (Hendricks 2015:301). Despite the warning, Rivera was able to convince a Tabeguache Ute to guide them, and they reached the crossing of the Gunnison River on October 15, which was near where Antoine Robidoux's Fort Uncompahgre was later built. Rivera and Sandoval evidently crossed to the northern side, but proceeded no farther. Their description indicates that it was the only ford possible because upstream the river was braided and elsewhere it was boxed in. Some Sabaguana (Uncompahgre) Ute were summoned to trade and they remained on the river until October 20. The Ute indicated that only a few of them were able to come because the rest were dispersed in the mountains hunting. Rivera's party then went with the Sabaguana Ute through the Uncompahgre Valley on their way back to New Mexico, camping just south of present Montrose and stopping at a Ute "Rancheria" on October 21, probably near present Colona where the leader professed great friendliness to the Spanish (Hendricks 2015:302-303). They arrived back in Abiquiu sometime in November (Baker 2015). Rivera's route from Abiquiu to just beyond the Big Bend of the Dolores River is the initial leg of the Main Route of the OST. At the time of Rivera's expeditions, Spanish missions had yet to be extended into southern California, so making a connection to California was not a goal.

At the same time that New Mexico was being occupied, Spanish missions were being established in northwestern Mexico and Baja California. With the beginning of the maritime fur trade along the upper Pacific coast by Russians in the 1740s, Spain decided to strengthen their claim to upper California and began building missions, frequently with accompanying military garrisons, starting with San Diego de Alcala in 1769. Monterey Bay was a key port along the coast, and a presidio was established there in 1770 that contained Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo. The next year, missions San Gabriel Arcangel and San Antonio de Padua were established, followed by San Luis Obispo de Tolosa in 1772. Built later in the 1770s were San Juan Capistrano in 1776 and Santa Clara de Asis in 1777. These early California outposts were quite tenuous with survival dependent entirely upon what the priests and colonists could produce on their own, acquire from the resource-rich environment, and from the subjugation of local American Indian groups.

The new missions and garrisons of California were difficult to supply, and a land route from Mexico was desired because travel by sea was very precarious. In 1774, Father Francisco Hermenegildo Garces and Father Juan Diaz accompanied Juan Bautista de Anza from the mission at Tubac, Arizona, to the mission at San Gabriel, California. Garces had been tasked with finding a land route between New Mexico and California. De Anza was the same person who later led a campaign against the Comanche from New Mexico, killing their leader, Cuerno Verde, on the plains of Colorado east of Pueblo in late 1779. The party included an Indian guide named Sebastian, 34 men, 65 cattle, and 140 horses. They left Tubac, Arizona, on January 8, 1774, and reached the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers on February 7, crossing the Colorado River the next day. It is difficult to ascertain their exact route, but they arrived at the San Gabriel Mission just east of Los Angeles on March 22. De Anza continued to Monterey (Los Angeles was not established until 1781) to resupply, arriving there on May 1, and Garces returned to the Colorado River to wait for de Anza, arriving there in early April. Garces was rejoined by de Anza at the mouth of the Gila River about May 12. While Diaz and de Anza returned to Tubac, Garces attempted to reach the Hopi in northern Arizona, guided by some Pima Indians. Because of difficult terrain, he turned back and arrived in Tubac on July 10 (Coeus 1900a:39-45). The trip with de Anza was evidently the first time the Spanish had journeyed into southern California from the east.

Garces continued his explorations in October 1775 when he departed Tubac, passed through Tucson, traveled through the Casa Grande area, followed the Gila River to the Colorado River, and then continued down the Colorado River to the Gulf of California (Coues 1900a:63-64). In 1776, he traveled to the Mojave villages on the Colorado River in the vicinity of present Needles, California. Starting out on March 1, he followed a Mojave Indian trail (now known as the Mojave Road) across the desert to the Mojave River, passed over Cajon Pass to the San Bernardino Valley, and arrived at the San Gabriel Mission on March 24. He continued to San Luis Obispo by way of the Camino Real. Garces was prevented from traveling to Monterey because he was accompanied by Indians from the Colorado River, and authorities were concerned that contact with Indians along the California coast might lead to them joining forces against the Spanish (Coues 1900a:233-264). After investigating the lower San Joaquin Valley, Garces returned to the Colorado River by way of the Mojave River (Coues

1900a:265-312). His journeys made routes from the Mojave villages on the Colorado River into southern California better understood and established what later became the far western end of the OST.

Still hoping to find a route from New Mexico to California, Garces desired to travel to the land of the Hopi in northern Arizona. He left the Mojave villages on the Colorado River on June 4, 1776, traveled through the territory of the Yavapai and Havasupai, and was the first to reach the Grand Canyon from the west. Continuing eastward north of the San Francisco Peaks, he crossed the Little Colorado River and traveled by way of Moenkopi Wash to the Hopi village of Oraibi on July 2. He found the Hopi to be rather unwelcoming and not receptive to religious conversion. He was invited to visit Zuni Pueblo, but problems arose, and he returned to Oraibi, from where he was expelled on July 4. He then returned to the Mojave villages on the Colorado River on his way back to Tubac (Coues 1900b:314-414). Garces' explorations in northern Arizona did not result in a route used for travel and trade from New Mexico, and the importance of an overland route for the Spanish in California diminished in importance. But for Spanish in New Mexico, a connection to California was seen as important.

Soon after Rivera's explorations northward from New Mexico, Franciscan priests Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Francisco Silvestre Vélez de Escalante were sent north in 1776 primarily to find a route to Monterey, California, though they also were to consider the land they passed through for future settlement. Domínguez and Escalante had some foreknowledge of western Colorado and had guides familiar with the initial part of the route of Rivera and the people living there. For instance, they knew that north of New Mexico, they would encounter "Tabehuchis [Tabeguache], Muhachis [Moache] and Sabuagana" Utes (Creer 1947:5; Hafen and Hafen 1954:68). Their party included Juan Pedro Cisneros (Alcalde of Zuni), Bernardo Miera y Pacheco (cartographer),[6] Joaquin Lain, Lorenzo de Olivares, Andres Muniz (interpreter and guide who had been a member of the Rivera Expedition), Antonio Lucero Muniz, Juan de Aguilar, and Simon Luzero. In the few intervening years since Rivera had explored northward, the Spanish presence in California had been established, and a connection between California and New Mexico was desired. Domínguez and Escalante were aware of Francisco Garces' attempts to reach New Mexico from California and had a letter written by him from Oraibi on July 3, indicating that he had turned back (Warner and Chavez 1995:27). Not knowing how far it was between the two Spanish realms, it was thought possible that the Spanish missions and military garrisons of California could be supplied overland from New Mexico.

Beginning from Santa Fe on July 29, 1776, Domínguez and Escalante followed Rivera's route from Abiquiu, New Mexico, into southwestern Colorado, taking the route that became the first leg of the Main Route of the OST to the Big Bend of the Dolores River, near present Dolores,

[6] Bernardo Miera y Pacheco was the premier mapmaker of New Mexico during the Spanish colonial period. He drew his first map of western New Mexico during an expedition to the Navajo in 1747. In 1758, he made a comprehensive map of the province of New Mexico at the request of the governor. Following the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition, he accompanied the de Anza expedition against the Comanche in 1779 and made a map from Santa Fe to the Arkansas River.

Colorado. While on the San Miguel River on the western side of the Uncompahgre Plateau, they met a Tabeguache Ute who they asked to take them to the Sabuagana Ute camp where the leader was known to be very friendly with the Spanish. This was evidently the "rancheria" visited by the Rivera Expedition in 1765 that Andres Muniz was familiar with and desired to return to (Warner and Chavez 1995:26). The Ute agreed, but then guided them on a circuitous route over the Uncompahgre Plateau, into the Uncompahgre Valley to the crossing of the Gunnison River where the Rivera Expedition had reached in 1765. It was at this point that Andres Muniz indicated that he, Pedro Mora, and Gregorio Sandoval, all who had been with Rivera, had been to the crossing the previous year (Warner and Chavez 1995:31). Instead of crossing, the group headed northeastward up the Gunnison River, crossing near, Austin, and followed the North Fork of the Gunnison River onto the Grand Mesa. On August 29 on their way along the Gunnison River, they met some Sabuagana Ute who warned them not to go any farther for fear that they would be killed by Yamparica Comanche also known in the Uintah Basin as the Komantcia[7]. The Ute had just finished fighting with the Comanche, but Domínguez and Escalante believed their warning was just a ruse to keep them from proceeding. In reality, it appears that the Comanche were a real threat, still having a presence in northwestern Colorado and the Uintah Basin of Utah from where they ventured onto the eastern plains of Colorado and New Mexico where they had become dominant and an adversary of the Ute. The next day, Spaniards were warned that the trail they were on would take them through Comanche territory and that they would be killed. One of the Ute that warned them was a "Laguna," a Timpanogos[8] Ute from Utah Lake, who they hired as a guide (Warner and Chavez 1995:32-33). On the Grand Mesa, they were accosted by a group of 80 mounted Ute who evidently came to see what they were up to. Arriving at the Ute's camp, they found six more Timpanogos Ute and were again warned about the Comanche (Warner and Chavez 1995:36-39). After following Plateau Creek and then crossing Battlement Mesa, the group crossed the Colorado River and traveled toward the Roan Plateau, still in the territory of the Sabaguana Ute. On September 16, they met some Ute who had been on a raid for horses from the Comanche and learned that the Comanche had departed eastward toward the Arkansas River (Warner and Chavez 1995:47). This news put their Timpanogos Ute guide at ease, and they proceeded northwestward through Canyon Pintado and then westward along the White River, across the Green River at Jensen, Utah, and onward along the Uintah, Duchesne, and Strawberry rivers to Utah Lake.

The members of the Domínguez and Escalante Expedition were the first Spaniards that the Timpanogos Ute at Utah Lake had ever seen (Warner and Chavez 1995:66). Although Hill (1921:448) indicates that between the time that the Rivera Expedition first went northward in 1765 and the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition returned in 1776 it was common for Spanish traders to visit the Ute for up to four months during the summers to trade for animal pelts, the journal of the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition shows this not to have been the case, at least not

[7] The Comanche or Komantcia were a horse-mounted group, possibly Shoshone, that had earlier allied themselves with the Ute of Colorado and expanded their range onto the Plains of Colorado into New Mexico by the early 1700s. The word has been translated as a Ute word to mean people who they fight with all the time.
[8] Also spelled Timpanogots. The name is derived from the Ute name for Utah Lake.

north of the San Juan Mountains. Facing the onset of winter and low supplies, the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition hastened back to Santa Fe through the almost impenetrable canyons of the Colorado River and its tributaries, crossing their most formidable barrier, the Colorado River, at what became known as the Crossing of the Fathers, currently under Lake Powell in southeastern Utah, though the associated inscription left by the travelers is on the canyon wall above and is protected by a caged enclosure. Despite their failure to reach California, the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition provided invaluable information about the northern frontier in Colorado and Utah and nourished the seed of desire to connect Santa Fe to southern California.

Comanche raids on New Mexican settlements increased until Governor de Anza began a campaign to defeat the Comanche in 1779. He set out with a force of 600 soldiers, *genizaro* settlers, and Pueblo Indians. De Anza's route northward from Taos was through the San Luis Valley of Colorado on the way to the headwaters of the Arkansas River; the consensus is that it was probably along the western side of the valley. As they passed through the San Luis Valley, 200 Ute and Jicarilla Apache joined them, anxious to defeat their old foes. The force attacked Comanche chief Cuerno Verde's village near present-day Pueblo, Colorado. They then chased Cuerno Verde to the foot of Greenhorn Mountain, where he and all his warriors were killed (Hill 1921:457; Kenner 1969:50-51). A final peace treaty was made with the Comanche in 1786. To ensure peace, a revised trade policy was devised that allowed for trade of horses, guns, and ammunition with Indians. This policy was intended to lessen the incentive for Indian raiding. It was also hoped that by making firearms available, the Indians would become reliant upon the Spanish for repair and replacement. In times of war, the Spanish could simply cut off the supply of gunpowder, making the Indian's guns useless (Kenner 1969:53-54; Hill 1921:457).

The knowledge of the northern frontier resulting from the Rivera, Domínguez-Escalante, and de Anza expeditions from 1765 to 1779 stimulated expansion of illegal trade with the Ute Indians in western Colorado and eastern and northern Utah. Retaining security for the northernmost Spanish communities depended upon keeping good relations with the Ute, but little economic opportunity existed in New Mexico beyond trade with American Indians. Trade benefitted both the Utes and the Spanish. The Ute provided commodities to the Spanish that were considered to be quite valuable, but the Spanish government attempted to restrict its citizens from venturing into Ute territory for the purpose of trade. Rather, the government was content to have trade carried out passively in the Spanish settlements rather than be actively pursued by its citizens in the Ute frontier. In 1775, Governor Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta published a proclamation prohibiting any citizen, *genizaro*, or Indian to trade in Ute territory. The alcalde of Albuquerque, Pedro Galindo Navarro, reissued the proclamation on September 13, 1778, because it had been so widely disregarded. According to Navarro, some traders were mistreating the Utes, and he was fearful of warfare with them. Despite the prohibition, infractions were numerous. Exposure to the early traders made the Ute very opposed to any attempts at sending Catholic missionaries to them (Hafen and Hafen 1954:262; Weber 1971:26; Twitchell 1914:263).

The main thrust of these early, illegal trade ventures seem to have emanated from the

village of Abiquiu, though some trading north from Taos may have been initiated after de Anza's 1779 expedition northward through the San Luis Valley of Colorado. Because unauthorized trading ventures were illegal, little record of them survives. It is probable that the *genizaro* community of Abiquiu were the most likely to venture northward to trade illicitly. This was because Abiquiu was on the fringes of the Spanish domain, sufficiently distant from Santa Fe to be difficult to regulate, was at the jumping-off point for trails northward, and may have included some individuals who retained an identity that was tied to the Ute culturally and linguistically. In February 1783, a group of Abiquiu citizens was prosecuted for trading with the Utes (Twitchell 1914:291; Hafen and Hafen 1954:262; Weber 1971:26-27). In 1785, Marcelino Manzanarez, Santiago Salazar, Salvador Lucero, Francisco Valverde, and Vicente Serna were tried and fined. That same year in Abiquiu, Vicente Lujan, Juan Manuel Gomez, and Nicolas Cisneros were prosecuted. In 1797, Cristoval Lovato and 21 others were tried in Rio Arriba (Twitchell 1914:291, 297-298, 364; Hafen and Hafen 1954:262; Weber 1971:27).

The Spanish particularly feared that French entering Spanish territory would trade with the Comanche and upset the balance of power. French trade goods began appearing at the Taos trade fair in the middle 1700s, and the Comanche acquired better firearms from the French in Louisiana and from the Great Lakes region resulting in their becoming the dominant power on the Plains, decimating other resident Indian groups, warring with the Ute and Jicarilla Apache who had earlier been their allies, and causing immense strife on Spanish frontier settlements into the middle 1770s. The 1803 acquisition of the vast French land holdings north of the Spanish Territory as the Louisiana Purchase by the United States exacerbated Spanish fears of frontier encroachment. The capture of Zebulon Pike and his party south of the Arkansas River boundary in Colorado by Spanish authorities in 1807 confirmed their fears. Pike had been sent out on an official exploratory mission by the U.S. government and claimed to have accidentally wandered into Spanish territory. Increased attempts by American merchants to trade in Santa Fe and Taos were officially rebuffed with varying degrees of enforcement, yet welcomed by the general populous. With the encroachments by Americans in the early 1800s, the restrictions against trade by New Mexicans with Indians on the frontier were slackened, and trade was seen as a necessity in order to create a buffer against the Americans by creating ties with intervening Indian groups. Still, trade to the north required a license. As part of the new policy, the Spanish tried to make the Indians dependent upon them through trade. In order for trade to work as a diplomatic tool, the Spanish began encouraging trade expeditions (Weber 1971:28). Fernando Chacon reported a diary from July 15-August 30, 1802 concerning a trip to land to the north, including visits to the Ute (Twitchell 1914:430).

By at least 1805, Spanish traders had reached as far north as Utah Lake at present Provo, Utah, to trade with the Timpanogos Ute and quickly began extending their reach westward to the Sevier River Valley. Manuel Mestas, a 70-year-old *genizaro* who had served the Spanish as an interpreter to the Utes for 50 years, traveled to the Utah Lake area twice in 1805 and recovered stolen horses from the Timpanogos Ute, some of which they had obtained from the Comanche (Hill 1921:460-461; Hafen and Hafen 1954:85, 263; Twitchell 1914:478, 479, 487). It is clear that, by

1813, the Utes as far as the Sevier River were accustomed to trade with the Spanish (Hafen and Hafen 1954:267; Smith 1974). When Jose Rafael Sarracino spent three months in Ute territory in central Utah in 1811, he found the Indians already in possession of Spanish-made knives, razors, and awls (Weber 1971:25). The last conviction for illegal trade with the Utes was that of Miguel Tenorio and others, in September 1813, who had gone north to trade without a license, reaching the Timpanogos Utes, probably at Utah Lake (Twitchell 1914:577).

Traders reached Ute bands that previously had not had direct contact with the Spanish. The Utes were eager to trade with the Spanish and were particularly interested in procuring horses, though they also obtained other items such as blankets, knives, beads, and agricultural products. The Spanish were equally eager to trade, apparently most desirous of captives, but also received tanned hides, furs, and dried meat in exchange (Hafen and Hafen 1954:261). The Ute became increasingly mobile as more horses were traded to them. As their horse herds grew, the Ute expanded their sphere of influence. Acquiring captives and incorporating them into the captor's households probably dates into prehistory with the Ute and Navajo. Both groups are known to have raided the Hopi and Tewa on First Mesa on a seasonal basis to obtain harvested crops and captives by the 1680s (Brooks 2016:74-85). Demand for captives by the Spanish resulted in the Ute increasingly raiding unmounted Western Shoshone, Southern Paiutes, and Gosiutes to steal women and children to sell to the Spanish in New Mexico for use as domestic servants and shepherds (Callaway et al. 1986:354; Hafen and Hafen 1954:261-262). In 1812, a Spanish law was passed prohibiting Indian slavery. This was ignored, and trade in animal pelts and captives were the major items of exchange with the Ute. Mauricio Arze, Lagos Garcia, Miguel Tenorio, Felipe Gomez, Josef Santiago Vigil, Gabriel, Quintana, and Josef Velasquez were tried for slave trading in 1813. They had gone to Utah Lake, where the Ute only wanted to trade for captives and were unhappy when the party did not want to do so, evidently in compliance with the Spanish prohibition. Escaping after a skirmish, they went to the Sevier River, where they again had difficulties and resisted the Indians' insistence in trading for captives. Once again, fearful for their lives, they escaped to the Colorado River, probably at the crossing at present Moab, and finally were coerced into purchasing children the Indians had for sale (Hill 1921:445; 461-463; Hafen and Hafen 1954:263-264, 267; Twitchell 1914:571, 577).

The forays by New Mexican traders and by horse-mounted Ute to the New Mexican settlements began the coalescence of travel routes. These early travel routes into the Great Basin have been argued to be the source of the name of the OST. It was not until later, after linkages were made to southern California during the fur trade and traveled by annual trade caravans from New Mexico that the name was applied for the trails all the way to California (Hill 1921:467-468; Hafen and Hafen 1954:83).

Ute Culture Change and Adaptation as a Result of Spanish Contact and Adoption of the Horse

Following the Pueblo Revolt contact between the Ute and the Spanish was mostly restricted to northern New Mexico with annual trade fairs at Taos, Santa Fe, and other Spanish. Trade fairs

were very important to the New Mexico economy. La Cañada, present-day Española, was one of the centers of trade with the Ute in the mid- to late-1700s. La Cañada apparently depended entirely upon the Ute trade and had no other form of commerce (Kenner 1969:40). The Ute were well known for their exceptionally well-prepared deer hides, which they traded with other tribes and with Spanish colonists of New Mexico (Callaway et al. 1986:354). Southern and eastern Ute bands raided the Spanish and Pueblo settlements in New Mexico and Arizona in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; taking horses from the Spanish and various other goods from Pueblos (Callaway et al. 1986:354). Raiding and trading resulted in the Ute Indians being well-mounted over much of their range, though many Ute continued in a hunting and gathering way of life (Hafen and Hafen 1954:51; Smith 1974). The Ute in Colorado and New Mexico obtained the horse from the Spanish, possibly as early as 1640, and were among the first Indians to breed them. As a result, the Ute were important as a primary conduit for the trade of horses northward particularly to the Comanche (Lecompte 1978:160-161).

By 1776, Ute in Colorado and northern New Mexico had a highly developed tradition of horse use. The use of the horse for transportation had a remarkable effect on Ute culture, possibly resulting in a more complex society. Extended family groups were replaced by band organizations more able to travel in larger numbers to exploit food resources efficiently over a wider area. The horse also enabled the Ute to expand their sphere of influence and interaction, thereby exposing themselves to previously unknown outside cultural influences. At first, these interactions were primarily between the Ute and other Indian groups. In particular, the horse enabled the Ute of Colorado to travel over the Rocky Mountains and onto the eastern plains of Colorado and New Mexico, where they hunted buffalo and acquired many traits commonly ascribed to equestrian Plains Indian groups, including the use of tepees and their mode of attire (Callaway et al. 1986:354; Malouf and Findlay 1986:500; Smith 1974). The most influential interaction, however, seems to have been between the Ute and Spanish traders at settlements in New Mexico and as the result of Spanish trading forays into western Colorado and eastern Utah. Most of the early Spanish trading expeditions were unauthorized and are, therefore, virtually undocumented. It is clear, though, that trade was conducted and that European-manufactured goods began to be assimilated into the Ute culture (Malouf and Findlay 1986:500).

The Ute of Utah seem to have acquired the horse somewhat later than the Ute in Colorado and New Mexico or, at least, did not utilize the horse to the degree that the Ute of Colorado did until the advent of the fur trade. The Comanche that the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition had been warned about were resident of the Uintah Basin and far northwestern Colorado and created a barrier between the Ute in Colorado and those of Utah that may have restricted the flow of horses westward, though the neighboring Comanche and Shoshone were horse mounted. By 1805, it appears that the Timpanogos Ute were better able to resist the Comanche and had greater access to horses. This is demonstrated by the journey of Manuel Mestas to Utah Lake to recover horses taken by the Comanche from northern New Mexico and subsequently taken from them by the Timpanogos Ute (Alley 1982:106-107). The several bands of Ute in northern and central Utah (Pahvant, Sanpitch, Moanunt, Timpanogos, and, by the 1820s, the Uintah) had considerable

overlap in the areas that they utilized for their subsistence and probably had high fluidity between bands through marriage and other interactions. Like the Ute bands in Colorado, the Ute in Utah practiced a seasonal round to exploit resources throughout their domain on a rotation that took them into high country during the summer months and into lowlands for the winter. Utah Lake was an important part of the seasonal round for all of the Ute bands because of the easy availability of spawning trout in the spring. Fish were a critical component of the Ute seasonal food supply for those bands. This was unlike the Ute bands in Colorado that did not have a similar seasonally focused food resource that was used by all. The availability of fish was the impetus for large gatherings of Ute bands for spring ritual traditions and quickly became a destination for New Mexican traders. A variety of fish were available from Utah Lake. Most important were Bonneville cutthroat trout up to 15 pounds, but mountain whitefish, Utah sucker, and June sucker, up to 5 pounds, and Utah chub, up to 2 pounds, were probably also harvested.

The Timpanogos Ute were reached by the Domínguez-Escalante expedition in 1776 at Utah Lake. The Ute at Utah Lake began to be the recipients of trade with New Mexicans because of the animal pelts they had to offer and soon acquired horses. Trade with the Spanish seems to have begun at Utah Lake by 1805 and in the Sevier River Valley by 1813 when Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia are known to have gone there (Alley 1982:107). The horse had the same impact on the Timpanogos Ute as it did on the Ute of Colorado, enabling them to expand their range and more effectively hunt buffalo. The horse did not transform the Timpanogos Ute culture to the degree that it did the Colorado Utes, as they did not acquire the trappings of the Plains Indians or the use of the tepee. The environment of Utah was a limiting factor in the adoption of the horse. Throughout the Great Basin, water and grass was insufficient to support large horse herds, particularly to have them survive over the winter. Only the Timpanogos Utes seem to have had the natural resources available for a fully equestrian lifestyle to emerge by the 1820s or 1830s, and it was mostly the bands that initially followed Quimanuapa[9], leader of the Timpanogos Ute, and later, Wakara,[10] that were able to develop an adaptation that enabled that lifestyle to flourish for a short time (Van Hoak 1998:13-33; Alley 1982:116). The San Pitch Ute did not take on a fully equestrian lifestyle and had less of a role in the fur trade (Alley 1982:117).

Because it was difficult to over-winter horses in Utah because of limited feed and cold, snowy weather, Wakara's band adapted the traditional seasonal round to the survival and use of the horse. Buffalo were never as plentiful west of the Rocky Mountains as they were on the Plains, but they were an important part of the subsistence of the Ute. The horse enabled more effective hunting of buffalo, which had the unintended consequence of reducing their numbers and requiring longer distance forays to hunt them and more pack animals to carry the meat. In order to keep horse herd numbers up to facilitate buffalo hunting and the prestige associated with horse ownership, trading of furs and hides and raiding for horses was stimulated. The increased mobility afforded by the horse gave Wakara's mounted Utes an advantage over unmounted

[9] Also known as Conmarrowap.
[10] Also spelled Waccara and often referred to as Walker.

Western Shoshone and Southern Paiute bands who were preyed upon as the source of women and children who were traded for horses. It does not appear that Ute bands in Utah that had smaller numbers of horses were preyed upon. With the decline of the fur trade in the late 1830s and 1840s, the Utes found the market for their pelts in decline, so depended more on the trade in captives for acquisition of horses. The horse also allowed the Ute to displace the Komantcia in the Uintah Basin by at least the 1820s, resulting in the emergence of the Uintah Ute (Van Hoak 1998:36-54). This displacement may have enabled Antoine Robidoux to establish his trading post in the Uintah Basin among the friendlier Ute.

Quimanuapa, as the leader of the Timpanogos Utes seems to have incorporated horses more fully into the western Ute lifestyle, but was content to remain mostly sedentary in the Provo Lake area (Alley 1982:110). Wakara's subsequent adaptation of the Ute seasonal round to the horse probably began in the late 1820s or early 1830s and was probably closely tied to the group's increased affluence as a result of the fur trade. It required a constant replenishment of horses beyond what the Ute could count on by natural reproduction. It created a wider ranging seasonal round that required a large number of horses for long-distance movement and also the need for over-wintering grounds that would insure a high survival rate for their horses. Because it was difficult to keep large numbers of horses in healthy condition over the winter in Utah's Great Basin, he and his band went to southern California where the climate was better and there was a market for the pelts they had acquired over the summer and fall. The area also had a large number of horses that could be acquired to replenish the Ute herds. On their way, they acquired Southern Paiute women and children to trade for horses. In California, they broke into smaller groups to trade with friendly ranchers and traders, who provided safe places for them to reside and from where raiding parties ranged outward to abscond with horses from distant ranches. Before returning to Utah, the bands joined together to butcher and preserve the meat of cattle that they had acquired. In January and February, they headed across the desert to the lush grasslands of southwestern Utah, such as the Mountain Meadows, where they stayed several weeks to recover. From there, they made their way toward Utah Lake, moving from place to place with good grazing and acquired Southern Paiutes to be sold into captivity. Arriving at Utah Lake in April or May for their traditional gathering and harvesting of fish, they traded horses to other Indian groups. In addition, Navajo came to Utah Lake to trade blankets for captives, and New Mexican traders came to acquire captives for guns, ammunition, and other items. In early summer, bands moved into the mountains for hunting and gathering, then the mounted Utes went buffalo hunting in July and August. These hunts took them mostly to the Green River and Great Divide Basins of Wyoming, but also as far east as the Great Plains of Nebraska. In the fall, they returned to the mountains to hunt, but sometimes went to New Mexico to trade. As winter approached, they again returned to California, capturing Southern Paiute along the way. Wakara began teaming up with American fur trappers who were looking for a profitable venture as demand for furs declined in the late 1830s and 1840s. Together they began raiding the large and mostly unguarded horse and mule herds in California, beginning in 1840. Because of this and particularly after acquisition of California by the U.S. as a result of the Mexican-American War, horse and mule raiding in California became more dangerous, so vulnerable members of his band

– women, children, and elderly – were left in Utah for the winter (Van Hoak 1998:55-67). In addition to the expanded seasonal round, Wakara took advantage of the annual New Mexico-California trade caravans as opportunities to collect tribute or trade horses and captives.

The arrival of the Mormons in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 disrupted the Ute way of life. Initially, for Wakara, they served as new trading partners to whom he could dispose of captives and horses. The Southern Paiutes also accepted the Mormons as potential trade partners, but also saw them as buffers of protection against their enemies and a source of new technology (Alley 1982:123). The market for horses was enhanced by demand from travelers along the California Trail. The Mormons were initially receptive to buying captives from the Ute, because their religion created an unusual perception of American Indians. By taking Indians into their households or baptizing them, the Mormons believed that Indians could recover a level of grace that might enable them to be white in a future incarnation. In 1852, slavery was outlawed in Utah, which diminished a major aspect of Ute trade. As the Mormon's expanded into the most resource-rich environments of Utah, the Ute were displaced and unable to find sufficient subsistence for their survival. With conflicts over resources and the loss of a market for their captives, the Ute began raiding Mormon settlements in what has been termed the Walker War in 1853 and 1854. The fighting had a more detrimental effect on the Ute than it did the Mormons. Unable to continue battling the Mormons, Ute resistance ended, and Wakara died in January 1855 (Van Hoak 1998:76-87). Mormon settlement throughout Utah was disastrous for the Ute, who became increasing dependent on the Mormons for their survival. In turn, the Mormons considered the Ute to be a hindrance to their settlement and wanted the Indians to either be removed or destroyed. Some small reservations were established to contain the Ute, but most were moved to the Uintah Reservation, established in northeastern Utah well away from the settlements, in 1861.

The Mexican Period, the Fur Trade, and Development of the Old Spanish Trail

With the end of Spanish rule and Mexican Independence in 1821, trade restrictions were removed, connections were made with the United States economy by way of the Santa Fe Trail. The Santa Fe Trail made Missouri, particularly St. Louis, the major source of manufactured goods for New Mexico, displacing Chihuahua. It made Santa Fe and Taos key points of trade between the U.S. and central Mexico (Blackhawk 2006:117). Fur trappers and traders quickly entered the Southern Rocky Mountains and westward by way of Santa Fe, Abiquiu, and Taos, New Mexico. The Ute remained prime trading partners and important participants in the fur trade, welcoming Antoine Robidoux to construct fur trading posts in their domain: Fort Uncompahgre near the crossing of the Gunnison River northwest of Delta in western Colorado and Fort Uinta in the Uintah Basin of Utah (Hill 1930). Extension of the trail southwestward from the Sevier River Valley of central Utah into California happened quickly with the first fur trappers making it into southern California by way of the Virgin River in 1826. Coincident with this was the expansion of the seasonal round of Wakara's band of Utes from central Utah into southern California.

Throughout the early and middle 1700s, northern New Mexico had natural resources and

agricultural potential, particularly sheep raising,[11] but had no industry by which to convert their resources into finished products of value. Attempting to alleviate this problem, skilled weavers and brothers Ignacio Ricardo and Juan Bazan from Mexico were brought northward to Santa Fe to teach local artisans the skill of weaving in 1807 (Bloom 1927). This provided a more marketable commodity for the region in the form of woven woolen goods, but the political climate allowed only limited trade within the borders of the Spanish realm. California was seen as a potential lucrative market, but a route to that destination had yet to be found.

Understanding that a connection had been made between New Mexico and California in 1826, New Mexicans desiring an outlet for their woolen goods initiated annual trade caravans in 1829. The first of these was by Antonio Armijo on the southernmost of the OST routes, known as the Armijo Route. This route was used only one time, but demonstrated that there was a demand for New Mexico's woolen goods and that the horses and mules obtained in return realized a high profit because of the Santa Fe Trail trade. The profitability of the trade was confirmed by trappers William Wolfskill and George Yount who made a round-trip journey between Taos and California in 1830. They returned in 1831 and were credited as the first to stay on the northern side of the Colorado River, thereby avoiding the Mojave Indian villages and utilizing the route thereafter used by the annual trade caravans, which commenced later in 1831. With the trade caravans came emigrants from New Mexico who desired to settle in California.

An immediate consequence of having the trade route regularly used was stealing of horses and mules from the abundant herds in California by caravan members, fur trappers, and Ute Indians, most notably members of Wakara and his band, who often teamed up with fur trappers, particularly as the profitability of trapping waned beginning in 1837. Also part of the trading and raiding activities was acquisition of Indian captives by all parties for sale in California and New Mexico and, after Mormon arrival in Utah in 1847, in Mormon settlements. Acquisition of captives had always been part of the New Mexico trade, despite official government sanctions against it, but was enhanced with increased traffic along the OST.

The Old Spanish Trail after 1848

Although the Armijo Expedition of 1829 is the only documented expedition known to have used the Armijo Route of the OST, sections of the route were undoubtedly used by others travelers, some of whom may have reached California. Portions of the route were probably used for local traffic as later settlement took place along the central portion of the route. An example of this is along the Paria River and through the Box of the Paria (Hafen 1950:127), east of the Cockscomb geologic formation in south-central Utah. This portion of the Armijo Route is the only viable travel way through the area and became a primary travel route during settlement in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Bradley 1999). As such, the route was continually improved to allow passage by wagons and early automobiles, though travel through the Box of the

[11] Churra [Churrro] sheep were brought to the New World by the Spanish conquistadors and were particularly well adapted to New Mexico. They were used for food, and their wool was used for weaving.

Paria was never easy and is within the floodplain of the river, resulting in the route being ephemeral, subject to flooding, and probably never very definite.

The acquisition of New Mexico and California at the termination of the Mexican-American War in 1848 brought an end to the annual trade caravans. Discovery of gold in California brought an influx of gold seekers to California beginning in 1849, some of whom utilized the western portion of the OST as their route, rather than crossing the high passes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains farther north. With the influx of gold seekers to California came a demand for sheep, which were driven over a variety of routes but also the OST between 1850 and 1855. Mormon settlement of San Bernardino also begin in 1849 and resulted in the western portion of the trail being improved as part of a wagon road from the Salt Lake Valley known as the Mormon Road. This facilitated the settlement of southwestern Utah and northern Arizona as Mormon missions from the 1850s to 1870s. The Mormons also attempted the Elk Mountain Mission in the Spanish Valley at present Moab that utilized the OST for access in 1855.

The Colorado and Utah portions of the trail were subject to government expeditions that provide the best descriptions of the trail routes. The first of these was the Gunnison Expedition of 1853, which was one of several surveys conducted on various trajectories through the west to determine the best route for a transcontinental railroad. Thomas Hart Benton was an enthusiastic promoter of connecting the eastern U.S. to the Pacific Coast and was particularly interested in making sure a railroad would pass through his home state of Missouri. He was also a strong supporter of his son-in-law, John C. Fremont. Having failed to have Fremont appointed as the leader of the expedition through the southern Rocky Mountains instead of John W. Gunnison, Benton did his best to promote Cochetopa Pass as the preferred route for a railroad through the mountains. He circulated a letter from Taos fur trapper Antoine Leroux written on March 1, 1853 extolling the virtues of the pass and ensured that Lt. Edward Beale traveled that way to California to fill his position as the Indian Commissioner there (Benton 1853).

The Beale Expedition preceded the Gunnison Expedition by a few months in 1853 and wrote a detailed report that provides information about the route of the North Branch and Main Route of the OST (Heap 1854). It is particularly informative about travel over North Cochetopa Pass and through the rest of western Colorado, especially because having lost their gear in the Gunnison River, a portion of the party was forced to return to Taos and followed a second route over South Cochetopa Pass and down Carnero Creek to the San Luis Valley. The Gunnison Expedition followed the North Branch of the OST over North Cochetopa Pass under the guidance of Antoine Leroux (Beckwith 1854). Once over the pass, the Gunnison Expedition followed a route noted but not taken by the Beale Expedition that took them northward to the Gunnison River and westward into the pool of present Blue Mesa Reservoir. At that point the party was forced to make their way southwestward over a route of their own making to rejoin the route take by the Beale Expedition. It is believed that Gunnison was on a variant of the North Branch that continued northwestward away from the river over terrain not passable by wagons through present Maher, Crawford and Delta, Colorado, to a junction with the more regularly traveled route just north of

the crossing of the Gunnison River (Hayden 1874, 1876, 1877; Nelson 1996; Nelson 2003). Gunnison then continued into Utah on the North Branch and joined the Main Route before crossing the Green River. He later met his demise at the hands of Indians near Sevier Lake in central Utah, and the report of the expedition was prepared by his second in command, George Beckwith (Beckwith 1854). Fremont followed the Gunnison Expedition later in 1853, and only minimal information about that journey is known (Carvalho 1857). The route taken by Gunnison through eastern Utah and western Colorado was improved as part of a military wagon road from the Salt Lake Valley to Fort Union, New Mexico, by Col. William W. Loring in 1858. This followed a near disastrous passage along the North Branch over Cochetopa Pass by Capt. Randolph B. Marcy during the winter of 1857–1858 on his way to Fort Union from Fort Scott, near Fort Bridger, Wyoming (Cragin 1926; Bradsher 2017a, b; Marcy 1866:224-250). In 1860, Colonel Edward R. S. Canby traveled the route improved by Loring when he and members of Companies A, F, and H were transferred from Camp Floyd in the Salt Lake Valley to Fort Garland, Colorado. Little is known of their journey except that they left Camp Floyd on May 20 and arrived at Fort Garland on July 28, 1860 (Seyburn 1896:537; Jones 1890:132-141). The Macomb Expedition of 1859, led by Captain John N. Macomb followed the Main Route of the OST from Abiquiu into southeastern Utah, but not as far as the Spanish Valley, in search of the confluence of the Colorado and Green rivers. The report and later documentation of this expedition provides excellent information about the route of the trail (Newberry 1876, Barnes 1989; Madsen 2010).

Discovery of gold in the San Juan Mountains resulted in considerable reuse of portions of the North Branch in Colorado. The Saguache & San Juan Toll Road was built over South Cochetopa Pass to the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River in 1874 on its way to the upper reaches of the Animas River above Silverton. A portion of the route was traversed in 1873 by Lt. E. H. Ruffner and follows much of the route taken by the Beale Expedition through the Rocky Mountains on their resupply mission to Taos in 1853 (Ruffner 1874). The isolation of the new mining town of Ouray on the upper Uncompahgre Valley resulted in construction of a wagon road that joined the North Branch south of Montrose. Known as the Salt Lake Wagon Road, it followed the North Branch through western Colorado into Utah, joined the Main Route, and then continued to the Salt Lake Valley where supplies for the community were obtained. The route was used annually by miners in Ouray beginning in 1875 until a railhead was established in Alamosa in 1878 and better wagon roads were constructed through the San Juan Mountains to get there.

At the same time that miners were beginning to freight supplies from the Salt Lake Valley in 1875, plans were made to move the Los Pinos Indian Agency from Cochetopa Park on the western side of Cochetopa Pass to the Uncompahgre Valley at present Colona. The agency had been established in Cochetopa Park in 1869, having been moved from Lafayette Head's ranch near Conejos in the San Luis Valley (Edward M. McCook, Governor of Colorado Territory, to General E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 16, 1869, National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 200). The agency was accessed by the road improved by Loring over North Cochetopa Pass in 1858 and then turning southward from it where no road had existed before. Taking advantage of the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road as far as the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River, agency personnel

constructed a wagon road across the Lake Fork that connected with the route improved by Loring in 1858 on Blue Mesa. Their work was assisted by personnel of the Hayden Expedition, who happened to be conducting their work in the area at the time. This formed a connection between the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road and a section of the North Branch that had been improved by Loring in 1858 and traversed by the Beale Expedition in 1853. Once across the Uncompahgre River south of Montrose, they utilized the new road from Ouray and followed it southward to the new agency location at Colona (Henry F. Bond, Indian Agent, Los Pinos Indian Agency, to Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs March 17, 1875, June 7, 1875, and June 29, 1875, National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 205). In 1877, Otto Mears improved the road from the Lake Fork of the Uncompahgre River to Ouray as the Lake Fork & Uncompahgre Toll Road.

Following the Meeker Massacre in 1879, plans were made to remove the Ute Indians from western Colorado to the Uintah Reservation in the Uintah Basin of Utah. Fearing hostilities from the Ute in the Uncompahgre Valley, troops were stationed at what was known as Camp Rose on the eastern side of South Cochetopa Pass along the route of the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road beginning in late 1879 and into the summer of 1880. The Ute were removed from western Colorado in September 1881, utilizing what had been the route of the North Branch from Montrose to Grand Junction before heading farther north to the Uintah Reservation in Utah. With the addition of the Ute from Colorado, the reservation was expanded and is currently known as the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. Settlers swooped in and the towns of Montrose, Delta, and Grand Junction were established in 1882. Surveys for a railroad line from Gunnison were initiated in 1881, and all of the new towns were connected by the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad in 1882, which was quickly extended into Utah, through Green River, and northward to Price and Salt Lake City. With completion of the railroad, long distance travel ceased on what had been the Main Route and North Branch of the OST.

The advent of the automobile changed how America traveled. In an attempt to create the first official coast-to-coast automobile road in the United States, backers in both Salt Lake City and Denver began campaigning in 1912 for an improved highway called the Midland Trail to connect Denver and Salt Lake City by way of Grand Junction, Colorado, and Green River and Price, Utah (*Carbon County News* 1912; *Motor Age* 1912). From the Cisco, Utah, area westward to Green River, the Midland Trail was built utilizing many of the local-use wagon roads that were at one time portions of the Salt Lake Wagon Road on the route of the North Branch of the OST. This general alignment is the route of Interstate-70. Joining the Midland Trail in Grand Junction, another improved highway, the Rainbow Route, was built westward from the Kansas state line along the route of the current U.S. Highway 50 through the towns of La Junta, Pueblo, and Salida, across the Continental Divide over Monarch Pass, and onward through Gunnison, over Cerro Summit, and to Montrose where it turned northward passing through Delta and joined the Midland Trail in Grand Junction (Hedden 1915:8). The portion over Cerro Summit into the Uncompahgre Valley and northward from north of Delta to Grand Junction is along the route of the North Branch of the OST and coincides with it in several places. U.S. Highway 50 and Interstate-70 have been improved as modern, high-speed highways that are the primary travel arteries in western Colorado and

eastern Utah. U.S. Highway 191 through the Spanish Valley, across the Colorado River at Moab, and northward past Arches National Park to Interstate-70 follows the general course of the Main Route of the OST. The North Branch, running westward along Interstate-70 rejoins the Main Route southwest of Green River, Utah and follows the general course of the Interstate highway across the Green River toward the San Rafael Swell. Deviating from any major roads through the San Rafael Swell and beyond, the Main Route intersects Interstate-70 once again at Fremont Junction and follows it through Salina Canyon and the northern port of the Sevier River. Below Sevier Canyon at Marysvale, the route is followed generally by U.S. Highway 89 until the trail turns westward toward Parowan where it briefly intersects Interstate-15. Interstate-15 follows the course of the Main Route along the Virgin River in Arizona into Nevada and again at various points in California, including Cajon Canyon.

STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

International and National Commerce along the Old Spanish Trail 1821–1855

In 1821, Spanish rule came to an end and Mexico, including the far-flung provinces of New Mexico and California, became independent. Quickly, the obstacles to commerce were disposed of, and trade was initiated between Missouri and Santa Fe with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail. With the expansion of trade along the Santa Fe Trail, the opportunities of fur trapping and trading opened in the former Spanish territory, and trade westward to California was initiated first by fur trade activities and later by direct commerce from New Mexico. Not only did woolen goods from northern New Mexico find a ready market in California, mules and horses from California satisfied an increasing demand funneled through Missouri (Ashton 1924). American Indians captured while traveling in both directions were readily sold in California and New Mexico, creating windfall profits at human expense. A continuous route to California from Abiquiu was first traveled by Antonio Armijo for the woolen goods trade in 1829 (Armijo Route), but a longer, more secure northerly route was pieced together by fur trappers by 1831 (Main [Northern] Route) that came to be the annual caravan route. Trappers moving northward from Taos formalized a linkage of existing trails used to trade with the Ute as far as Utah Lake to access good trapping areas throughout Colorado and into the Uintah Basin (North Branch) that linked to the caravan route in Utah. It was John C. Fremont who first referred to the route as the Spanish Trail as he traversed the western portion in 1844, though he may have borrowed this from Kit Carson, who seems to have recognized the trail north from Taos to Utah Lake as the Spanish Trail as early as 1830 (Grant 1926:30).

The Main (Northern) Route of the OST was used as a commercial route for woolen goods from New Mexico until 1848, when the northern portion of the Mexican domain was ceded to the United States as a condition of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This was the culmination of the Mexican-American War, initiated in 1846 as a means for the U.S. to secure all of the land west of the Louisiana Purchase under the concept of Manifest Destiny. As a result, it is the termination of the 1829 to 1848 Period of Significance defined for the OSNHT by the National Park Service (National Park Service 2001). Clearly, portions of the trails comprising the OSNHT have histories

that predate 1829 and extend into prehistory, and it is equally clear that the trails did not cease being used for travel after 1848, though the reasons and patterns of travel changed considerably after that date. The final aspect of National and International Commerce along the trail ceased in 1855 with the end of trailing of sheep to California from New Mexico.

Fur Trade – 1821–1844

Establishment of the continuous trail system that we recognize as the OST was the direct result of expansion of the fur trade in the southern Rocky Mountains and the Wasatch Mountains of Utah and the inclusion of numerous Americans in the fur trade. Before the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in the 1821, New Mexico was rather poor in manufactured items; the items the Spanish had to trade with the Ute were not particularly varied and consisted largely of agricultural products. Because the items the Mexicans had to offer were few, the Ute welcomed American traders who had superior trade goods and were particularly interested in obtaining American-made guns. To entice the Americans to trade with them, the Ute offered ponies, cattle, mules, sheep, and unlimited trapping privileges (James 1916:145-147; Weber 1971:27-28; Blackhawk 2006:122=123, 127; Lecompte 1978:162). Fur trade posts that supplied trappers and traded directly with the Indians for hides and furs were set up at various locations along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains, in western Colorado, and in northeastern Utah. Much of the fur trade activity in Colorado was focused along the Front Range. It was reported that the Ute did not trade at Bent's Fort because trade there was catered to the Cheyenne, who were the enemy of the Ute. In order to garner Ute trade, a post was established at El Pueblo. Americans at Pueblo and nearby Hardscrabble traded guns and ammunition to the Indians for horses and mules taken or acquired from the Mexicans. Another trading post in the area frequented by the Ute, known as Buzzard's Roost or "el nido del cuervo," was built in the late 1830s by French fur trappers and lasted until about 1844 (Lecompte 1978:17, 45, 105-6, 163).

The North Branch of the OST was a prime conduit for trappers heading northward and westward from Taos, New Mexico (Knipmeyer 1991; Nelson 1996; Nelson 2005; Nelson 2003). Thomas Long "Peg-leg" Smith took one of the first trapping parties northwest out of Taos into southwestern Colorado in 1824. After trapping along the Gunnison River, the party split in half with one group heading west to the Green River. The other party stayed along the Gunnison River and was robbed of five horses by the Ute. They then departed the country to the south, crossing the San Juan River (Weber 1971:71-72).

Taos served as an important point of commerce to and from the fur trapping and trading areas to the north, not only because of its northern position in New Mexico, but because goods could move past officials in Santa Fe to avoid payment of customs duty for the goods destined for or returning along the North Branch. It must be remembered that Taos and Santa Fe were not the end destination for furs, hides, and animals, but intermediate points in an international market. As Weber states (1971:93-94):

> Interestingly, both Pratte and the Robidoux brothers [Taos-based trappers and traders]

> made Taos their first stop [in 1825 coming from Council Bluffs] and never took their merchandise into Santa Fe. This seems to have been the pattern for those who used the Taos Trail to enter New Mexico. Although the border guard, Rafael Luna, and the Taos alcalde, Severino Martínez, were empowered to intercept Americans and examine their invoices and merchandise, it seems to have been customary at this time to send to Santa Fe for the customs collector to come to Taos for the final assessment. The traders [were] reluctant to carry their goods on to Santa Fe if they did not intend to market them there because, as they complained, the road was too rough. Sylvestre Pratte, although a novice in New Mexico, relied on the common expedient of burying some of his goods on the eastern side of the Taos mountains before entering the settlement to avoid paying duty. The Robidouxs, when they arrived, probably did the same thing. Pratte then journeyed to Santa Fe to hire the services of the tariff collector, Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid, apparently taking James Baird along to act as an interpreter. Vigil took some time reaching Taos, where one contemporary recorded in his diary on November 8 that Vigil 'has been expected every day for a Week past.' He finally arrived at Taos on November 12.

In 1825, James Ohio Pattie traded for beaver and deerskins with Utes on the Arkansas River on his way back to Taos from a trapping expedition on the eastern Plains (Weber 1971:93). In 1827, Francois Robidoux led a group northward from Taos to retrieve a cache of furs that Robidoux's men had left behind earlier. In the party were Denis Julien, Bautista Trudeau, Jose Neuture, Manuel Gervais, Francisco Gervais, Antonio Blanchare, Antoine Leroux, Bautista Chalifoux, Pablo Loise, Maurice LeDuc, Charles Chouteau, Julio Decluet, and Francisco Mitote. After the arrival of the Americans in Taos, few New Mexicans apparently actually trapped furs, but continued the traditional trade in furs with the Ute. In 1827, New Mexicans Jose Ramon Martin, Martin de Jesus, Tomas Chacon, Pedro Leon, and a servant belonging to Pedro Gallegos traveled to Utah Lake and returned to Abiquiu with beaver pelts and captive Indians they purchased to sell (Hill 1921:445; Weber 1971:108, 162).

The arrival of fur trappers after 1821 was seen by the Ute as a continuation of the pre-1820s contacts with New Mexican traders, who also continued to visit the Ute (Alley 1982:116). Utes were regular participants at trapper rendezvous that began in 1825 and continued for 16 years (Hafen and Hafen 1954:86). With the expansion of the fur trade, the Ute found themselves at the apex of north-south and east-west trade routes, giving them power and importance (Alley 1982:117). The Southern Paiute were not horse mounted and were frequent victims of traders intent on capturing them. Their territories were not in favored beaver trapping areas and were encountered only in passing (Alley 1982:118). Jedediah Smith reported in 1826–1827 that tribes in the Great Basin had direct and indirect contact with Mexican and Anglo traders. It is known that several groups of trappers in northern Utah had good relations with the Ute and frequently camped in close proximity to them. Etienne Provost, a French trapper, camped with the Ute below the junction of the Duchesne (Uinta) and Green rivers, where he was visited by William Ashley in June 1825, after Ashley had floated down the Green River to that point (Hafen 1982:85). When Smith engaged with Timpanogos Ute at Utah Lake in 1826, he interacted well with the Ute leader, presumed to be Quimanuapa. This friendly interaction resulted in Smith negotiating peace

between the Timpanogos Ute and Shoshone at the 1827 rendezvous at Bear Lake, which made it possible for fur trappers to safely enter the Uintah Basin, from which the Comanche had recently departed and the Shoshone were no longer a threat, and elsewhere (Allen 1982:110-112). Thomas Smith and Ceran St. Vrain camped, during the winter of 1827, on the Green River with 40 lodges of friendly Utes nearby (Hafen 1982:151-152). Lucien Fontenelle traded with the Utes, apparently in northern Utah, in early 1834 (Hafen 1982:338). Benjamin L. E. Bonneville camped in the Bear River Valley during the winter of 1834–1835; friendly Utes and Shoshone were camped nearby (Hafen 1982:283).

Although detailed itineraries, diaries, and descriptions of use of the North Branch are absent, the fur businesses headquartered in St. Louis used Taos and Santa Fe as their primary linkages in the Southern Rocky Mountains and points west and north. From Taos northward, a network of trails connecting to Fort Uncompahgre, Fort Uintah, Brown's Hole on the Green River, and Utah Lake and extending as far as Fort Hall provided a north-south connection with trappers emanating up the Platte and Missouri rivers into the Snake River area of Idaho and tying in with fur brigades associated with the British Hudson Bay Company (Alley 1982:108-109, 116; Reagan 1935; Quaife 1966:33-34; Weber 1971). The Ute were in a geographically central position to benefit from the fur trade. Having become highly mobile with the use of the horse, the Ute interacted with trappers over a wide area. The Ute did not pursue trapping of beaver, as was the case for other American Indian groups, but benefitted most by interactions with trappers who offered them gifts in exchange for safe and free use of their territory. Antoine Robidoux did most of his business at his trading forts with independent trappers, but benefitted from trade with the Ute as an important supplement. To the Ute, gift giving by the trappers entering their territory was a sign of friendship beyond trade. The Ute insisted on exchange of gifts as recognition of the privilege they were giving the trappers of being in their territory. This was a consistent and expected practice of showing respect to the Ute. For those that understood the practice, a mutually respectful relationship developed, which was particularly important for the trappers who often depended upon the Ute for horses and food (Alley 1982:113-116). For the Ute in Utah, the annual trade caravans between New Mexico and California also worked into the tribute system of being able to pass safely through Ute territory so long as the tradition was observed. Trade caravans frequently relinquished horses, mules, and captives for safe passage (Alley 1982:116).

Considerable trapping happened in western Colorado and eastern Utah in the 1820s and 1830s, but very little is documented. Some trappers may have used the Main Route of the OST to access the mountains of southwestern Colorado from the south by way of the Animas River and to enter trapping areas in far eastern Utah. Most traveled northwards from Taos using the North Branch of the OST passing through the San Luis Valley and over Cochetopa Pass (Horn 2017). Key sites that directed traffic northward from Taos by way of the North Branch and other trails were Fort Uncompahgre just above the crossing of the Gunnison River north of present Delta, Colorado, and Fort Uinta in the Uintah Basin of northeastern Utah, operated by Antoine Robidoux. Robidoux established a virtual franchise on trade with the Ute Indian bands with the establishment of Fort Uncompahgre about 1828 and Fort Uinta probably in late 1831 (Reagan 1935; Wallace 1953:14-

15). Robidoux was a member of a prominent French-Canadian fur-trade family from St. Louis. With the opening of the Santa Fe Trail, he moved to Santa Fe in 1823 to enter into the fur trade business, which was facilitated by becoming a Mexican citizen and family connections in St. Louis. Robidoux used the North Branch as his connection northward for supplying his fur trade posts and to market the furs to eastern markets by way of St. Louis. He purchased pelts from the Ute and sent out his own men to trap beaver (Lecompte 1978:137). The Indians traded pelts and skins for guns, ammunition and other items. Many fur trappers in the region came to Fort Uinta to sell their pelts, and the same may have happened at Fort Uncompahgre. It is very likely that once over Cochetopa Pass, two variants of the North Branch were taken. The first was westward over Cerro Summit into the Uncompahgre Valley to Robidoux's Fort Uncompahgre trading post. The second was on a more northerly route by way of Razor Creek, Tomichi Creek, and the Gunnison River turning northward over Black Mesa to the North Fork of the Gunnison River which joined the trail through the Uncompahgre Valley just north of the crossing of the Gunnison River. The combined routes then continued into the Grand Valley from where the Uintah Basin with Fort Uinta and other trading posts and points north could be accessed by one of a number of routes including up Salt Creek and over Douglas Pass into northwestern Colorado or up Bitter Creek or Westwater Creek in northeastern Utah through the Book Cliffs into the Uintah Basin. (Nelson 1996; Nelson 2003; Nelson 2005; Horn 2010). Among other travelers who passed through western Colorado, Kit Carson was hired to accompany Stephen Luis Lee from Taos to take goods to trade with trappers on the Uintah River of Utah in October 1830. They found Antoine Robidoux and a party of 20 trappers there, with whom they spent the winter. When Carson dictated his memories of the trip in 1856-1857, he stated "We followed the Spanish trail that leads to California till we struck White River, took down the White River till we struck Green River, crossed Green to the Wintey (Uintah) one of its tributaries" (Grant 1926:30). This is significant because it appears that by 1830 the route to California, of which the eastern portion was the general route of the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition and subsequent Spanish traders, was already recognized by name as the Spanish Trail. Carson probably followed the more northerly route through western Colorado that descended the North Fork of the Gunnison River because he makes no mention of passing through Fort Uncompahgre on the way.

