

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro As Revealed Through the Written Record: A Guide to Sources of Information for One of the Great Trails of North America

Prepared for: The New Mexico Spaceport Authority (NMSA)
Las Cruces and Truth or Consequences, New Mexico

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of Commercial Space Transportation

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December, 2020



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1. Introduction and Statement of Purpose

Introduction

Archival research has been a fundamental element of the identification, preservation, and study of the historic traveler’s route now referred to as El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (“the Royal Road of the Interior Lands”) for nearly a century¹. The addition of the route to the National Trails System in October of 2000—in recognition of its significance as the primary transportation corridor between the colonial Spanish capitals of Mexico City and *la villa real* now known as Santa Fe, New Mexico, represents an accomplishment that can be attributed in large part to the careful work of generations of scholars, particularly historians and archival researchers. The fruits of their investigations include a diverse array of scholarly publications based on a variety of sources, including: journals and diaries kept by travelers; records of commerce as well as military and religious activity along the trail; maps of the route and settlements established/encountered along the way; and anecdotal information. This work, in turn, has inspired study by investigators pursuing additional lines of inquiry.

Some aspects of life along the historic trail have thus been well-explored, while others (including actual locations of trail traces and associated resources, such as campsites, ramps, and springs) have only begun to be investigated in the past few decades. Documentation of these efforts, along with the results of historic preservation projects and activities dedicated to studying and repairing/rehabilitating historic buildings along the route, comprise “gray literature” that has not been cohesively integrated into the main stream of scholarship associated with El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. This shortfall can exercise a dampening effect on trail-related research, as various investigators pursuing traditional avenues of inquiry may not have the opportunity to reap the benefit of the results of studies that have not been published, or which have taken place outside of their disciplines.

As one of the measures proposed to mitigate adverse effects to assessed to the Physical and Setting (“visual”) Areas of Potential Effects (APEs) identified for the Spaceport America undertaking, the New Mexico Spaceport Authority (NMSA) proposed to combine and summarize sources of information selected for relevance to trail-related archival research under the aegis of an annotated bibliography that would highlight the published research products as well as additional sources for information about El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro that have been investigated to date, particularly the portions of route that traverse the Jornada del Muerto². This work was perceived as a key component of an interdisciplinary research program focused on various aspects of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Companion studies have included a paleohydrological assessment of water resources in the central Jornada del Muerto, field archaeological survey and documentation

¹ As discussed in more detail below, the contemporary title “El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro” has been applied to the trail relatively recently; it would not have been the historic designation.

² Mitigation Measure B in the approved *Mitigation Plan for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, Spaceport America* (FAA and NMSA).

of physical manifestations of the historic trail and associated cultural resources in the Physical and Setting APEs, and development of a management plan for the state lands that it crosses in New Mexico. All of these mitigation measures have been completed, and have benefitted from the ongoing, interdisciplinary research into traditional as well as non-traditional sources of written information, as summarized and presented in this document.

Scope and Organization

As presented in the plan developed to guide this research effort, the major tasks to be accomplished in the course of compiling the annotated bibliography were to include the endeavors detailed below:

- To organize information about the current status of knowledge regarding El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro—accessing both primary and secondary known sources as well as “gray literature” in English and Spanish—in order to create an annotated bibliography that will assist researchers at a variety of levels as an informal “finding aid;”
- To identify useful source documents that should be made available to the general public as well as subject-matter experts; and,
- To make the information derived from the proposed research available publicly.

Also included would be a synthetic interpretive report that identifies gaps in our knowledge about El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and points to potentially productive strategies and locations for future research. From the outset it was recognized that the results of archival research could be of great benefit to other categories of trail-related investigations:

“Of particular interest is the identification of documentary sources that reveal locations (specific as well as general) where the activities of the people who used the Camino took place, including establishment or re-use of campsites, access to water resources, etc. Archival sources that can specify the range of activities that took place at various points along the Camino—as well as what classes of material culture are likely to be present there—are also of interest.” (FAA and NMSA Archival Research Study, 2-3).

Finally, the study plan identified the importance of identifying documentary collections in the United States and Mexico wherein valuable source materials were known to be and/or likely to be located, and of conducting consultations with subject matter experts.

The framework described above allowed for the incorporation of documents (and information about sources) derived from investigations related to multiple social science disciplines and a broad array of historic preservation endeavors, including:

- professional-level publications and other documents of investigations of the history (including military history), sociology, and anthropology of northern Mexico, the

American Southwest, and the Spanish Borderlands, from the colonial era to the mid-twentieth century—and the sources used for these studies—as they relate to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro;

- historic preservation nomination documents written for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)/State Register of Cultural Properties (SRCP) of New Mexico and Texas; National Historic Landmark designations; inscription on the World Heritage List maintained by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO);
- management planning documents (and associated reports) and archaeological survey reports for historic properties (including trail segments) associated with El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro;
- treatment, stabilization/rehabilitation, and documentation plans (and follow-up reports) for historic properties (including trail segments) associated with El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro; and
- biographies and popular articles.