For such an important point of commerce and the only permanent improvement along the OST between California and New Mexico, Fort Uncompahgre has few mentions in contemporary accounts to demonstrate its place along the trail. All are from near the end of the fur trade period, and all are by travelers just passing through. The first is an account from the Reverend Joseph Williams. Williams traveled to the Willamette Valley of Oregon in 1841 to visit the various missions there and Dr. Marcus Whitman's Mission at Walla Walla on the Columbia River. On his return trip with three companions in 1842, he traveled to Fort Bridger and then to Antoine Robidoux's trading post on the Uintah River, where he arrived in early July. He had to wait 18 days at Fort Uinta for Robidoux to prepare for returning to the United States. While there, Williams noted that Robidoux had some captive Indian women and children he was taking to New Mexico to sell and had kept others for his own use. Williams departed Fort Uinta with Robidoux's party on July 27 and crossed the Colorado River at Grand Junction on August 3. After another day

of travel, they crossed the Gunnison River and arrived at Fort Uncompahgre on August 4. Williams did not provide a description of the fort. Although his descriptions of the journey to Taos are minimal, he mentioned crossing the Union River (probably the Cimarron River) and the Lake River (Lake Fork of the Gunnison River). He made no mention of crossing a mountain pass, but certainly crossed Cochetopa Pass, and mentioned following the "Del Norte River," the Rio Grande, to Taos from where he separated from Robidoux's party and departed for Bent's Fort (Williams 1843:77-85).

Two other accounts of travel between Fort Uinta and Taos are known from 1842 (Nelson 2003:40-64). A party that included Rufus Sage apparently took a trail from Taos to Fort Uinta in October 1842 that bypassed Fort Uncompahgre. They left Taos on October 7, crossed the Rio Grande and followed a well-defined trail over what was probably Cochetopa Pass on October 13. They crossed the Gunnison and Colorado rivers and arrived at Fort Uinta on October 19. No mention is made of Fort Uncompahgre, so it is possible that the route taken went northward probably by way of present Gunnison and down the North Fork of the Gunnison River (Sage 1854:178). Dr. Marcus Whitman, traveled eastward from his mission in southeastern Washington with Amos Lawrence Lovejoy of Boston, who had gone west in 1841, and an unnamed guide. Beginning on October 3, 1842, they went to Fort Hall and decided to head south by way of the OST to Taos because of Indian trouble on the plains. They traveled to Fort Uinta in the Uintah Basin through a snow storm in November 1842 where they rested and changed guides. They then continued to Fort Uncompahgre after crossing the Colorado River at present Grand Junction. The party obtained a new guide at the fort and moved forward into the mountains, whereupon they were engulfed in a snowstorm that forced Whitman and the guide back to the fort, leaving Lovejoy with their pack animals. After waiting seven days, Whitman obtained another guide, reached Lovejoy, and attempted to move forward again, but was once again forced back for another week. In their final attempt, they slogged their way through storms and deep snow, over Cochetopa Pass, and arrived in Taos in mid-December, lucky to be alive. Unfortunately, little details of the route were recorded between Fort Uncompahgre and Taos beyond the difficulties of the weather (Mowry 1901:154-163).

Antoine Robidoux's trading post in the Uintah Basin of Utah, Fort Uinta, was described in 1842 as outfitting trappers and doing a small business with the Shoshone and Ute who lived near the post. The Indians traded pelts and skins for guns, ammunition, and other items. Both of Robidoux's posts depended upon Santa Fe for supplies. Many fur trappers in the region came to Fort Uinta to sell their pelts. The last information on the trading operations at Fort Uncompahgre are reports of its destruction by Utes in fall 1844. In 1843, Governor Armijo authorized a slave raid against the Navajo by Jose Portelance and Alexander Montgomerie that instead attacked a Ute Camp where 10 were killed and three captured. On September 5, 1844, six Ute chiefs and 108 warriors entered Santa Fe and demanded presents as compensation for the killing. While visiting the office of new Governor Mariano Martinez, eight (or 11) Utes were killed. The Utes returned to Colorado and killed at least three (perhaps seven) Mexicans that were working at Ft. Uncompahgre and took their wives captive in retaliation. The surviving American was sent with word to Robidoux that his pelts were

untouched. Some accounts suggest that the trading post was destroyed. At any rate, the event resulted in the abandonment of the Robidoux trading interests in western Colorado and northeastern Utah (Weber 1971:214-216; Brooks 2002:301).

Caravan Period – 1829–1848

Armijo Route

Looking to access the rich trapping grounds within the Rocky Mountains, many trappers and traders explored Arizona, Utah, and western Colorado utilizing established trails, some that were later incorporated into variants of the OST. The first to travel from northern New Mexico to California for the express purpose of trade was Antonio Armijo in 1829. Armijo, with a caravan that included 60 men, departed Abiquiu, New Mexico, on November 6, 1829 and arrived at San Gabriel, California, on January 30, 1830. He left California on March 1, 1830 and arrived in Jemez, New Mexico, on April 25, 1830 with 100 animals, demonstrating the possibility of profitable trade between New Mexico and California (Hill 1921:465; NPS 2001:115). The journey was possible because the passage over two major topographic hurdles had been worked out before their departure. The first was the crossing to the northern side of the Colorado River above the Grand Canyon by Domínguez and Escalante over 50 years before at the Crossing of the Fathers. The second was the dangerous canyon of the Virgin River in northwestern Arizona. Just three years before, in 1826, Jedediah Smith had found a route through this treacherous stretch while leading a brigade of fur trappers from the Great Salt Lake to southern California (Hafen 1950:121). Smith was the first to reach California overland and greatly surprised and dismayed the Mexican authorities, who thought they were secure from encroachment from that direction. Armijo had also been preceded on the route from New Mexico to California by fur trapper Richard Campbell and his brigade of 35 men in 1827. It appears that Campbell and his party of trappers were on the same route used by Armijo, as he recalled passing through Zuni and crossing the Colorado River at the "Crossing of the Fathers." Smith was also aware of his party in the San Juaquin Valley of California in 1827. Campbell sold his pelts to a Russian vessel at San Francisco (Maloney 1939; Sullivan 1934; Utley 1997:340). Armijo's success opened the possibility that trade between New Mexico and California could be lucrative, despite its immense dangers. Despite the success of the trading expedition, the Southern or Armijo Route was extremely difficult and was not utilized again as a trade caravan route (Hafen 1950; National Park Service 2001).

Northern (Main) Route

After having spent time with the Timpanogos Ute at Utah Lake in early 1826, Jedidiah Smith set off on August 26 with 15 men to trap in the Great Basin. They traveled along the Sevier River, passed Sevier Lake, and traveled down the Virgin River and Colorado River to the Mojave villages, where they rested for about 15 days. There, he obtained a guide who took them across the Colorado River near present Needles, California, passed through the Mojave Desert, traveled over Cajon Pass, and arrived at Mission San Gabriel (Dale 1918:183-195). With this journey, Smith is credited with putting together the final piece of what we recognize as the OST that enabled travel between New Mexico and California. Rather than return by the same route, Smith's

party trapped their way through the San Joaquin Valley, crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains by way of Walker River, and passed through the desert back to the Great Salt Lake. Smith returned by the same route to California after spending the winter at Bear Lake and leaving there with a party of 19 men on July 13, 1827. They found the Southern Paiute to be considerably less friendly than the previous year, and, after a seemingly peaceful stay with the Mojave Indians, the party was attacked by the Mojave as they crossed the Colorado River with 10 men lost. They then proceeded to Mission San Gabriel and decided to make their way north through the central valleys of California and into Oregon. They were then attacked by Umpqua Indians on the Umpqua River with only Smith and two other surviving. They then made their way to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River (Dale 1918:229-231, 273-274). Smith's hostile reception by Southern Paiute and the Mojave in 1827 may have been the result of violent interactions that the two groups had with a party of trappers led by James Ohio Pattie in late 1826 (Alley 1982:120). In 1829, following Jedidiah Smith's 1826 entry into California, Ewing Young, William Jackson, David Jackson, Kit Carson, and others followed the route of Jedidiah Smith to Los Angeles. They were turned back by the authorities and Young returned to Taos with William Wolfskill and George C. Yount on what may have been a combination of the Main Route and the North Branch (Hafen and Hafen 1954:134-135). Also in 1829, after trapping along the Virgin River and Santa Clara Creek, a party of trappers sent Thomas L. "Peg-leg" Smith and one other to sell their pelts in Los Angeles in 1829. Their route was certainly along that initially taken by Jedediah Smith (Hafen and Hafen 1954:136).

Peter Skene Ogden of the British North West Company brought a party of trappers south from Fort Vancouver in the Oregon Country to the Sevier River by way of Salt Lake in January 1830. Continuing southwestward along what later became the Main Route of the OST, they passed down the Virgin and Colorado rivers to the Mojave Indian villages, where they crossed the Colorado River and headed westward into California. Rather than continue over the mountains to the San Gabriel Mission and Los Angeles, they turned northward and trapped through the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys on their way back home (Hafen and Hafen 1954:138-139). At the same time, Ewing Young, William Wolfskill, and George C. Yount led a group from Taos to California that included Christopher "Kit" Carson to trap the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys. They traveled through southern Arizona to the Colorado River by way of the Salt River. They then followed a Mojave Indian trail (Mojave Road) to the Mojave River and followed Smith's route to Los Angeles. They trailed behind Ogden's trapping party through the San Joaquin Valley, but briefly caught up with them. They spent the summer in the Sacramento Valley and returned to Los Angeles in the fall. They then escaped the Spanish authorities and returned to New Mexico (Hill 1921:466-467; Lawrence 1931:28; Hafen and Hafen 1954:139; Grant 1926:13-20; Brewerton 1993:6).

The 1830-1831 fur trapping venture to California journey led by Ewing Young, William Wolfskill, and George C. Yount and with Kit Carson as a member, for which Wolfskill and Yount are credited as the first to complete the round trip from Santa Fe to Los Angeles and back, firmly established the Main Route of the OST and stimulated the subsequent trade caravans. Some

traders with the party traded woolen goods for mules, which were larger than those typical in New Mexico and were more highly valued as a result. The availability of these mules, which could be obtained for a bargain price for woolen goods were sold by Wolfskill and Yount for high profits upon their return in 1831 in New Mexico, Missouri, and eastward. The destination of these mules was reportedly Texas and Louisiana, but where they were actually sold is not known (Hill 1921:466-467; Lawrence 1931:28; Hafen and Hafen 1954:139; Grant 1926:13-20; Brewerton 1993:6; Coan 1925:303-305).

Immediately, the Main Route of the OST began to serve as a commercial trade caravan route by which woolen goods were taken to California and horses and mules were brought back to New Mexico (Lawrence 1931). Woolen goods known to have been produced for the trade were *sarapes* (blanket shawls), *frazadas* (blankets), *colchas* (quilts), *sayal* (sack cloth), *jerga* (coarse cloth), and *medias* (socks). The size of the trade caravans varied, with as few as 30 men to over 200 men making the trip annually (National Park Service 2001). Arriving in California in April 1831 was Antonio Santi-Estevan with 30 men as the first trade caravan on the Main Route to California from New Mexico. Santi-Estevan had been named commander of the expedition by New Mexico Governor Jose Antonio Chaves on January 16, 1831 (Hafen and Hafen 1934:172; Lawrence 1931:28).

Santiago Martin with 15 men was granted a license to go on a trading expedition to California on August 13, 1832. Considerable raiding for horses and mules took place in California that year by traders from New Mexico, resulting in new regulations being implemented to curb stock stealing by traders (Hafen and Hafen 1954:174). Juan Jesus Villapando arrived in California in 1833 and was the first to be subject to the new regulations. It is likely that several of the men that traveled with him intended to steal horses and mules, but the new regulations made that more difficult. Under the new regulations, traders arriving with caravans were not allowed to acquire horses and mules except by prices set by the local Justice of the Peace. They had to have permission to visit ranchos and were required to provide evidence of legal purchases. Before leaving California, traders were required to assemble at a designated place for inspection. Stock not identified as having been properly purchased was returned to their owners, and the thieves were prosecuted, including having their passports to return to New Mexico withheld and being kept under guard until their cases were resolved. In order to assure the good character of traders coming to California from New Mexico, the California authorities had the cooperation of the New Mexico authorities. As Villapando drove 200 animals from California, he was arrested by Antonio Avila on the Mojave River east of Cajon Pass for having left with stolen animals. He was imprisoned in Los Angeles, escaped, and was not recaptured (Hafen and Hafen 1954:231; Lawrence 1931:29-30).

The trade caravan for 1833–1834 was led by Jose Avieta with 125 men. He left New Mexico on October 27, 1833 and arrived in Los Angeles on December 24. Some of his party went to the Tulares Valley (Tulares Basin) to steal horses and were pursued by the military (Agnew 2015:185; Lawrence 1931:30). Jacob P. Leese, who had arrived in southern California from New Mexico in

1833 and had previously been engaged in trade on the Santa Fe Trail, departed California with 450 horses in fall 1834. He joined up with a caravan returning to New Mexico but was forced to return to California because of troubles with Indians (Day 1859). Leese became a merchant in Los Angeles and, later, was a founder of San Francisco. Nothing is known of the trading caravan of 1835–1836, except that John Marsh arrived in California with them. A trading caravan comprised of 30 New Mexicans, an Italian, two Canadians, and John Wolfskill left New Mexico on October 17, 1838 and arrived at Los Angeles on February 14, 1839 (Lawrence 1931:31). It is possible that Michael C. White was with this party on its return trip, as suggested by his brief statement written in 1877 (on file at the Bancroft Library UCb112183086 218534581 [Hafen and Hafen 1954:182]):

> In April, 1839, I started from Los Angeles for New Mexico, as far as Taos. I accompanied a New Mexican expedition carrying horses and mules. I carried fifty head, mostly horses of my own and reached Taos in July without anything very important happening on the way. Had a little skirmish with the Utes on the Red River [Colorado River?].

White seems to have separated from the main trade party in order to make his way to Taos with his horses and mules.

Because of internal problems in California, Governor Alvarado issued a proclamation prohibiting caravans from entering in 1839, but was ignored (Lawrence 1931:32-33). In 1839, Francisco Quintana arrived in California with $78.25 in domestic goods to sell (Agnew 2015:185). In December 1839, a caravan of 75 men under Jose Antonio Salazar arrived in California. They stayed three months before returning to New Mexico. Salazar reportedly had difficulty controlling many of the men that came with him from raiding for horses and mules. He was assisted by the California authorities and returned to New Mexico with 2,500 animals on April 14, 1840 (Lawrence 1931:31). Horse raids in early 1840 put the California authorities on high alert when a caravan arrived in November 1840, so thefts were averted (Lawrence 1931:33).

Tomas Salazar evidently traveled to California to trade in 1840 and returned to New Mexico with six men in 1841. His second trip to California was with 170 New Mexicans, including 10 families, intent on selling *serapes* and other woolen goods. He arrived there in December 1843 and returned to New Mexico in April 1844. This was the party that Fremont preceded across the desert in order that he would have sufficient grass and water to make the journey (Lawrence 1931:35).

Fur trapper Joseph Walker arrived in Los Angeles in 1840 with a party of 14 men on a horse expedition that was independent of the caravan trade. Walker returned to sell beaver pelts in February 1841 with Charles Fraeb; they purchased horses and mules with the proceeds and left that April (Lawrence 1931:33; Hafen and Hafen 1954:184).

Francisco Estevan Vigil with 200 Mexicans and 60 Americans left New Mexico on September 6, 1841 and arrived in Los Angeles in late October 1841. This may have included what

is known as the Workman-Rowland Party, a group of 134 including 30 families led by William Workman and John Rowland that had missed joining the Bartleson-Bidwell party that immigrated to California earlier that year on a northern route. The party included J. Manuel Vaca, founder of Vacaville, California. Two separate parties returned to New Mexico in April 1842: Vigil with 300 animals on April 7 and Rowland with 194 New Mexicans and 4,150 animals (Lawrence 1931:33-35). Francisco Esteban Quintana was with the Vigil caravan of 1841–1842; he returned with his family from New Mexico in 1843 (Warren 1974). In 1843, Juan Arce arrived in California with merchandise worth $487.50 to sell (Agnew 2015:185). Francisco Rael arrived in California in 1844 with domestic sheep and goods worth $1,748 (Agnew 2015:185). Francisco Esteban Vigil returned to California with over 200 men, leaving New Mexico on September 6, 1844 and arriving in California in mid-December. The party had 150–160 pack mules of woolen goods valued at $8,000 to $10,000. They left California with 4,628 horses and mules in April 1848 (Hussey 1943). On their return to California, the party was overtaken by Kit Carson and Lt. George Brewerton carrying dispatches from California. This proved to be the last trade caravan to California from New Mexico (Lawrence 1931:38).

It is clear that horses and mules were an important acquisition of the trade caravans to California in exchange for woolen goods from the middle 1830s and early 1840s or carried away from there illicitly. This corresponds with the participation of New Mexicans in the Santa Fe trade to Missouri. Furs, precious metals (specie: silver and gold bullion or coins), and mules were taken eastward on the Santa Fe Trail by New Mexicans to exchange for goods from the eastern United States to be sold in New Mexico (Russell 2019:191). Similarly, American traders on the Santa Fe Trail brought commodities to New Mexico that were exchanged for furs, silver and gold specie, and mules. The final destination of the mules that were sold or exchanged is not known with certainty, but there was a definite market for mules in Missouri and probably farther east. Mules were a key part of the trade. The first mention of mules in Missouri was in 1824 with their source being Mexico/New Mexico. Prior to then, mules were unknown in Missouri and virtually anywhere else in the United States. Mules were initially used as draft animals on the Santa Fe Trail. By 1834, sufficient mules had arrived in Missouri that they began to be bred there, and the mule-breeding industry of Missouri was fully developed by 1850. Mules were in high demand, particularly where cotton and sugar was grown, because they outperformed horses in hot climates. Mules have more endurance, live longer, are resistant to disease and parasites, have tougher hooves, and thrive on lower quality forage than horses (Ashton 1924).

The Ute, initially under Quimanuapa and later Wakara, took advantage of having the annual trade caravans pass through their territory. One of the most common places where Wakara met the caravans was at the crossing of the Green River. He also seems to have met caravans coming from California along the Sevier River. The payment of tribute to the Ute for passing through their territory was evidently considered the cost of doing business (Alley 1982:116; Brewerton 1993:100; Hafen and Hafen 1954:326,369).

Trade in Captives – 1821–1865

The trade in captives grew after Mexican Independence in 1821, especially after extension of the OST to Los Angeles and the advent of trade caravans. Mexicans and Americans who traded for captives typically relied upon other Indians to supply them. Mounted bands of Utes, particularly the followers of Wakara, were notorious for their raids for captives, and the unmounted Gosiute and Southern Paiute were especially victimized (Malouf and Findlay 1986:503; Creer 1949). While trapping in Utah in the 1830s, Dick Wooton recalled frequently seeing Mexicans buying Indian captives and taking them to Taos. Thomas J. Farnham travelled into Utah in 1839 and reported that the Indian children along the Sevier River were hunted in the spring, fattened up, and sold in Santa Fe. Indians were captured by New Mexicans, other Indians, and, occasionally, by fur trappers (Hafen and Hafen 1954:267). New Mexican traders left New Mexico with a few goods, which they traded with the Navajo or Ute for horses that were usually in poor condition. These horses were then traded to poorer Indians for children; those Indians used the horses for food. The traders continued to California where they sold the children for horses, mules, goods, and cash. Additional captives were bought on the return trip and sold in New Mexico (Hafen and Hafen 1954:268). Joseph Williams accompanied Antoine Robidoux from Utah to New Mexico and reported that Robidoux had collected several Indian women and young Indians to take to New Mexico and kept some for his own use (Williams 1843:77-85; Hafen and Hafen 1954:270).

The Ute saw a new market for captives soon after the Mormons arrived in Utah in 1847. Utes threatened to kill captives if the Mormons would not buy them. Wakara brought three Indian children to Parowan in 1851 and sold them to the Mormons for one horse each. Southern Paiute captives were reportedly still brought to Santa Fe every spring and sold for $100 to $400 each in 1851 (Hafen and Hafen 1954:271). It was reported that Southern Paiutes along the Sevier River were quite afraid of Mexicans because they came into the area to capture them (Hafen and Hafen 1954:352-3).

In 1851, Pedro Leon obtained a license to trade with the Ute Indians from the Governor James S. Calhoun of New Mexico. Another member of the party had a license as well. The 28-man party initially traded items for horses and mules on the Rio Grande. They crossed the Green River and sent some men north to Salt Lake City to meet with Brigham Young and acquire a license to trade from him if one was needed. They indicated to Young that they desired to trade for Indian children to sell as captives in New Mexico. Young declined to give them a trading license, and they reportedly agreed not to trade for captives and return home. Twenty of the men returned to New Mexico, but when it was found that the remaining eight had collected captives, the Mormons arrested and tried them in Manti. They were fined, and a woman and eight children purchased as captives were released (Hill 1921:471-472; Hafen and Hafen 1954:273; Weber 1971:162). Leon reportedly felt he had the right by custom to trade for Paiute children, who he claimed were sold by their parents for horses that they killed and ate for food. Because the children were adopted into New Mexican households, baptized, and considered members of the family, he did not consider them to actually be slaves (Hafen and Hafen 1954:274).

The Utah Legislature enacted a law in 1852 forbidding trade in slaves. This enraged Wakara and was one of the reasons for Wakara and Pahvant Utes raiding Mormon settlements in central Utah in what is known as the Walker War. In 1853, Wakara's band camped on the Provo bench and had several children to sell. When the Mormon's would not buy them, Wakara's brother, Arapine, killed one of the children and threw the body toward the Mormons saying that they were heartless or they would have bought the child to save its life. In 1853 and 1854, Paiutes along the Virgin and Santa Clara Rivers lived in fear of traders, indicating that the practice of obtaining captives was continuing. In December 1854, Sanpitch, another brother of Wakara, traded with Paiutes for 8 to 10 days and bought three girls for three guns and a large number of beads. Besides trading for captives, Wakara's band sometimes attacked Southern Paiutes, killed the men, and took the women and children. The trade in captives continued until at least 1865, with the Ute selling them to New Mexican families or to the Navajo (Moody 1963:180; Hafen and Hafen 1954: 256-257, 274-280; Malouf and Findlay 1986:509).

Horse and Mule Raiding – 1837–1851

It is evident from the records of the annual trade caravans that some members of the caravans were intent on obtaining horses and mules through raiding of ranches in California, rather than obtaining them legally through purchase. It was because of this that Mexican authorities in California established regulations to insure that parties returning to New Mexico did so only after inspections proved that the animals they were departing with were acquired legally. In California, these raiders were known as "*saguanosos*" or "*sozones*."[12]

The large numbers of horses and mules on the range in California proved to be too strong a draw to keep stock raiding at bay. As the fur trade declined in the late 1830s and early 1840s, trappers became involved in raids, capitalizing on relationships they had developed with Ute Indians. The first of these may have been a party led by Jean-Baptiste Chalifoux in 1837-1838 that departed California by way of Tehachapi or Cajon Pass and the Mohave Road (Warren 1974). A band of horse thieves led by Old Bill Williams, Peg-leg Smith, Philip Thompson from Tennessee, and Ute leader Wakara stole 3,000 horses and mules from ranches between Los Angeles and San Luis Obispo, with 1,200 animals coming from the Mission at San Luis Obispo, in 1840. They departed California for New Mexico and ambushed a posse sent after them near Cajon Pass, which prevented further pursuit (Hafen and Hafen 1954:237, 240-241; Queho Posse 2014). Smith returned again in 1841 with a party of French, Ute, and American raiders (Hafen and Hafen 1954:243). In 1844, mountain man James Beckwourth and five other Americans rounded up 1,800 horses in the Los Angeles area and drove them to the Arkansas River. Two years later, in 1846, Joseph Walker gathered 400–500 horses and mules in southern California and drove them to the Pueblo area on the Arkansas River, where some were sold to General Kearney on his way to California. He then sold 60 mules at Bent's Fort (Hafen and Hafen 1954:190, 247; Warren 1974). A group led by Wakara went to the San Bernardino area in October 1845 under the guise of peaceful traders and drove off a large band of horses.

[12] The origin of these names is unknown. They often seem to refer to mixed groups comprised of Indians, New Mexicans, and fur trappers working together explicitly to raid for horses and mules and escaping with them eastward.

Vincente Lugo caught up with them on the Mojave River, but was unsuccessful in returning with any horses. When the Mormon Battalion arrived in Southern California during the Mexican-American War, they took up the job of preventing Indians from entering California to steal stock (Hafen and Hafen 1954:251).

With the acquisition of California by the U.S. from Mexico as a result of the Mexican-American War, former American fur trappers ceased their horse raiding. They previously had no qualms about stealing from Mexican citizens, but did not feel it was right for them to steal from Americans. Raiding continued by Indians, mainly under Wakara (Hafen and Hafen 1954:248). Former fur trapper, Miles Goodyear, legally acquired horses in southern California, coming from his trading post Fort Buenaventura near present Ogden, Utah. He arrived in southern California in February 1848 and departed by way of Cajon Pass on April 23, 1848. His intent was to sell the horses to the U.S. Army in Missouri, but when he arrived there in February 1849, the Mexican-American War was over, and there was no longer a market. Fortunately, gold had been discovered in California, so he returned to California, arriving at Sutter's Fort in July 1849, and was able to sell the horses at a profit (Darley 2021). In late 1848, Wakara and another Ute leader, Sowiete, went to the Salt Lake Valley with several hundred head of horses to sell. The Mormons told Wakara they did not want him to steal from the Spanish (Mexicans), but Wakara said that his men hated the Mexicans and he could not stop them from stealing from them (Hafen and Hafen 1954:253). In June 1849, Utes stole horses near Los Angeles and were pursued to Cajon Pass where 10 Utes were killed and the horses were recovered. Utes then raided the Lugos and Alvarado Ranches in early 1850. The Ute raided the Lugos ranch again in January 1851 and were reported to be well armed with rifles and revolvers. The raid was apparently directed by Wakara and led by his brother, Sanpitch (Hafen and Hafen 1954:254-255).

Sheep Drives to California – 1850–1855

After the collapse of the fur trade in the early 1840s, the 1849 California gold rush created an immediate economic opportunity that stimulated use of all of the trails leading to California as thoroughfares for sheep drives. The first band of sheep was driven along the Gila Route to southern California by a gold miner named Roberts who bought 500 sheep in New Mexico for $250 in 1849. Upon his arrival in early 1850, he sold the sheep for $16 each (Baxter 2009; National Park Service 2001). Also taking sheep to California from New Mexico in 1849 on the southern route were Miguel Otero and Jose Luna, who trailed 25,000 sheep in ten bands. The success of Otero and Luna stimulated the trailing of large bands of sheep to California from New Mexico beginning in late 1850. In January 1851, a Mr. Jackson arrived in southern California with 3,000 sheep and a second band of 7,000 reportedly arrived in Sacramento from New Mexico by way of the OST (*Daily Alta California*, January 20, 1851:2; *Sacramento Transcript*, January 22, 1851:2). About the same time, William Z. Angney, a Santa Fe lawyer, trailed 10,000–12,000 sheep from New Mexico over the Main Route of the OST to southern California. On August 11, 1850, Angney wrote to General Choice, the Indian Agent at Abiquiu, that he had left Santa Fe on July 25 and mentioned specifically that he was travelling on the OST. He was assisted in crossing the San Juan River by Utes, probably in the vicinity of Pagosa Springs, camped with Utes three miles beyond the crossing, and planned to meet a party of Navajo on the La Plata River (Angney 1850;

Baxter 2009). With sheep in high demand and reportedly bringing $10 to $20 per head in California after having been purchased for $1 in Mexico or New Mexico, sheep were hailed as the most lucrative venture available in California. As a result, speculators from California ventured to New Mexico and Mexico to assemble large bands of sheep for the California market between 1852 and 1854. Among the speculators were former mountain men who were already familiar with the trails, including Timothy Goodale, Francis Xavier Aubry, Kit Carson, and William Wolfskill and ranchers from New Mexico including Lucien Maxwell, John L. Hatcher, Robert Carey, Jose Francisco Chavez, and members of the Peria, Baca, Otero, Antonio, Lopez, and Salazar families. Many different routes were taken, with the more southerly Gila route across Arizona being the most frequently used, though the Main Route and North Branch of the OST were also used to reach southern California or as the initial leg of the journey that branched off to Salt Lake City and continued westward (*Daily Alta California*, February 2, 1851:2, June 15, 1852:9, September 2, 1852:5, June 29, 1853:2, July 6, 1853:2, July 7, 1853:1, January 25, 1854:2; *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 17, 1851:2, June 12, 1852, June 28, 1853:2, December 29, 1853:3, January 18, 1854:3). Richens (Uncle Dick) Wootton drove a band of 9,000 sheep from Taos to the Sacramento Valley in 1852. He used the North Branch across Cochetopa Pass to the crossing of the Green River where he headed northward and continued his journey by way of Salt Lake City and across the deserts of Utah and Nevada on the California Trail (Conard 1957; Wooten 1853). Benjamin and Thomas Bixby and Llewellyn Flint drove 1,880 sheep from Ohio to southern California in 1853, using the OST for the final leg of their journey. These served as the foundation of the highly successful Flint, Bixby & Co. sheep business (Westergaard 1923).

Following Gunnison's tracks from the San Luis Valley, and only about two days behind, was a party composed of Charles W. McClanahan and his partner, a Mr. Crocket, of Virginia, who were driving a herd of 2,000 sheep to California. McClanahan had been to California before on the more northerly California Trail and knew of the profits to be made there from sheep. The McClanahan party had met Captain Gunnison in St. Joseph, Missouri, and was convinced by him to travel over the Cochetopa Pass route. McClanahan and Crocket were joined by two men and their families from Iowa with the last name of Ross who were immigrating to California in carriages and by two Virginians with the last name of Burwell who were taking a herd of 300–400 cattle to California. While stopped at Fort Massachusetts on August 28, 1853, readying themselves to pass through the San Luis Valley and over Cochetopa Pass, McClanahan wrote a letter to Senator Benton extolling the benefits of travel over the route from Missouri to the San Luis Valley. The party made it to the crossing of the Colorado River at Grand Junction, where they encountered Antoine Leroux on his return to Taos after guiding the Gunnison Expedition to the northwestern end of the Grand Valley. The party crossed the Green River and had exhausted their supplies, so sent one of the Burwells and Rosses ahead to catch the Gunnison Expedition in the vicinity of the San Rafael Swell on October 15. They were given some relief supplies, but it is not known if their journey beyond that point was a success (McClanahan 1853; Wooten 1853; Beckwith 1854:68).

Within a short time, the sheep herds in New Mexico and Mexico were greatly depleted and initial purchase prices had gone up, eliminating the high profits of the first sheep drives. Also,

after just a few years, sufficient breeding stock had reached California for its own sheep industry to become established and the high sales prices plummeted. As a result, the great sheep drives ended in 1855 (*California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, February 1, 1855:38).

Use of the Old Spanish Trail for Regional Settlement 1831–1881

Caravan Period – 1831–1848

The trade caravans between New Mexico and California often brought families with them intent on settling in California between 1831 and 1848. Most of these new immigrants are not known, but further research will likely provide new information. The 1850 California Census shows 77 individuals born in New Mexico between 1779 and 1820 living in California, with most in Los Angeles County. Ten New Mexican families arrived with the 1840 caravan and J. Manuel Vaca, the founder of Vacaville, arrived in 1841. After first coming with a trade caravan in 1843, Estevan Quintana brought his family to California in 1843. In addtion, Jacob Leese, one of the founders of San Francisco first arrived with a trade caravan in 1833, John Marsh arrived with the trading caravan of 1835, and, in 1841, 30 families that had failed to join the Bartleson-Bidwell party went south to take the OST into California rather than risking crossing the Sierra Nevada Mountains farther north (Lawrence 1931:31-35; Day 1859; Warren 1974).

There is some question about use of the North Branch corridor as an emigrant route by wagon from Taos to southern California by the Pope-Slover party in 1837, the only party noted as ever having done so. Hafen and Hafen (1954:181, 197-202) conclude that the Pope and Slover families emigrated to California to escape the troubles of the 1837 rebellion in Taos over tax reform, which had anti-Texan overtones. The misconception that the North Branch was suitable for travel by wagon was initiated by Antoine Leroux's March 1, 1853 letter in support of Senator Thomas Hart Benton's desire for westward travel to center on Cochetopa Pass. Leroux stated: "Wagons can now travel this route to California, and have done it. In the year 1837, two families named Sloover [Slover] and Pope, with their wagons and two Mexicans, went from Taos that way" (Benton 1853; Hafen and Hafen 1954:198).

Whether the Pope-Slover party actually pulled a wagon over the route is debatable; at best, perhaps a two-wheeled cart. In possible support of the Pope-Slover party using the North Branch is an inscription "S.L.S/1837" found at the base of the Book Cliffs near Crescent Junction, Utah, though it in no way suggests passage of a wagon (Pfertsh 2005). In any event, the Main Route of the OST was never passable by wagons from Colorado into Utah because of the steep canyons in that area, and the North Branch was passable with wagons by the Gunnison Expedition of 1853 only with extreme hardship in crossing the Lake Fork of the Gunnison in Colorado on a route of their own making and at various other places along the route (Horn 2010:1). Gunnison's understanding of the route as he entered the San Luis Valley of Colorado further disputes the possibility that wagons over the North Branch preceded his attempt (Nelson 2003:72):

I have had an old trapper [possibly Antoine Leroux] here [at Fort Massachusetts] to confuse

> me about the road onwards. These fellows were on a different business in early times and never dreamed of road making in such terribly rocky & chasmy places & their descriptions are very confused … . Our road difficulties are ahead no doubt. No wagons have ever been farther than Grand [Gunnison] River I am now credibly informed. If I get through it will be a triumph – but I shall at least try … .

The passage of wagons as far as the Grand (Gunnison) River over the North Branch prior to Gunnison's 1853 effort should be viewed with skepticism. Contextual evidence is that this was a latter day fabrication to promote the interests of St. Louis businessmen to establish the "Central Route" to the Pacific as the preferred route of a transcontinental railroad or, failing that, a prosperous emigrant route for settlement of western Colorado and beyond.

Mormon Road – 1849–1878

Some members of the Mormon Battalion who had gone to California during the Mexican-American War returned to Utah by way of the OST in 1848 in the company of Jefferson Hunt, who had gone to California in 1847 to obtain supplies for the new Mormon arrivals in the Salt Lake Valley (Crampton 1965:24-25). In 1849, some travelers headed to California for the Gold Rush were directed southward from Salt Lake City to intersect the OST at what was later Parowan as a safer route than over the Sierra Nevada Mountains into northern California. This route went southward from Utah Lake through Spanish Fork and along the general route of Interstate-15 into the Escalante Desert. The first group was led by Jefferson Hunt and was comprised of 107 wagons, over 400 people, and about 1,000 horses, mules, and cattle. They left Salt Lake City in early October 1849 and arrived in southern California in mid-December. Other groups subsequently followed that route to California (Crampton 1965:26-27). In November 1849, Parley Pratt led the Mormon "Southern Exploring Company" to examine territory from the Sevier River Valley southward to the Virgin River for possible settlement. This resulted in what was known as the Iron Mission and the settlement of Parowan, Paragonah, and Cedar City in 1851 (Crampton 1965:27-29). As a result, the route from the Salt Lake Valley to southwestern Utah, including the southwestern portion of the OST, became known as the Mormon Trail or Mormon Road. Also in 1851, Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich led a party of 450 to land they had purchased at San Bernardino to establish a California Mormon colony. This increased traffic along the Mormon Road, including that section of the OST from Utah into California by travelers from the Salt Lake Valley until the colony was abandoned in 1857, when settlers were recalled to Utah to defend against the U.S. army during the so-called "Mormon War." John D. Lee did additional examination of the Virgin River and Santa Clara Creek areas in early 1852, searching for suitable locations for further Mormon settlement resulting in the establishment of Harmony. A mission to the Virgin River left Salt Lake City in April 1854 and arrived in May. It resulted in the establishment of the agricultural communities of Gunlock, Santa Clara, Hamblin, Pinto, and Pine Valley between 1856 and 1859 (Crampton 1965:47, 64-68; Pratt 1888). Also founded between 1856 and 1860 were Tonaquint, Washington, Tocquerville, Virgin City, Heberville, Grafton, and Rockville. To become more self-sufficient, a call for settlers was made to move to the St. George area for what was called the Cotton Mission in 1861, which also resulted in the establishment of Leeds that year. 300

families settled in the area in order to grow cotton and other crops that could not be grown farther north (Crampton 1965:97, 100-101). All of this colonization resulted in increased traffic and gradual improvement of the general route taken by the OST as a prominent wagon road. Farther west, the route was used to establish communities in Nevada, starting with Las Vegas in 1855 and subsequently Moapa in 1865, Bunkerville in 1877, and Mesquite in 1878. Littlefield, Arizona, was founded in 1865. The Mormon Road served as an important supply route for Salt Lake City from the southern California ports of Los Angeles and San Pedro until the transcontinental railroad was completed through Ogden, Utah in 1869.

Elk Mountain Mission – 1855

The Elk Mountain Mission was a Mormon colonization effort that set out from Manti, Utah, on May 21, 1855. It consisted of 41 men, 15 wagons, 65 oxen, and various cows, horses, chickens, and a variety of tools. The party was led by Alfred N. Billings, and no families were on the journey. The expedition had been preceded the previous year by a party led by William D. Huntington and Jackson Stewart scouting for possible places for a Mormon mission. Huntington and Stewart left five wagons and a plow for later use. Beyond Manti, the members of the Elk Mountain Mission took the Main Route of the OST westward to the Castledale area and could see where the Gunnison Expedition had rejoined the OST after their detour around the San Rafael Swell. They had the good fortune to meet some Ute Indians at that point who guided them through the Swell on the route of the OST (Pace 1941), making them the first to demonstrably have taken wagons on the route. At the crossing of the Green River, the party took from June 4–8 to get all the wagons, stock, and supplies across, using a wagon box as a boat. They then reached the crossing of the Colorado River at the northern end of the Spanish Valley. A 25-ft.-high ledge made crossing difficult, and they built a section of road, had to lower the wagons, and, again, used a wagon box as a boat. Once in the valley, about 10-acres of land was noted as under cultivation by the Indians using irrigation. The company selected a place for their operation and began preparations for farming, including grubbing the land of sagebrush and building a diversion dam and irrigation ditch from Pack Creek, which they referred to as "Pack Saddle Creek." They built a stone "fort" and a log corral. On September 23 and 24, the group had a prolonged altercation with the local Indians, resulting in three Mormons being killed and three Indians killed and three severely wounded. Under continual harassment, the Mormons quickly departed, leaving much of their livestock behind (Jensen 1913; Pace 1941).

Saguache & San Juan Toll Road – 1874

In 1874, the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road was constructed from Saguache, Colorado, over South Cochetopa Pass to the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River. This section of the wagon road was built on much of the trail used by Heap in 1853 on his resupply mission to Taos after the Beale Expedition lost most of their gear in the Gunnison River. Because Heap had described it as a variant over the mountains used by travelers from the San Luis Valley, it can be considered a variant of the North Branch of the OST. Upon reaching the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River, the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road turned southward from the North Branch, following the Lake Fork

through the future site of Lake City and onward over Cinnamon Pass to the new mining community of Animas Forks that had been established on the upper Animas River in the heart of the San Juan Mountains. Prior to its conversion to a wagon road, the sections of trail between Cebolla Creek and the Lake Fork and through Rabbit Valley had been traveled by Lt. E. H. Ruffner during his reconnaissance of the Ute country in 1873 (Ruffner 1874).

Salt Lake Wagon Road – 1875

The town of Ouray was started in 1875 on the upper Uncompahgre River on the northern flank of the San Juan Mountains in southwestern Colorado. It was so isolated that it was easier to obtain supplies from the Salt Lake Valley rather than use the pack trails through the mountains to Pueblo, Colorado Springs, or Denver. To access the North Branch of the OST that had been improved by Col. Loring in 1858, a road was built northward through the Uncompahgre Valley from Ouray to the crossing of the North Branch just south of present Montrose. Once the connection was made, the North Branch, improved as a wagon road by Loring, was followed through western Colorado and eastern Utah. The route, known as the Salt Lake Wagon Road was used to freight supplies to Ouray until 1878, when the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad extended their line to Alamosa and better transportation routes through the mountains were established. When the border between Utah and Colorado was surveyed in 1878, Rollin J. Reeves noted that only two roads were present that crossed the Colorado-Utah state line. The first corresponds with the route of the Main route of the OST that ran south of the La Sal Mountains and past the Big Bend of the Dolores River on its way to Parrott City. The other was the Salt Lake Wagon Road that crossed the Colorado River at present Grand Junction and continued through the Los Pinos Indian Agency at present Colona, Colorado, and continued to the mines in the San Juan Mountains (Pierson 1998:111-113).

Los Pinos Agency in Cochetopa Park and Uncompahgre Valley – 1869–1881

In 1869, the Los Pinos Agency on the Ute Reservation was placed west of Cochetopa Pass in a very isolated location that was not on any main trail or road. In order to access the agency by wagon, travelers had to pass over North Cochetopa Pass and then head southward on a very rough route that was developed solely to access the agency (Edward M. McCook, Governor of Colorado Territory, to General E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 16, 1869, National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 200). When the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road was laid out in 1874, it passed about 3 miles south of the agency. However, the natural route of travel was through the agency, and the agency received a considerable amount of visitation by travelers on their way to the mines in the San Juan Mountains (Henry F. Bond, Indian Agent, Los Pinos Indian Agency, to Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 4, and February 1 and 3, 1875, National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 205).

When the Ute Reservation was surveyed, it was found that the Los Pinos Agency was not within its boundaries, so a new agency location was sought. A decision was made to move the agency to the Uncompahgre Valley near present Colona, Colorado, in order to prevent conflicts between the

Ute and miners passing through the region. By taking the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road to the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River, it was initially thought possible to continue northward down the Lake Fork to intersect the wagon road improved by Loring in 1858, referred to as "the Old Salt Lake Road," that had been blazed by the Gunnison Expedition (Henry F. Bond, Indian Agent, Los Pinos Indian Agency, to Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs March 17, 1875, National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 205). After visiting the Uncompahgre Valley and finding a suitable location for the new agency, it was clear that following the Lake Fork to Gunnison's crossing of the river was not feasible. Instead, about 40 miles of new road was thought necessary to be built to connect the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road from the Lake Fork to the "Old Salt Lake Road" well west of the crossing Gunnison had made of the Lake Fork. Although considerable effort would need to go into building the new section of road and in putting the "Old Salt Lake Road" into passable condition, it was thought to be worthwhile (Henry F. Bond, Indian Agent, Los Pinos Indian Agency, to Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs June 7, 1875, National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 205). Just at that moment, one of the parties of the Hayden Expedition under the direction of Henry Gannett arrived at the Los Pinos Agency. As they planned to conduct work in and around the Uncompahgre Valley, they offered their assistance in selecting a route for the new section of road (Henry F. Bond, Indian Agent, Los Pinos Indian Agency, to Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs June 29, 1875, National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 205).

The route selected was essentially the route of the North Branch of the OST taken by the Beale Expedition in 1853. Beginning where the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road reached the Lake Fork of the Gunnison and turned southward toward Lake City, the selected route climbed northwestward out of the Lake Fork Canyon and met the route improved by Col. Loring on Blue Mesa between Pine Creek and Blue Creek. The newly improved section of the route was nearly the same as that taken by the current Blue Mesa Cutoff Road.

After the Hayden Expedition made their initial traverse of the route, the wagon road was constructed by agency personnel in late July and early August 1875. Agent Henry Bond sent four ox teams, one mule team, and twelve men to the Uncompahgre Valley with the saw mill, and the road was put into traveling condition as they went (Henry F. Bond, Indian Agent, Los Pinos Indian Agency, to Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs July 23, 1875, National Archives, Microcopy 234, Roll 205). Once across the Uncompahgre River, agency personnel turned southward off of the route of the North Branch to reach the new agency location. Travel southward to the new agency was facilitated by a new section of road that had been constructed from the new mining community of Ouray that joined the North Branch improved by Loring at the crossing of the Uncompahgre River. The road from Ouray to the Salt Lake Valley became known as the Salt Lake Wagon Road.

Following the Meeker Massacre on September 29, 1879, and the Battle Milk of Creek through October 5, 1879, there was considerable uncertainty and fear among the settlers of Saguache and other communities in southwestern Colorado that the Utes might rise up against them. To quell concerns, the U.S. Army established a military presence that fall along the Saguache

& San Juan Toll Road on the eastern side of South Cochetopa Pass along what became known as Cantonment Creek. The military presence was led by Captain Thomas E. Rose with Lieutenant Eugene Cushman as second in command. What became known as Camp Rose lasted until at least late spring 1880, enough time for the contingent to be enumerated there on June 7, 1880, for the federal census. The census included Rose and Cushman with 62 other soldiers. A 1924 history of the Cochetopa National Forest, the forerunner of the Rio Grande National Forest, noted that the remains of the camp could still be seen at that time and that one of the soldiers, Charles Scheidler, had died of exposure on a hunting trip that winter and was buried in Saguache Park (Agee and Cuenin 1924). As Camp Rose came to the end of its use, troops of the 4th U.S. Cavalry and 19th U.S. Infantry traveled over Cochetopa Pass to the Los Pinos Agency in May 1880 under General Ranald S. Mackenzie. They initially served as security during negotiations with the Ute resolving issues regarding the Meeker Massacre and reduction in size of the Ute Reservation. Later that year, the 4th U.S. Cavalry did scouting missions on the Grand Mesa and as far north as the Grand Valley. After leaving for the winter, the 4th U.S. Cavalry returned in 1881 (Rodenbough and Haskin 1896:218). They escorted the Ute Indians associated with the Los Pinos Agency in their removal from western Colorado to the Uintah Reservation in the Uintah Valley of northeastern Utah. With their relocation, the reservation was known as the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. The route taken by the dispossessed Ute was along the Salt Lake Wagon Road from Montrose into the Grand Valley along what had been the route of the OST. From the Grand Valley, the route was probably northward over Douglas Pass through Canyon Pintado and northwestward over the White and Green Rivers to the reservation.

Lake Fork & Uncompahgre Toll Road – 1877

After the Los Pinos Agency was moved to the Uncompahgre Valley, the road that the agency personnel used for the move was acquired by Otto Mears and improved as the Lake Fork & Uncompahgre Toll Road in 1877. This included the connection from the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road at the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River onto Blue Mesa and extended past the new agency location at Colona to Ouray. It was an important road improvement that made Ouray more accessible with the Los Pinos Agency along the way.

Saguache to Gunnison Wagon Road – 1878–1881

A survey of Township lines was performed in 1873 that included the Cochetopa Pass area. That map shows a road over North Cochetopa Pass, referred to simply as "Cochetope Pass." The section lines were surveyed for T46N R3E during the fall of 1879 for T46N R4E in May 1880. These show that the Saguache to Gunnison Road had been built on the route. In the December 1, 1877 issue of the *Saguache Chronicle*, they noted that the rapid growth of the Gunnison Valley, including Tomichi and Ohio Creek, had created quite a demand for goods that the merchants of Saguache were anxious to supply. They advocated improvement of "the road over the old Government Military Pass, which leads directly into the Gunnison Valley can be made a good road by a little work." It noted that the Cottonwood Pass Road from Colorado Springs was blocked by snow for half the year, so the pass above Saguache should continue to be the main route used to

access the Gunnison area (*Saguache Chronicle* December 1, 1877:2). A few years later, it was noted that the road from Saguache to Gunnison did not charge a toll, was the best and only practical route to take, and was not the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road (*Saguache Chronicle* May 8, 1880:1). The route began competing with the toll road Otto Mears completed across Marshall Pass to Gunnison in 1880, which was then used as the route of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad to Gunnison in 1881. Completion of the railroad made the road over North Cochetopa Pass obsolete as a commercial route, relegating it to local traffic.

Government Exploration along the Old Spanish Trail 1844–1859

Formal U.S. government exploration the route of the North Branch of the OST through the Rocky Mountains and the Main Route in Utah can be tied directly to the interest of Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri. Enthusiastic about the results of the Lewis and Clark Expedition from 1804 to 1806, Benton became convinced that America's future was tied to westward expansion and trade with India and China. Beginning in the early 1840s, he facilitated the exploration of the west by his son-in-law, John C. Fremont, and was very outspoken in making certain that Oregon Territory was the realm of the United States. In 1845, Asa Whitney, who had made a fortune in trade in the Orient, proposed the construction of a transcontinental railroad. Benton took this up as his crusade. Despite Fremont's disastrous 1848 expedition in the southern Colorado Rockies, Benton became convinced that the best and most direct route through the Rocky Mountains and to the Pacific was through Colorado by way of Cochetopa Pass on what was termed the Central Route. As a result, when different alignments were proposed for exploration to determine the best route for a transcontinental railroad, Benton made sure that the Central Route was included.

Even before surveys were underway, Benton attempted to sway public opinion about the Central Route. Antoine Leroux, while visiting Washington, D.C. in early 1853, was impressed upon by Benton to provide a statement regarding the most feasible route from Missouri to California. His statement from March 1, 1853 eloquently described the easy traverse through the mountains using Cochetopa Pass (Benton 1853). In this, he noted that the pass had been known to the Spaniards since they first settled in New Mexico and that it had been known to the Indians forever. He also noted that it was the route taken routinely by the people of Taos when the Main Route of the OST through Abiquiu was too snowy in the winter. Although rather vague, he accurately described the route rejoining the Main Route of the OST between the Green and Grand (Colorado) rivers. He then offered his services as a guide. Leroux's statement is the earliest real information that we have about the route from the San Luis Valley across Cochetopa Pass and through western Colorado.

John C. Fremont – 1844

Returning from California and Oregon in 1844, John C. Fremont, accompanied by Kit Carson, traversed a portion of the trail. Traveling south along the eastern flank of the Sierra Nevada Mountains in southeastern California, Fremont encountered the trail along the Mojave

River. Fremont is credited with being the first to use the name "Spanish Trail" for the route, and Carson also recognized it as such for the trail between Taos and California when relating his memoirs in 1856 or 1857 (Fremont 1845:254; Grant 1926). Fremont struck the trail on April 20, 1844. As they traveled through the desert, he mentioned camping at places regularly used by trade caravans between New Mexico and California and that they were fortunate to be in the vanguard of a trade caravan from California because there was grass available for their horses. They made good time along the trail, which was quite visible in most places, and reached the Big Springs of Las Vegas on May 3. They reached the Virgin River on May 6 and the Vegas de Santa Clara, what we know as the Mountain Meadows, on May 12. He noted the luxuriant grasses and mentioned that the annual caravans from California frequently spent considerable time there recovering from the desert crossing they had just completed. At the Mountain Meadows, Joseph Walker caught up with them; he had left California with the annual caravan and moved ahead of them with a group of eight Americans in hopes of catching up with Fremont. Walker then served as their guide into Utah. On May 13, they reached Sevier Lake and traveled up the Sevier River, reportedly turning off of the OST (Fremont 1845:259-272; Grant 1926:55-64). They encountered Wakara and his band of well-mounted and well-armed Utes, who knew Walker. They were on their way to intercept the annual caravan from California "to levy their usual tribute" (Fremont 1845:272). By May 24, Fremont and his party had reached Spanish Fork and were soon at Utah Lake, where the Timpanogos Ute were plentiful (Fremont 1845:273-274).

Beale Expedition – 1853

Lt. Edward Beale used the North Branch and Main Route of the OST on his way to become the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California in 1853, just a few months before the Gunnison Expedition also followed the general route of the North Branch and Main Route into Utah (Bachmann and Wallace 1957; Beckwith 1854; Heap 1854). Benton reportedly wanted Fremont and Beale to lead the official railroad survey by the Topographical Engineers in 1853, but was rebuffed, and the assignment was given to Captain John W. Gunnison. Benton then sought a separate appropriation for financing exploration by Beale and Fremont, which failed. He was still able to have Beale travel over the Cochetopa Pass Route to California on his way to be the Superintendent of Indian Affairs there and have Gwinn Harris Heap prepare a report, though the expedition had no official connection with the railroad surveys.

The Beale Expedition had 12 members and acquired two guides (cousins both named Felipe Archilete) for travel by horseback over the mountains from Taos to California. They began their ascent over North Cochetopa Pass by way of Saguache Creek on June 17, 1853. On June 19, they reached Cochetopa Creek, at which point Heap mentioned that a second trail branched northward over gentle terrain that would have taken them two additional days to reach their destination. This variant went over a low divide to Razor Creek, which empties into Tomichi Creek, and leads to the present town of Gunnison and beyond. Beale and Heap did not go that way, but rather continued on a northwestward then southwestward trajectory that took them across what is currently the Gunnison National Forest. Upon reaching Cebolla Creek, Heap noted that a trail from the south intersected the trail that they were on. This more southerly trail, he

reported, came over Carnero Pass (South Cochetopa Pass) and was used by traders from Abiquiu to trade with the Ute. Farther on, they entered the valley of the Rio de Laguna or what we know as the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River.

After a difficult crossing of the Lake Fork, they continued westward across Willow Creek, Pine Creek, and Blue Creek, and the Little Cimarron and Cimarron rivers. On June 23, the party found the Uncompahgre River in flood and could not cross at the usual place, south of present Montrose. After moving along the eastern side of the river, they were finally able to cross the Uncompahgre River to get them to the usual crossing of the Gunnison River above its entry into the Gunnison River Canyon at Roubideau Creek. Dangerously high water caused them to lose most of their gear in attempting to cross, and they retreated back to the Cimarron River.

Heap then led a resupply party back to Taos by the route over South Cochetopa (Carnero) Pass and, instead of following Saguache Creek into the San Luis Valley, probably headed southeastward down Carnero Creek to present La Garita and into the valley. Upon resupplying at Taos, he returned to the Cimarron River, and the expedition was able to cross the Uncompahgre River south of present Montrose and continue its journey on the North Branch past the intersection with the Main Route and across the Green River. They followed the trail through the San Rafael Swell, down the Sevier River and to the Mormon towns of Paragonah and Parowan. From there, the route was on the improved Mormon Road through the Mountain Meadows, down the Virgin River, into California along the Mojave River, and over Cajon Pass to San Bernardino. They arrived in Los Angeles on August 22, 1853.

In an October 14, 1853 letter, Benton (1853) took credit for the Beale Expedition and reported that letters from Heap and Beale showed the route to be everything that Fremont and Leroux described: that the passes through the mountains were gentle and could be easily traversed by wagons and carriages. He also described the land along the route to be abounding with wood, water, and good soil for cultivation and that all that was needed was farmers for the region to be filled with settlements. He even put a good spin on the Beale Expedition's loss of supplies in the Gunnison as having given Heap a chance to explore an even better and shorter route through the mountains to and from Taos and giving Beale the chance to hunt and explore the area with the Ute.

Gunnison Expedition – 1853

Within two months of the Beale Expedition, the Gunnison Expedition with 18 wagons – 16 six-mule wagons, an instrument wagon, and an ambulance – and about 100 men, including 30 mounted riflemen, passed through the region using Antoine Leroux as their guide (Beckwith 1854). After passing through the San Luis Valley, they began their ascent of Cochetopa Pass by way of Saguache Creek on August 31, 1853. The goal of the expedition was to demonstrate that the route through the Rockies was at least feasible for a wagon road, if not the route of a railroad.

When the Gunnison Expedition reached the point of division on the trail on Cochetopa

Creek noted by Heap, they took the gentler route northward along Razor Creek to Tomichi Creek, followed it to present Gunnison, and continued down the Gunnison River into what is the pool of Blue Mesa Reservoir. Where this trail actually went is not stated, but it likely exited the northern side of the valley near Sapinero, traversed Curecanti Creek, and climbed over Black Mesa into the upper reaches of the North Fork of the Gunnison River through present Maher and Crawford and continued past present Delta to its intersection with the route through the Uncompahgre Valley north of the crossing of the Gunnison River. A route on this alignment is shown on the Hayden Expedition maps of the area using data they collected from 1874-1876, though they do not describe it in their reports. It was along this route that the first cattle were moved into the North Fork of the Gunnison Valley from Gunnison by Sam Hartman in 1881. It was not until the later 1880s that a wagon road was finally constructed that followed this general course. The first recognition of this trail as a variant of the North Branch of the OST was by John Nelson (Hayden 1874, 1876, 1877; Nelson 1996; Nelson 2003).

Antoine Leroux certainly realized that it was not possible to get wagons across Curecanti Creek on the northern side of the Black Canyon of the Gunnison River, but also knew that the trail that Beale had taken westward from Cochetopa Creek was even more difficult for wagons to follow. Wagons had never before traversed any of the trail routes over Cochetopa Pass and beyond. Once at the critical point where the river began its entry into the Black Canyon of the Gunnison, the Gunnison Expedition had no choice but to exit the river to the south. The chosen route was almost impassable. A herculean effort was required to scrape out a path on the steep, rocky slopes across the canyon of the lower portion of the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River and to slowly lower their wagons down without a disastrous plunge to the bottom. Once across the Lake Fork, a path was made across Blue Mesa to join the route that the Beale Expedition had taken. From the expedition report, it is very clear that the route the Gunnison Expedition took across the Lake Fork was not on an existing trail. Once the route that Beale took was rejoined, travel was relatively easy in the Cimarron area, over Cerro Summit into the Uncompahgre Valley, across the Uncompahgre River and northwestward to the crossing of the Gunnison River near present Delta, and onward to the crossing of the Colorado River at Grand Junction. Leroux then separated himself from the Gunnison Expedition at about the point where the party entered present Utah, returning to Taos in time to join Lt. Whipple on his railroad survey across New Mexico and Arizona.

As the expedition entered Utah, Gunnison departed from the route of the North Branch of the OST, staying on gentle terrain more suitable for wagon travel rather than following the trail down rugged McDonald Canyon to Westwater on the Colorado River. The route taken by Gunnison was more on the alignment later selected by the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad for their narrow gauge route in 1882 that was subsequently used by U.S. Highways 6 and 50 and, more recently, Interstate-70. Leroux had assured Gunnison that he would intersect the Main Route of the OST, which happened about 60 miles farther southwest near the confluence of Floy Wash and Little Grand Wash southwest of present Crescent Junction, Utah.

After crossing the Green River, Gunnison followed the Main Route to the San Rafael Swell. Where the trail turned westward to pass through the Swell, the route looked impassable, so he detoured northward to the Price River and then swung back southward to rejoin the trail well west of the San Rafael Swell on Huntington Creek. The party continued along the trail to the Sevier River toward Sevier Lake. It was in exploring the route around Sevier Lake that Gunnison and seven others were killed by Pahvant Ute on October 26, 1853 ahead of the main party, putting an end to the expedition. Little did Gunnison know that he had entered Utah at a time of turmoil with the Mormons known as the Walker War.

John C. Fremont – 1853

Months behind the Gunnison Expedition, Fremont's expedition over the North Branch and Main Route of the OST was privately funded and not associated in any official way with the 1853 Pacific Railroad surveys (Carvalho 1857). Its goal was to show that winter travel over Cochetopa Pass could be easily done, further bolstering Benton's promotion of the route for a railroad. Fremont traversed the pass on December 14, 1853 and continued westward into Utah without any difficulty until he reached southwestern Utah where starvation and exposure killed several of his men, and he was rescued by the citizens of Parowan. No real report of Fremont's journey was prepared, and the expedition was relatively inconsequential.

Macomb Expedition – 1859

The Macomb Expedition was a military exploration party sent out to get a better understanding of the terrain in the event that troops needed to enter the area in response to the Mormon War (Newberry 1876). Captain John N. Macomb's intended goal was to reach the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers, in what is the center of Canyonlands National Park. The expedition traveled the Main Route of the OST from Abiquiu, New Mexico, past the Big Bend of the Dolores River in southwestern Colorado, and through East Canyon near modern-day Monticello, Utah. The only deviation was that they turned northward heading into Colorado to cross the San Juan River at Pagosa Springs. They followed the San Juan River downstream to rejoin the trail on Florida Mesa and followed the trail across the Animas River into Ridges Basin. They turned off the trail near present Hatch Wash, Utah in an attempt to reach the confluence of the Green and Grand (Colorado) rivers. Although they did not actually reach the confluence of the two great rivers, they reached a vantage point from where the junction could be seen, whereupon they returned to New Mexico. As was typical of the time, the party gathered a wide array of scientific information as they traveled. In this case, they discovered and excavated the first dinosaur bones found in Utah in East Canyon (Barnes 1989; Madsen 2010).

Military Use of the Old Spanish Trail 1846–1881

Military Dispatches – 1847–1848

Communication with Washington, DC about the progress of the Mexican-American War required sending military dispatches by fast travelers on horseback. Kit Carson had accompanied

John C. Fremont on his 1845 expedition to the West, was in California when the Mexican-American War broke out, and was involved with the capture of Los Angeles. Carson was ordered to return to Washington, DC with dispatches on September 5, 1846. He was on a trail through southern Arizona when he encountered General Stephen Watts Kearney on his way to California and ordered back to California. Carson rejoined Fremont and took part in several battles. When Fremont sent Carson and Lt. Edward Beale to carry dispatches to Washington, DC in 1847, they again took a southern route along the Gila River through Arizona. This journey was important because Carson met Fremont's father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, in St. Louis and stayed with him in Washington, DC. Carson and Beale were ordered to carry dispatches back to California. They utilized the Santa Fe Trail to Santa Fe, then the Main Route of the OST, and arrived in Los Angeles in October 1847 (Grant 1926:64-88).

In spring 1848, Carson was ordered to carry dispatches regarding the conquest of California back to Washington, DC in the company of Lt. George Brewerton. They followed the Main Route of the OST from Los Angeles into eastern Utah and continued eastward on the North Branch through western Colorado to Taos. During the journey, they lost six rifles and several pack and riding saddles while crossing the Colorado River and were quite destitute when they reached the San Luis Valley before arriving in Taos (Brewerton 1993: xvii, 11, 122-144; Grant 1926:87-89; Hafen and Hafen 1954:336-339).

Marcy Expedition – 1857–1858

On November 27, 1857, Captain Randolph B. Marcy left Camp Scott, just south of Fort Bridger, Wyoming, on a resupply mission during what has been termed the Mormon War. Soon after troops had arrived in the Fort Bridger area, their supply wagons were destroyed by Mormons. In order to resupply the troops as early as possible, Marcy was tasked with making his way by the quickest route possible to Fort Union, New Mexico, and return in the spring with supplies. Marcy determined that the fastest way was through the Uintah Basin to the Grand Valley at present Grand Junction, then along the route of the North Branch past the remains of Fort Uncompahgre and over Cochetopa Pass and into the San Luis Valley with his initial destination being Fort Massachusetts. Marcy expected the trip to take 25 days, but packed 30-days of supplies. He was accompanied by 40 soldiers from the 5th and 10th regiments, 24 citizen mountain men to act as guides, packers, and herders, and 66 pack mules. The primary guide was mountain man Jim Baker. Marcy knew that the route had been traveled during the summer months by trappers and hunters, but he had no information that it had been traveled during the winter. Indians and Jim Bridger thought that travel over the route would not be possible during the winter. Combatting snow and steep slippery terrain, Marcy entered the Grand Valley at present Grand Junction on December 18. The valley was free of snow, and he could still see the tracks of the wagons of the Gunnison Expedition in places. About two days later, he forded the Gunnison River at what he referred to as "Robidoux's old ford" and camped near the remains of Fort Uncompahgre. In the Uncompahgre Valley, he attempted to convince a Ute leader to guide them over the pass, but he declined telling them that the deep snow would kill them, and he did not desire to die. As the party climbed out of the Uncompahgre Valley, deep snow was encountered

causing slow going and an increasingly desperate situation. Men had to crawl on their stomachs to pack the trail so that the mules could proceed. Miguel Alona realized that their guide was lost and got them back on the correct course to Cochetopa Pass. On December 28, running low on supplies as the party reached Cochetopa Pass, Marcy sent Miguel Alona and Mariano Medina ahead to Fort Massachusetts with their three best mules and a letter requesting that relief supplies be sent. Marcy's party ran out of supplies on January 1, 1858, subsisted on their horses and mules, and reached the San Luis Valley near present Saguache on January 10. After camping there for two days, Alona and Medina arrived with some supplies with three wagons of supplies still making their way through the valley. Marcy's group moved forward the next day and met the supply wagons. They then reached Fort Massachusetts on January 17. After a short recuperation period, the group moved through Taos to Fort Union and arranged supplies and equipment for the return trip to Camp Scott and Fort Bridger. Marcy left Fort Union with 960 mules, 160 horses, and 30 wagons of supplies. The return route was up the Front Range of Colorado through the future town of Denver, across the Cache la Poudre River, and along the Cherokee Trail. On his return trip, he was joined by Colonel William W. Loring, who had been stationed at Fort Union and took command of the returning troops and supplies (Cragin 1926; Bradsher 2017a, b; Marcy 1866:224-250).

Loring Military Road Improvements – 1858

In 1858, Colonel William W. Loring was tasked with improving a route from Camp Floyd, near Salt Lake City, to Fort Union, New Mexico to facilitate troop and supply movement as the Mormon War continued (Hafen 1946). Loring traveled from west to east from Camp Floyd with 50 wagons and 300 men and Antoine Leroux as his guide. He left Camp Floyd on July 19, 1858 and headed southward to present Nephi then into the San Pete Valley to the Upper Sevier River at present Salina. From there, he followed the Main Route of the OST westward along Salina and Ivie Creeks, then northeastward to the Castledale area. Where Gunnison had detoured northward around the San Rafael Swell, Leroux was able to guide them through the Swell on the OST route. After crossing the Green River below the present town of Green River Loring followed the general route taken by modern Interstate-70 and, instead of heading southeastward to the crossing of Colorado River at the Spanish Valley, continued eastward on the North Branch to the vicinity of present Westwater on the Colorado River. Using Westwater as his base, he spent three days improving the route through steep and rocky terrain above the Colorado River just west of the Colorado state line leading to McDonald Canyon and through the McInnis Canyon National Conservation Area. This portion of the route had been avoided by the Gunnison Expedition in 1853 and was not passable by wagons until it was improved by Loring. This was the most labor-intensive road improvement conducted by Loring on the entire route. Once in the Grand Valley, Loring crossed the Colorado River where Gunnison did, about a mile upstream of the crossing taken by the North Branch. He then followed Gunnison's route on the North Branch across the Gunnison River northwest of present Delta and across the Uncompahgre River south of present Montrose. He crossed Cerro Summit, then followed Gunnison's route away from the route of the North Branch from Blue Mesa and across the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River to the Gunnison River at Sapinero. The crossing of the Lake Fork took considerable effort for Loring to make into a

passable wagon road, but it continued to be a difficult crossing. The party then followed the Gunnison River eastward upstream to the present town of Gunnison, bypassing the Gunnison Canyon by taking high ground to the south. Once past Gunnison, he turned southward along Razor Creek and rejoined the North Branch at Cochetopa Creek. He then followed the North Branch over North Cochetopa Pass and down Saguache Creek to the San Luis Valley. Loring followed down the western side of the San Luis Valley past La Garita Creek, crossed the Rio Grande River, and headed eastward across the San Luis Valley to Fort Garland. From there, they headed south to Taos whereupon they departed the North Branch on their way to Fort Union. With improvement of the route as a wagon road, it became known as the Government Road or the Salt Lake Road. Much of the route that he improved had been traversed by Gunnison in 1853, but the section he improved east of Westwater through McDonald Canyon and Rabbit Valley and through the San Rafael Swell had been bypassed by Gunnison.

General Canby Journey from the Salt Lake Valley to Fort Garland – 1861

Colonel Edward R. S. Canby was transferred from Camp Floyd in the Salt Lake Valley to Fort Garland, on the eastern side of the San Luis Valley in 1861. Canby and Company's A, F, and H left Camp Floyd on May 20, 1861 and arrived at Fort Garland on July 28, mostly following the North Branch. Elements of his command explored other areas away from the OST to determine their viability as potential wagon roads. One of these was under the command of Lt. Archer from the Salt Lake Valley up the Spanish Fork through the Price area to the Green River. Another group under the command of Lt. Stith was sent from the Westwater area on the Colorado River southward from the mouth of the Dolores River to the OST at the Big Bend of the Dolores River determine if a feasible route existed to shorten the distance to Santa Fe (Jones 1890:132-141).

Ute Indian Removal – 1880-1881

The Meeker Massacre on September 29, 1879 brought severe changes for the Ute of western Colorado. The citizens of Saguache were sufficiently concerned that Utes might cross over the mountains from the Uncompahgre Valley that troops from Fort Garland established Camp Rose on the western side of Cochetopa pass along the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road from late 1879 to the summer of 1880. In addition to expelling the Utes associated with the White River Agency at Meeker to the Uintah Reservation, negotiations with the Uncompahgre Utes and what were referred to as the Southern Utes (Capote, Muache, and Weeminuche bands) were undertaken to reduce the size of the reservation in western Colorado. While commissioners were present at the Los Pinos Agency in the Uncompahgre Valley, troops were brought in for security purposes. Five companies of the 4th U.S. Cavalry and soldiers of the 19th U.S. Infantry under the command of General Ranald S. Mackenzie were stationed at the agency, arriving on May 31, 1880, and then established the Cantonment on the Uncompahgre a few miles north. While negotiations were underway, the 4th U.S. Cavalry undertook scouting missions on the Grand Mesa and into the Grand Valley that utilized the wagon road improved by Loring in 1858 and incorporated into the Salt Lake Wagon Road. The Southern Ute were restricted to a reservation in a narrow strip of land along the New Mexico Border. The Uncompahgre Utes agreed to a reduced reservation that they

expected to be at the confluence of the Gunnison and Colorado rivers. However, the commissioners assigned to define the new reservation, including Otto Mears, determined that the Utes would be removed altogether from Colorado onto land adjoining the Uintah Reservation in Utah, newly designated as the Ouray Reservation. Dismayed by this turn of events, the Uncompahgre Ute were reluctant to leave and fear of conflict arose. After having left for the winter, the 4th U.S. Cavalry returned in May 1881. Despite their protests, the Uncompahgre Utes were escorted to the new reservation in Utah by the cavalry in late August 1881 (Buys 1993; Rodenbough and Haskin 1896:218).

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The property types defined as Historic Resources of the OST are primarily the products of trail traffic from 1821 to 1881. Specific periods of significance will vary, depending on the property type and location along the trail. Property types were developed through knowledge of known resources in the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and California. The four property types identified are: Transportation Sites, Travel and Trade Sites, Trail Graves, and Cultural Landscapes. Where appropriate, subtypes are further distinguished under each type. In some instances, no examples of the subtypes are expected to be found, yet their existence during the periods of significance is crucial to the understanding of extant resources.

Many of the property types are or were present within what can be considered cultural or rural historic landscapes.[13] As such, the majority of extant OST resources are anticipated to be classified as sites (and/or sites within districts). Four definitions of sites apply to this document: historic sites, historical archaeological sites, prehistoric archaeological sites, and contributing land areas. Historic sites are landscapes with above-ground evidence of the trail. Historic archaeological sites are those resources containing artifacts, rock art, inscriptions, or other features from the historic period of the OST or subsequent use of its corridor up to 1881, including historic American Indian use. Prehistoric archaeological sites may be found along the route of the trail and demonstrate its use prior to the historic period, but are not eligible under this MPDF, though they may stand alone on their own merits as NRHP properties. Contributing land areas are portions of the landscape that may not contain physical evidence of the trail itself but are significant because they are within the viewshed of a resource and/or because of their relationship to the district or site. One or all of these definitions may apply to nominated properties.

The OST is a complex of linear resources with a period of significance beginning in 1821 and terminating in 1881 when long distance travel for international and national commerce, regional settlement, government exploration, and military use ceased, and subsequent uses, if any, were principally for local travel. This period of significance subsumes the period of significance of the OST as it is defined as an NHT, which limited the period of significance to the 1829–1848 New Mexico to California trade caravan period. The expanded period of significance beginning in 1821 recognizes the Ute Indian, Spanish trade, and fur trade roles in the initial development of the trail prior to the trade caravan period, which was restricted to the Armijo and Main routes of the trail. The expanded period of significance more fully accounts for the fur trade in its commercial use of the North Branch by way of Taos and Santa Fe, which was made possible by Mexican Independence from Spain and the initiation of international trade and travel via the Santa Fe Trail

[13] A cultural landscape is "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" (Birnbaum 1994). A rural historic landscape is "a geographic area that historically has been used by people, or shaped by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possess a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features" (McClelland 1999:3).

between Missouri and New Mexico in 1821. The 1821–1881 period of significance recognizes use of the OST under the historic contexts of International and National Commerce from 1821–1855; Regional Settlement from 1831–1881; Government Exploration from 1844–1859; and Military Use from 1846–1858. For all contexts, it is expected that significance will frequently be on the national level because of the historical scale and multi-state areal extent of the contexts. However, the Regional Settlement context may be best applied on regional or local levels.

Contexts and Themes

As an NHT, the OST is significant at the national level and spans all four associated historic contexts. Explanation of that national significance will incorporate judgment as to which historic context is most dominant because the trail's Commercial, Exploration/Settlement, Military, and Ethnic Heritage – Native American and Hispanic themes are often intertwined. For all themes, Archaeology may be an additional theme that can lend important data for interpretation. These are explained below.

Archaeology

Archaeological sites can be anticipated to be found within trail corridors that may or may not be associated with actual trail use. Trails and wagon roads are not archaeological in themselves, but archaeological sites may exist along a trail or wagon road that have definite association. Prehistoric archaeological sites will typically not be considered contributing resources of the OST, but can be considered significant in their own right. It is possible that prehistoric sites concentrated along the route of a trail corridor may be indicative of travel and residence along a route that dates prior to the linkage of trails into what is recognized as the OST.

Historic-period American Indian sites along an OST route have a higher likelihood of having a direct connection with the OST and could be considered contributing resources, significant because of their more direct connection with the OST. Similarly, historic non-aboriginal sites within a trail corridor may also be directly related to use of the trail and could be considered contributing resources of the trail. Care should be taken in ascertaining the age of these sites so that it can be demonstrated that they fall within the period of significance of the trail. Age correlation and site contents may also allow interpretation of site function and how a site may relate to use of the trail under the various historic themes and contexts. For instance, campsites associated with fur trade parties might be indicative of early commercial use of the trail or exploration. Trade caravan campsites along the Main Route of the OST may also contain archaeological materials of importance that can illuminate how the caravans were equipped, what daily life on the trail was like, the gender composition of trail travelers, and the diet of travelers.

The rapid travel across the landscape will make identification of individual camping episodes difficult to differentiate, but preferred campsites may provide aggregate data of importance. These sites would be contributing resources under the International and National Commerce and Regional Settlement themes. Some campsites from government exploration or

military parties have been found, and numerous others are potentially identifiable. These could be considered contributing resources of the trail under the Government and Military themes. In all cases, archaeological sites need to retain sufficient integrity that their associated materials can be said to retain the ability to yield important data relative to the trail and their associated themes.

Commerce

Commercial use of the trail as a long-distance route probably began soon after the explorations of Rivera in 1765, Domínguez and Escalante in 1776, and de Anza in 1779. Initially focused on trade with the Ute as far north as Utah Lake and the upper Sevier River Valley, Mexican independence from Spain in 1821 and the opening of the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri that year initiated the fur trade from Taos and Santa Fe, New Mexico, northward and westward; commerce quickly extended into southern California. This was a collective effort between Mexican traders, American fur trappers and traders, and American Indians, particularly Ute Indians, who were also expanding their sphere of influence. Travel from the late 1760s to early 1820s created trail linkages that enabled formal trade between Mexican settlements in New Mexico and southern California initiated in 1829 with the Armijo trade caravan. What became the Main Route of the OST began to be used by annual trade caravans from New Mexico in 1831, though travel northward from Taos utilizing the North Branch continued as separate ventures mostly by fur trappers intending to access fur trapping areas in the southern Rocky Mountains and Great Basin, including the Uinta Basin. Trade with the Ute continued to be important, as the Ute were key participants in the fur trade, facilitated by trading posts including Fort Uncompahgre and Fort Uinta operated by Antoine Robidoux. The movement of commerce was the prominent trail use through 1848, the last year of the annual trade caravans from New Mexico, but continued until 1855 with bands of sheep being driven to California. Throughout the 1821 to 1848 period, the trail corridor was a portion of an important international trade network that extended from the Mexican northern provinces of California and New Mexico to the United States by way of the Santa Fe Trail to Missouri. Consequently, the OST was a primary element in the development of American and Hispanic commerce in the West.

Ethnic Heritage – Native American and Hispanic

It is recognized that the OST is a linkage of American Indian trails that date into prehistory. Concentration of prehistoric sites and rock art can demonstrate the intensity of use of some of these early routes. It was not until Spanish exploration in the 1760s and 1770s that these began to become more formally linked into long-distance routes, undoubtedly facilitated by the acquisition of the horse by American Indians, most notably the Ute, and the expansion of their sphere of influence and seasonal round. It was not until the advent of the fur trade in the region beginning in 1821 emanating from northern New Mexico that trails became fully connected into what we recognize as the OST. To what degree the route used to make the final connection to California through the Virgin River by Jedidiah Smith had already been established by American Indians is not known. It can be expected that Native American sites along the routes can be used to provide archaeological data that may illuminate the Ethnic Heritage of the American Indians

that utilized the trail during the period of significance, particularly in regard to their role in commerce along the trail. The Bunker Site (5SH614) on the eastern side of the San Luis Valley has already yielded archaeological materials of importance from the period of significance that may illuminate this topic (Wunderlich et al. 2010; Hendrickson et al. 2011; Martorano et al. 2014). It is likely that other such sites are present along other parts of the trail.

It is possible that sites relating to trade with American Indians by traders from New Mexico will be present along the trail corridors. These can be expected to be at campsites of American Indians, so a definite Hispano archaeological signature may not be recognizable. The annual trade caravans between New Mexico and California were primarily comprised of individuals of Hispanic descent. It is presumed that regular campsites were occupied on these journeys that may have aggregated archaeological deposits that can be recognized as being from the annual passage of the trade caravans. The most likely locations will be at places with reliable water and animal forage. Springs in arid settings, such as the deserts of Nevada and California, were key to successful travel and will have the highest likelihood of evidence of caravan travel. It is also likely that these same locations were used for generations before and by travelers after the period of significance, so evidence of the trade caravans may be masked and difficult to discern. In New Mexico, shops that manufactured woolen goods for the caravan trade may be identified through historical research and, perhaps, recognizable archaeologically that may illuminate Hispano traditional crafts. Warehouses for storage of goods prior to their being transported to California may also be identified in the same way. It is not clear how the manufactured goods from New Mexico were disposed of once they arrived in California, but research may show receiving warehouses or merchants who were the recipients of the goods, which may further expand knowledge of Hispanic ethnic heritage on the California end of the trail.

Exploration/Settlement

The Exploration/Settlement area of significance, though interrelated, can best be understood for the OST by explaining them separately. The Exploration theme during the 1821–1881 period of significance is largely characterized by the fur trade and U.S. government expeditions. This began with the Gunnison Expedition of 1853 to determine the feasibility of a railroad through the region. It followed the general course of the North Branch and Main Route into central Utah. This was preceded by only a few months by a party led by Lieutenant Edward Beale who followed the North Branch and the Main Route to his posting as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in California. Although it was not an official government expedition, it had a secondary purpose of confirming Cochetopa Pass as a viable route through the Rocky Mountains at the behest of Senator Thomas Hart Benton. Hard on the heels of the Gunnison Expedition was a party led by John C. Fremont, son-in-law of Senator Benton, also intent on demonstrating the feasibility of Cochetopa Pass as a railroad route. Government exploration of the Main Route from New Mexico into southeastern Utah was done by Captain John N. Macomb in 1859, whose goal was to find the confluence of the Colorado and Green rivers. The official government expeditions of Gunnison and Macomb provide detailed descriptions and maps of the portions of the Main Route and North Branch that they followed.

The Settlement theme has to do with use of the trail for movement of people to new places of residence. Coinciding with the New Mexico to California commerce associated with trade caravans and, to some degree, the fur trade was settlement immigration from New Mexico to California. A large number of New Mexicans took the opportunity to travel with the trade caravans to settle in California, and a number of Americans, including some fur trappers, did the same. The advent of Mormon settlement initiated in 1847 in the Salt Lake Valley of Utah began to have an impact on use of the western portion of the Main Route of the trail. Mormons initially began travelling southwestward from the Salt Lake Valley along the trail to explore for sites for Mormon colonization in southwestern Utah, southern Nevada, and southern California beginning in 1849. The connection of the Salt Lake City to the ports of Los Angeles and San Pedro developed the western portion of the OST as a major wagon road that was the main route for supplies to the Salt Lake Valley until the advent of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Coincident with this was use of the route by immigrants to California as a result of the California Gold Rush attempting to avoid traveling over the high passes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, also beginning in 1849 and extending into the 1850s. A Mormon colony was established briefly in San Bernardino in 1851, and colonies along the Virgin River and Santa Clara Creek were established in the mid-1850s. Movement of Mormons settlers into those areas resulted in the trail being improved as a wagon road, known as the Mormon Road, from the Sevier River Valley into southern California. After the end of sheep drives to California in the middle 1850s, the trail transitioned to travel on a more local level rather than as a through route to California. The Mormon Road continued to serve as the primary connection from the Salt Lake Valley to the Mormon settlements in southwestern Utah, southern Nevada, and northwestern Arizona. Although unsuccessful, the Mormon's 1855 attempted Elk Mountain Mission to the Spanish Valley at present Moab, Utah, was part of the larger Mormon colonization effort.

Some movement northward into the San Luis Valley of Colorado took place in the 1850s by settlers from New Mexico using existing trails. The Los Pinos Indian Agency was established on the western side of Cochetopa Pass in 1869, accessed from the San Luis Valley by the trail. The discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859 did not cause an increase in use of the OST until the San Juan Mountains in southwestern Colorado were ceded by the Ute in 1873, and mining began there in earnest in 1874. Some miners came eastward to mine in the San Juan Mountains from the Salt Lake Valley utilizing the trail improved by Loring, but most came westward through the San Luis Valley by way of Saguache and followed the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road, built in 1874, following the route of one branch of the OST over South Cochetopa Pass, past the Los Pinos Agency, and to the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River, where it turned southward to enter the San Juan Mountains. Miners in Ouray, on the northwestern side of the San Juan Mountains found it easier to obtain supplies from the Salt Lake Valley for a few years beginning in 1875, so built a road northward that intersected the North Branch at Montrose and followed Loring's wagon road from there into Utah. This road became known as the Salt Lake Wagon Road. When the Los Pinos Agency was moved from Cochetopa Park to the Uncompahgre Valley in 1875, they built a road following the North Branch from where the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road turned southward

along the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River and headed westward along the route of the North Branch over Cerro Summit into the Uncompahgre Valley where it joined the Salt Lake Wagon Road south of Montrose to present Colona. This was later improved as part of the Lake Fork & Uncompahgre Toll Road by Otto Mears. In late 1881, the Ute associated with the Los Pinos Agency were removed from western Colorado. Their route northward from the Uncompahgre Valley followed the North Branch to the Grand Valley at present Grand Junction before continuing farther north and northwest to their new reservation, the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, in the Uintah Basin of Utah.

After crossing Cochetopa Pass over the Continental Divide in Colorado, the Gunnison Expedition of 1853 was guided by Antoine Leroux on a route westward through present Gunnison along the Gunnison River before turning southwestward and taking a route of their own making across the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River onto Blue Mesa where they rejoined the North Branch route to the Uncompahgre Valley. Gunnison was clearly on a variant of the North Branch to that point. A trail northwestward from the Gunnison River at the point that Gunnison turned southward is shown on the Hayden Expedition maps of the area using data they collected from 1874–1876, though they do not describe it in their reports. This route climbed over Black Mesa and down the North Fork of the Gunnison River to a connection with the trail from the Uncompahgre Valley after its crossing of the Gunnison River northwest of Delta. The first cattle moved into the North Fork of the Gunnison Valley were brought in along this route from Gunnison by Sam Hartman in 1881 and it was improved as a wagon road in the later 1880s. This route facilitated the settlement of the Crawford and Maher areas.

Military

The Military theme is represented by use for sending of dispatches between California and Washington, DC during the Mexican-American War and use and improvement of some of the westernmost portions of the trail during and following the Mormon War in 1857, 1858, and 1860. Initial use of the OST for sending roundtrip dispatches was by Kit Carson accompanied by Lt. Edward Beale in 1847. Carson then returned to Washington, DC, with dispatches from California with Lt. George Brewerton in 1848. Nearly ten years later, U.S. troops in Utah requiring supplies during the Mormon War in 1857, propelled Captain William Randolph Marcy to take the shortest route possible to Fort Union, New Mexico, during the winter of 1857–1858. He and his fellow travelers followed the North Branch through western Colorado. The result of his journey was subsequent improvement of the northernmost portion of the Main Route in Utah and the North Branch through Utah and Colorado as a military wagon road in 1858 by Colonel William W. Loring. The only other military use of the route was in 1861 when Colonel Edward R. S. Canby was transferred from Camp Floyd in the Salt Lake Valley to Fort Garland, on the eastern side of the San Luis Valley in 1861. Canby and Company's A, F, and H left Camp Floyd on May 20, 1861 and arrived at Fort Garland on July 28. It is unlikely that evidence of the passage of Carson carrying dispatches or of Marcy moving quickly between the Salt Lake Valley and Fort Union will ever be found. The passage of Canby and his troops may have left some archaeological evidence along the route, but little is known of that trip, including where they camped. The improvements of the

route by Loring in 1858 and locations of some of his campsites have been recognized, indicating that the Military theme is likely to be utilized in some places.

Aspects of Integrity

The location, setting, feeling, and association of trail-related resources are paramount in determining integrity. The natural landscape directly influenced the multiple routes of the trail, determined rest and camping areas, and provided landmarks as way-finders. The natural landscape was the essence of the trail; therefore, it should not be treated simply as a buffer but as a corridor with integral and defining characteristics of the resource. Emphasis is placed on the ability of the modern landscape to communicate the historic feeling of place (Figures 2-8). Changes to land use and management may not seriously lessen the value of a resource if the new use is compatible with historic uses (e.g., natural terrain turned to pastureland). The introduction of invasive non-historic land uses is often evident near a resource (e.g., wind farms, solar power facilities, electrical or communication transmission lines, natural gas lines, and recreational areas), especially in rural areas, and their impacts should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis to determine if sufficient integrity is retained to support a nomination (Figures 9-14). According to Somers 2025:102), compatible landscape features "blend and harmonize." Features not from the POS can be compatible if they do not negatively impact the historic landscape. They are incompatible if they are incongruous with the landscape because of "materials, size, massing, location, and design" (Somers 2025:102). Integrity of association is established by historical research that verifies a trail corridor was the route of historic travel. Integrity aspects of design, materials, and workmanship are typically not relevant to trails, because they were established through use and not a planned system. Later use as wagon roads may demonstrate improvements that may exhibit elements of design, materials, and workmanship and can be evaluated relative to those aspects when appropriate.

Because OST resources are in six states, the frequency, length, and condition of sites will vary. In New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and eastern California, cultivation and urban development in the areas around the trail are less than those in western California where residential and commercial developments have erased or reduced the size of many extant resources. Though few in number, historic sites may exist in some urban areas and be surrounded by post-trail development. Similarly, because a large portion of the trail is still within rural areas in all states, agriculture has frequently encroached upon resources.

Visual remnants of the trail from the 1821–1849 period prior to wagon travel are, for the most part, no longer visible or would be considered rare survivals, but the courses of travel are known from subsequent travel along the same routes as described in archival documents, including as depicted on historic maps and from later improvements and use as wagon roads. In some instances, routes were not subject to later uses and do not exhibit evidence from wheeled vehicle use, but may have continued to be utilized by domestic or game animals.

The historically interconnected trail system varies in integrity across the landscape. On more developed land, such as valleys and mesas with considerable agriculture use, or where the

trail passes through towns or communities, evidence of the historically used routes will no longer exist and the visual setting will have changed considerably. Fortunately, a large quantity of the routes of the OST pass through undeveloped or minimally developed land, often administered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), U.S. Forest Service (USFS), and, less often, by the National Park Service (NPS), American Indian tribes, or state agencies. Following the guidance for NHTs, of which the OST is one, a corridor concept based on the intactness of terrain through which the route passes takes precedence over physical evidence of the trail. In all instances, Old Spanish National Historic Trail (OSNHT) routes have been determined through historical documentation that is often confirmed by physical evidence of later travel. Documentary evidence from early use of the routes is often very scant and is confirmed as a best fit with later documentary evidence or subsequent improvements for wagon travel. Through time, more heavily used travel corridors have resulted in improved roads, such as county roads, state or U.S. highways, or interstate highways that follow the same trajectories as the earlier routes, often incorporating or obliterating the earlier wagon routes (Figures 2-8). In some cases, the sense is that the resource has been destroyed, but when the corridor concept is utilized, these later roads can be seen as a continuity of use. The degree to which the post-period of significance road improvements detract from the overall integrity will need to be considered on a case-by-case basis (Figures 9-14). For instance, a U.S. Highway that winds through the OST corridor may bypass much of a known route and can be considered minimally intrusive in terms of the overall visual and aural integrity of the corridor because of topography. In other cases, the corridor may be quite narrow and the highway may overwhelm the senses, completely detracting from the historic characteristics of the landscape.

Figure 2. Ruts of the Salt Lake Wagon Road on Fools Hill in western Colorado. U.S. Highway is

behind and to the left out of view. Despite the proximity of the highway, this section of the OST retains high integrity.

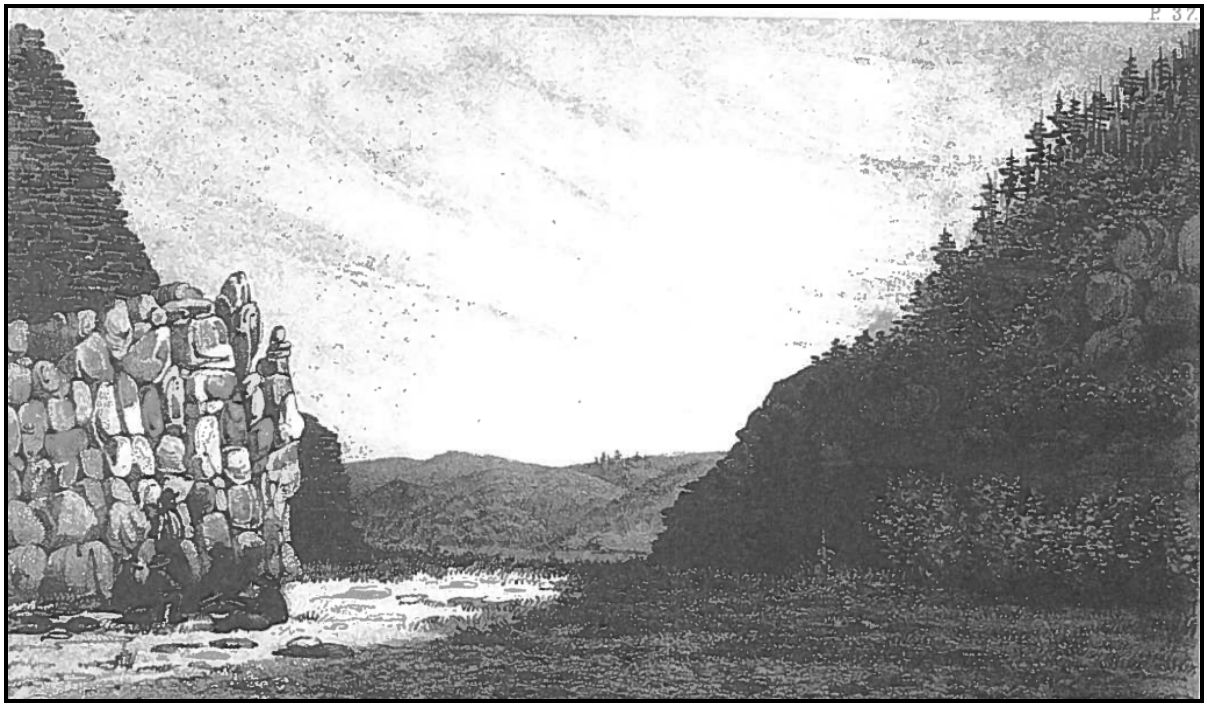

Figure 3. I853 illustration of the Buffalo Gate (Heap 1854).

Figure 4. Current view of the Buffalo Gate showing little alteration of the historic landscape.

Figure 5. Trail enhanced by animal use with de-limbed pinyon pine adjacent (Prouty 2017).

Figure 6. Wagon road on OST route (Prouty 2018).

Figure 7. A topographically restricted OST corridor within an intact historic landscape and having a dirt road on the route (Prouty 2017).

Figure 8. An open historic landscape with a wagon road route in the OST corridor (Prouty 2017).

Figure 9. Agricultural development and a road built on a section-line grid that differs from the course of travel of the trail altering the trail corridor sufficiently to not have sufficient integrity for listing.

Figure 10. Residential development along a section of road on the OST route that has altered the integrity of setting sufficiently to not be eligible for listing.

Figure 11. U.S. Highway 50 on the same general trajectory as the trail. Although modern, the highway demonstrates continuity of use of the corridor and lack of other development in the corridor suggests sufficient historic integrity for listing.

Figure 12. The trail corridor that contains U.S. Highway 50 on the same general trajectory and a transmission line and pipeline corridor crossing at right angles. The utilities in the corridor are virtually invisible from a key vantage suggesting sufficient integrity for listing.

Figure 13. A well-used dirt road on the former wagon road route in OST corridor with a prominent landmark in the distance. The road shows continuity of use on the OST trajectory and does not compromise the integrity of the OST corridor.

Figure 14. The OST trail corridor with evidence of wagon use in the San Rafael Swell. The transmission line along the route diminishes the historic integrity of the corridor but not enough to render it ineligible.

Boundaries

Boundaries for nominated sections of the OST or related sites will depend on the individual property types. Boundaries should typically be drawn to include sufficiently intact historic visual characteristics, such as trail routes with few visual intrusions or sites with archaeological materials from the trail's periods of significance. Natural topographic features that are related to the trail provide important landscape context. In many instances, tangible evidence will be only the natural topographic setting with historical documentary evidence providing the context for the route. Portions of the OST that are designated as part of the OSNHT are considered NPS Management Category A because preservation is specifically legislated because High Potential Sites and Segments contribute to the national significance of the NHT (Somers 2025: 52). Boundaries for NRHP properties should encompass, but exceed, "the full extent of the significant resources and land area making up the property" (Somers 2025:42). Boundaries should not include "acreage that does not contribute to the significance of the property" (Somers 2025:42). Areas that do not retain integrity should be left out. Boundaries should use legal boundary lines (including section lines), manmade features that separate the historic from non-historic, rights of ways that separate the historic from non-historic, natural topography, contour lines, and changes in development, including modern housing, roads, industrial areas (Somers 2025:43), and, in the case of historic trails, probably also agricultural development in most cases. Lands adjacent to the boundaries defined for a NRHP property may contribute to that property if they retain integrity, but may or may not be included in an NRHP boundary of a segment, though they may be included

in its management as a NHT (Somers 2025:55).

Criteria Evaluations

Conceivably, all four of the National Register Criteria, A through D, can be applied to OST transportation sites. However, historic resources existing along the OST lend themselves to registration within certain criteria over others. Of primary consideration is Criterion A relating to patterns of historical events associated with commerce, exploration, settlement, military, and transportation. Criterion B may be rarely applicable and only to sites that are clearly linked with a specific person significant to the resource. For example, the archaeological deposits at Fort Uncompahgre, if found, could be associated under Criterion B with Antoine Robidoux. Because the OST retains little, if any, physical evidence as a pack trail and can only be characterized as a corridor, it will rarely, if ever, be eligible for registration under Criterion C; later sections improved as wagon roads are more likely to be eligible under Criterion C because of possible distinctive appearance or construction. After Criterion A, Criterion D is the most likely criterion to apply to transportation sites. This would be for sites that have yielded or have potential to yield important archaeological information pertaining to the period of significance.

Property Types, Significance, and Registration Requirements

Property Type: Transportation Site

Transportation sites are those resources directly created by or for movement through the landscape by foot, pack-animal, or wagon and include topographic features utilized by travelers to traverse difficult terrain or serve as directional landmarks. Included are trail segments that were reengineered or adapted from pack trail use for use by later forms of transportation, such as horse- or mule-drawn wagons. Resources include man-made landscape features, such as trail ruts caused by repeated use or erosion; road segments that were constructed, engineered, or simply worn through use over earlier trail ruts; natural landscape features utilized and adapted by man because of their characteristics, such as stream and river crossings or mountain passes; and naturally occurring landscape features that acted as wayfaring signs, such as topographic high points, clefts, and rock formations. Transportation Site subtypes are Trail Segments and Navigational Aids.

In modern usage, the word “trail” typically connotes an undeveloped route that is part of a dynamic transportation system that still possesses historical or cultural significance. The OST is a multi-level circulation network that served on a regional and national level (McClelland 1999:5, 16). Transportation sites are important for the historic associations they possess, for the physical attributes they display, and for the character of the landscape through which they pass.

Critical to the understanding of transportation sites is the formation of adequate boundaries. When possible, natural delimiters (e.g., topographical features) are preferable. This ensures that character of the travel route is retained by recognizing its natural context. Care should be taken when establishing the boundaries of a transportation site with nearby modern

visual intrusions. Modern features should be avoided when possible, but a sufficient amount of land adjacent with visual integrity within the resource corridor should be the primary consideration. Boundaries for the purpose of an NRHP nomination do not supersede the visual corridor boundary that may be established for any particular section of trail as an NHT. It is possible that a boundary for an NRHP-listed segment may match that designated for an NHT, but if it does not and is smaller in size, the NHT boundary will supersede the NRHP boundary for management purposes (i.e., by federal or state agencies) because the OSNHT is congressionally designated and its cultural landscape corridor is paramount in its management under the National Trail Systems Act (NTSA).

The existence of a transportation site is verified by historical research, field observations and documentation, maps, aerial and LiDAR[14] imagery, and correlation of GPS coordinates with existing General Land Office (GLO) survey lines, where applicable. It should be understood that the GLO survey maps were made with the intent of showing only the section and township lines with accuracy. In all cases, GLO survey maps were made after the trail came into existence, but the intent of the maps was not to show travel routes, so those shown on the maps are typically accurate only on the section lines. In many cases, the maps were made after the trail or overlying roads ceased to be used, so will not be shown at all. Field observations in conjunction with historical research that may include earlier historical maps and evaluation of aerial and LiDAR imagery are the best means for assessing trail routes.[15] The OST passes through many modern urbanized areas, but the bulk of the trail is still in rural areas. Because of the potentially large boundaries included in a single nomination, multiple property owners may exist within the nomination boundaries. Because owner consent is typically required for listing, instances may arise in which all owners are not in agreement over the nomination of resources. In these cases, boundary adjustments may need to be made.

Transportation Site Subtype: Trail Segment

Trail segments consist primarily of corridors of use verified by historical documentation with continued use often present that consists of ruts and swales from use of horse- or mule-drawn vehicles.[16] Physical evidence of ruts and swales consist of unnatural depressions in the soil or rock created by movement of trail traffic. Swales as low linear depressions on the landscape are the most common trail features still visible. Where topographically difficult terrain is crossed, multiple routes may be visible. A trail segment often will be comprised of one or more rut or swale, often appearing as a braided route.

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[14] LiDAR – Light Detection and Ranging – is a remote sensing technique that uses pulsed aerial laser light in a way similar to radar. It can produce imagery of disconformities on the earth even when the ground is masked by vegetation.

[15] Good examples of this are correlations of the trail with the routes mapped by the 1853 Gunnison Expedition for portions of the North Branch and Main Routes or of the Hayden Expedition Maps of southwestern Colorado from 1873-1874, though other maps also apply .

[16] Though technical definitions vary for the terms “rut” and “swale,” for the purposes of this submission, the terms are defined synonymously.

Trail segments show the variable trail route as it developed over time. Narrowing and widening of the physical evidence of a trail reflects reactions to local topography and to local and seasonal weather conditions. Travel speed, mode of travel, and subsequent route improvements may also result in variability. Because transport along the trail depended on animal power, forage and water were prime considerations in trail use. Features of the natural environment, such as springs, water holes, streams, and rivers, played vital roles in determining where the trail went. For pack trails, quick travel between points with water and good grazing forage resulted in direct point-to-point trails that often passed directly over hills and ridges, whereas subsequent wagon travel took more meandering routes that followed contours more suitable for wheeled vehicles. Most of the time, topography determined the general course of the trail so that it was often a path of least resistance. Areas with trees and shrubs were usually circumvented, and when passage through timber was necessary, the narrowest points were sought to avoid down timber or minimize necessary clearing. The Bunker Site (5SH614) demonstrates delimbing of trees, perhaps as a function of camping activities and for ease of movement (Martorano et al. 2014). Topographic landmarks probably played a role in trail navigation, but manmade monuments, such as rock cairns, do not appear to have been constructed along the route or were very rare. The most critical decision-making aspects of use of the trail probably had to do with major river-crossing points, snow over mountain passes, and availability of water and grass, all of which were seasonally determined.

The character of trail segments will most often result in linear-drawn boundaries. When establishing boundaries for trail segments, some of which are many miles long, important consideration should be given to the inclusion of contributing land areas adjacent to the segments. Ideally, the viewshed from a trail segment will become the extent of the drawn boundary. The NHT designation affords protection for the entire trail corridor regardless of condition or presence of high potential components. NRHP nominations will likely focus on sections of the trail with good retention of visual qualities or physical evidence of historical travel. Although land-management agency and private landowner consent may play a role in preventing large areas from being included within the boundaries of a trail segment proposed for listing on the NRHP, the boundaries chosen will not supersede a trail segment's management as an NHT, which should be an all-encompassing cultural and historical landscape viewshed. Where a viewshed approach is not possible, trail segment corridor boundaries should include as much of the contributing land area around the resource as possible in order to incorporate a portion of the contributing land area and potential features historically associated with trail travel and other possible aspects of historic significance and use.

The condition of trail segments will vary because of climate, soil type, erosion, vegetation, land use, and other environmental factors. Actual visible, extant trail segments from the OST period of significance from use as a pack trail will be extremely rare and should generally not be expected. Physical evidence of the route will come from subsequent travel, such as from wagon use or continued wild game or grazing livestock utilization. In many places, even use as a wagon road can be difficult to discern. These can often be seen as areas where compaction has depressed

plant growth, where swales or ruts have increased retention of moisture resulting in increased plant growth, or where trail routes have captured runoff causing them to become more highly eroded. Courses of travel at or near the base of hills often cause truncation of those slopes. In other cases, adjacent side slopes provide sediment that completely obscures evidence of past travel. In cases where rocky soils are crossed, rocks may have been kicked or purposely moved to the sides creating a slightly less rocky corridor with linear accumulations of rock scattered to the sides. In other cases, the loss of armoring of those rocks results in deep erosion.

Transportation Site Subtype: Navigational Aids

Navigational Aids are naturally occurring features in the landscape that guided travel along the OST between 1821 and 1881. These aids form a diverse set of features that lend significance by their incorporation into the experience of trail travelers. In a real sense, to experience the trail required recognition of the continuity and contrast that the trail's natural features presented; these features acted as signposts and symbols to the viewer.

What these features have in common are inherent geographical characteristics that enabled travelers to determine their approximate location and distance throughout their journey. Because few contemporary journals or travel itineraries exist for the 1829-1848 period of significance of the OSNHT, later records are relied upon for Navigational Aids, such as the Beal Expedition, Gunnison Expedition, Loring Expedition, and Macomb Expedition reports from the 1850s. These provide travel distances and illustrations of important landmarks along the routes. In some cases, the expeditions' reports convey place names in common usage at the time or from local informants that differ from names currently in use. In addition, American Indian landscape element of importance may be identified through ethnographic study.

Navigational Aids fall within three spheres of view: foreground, middle ground, and background. Foreground landmarks are those that fall within direct proximity of the trail, such as the Buffalo Gate through which the trail passes on its way to North Cochetopa Pass from the east, river crossings, or springs in the deserts of Nevada and California. Middle ground Navigational Aids may be such things as rises in the topography to be navigated over or past, groves of trees or dense vegetation that indicates the presence of available water, or valleys and canyons that afford confirmation that travel was on the correct course. Background Navigational Aids would be such things as distant prominent peaks and mountain ranges or other major topographical components that were used to maintain the course of travel over a long distance. Because most Navigational Aids are natural topography, including them as features of a travel corridor will require careful consideration. It is likely that some Navigational Aids will be those in the foreground and can be within the boundaries of a trail segment. Those in the middle ground may fall outside of the boundaries of a nominated trail segment, but could be included if they are considered of sufficient importance and land management and property ownership constraints allow for it, such as prominent buttes mentioned in travel accounts. Again, cultural and historical landscape corridors defined for NHT management may likely be broader and more encompassing than might be defined for a NRHP-nominated segment, and boundaries utilized for NRHP purposes do not

supersede the corridor definitions and management requirements of the OSNHT. Background features will always fall outside of NRHP trail segment boundaries, but should be mentioned in the description of a trail segment if they provided directional assistance, such as prominent peaks in the San Juan Mountains of southwestern Colorado or through the deserts of Nevada and California.

It is possible that manmade Navigational Aids may exist along trail segments. In some places, American Indian rock art is present that may demonstrate use of a travel route into prehistoric times. Whether rock art had a navigational purpose will require evaluation, probably with the assistance of knowledgeable American Indians. Historic-period rock art or inscriptions by travelers along the OST during the 1821–1881 period of significance are rare, but provide confirmation of use during the period of interest. More recent rock art or inscriptions can demonstrate continuity of use. Rock cairns are sometimes found along trail routes. These are not known to have been something made by American Indians along travel routes, nor by travelers along the OST during its period of significance. Later travelers may have left cairns as Navigational Aids, and cairns in the vicinity of travel routes are known to have been erected by sheep herders, but are notoriously difficult to date and put into context.

Culturally modified trees (CMTs) may be found along trail routes, particularly ponderosa pines that have had sections of their bark removed for consumption of the cambium layer for food or removal of wood for bow production or other uses by American Indians. Such modifications are not Navigational Aids, but demonstrate American Indian use of areas through which the trail passes. Bending or altering trees for navigational or spiritual purposes is not known for American Indians in the region of the OST and has been disavowed as a cultural practice by the Ute (Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute Tribes 2019). This spurious attribution of natural phenomena as a cultural attribute should be completely disregarded in trail interpretation. Removal or cutting of lower branches from juniper and pinyon pine trees is known from the Bunker Site on the eastern side of the San Luis Valley in Colorado. These have been dendrochronologically dated from the 1790s to 1890s with the majority dating to the 1820s to 1840s (Martorano et al. 2014:92). Although not a Navigational Aid, they demonstrate use prior to, during, and after the trail's period of significance. It is expected that similar tree use may exist elsewhere. Later travel within the OST travel corridor is also demonstrated by aspen tree carvings, often including dates and names or initials in montane woodland settings. Aspen trees are a short-lived species, but their carvings demonstrate continued use of travel routes with dates sometimes as early as the 1890s. Also in montane woodland settings, trail blazes are sometimes seen, also demonstrating continued use of trail routes. Observed have been "i" blazes used by the U.S. Forest Service by at least the 1960s.

Transportation Sites Significance

Transportation Sites are significant for their associations with most of the historic contexts discussed in Section E: National and International Commerce along the Old Spanish Trail 1821–1855; Use of the Old Spanish Trail for Regional Settlement 1831–1881; Government Exploration along the Old Spanish Trail 1844–1859; and Military Use of the Old Spanish Trail 1846–1858. Trail

segments will be primarily eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Commerce, Exploration/Settlement, Ethnic Heritage, Military, and Transportation. Periods of significance may vary from segment to segment. In some cases, American Indian evidence in the form of rock art or concentrations of sites along a route may provide evidence from before the OST came to be used as a continuous travel route for commercial or other uses under this MPDF and could be nominated for inclusion in the NRHP on their own merits or as an additional period of significance. In other cases, trade northward from settlements in New Mexico may also justify an initial beginning date for use of a trail route that precedes its use as the OST under this MPDF, and related sites could be nominated on their own merits or as an additional period of significance.

The associative characteristics tied to the physical features of the trail lend it significance. The OST provided trade connections initially between New Mexican settlements and American Indian groups and, later, between American Indians and fur trappers and between Mexican communities in New Mexico and California. Commerce that involved fur trappers, traders, and American Indians with commercial outlets eastward utilizing the Santa Fe Trail is of international scope. Later commercial use following the acquisition of California in 1848 as a result of the Mexican American War is considered national in scope. Use of the OST routes had profound impacts on the resident American Indian populations of the region, particularly the Ute, but also Rio Grande Puebloan groups, Navajo, Southern Paiute, Mojave, and others, who were active and passive participants in trail travel, trade, or captive acquisition. Transportation sites may tangibly reflect diverse areas of significance, including Archaeology, Commerce, Ethnic Heritage, Exploration/Settlement, Military, and Transportation. Transportation is the overarching theme and is the subject of this section.

Some navigational aids were mentioned in primary sources from the historic period. The varied terrain through which the trail passes required familiarity of the terrain through which the route passes, much of which was probably orally transmitted from traveler to traveler. Some of the Navigational Aids were more than just way-finders, but intermediary points of destination of importance along the trail and often places of rest and forage for travelers and their animals and places of decisive events in the life of the trail. Some of these Navigational Aids were also culturally significant to the local American Indian or Hispanic populations, so may also be eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage. Additional consultation on this area of significance will likely be necessary. Criteria B, C, and D are not expected to apply to Navigational Aids.

Natural passageways, including passes, natural grades, or other topographic features forming natural travel ways are important components of the trail. Cochetopa Pass through the Rocky Mountains of Colorado; the San Rafael Swell and Sevier River Valley of central Utah; the Virgin River Canyon of Nevada and Arizona; and Emigrant Pass in the Nopah Range, Sperry Wash south of Tecopa, Afton Canyon through the Cady Mountains, Spanish Canyon in the Alvord Mountains, and Cajon Pass through the San Gabriel Mountains in California are among the natural features that funneled trail traffic into narrow channels. Crossings of major rivers, such as the Uncompahgre River south of Montrose, Colorado, the Gunnison River northwest of Delta,

Colorado, the Colorado River at Grand Junction, Colorado, and Moab, Utah, and the Green River, at Green River Utah were important and known reliable crossing points that also funneled traffic to specific places. The Crossing of the Fathers on the Colorado River in southeastern Utah and the Box of the Pariah River near Kanab, Utah, were important funnels of travel along the Armijo Route of the trail. The degree to which promontories, buttes, and hills served as Navigational Aids is not well understood for the trail but should be kept in mind when ascribing significance for trail segments.

Transportation Sites Registration Requirements

To adequately reflect their significance, Transportation Sites must have a clear linkage to the trail's use and reuse, as explained in the associated historic contexts. Each property must be individually evaluated for its period of significance and its significance in the area of transportation, though other areas may apply as well. A resource is eligible if it is clearly shown to have played an important role in maintaining the trail's viability as a commercial, exploration, settlement, or military travel way. Transportation sites are foremost eligible under Criterion A at the national level of significance for Commerce, Exploration, Settlement, and Transportation.

Criterion B allows for the registration of resources linked to a well-known individual's experience in traveling the trail documented in diaries, journals, or government reports. Such accounts from the period of historic significance can provide an important link in interpreting the feeling of time and place associated with certain transportation sites. When using this criterion, the association between the trail user and the site must be particularly significant and well-documented. In most cases, the significant person should be demonstrated to have been prominently associated in the development of the trail or events significant to the site. The relevant level of significance must be determined in reference to the individual's importance as a chronicler of the trail or participation in important historic events, usually meriting national level significance.

Transportation sites are also eligible under Criterion D. Archaeological prospection, geophysical survey, and metal detector survey of transportation sites have been shown on other trails and at the Bunker Site to reveal associated artifact assemblages, sometimes buried and sometimes not, that can provide important information about the use of the trail during its period of significance. Under Criterion D, properties that retain integrity have the potential to yield important information to enhance the understanding of the use and nature of the OST, including patterns of use and change over time, evolving trade patterns, and cultural interactions. Study of remnant trail segments and adjacent archaeological sites and features can provide valuable insight into the evolving patterns of historic development in the regions through which the trail passed. The sites associated with the OST likely contain data that may be vital to a wider study of nineteenth-century trade and economic development. Historic-period road and trail segments are relatively rare or difficult to discern, because evidence of such activity has often been obliterated by subsequent development or natural causes. Further investigations could address key questions regarding trade and transportation variability and change. Excavations could provide additional

social data including better estimates of the frequency of use through time, the role played by government military and exploration expeditions, women associated with trade caravans or immigration, various ethnic and social groups including Hispano and American Indian, and the nature of trail users, material culture, and the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities.

Transportation sites, including trail segments and navigational aids, are eligible under Criterion A if they served as part of the OST route between Santa Fe, Taos, or Abiquiu, New Mexico northward and westward as far as Los Angeles, California. Integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association should be sufficiently intact to be able to convey a sense of what it was like to travel through the landscape of a trail segment during its period of significance. According to Somers (2025:93), assessing integrity requires professional judgment as to whether the property retains the physical characteristics of its period of significance with the primary criteria being whether a property retains its historic character and to what degree its historic character has been retained. Also to be considered are if changes to the landscape are irrevocable or can be recovered. For trails, evidence of the pattern of circulation is important as shown by the trail itself or subsequent travel along the general route. For trails, the landscape can demonstrate the reason for the circulation (travel) pattern. Vegetation and evidence of responses to natural topography and features relate to the location of a travel route and form its setting. (Somers 2025:93).