It should be noted, however, that while the fields of interest that have formed the basis for the compilation of this bibliography were defined broadly, they were not without limits. One early approach to creating a bibliography for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro reviewed by the compilers of this document attempted, for example, to incorporate much of the ethnographic research (and related studies) conducted by generations of anthropologists for indigenous peoples encountered by the Spanish as they traveled from Mexico into the American Southwest, and attempted to govern all of the new territory thus encountered. While information about native peoples (and locations) of the general region is interesting and important on its own merits, not all products of ethnographical inquiry into the culture histories, material culture, and lifeways of indigenous peoples of the Spanish Borderlands have demonstrated the potential to add to our knowledge of the trail per se. The same can be said for historical investigations; some events, occurrences, and processes relevant to the history of the region were coincident to, but not directly related to, the establishment and/or use of the trail.

Another suggestion for this project was compilation of a list of names of all of the people who traveled the route in historic times, which would be interesting on its own terms but would not have provided sufficient focus for an effort of this nature. The guiding principle has thus been to consider the inclusion of documents and sources of information on a case-by-case basis with respect to their potential to illuminate our understanding of how El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro came into being and was used/functioned through time. These decisions were admittedly arbitrary, but were based on the best guesses of the compilers, who are subject-matter experts in the fields of regional history, architectural history, anthropology, archaeology, and historic preservation, respectively. A section has, however, been added to the bibliography to incorporate some published sources that the compilers felt were particularly useful in terms of illuminating various specialized topics—particularly the lifeways of regional peoples during the periods of definition and use of ELCA—even though their focus lies outside of the primary topical category employed here.

In the interests of accessibility for both scholars/researchers as well as interested members of the public, an organizational format structured around the kinds of sources of information being referenced and described is used for this document. Following a brief description of the establishment and use of the trail as well as the status of ongoing historic preservation and identification efforts, the guide to sources of information is presented in Chapter 3, beginning with an outline of the archives and repositories that have provided—or are likely to provide—useful information for trail researchers, followed by bibliographic listings of publications, cultural resources management and historic preservation documents, and discussions of online resources and maps. Useful primary sources and/or locations where such material might be found are highlighted. And as noted, a concluding portion of the bibliography includes a number of references that the compilers have found useful, although these documents were not developed in pursuit of information about the trail.

As the bibliography was being compiled, informal interviews were conducted with Gabrielle Palmer and Harry Myers that provided useful background about the renewed interest and investigation that led to the establishment of the National Historic Trail, trail-related exhibitry, and about trail studies in general. Joy Poole provided bibliographic information, including a document that she had worked on with Harry Myers. The compilers of the document included Kristen Reynolds, Elizabeth Oster, David Reynolds, and Michael Elliott in the United States, and José Luis Punzo Díaz and Maby Medrano Enríquez in Mexico. The Modern Language Association (MLA) citation style has generally been used, with some modification where necessary for the type of work being cited.

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: Terminology and Nomenclature

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro signifies “the Royal Road of the Interior Land” [or “lands”] and has become the identifying label for a network of roads and traces that ultimately connected Mexico City, Mexico, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, from Spanish colonial times into the twentieth century. Some of the roadways that comprise segments of the route in what is today the country of Mexico were formally engineered as roads relatively early in their use-life. In contrast, the portions of the route in what the Spanish colonial government thought of as the northern *despoblado*—that is to say, “deserted” or “unoccupied” in reference to the location known today as the American Southwest—generally were defined only by centuries of use rather than by engineers or route planners, and for the most part, they were not significantly “improved” until they began to be used by motorized vehicles.

Likewise, it has not been confirmed that the Spanish governing officials actually used the term “El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro” to refer to the route between Mexico City and Santa Fe other than perhaps as a casual reference. *Caminos reales* (“royal roads”) in colonial New Spain are known to have functioned as routes that facilitated the passage of commercial traffic, providing opportunities for royal taxation. In modern parlance, the qualifier “de tierra adentro” has been added to distinguish the route to Santa Fe from other historic *caminos reales* initiated and used by the Spanish and now memorialized as historic trails; *provincias internas* (“internal provinces”), *tierra afuera* (“outside land”), or as noted, the *despoblado* may have been more common colonial-era referents. “El Camino Real de los

Tejas” preserves a route that connected Monterey, Mexico to Robeline, Louisiana (near Natchitoches), facilitating the settlement of Texas. “El Camino Real” or “the King’s Highway”—located in what the Spanish referred to as Alta California and also known as the “California Mission Trail”—connects historic missions, presidios, and settlements from the Misión San Diego de Alcalá in San Diego to the Misión San Francisco de Solano in Sonoma.

It is thus necessary to clarify which *camino real* is being referenced; the terms “El Camino Real” or “Camino Real” are viewed by some as lacking sufficient specificity, while employing the full title in every instance that it is mentioned may be viewed as excessive. For these reasons, in this document the National Park Service (NPS) acronym for the National Historic Trail, “ELCA,” will be employed as the preferred abbreviation, as it is a unique identifier for this route in the United States. In instances where the National Historic Trail is specified, the reference “Trail” will also be employed.

References

Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and the New Mexico Spaceport Authority (NMSA)
Mitigation Plan for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, Spaceport America. 2010.

Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and the New Mexico Spaceport Authority (NMSA)
Archival Research Study, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: Scope of Work. 2011.

2. History of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro; National Historic Trail Status

In August of 1598, the main body of an expeditionary force led by aspiring *adelantado*³ Don Juan de Oñate arrived at Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo) in what would become New Mexico, a short distance north of the location that would later be formalized as the royal capital of Santa Fe (Hammond and Rey 17). Oñate's expedition followed a number of other attempts to extend Spain's reach to the far north, but it differed in two important aspects: he sought and successfully used some risky short-cuts—including the storied route across the Jornada del Muerto—and he was accompanied by a large number of colonists, who came prepared to stay. The *adelantado* established the first Spanish colony in New Mexico at the Pueblo, which was given the Spanish name "San Juan de los Caballeros"⁴. Oñate's journey inaugurated the first "official" route between Mexico City and Santa Fe, now referred to as the "Royal Road of the Interior Land (s)," or *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*. The route was used for many years by Spanish, Mexican, and later American travelers, as the swiftest method of transport traveling north-south between the capitals of Mexico City and Santa Fe, or points in between. Throughout the centuries military troops, missionaries, adventurers, colonists, raiders, traders, entrepreneurs, and visionaries arrived in and departed from the northern *despoblado* of New Spain via ELCA. The Trail's significance to the historic trajectories of "New" and "Old" Mexico as well as to the United States and Mexico is immense.

The extent of ELCA in time and space—as well as its historic significance—encompasses a long history of human occupation and use of the region, and transcends current international boundaries (Figure 2.1). Although definition of specific prehistoric travel routes through the landscapes spanned by the Trail has remained elusive, trade and exchange within and between Precolumbian cultures that flourished in Mesoamerica and the Greater Southwest is well-documented, and is likely to have incorporated at least portions of the route. Sixteenth-century travelers who preceded Juan de Oñate also played a role in developing ELCA, although the route did not reach its full historic extent until his expedition in 1598 (Merlan et al.). And following the end of Spanish rule in 1821, Mexican and American government officials, soldiers, traders, settlers, and other travelers continued to use portions of the route that had been blazed by Oñate. Study and protection of the Trail offers a unique opportunity to preserve and learn from a distinctive cultural resource of unquestioned significance to the history of the Americas.

³ "Adelantado" is derived from the past participle of the Spanish word *adelantar*, "to advance/promote/move forward." In Spanish Colonial times, this title was typically bestowed on the governor of a province, or a commander. Per his contract, Oñate was to receive this coveted title upon formally taking possession of the land, and it was to be valid for two generations (Hammond and Rey 7).

⁴ Later, the Spanish built a church and constructed a more formalized settlement at San Gabriel del Yunque, also associated with San Juan Pueblo.



Figure 2.1. Map illustrating the entire route of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, beginning in Mexico City and ending at Ohkay Owingeh/San Juan Pueblo in the United States.

History of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

Routes and trails used by ancient Native Americans had linked cultures that made their homes in the arid landscapes of the Greater Southwest with peoples in the fertile settlements of Mesoamerica for centuries before the arrival of the Spanish. Precolumbian trade in preciosities such as copper bells, sea shells, and turquoise—as well as transmission of cultigens and iconography—is well-substantiated by archaeological investigations conducted at sites in both regions. European colonization introduced new economic and administrative needs as well as herd animals and methods of conveyance, thus an efficient north–south transportation corridor in the sixteenth century needed to accommodate not only more frequent and larger groups of people than likely participants in Precolumbian travel, but also their *carretas* (“carts” or “wagons”), beasts of burden, and livestock. The passage across the parched terrain of the Jornada del Muerto avoided an even more difficult pathway along the adjacent stretch of the Rio Grande that proved impassable for draft vehicles and the animals that pulled them, and once the Jornada del Muerto crossing became (at least relatively) reliable it was formalized as part of the route now known as El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Further north, a similarly unnavigable stretch of ELCA along the river north of Cochiti Pueblo necessitated a diversion to the east, through what the Spanish would designate as “Las Bocas” (“the mouths”) of the canyon drained by the Santa Fe River.