The cumulative effects of alterations to the landscape need to be considered. Natural and human-caused deterioration do not disqualify a property from NRHP consideration, so long as the remaining components collectively convey the property's significance. Most important are integrity "based on the presence of landscape characteristics and features of the original site," including vegetation (Somers 2025:93).

The analysis of a transportation site is relatively straightforward. It involves evaluating whether integrity of the visual scene and trail features is sufficiently retained along a verified trail route. This process involves evaluating the location and setting of extant sites. It also entails judging whether trail integrity is sufficient to reflect the areas and periods of historic significance. These variables include the retention of current natural and historic vegetation patterns, landscape views, and other factors capable of ensuring long-term site integrity (e.g., low erosion, soil stability). Landscapes develop through a mix of evolving patterns and activities, the material record of which was influenced by cultural preferences, available technology, and response to the natural environment (McClelland 1999:3). In the case of the OST, the activities of animal-drawn transport have formed the most vivid reminder of the historic scene. This means that the physical character of a transportation site must display environmental integrity that retains sufficient visual qualities of the historic scene from the period of significance in terms of feeling, setting, and association. Environmental integrity is the quality of visual context of the historical scene remaining intact and unobstructed by modern construction or major intrusions. Flexibility must be allowed in determining what is sufficient retention of the visual scene. In rural areas, modern visual intrusions, such as barbed-wire fences, communication and electrical transmission lines,

roads, hedgerows, and cultivated fields are often common in proximity to sites. In urban areas, modern intrusions are more pronounced and can include housing subdivisions and other built developments. Because modern visual intrusions are sometimes unavoidable, the sites affected by one or more of these modern intrusions may still be considered eligible for registration. In urban areas, transportation sites can be determined eligible even if they are short in length because of their rarity due to development pressures.

Special consideration of the geographical features of individual segments will be necessary in determining eligibility. Erosion by wind and water is expected to have occurred to sites and should not make a segment ineligible so long as sufficient visual integrity of feeling, setting, location, and association of the segment is intact. In many environments, no physical evidence of the trail may be visible by on-the-ground observation. However, if the course of travel of a segment is verified by field examination with corresponding historical data and/or evidence of subsequent travel in the trail corridor, the segment would be eligible as contributing to a district or site. It is also possible that high-resolution aerial photography or LiDAR may provide verification of a trail where it is not possible to see it on the ground.

Agricultural or residential settlement has taken place in many areas where the trail existed. In most cases, such changes have resulted in altered landscapes that no longer provide a visitor with the sense of the experience of a traveler during a trail segment's period of significance. These areas will primarily be on private land, such as the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico, the mesas of the Uncompahgre Valley and the valley land of the Grand Valley of Colorado, the Sevier River Valley of Utah, the Las Vegas area of Nevada, and from San Bernardino to Los Angeles in California.

Other modern human impacts to trail segments may detract from the visual condition of a trail segment's adjacent land areas. Most often these are seen in the form of energy developments such as solar panel arrays, wind farms, gas and oil wells, transmission lines, and state or interstate highways. Their presence does not automatically preclude an intact segment from being eligible for listing. Modern roads and highways can be distracting, but should not automatically be considered sufficiently intrusive to render a trail segment ineligible because they are a continuity of use of travel initiated by the trail and subsequent wagon roads. This may seem counterintuitive, but continued use of the historic travel routes demonstrates the importance of a travel route to the present day. When feasible, modern human developments other than roads and highways should be omitted from a resource's boundary. Utility corridors that bisect a trail segment at right angles are less intrusive than those that run parallel. Future management of trail segments should attempt to minimize modern developments that detract from the integrity of a trail segment's setting and feeling. Diminishment of a trail segment's setting and feeling by modern developments may result in a segment being determined to be ineligible. Nominated segments should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

The single most important requirement in the evaluation of a navigational aid is the retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity recalling the historic setting; verified integrity

of location is also a crucial element in determining the eligibility of these sites. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained. Primary documentary evidence (e.g., journals, diaries, and itineraries) recording the presence of the feature must be referenced to establish that the resource was seen as a prominent feature of the trail in its period of historic significance. To be eligible in the area of ethnic heritage, the resource must be shown to have significance to one or more American Indian tribes or a Hispanic population.

Although erosion and human activity are expected to have impacted navigational aids, visual integrity must be maintained. Where integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association are retained, consideration must be given to the degree to which modern intrusions or improvements may have compromised the historic character of the site. If the improvements are not overtly obstructive and a reasonable portion of the historic scene is maintained, the properties remain eligible.

Property Type: Travel and Trade Sites

Travel and Trade Sites comprise those resources along the OST that provided water and forage for camping or were places of trade or other interactions with trail users during the trail's period of significance. These are included below as subtypes Natural Amenities and Building Sites. Although the communities of Santa Fe and Taos in New Mexico and Mission San Gabriel and Los Angeles in California were anchors to trail travel and the commerce it engendered, they are not included in this MPDF because of their more comprehensive histories, subsequent development, and the unlikeliness that resources have survived that are integral to the history of the OST. If facilities at each end of the trail are found to have survived that were involved with preparation for travel along the trail, served as depots for supplies or goods utilized for trade or gathered for trade, were workshops for the production of woolen goods, were warehouses for supplies and trade goods for trappers and traders or for the goods the acquired, such as furs, or facilities to handle the large numbers of horses and mules that returned with traders from California, they could be considered under this property type. Various Pueblos in New Mexico also had important roles in the OST, but also are best considered individually for historic designation purposes. Abiquiu is the only community that is most likely to have retained intact cultural remains that may be directly pertinent to the OST. Development there has been minimal, and it is not known if any buildings or structures from the period of significance have survived to the present, but it is possible that archaeological remains exist that may be able to provide important information about the OST during its period of significance.

All Travel and Trade Sites away from the contemporary communities are expected to be tied to natural components of the landscape, mostly related to water. Subtypes of the Travel and Trade Sites property type are Natural Amenities and Building Sites.

Natural Amenities are naturally-occurring features that provided trail travelers with resources that they needed in their journey. Water sources were the primary Natural Amenity

required, as they proved comfortable camping places and, in otherwise dry terrain, animal forage and fuel for fires. All of the major river crossing would have satisfied the water, grass, and fuel requirements of a traveling party. Away from these, the time of year would have been a factor in the reliability of water from streams and springs and the freshness of the grass for grazing. Where grass was scarce, such as in desert areas, following a large party along the trail might have caused difficulty in finding sufficient forage for animals and having to go farther afield to find it. In particular, the Mountain Meadows at the head of Santa Clara Creek was heavily depended upon in preparation for parties traveling westward to prepare for the desert crossings of Nevada and California and for returning parties to enable their animals to recover.

The Bunker Site (56H614) on the eastern side of the San Luis Valley in Colorado is the only camp site known that can be associated with the International and National Commerce context. It is a campsite well situated with natural amenities of reliable water and fuel. It is entirely archaeological and has demonstrated multiple occupations from the 1790s to 1880s with a focus on the 1820s–1830s time period. The potential for other campsites from the OST period of significance is high, particularly at river and creek crossings and springs, but identification is difficult because of subsequent use of those locations by travelers and the difficulty in identifying period artifacts. Interactions with American Indians along the routes were frequent with exchange of goods commonplace, but positive identification of those places of interaction will be extremely difficult. Recognition of Travel and Trade Sites will be an archaeological endeavor fraught with difficulties because of a likely dearth of artifactual evidence; camping locales were briefly utilized, most for only a single night by travelers. Sites that were used repeatedly through time may provide a better opportunity for recognition, but still not without difficulty. Traders that ventured northward from New Mexico from the middle 1700s to the early 1800s may have encountered Native Americans at regular camping places, but had few durable goods to trade that would be retained in the archaeological deposits of a site, and the actual presence of traders at a particular location likely cannot be demonstrated on the basis of archaeology alone. Evidence of traders carrying goods to California on the OST will pose similar difficulties in recognition because of the transient nature of travelers and the lack of durable goods they carried. This will likely render most of their camping locations virtually invisible archaeologically. This would be particularly the case for the Armijo Route, which was a singular journey to and from California from New Mexico. Use of the Main Route and North Branch by fur trappers are likely to be nearly as difficult to discern as New Mexican traders, but trappers carried more durable items and had more trade goods with them for trade with American Indians. It may be difficult to discern differences between sites occupied by fur trappers and those occupied by American Indians from the same time period because the durable goods each used were nearly identical, though American Indian sites would likely contain more decorative items, such as cone tinklers, retention of stone tool technology, and greater reuse of sheet metal, brass, and, possibly, glass items. This is demonstrated by the Bunker Site.

Camping places from the Beale Expedition, Gunnison Expedition, Loring Expedition, and Macomb Expedition are known along the routes of the OST or can be reasonably expected to be

found from the maps and reporting of those ventures. Places where they camped can be expected to be some of the same utilized during earlier use of the OST. Where these later campsites have been documented, little artifactual evidence of their presence has been found because of the short duration of the camping episodes and subsequent use as favored camping places by others.

Natural amenities include the landscape both as a resource (e.g., a spring) and as contributing land areas. The landscape directly influenced the locations of and defined the character of the natural amenities that were available. The condition of natural amenities will vary. Much of the terrain traversed by the OST are quite arid and have become more arid through time. Water sources have been tapped for irrigation and other uses, including installations of dams that have altered historic stream flows so that spring flooding events are controlled and summer flows of large rivers sometimes more regular. In other cases, water use has diminished stream flows, water tables, have dropped, and springs have become less reliable, smaller, or no longer functioning. In nearly all cases, riparian habitats are considerably different from what they were in early historic times. Grazing and farming has altered the natural vegetative environment and invasive weeds and woody species have often replaced what would have been natural forage. A dramatic example of this is the Mountain Meadows, which were lush grasslands during the period of significance and is currently an expanse of sagebrush and juniper as a consequence of overgrazing that denuded uplands and resulted in erosional downcutting of drainages that lowered water tables so that grasslands could no longer be supported.

Building Sites are man-made resources associated with the OST during its period of significance that were constructed to facilitate commerce along the trail. The subtype is represented only by Antoine Robidoux's Fort Uncompahgre just south of the crossing of the Gunnison River northwest of Delta, Colorado. Its precise location has not been found, and contemporary American Indian sites have not been found in its vicinity. It functioned as a fur trading post in the heart of the territory of the Ute Indian and was constructed to facilitate trade with them and fur trappers working in the area. It was in operation from about 1828 to 1844. The fort is no longer visible and its location has been sought for many years. The most current research indicates that it has no surface evidence and is on private land.

Travel and Trade Sites Significance

Travel and Trade Sites are significant under Criterion A under the themes of Transportation, Commerce, Ethnic Heritage, Exploration/Settlement, and Military. They can be expected to contain archaeological evidence of the activities carried out there that can be recovered and interpreted archaeologically, in which cases they would also be eligible under Criterion D. All four of the Historic Contexts can be applied to the property type. If archaeological work was conducted at Fort Uncompahgre and it could be shown to retain sufficient integrity that its design and layout could be discerned, it might also be eligible under Criterion C in the area of architecture. It would also likely be eligible under Criterion B because of its association with Antoine Robidoux.

All natural amenities along the trail were significant to trail travelers. Verification of the role of natural amenities will come largely from written accounts following the International and National Commerce period of 1821-1855 and mostly associated with Government Exploration, Military Use, and Regional Settlement contexts. These accounts are important in demonstrating the routes of the trail.

Travel and Trade Sites Registration Requirements

In order to be eligible for listing under Criteria A or D, the resource must have served as a stopping or camping place for travelers along the OST for commerce between 1821 and 1855 or for contemporary or subsequent travelers for regional settlement, government exploration, or military use up to 1881. Retention of a sufficient amount of visual integrity that recalls the historic setting is critical, as is the verified integrity of location. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are verified and retained. Documentary evidence primarily from government expeditions from the 1850s or other accounts of travel along the routes will establish the historical basis for the resource. Campsites should retain sufficient archaeological data potential to validate the property's significance. Where no known documentary information exists, archaeological evidence from the historic period of significance can be used to establish the resource's historical basis.

Property Type: Trail Graves

Trail Graves are sites containing one or more individual burial locations of trail travelers, including burials of American Indians. At present, one grave is known along the OST. This is that of Bonnie Keller Harris who died on December 27, 1872 and is buried in Spooky Canyon near Afton, California (Mann 1998:7). It is known that people that traveled the trail died or were killed; death while traveling the OST was a distinct possibility. Disease, accidents, and natural disasters may have claimed the lives of travelers, as did confrontations between groups of the various ethnicities and nationalities related to the trail. Graves associated with confrontations reflect the clash of cultures along the trail corridor. While traveling the trail from California in 1844, John C. Fremont reported the killing of other travelers by American Indians. If graves are found along the trail, it is expected that they will be informal internments with no associated markers.

Trail Graves Significance

Trail Graves may be locally to nationally significant for their associations with any of the four historic contexts within the 1821–1881 period of significance. Graves found along the OST may be considered significant under NRHP Criteria Consideration C if they are likely to contain important research data. It is possible that graves found along the trail will not contain grave goods that will enable a date of death to be pinpointed. Forensic or DNA studies may be able to determine the ethnicity of an interred individual, but such studies should only be undertaken after proper consultation and in accordance with the protocols of the various land management agencies and potential descendant communities. Trail Graves along the OST represent an important trail resource reflecting historic individuals and events. Isolated graves are normally

eligible for their association with events or a series of events in trail history; hence, Criterion A is relevant in these instances. It is unlikely that an individual interred in a grave can be positively identified, so eligibility under Criterion B would be very unlikely. Likewise, graves are not architectural in any way, so Criterion C would not apply. Because information important to the understanding of the individuals using the trail may be contained in a grave, eligibility under Criterion D is relevant.

Trail Graves Registration Requirements

Individual grave sites may be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Transportation if the interment took place during the OST period. The grave must be in direct proximity to a verified trail route so that a linkage to trail-related activities is demonstrated. Trail graves must retain integrity of location and association, but none of the other integrity criteria are necessary. Integrity of association is particularly important to reflect a historic occurrence along the OST. Sufficient integrity of the skeletal remains and associated contents are particularly important for Criterion D to be applied.

Property Type: Cultural Landscape

The basic concept of Cultural Landscapes and their assessment comes from the NPS (Birnbaum 1994; National Park Service 1996), but a recent NPS procedures guide for cultural landscape inventory provides guidance applicable to historic landscapes associated with trails (Somers 2025). In the past, the NPS approach to assessing and evaluating cultural landscapes along trails was thought to not always work well because of the changing condition of a landscape, the large vistas encompassed, the potential discontinuous land ownership and management, and aspects of ethnography or heritage. Although not specific to landscapes along trails, Somers (2025) addresses some of these problems. It is not possible to prevent landscapes from changing or to restore them to a particular moment in time (BLM-NPS 2017). To account for some of this, particularly the ethnographic and heritage aspects, Susan Calafate Boyle suggests that the concept of a vernacular landscape for some transportation corridors may be more appropriate. Travel corridors like the OST are not designed landscapes. They have long periods of use, may have several periods of significance, multiple uses, represent various cultural values, and fall under various land ownerships with varying management priorities (Boyle 2008).

For trails, historic landscapes, like all landscapes, are formed by geology, geomorphology, hydrology, climate, and natural vegetation (Somers 2025:98). To what extent ecology—the relationship of living things to the environment—plays a role is difficult to interpret. The spatial organization of a trail or travel corridor (its circulation pattern) is dependent on patterns of the landscape and the use of the landscape and is tied to its topography or landscape surface. Vegetation also needs to be considered because vegetation may have influenced how travel across the landscape proceeded and changes in vegetation since the POS needs to be understood for those travel patterns to be understood (Somers 2025:99-100). For instance, avoidance of groves of trees may have influenced how historic travel proceeded in particular areas. How those groves

of trees may have changed since the POS needs to be considered to understand the historic travel, the appearance of the landscape to the travelers, and our interpretation of both today.

For the OST, the landscape is a primary resource. In the terminology of cultural landscapes, the OST as a whole would be the parent landscape and segments of the trail would be component landscapes (Somers 2025:25). Physical evidence of travel from the trail period is almost always lacking, but subsequent travel is usually better imbedded in the landscape. The degree to which modern intrusions impact the overall historic/cultural/vernacular landscape need to be assessed in terms of integrity with the aspects of location, setting, feeling, and association being most pertinent. Certain vantage points can better demonstrate the cultural landscape of a trail segment than others. In some instances, modern roads may be illustrative of continuity of a historic use and the historic circulation pattern. Such a perspective may temper one's perspective of integrity loss. Landscape features of importance are the physical elements present during the POS and can be described as character-defining features (Somers 2025:95. Land uses may have altered the historic landscape, particularly for modern travel, but it may still be a historic travel landscape despite modernization, particularly if the historic pattern of circulation is still evident.

Defining the boundaries of a cultural landscape can be daunting. Arbitrary corridor widths may seem like a logical approach, but are not a very comprehensive way of dealing with landscape complexity. Visual components are the most obvious parts of a landscape, but other senses, such as sound, smell, the feel of the earth, and others, may come into play. Because these more intangible elements are more subjective, they should be described as well as possible, but will be secondary in importance to the visual scene. Boundaries for the cultural landscape relate to the boundaries of the NRHP property as a whole and should follow what is described in the Boundaries section above (page 73). To reiterate, these should encompass, but not exceed the extent of the significant resources and land comprising the historic property, and should not include non-contributing areas and areas that do not retain integrity (Somers 2025:42). Legal boundary lines (including section lines), manmade features that separate the historic from non-historic, rights of ways that separate the historic from non-historic, natural topography, contour lines, and changes in development, including modern housing, roads, industrial areas, and most agricultural lands should be used as appropriate (Somers 2025:43).

Cultural Landscapes Significance

Cultural Landscapes are the resources of greatest national significance related to the OST and may be comprised of one or a combination of Transportation Sites, Travel and Trade Sites, or Trail Graves property types and subtypes described above and can also include Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) of significance to American Indian tribes or Hispanos, including those descended from people that historically and prehistorically were associated with places along the trail. This property type represents the fullest interrelationship of the trail-related resources and the historic setting. As a rural historic landscape, cultural landscape, or vernacular landscape, a property can be deemed significant for all relevant periods of significance and can include Criteria A through D; however, for the OST, Criterion A is most applicable. This holistic approach to

evaluating the significance of the landscape is based on an understanding of the cultural and natural forces that shaped the landscape. Therefore, the natural landscape should also be included as a contributing resource. To be considered significant, the landscape of a trail segment should be intact enough that a visitor can appreciate the historic setting from the OST period. Important components to consider in evaluating the setting are topography, wet or dry waterways, vegetation, and associated cultural resources. Cultural Landscape districts should be reserved for the most intact and continuous segments of the trail or places where a concentration of resources exists in a highly intact, cohesive, and evocative setting.

In assessing a cultural landscape, character-defining features that convey a trail's significance to history must be present and possess integrity. The geographic context is pertinent to the OST and includes the "pattern of circulation networks, views and vistas," and "natural vistas" (National Park Service 1996; Somers 2025). View and vistas should be considered from the perspective of the historic traveler and can be aided by modern technology through viewshed analysis using GIS tools. In the case of some sections of the OST, historical descriptions can be used to assess landscape integrity and travelers' responses to topography and natural features (Somers 2025:100-101). Natural systems, such as geology, hydrology, and plant communities should be taken into account in understanding a trail route. Designation of a property may result in interpretation of the landscape to provide the public with an understanding of the trail relative to the landscape and enhance their overall appreciation and enjoyment of the trail, its history, and its environmental setting.

Cultural Landscapes Registration Requirements

Cultural landscapes can contribute to the listing of a Transportation Site, Travel and Trade Site, or Trail Grave property type but rarely will be eligible individually. This is because the landscape must have historical association with the associated property type for which it adds to its significance by providing its setting. In order to contribute, the cultural landscape should have sufficiently intact or unimpaired integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association to convey the historical sense of place to visitors. The cultural landscape will be the most important consideration when determining a trail segment corridor width. For the NRHP, the corridor width of a trail segment may be devised to account for practical considerations of land ownership, land continuity, or encompassing important physical features. This may be different from the corridor width of a trail segment determined by land managers for management of the same segment as an NHT. An NHT trail corridor may encompass a broader landscape that includes more distant background features. The corridor width for an NRHP-listed property in no way is intended to supersede a management corridor that may be determined for the OST as a NHT under the NTSA.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The branches of the Old Spanish Trail (OST) pass through a variety of physiographic provinces and environmental zones from New Mexico to California (Maps 27-29). Drainages, from small arroyos to major rivers; marshlands; ridges, rock outcrops, canyons, and mountain ranges; bedrock outcrops; soils of all descriptions, from sand dunes to alkaline clays; and sparse to dense vegetation, including montane forests and dense shrublands to pinyon-juniper woodlands to grasslands combined to restrict and demarcate travelways. Generations of people on the landscape developed pathways through the environment, initially to access plants and animals for subsistence and to connect communities for trade on a local scale. With the arrival of the horse, ranges and intergroup contact expanded resulting in trails with greater reach. The Spanish took advantage of these networks with the intent of trade, venturing beyond their most distant settlements into new territory for them. The fur trade put American, British, and French trappers into every nook of the Rocky Mountains westward to the Pacific Ocean, continuing an existing fur trade economy that was as old as the first entry into North America and linked to national and international markets. The far-reaching search for beaver pelts involved many American Indian groups and further connected earlier transportation links, including those recognized as the Armijo Route, Northern (Main) Route, and North Branch of the OST. Once a connection was made overland to California by fur trappers, New Mexican traders continued their trading endeavors and expanded them with trade caravans over the Armijo and Main routes of the OST. Although not focused specifically on trade in pelts and hides, their ventures were connected to eastern U.S. markets with the outlet of horses and mules being the Santa Fe Trail, shared with the fur trappers.

Armijo Route

New Mexico

The Armijo Route begins in Abiquiú, New Mexico, in the Navajo Section of the Colorado Plateau, sometimes referred to as the Arizona-New Mexico Plateau (Figure 15).[17] Vegetation is sagebrush with pinyon-juniper woodlands. It follows the Rio Chama northward a short distance and passes through a portion of the Santa Fe National Forest into the Piedra Lumbre Grant. The trail then passes westward through Abiquiu Reservoir then southwestward along the course of State Highway 96 to the Rio Puerco, where the trail diverges northwestward from the highway. It follows the Río Puerco westward, south of Mesa Montoya, and runs northwestward along the general course of State Highway 96 up Salitrah Creek where it enters the Santa Fe National Forest. The trail then turns westward away from the highway and exits the National Forest northwest of Gallina. The trail runs westward from Gallina, again along the course of State Highway 96, across Salt Draw and through a narrow gap on the northern end of Badland Hills, and then follows State Highway 95 to Canada Larga. It turns northwestward up Canada Larga through the Jicarilla

[17] Throughout this section, modern place names are used that may differ from those used at the time the trail was used. It should also be noted that during the early OST period, prior to its use for settlement, no towns existed from Abiquiu and Taos on the eastern end of the OST and its variants to Mission San Gabriel on the west. Beginning in the 1850s, small agricultural settlements satellited northward from Taos into the San Luis Valley and outward from Abiquiu. Modern towns are included in the descriptions as reference points only.

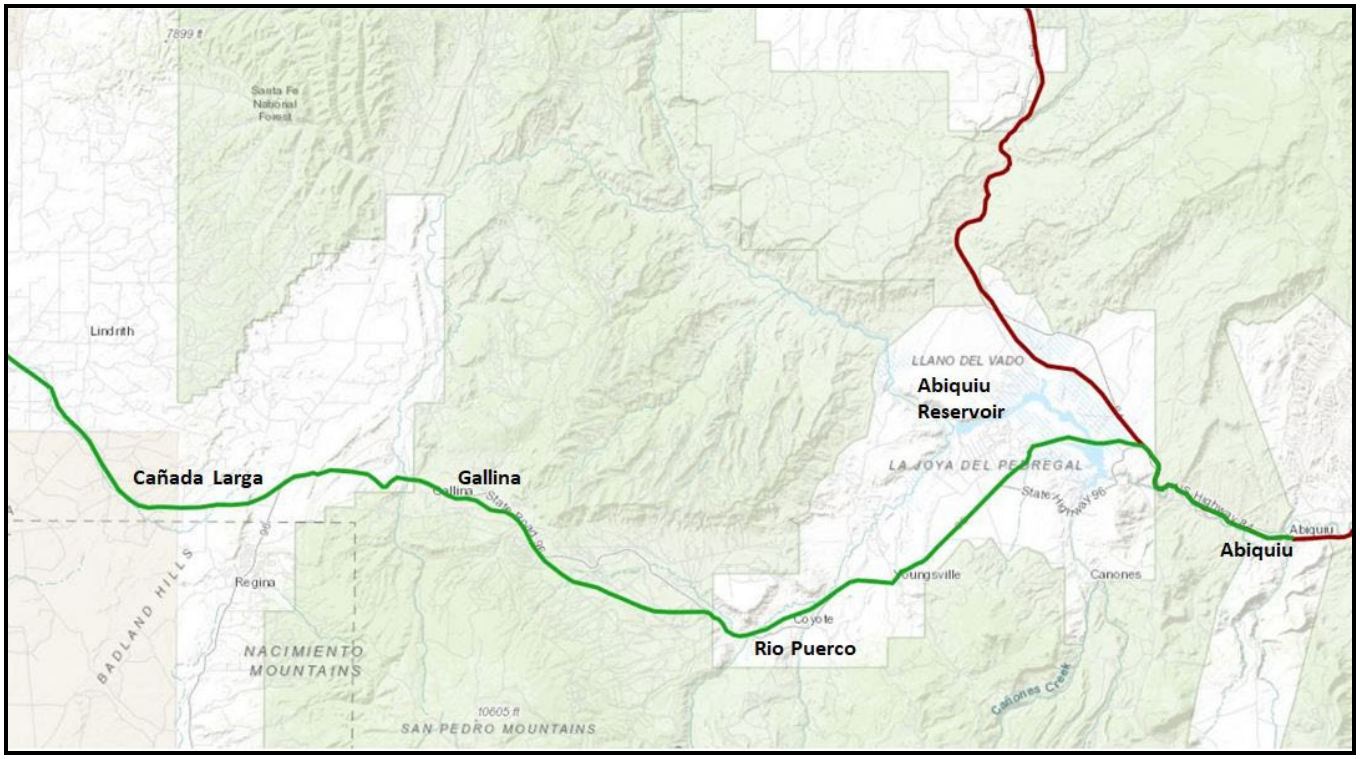

Figure 15. Armijo Route westward from Abiquiu, New Mexico.

Apache Reservation following State Highway 95 (Figure 16). The trail then diverges northwestward from the highway up Canada Larga on a winding course northward and northwestward through another portion of the Jicarilla Apache Reservation. It then turns northwestward up Canon Largo and winds northward and northwestward to the San Juan River, crossing near present Blanco (Figure 17). It then runs westward to the Aztec area where it crosses the Animas River just west of Aztec Ruins National Monument. The trail continues northwestward, up Estes Arroyo and then westward and northwestward across the Farmington Glade and west to the La Plata River. It enters Murphy Arroyo at La Plata, follows it westward and then across country through the head of Coalbank Canyon, and westward and northwestward to Barber Arroyo, which it follows northward into Horse Canyon into Colorado just east of the La Plata/Montezuma County line. A portion of the Largo Canyon section of the trail was examined by Statistical Research, Inc. during the BLM's NHT project in 2010-2011 (Provenzali 2011).

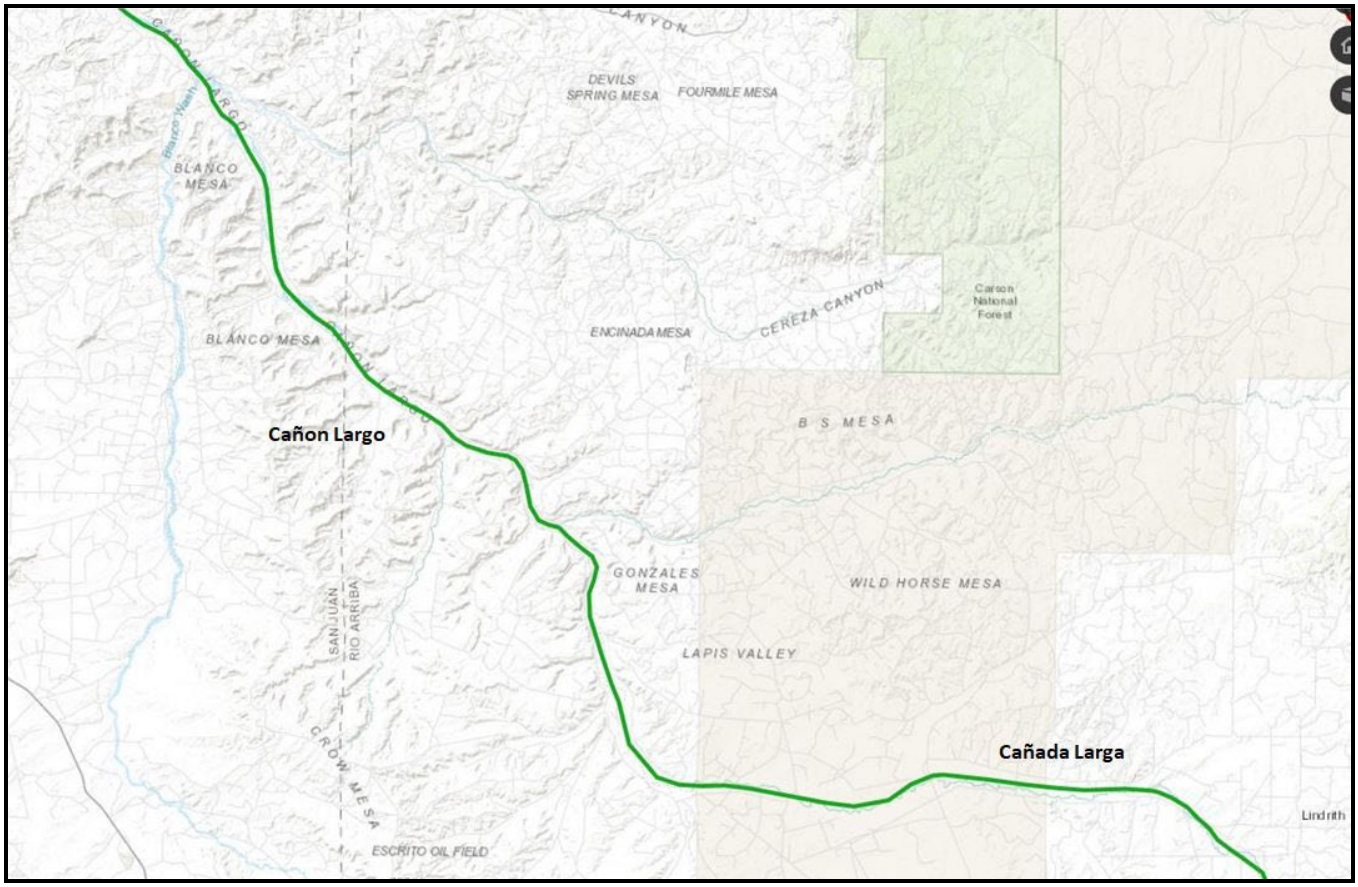

Figure 16. The Armijo Route in Cañada Larga and Cañon Largo, New Mexico.

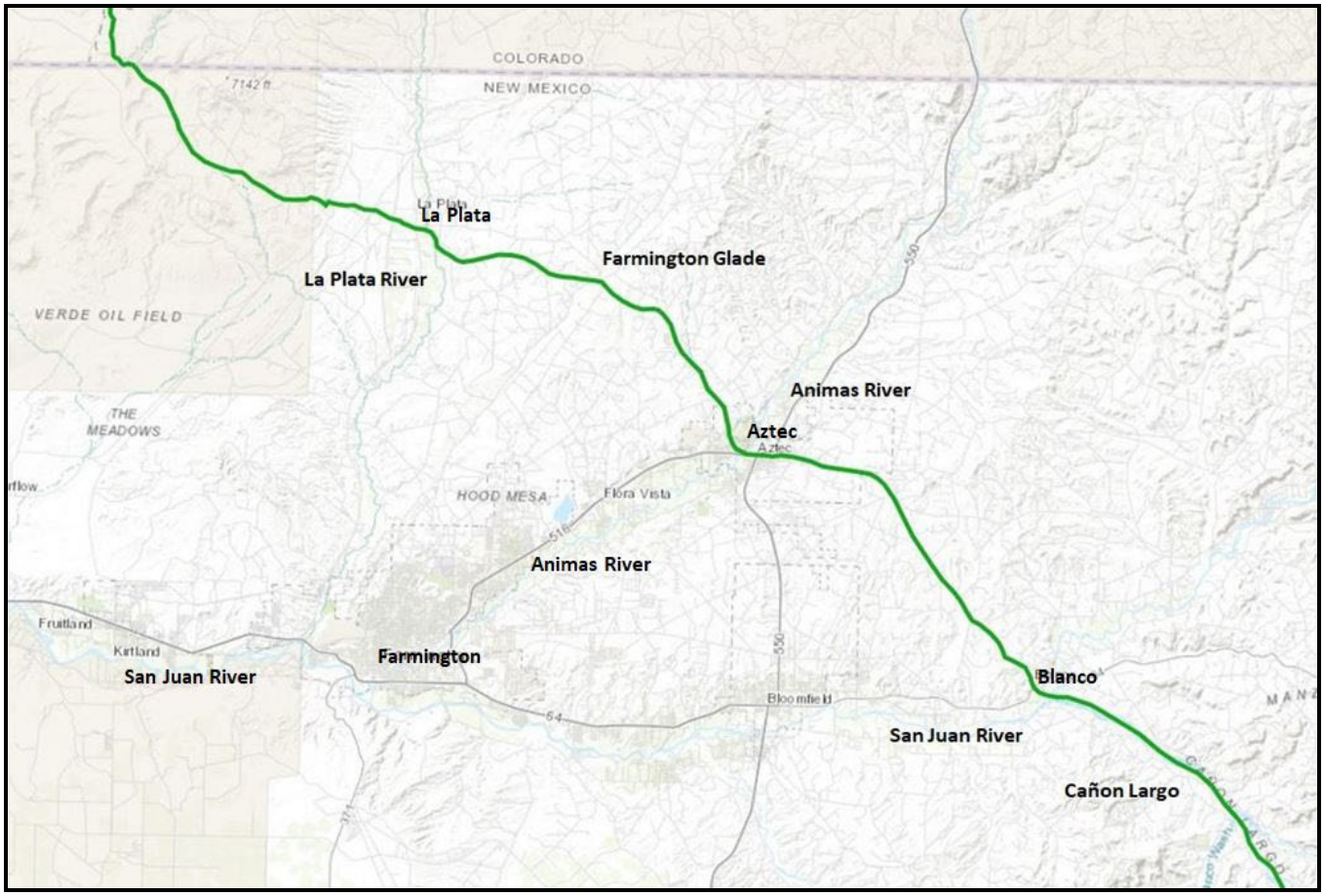

Figure 17. The Armijo Route exiting New Mexico into Colorado.

Colorado

The trail enters Colorado in far southwestern La Plata County by way of Horse Canyon into the Ute Mountain Ute Indian Reservation (Figure 18).. It then heads westward into Grass Canyon, leading to the Mancos River in Mancos Canyon south of Mesa Verde. This initial section of the trail is characterized by arid uplands transected by a few perennial streams but with many drainages that are frequently dry. Where riparian habitat is present, it is of sparse willow and cottonwoods. The uplands are frequently rugged with sandstone rock outcrops with some areas covered with pinyon pine and juniper woodlands and semi-desert shrublands of sagebrush and saltbush. The Mancos River is a perennial stream supporting lush riparian habitat. After exiting Mancos Canyon south of Towaoc, the route remains in the Arizona-New Mexico Plateau with sparse desert shrubs and heads southwestward, reentering New Mexico briefly, exiting the Ute Mountain Ute Indian Reservation and entering the Navajo Indian Reservation.

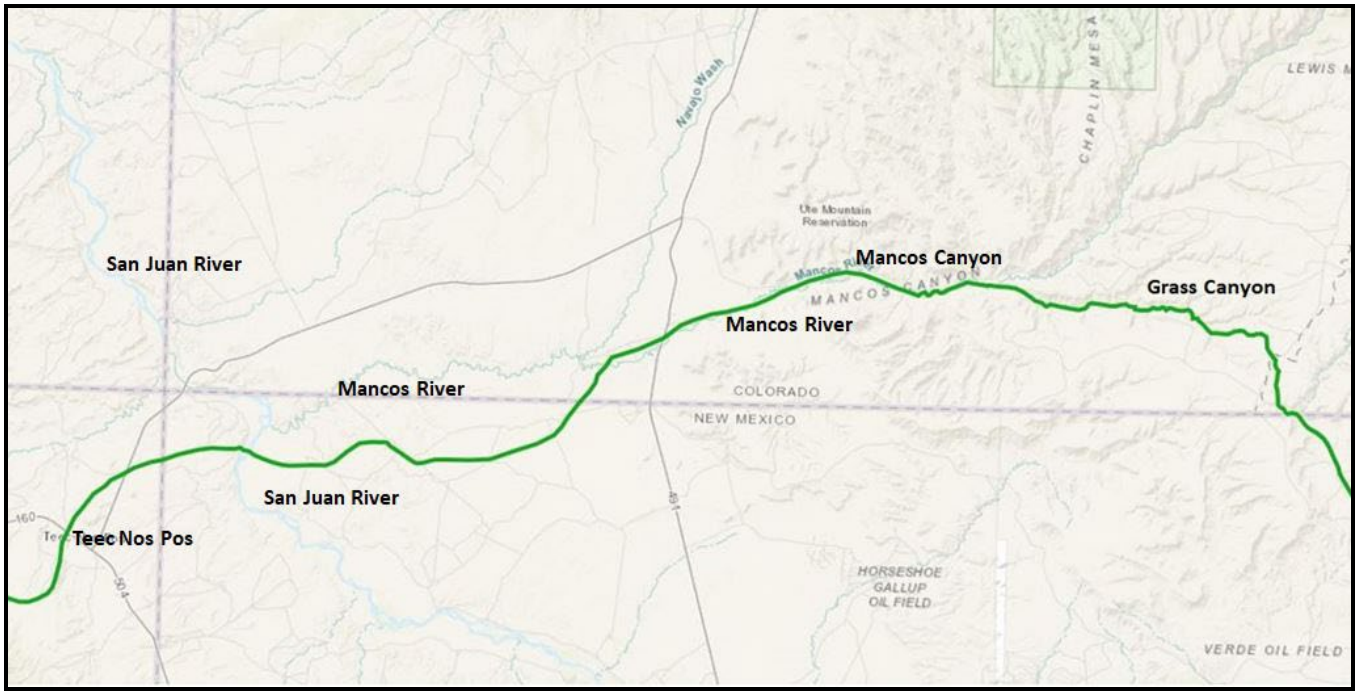

Figure 18. The Armijo Route looping into Colorado and back into New Mexico and entering Arizona.

New Mexico

After reentering New Mexico, the trail runs westward through rugged and deeply transected country on the Navajo Reservation, making its way around the heads of arroyos that are tributary to the Mancos River (Figure 18). It crosses the San Juan River just south of the mouth of the Mancos River and continues westward to where it enters Arizona just south of the head of Tohatche Wash.

Arizona

From the trail's entrance into Arizona near the head of Tohatche Wash, still on the Navajo Indian Reservation, the trail runs westward through Teec Nos Pos near the Four Corners and turns southwestward to run along the northern base of the Carrizo Mountains, whereupon it enters the Monument Valley portion of the Monument Uplift of the Colorado Plateau (Figure 19). It then runs southwestward through Tsiah Wash and across open terrain to Chinle Wash. It heads northward in Chinle Wash then westward and southwestward along Dinnehotse Canyon and Laguna Creek to Kayenta (Figure 20). Continuing westward and southwestward along Laguna Creek, it turns northwestward up Tsegi Canon past Navajo National Monument and across the Shonto Plateau (Figures 21 and 22). It crosses the southern end of Piute Canyon and turns westward and southwestward down Chaiyahi Creek, across Navajo Creek, and westward over Grey Mesa to Canyon Spring. It then turns northwestward over Cedar Tree Bench, northward across the head of Navajo Canyon, and into Utah along the eastern side of Labyrinth Canyon, leaving the Navajo Indian Reservation.

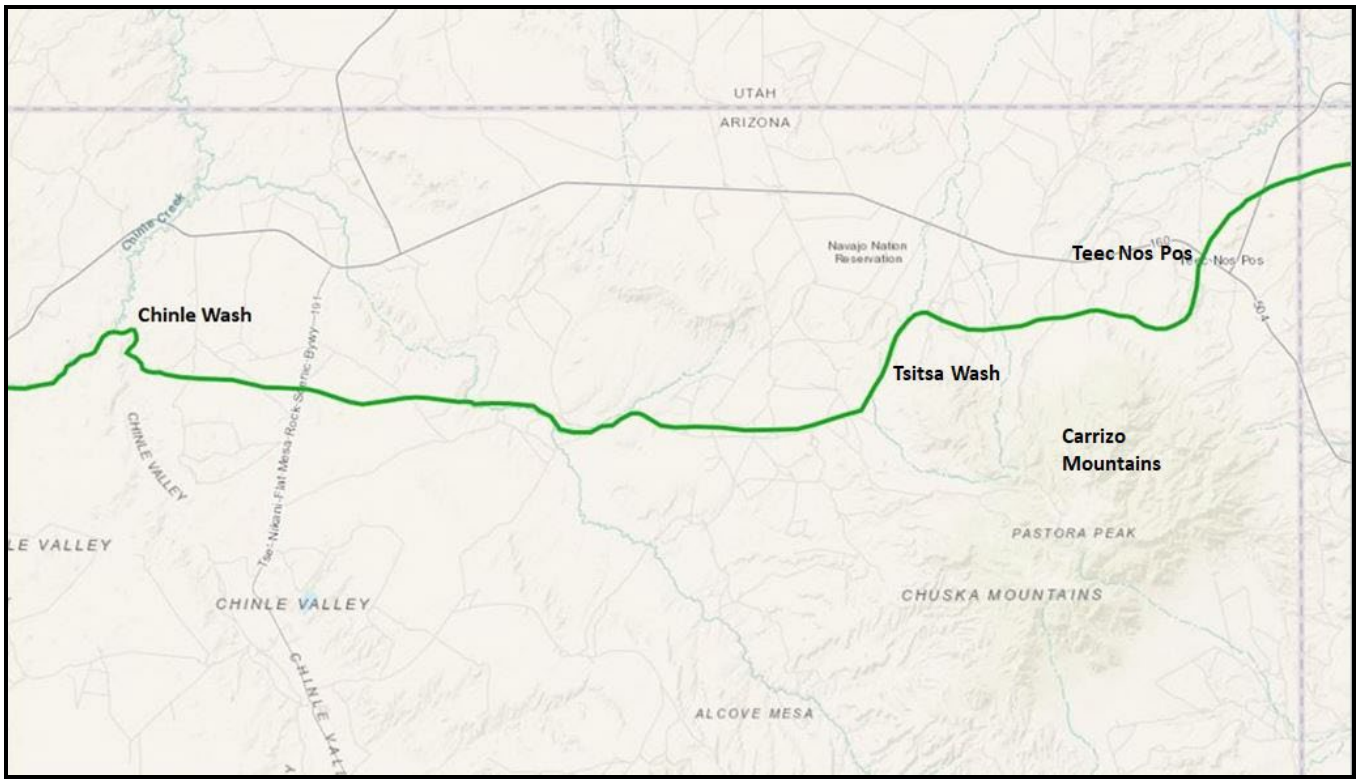

Figure 19. The Armijo Route from Teec Nos Pos to Chinle Wash, Arizona.

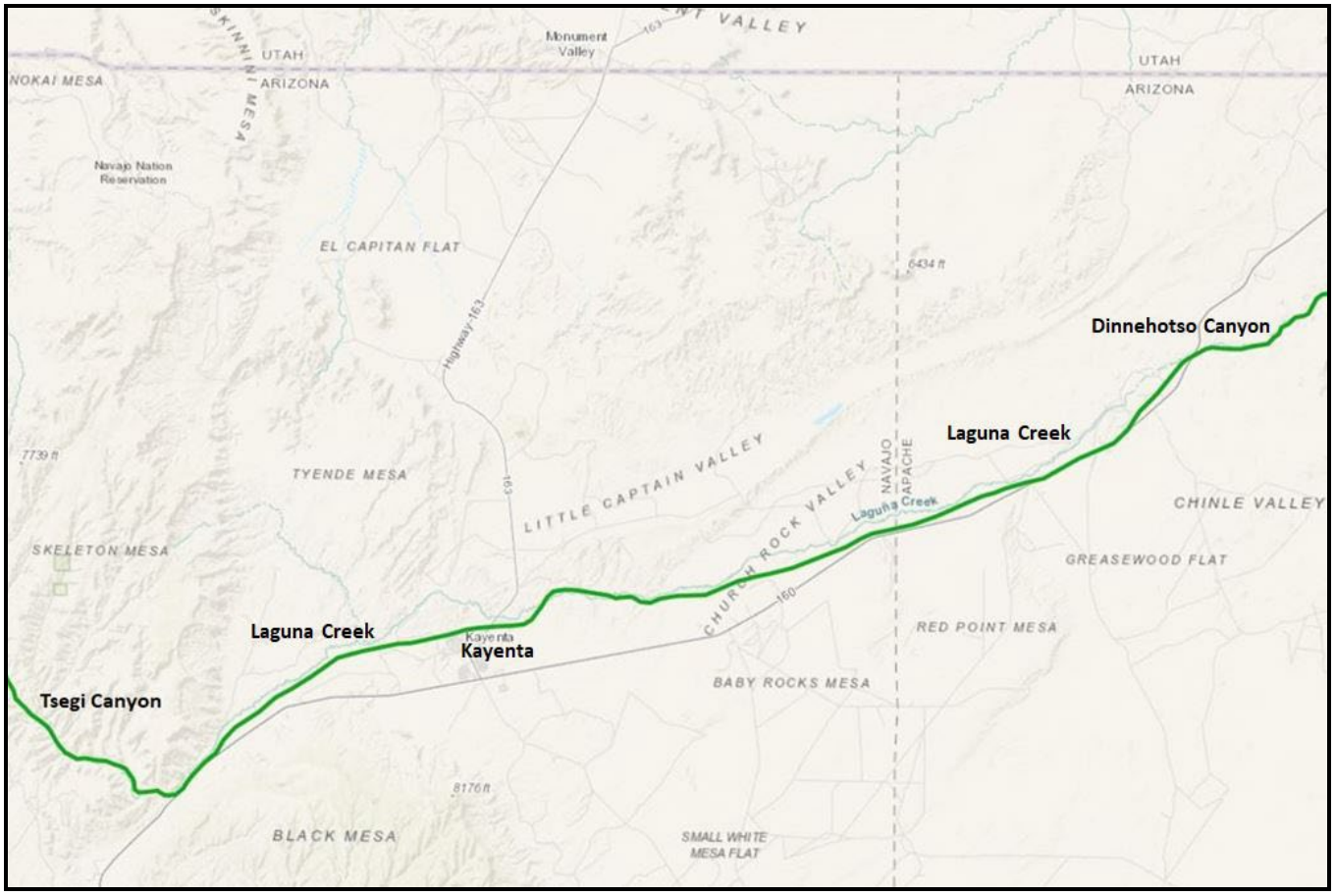

Figure 20. The Armijo Route through Kayenta and up Tsegi Canyon, Arizona.

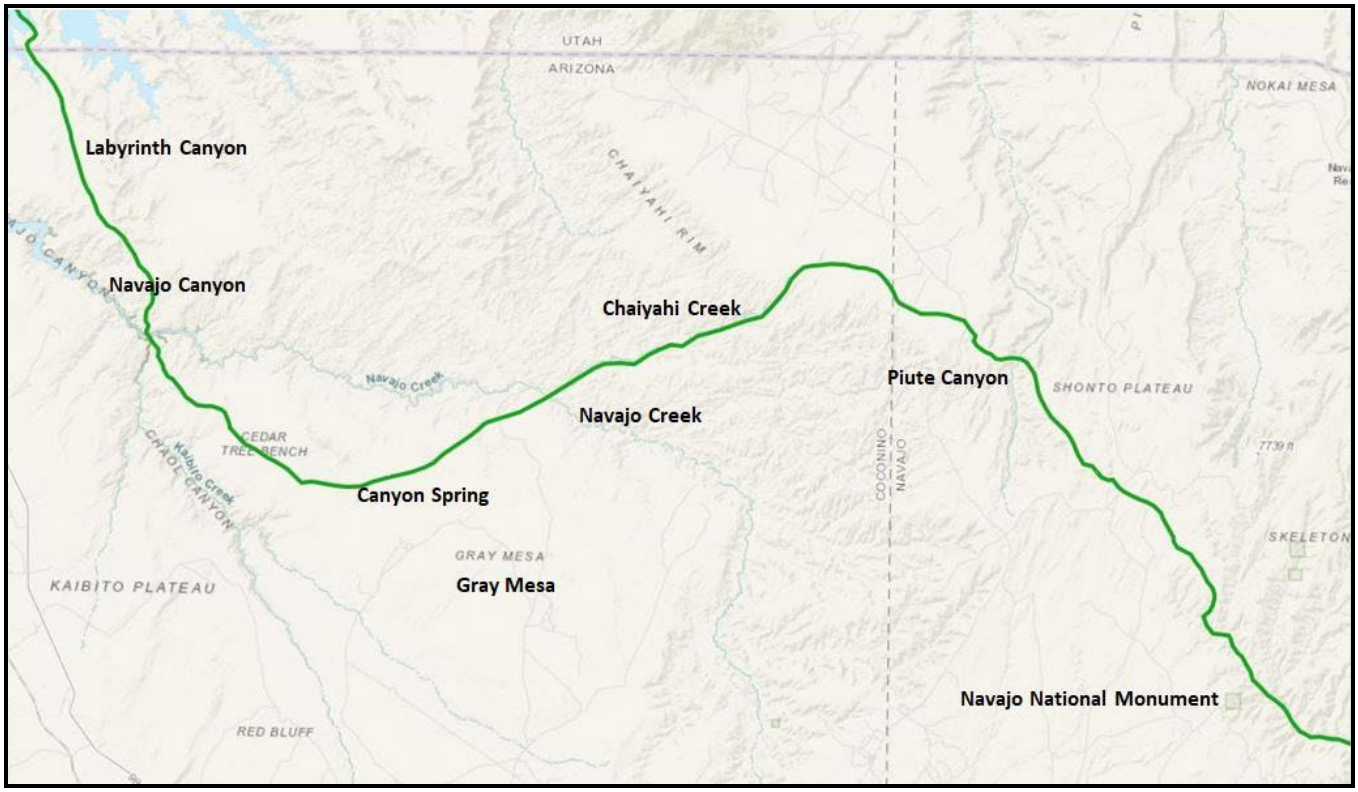

Figure 21. The Armijo Route passing Navajo National Monument and exiting Arizona by way of Labyrinth Canyon.

Utah

Upon entering Utah on the eastern side of Labyrinth Canyon, the trail leaves the Navajo Indian Reservation and enters Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (Figure 22). The trail heads northward and crosses the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers, submerged by Lake Powell, where the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition crossed the river on their return to New Mexico in 1776. This is within the Kaiprowitz Plateau-Escalante Bench section of the Colorado Plateau. The land is comprised of deep, dry tributary washes of the Colorado River cut deeply into the underlying sandstone bedrock with little soil that sustains scant pinyon-juniper and desert shrubs. After crossing the Colorado River, the trail swings westward over the Sand Hills and through Wahweep Canyon, beneath Lake Powell, and follows Wahweep Creek northwestward out of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area into the Grand Staircase section of the Colorado Plateau. It turns westward past Glen Canyon City along the route of U.S. Highway 89 over the East Clark Bench and south and west of The Rimrocks to the Pariah River. It turns northward away from the highway up the Pariah River, following it northwestward through the narrow Box of the Pariah. The Pariah River is well watered and sustains considerable riparian habitat and cottonwood groves. The trail then swings southwestward around the northern end of the Cockscomb, a substantial sandstone uplift in terrain similar to that of the Canyonlands of the

Colorado River. It then runs through the Kimball Valley and Telegraph Flat, once again following the route of U.S. Highway 89 (Figure 23). It turns westward to pass south of the eastern end of the Vermillion Cliffs and turns southwestward along Lost Spring wash into Arizona. A 24.2 mile-long section of the Armijo Route was examined by Alpine Archaeological Consultants, Inc. (Alpine) during the BLM's NHT project in 2010–2011. The inventoried portions were in the Box of the Pariah and along Wahweap Creek (Horn et al. 2011b).

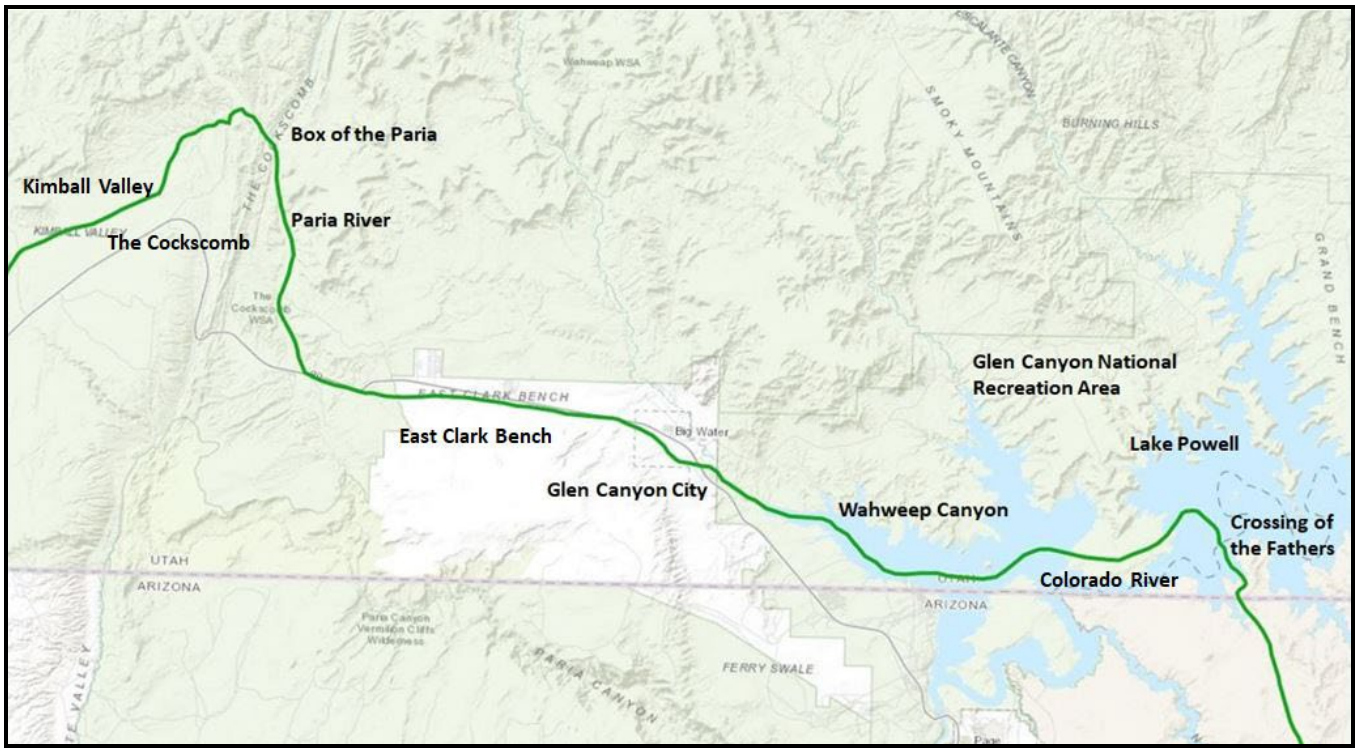

Figure 22. The Armijo Route entering Utah and crossing the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers on its way around the Cockscomb through the Box of the Paria, Utah.

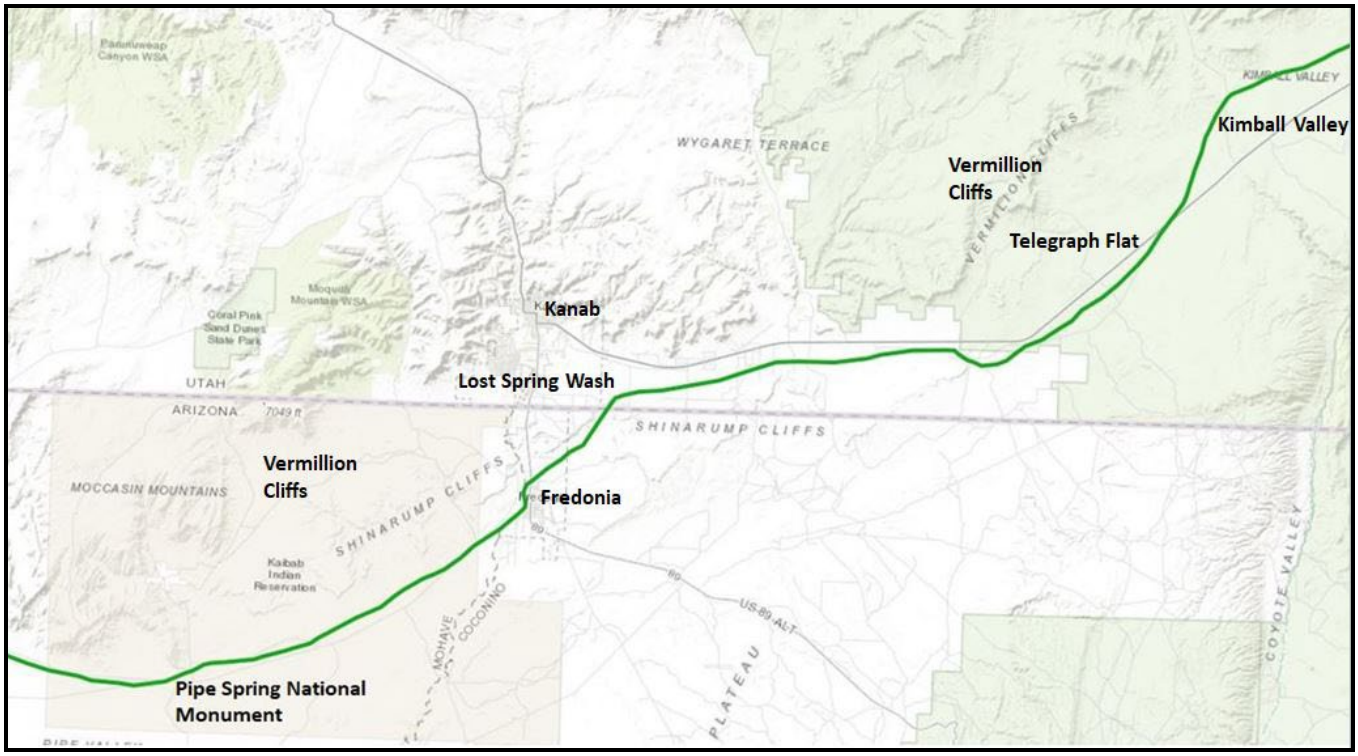

Figure 23. The Armijo Route exiting Utah south of Kanab and passing Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona.

Arizona

The trail exits Utah south of Kanab heading southwestward in Arizona along Lost Spring Wash following U.S. Highways 589A and 389 past Fredonia through the Shinarump Cliffs into the Kaibab Indian Reservation (Figure 23). This is in the Arizona-New Mexico Plateau with broad sagebrush and saltbush flats flanked by prominent red sandstone buttes and canyon sides. The trail bends westward through Pipe Springs National Monument and south of the western ends of the Vermillion Cliffs and Moccasin Mountains, where it exits the Kaibab Indian Reservation and departs the route of U.S. Highway 389. The trail curves northwestward through the Lakes of Short Creek and follows Short Creek into Corral Canyon and back into Utah a short distance west of Colorado City, Arizona (Figure 24).

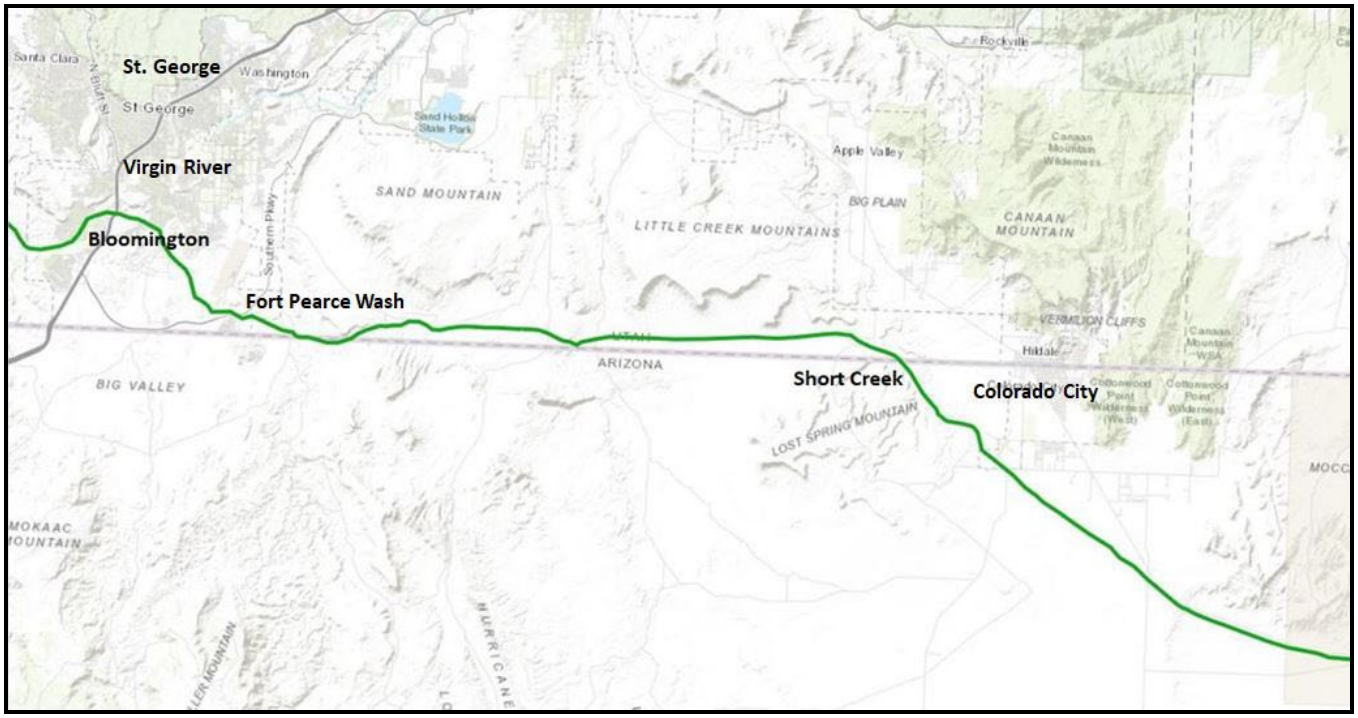

Figure 24. The Armijo exiting Arizona west of Colorado City and continuing westward south of St. George, Utah.

Utah

The trail reenters Utah running northwestward up Short Creek and continues following the creek westward, departing it after a few miles and continuing westward below the Little Creek Mountains (Figure 24). At this point, the trail is in the Mojave Basin and Range physiographic province drained by the Virgin River and characterized by Joshua trees, creosote bush, saltbush, greasewood, and blackbrush. The trail follows Fort Pearce Wash westward and northwestward to the Virgin River just south of St. George and crosses the river at Bloomington (Figure 25). It continues westward south of Bloomington Hill into Curley Hollow, which it follows for a while, and then departs overland to the Mine Valley on the eastern side of the Beaver Dam Mountains. The trail turns southwestward, follows Bulldog Canyon through the mountains, and exits westward through the Bulldog Knolls, where the trail turns southwestward and southward into Arizona.

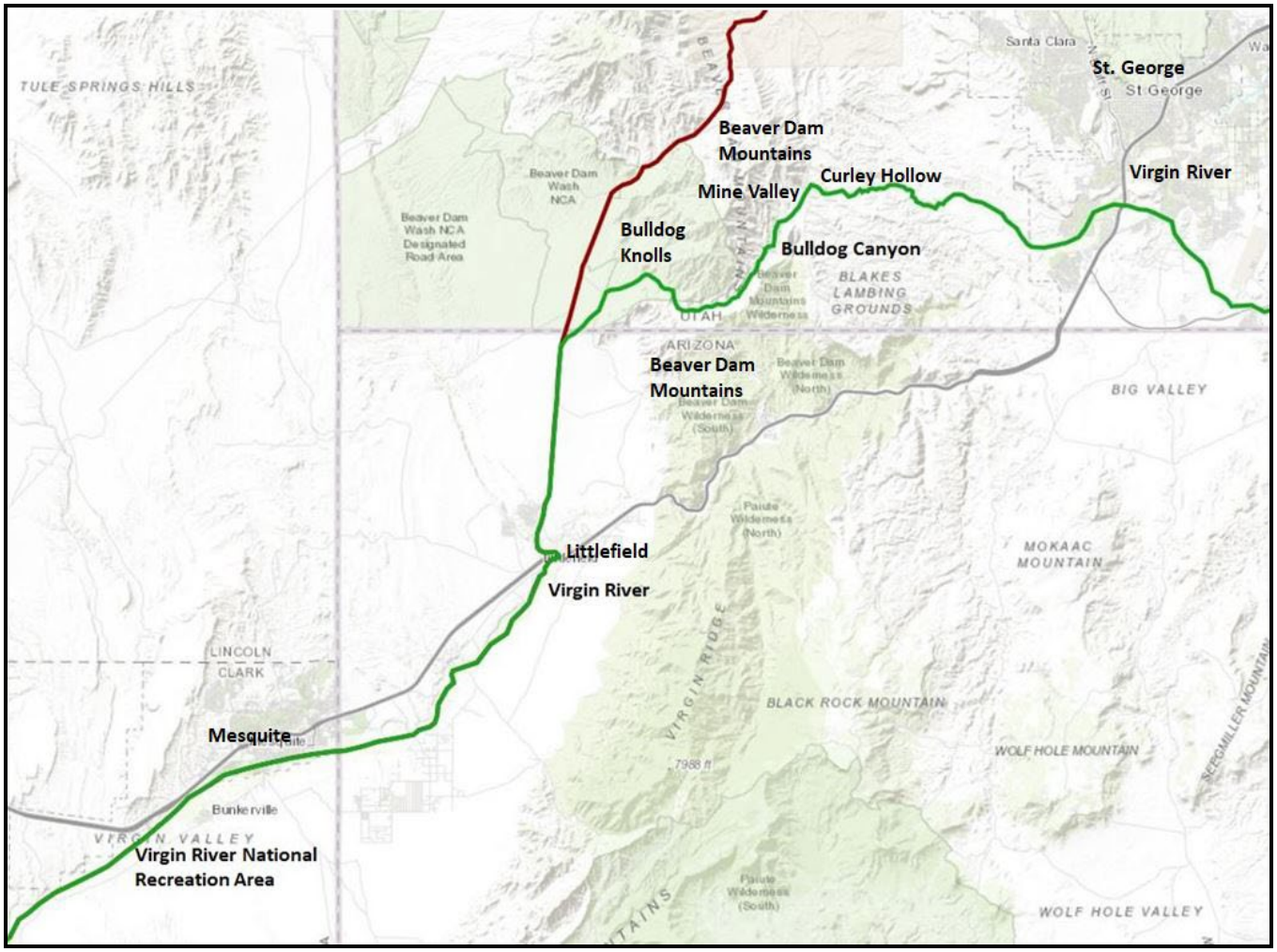

Figure 25. The Armijo Route winding westward across the Virgin River and down Bulldog Canyon before and then entering Arizona and following the Virgin River southwestward from Littlefield, Arizona, and continuing Through Mesquite, Nevada.

Arizona

Upon reentering Arizona, the trail runs directly downslope for several miles to the Virgin River near Littlefield (Figure 25). It follows the river southwestward along the general course of Interstate-15 and quickly enters Nevada near Mesquite.

Nevada

Upon entering Nevada at Mesquite, the trail continues southwestward and southward along the Virgin River through the Virgin River National Recreation Lands, the Overton State Wildlife Management Area, and the Lake Mead National Recreation Area (Figure 26). The trail

continues southward into Lake Mead along the Virgin River to the Colorado River, which it follows westward (Figure 27). In order to avoid Boulder Canyon, the trail exits the Colorado River northwestward by way of Boulder Wash through the Black Mountains and circles westward and southward down Callville Wash back into Lake Mead. It then follows the Colorado River westward and exits the river by way of Las Vegas Wash, following it on a winding course westward and southwestward. It departs Las Vegas Wash at Henderson and runs southwestward briefly along the route of Interstate-15 and past the western side of Jean Lake, turning westward on the northern end of Sheep Mountain, and bending northwestward through Ivanpah Valley and Goodsprings Valley (Figure 28). It then winds its way westward through the Spring Mountains and heads westward into California just south of Black Butte (Figure 29). Portions of what was thought to be the Armijo Route was examined in Hidden Valley and over Wilson Pass as part of the 2010–2011 BLM NHT project (AECOM 2011b).

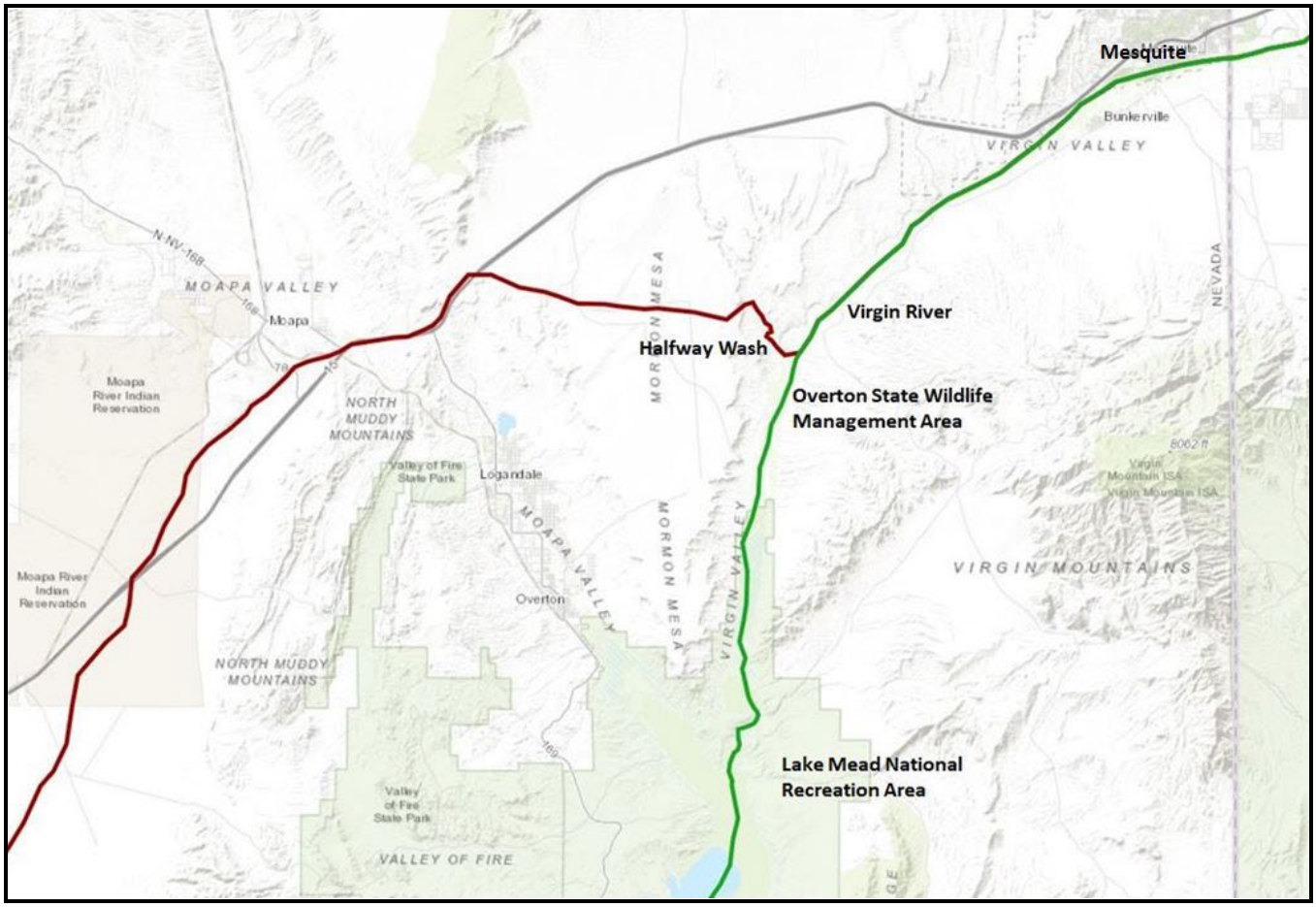

Figure 26. The Armijo Route following the Virgin River from Mesquite, Nevada, into the pool of Lake Mead.

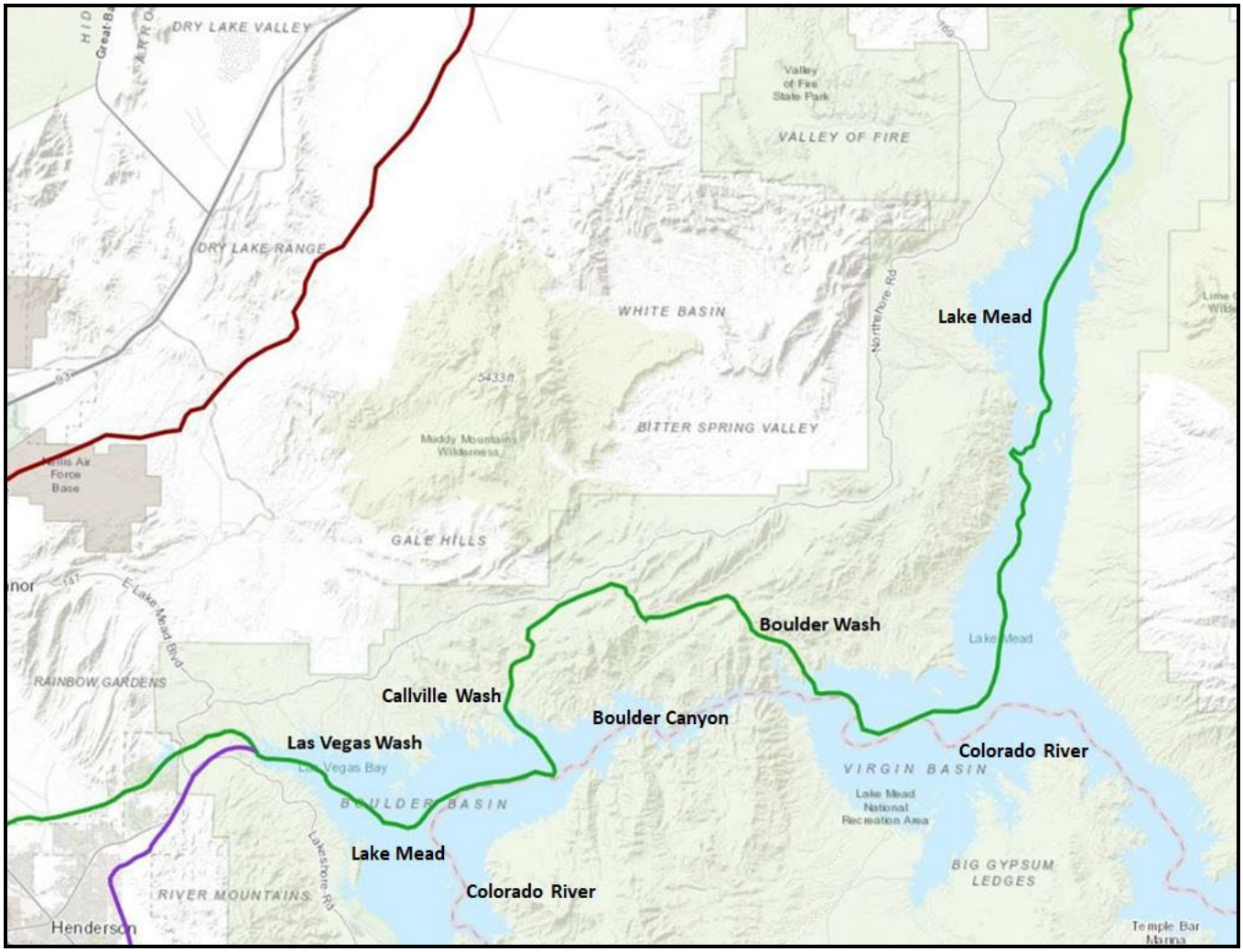

Figure 27. The Armijo Route following the Virgin River to the Colorado River and generally following the Colorado River except through Boulder Canyon and exiting westward up Las Vegas Wash.

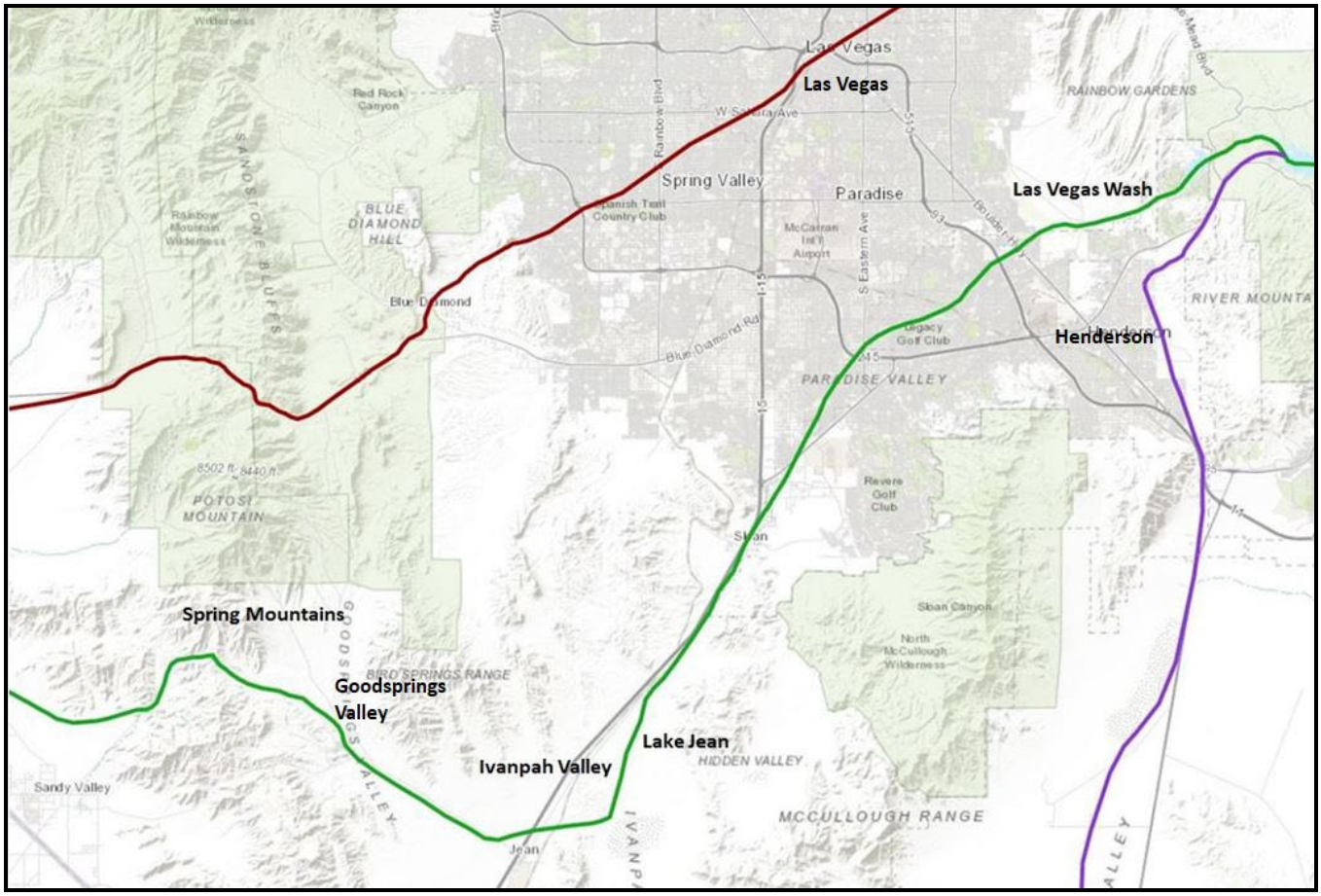

Figure 28. The Armijo Route in Nevada heading southwestward along Lass Vegas Wash and continuing through the Spring Mountains.

California

Upon entering California beyond Black Butte, the trail runs westward into the Mesquite Valley, then north of the Kingston Range, and into the California Valley on the eastern side of the Nopah Range (Figure 29). It passes westward through Emigrant Pass in the Nopah Range to Resting Springs in the Chicago Valley. The trail then turns southward at Tecopa to follow the Amargosa River southward through the Sperry Hills in the Amargosa Canyon – Dumas Dunes Natural Area and into the Silurian Valley on the eastern side of the Avawatz Mountains (Figure 30). The trail continues southward along the western sides of Silver Lake and Soda Lake, passing Baker along the way. Hafen and Hafen (1954:168) describe Armijo's route as going somewhat northward through Red Pass and Bitter Springs and down Spanish Canyon in the Alvord Mountains. The route continues southwestward, parallel to Interstate-15 along the Mojave River through Afton Canyon to Yermo, where the later Main Route intersects it at a point known as Fork of Roads (Figure 31). It continues along the Mojave River and the general course of Interstate-15 a

short distance westward through Barstow (Figure 32). The Interstate departs the route, and the trail continues southwestward and southward through Victorville to the base of Cajon Pass into the San Gabriel Mountains in the Southern California Mountains physiographic province of the San Bernardino National Forest (Figure 33). As the trail approaches Cajon Pass, it passes through sagebrush, Joshua tree and pinyon-juniper woodlands. As the trail climbs into the mountains, vegetation transitions to ponderosa pine, canyon oak, and Douglas fir. The trail exits the mountains by way of Cajon Pass. Upon exiting Cajon Canyon, the route continues past San Bernardino southwestward through Rancho Cucamonga, Pomona, San Gabriel with Mission San Gabriel, and terminates in the center of Los Angeles (Figure 34). From the base of the San Gabriel Mountains to Los Angeles, the trail is in the Southern California Chaparral and Woodlands physiographic province. Native vegetation includes chaparral of foothill pine, blue oak, California buckeye, manzanita, and scrub oak, particularly in canyon areas, and the plains are host to several varieties of live oaks and valley oaks.

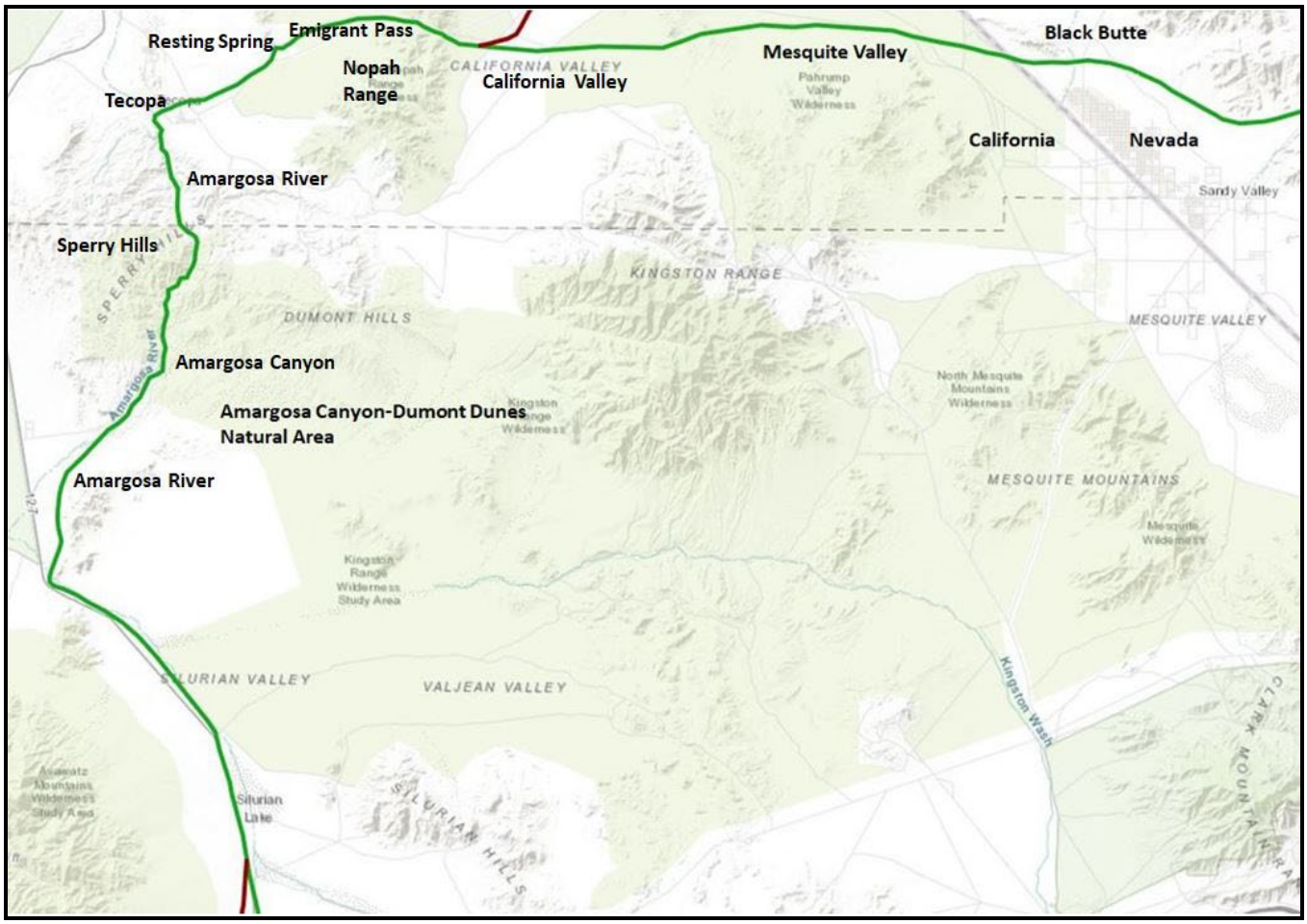

Figure 29. The Armijo Route entering California from Nevada continuing westward to Tecopa and then southward along the Amargosa River.

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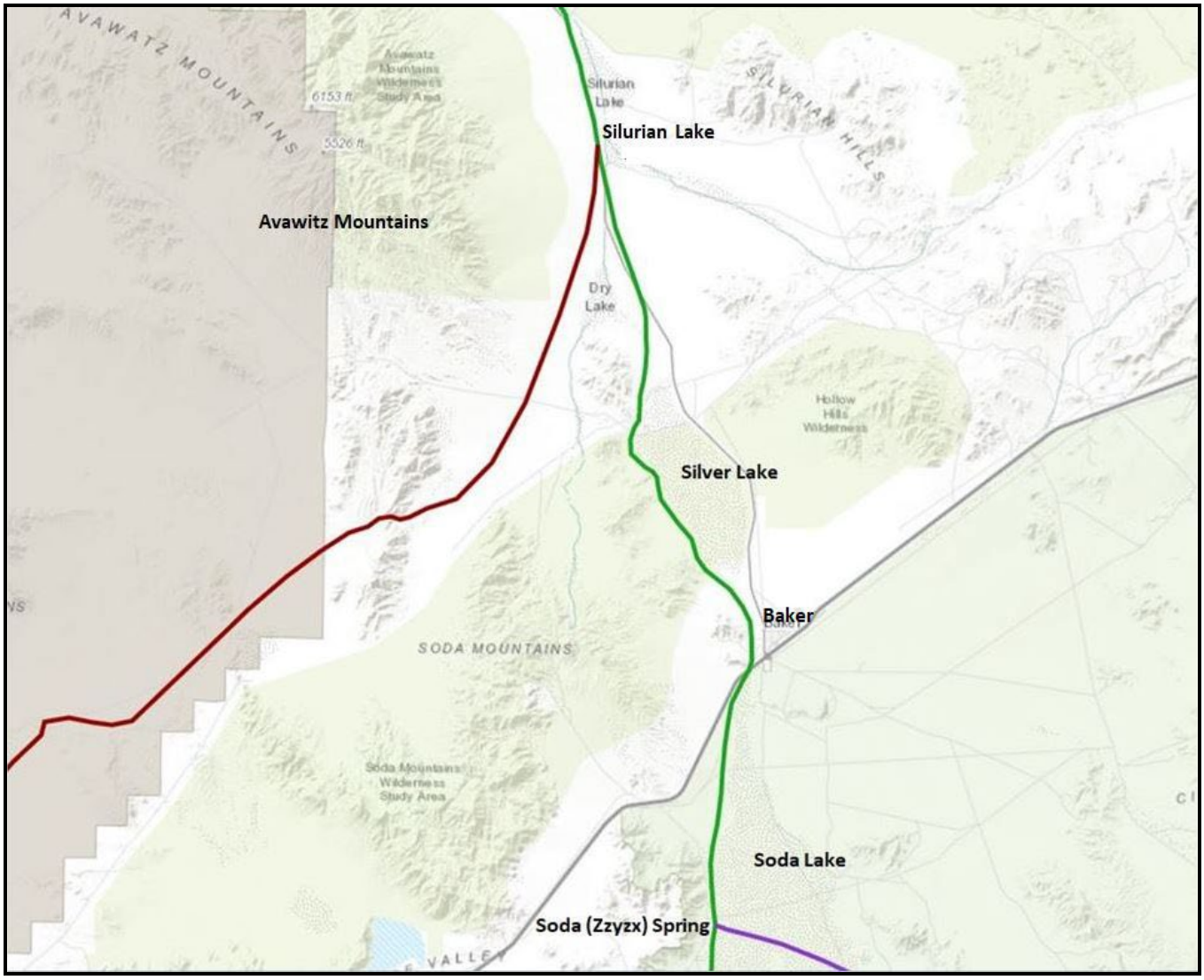

Figure 30. The Armijo Route heading southward from the Armargosa River past Baker, California.

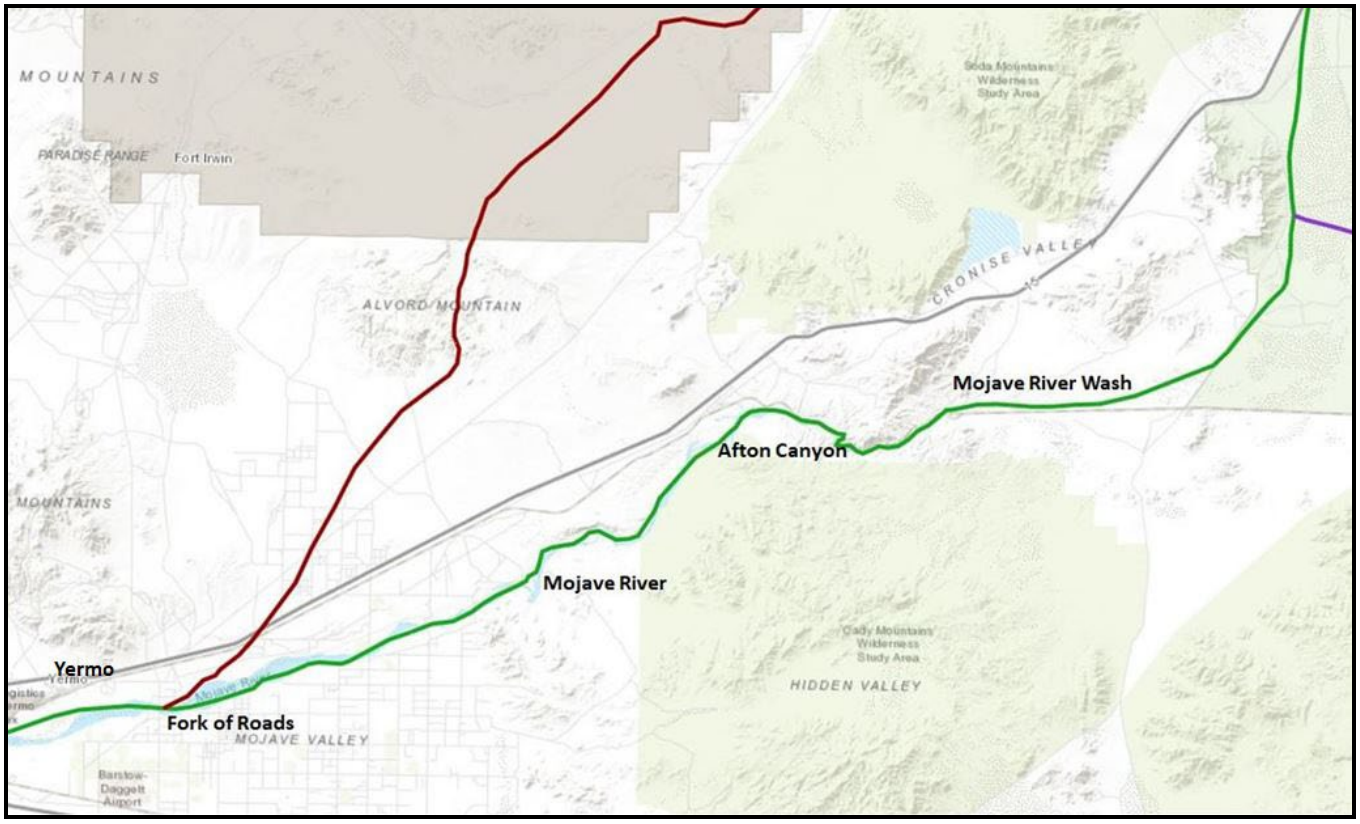

Figure 31. The Armijo Route turning westward along the Mojave River to Fork of Roads near Yermo, California.

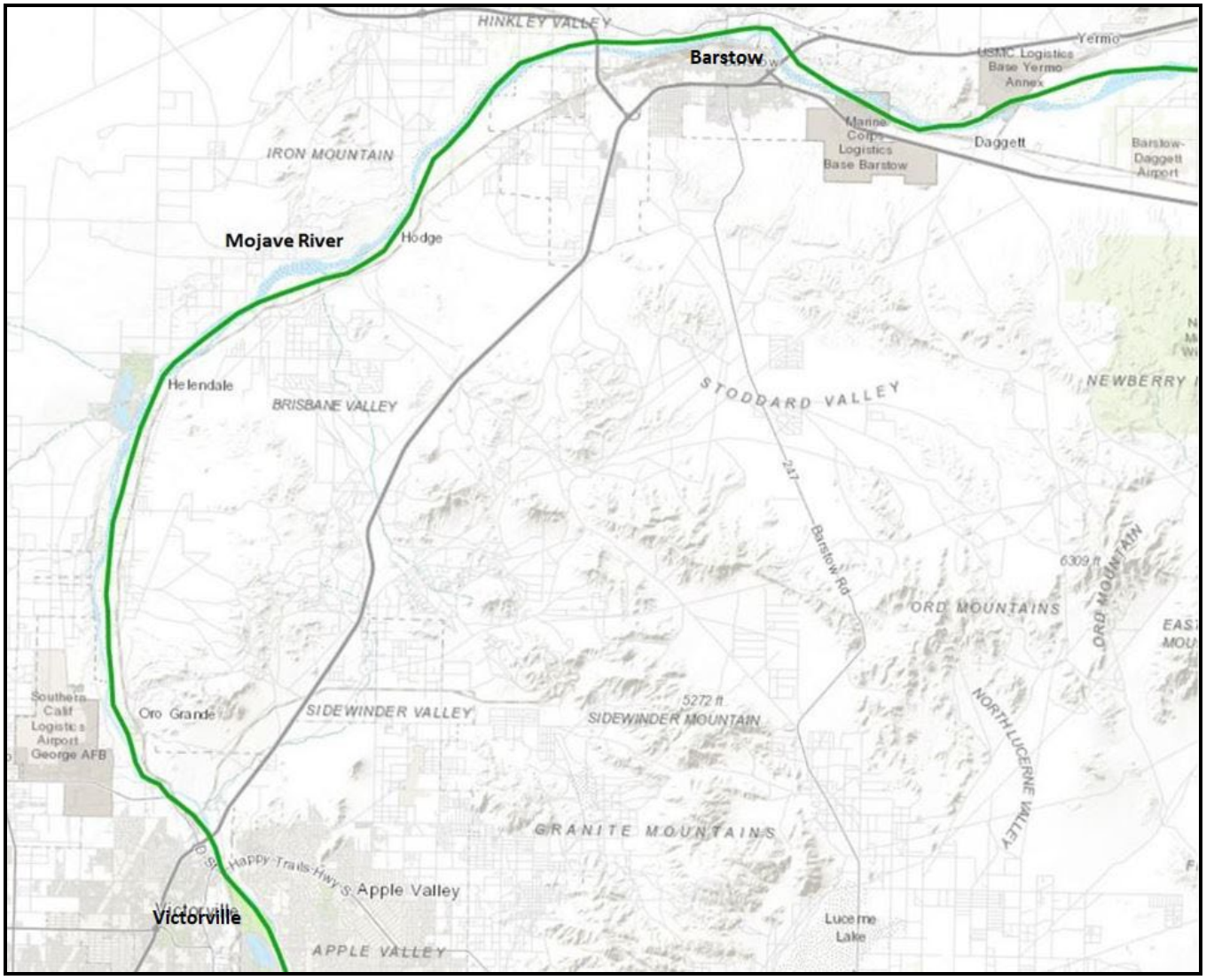

Figure 32. The Armijo Route following the Mojave River past Barstow and Victorville, California.

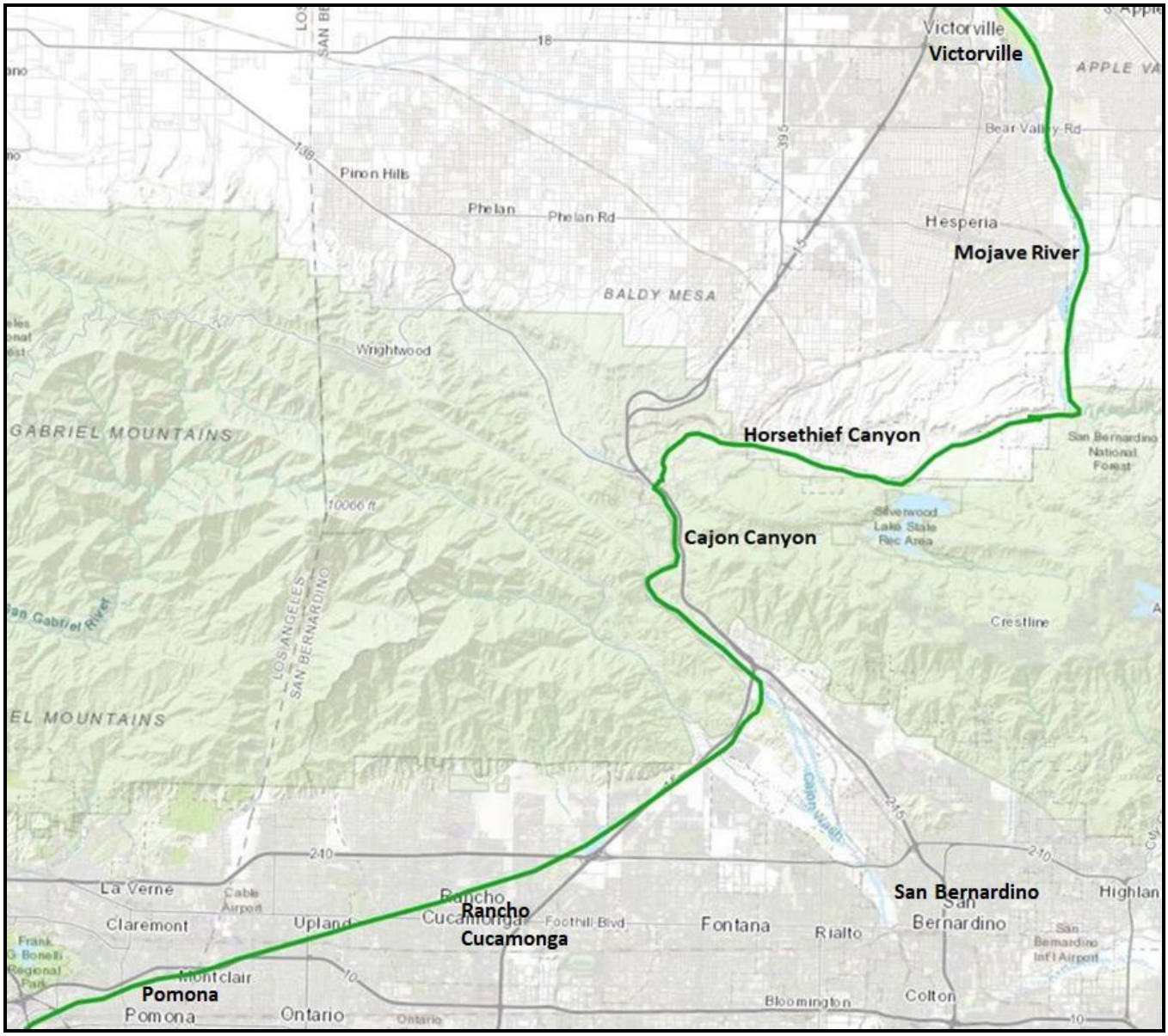

Figure 33. The Armijo Route following the Mojave River to the base of the San Gabriel Mountains through which it passes by way of Cajon Pass on its way to Pomona, California.

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Figure 34. The Armijo Route westward from Pomona to Mission San Gabriel. The later Northern (Main) Route continued to Los Angeles, California.

Armijo Route from Abiquiu

State	County	Other
New Mexico	Rio Arriba	Santa Fe National Forest
	San Juan	Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation Ute Mountain Ute Reservation
Colorado	La Plata Montezuma	Ute Mountain Ute Reservation
Arizona	Apache Navajo Coconino Mohave	Navajo Indian Reservation Kaibab Paiute Indian Reservation Pipe Spring National Monument
Utah	San Juan Kane Washington	Navajo Indian Reservation Glen Canyon National Recreation Area
Nevada	Clark	Overton State Wildlife Management Area Virgin River National Recreation Lands Lake Mead National Recreation Area
California	Inyo San Bernardino Los Angeles	San Bernardino National Forest Amargosa Canyon-Dumas Dunes Natural Area

Northern (Main) Route

New Mexico

The Northern (Main) Route begins in Santa Fe and heads northward through Espanola following the Rio Grande River in what is referred to as the Rio Grande Rift of the Southern Rocky Mountains physiographic province (Figure 35). It then follows the Rio Chama northwestward to Abiquiu into the Navajo Section of the Colorado Plateau, sometimes referred to as part of the Arizona-New Mexico Plateau of the Colorado Plateau physiographic province (Figure 36). From Abiquiu, it follows the initial route of the Armijo route along the Rio Chama northward a short distance and passes through a portion of the Carson National Forest into the Piedra Lumbre Grant. From there, it follows the initial routes of the Rivera and Domínguez-Escalante expeditions into Colorado. In the Piedra Lumbre Grant, the trail runs northwestward across the northern end of Abiquiu Reservoir and then northward along Arroyo Seco on the general course of U. S Highway 84 (Figure 37). The trail runs northward and northwestward, crosses the Rio Nutrias near El Vado, continues on a northward and northwestward course, then turns westward across El Vado Reservoir. It bends southwestward into La Puerta Grande, which it follows westward into the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation through Stinking Lake and into Granderos Canyon. It quickly turns northwestward up Cedar Canyon, follows it northward and turns northwestward over the

Continental Divide and across Long Bridge Flat and La Jara Canyon. It then runs northward across Burns Canyon to Caracas Canyon (Figure 38). The trail follows Caracas Canyon northward and northwestward out of the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation and across the Carson National Forest to the San Juan River at Caracas. Just before reaching the river, the trail exits the Carson National Forest and enters Colorado.

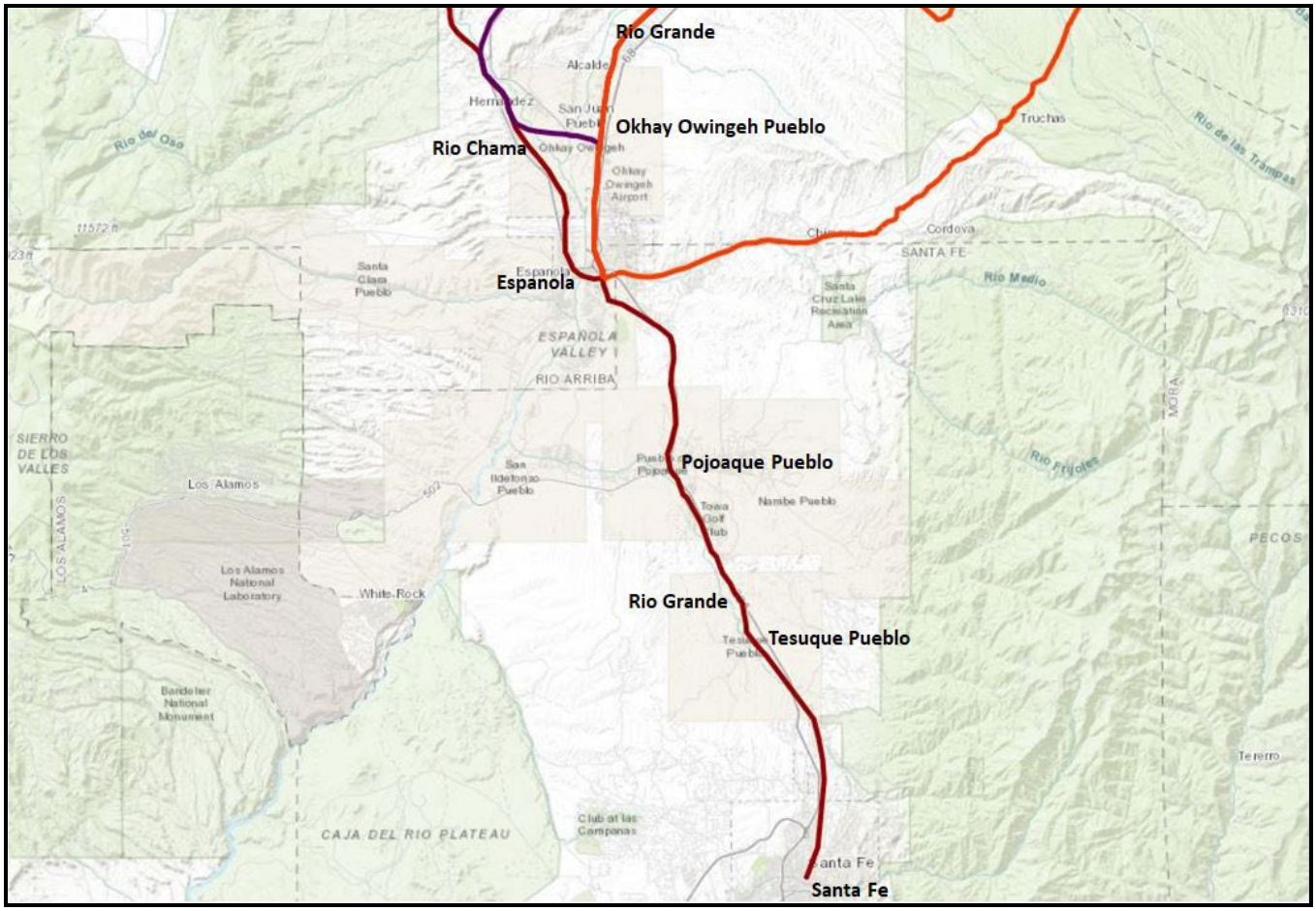

Figure 35. The Northern (Main) Route from Santa Fe Northward along the Rio Grande through Espanola, then up the Rio Chama in New Mexico.

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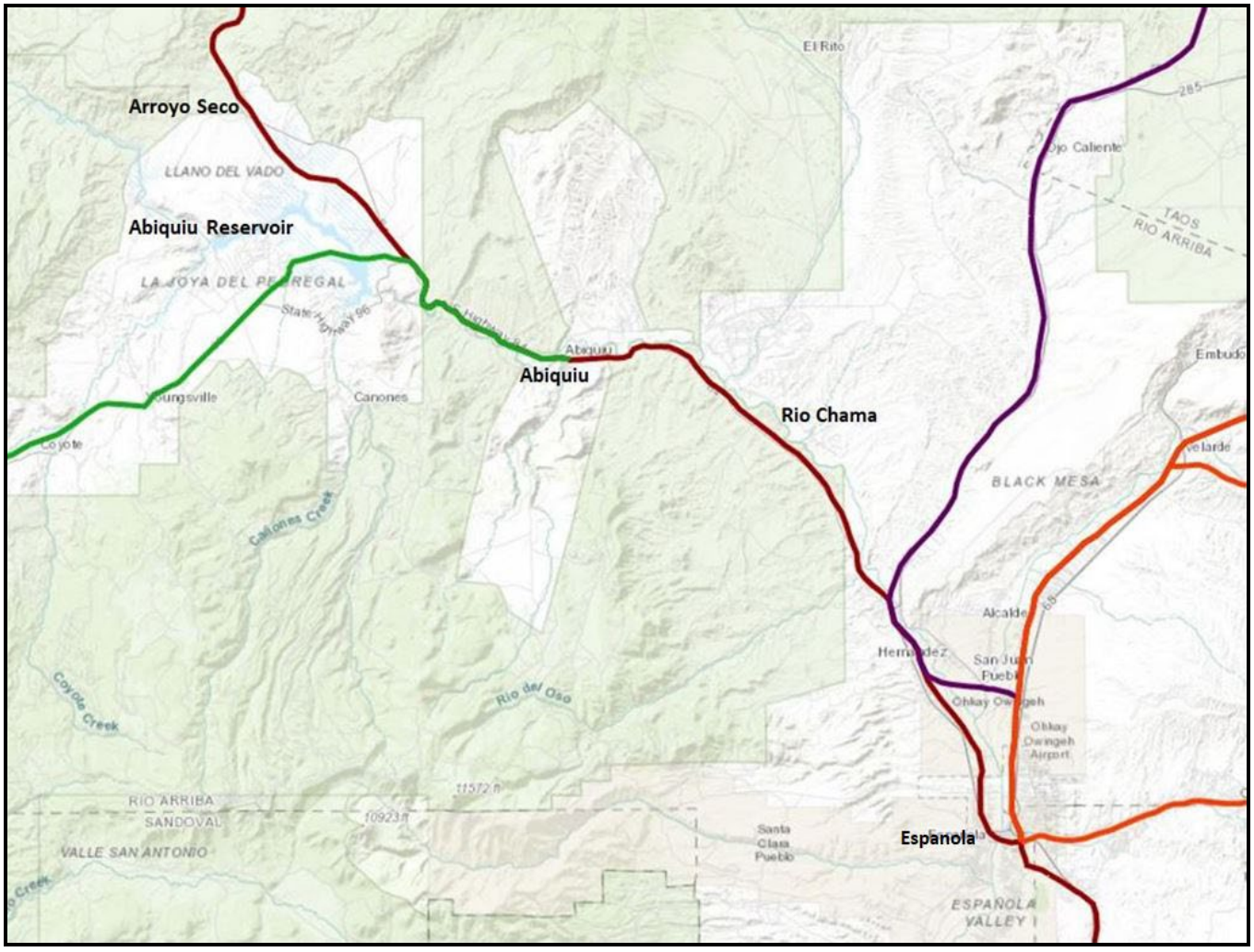

Figure 36. The Main Route northwestward from Espanola through Abiquiu and up the Arroyo Seco in New Mexico.