The history of the northern portion of ELCA (that is, the portion of the route that traverses the United States) can be divided into four phases: the exploration and initial colonization phase (AD 1540–1692), the post-Reconquest Spanish Colonial phase (AD 1692–1821), and then the Mexican (AD 1821–1848) and the American phases (AD 1848–World War II). The Trail was New Mexico’s primary connection to European civilization (via Spanish-controlled Mexico) until the nineteenth century, functioning as a catalyst for settlement, trade, and religious and cultural exchange. The route continued to be utilized steadily even after the establishment of railroads in New Mexico superseded its importance as a transportation corridor. Some motorized vehicle traffic used ELCA in the early years of the twentieth century (and indeed, some portions of the Trail have been incorporated into modern roads and highways that traverse the region).

Table 2.1. Historical phases of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, northern portion (American Southwest).

PERIOD Historic	PHASE/APPROXIMATE DATE A.D. 1540-present	
	Spanish Exploration and Colonization	A.D. 1540-1692
	Spanish Colonial	A.D. 1692-1821
	Mexican	A.D. 1821-1848
	American	A.D. 1848-WW II era

Prior to colonization, Spanish expeditions moved into and through New Mexico along multiple routes, generally entering the northern *despoblado* staying close to the river

valleys of the Rio Grande and the Pecos as they were not accompanied by *carretas* and large draft/herd animals. That changed in 1598, when Juan de Oñate's expeditionary force departed from El Paso headed north. Oñate's journey established a successful (if challenging) route between Mexico City and Ohkay Owingeh/San Juan Pueblo, incorporating by necessity the short-cut across the Jornada del Muerto that facilitated the passage of the wagons and herd animals that accompanied the colonists. This historic trek laid down the first traces of what would become El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in New Mexico.

Resupply caravans followed the colonists (and missionaries) at intervals of about every three years during the seventeenth century (Scholes). Goods were transported by mule and oxcart, and generally consisted of manufactured and luxury merchandise. Items sent south included painted buffalo hides, antelope skins, candles, *piñones* (nuts), woolen dress fabric and various items of clothing, and *mantas* (lengths of coarse cotton fabric used for skirts, shawls, sheets, etc. [Moorhead]). The five- to six-month journeys included the comings and goings of new cohorts of Franciscan missionaries and the arrivals and departures (occasionally in chains) of governors. As the Trail became formalized, resting places or *parajes* were established along the route. These were strategically located in terms of terrain, forage, water, and the nature of the route ahead, but both trail and *paraje* locations were not always in the same place from year to year and decade to decade. Washouts, droughts, and forage needs encouraged readjustment and movement of both trail segments and *parajes*.

Events along the Trail occasionally were recorded in place names, as in the case of Bernard Gruber, a German (*alemán*) who reportedly died along the Jornada del Muerto segment of the trail in 1670 while fleeing the wrath of the Spanish Inquisition (Sanchez and Erickson 21-24; 203-204). It is believed that his gravesite was marked with a cross sometimes referred to as *la Cruz del Alemán*, a location that was described by a nineteenth-century traveler who mentioned the grave and the cross, but did not connect them to the final resting place for the unfortunate Gruber (Wislizenus 39). The specific location of the cross is lost to history, but it apparently was at least roughly coincident with a seep spring outflow that provided many Jornada travelers with water near the midpoint of their journey across the desert basin⁵. This association ultimately led to the establishment of the storied *Paraje del Alemán*, literally, "the stopping place [or campsite] of the German" (Marshal; Sanchez and Erickson). The name "Jornada del Muerto" ("Journey of the Dead Man"⁶) has sometimes been explained as a reference to the experience of the unfortunate

⁵ The probable location of the seep spring at Aleman was indicated during archaeological fieldwork and background research conducted for the Spaceport America undertaking, and later confirmed during a paleohydrology study conducted for the NMSA by a team from NMBGMR (Newton et al.).

⁶ In contemporary Spanish, the word *jornada* is more generally used to reference "time" than "place," as in a workday, or work shift, a day's journey, or the span of time covered in the daily edition of a newspaper reporting the events that have taken place on a particular date. The online version of the Merriam-Webster dictionary reports a "Southwest" definition for *jornada* as "an arduous usually one-day journey across a stretch of desert" (Merriam-Webster). Wislizenus interpreted the name as "the day's journey of the dead man" in reference to a tradition that the first traveler who attempted to cross it in one day perished (Wislizenus 39, unnumbered footnote).

Mr. Gruber, but the Spanish may have used that toponym even earlier (FAA and NMSA; Julyan 180; Moorhead)⁷. A number of scholars have asserted that the location known as the *Paraje del Alemán* was also referred to as “Las Peñuelas” by a number of Jornada travelers in the eighteenth century, although agreement is not universal on this point (see, for example, NPS and BLM; Marshall; also see Julyan 199). Ultimately, however, the reference to “the German” won out, and the name “Aleman” was assigned to a ranch, a stage stop, a railroad siding, and a post office, all located in the vicinity of the seep spring. Other *parajes* on the Trail through the Jornada del Muerto are believed to have been located at Point of Rocks (LA⁸ 80061 and 80062), Perillo[sic]/*Los Charcos del Perrillo* (LA 80050), and Yost Draw (LA 80053).