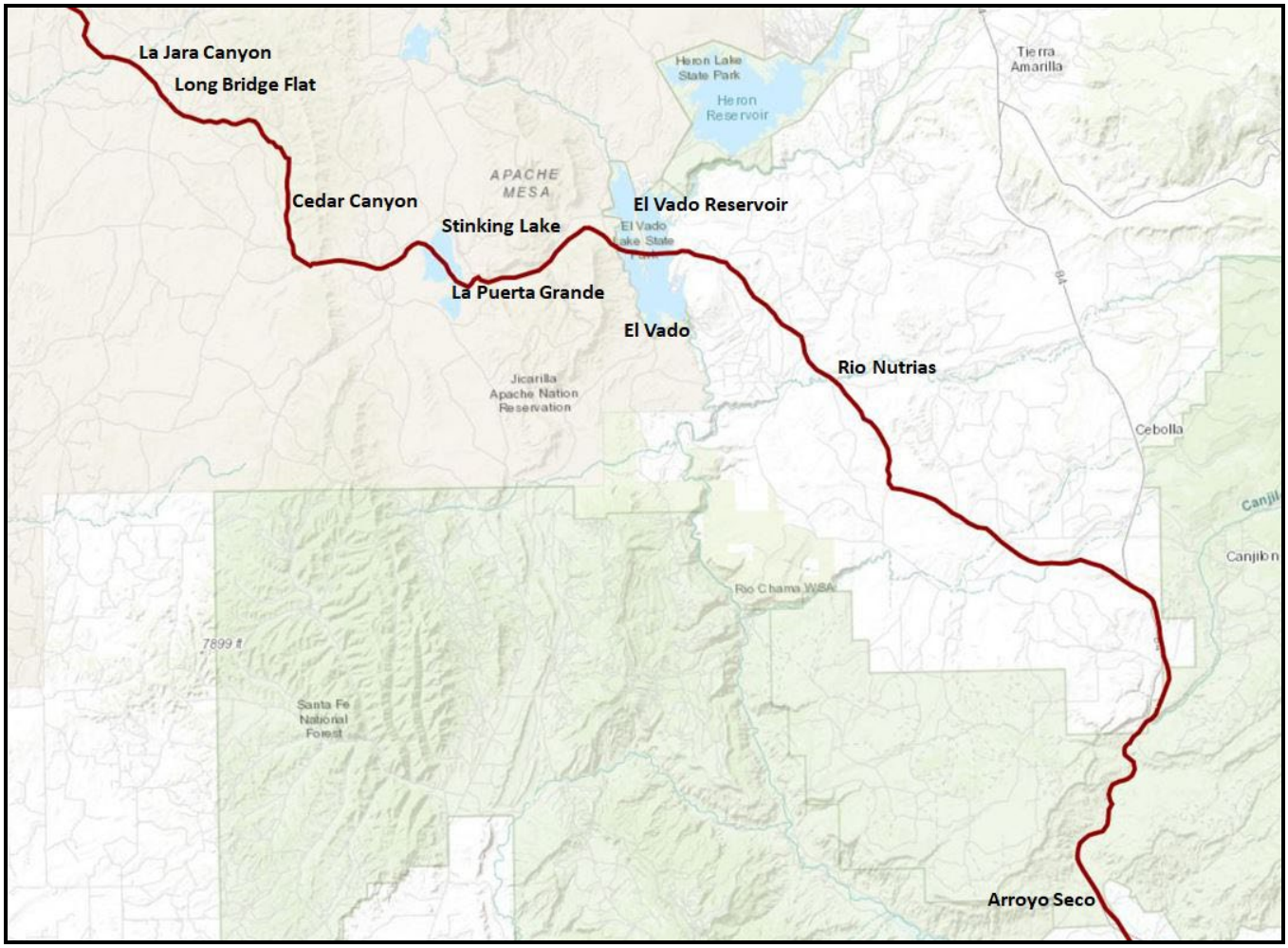

Figure 37. The Main Route northwestward from the Arroyo Seco to La Jara Canyon, New Mexico.

Figure 38. The Main Route exiting New Mexico and entering Colorado by way of Caracas Canyon. It then crosses the San Juan River and heads northwestward through Ignacio, Colorado.

Colorado

Leaving New Mexico where Caracas Canyon reaches the San Juan River at Caracas, the trail enters the Southern Ute Indian Reservation (Figure 38). The trail turns westward and follows the San Juan River westward through Navajo Reservoir, exits the river near the confluence with the Piedra River, and runs westward past Arboles. The trail is still in the Colorado Plateau, and, like the northern portion of the trail in New Mexico, most of the drainages are seasonal and frequently dry. All are tributary to the San Juan River, which forms a lush riparian zone along its course. The uplands are frequently rugged with sandstone rock outcrops with some areas covered with pinyon pine and juniper woodlands and semi-desert shrublands of sagebrush and saltbush. The trail runs northwestward across Shellhammer Ridge to the Los Pinos River and follows it northwestward to Ignacio. It continues northwestward to the crossing of Florida Creek, where it leaves the Southern Ute Reservation (Figure 39). Traveling across Florida Mesa, the trail turns westward and enters Wilson Gulch at Grandview. With distance northward, the vegetation becomes somewhat lusher and includes pinyon pine, juniper, and shrubs, including Gambel oak. It follows Wilson Gulch southwestward to the Animas River. The route crosses the Animas River south of Durango, supporting lush riparian habitat and groves of cottonwood trees. It skirts the southern edge of the Southern Rocky Mountain physiographic province, and heads westward to Basin Creek, which it follows northwestward through Ridges Basin, covered by Lake Nighthorse. The elevation of this area accumulates more moisture and is in the Foothills vegetation zone where ponderosa pine and Gambel oak are common. The trail turns northward to Wildcat Canyon and then northwestward to the La Plata River at Hesperus. The trail runs northwestward and westward along the course of U.S. Highway 160 on the southern side of the La Plata Mountains, along Cherry Creek, and along the northern side of Thompson Park. It diverges from the highway at the East Mancos River and runs north of Mancos. It continues northwestward south of Bauer Lake and follows the general course of State Highway 184 northwestward through Summit Reservoir and to the Big Bend of the Dolores River west of Dolores now under McPhee Reservoir (Figure 40). The trail turns northwestward and then westward along the course of State Highway 147. At this point, the trail departs the route of the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition, which headed northward. The trail continues westward past Narraguinnep Reservoir to Dawson Draw, where it turns northwestward and follows the general course of U.S. Highway 160 past Lewis, Pleasant View, and Cahone, entering the Great Sage Plain section of the Colorado Plateau, characterized by large sagebrush flats and scattered pinyon and juniper trees. The trail drops briefly into the upper portion of Cross Canyon in the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument where a spring was accessed. The trail continues northwestward past Dove Creek (Figure 41). It diverges northwestward from the highway and runs north of Northdale where it enters Coal Bed Canyon and enters Utah.

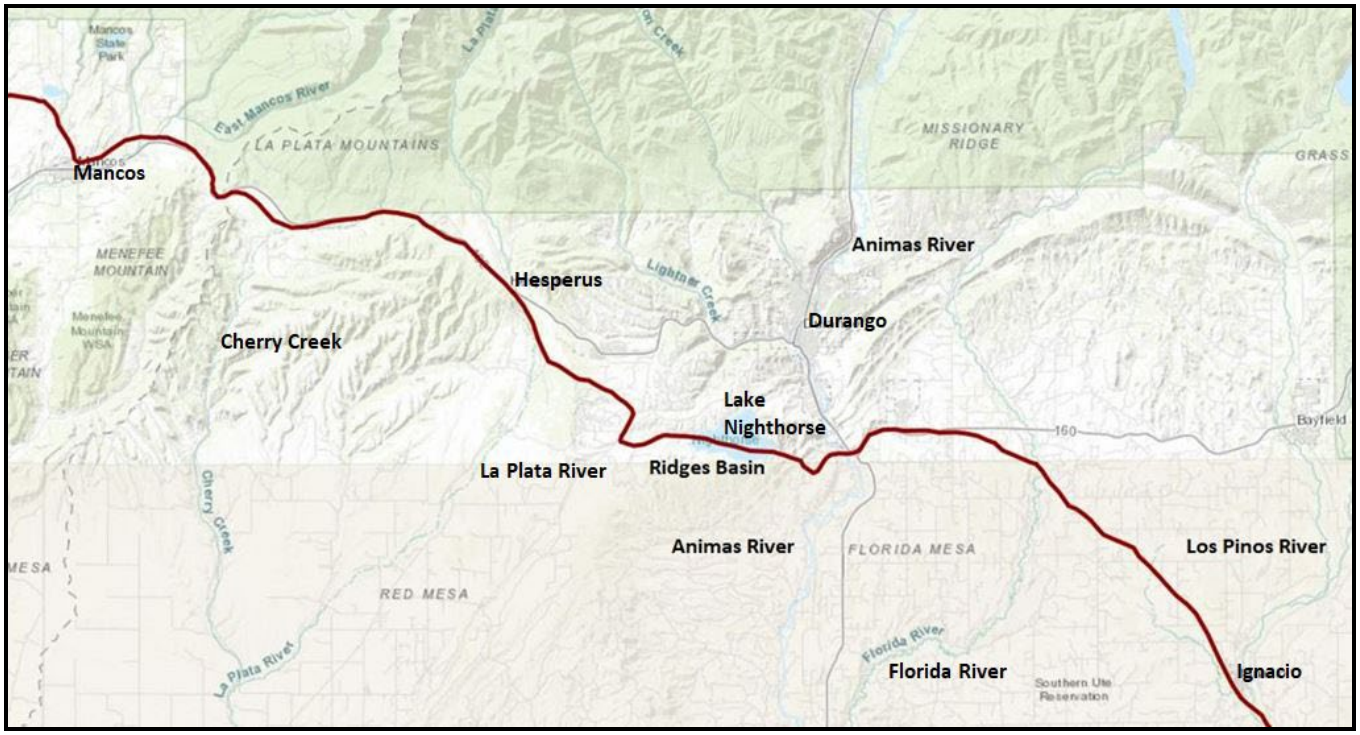

Figure 39. The Main Route from Ignacio, across the Animas River and south of the La Plata Mountains to Mancos, Colorado.

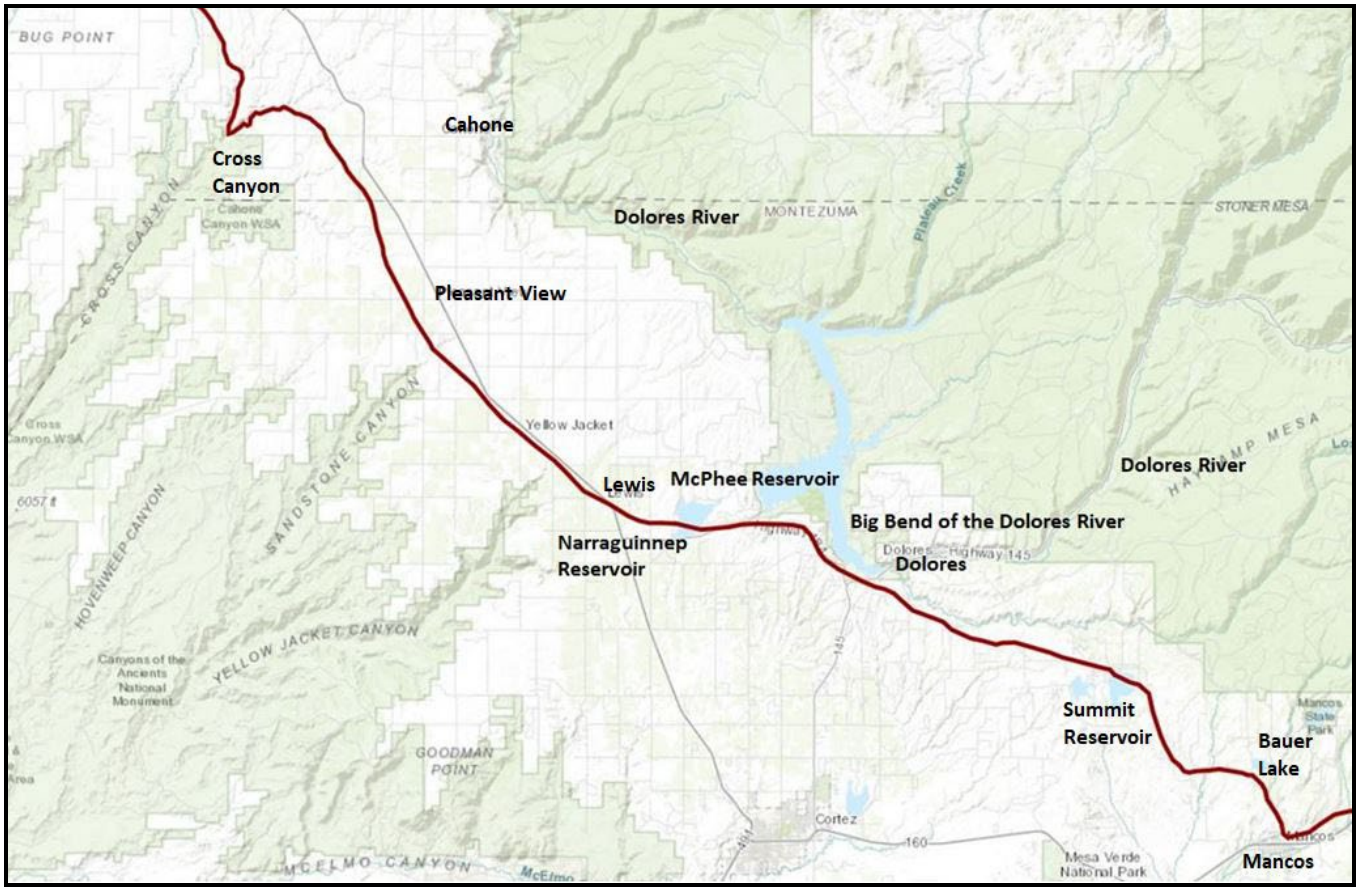

Figure 40. The Main Route northwestward from Mancos past the Big Bend of the Dolores River and across Cross Canyon.

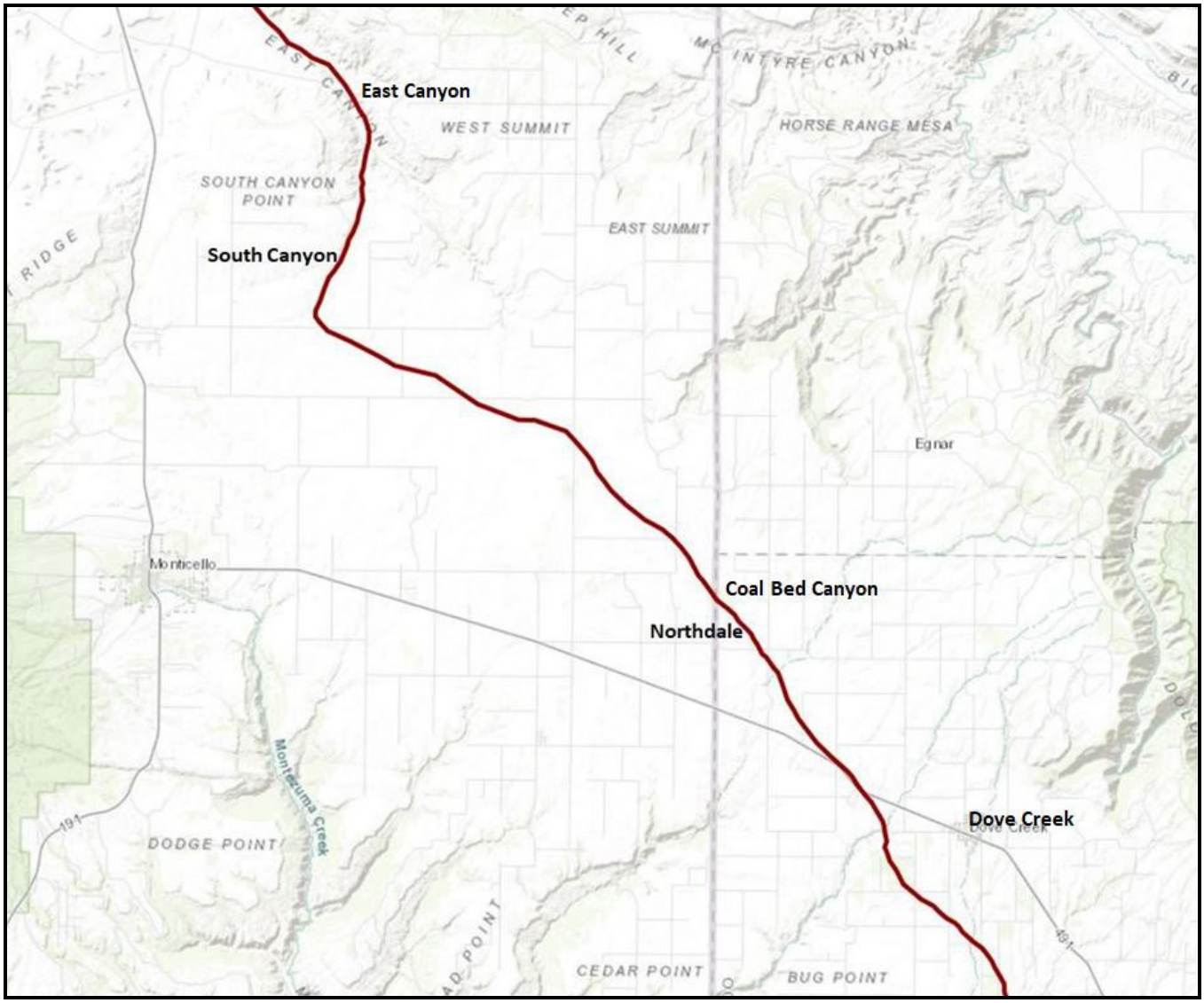

Figure 41. The Main Route heading northwestward from Colorado into Utah and entering East Canyon.

Utah

The initial portion of the trail in Utah is still within the Great Sage Plain of the Colorado Plateau. From its initial entry into Utah at Coal Bed Canyon, the trail runs northwestward until it turns abruptly northward to enter East Canyon by way of South Canyon (Figure 41). It follows East Canyon northwestward in the Hatch Syncline section of the Colorado Plateau where pinyon-juniper woodlands predominate in the upper canyons and give way to large expanses of sagebrush with scattered pinyon, juniper, and cottonwood trees. The route crosses Hatch Wash west of Casa Colorado, then heads northward through La Sal Junction south of the La Sal

Mountain, entering the northern portion of the Inner Canyonlands section of the Colorado Plateau where drainages are deeply cut into the underlying sandstone, and pinyon-juniper and sagebrush vegetation is sparse (Figure 42). The trail traverses through the Spanish Valley and crosses the Colorado River north of Moab (Figure 43). It continues northwestward past Arches National Park, through the Blue Hills in the largely barren Green River Desert, and continues into the Mancos Shale Lowlands below the Book Cliffs to the crossing of the Green River north of Green River, Utah. This area has very sparse vegetation of mostly sagebrush and saltbush with scattered pinyon and juniper in broken, rocky outcrops where some moisture accumulates. As with other major drainages, the Green River forms a rich riparian habitat with willows and groves of cottonwood trees. The trail then heads southwestward and enters Saleratus Wash and returns to a northwestward course into Cottonwood Wash (not Lost Spring Wash) through the San Rafael Swell (Figure 44). The San Rafael Swell is a sandstone uplift with few pathways through it in broken, rocky canyons with sandy bottoms. Springs in the Swell provide important water sources. Vegetation is sparse and pinyon and juniper trees are scattered. On the route westward through Horse Heaven (not Big Hole Wash), Big Hole and Little Holes are important water sources on the western side of the Swell. The trail continues westward through Saddle Gulch, Furniture Draw, and Buckhorn Flat, then turns southward at Huntington Creek into Castle Valley and southwestward past Ferron and Emery to Fremont Junction where it intersects present Interstate-70, passing again through the Mancos Shale Lowlands that support sparse shrubs of sagebrush and saltbush (Figures 45-46). To climb through the Wasatch Plateau section of Colorado Plateau, the southern portion of the Wasatch Mountains, it follows Interstate-70 up Ivie Creek, westward over Emigrant Pass at an elevation of 7,880 ft., then westward and northwestward down Meadow Creek to Salina Canyon following Salina Creek westward to Salina (Figure 47). The route through the Wasatch Plateau is through narrow, rocky canyons with pinyon-juniper vegetation on the Fishlake National Forest.

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Figure 42. The Main Route heading northward from East Canyon into the Spanish Valley, Utah.

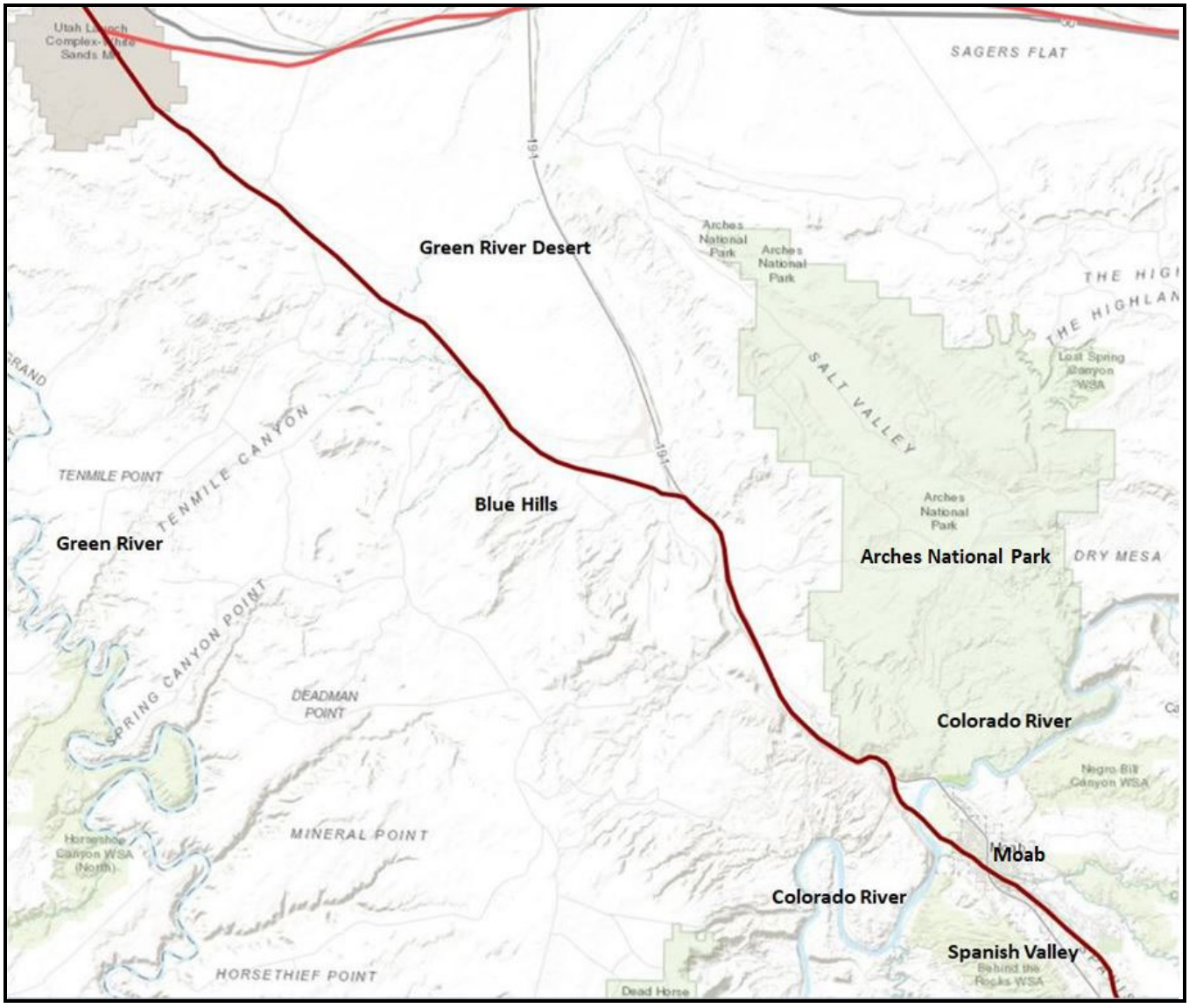

Figure 43. The Main Route crossing the Colorado River at Moab and heading northwestward toward the Green River in Utah.

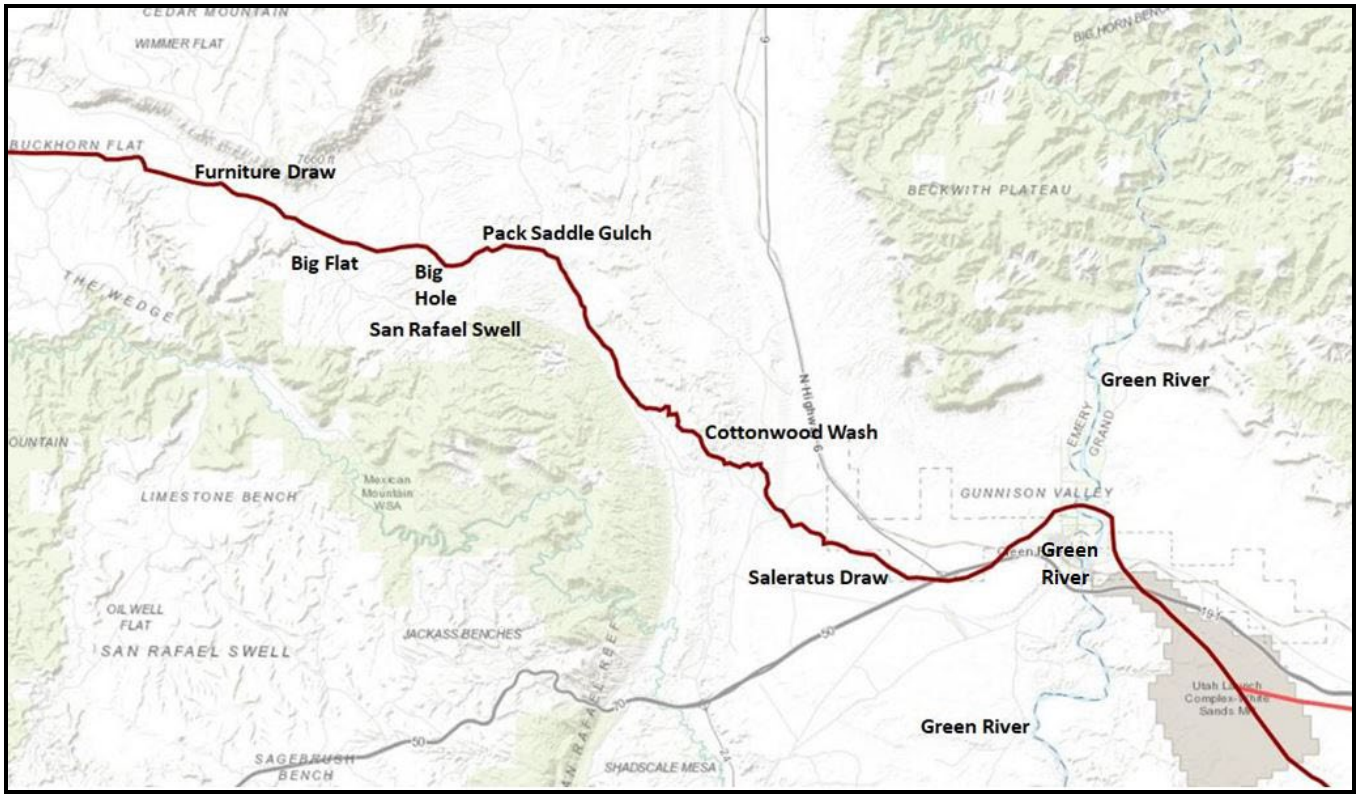

Figure 44. The Main Route crossing the Green River and passing through the San Rafael Swell, Utah.

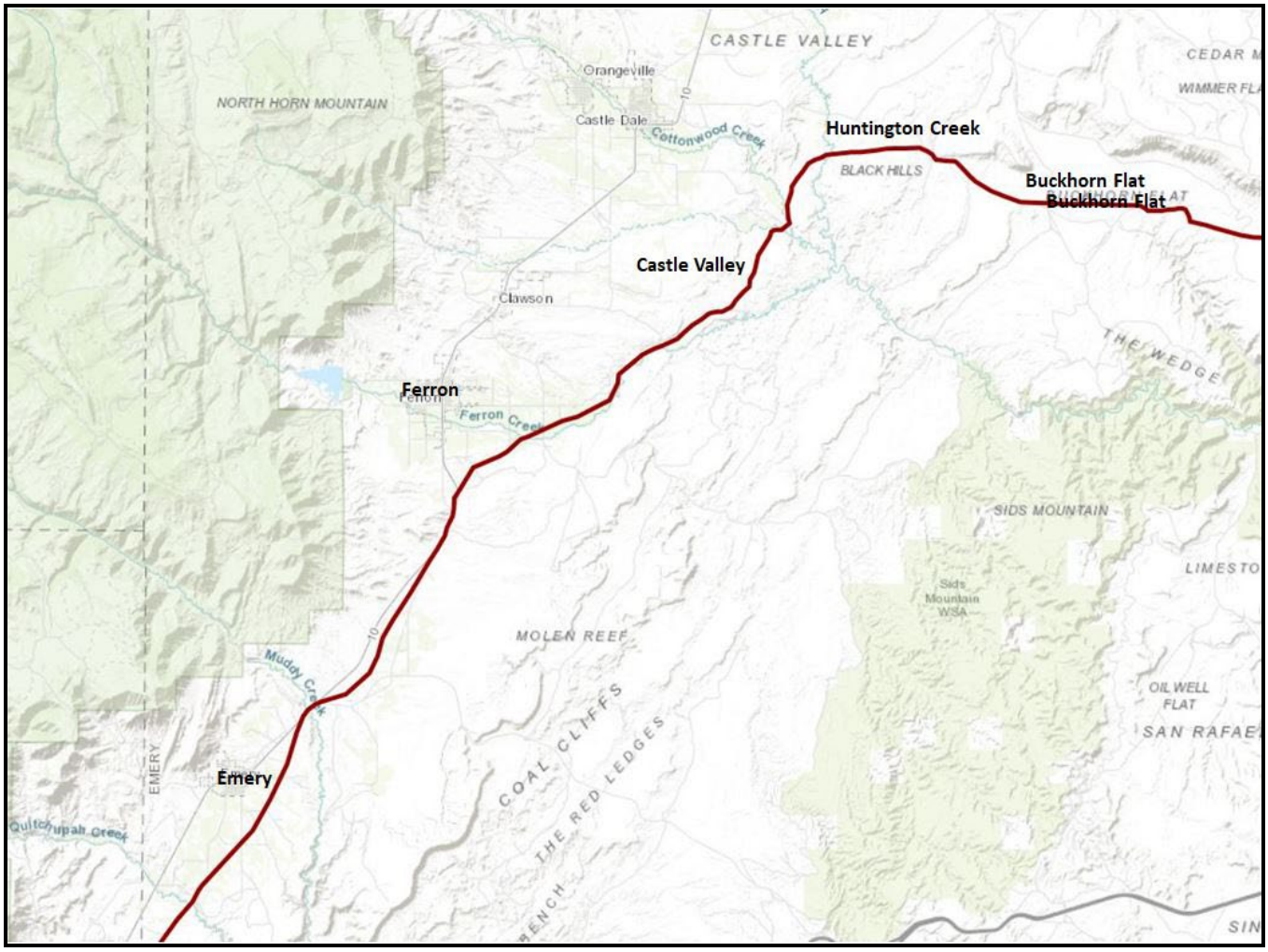

Figure 45. The Main Route exiting the San Rafael Swell and heading southwestward down the Castle Valley past Emery, Utah.

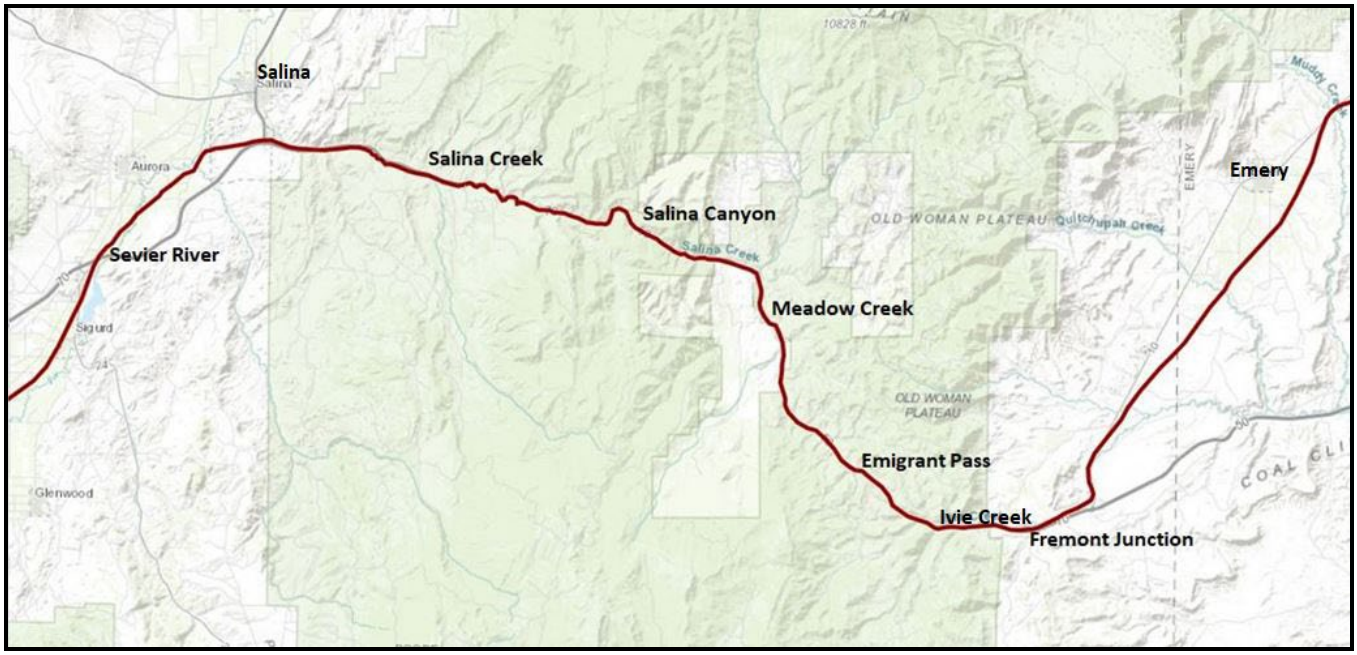

Figure 46. The Main Route heading southwestward from Emery to Fremont Junction and crossing through the Uintah Mountains by way of Ivie Creek and Salina Canyon, to the Sevier River, Utah.

It is on the divide between Ivie Creek and Meadow Creek that the Fish Lake Cutoff takes off southwestward along Red Creek (Figure 47). The Fish Lake Cutoff is considered to be a warm-weather variant of the trail that passes through rugged mountainous country, but is not currently designated as a route of the OSNHT. Beyond Red Creek, the route continues on a winding southwestward route to Willow Spring, between Red Creek Hole and the eastern side of Sheep Valley Ridge, and into Sheep Valley where the route reaches its highest elevation of about 9,400 ft. The rugged mountainous country is in the Montane vegetation zone with spruce, pine, and aspen. It continues through Water Flat to the Fremont River, runs westward through Johnson Valley Reservoir, and southwestward up Lake Creek to the western side of Fish Lake, following State Highway 25. It turns westward across Oak Creek Canyon and slightly southwestward into Grass Valley to Koosharem. It follows Otter Creek southward through the valley and through Otter Creek Reservoir to the East Fork of Sevier River (Figure 48). It turns westward and follows the East Fork of Sevier River through Kingston Canyon to Kingston where it intersects the Main Route at the head of the Circle Valley below Piute Reservoir. What have been termed the Red Creek - Sheep Valley Segment and the Ivie Creek-Emigrant Pass Segment were listed under the Fish Lake Cut-off of the Old Spanish Trail Archaeological District on January 14, 2013 (NRIS #12001184). Prior to that, a draft NRHP nomination was prepared for the Fish Lake Cut-off in 2010, which included a larger area for consideration. A considerable amount of work is still necessary to confirm the majority of the route (Leonard 2010).

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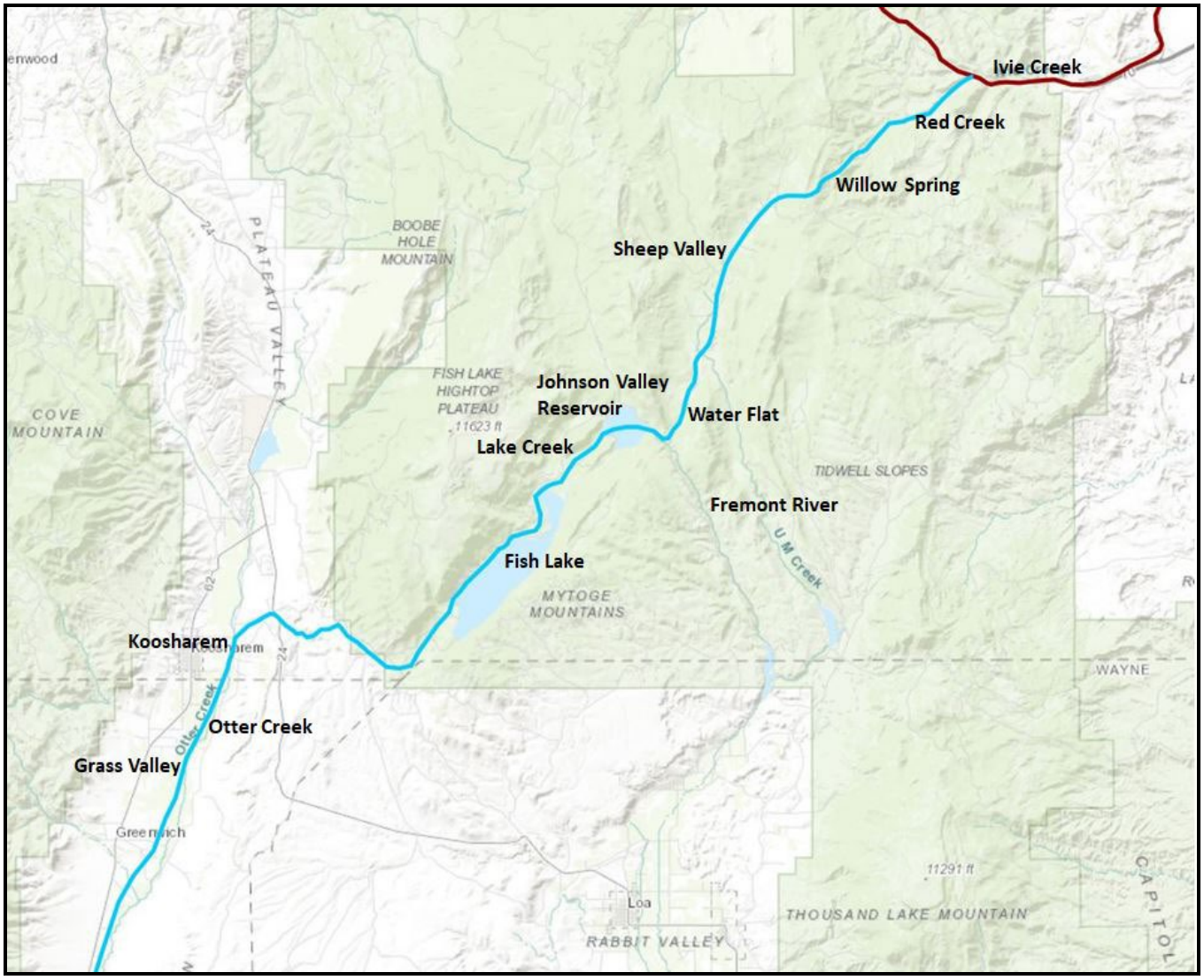

Figure 47. Fish Lake Cut-off up Red Creek southwestward from Ivie Creek, past Fish Lake, and into Grass Valley along Otter Creek, Utah.

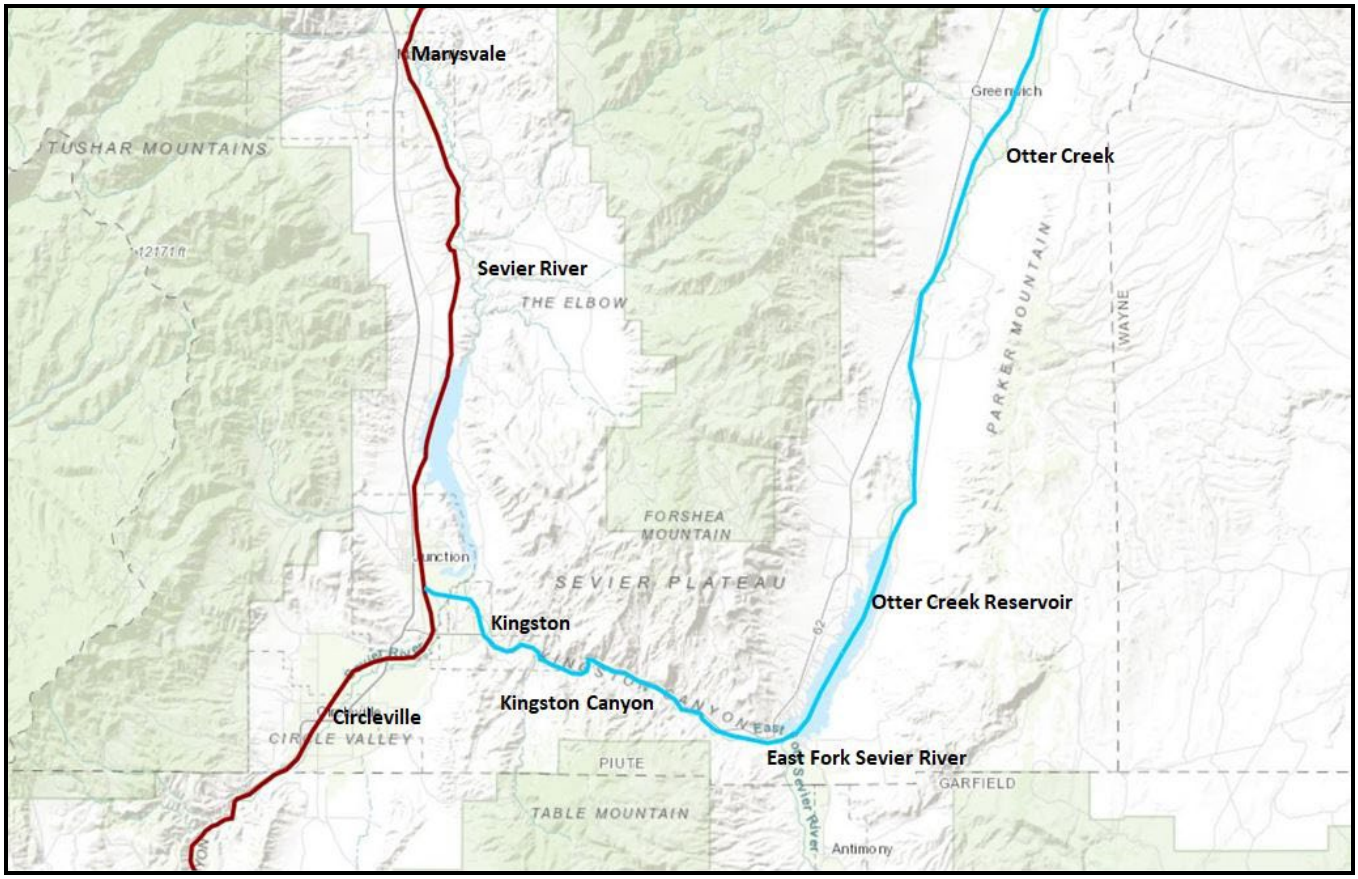

Figure 48. The Fish Lake Cut-off southward down Otter Creek and through Kingston Canyon to the Sevier River, Utah.

After the Main Route passed through the Wasatch Plateau along Ivie, Meadow, and Salina creeks to the Sevier River at Salina, it enters the San Pete Sevier Valleys section of the Colorado Plateau (Figure 46). The main course of travel ascends the Sevier River through a wide valley that is mostly under irrigated agriculture with BLM land on the margins (Figure 49). After passing Richfield, the trail runs southward through Long Valley to avoid Sevier Canyon and rejoins the Sevier River Valley at Marysvale (Figure 50). At this point, the trail is in the Southern High Plateaus section of the Colorado Plateau, characterized by steep-sided canyons capped by basalt. Vegetation is mostly pinyon-juniper with cottonwoods and willow along the drainages. It continues southward along the Sevier River through Piute Reservoir to Kingston, where the Fish Lake Cutoff rejoins the Main Route. It continues southward through Circleville and through Circleville Canyon to Bear Valley Junction where it turns westward up Bear Creek, then southwestward to the upper Bear Valley on the Dixie National Forest (Figure 51). It passes over a divide at about 7,800 ft. and follows Little Creek westward through the Hurricane Cliffs to the Parowan Valley at Paragonah. Upon entering the Parowan Valley, the trail is within the Basin and Range physiographic province. The valley is on the margins of the Tonoquints Volcanic section

characterized by sandy soils, volcanic uplifts, and sparse sagebrush and saltbush vegetation with scattered pinyon and juniper trees. The trail follows the Parowan Valley southwestward along the general course of Interstate-15 through a gap between the Hurricane Cliffs and The Red Hills then turns westward to Iron Springs Creek, which it follows westward through a gap between Granite Mountain and The Three Peaks (Figure 52). It turns westward into the Escalante Desert in the center of the Tonoquints Volcanic section and winds westward and southward around the northern side of the Antelope Range. It turns southwestward past New Castle and southward up Holt Canyon and the Mountain Meadows at the headwaters of the Santa Clara River just north of the transition to the St. George Basin and the Beaver Dam Mountains. The Mountain Meadows were lush grasslands before overgrazing resulted in drainages becoming deeply downcut, dropping the water table and enabling sagebrush and juniper encroachment. The route follows Magotsu Draw Creek southwestward out of the Mountain Meadows to the Santa Clara River and southward through Gunlock into the Shivwits Indian Reservation (Figure 53). It then continues southwestward through heavily transected and barren terrain over the low divide of Utah Hill Summit through the Beaver Dam Mountains and down Castle Cliff Wash into the Mojave Desert where the trail enters Arizona (Figure 54).

The BLM's NHT project of 2010–2011 resulted in examination of portions of the Main Route in East Canyon, through the Blue Hills, in the Book Cliffs section, through the San Rafael Swell, near Koosharem on the Fish Lake Cutoff, and in Long Valley by Alpine (Horn et al. 2011b).

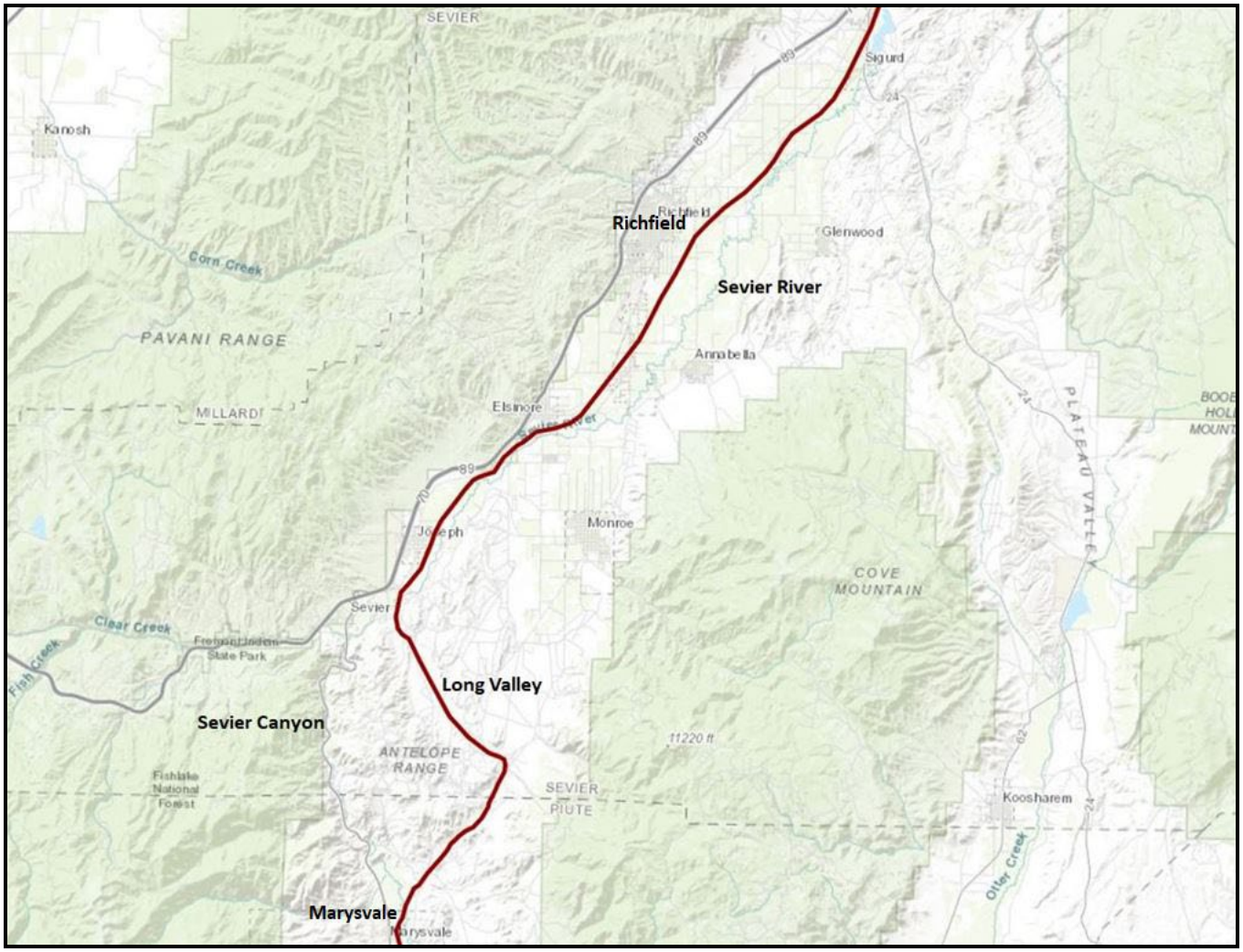

Figure 49. The Main Route from Richfield to Marysvale, Utah.

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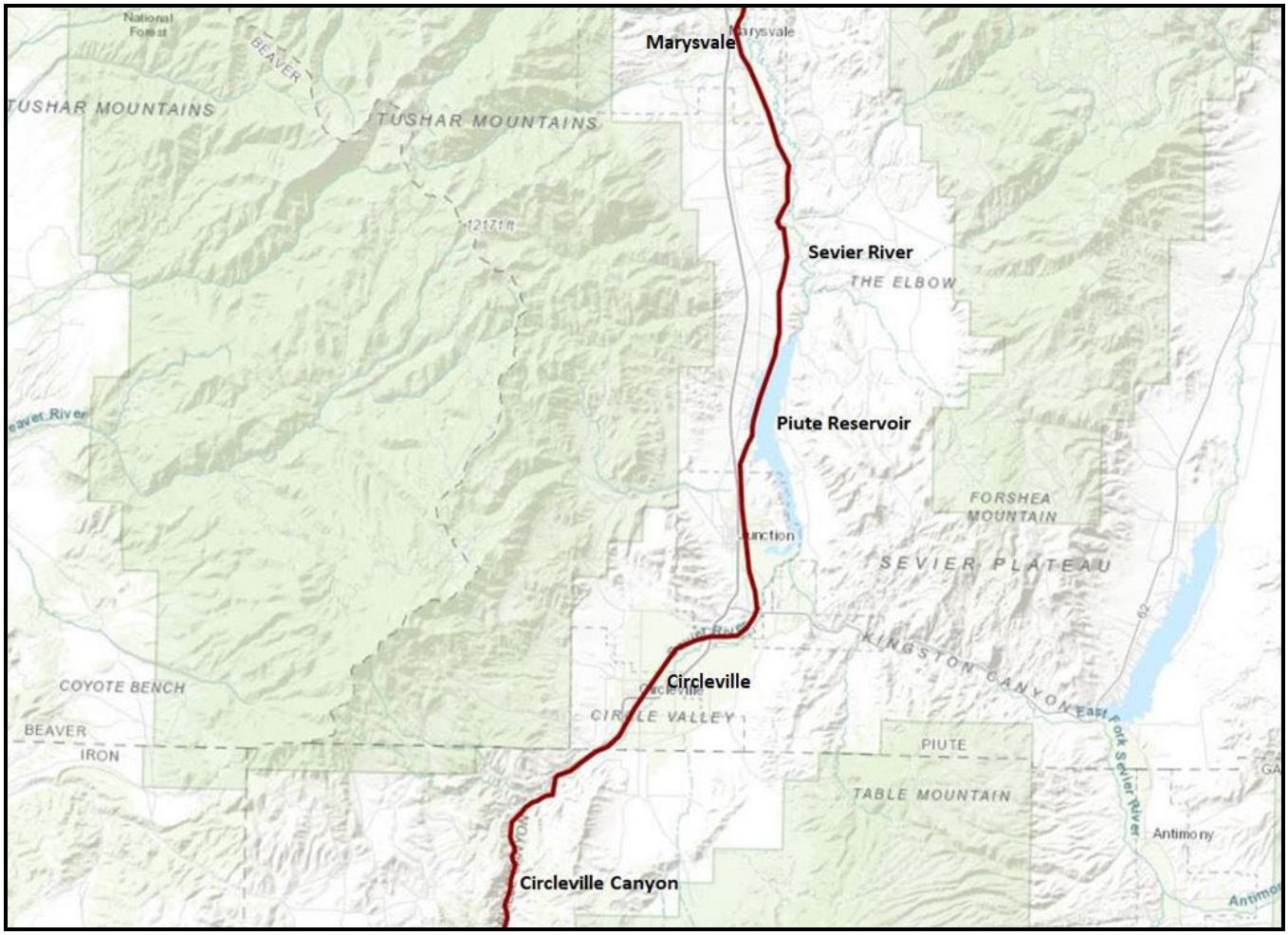

Figure 50. The Main Route southward from Marysvale to Circleville Canyon, Utah.

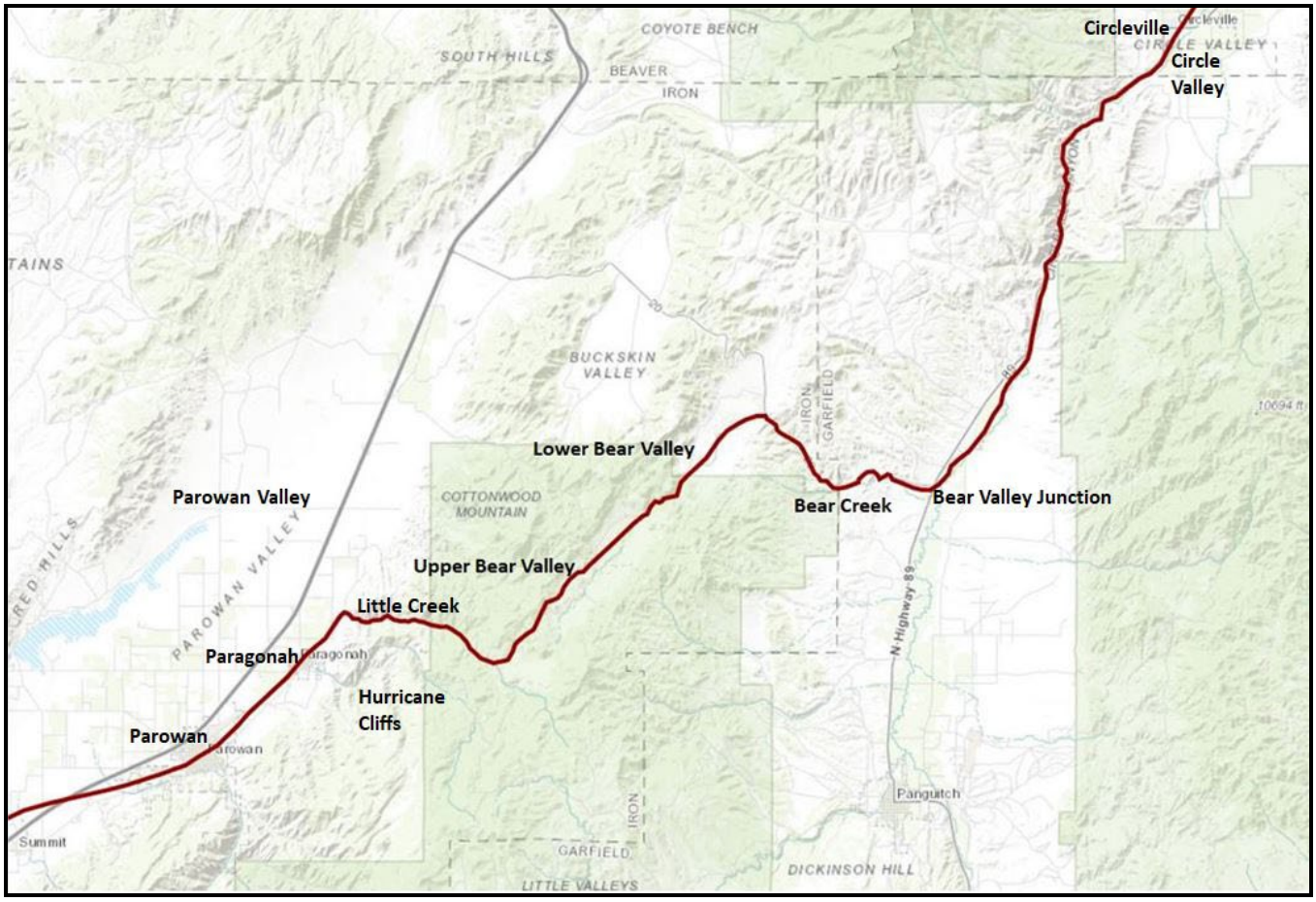

Figure 51. The Main Route southwestward from the Circle Valley, along Bear Creek to the Parowan Valley and Paragonah and Parowan, Utah.