Conflict and animosity between Spanish administrators and the Franciscan missionaries over control of the Pueblo communities surfaced in the early years of the new colony and burgeoned during the seventeenth century. The Pueblos were subjected to religious persecution, taxation, and the *repartimiento* system of forced labor on Spanish-owned farms and ranches. These abuses—combined with the devastation wrought by foreign disease, drought, and famine—inspired the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In a coordinated uprising beginning on August 10, 1680, Pueblo warriors and their allies throughout the northern reaches of the Spanish colony killed 21 priests and 400 Spanish settlers. To escape further reprisals by the angry natives, New Mexico Governor Antonio de Otermín and approximately 2,000 survivors—including settlers, slaves, and allies—fled more than 300 miles down ELCA to El Paso ending the initial Spanish colonial phase of New Mexico. Two years later Otermín’s attempt to recapture the province and his subsequent retreat also followed ELCA. Diego de Vargas began the “reconquest” of New Mexico in 1692, commencing what is described here as the Spanish Colonial phase of occupation, and by 1696 the northern province was back under Spanish control. During the eighteenth century, the Spanish and Pueblo peoples found a common cause to unite them. The desire for horses, sheep, and food incited increased raiding by the Apache, Navajo, Comanche, and Ute on horseback, and in response, the Spanish established a number of *presidios* (fortified military settlements) along the route. In spite of the pressure from nomadic raiders, however, the settlement and economy of New Mexico grew steadily (if slowly) over the course of the century.

Along with the rest of New Mexico, the region that would become the American Southwest was governed by the Spanish until 1821, when Mexico assumed control. The newly fledged Mexican republic was quickly overwhelmed by a variety of serious issues on other fronts, not the least of which was protracted intervention in Mexican internal affairs by the United States and various European countries. In New Mexico and other backwater locations distant from the centers of power, the “Mexican Period” or phase has often been

⁷The records of Juan de Oñate’s trailblazing journey made reference to an “Arroyo de los Muertos” in the same vicinity, more than seventy years before Gruber’s demise (Moorhead 21). The reason for the Oñate party’s appellation “los muertos” (literally, “dead ones,” “dead men,” or simply, “the dead”) has not been discovered.

⁸“LA” is an acronym for “Laboratory of Anthropology,” one of the major state archives in New Mexico. Administered by the Archaeological Research Management Section (ARMS) it contains (among other things, as described in Chapter 3.1) all of the records for archaeological sites recorded in the state, each of which is assigned a unique “LA” number.

characterized as a relatively lawless cultural interregnum, during which many of the old sources of influence and interference—from the religious guidance of the Catholic Church to military protection from mounted raiders—were provided only sporadically at best. This period of weak control from Mexico coincided with American geographic expansion. The initial interactions were economic, commencing with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821 that facilitated increasing commerce with the eastern United States from the 1820s to the 1840s. American manufactured goods turned Santa Fe from the impoverished terminal outpost of a single supply chain from Mexico to a bustling middle point of two chains, with the trans-shipment of American goods down ELCA to Chihuahua (Boyle; Connor and Skaggs). But Mexican fears that the growing American economic influence would become imperialistic were justified with the onset of what the United States referred to as the “Mexican War” (or the “Intervención estadounidense en México,” from the Mexican point of view) in 1846. From 1846-1848, ELCA became a conduit for American soldiers to invade the rest of Mexico. In late 1846, Colonel Alexander Doniphan departed northern New Mexico with a force of about 500 soldiers on his way to Chihuahua. He met and defeated numerically superior Mexican forces at the Battle of El Brazito—nine miles south of Las Cruces—on Christmas Day, 1846. Continuing south, and following another engagement with the Mexican Army—at the Battle of the Sacramento River—he entered and occupied Chihuahua on March 2, 1847. More American incursions followed, ultimately resulting in the taking of Mexico City by General Winfield Scott in a series of battles fought from September 8-15, 1847. When the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo concluded the Mexican War in 1848, the New Mexico Territory of the United States of America was formed, a fledgling geopolitical entity that would not achieve statehood until 1912⁹.

The new American administrators were obliged to take on the work of defending travelers along ELCA and communities along the Rio Grande from the raiders, a task that had confounded Spanish and Mexican military authorities from the onset of the historic period. The Americans established several forts in key locations along the Rio Grande, including Fort Bliss, Fort Fillmore, Fort Thorn, Fort McRae, and Fort Craig. Military surveillance helped to bring a measure of stability to the region. By 1855, when Fort Stanton was established on the Rio Bonito, a treaty was negotiated with the Mescalero Apache. Less than a decade later, military conflict returned to the region during the American Civil War. In 1862 the Confederate Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley initiated what has come to be called the “New Mexico Campaign of the Trans-Mississippi Theater,” leading an invading Confederate army force north from Fort Bliss along the Rio Grande with the ambitious goal of taking Santa Fe, then moving on to conquer the gold fields of Colorado and the ports of California. Sibley’s troops won the Battle of Valverde (six miles north of Fort Craig) and the Battle of Glorieta Pass (near Santa Fe) but were forced to retreat following the destruction of the wagon train containing most of their supplies. The hopes of Confederate domination of the Southwest were dashed.

The commencement of a more peaceful era encouraged settlement. By 1867, Civil War California Column¹⁰ veteran John (“Jack”) Martin had managed the excavation of a well

⁹ Somewhat later, the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 added additional land to New Mexico and Arizona.

¹⁰ The California Column was a Union Army volunteer division active in New Mexico in 1862.

and set up a ranch in the central portion of the Jornada del Muerto, in a location believed to be close to the place where the unfortunate *alemán* Bernard Gruber had expired in 1670¹¹. Offering the only location with permanent water for miles, the ranch flourished and had a military presence in the early years of the American Phase, particularly during the campaign by the US Army to capture the Eastern Chiricahua Apache leader Victorio (Quaranta and Gibbs 58-59; Vaughan et al. 145-46). Later, telegraph service, a post office, a hotel, and a stagecoach stop came to this location, and in the 1880s, the railroad arrived. In the mid-1880s, the Aleman Ranch was absorbed by the Bar Cross, which continues to function as a working ranch managed by a family with a long history on the Jornada. A small encampment created in 1937 by the Civilization Conservation Corps (CCC) in 1937 as a side camp for the Cuchillo Division of Grazing left its traces on the Bar Cross headquarters in the form of historic features recorded as part of LA 8871¹².

Today, the Aleman/Bar Cross/Cain Ranch Complex (Aleman Ranch Complex) lies at the entrance to the Spaceport America campus. Although the owners continue to manage the property as part of a working cattle operation, the tranquil appearance of the ranch buildings and the surrounding acreage belie the roles played by the historic occupants and their predecessors, along with ELCA travelers, in some of the major currents of history that shaped the American West. Along the route of the Trail in New Mexico (and perhaps the United States) the ranch is unique: it represents a secular historic property that came into being because of ELCA that is still in use in its original location, for its original purpose.

A number of churches along the route remain in service, as well as some impressive and well-preserved secular historic structures; for the most part, however, the “built environment” constructions associated with ELCA that have survived and are being maintained have become museums. Of these, one of the premier examples would be El Rancho de las Golondrinas. Strategically located on the southern approach to Santa Fe, El Rancho de las Golondrinas (“the Ranch of the Swallows”) served as an important *paraje* for Trail travelers, while also producing some of the merchandise traded along ELCA (El Rancho)¹³.

National Historic Trail Status for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

“El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail” was added to the National Trails System on October 13, 2000, in recognition of its status as the primary route between the colonial Spanish capital of Mexico City and the northernmost Spanish provincial capitals in what would become New Mexico (NPS and BLM). The capitals

¹¹ Accounts about the date and excavation of the well vary. Some versions attest that Martin excavated the well near the old Alemán Paraje in 1867 or 1868, but an account by one of Martin’s heirs describes the well as excavated in 1860 by hard-rock miners who used explosives to tap the water (Vaughan et al. 135-139).

¹² The Aleman Ranch Complex is one of the historic properties in the Physical APE identified for the Spaceport America undertaking. Detailed information about the history of the ranch can be found in Vaughan et al.; also see the comprehensive discussion in Quaranta and Gibbs.

¹³ Currently encompassing about 200 acres, the *rancho* has become a living history museum celebrating the lifeways of the Spanish colonial phase in New Mexico, featuring Trail swales, an *acequia* system, and other original buildings on the site dating from the early 1700s.

included: San Juan de los Caballeros (1598-1600); San Gabriel del Yunque (1600-1609); and then *la villa real*/Santa Fe (1610-1821). The congressional addition of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail (NHT) to the National Trails System recognized the entire length of the trail in the United States as a significant historic resource, regardless of land ownership.