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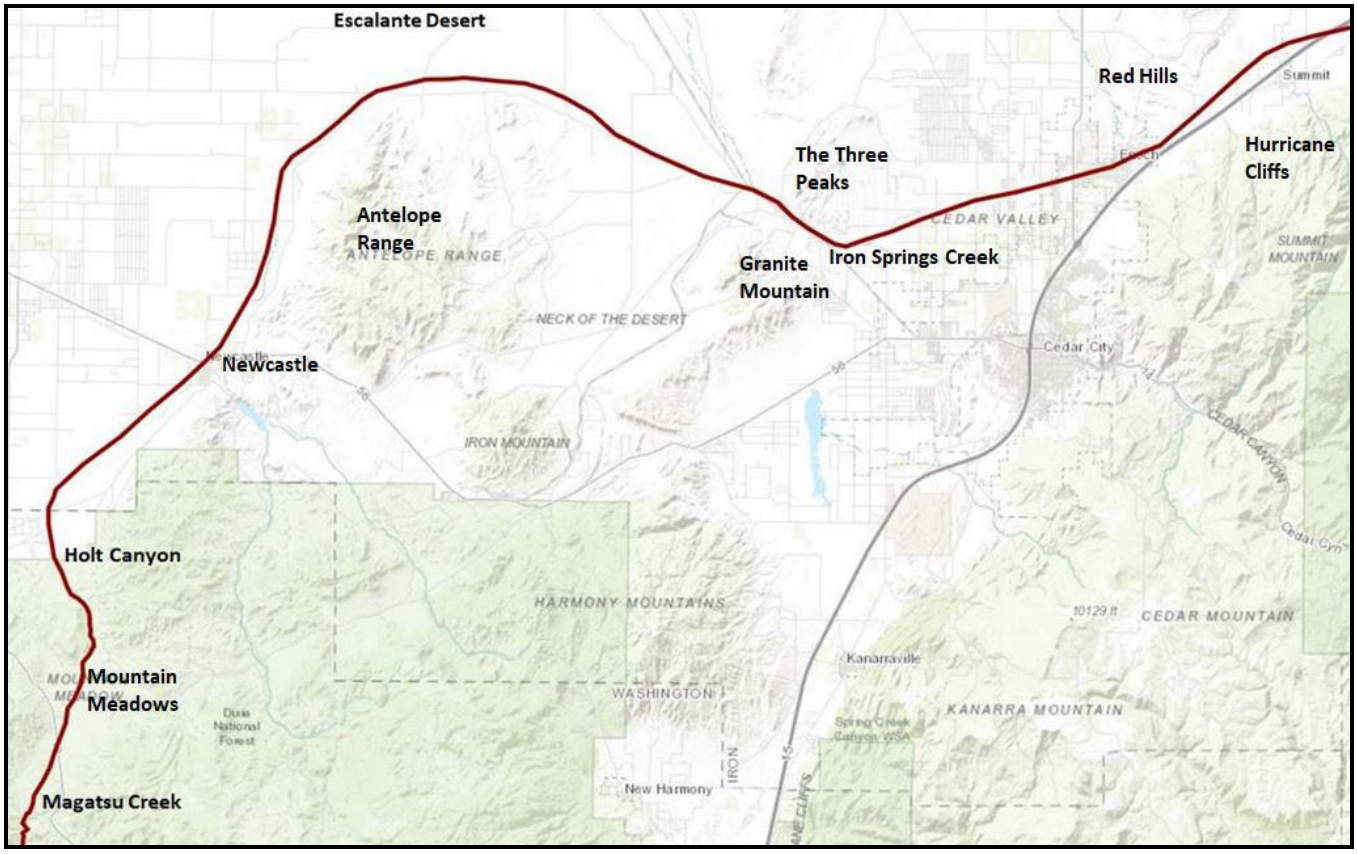

Figure 52. The Main Route from the Parowan Valley westward and southwestward through Newcastle and into the Mountain Meadows, Utah.

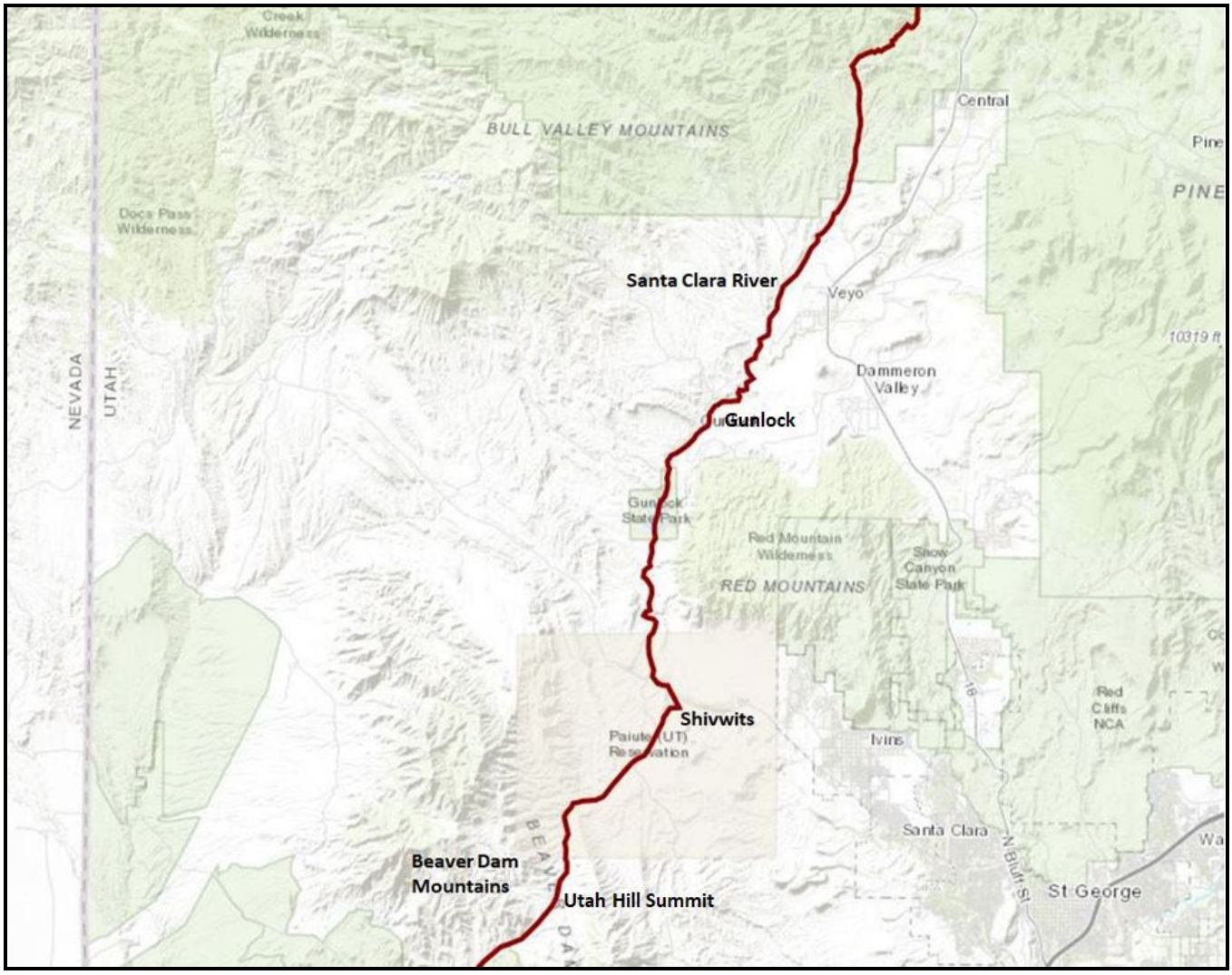

Figure 53. The Main Route heading southward along the Santa Clara River and then into the Beaver Dam Mountains, Utah.

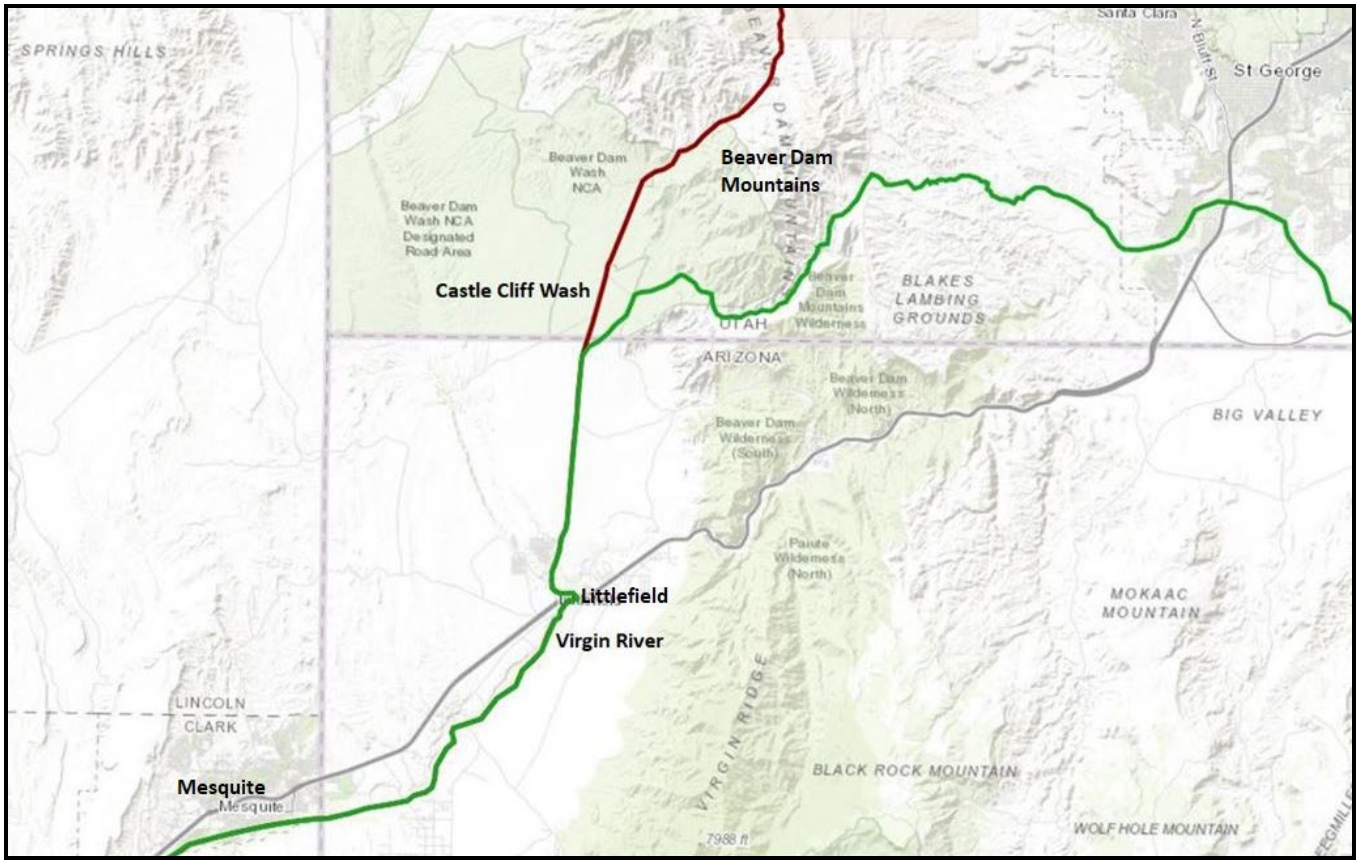

Figure 54. The Main Route through the Beaver Dam Mountains, Utah and intersecting the Armijo Route upon entering Arizona. The combined routes follow the Virgin River from Littlefield, Arizona, to Mesquite, Arizona.

Arizona

After heading southward into Arizona by way of Castle Cliff Wash, the trail continues southward and joins the Armijo Route just before reaching the Virgin River at Littlefield, entering the Mojave Basin and Range physiographic province (Figure 54). The route is crossed by Interstate-15 at Littlefield and follows the Virgin River southwestward and westward into Nevada near present Mesquite. A 5.5-mile-long section of the trail was examined during the BLM's NHT project in 2010-2011 at the Big Bend of the Virgin River (White and Daughtrey 2011).

Nevada

The trail enters Nevada at Mesquite and follows the Virgin River southwestward on the same course as the Armijo Route through the Virgin River National Recreation Lands (Figures 54-55). Upon reaching the Overton State Wildlife Management Area, it diverges from the Armijo Route by turning northwest up Halfway Wash and turns westward across Mormon Mesa. On the

western end of Mormon Mesa, the route intersects Interstate-15 and runs southwestward to Glendale in the Moapa Valley. It continues southwestward along Muddy River and California Wash through the Moapa River Indian Reservation, departing the general route of Interstate-15 where California Wash crosses the highway. The trail continues southwestward along California Wash to the eastern side of the Dry Lake Range, continues southwestward along Gypsum Wash, turns westward through the Las Vegas Dunes Recreation Lands northwest of Nellis Air Force Base, and continues to Big Springs at Las Vegas (Figure 56). The trail continues southwestward south of Blue Diamond Hill and into Cottonwood Valley (Figure 57). It then turns westward and northwestward through the Spring Mountains at Red Rock Canyon Recreation Lands. After exiting the mountains, the trail turns westward across the desert to Stump Spring, just before entering California (Figure 58). The greatest amount of inventory work in Nevada was done by the BLM in 1987 and 1989 (Myhrer, White, and Rolf 1990). Portions of the route were listed on the NRHP in 2001 as the Old Spanish Trail/Mormon Road Historic District. This included the 4.25-mile-long Mormon Mesa segment, the 5.25-mile-long Blue Diamond segment, and the 0.55-mile-long Stump Springs segment (McBride and Rolf 2001). Additional work inventorying sections of the trail was done during the 2010–2011 BLM NHT project in the Mormon Mesa, Blue Diamond, California Crossing, and Stump Spring areas (AECOM 2011b; Carper 2011).

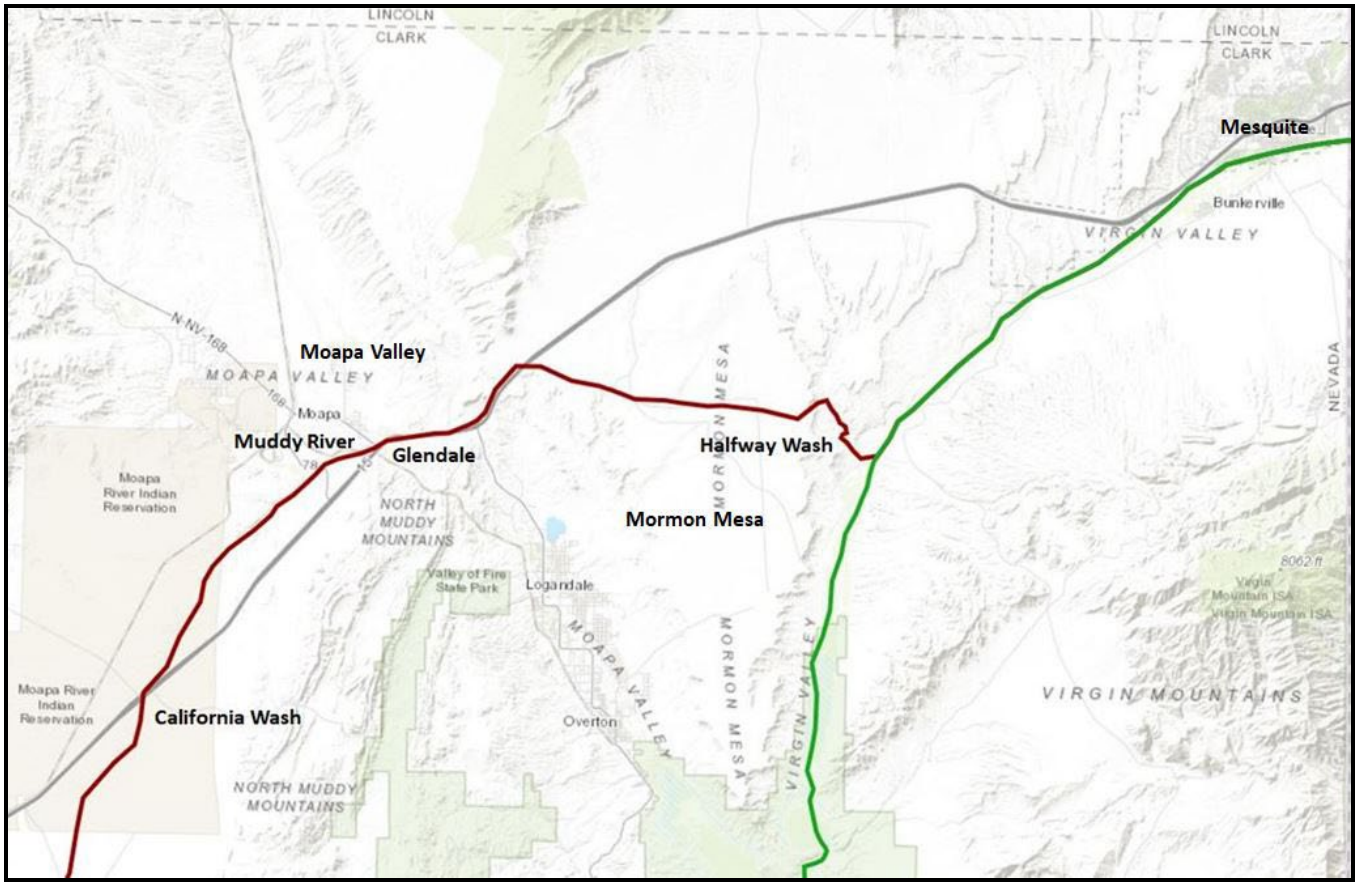

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Figure 55. The Main Route on the same route as the Armijo Route from Mesquite until departing it at Halfway Wash and heading westward into the Moapa Valley and southwestward along California Wash.

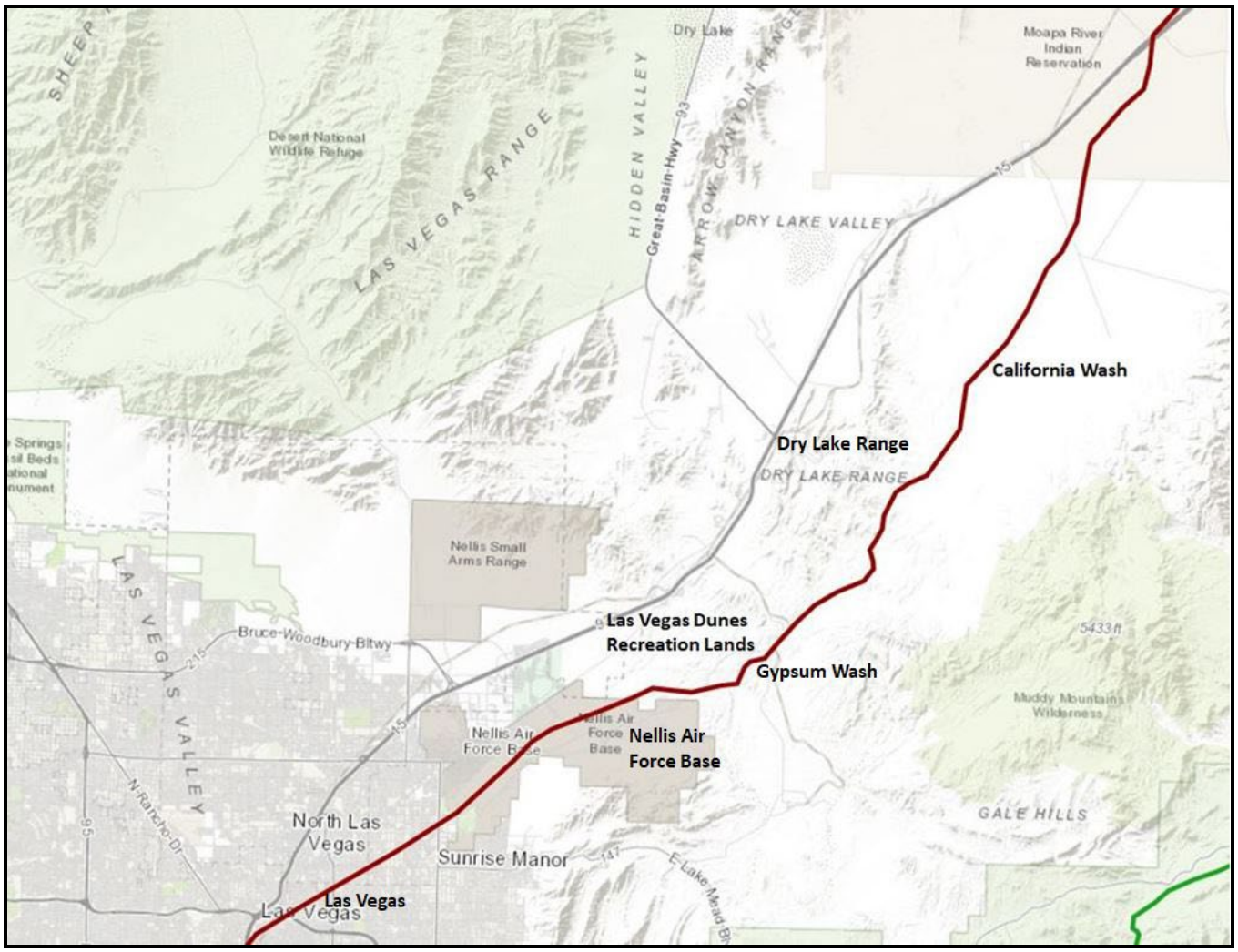

Figure 56. The Main Route heading along California and Gypsum washes to Las Vegas, Nevada.

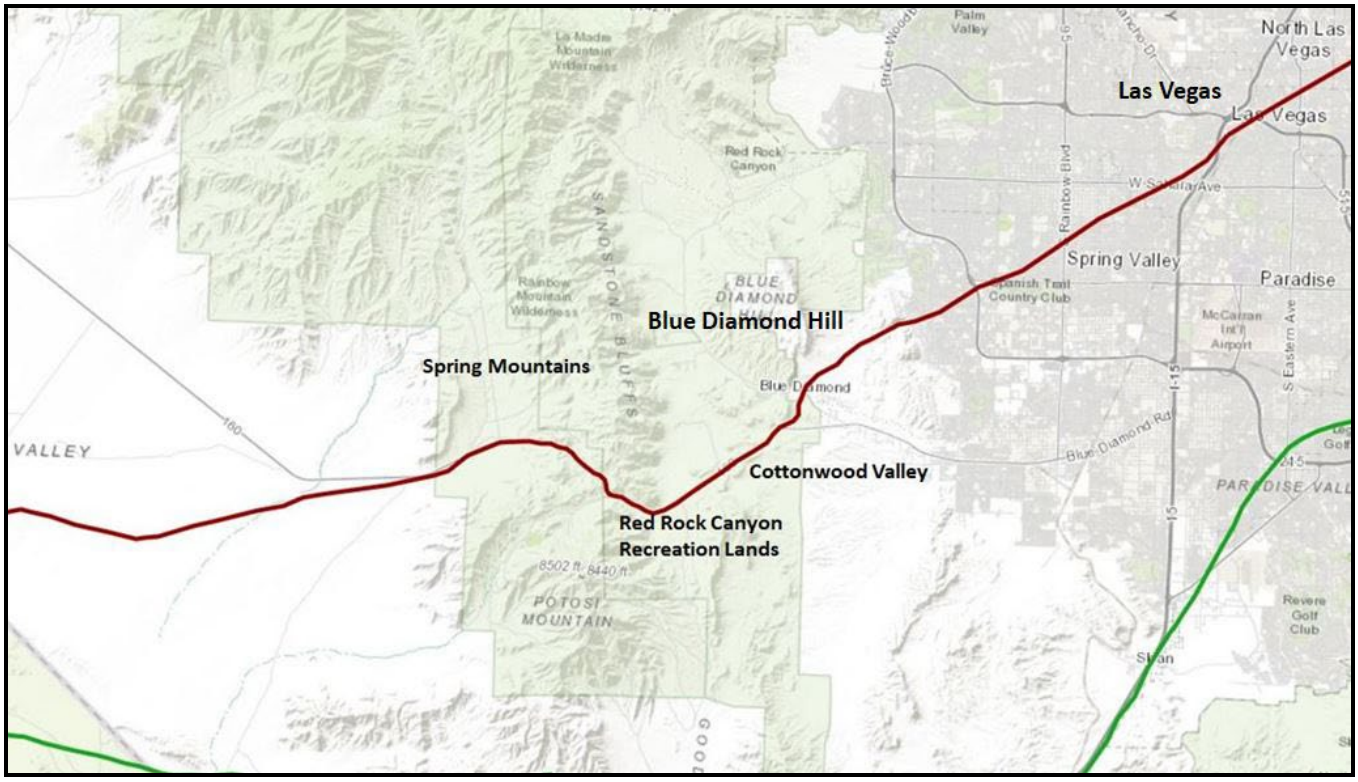

Figure 57. The Main Route heading southwestward from Las Vegas through the Spring Mountains, Nevada.

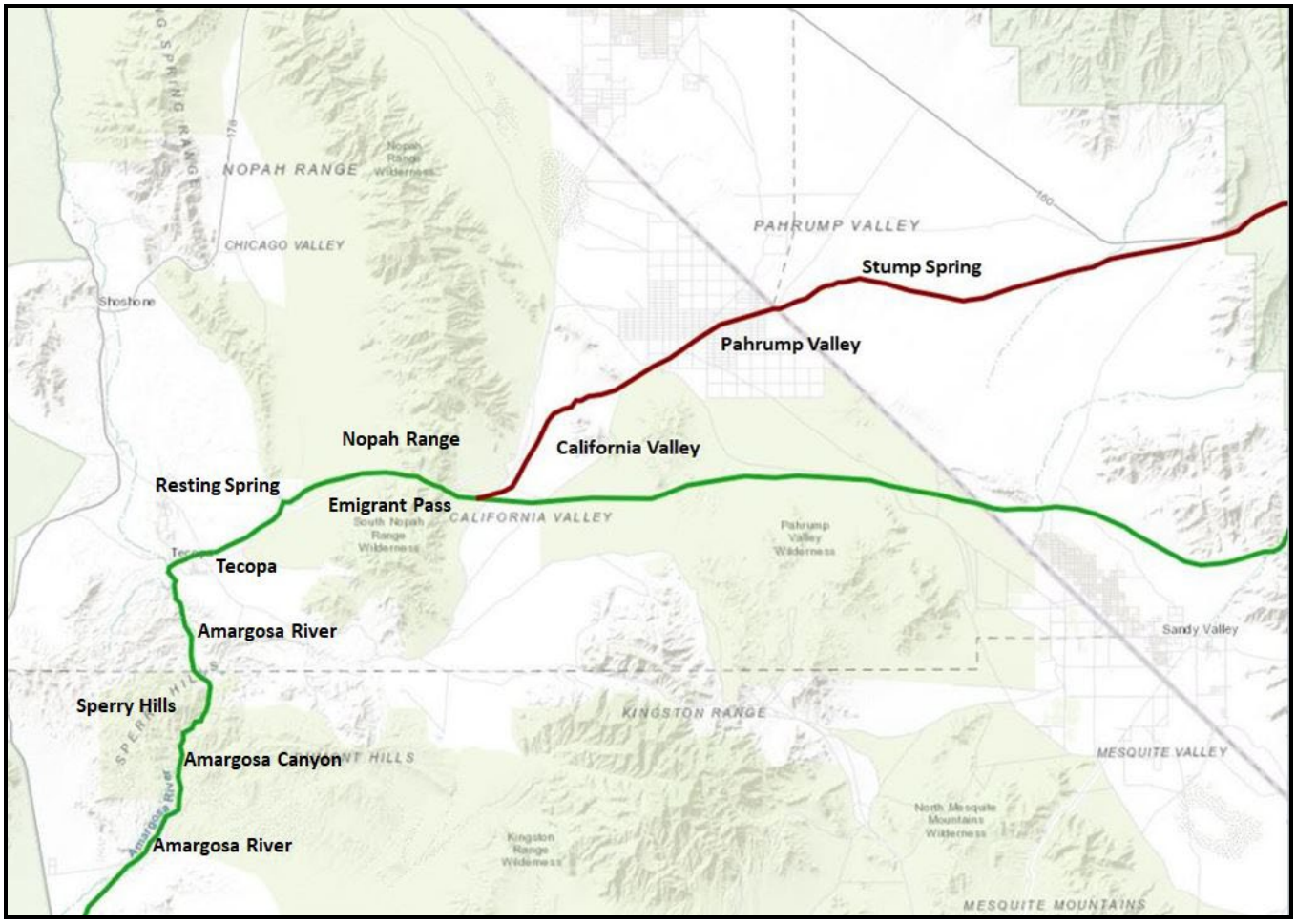

Figure 58. The Main Route heading westward to Stump Spring, Nevada, and entering California in the Pahrump Valley. It continues through the California Valley before again intersecting the Armijo Route west of the Nopah Range, California. The Main Route then follows the Armijo Route to Silurian Lake (Figure 29).

California

Soon after heading westward from Stump Spring in Nevada, the trail enters California and heads southwestward through the Pahrump Valley and California Valley, where it joins the Armijo Route at the base of the Nopah Mountains (Figure 58). It follows the course of the Armijo Route westward through the Nopah Range by way of Emigrant Pass to Resting Springs (Figure 29). It turns southward at Tecopa, follows the Amargosa River through the Sperry Hills, and enters the Silurian Valley on the eastern side of the Avawatz Mountains. The trail departs from the Armijo Route at that point turning southwestward along the southern side of the mountains through Red Pass and past Red Pass Lake, around broken hills, and southward through Alvord Mountain by way of Spanish Canyon (Figure 59-60). It then heads southwestward to the Mojave River at Yermo where it rejoins the Armijo Route at Fork of Roads. From that point westward to Mission

San Gabriel, the Main Trail follows the Armijo Route and then on to Los Angeles (Figures 31-34). The route over Emigrant Pass was examined in 2009 by Discovery Work for the OSTA (Padon and McIntosh 2009), and a 1.75-mile-long section through Emigrant Pass has a NRHP nomination in preparation (Bureau of Land Management, Barstow Field Office and Brittner 2002). Portions of the route through Afton Canyon, through Spanish Canyon/Impassable Pass, Red Pass, along the Amargosa River, and at Fork of Roads were inventoried as part of the 2010–2011 BLM NHT project (AECOM 2011a).

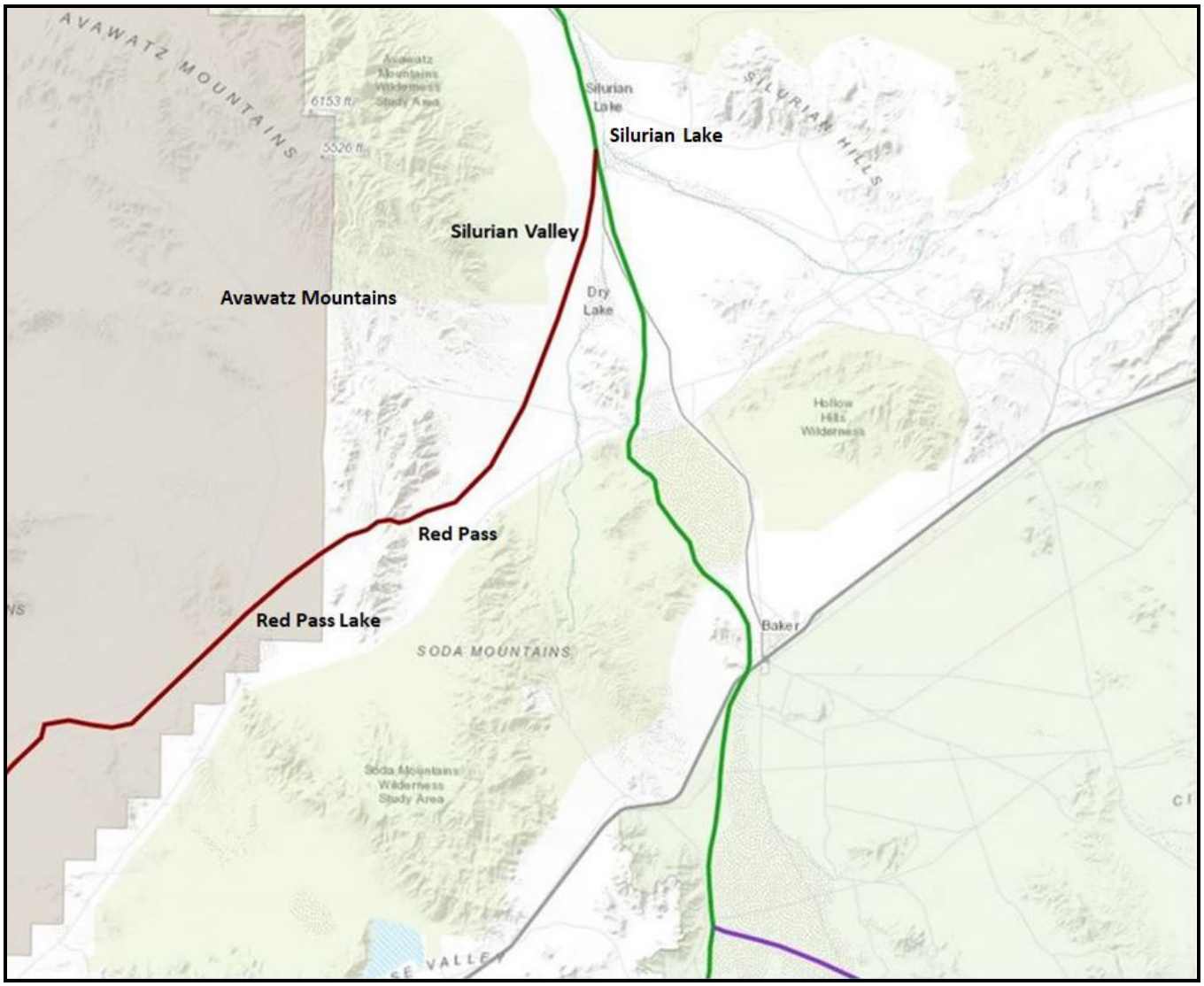

Figure 59. The Main Route departs the Armijo Route at Silurian Lake and runs southwestward through Red Lake, California.

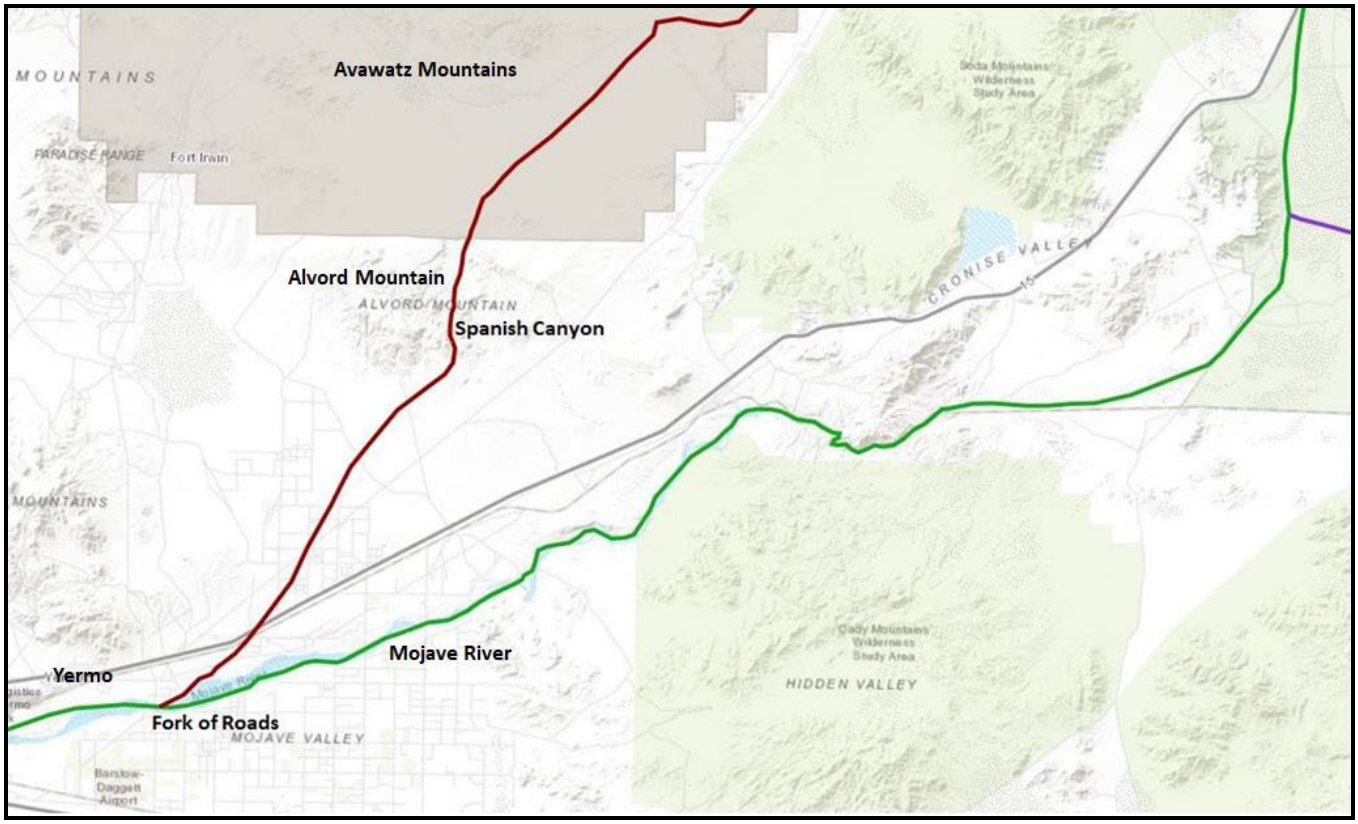

Figure 60. The Main Route continues southwestward and runs through Spanish Canyon to its intersection with the Armijo Route at Fork of Roads near Yermo, California. It coincides with the Armijo Route to Mission San Gabriel and then continues to Los Angeles, California (Figures 31-34).

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Northern (Main) Route from Santa Fe

State	County	Other
New Mexico	Santa Fe Rio Arriba	Tesuque Pueblo Pojoaque Pueblo Santa Clara Pueblo Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan) Pueblo Carson National Forest Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation
Colorado	Archuleta La Plata Montezuma	Southern Ute Indian Reservation San Juan National Forest Canyons of the Ancients National Monument
Utah	San Juan Grand Emery Sevier Piute Garfield Iron Washington Mohave	Arches National Park Fish Lake National Forest Dixie National Forest
Arizona	San Juan Kane Washington	Navajo Indian Reservation Glen Canyon National Recreation Area
Nevada	Clark	Overton State Wildlife Management Area Las Vegas Dunes Recreation Lands Red Rock Canyon Recreation Lands
California	Inyo San Bernardino Los Angeles	San Bernardino National Forest East Mojave National Scenic Area

Mojave Road

The Mojave Road is a variant of the Main Route of the OST in Nevada and California.

Nevada

The Mojave Road follows the Armijo Route southward from where the Main Trail departs it at Halfway Wash along the Virgin River (Figure 61). Where the Armijo Route emerges from Lake Mead in Las Vegas Wash, the Mojave Road turns southward away from the earlier trail and bends southwestward and southward east of Henderson. It runs southward through Railroad Pass west of Boulder City and continues southward through the Eldorado Valley, through Searchlight, and into Piute Valley where it crosses into California (Figure 62).

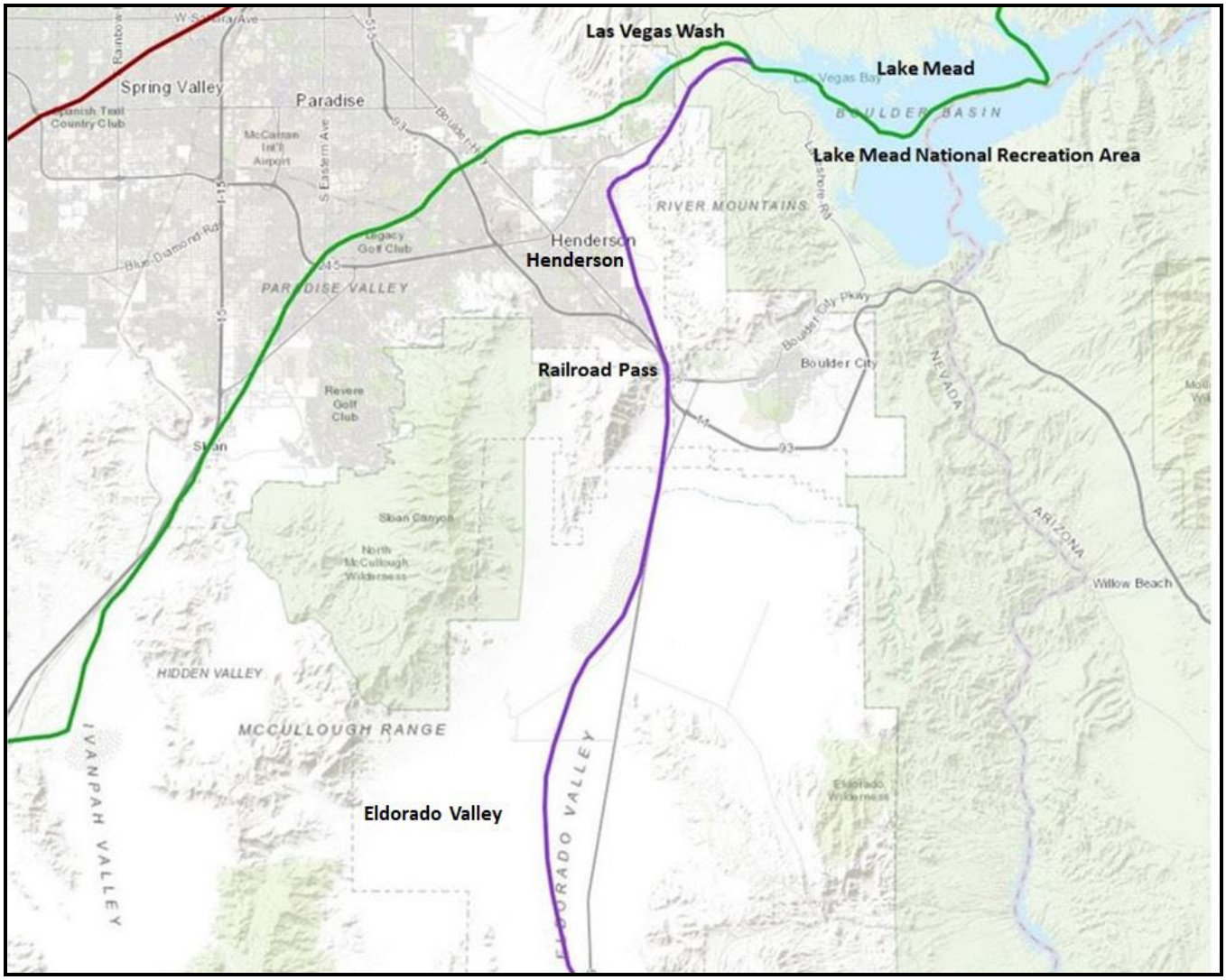

Figure 61. The Mojave Road departing southward from the Armijo Route at Las Vegas Wash and

heading southward through the Eldorado Valley, Nevada.

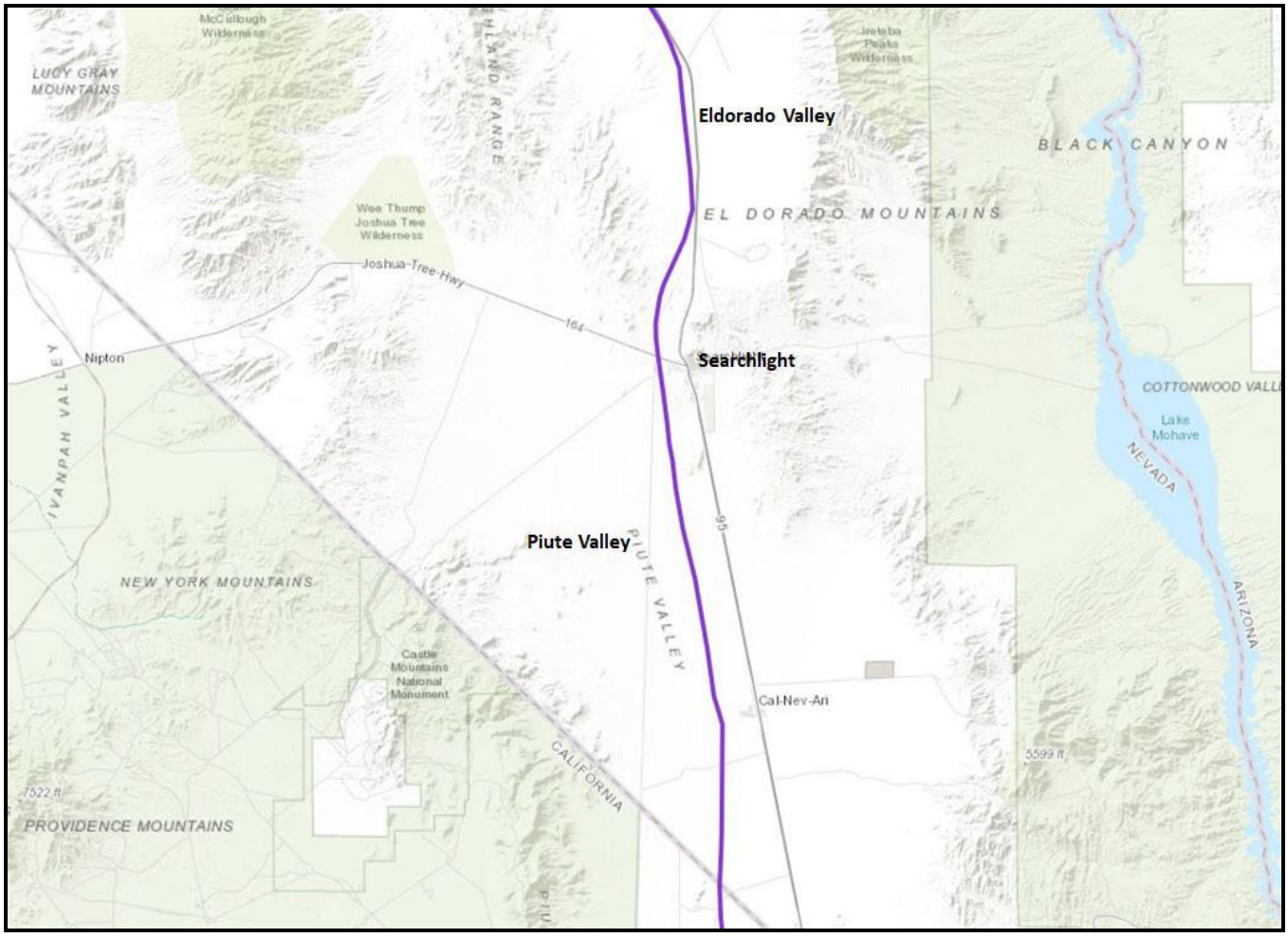

Figure 62. The Mojave Road running southward past Searchlight, Nevada, and the Piute Valley to California.

California

The Mojave Road continues southward from Piute Valley into California, then turns abruptly westward to pass southwestward through the Piute Range at Piute Spring (Figure 63). It then turns westward and runs through Lanfair Valley past Lanfair, south of Lanfair Buttes and the Grotto Hills to Rock Spring at Watson Wash. It continues westward south of Pinto Mountain and through the Mid Hills along Cedar Canyon. The trail continues westward through the East Mojave National Scenic Area, the Marl Mountains , and south of Cinder Cone Lava Beds where it turns southwestward to enter Jackass Canyon (Figure 64). It then heads westward through an uplift containing Old Dad Mountain and continues westward to Soda Lake where it joins the Armijo Route at Soda (Zzyzx) Spring. The Mojave Road in California, within the Mojave National Preserve, was listed on the NRHP on September 27, 2021 (NRIS #100007003).

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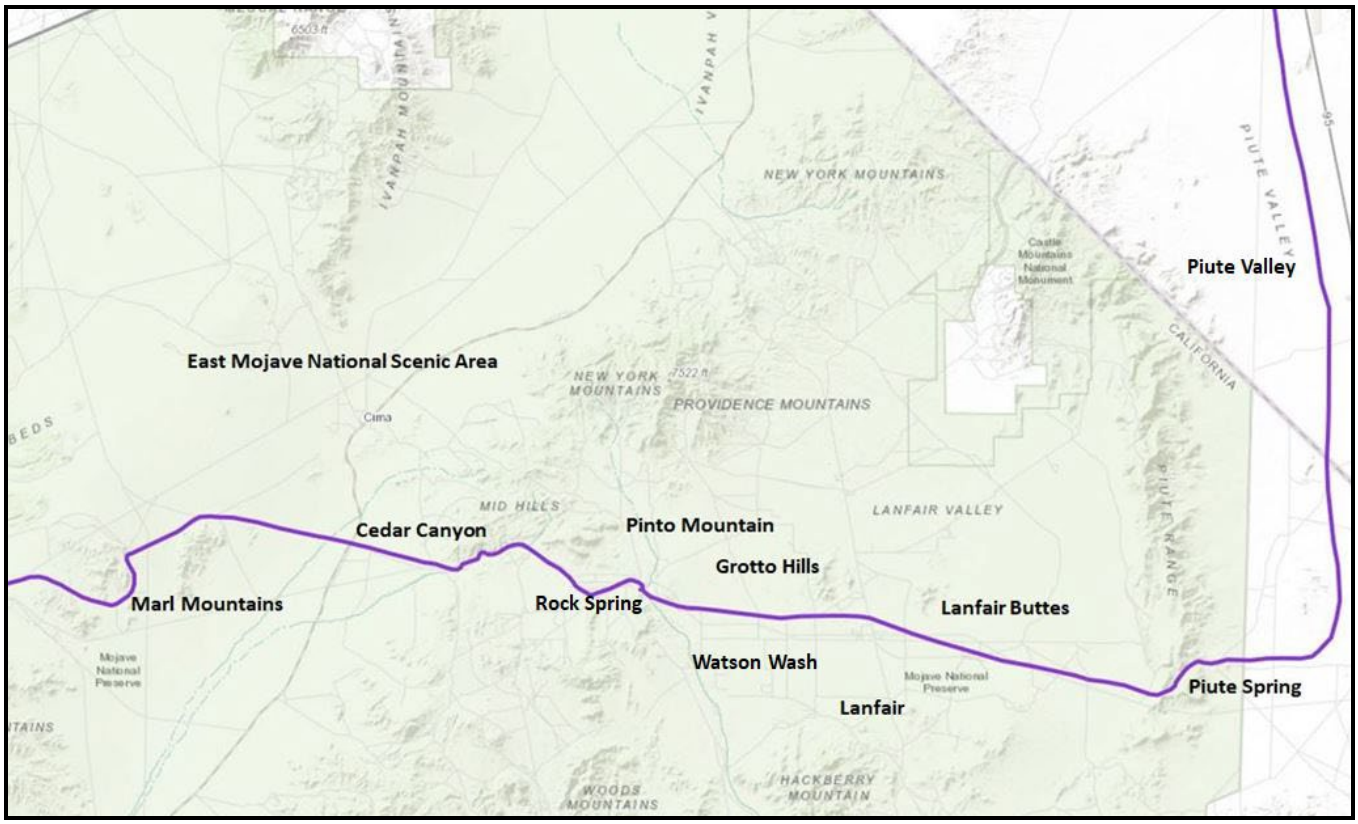

Figure 63. The Mojave Road entering California by the Piute Valley and turning westward from Piute Spring, through Rock Spring, and through the Marl Mountains, California.

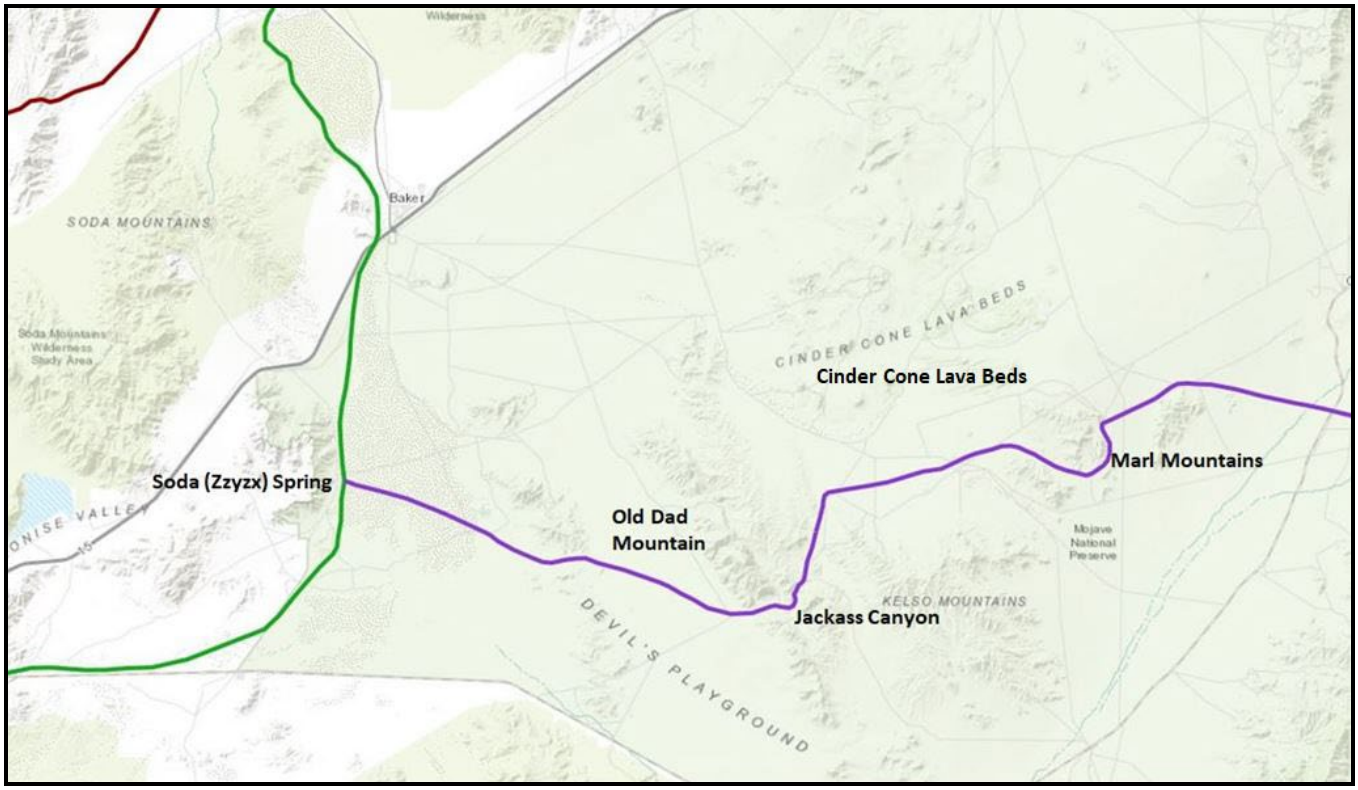

Figure 64. The Mojave Road heading westward from the Marl Mountains through Jackass Canyon to its intersection with the Armijo Route at Soda Spring, California.

North Branch

New Mexico

Following the same initial route as the Northern (Main) route from Santa Fe, the North Branch begins in Espanola where the West and East Forks of the North Branch begin (Figure 65). The East Fork runs northeastward on the southeastern side of the Rio Grande on various routes to Taos. The westernmost and most direct of two primary routes continues along the Rio Grande through Velarde on its way to Taos. The other turns eastward along the Santa Cruz River from Espanola and runs through Chimayo then northeastward to Picuris Pueblo. It then runs northward through the Miranda Valley on its way to Taos. Two routes that run generally west to east connect the two main course of travel. From Taos, the East Fork of the North Branch runs northeastward to Taos Pueblo at the base of the Taos Mountains, then northwestward through Arroyo Honda. It continues northward, following San Cristobal Creek for a short distance to Questa in a valley between Guadalupe Mountain on the west and the Taos Mountains on the east (Figure 66). It continues northward along the base of the Taos Mountain into the eastern part of Sunshine Valley to Costilla. The trail then turns eastward south of San Pedro Mesa and then northward into Colorado along Ventero Creek on its way along a course that runs along the eastern side of the San Luis Valley. The Taos Overlook and El Vado South portions of the trail in New Mexico were examined by Statistical Research, Inc. during the BLM's NHT project in 2010-2011 (Provenzali 2011). Subsequent inventory work was carried out in the Miranda Valley in 2017 and 2018 by the PaleoCultural Research Group (Johnston et al. 2019).