The portion of the historic route recognized and administered as the NHT in the US extends north more than 400 miles from the El Paso, Texas, area to Ohkay Owingeh/ San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico, and is jointly administered by the BLM and the NPS, regardless of surface management/ownership status. More than a thousand miles of the oldest wagon road in North America continue into Mexico, passing through the old silver capitals of Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and Querétaro to Mexico City. El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in Mexico has been inscribed as a serial nomination as of 2010 on the UNESCO World Heritage List (criteria ii and iv), and by February of 2012, eleven segments of ELCA in New Mexico had been listed on the National Register of Historic Places ¹⁴ (additional segments have been listed since that time). The period of significance defined for the listing comprises two hundred and eighty-three years (1598-1881), from the entry of the Oñate expedition in 1598 to the coming of the railroad in 1881 (Merlan et al.). The time frame thus bracketed encompasses the years during which the Trail served as a major international transportation corridor, the vital link between the settlements in the northernmost province of Spain, the silver cities in the south, and the viceregal capital of Mexico City (and, some would add, the nearest port at Veracruz).¹⁵

¹⁴ According to the New Mexico State Historic Preservation Office – Historic Preservation Division, the actual listing date is April 8, 2011, but the formal *Federal Register* notice apparently was not published until February of 2012.

¹⁵ Local usage of ELCA as a route continued into the twentieth century, and portions of it are still in use today under modern roads.

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3.1. Archives and Repositories

Documents and maps relating to the history of the Spanish colonial enterprise in the New World in general, and the histories of Mexico and New Mexico, can be found—and have been found—in many archives and repositories. In another time, the necessity of a trek to a distant land (or at least a city far away) was nearly always a given. While it is true that in some instances an original source must be consulted, in the current era the resources of modern technology have inspired many repositories to create photographic/digital copies of rare source documents. This trend has made it more feasible to consult many types of primary sources without significant travel, first through the use of microfilm and now through the digitization of source items that can be scanned and uploaded for online access. In turn, the need for researchers to handle decaying historic documents and maps has been reduced, helping to ensure their preservation. A select list of archives that hold sources important to tracing the history of ELCA in Mexico and New Mexico (and can generally be easily accessed, online or in-person), is provided below.

Archives and Repositories in New Mexico

Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

The Center for Southwest Research (CSWR) specializes in the history of New Mexico, the Southwest, Mexico, and Latin America. The archive is particularly strong in the areas of Native American, Spanish Colonial, and Chicano/Hispano history. Collections of greatest significance to this effort are the Manuscripts and Political Papers Collection and the Center's Book Collection containing many rare and out-of-print works. The Manuscripts and Political Papers Collection consists of the papers and records of figures ranging from influential politicians to local families. The Book Collection is particularly strong in Mexican colonial history, codices, and archaeology. The archive's holdings are searchable online through the catalog at the University of New Mexico libraries and through the Rocky Mountain Online Archive, which provides access to the finding aids of CSWR and many other libraries in the region.

Pertinent Collections:

Documents from the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) and other related archives, 1505-1812

Collection No. MSS 841 BC

This collection consists of copies of original archival materials located in Spain at the AGI (Seville), Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), and other repositories. Lansing Bloom and France Scholes copied the majority of these Spanish colonial documents—mainly regarding New Spain and New Mexico—at the AGI between the 1920s and the 1970s. The documents are primarily written in Spanish paleographic script with some typed Spanish transcriptions and notes. Trade and travel on ELCA are among the topics pertaining to New Mexico history, as well as exploration and settlement, civil administration, missions, and many, many others.

Documents from the Archivo General de La Nación (AGN) de México and other related archives in Mexico, 1520-1878

Collection No. MSS 867 BC

This collection consists of copies of original archival materials from the AGN, Archivo Histórico Militar de Mexico, Biblioteca Nacional de México, and Museo Nacional de México. Lansing Bloom and France Scholes copied the majority of these Spanish colonial documents—regarding New Spain and New Mexico—at the AGN between the 1920s and the 1970s. The documents are primarily written in Spanish paleographic script with some typed Spanish transcriptions and notes. ELCA is among the topics pertaining to New Mexico history, as well as various Indian pueblos and tribes, trade, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, resettlement, etc.

France V. Scholes Papers, 1492-1979

Collection No. MSS 360 BC

Highly esteemed as an expert in the history of colonial Latin America and the American Southwest, France Scholes had a prolific career as a professor and historian at the University of New Mexico. Scholes made invaluable contributions to his fields of study through research of colonial documents in the archives of Mexico, the Yucatan, and Spain. This five-series collection includes research notes, correspondence, and maps related to his work.

Especially pertinent to ELCA research is Series 1: Research notes, drafts, offprints, 1492-1836. Material pertaining to New Mexico addresses ELCA, exploration and settlement, the Franciscans, the Pueblo Revolt, colonial politics, society, and many other topics of importance.

**Rio Grande Historical Collections,
New Mexico State University Library,
Las Cruces, New Mexico**

The Rio Grande Historical Collections (RGHC) form part of the Archives & Special Collections of the New Mexico State University Library. Focused on the cultural heritage and history of New Mexico and the Spanish Borderlands, the collections include manuscripts, oral histories and photographs. Many of the archive's holdings are searchable online through the Rocky Mountain Online Archive, which provides access to the finding aids of NMSU's Archives and Special Collections Department and many other libraries in the region.