What is referred to as the West Fork of the North Branch runs northward from Espanola through the Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan) Pueblo and then follows the general course of U.S. Highway 285 northward along the Rio Ojo Caliente through Ojo Caliente and Tres Piedras (Figures 65-66). It enters Colorado soon after passing just west of San Antonio Mountain, which was probably a prominent wayfinding point on the trail. This portion of the route is delineated by Collville (1995), was included in the feasibility study of the OSNHT (NPS 2001), and has been partially inventoried by the PaleoCultural Research Group (Johnston 2020); it has yet to be satisfactorily documented and is not currently designated as a route of the OSNHT.

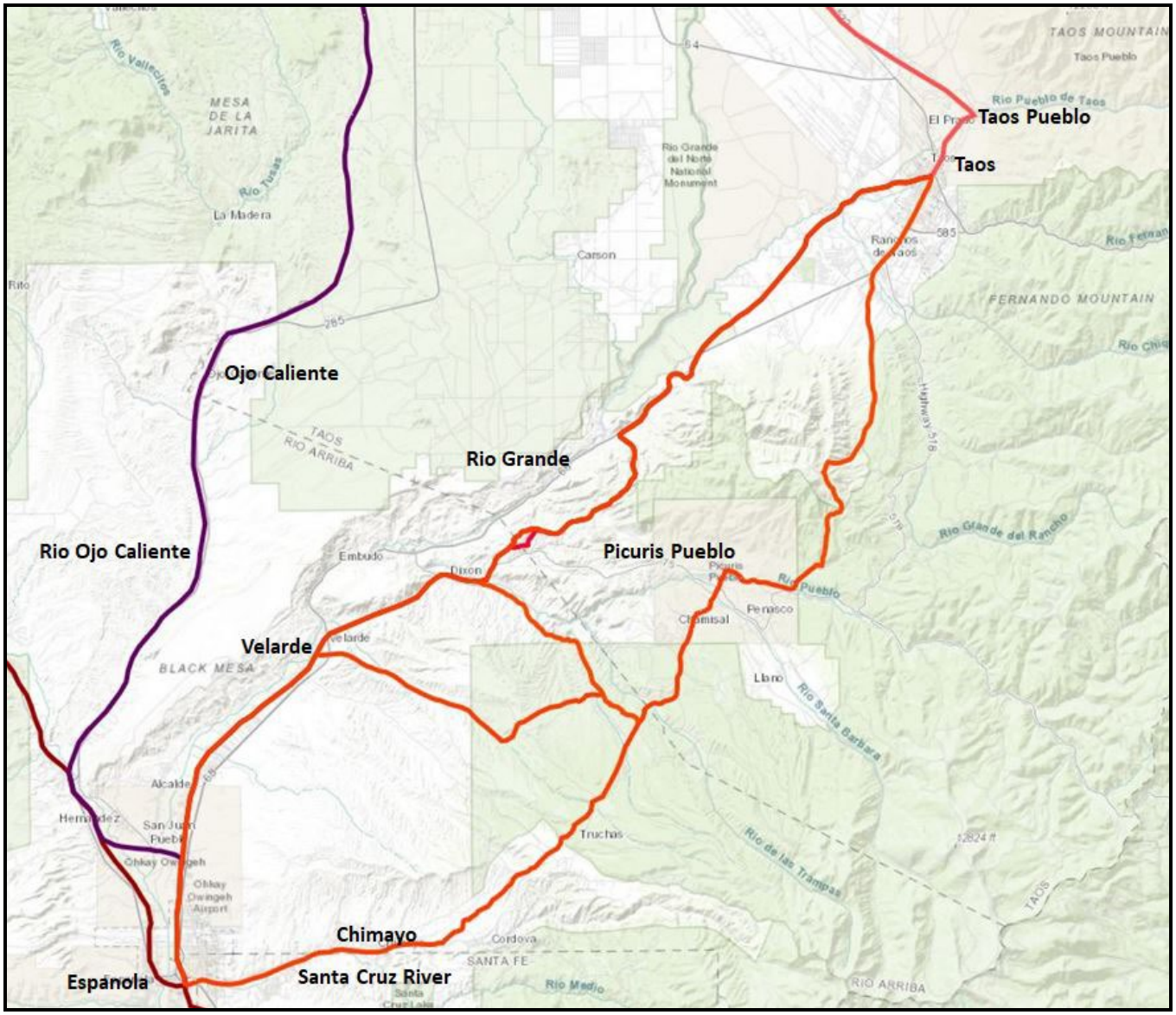

Figure 65. The East Fork of the North Branch heading northwest on various routes to Taos and Taos Pueblo. The West Fork of the North Branch heads more northward from Espanola through Ojo Caliente, New Mexico.

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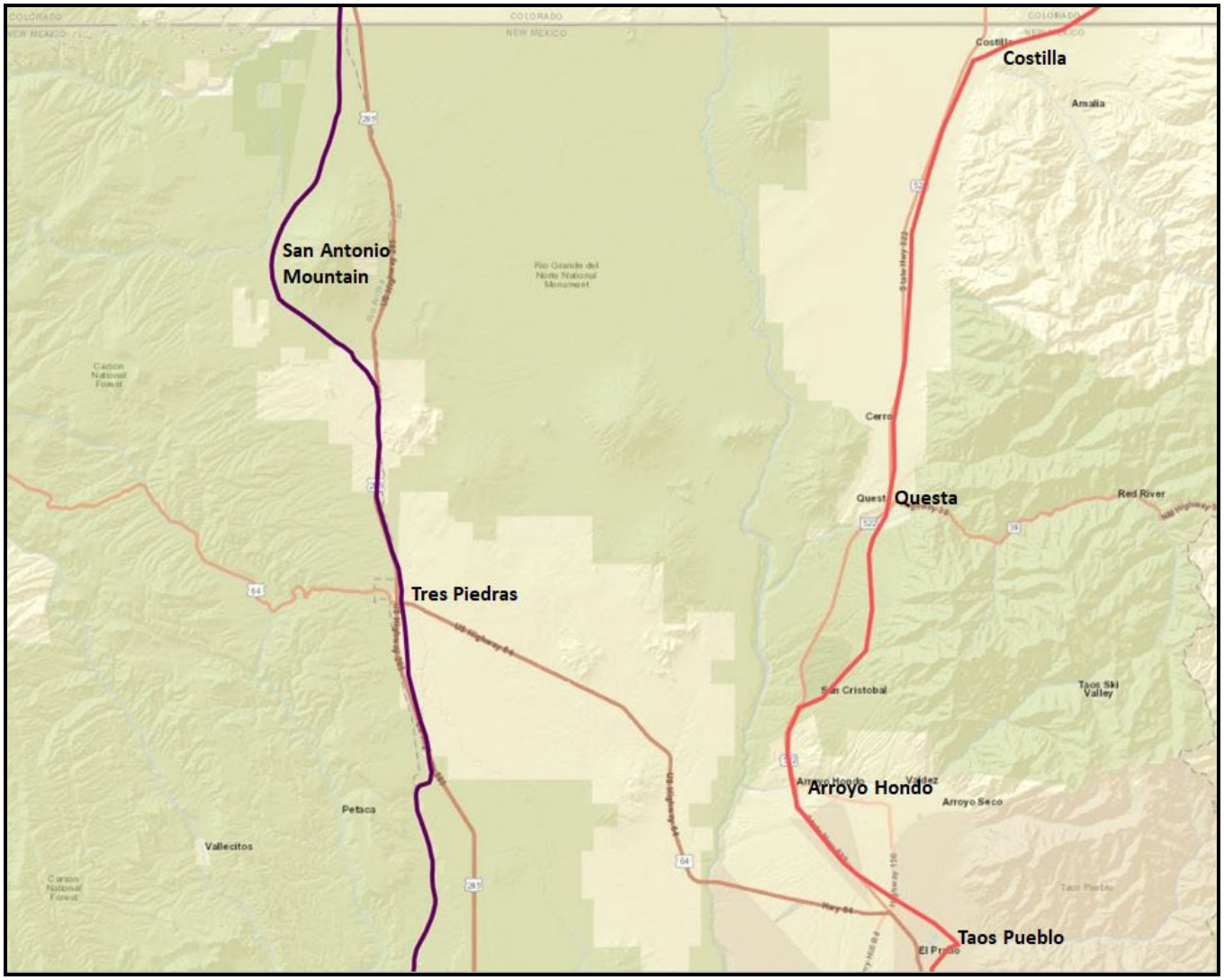

Figure 66. The East Fork of the North Branch heading northward from Taos Pueblo through Questa to Costilla, New Mexico, where it enters Colorado. The West Fork of the North Branch heads northward through Tres Piedras and along the western side of San Antonio Mountain to Colorado.

Colorado

Upon entering Colorado along Ventero Creek, the East Fork of the North Branch turns northward through the lowlands between San Pedro Mesa to the west and the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the east to San Luis (Figure 67). The trail continues northward into the San Luis Valley and heads northwestward across Trinchera Creek west of Blanca and Fort Garland. The San Luis Valley was once extensive marshlands and lakes fed by streams emanating from the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. The streams carry live water westward until being subsumed by the sands of the valley. Where the trail passes through the Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve, active sand dunes are present that would have presented a barrier to easy travel (Figure 69). Elsewhere the dunes are stabilized by vegetation growth of grasses, sagebrush, saltbush, and occasional scattered pinyon and juniper trees. At the base of the mountains, vegetation can be quite dense with most of the overstory being pinyon and juniper trees, but numerous ponderosa pine are present, too. The streams from the mountains support dense riparian shrubs and trees, including cottonwood trees that form extensive gallery groves that extend into the valley even where the streams only flow intermittently above ground. Travel through this area was on contour at the base of the mountains where soils were firm but where passageways were not impeded by heavy tree growth. Streams provided reliable water sources. The trail continues northwestward on the margin between the San Luis Valley and the Sangre de Cristo Mountains through Crestone, then turns sharply westward to cross the northern portion of the valley to Saguache Creek at Saguache (Figure 70). Portions of the trail north of the Great Sand Dunes National Park north of Crestone were inventoried by RMC Consultants on BLM and Rio Grande National Forest lands in 2009 and 2010 (Wunderlich et al. 2010; Hendrickson et al. 2011). A small amount of the trail route was inventoried on BLM land by Alpine in 2010–2011 during the BLM NHT project (Horn et al. 2011a).

The equally viable West Fork of the North Branch enters Colorado from New Mexico continuing northward along the general course of U.S. Highway 285 to the vicinity of Antonito where it crosses the Conejos River (Figure 67). This route was included in the feasibility study of the OSNHT (NPS 2001), but does not currently appear on maps of the designated route. It continues northward along the gentle contours of the southern San Luis Valley east of the base of the San Juan Mountains west of Alamosa and crosses the Rio Grande between Monte Vista and Del Norte (Figure 68). Travelers are known to have taken an east-west connecting route between the East Fork and West Fork across the lower San Luis Valley from the Fort Garland area, probably along the general course of U.S. Highway 160 through Alamosa that stayed on the northern side of the Rio Grande River (Figure 68). This route is not an officially designated OSNHT route and would require considerable research for such a designation. The West Fork follows the western side of the San Luis Valley in a similar fashion to the route on the eastern side, running on contour on the margin of the valley so as to avoid soft sands below and rugged terrain above. Limited work on this portion of the trail was conducted by PCRG in 2017 when two possible sections of the trail were recorded (Johnston 2020). Drainages emanating from the La Garita Mountains also provided water on the valley margin and were subsumed upon entering the valley. Considerably more work will be required to verify the West Fork route in Colorado and the connecting route between

the East Fork and the West Fork. The West Fork continues northward and northeastward along the western side of the San Luis Valley to Saguache Creek, which the combined North Branch routes follow westward to Upper Crossing near the eastern end of Rabbit Canyon (Figure 69).

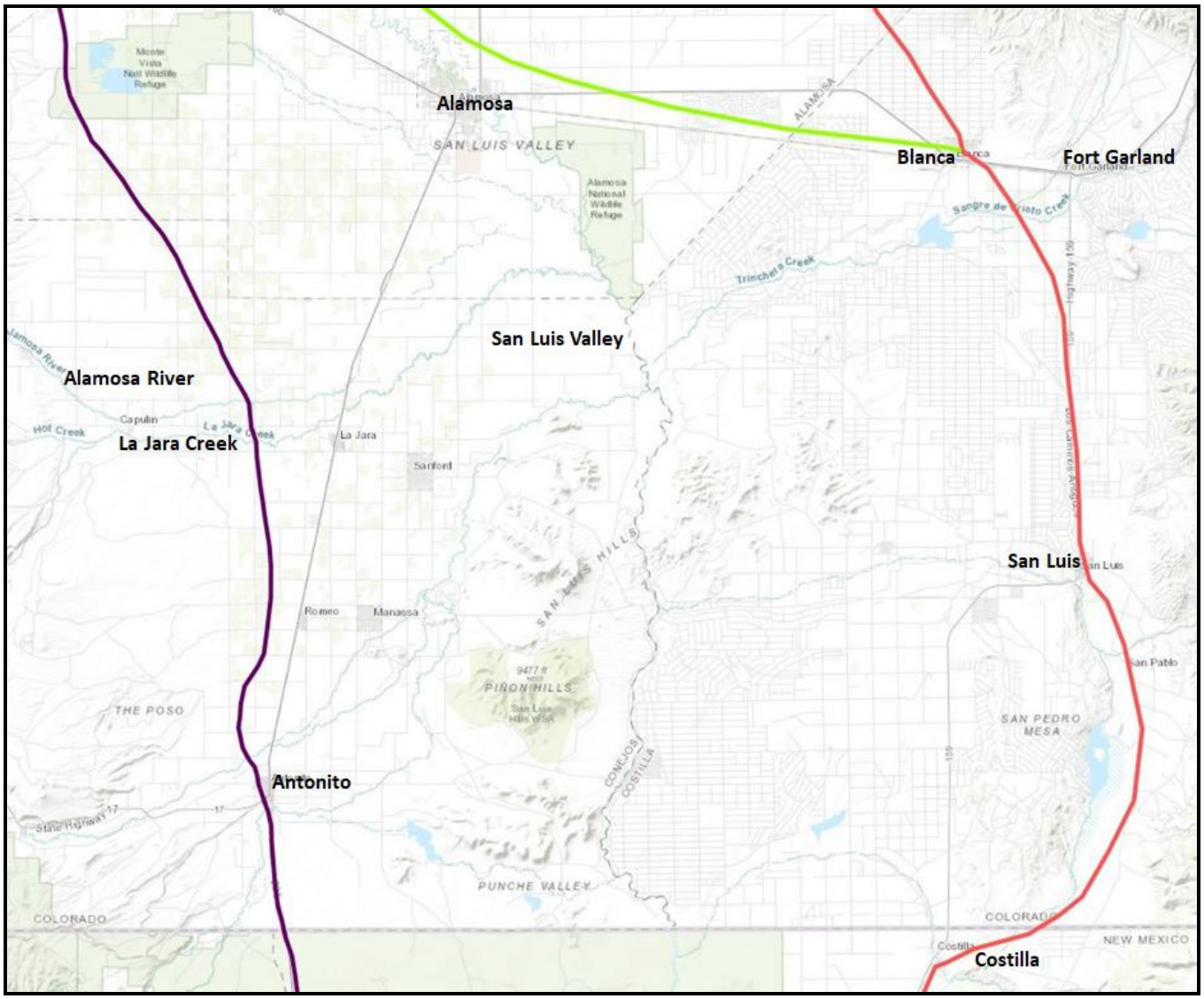

Figure 67. The East Fork of the North Branch enters Colorado northeastward from Costilla, New Mexico and runs northward through San Luis and Blanca on the eastern side of the San Luis Valley, Colorado. The West Fork of the North Branch runs northward past Antonito toward Monte Vista, Colorado, on the western side of the San Luis Valley.

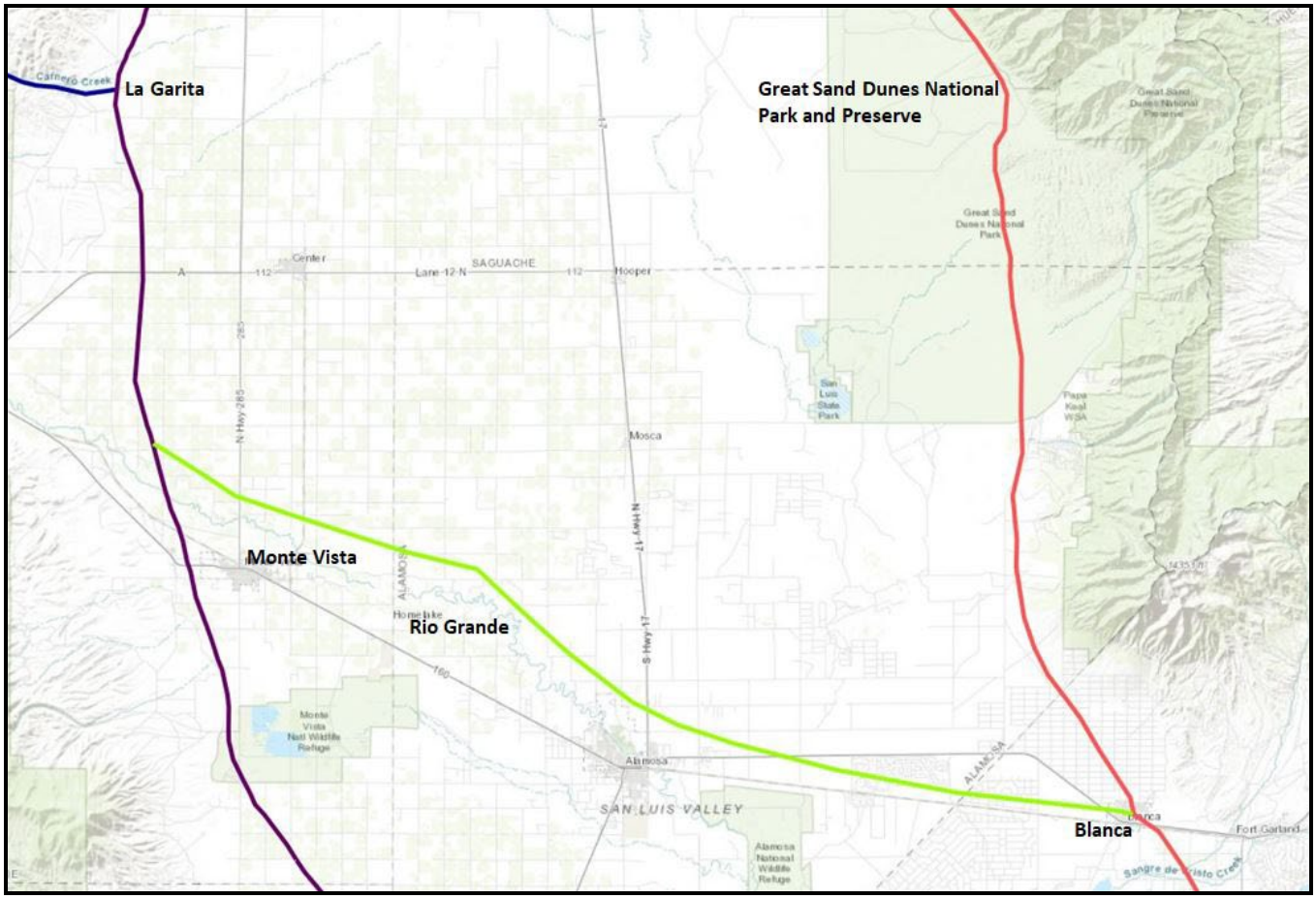

Figure 68. The East Fork of the North Branch continues along the eastern side of the San Luis Valley through the Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve. The West Fork of the North Branch continues along the western side of the San Luis Valley past Monte Vista and La Garita. An interconnecting trail ran from Blanca on the East Fork and beyond Monte Vista on the West Fork staying on the northern side of the Rio Grande.

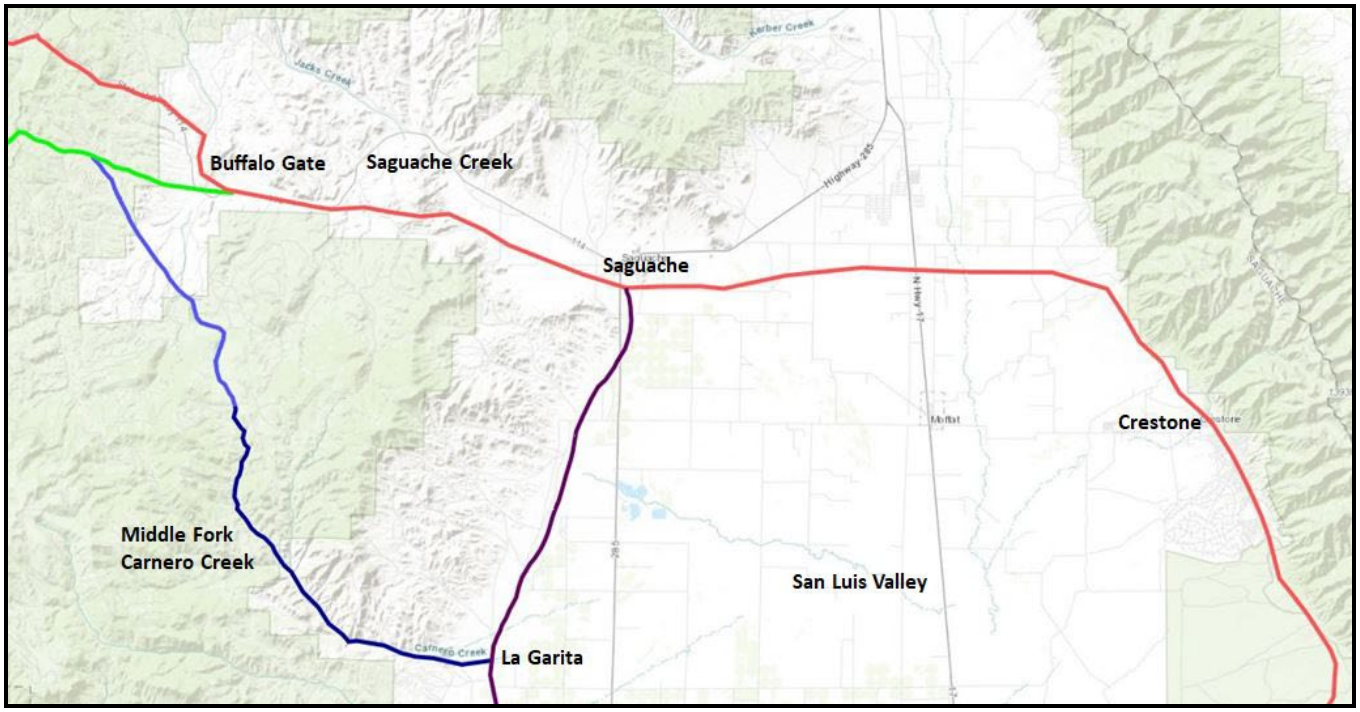

Figure 69. The East Fork and West Fork of the North Branch intersect at Saguache. It then continues westward up Saguache Creek and turns northwestward toward North Cochetopa Pass through the Buffalo Gate. An alternate route from the West Fork ran westward from La Garita up Carnero Creek and the Middle Fork of Carnero Creek to its intersection with a route departing the North Branch at Rabbit Canyon.

Departing from the route along the western side of the San Luis Valley, an alternate route took off northwestward from La Garita on the western side of the valley northwestward up Carnero Creek onto the Rio Grande National Forest (Figure 69). It probably follows the Middle Fork of Carnero Creek into Long Park and northward to Squaw Creek, following its winding course westward to its intersection with the main traveled route on Saguache Creek near Upper Crossing and the eastern end of Rabbit Canyon. This route is suggested by the resupply mission to Taos by Gwinn Harris Heap as part of the 1853 Beale Expedition, but requires additional research (Heap 1853). Upper Crossing was an important junction point. The most commonly taken route was over North Cochetopa Pass, but a second route over South Cochetopa Pass diverges westward at this point.

The route over North Cochetopa Pass turns northward up Sheep Creek and passes through the Buffalo Gate (Figures 69-70). It then runs northwestward up East Pass Creek into the Rio Grande National Forest to North Cochetopa Pass where the trail enters the Gunnison National Forest. After crossing North Cochetopa Pass at 10,060 ft., it runs northwestward to Lujan Creek and westward along West Pass Creek, exiting the Gunnison National Forest. It follows West Pass Creek along the northern side of Cochetopa Dome and northwestward along Archuleta Creek. A

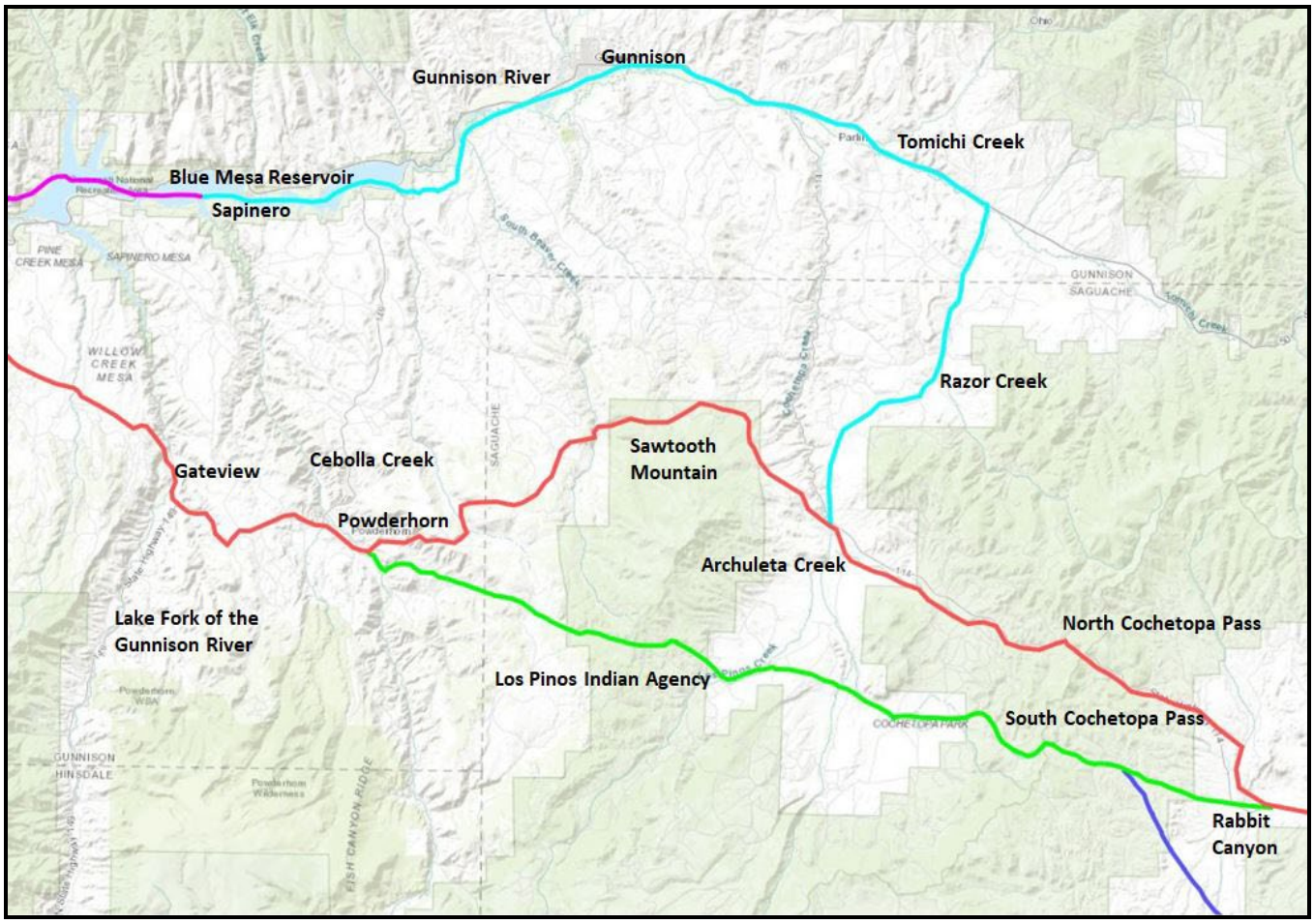

Figure 70. The North Branch passes northwestward over North Cochetopa Pass to Archuleta Creek and around the northern side of Sawtooth Mountain to Powderhorn on Cebolla Creek. It continued westward to Gateview on the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River. The route over South Cochetopa Pass departs the route over North Cochetopa Pass at Rabbit Canyon and passed through the Los Pinos Indian Agency on its way to Powderhorn. A route to the northern side of the Gunnison river departed the North Branch at Archuleta Creek and followed Razor Creek to Tomichi Creek and continued through Gunnison and followed the Gunnison River into Blue Mesa Reservoir. This is the route taken by the Gunnison Expedition to Sapinero in 1853.

short distance down Archuleta Creek, a trail struck off northward over a low divide that is a northern variant that was taken by the Gunnison Expedition in 1853 (Figure 70). The most traveled route wound around the northern side of Sawtooth Mountain across Rock Creek, where it reenters the Gunnison National Forest, Muddy Creek, Bead Creek, Lick Creek, and Beaver Creek, where it departs the Gunnison National Forest, to Willow Creek. It then runs westward down Huntsman Gulch to Cebolla Creek at Powderhorn. The portion of this route on BLM lands was inventoried by Alpine in 2010–2011 with subsequent work on the Rio Grande National Forest and

the Gunnison National Forest done from 2016 to 2021 (Horn et al. 2011a; Pfertsh and Horn 2016; Prouty 2018, 2021).

The route northward from Archuleta Creek taken by the Gunnison Expedition goes over a low divide and curves northeastward to Razor Creek, referred to by early travelers as Eagle Tail Creek (Figure70). It follows Razor Creek northward to Tomichi Creek where it turns northwestward and follows the general course of U.S. Highway 50. Examination of this portion of the route was done by Alpine during the BLM NHT project in 2010-2011 with additional work done at a potential Loring Camp from 1858 in 2016 (Horn 2011a; Prouty 2016). Tomichi Creek is a winding stream supporting lush riparian grasses and willows. The trail follows Tomichi Creek westward to Gunnison where it joins the Gunnison River. The trail follows the Gunnison River southwestward to the Gunnison River Canyon, which the trail avoids by exiting to the south up South Beaver Creek, runs westward north of Big Mesa, and then northwestward along Willow Creek back to the Gunnison River. It is at this point that the trail enters the Curecanti National Recreation Area and is mostly submerged by the pool of Blue Mesa Reservoir. The section of trail on BLM land around the Gunnison River Canyon was inventoried by Alpine (Prouty 2016). The trail follows the winding course of the Gunnison River westward to the confluence of Cebolla Creek, where the Gunnison Expedition turned southwestward on a course of their own making to rejoin the most traveled route on Blue Mesa. The route of the OST beyond this point is conjectured to have continued along the Gunnison River past West Elk Creek and Soap Creek (Figure 71). It probably pulled away from the northern side of the Gunnison River at about McIntyre Gulch. It would have traversed the steep slopes westward to and across Curecanti Creek, then turned northwards, exiting the National Recreation Area, and entered the Gunnison National Forest across Myers Gulch and ran westward across Mesa Creek on Black Mesa. It then bent northwestward, departing the Gunnison National Forest, across Crystal Creek and the Crystal Valley. It then ran northwestward through the Onion Valley, joining the route of State Highway 92 past the northeastern side of Gould Reservoir and northward through Maher. It then continued northward through Crawford Reservoir and the Crawford State Recreation Area to Crawford. From Crawford, it turned northwestward across Crawford Mesa away from State Highway 92, ran along the northeastern edge of Grand View Mesa, then turned northward and northwestward through broken terrain to its crossing of the North Fork of the Gunnison at Hotchkiss. It would have then turned westward across Rogers Mesa, following the course of State Highway 92 westward and southward through Mancos Shale badlands through Austin, where it probably crossed to the southern side of the North Fork of the Gunnison River, still on the course of the highway. It bent westward away from the highway to cross to the northern side of the river and passed north of Delta. It then continued westward along the general course of U.S. Highway 50. The trail headed southwestward south of the highway to the trail's intersection with the main North Branch just west of its crossing of the Gunnison River in the Escalante State Wildlife Area.

The more southerly route over South Cochetopa Pass from Upper Crossing is westward through Rabbit Canyon that leads over South Cochetopa Pass, which is the route later taken by the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road (Figure 70). From the eastern end of Rabbit Valley, the route to

South Cochetopa Pass is northwestward up Benny Creek, Luders Creek, and Cantonment Creek. After passing westward over the pass on the Continental Divide at 10,067 ft. and into the Gunnison National Forest, the trail runs southwestward and westward down Archuleta Creek, across Cochetopa Park where it exits the Gunnison National Forest. It then runs northwestward on the southern side of Cochetopa Dome through Dome Lakes State Wildlife Area and westward to Los Pinos Creek, just north of McDonough Reserve and past where the Los Pinos Indian Agency was established in 1869. It then runs northwestward up Trail Creek, where it reenters the Gunnison National Forest, and Fox Creek. It runs westward over a divide at 10,686 ft. into Rock Creek, leaving the Gunnison National Forest before entering Rock Creek Park. It continues westward into North Beaver Creek and over another divide into Deldorado Creek, which it follows to Cebolla Creek. The trail turns northwestward in the Cebolla Creek Valley and rejoins the more frequently used route over North Cochetopa Pass where it exits Huntsman Gulch at Powderhorn. The portions of this route on the eastern and western sides of South Cochetopa Pass on BLM land were examined during the BLM NHT project by Alpine in 2010–2011 (Horn et al. 2011a). Subsequent inventory work on the Gunnison National Forest and Rio Grande National Forest was done by Alpine from 2017–2021 (Prouty 2019, 2021, 2022).

From Powderhorn in the Cebolla Creek Valley, the combined route runs northwestward down the valley for a short distance, turns westward over a divide, and northwestward down Dutch Gulch to the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River at Gateview (Figure 70). It is at this point that the Saguache & San Juan Toll Road turned southward to head into the San Juan Mountains. The trail follows the Lake Fork northward a short distance and climbs northward out of the canyon. It turns northwestward across Little Willow Creek onto Willow Creek Mesa, across Willow Creek and Pine Creek, and into the headwaters of Blue Creek on Blue Mesa (Figure 71). It then turns westward over a divide into Big Blue Creek and turns northwestward along the general course of U.S. Highway 50 to Stumpy Creek, which it follows westward to the Little Cimarron River. It follows the Little Cimarron and Cimarron rivers northwestward to Cimarron, where the Cimarron River turns northward to enter the Black Canyon of the Gunnison. The trail then turns westward and follows Squaw Creek to Cerro Summit at an elevation of about 7,960 ft. The portion of the trail westward from the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River was examined by Alpine as part of the BLM NHT project in 2010–2011 (Horn et al. 2011a).

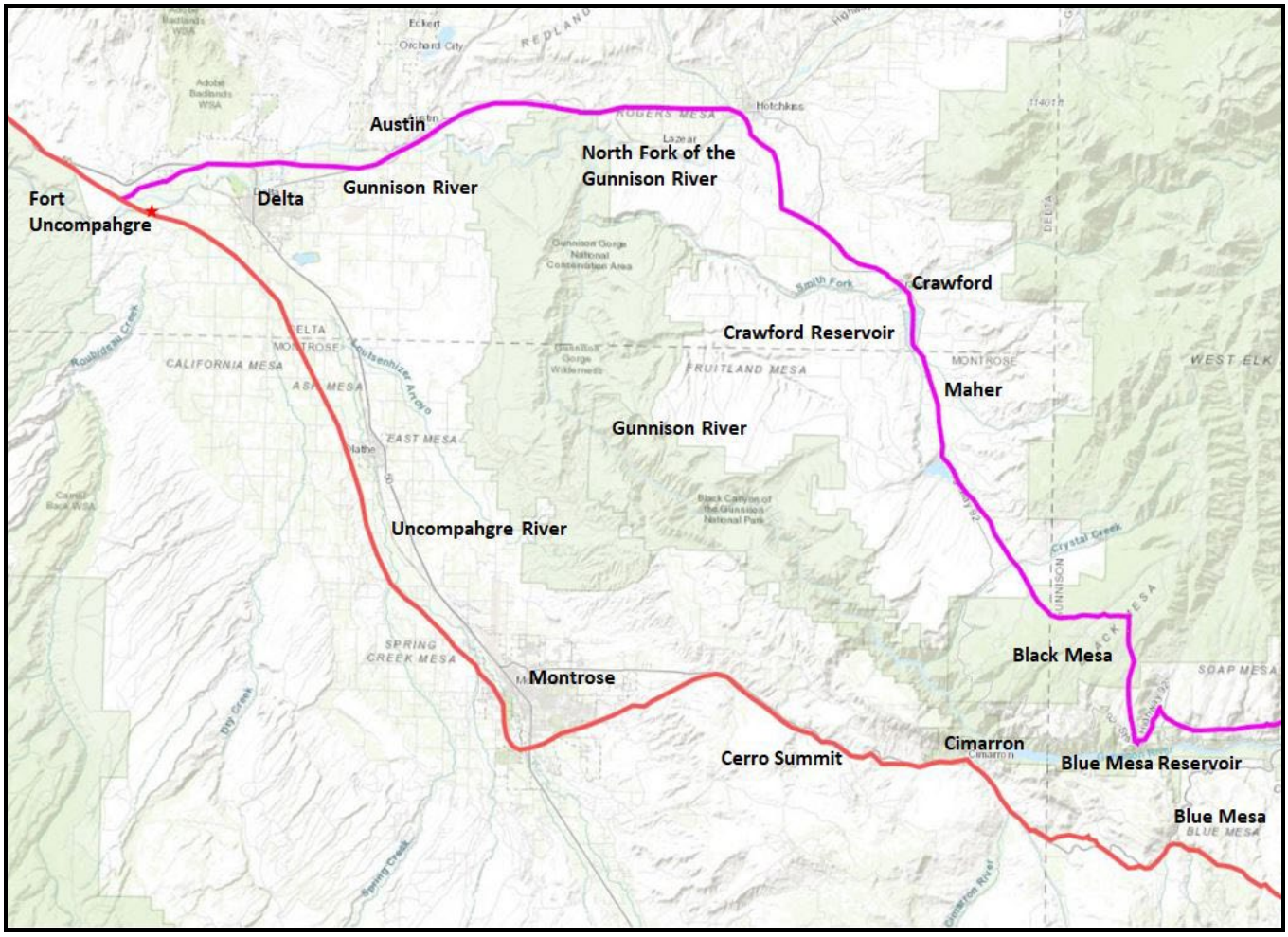

Figure 71. The North Branch continued from the Lake Fork of the Gunnison River onto Blue Mesa and passed through Cimarron over Cerro Summit. It turned northwestward after crossing the Uncompahgre River south of Montrose and crossed the Gunnison River just beyond Fort Uncompahgre. The conjectured route on the north side of the Gunnison River beyond Sapinero was over Black Mesa and northward through Maher and Crawford to the North Fork of the Gunnison River where it turned westward and joined the main North Branch trail west of Delta on the northern side of the Gunnison River.

On the western side of the Cerro Summit, the trail follows Cedar Creek northwestward to the eastern edge of the Uncompahgre Valley, where it departs the route of U.S. Highway 50 and runs through broken Mancos Shale lowlands to the crossing of the Uncompahgre River south of Montrose (Figure 72). After crossing to the western side of the river, the trail runs northwestward across irrigated farmland over Spring Creek Mesa, High Mesa, and Ash Mesa. It then curves slightly more westward and reaches the crossing of the Gunnison River northwest of Delta at the Escalante State Wildlife Area just above Roubideau Creek. This was within a mile of Antoine Robidoux's Fort Uncompahgre. The portion of this route on BLM land from Cerro Summit to the Uncompahgre Valley was examined by Alpine during the BLM NHT project in 2010–2011 (Horn et al. 2011a).

From the crossing of the Gunnison River, the trail continues northwestward on the Mancos Shale uplands between the Grand Mesa and the Gunnison River following the general course of U.S. Highway 50. This area has alkaline soils armored by basalt cobbles and is mostly covered with sagebrush and saltbush with occasional pinyon and juniper trees. The trail passes over Fools Hill at Wells Gulch, through the Dominguez-Escalante National Conservation Area, and across Kannah Creek to Whitewater, where the Gunnison River is again accessible upon emerging from its canyon. The route continues northwestward up Whitewater Hill onto Orchard Mesa and crosses the Colorado River at Grand Junction. The portion of the trail on BLM land from near the crossing of the Gunnison River into the Dominguez-Escalante National Conservation Area was examined by Alpine during the BLM NHT project in 2010–2011 (Horn et al. 2011a).

From Grand Junction, the trail continues northwestward along the western edge of the Grand Valley through Fruita and Mack to Salt Creek. The Grand Valley is urbanized through Grand Junction and is heavily agricultural, even though its soils are Mancos Shale. At Salt Creek, the Colorado River turns southwestward and becomes entrenched in Ruby Canyon. The trail stays on the uplands above the river following Rabbit Valley and McDonald Creek southwestward through the McInnis Canyon National Conservation Area. This is extremely rugged country of sandstone canyons and pediments supporting sparse sagebrush, saltbush, and pinyon-juniper woodlands. It is in this rugged country that the trail exits the National Conservation Area and enters Utah. A portion of the trail in the McInnis Canyon National Conservation Area was initially inventoried by the BLM (LaForge 2011). It was more completely inventoried by Alpine in 2016 (Prouty 2017).

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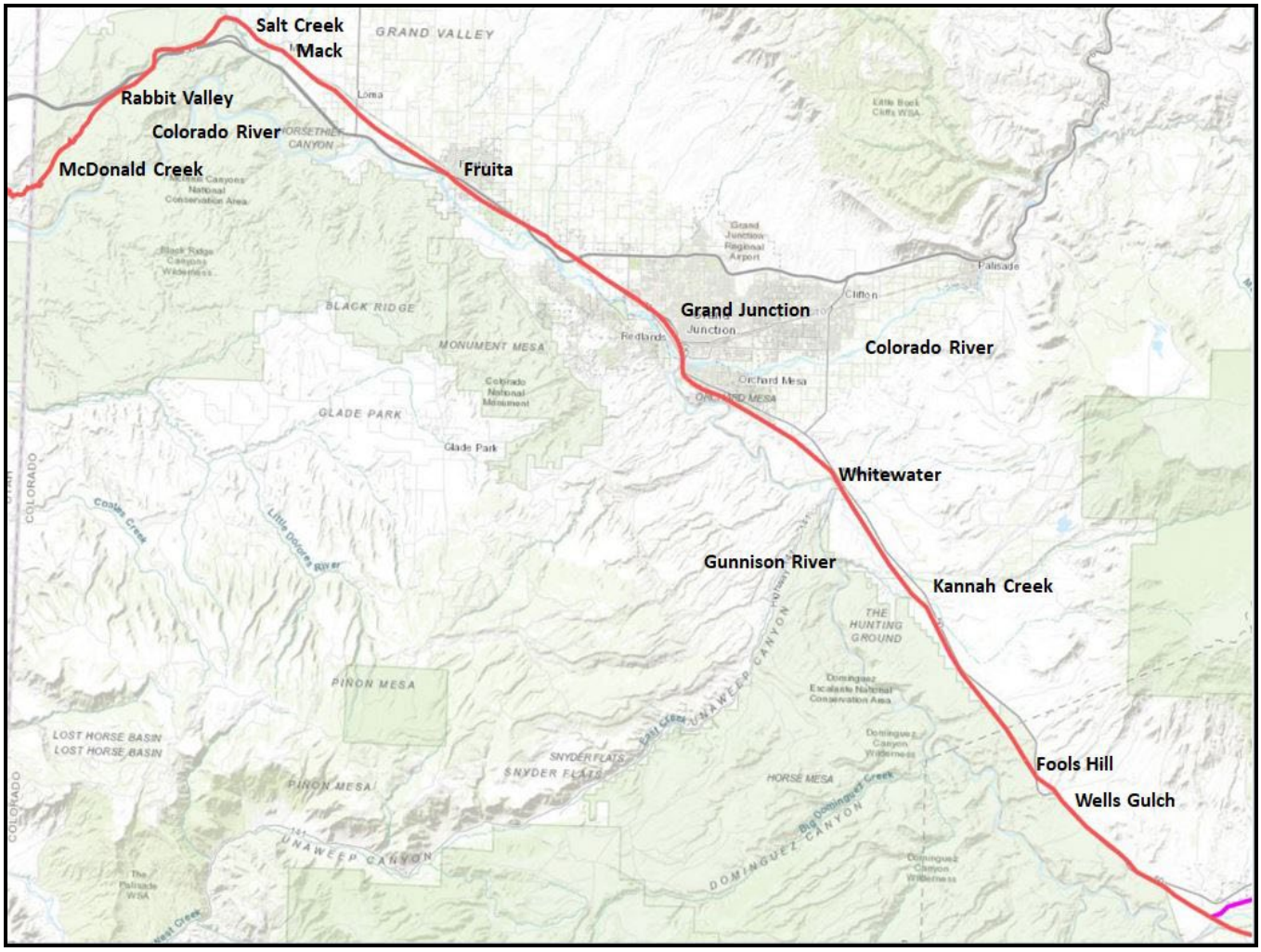

Figure 72. The north Branch ran northwestward from the crossing of the Gunnison River west of Delta through Grand Junction, where it crossed the Colorado River, and turned southwestward into Rabbit Valley and McDonald Creek into Utah.

Utah

The trail enters Utah heading southwest and west through rugged, broken country of sandstone canyons and buttes with sandstone, saltbush, and scattered pinyon-juniper to the upper reaches of Bitter Creek (Figure 73). It follows Bitter Creek southward to Westwater, where the Colorado River is once again reachable after exiting Ruby Canyon. After exiting the rugged canyons along the Colorado border, it enters the Mancos Shale Lowlands below and south of the Book Cliffs with heavy, alkaline clay soil that supports sparse sagebrush and saltbush with scattered pinyon-juniper woodlands. The Colorado River enters Westwater Canyon, and the trail continues southwestward through hilly country to where the river emerges from the canyon at Cisco Landing. Running initially southwestward below some bluffs, the trail turns westward through Cisco to the Interstate-70 corridor and turns southwestward and then westward along the general course of the highway through Thompson Spring and bends southwestward through Crescent Junction to Floy Wash (Figure 74). The trail then bends northwestward and joins the Main Route near Solitude on its course from the Spanish Valley to the crossing of the Green River. The portion of the trail on BLM land from the Utah State line to the trail's junction with the Main Route of the trail was inventoried by Alpine during the 2010–2011 BLM NHT project (Horn et al. 2011b).

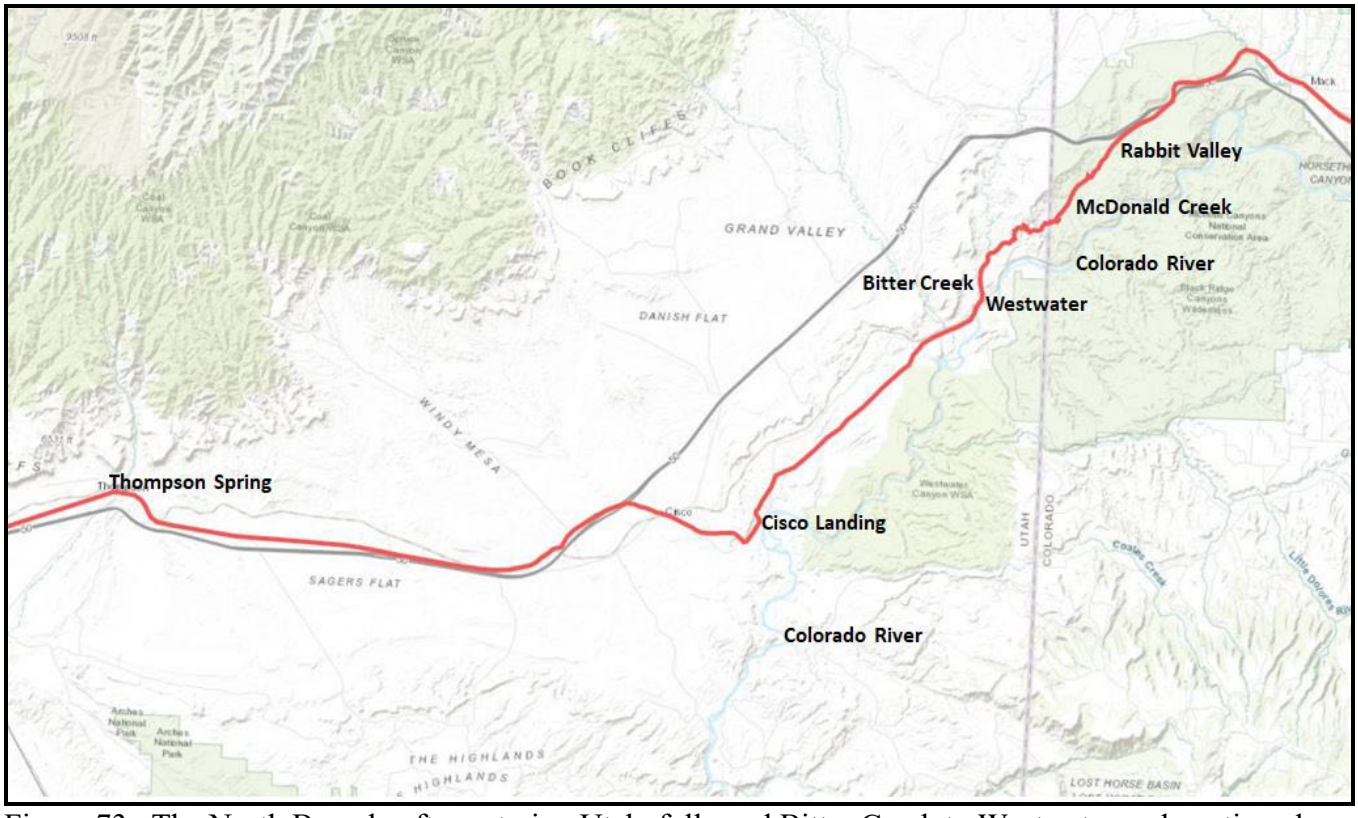

Figure 73. The North Branch, after entering Utah, followed Bitter Creek to Westwater and continued southwestward to Cisco Landing on the Colorado River, then turned westward to Thompson Spring.

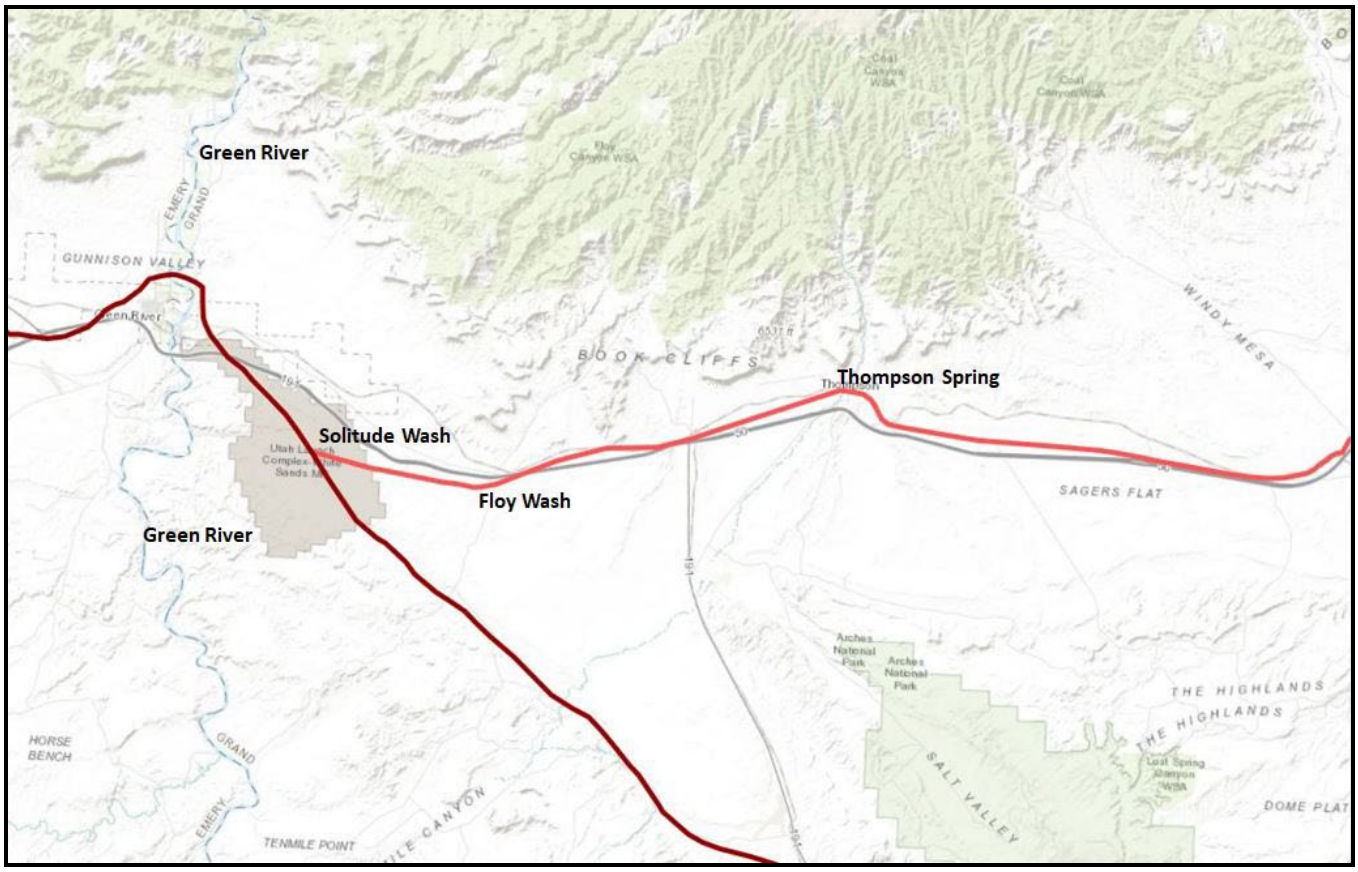

Figure 74. The North Branch ran westward from Thompson Spring to its connection with the Main Route near Solitude Wash, Utah.

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North Branch from Santa Fe

State	County	Other
New Mexico	Santa Fe	Tesuque Pueblo
	Rio Arriba	Pojoaque Pueblo
	Taos	Santa Clara Pueblo
		Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan) Pueblo
		Picuris Pueblo
		Taos Pueblo
		Carson National Forest
Colorado	Costilla	Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve
	Alamosa	Rio Grande National Forest
	Saguache	Gunnison National Forest
	Gunnison	Curecanti National Recreation Area Black
	Montrose	Canyon of the Gunnison National Park
	Delta	Domínguez-Escalante National Conservation Area
	Mesa	McInnis Canyons National Conservation Area
Utah	Grand	

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

After Congress designated the Old Spanish Trail (OST) a National Historic Trail (NHT) in 2002, the Secretary of the Interior assigned joint administration of the Old Spanish National Historic Trail (OSNHT) to the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and National Park Service (NPS). The Old Spanish Trail Association (OSTA), organized in 1994 to facilitate the designation of the OST as an NHT, is recognized as a volunteer partnership group for the management of the trail. The NPS and BLM began work on a comprehensive plan and Environmental Impact Statement in 2004. The OSTA initiated a stewardship program in 2009. It conducts training workshops for OSTA members and conducts trail monitoring, promotion, and trail stewardship activities. The BLM secured funding from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) of 2009 to conduct additional historical research and on-the-ground inventory work on High Potential segments of the trail in order to more precisely plot the general routes identified in the 2001 Feasibility Study and evaluate their conditions. This work was done by contractors to the BLM in 2010 and 2011. Following the ARRA project the NPS hosted the OSTA mapping workshop in Santa Fe in 2013. This resulted in a consensus on more precise routes of the OST from the data collected up to that time. A Comprehensive Administrative Strategy was initiated by the BLM and NPS in 2014 with final versions completed in 2016 and 2017 (NPS-BLM 2016; BLM-NPS 2017). This recognizes that identification and protection of the OST is a directive of the National Trail System Act (NTSA). To this end, the co-administrators maintain data on the trail resources, most particularly high potential historic sites and route segments.

Listing of OST-related resources is an expected outcome of research on those resources. This is especially noted in Reference Manual 45 of the National Trails System (NPS 2019). At the same time as the ARRA project was underway, a separate project was initiated to develop a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) for the OST and nominate one High Potential segment in each of the six states through which the OST passes. This project failed to be completed.

This current MPDF document is meant to serve as an overview of the OST's history. Although it attempts to be as complete as possible, it should not be considered an exhaustive study of all aspects of its history. Historical topics that might be more fully developed include a more comprehensive understanding of early Spanish trade with American Indians in the development of the trail, better understanding of prior American Indian trails and settlement through which the trail passes, and a fuller recognition of the OST in the fur trade of the western U.S.

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