Archivos Históricos del Arzobispado de Durango, Mexico

This collection of microfilmed materials from the Archdiocese of Durango is a result of the Durango Microfilming Project—a joint effort between the RGHC and Mexico's Archdiocese of Durango, Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de UJED, and the Archivos Históricos del Estado de Durango—to safeguard the original documents and provide greater access to researchers. Included among the holdings are copies of census data (*padrones*); factory/manufacturing records (*libros de fabrica*); records of commemorative/memorial services (*aniversarios*); sacristy records (*cuadrantes*); court (and other) orders and official proclamations (*ordenes, oficios*); letters (*cartas*), and records of tithes (*diezmos*).

The collection numbers 731 rolls of microfilm; all of the documents are written in the Spanish language. A preliminary finding aid (numbering more than 2,000 pages) is available on site at the RGHC.

Archivo General de Notarías de Durango, Mexico

This collection of microfilm from the Archivos Históricos del Estado de Durango is a product of the Durango Microfilming Project—a joint effort between the Archivos Históricos del Estado de Durango and the RGHC as well as the Archdiocese of Durango, Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango, and Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de UJED. This project, conducted to safeguard the original documents and provide greater access to researchers, has made 120 microfilm rolls available at the RGHC.

The notary documents—all written in Spanish—span both the Spanish Colonial and Mexican eras of New Mexico history. They are organized primarily by notary location, and then chronologically for each location. The documents include wills, estate inventories, mortgages, and grants. A preliminary finding aid is available on site at the RGHC.

The Amador Family Papers, 1836-1949

Collection No. Ms 4

Martin Amador was a leading businessman of Las Cruces, where he and his wife owned a hotel, general store, stable, and numerous farms. The Amadors also carried on a freighting operation transporting goods between Chihuahua and Santa Fe. They had eight children. The collection consists of the family's personal papers including letters, financial and legal

records. Ledgers pertaining to the freighting trade between Chihuahua and Santa Fe are located within the Business Records, 1859-1904 series for Martin Amador. A finding aid to the Amador Family Papers is available through the Rocky Mountain Online Archive.

New Mexico State Records Center and Archives Santa Fe, New Mexico

This facility functions as the central archive for the New Mexico State Government records, which date from the mid seventeenth century to the present time. In addition to government and country records, the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives (NMSRCA) contains extensive genealogical materials and private papers of New Mexico residents. The archive's holdings are searchable through NMSRCA's Heritage online catalogue, and through the Rocky Mountain Online Archive, which provides access to the finding aids of CSWR and many other libraries in the region.

Pertinent Collections:

Spanish Archives of New Mexico I, 1685-1912

Collection No. 1972-002

According to NMSRCA, this collection is known as the Land Records of New Mexico. The Spanish Archives of New Mexico I (SANM I) collection consists of land records from both the Spanish Colonial (1598-1821) and Mexican (1821-1846) eras of New Mexico history. The collection also includes the case files of the Surveyor General of New Mexico and the Court of Private Land Claims—offices that were charged with adjudicating land claims under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo following the U.S. acquisition of New Mexico as a territory. Examples of document types include land grant petitions, estate inventories, and docketts.

The SANM I is a microfilm collection. The majority of documents are written in Spanish. The collection is organized into five series: Spanish Archives of New Mexico; Grants to Pueblo Indians; Bound Documents; Vigil Index; and Surveyor General and Court of Private Land Claims Records. The first volume of *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* by Ralph Emerson Twitchell (The Torch Press, 1914) provides a summary of each document. A finding aid to the SANM I is available through the Rocky Mountain Online Archive.

Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, 1621-1821

Collection No. 1959-200

Microfilm collection

The Spanish Archives of New Mexico II (SANM II) is a collection of government records concerning administrative, civil, military, and ecclesiastical activities in New Mexico during the Spanish Colonial era. From petitions for *acequia* repairs to criminal trial proceedings to requests for military bonuses, these documents describe life at all levels of New Mexican society.

The SANM II is a microfilm collection. All of the documents are written in Spanish. The collection is organized into three series: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, 1621-1821; Miscellaneous Documents; and Orders and Decrees, 1656-1821. The second volume of *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* by Ralph Emerson Twitchell (Torch Press, 1914) provides a summary of each document. A finding aid to the SANM II is available through the Rocky Mountain Online Archive.

Mexican Archives of New Mexico, 1821-1846

Collection 1959-140

This microfilm collection is specific to the Mexican Period of New Mexico history between 1821 and 1846 before the U.S. claimed the territory. Documents include military and legislative records as well as governors' papers.

Manuel Marquez Y Melo Papers, 1819-1824

Collection 1960-028

This collection consists of letters and financial documents belonging to Manuel Marquez y Melo, a trader on the ELCA. The letters concern the trader's business activities. All documents are written in Spanish.

Benjamin M. Read Collection

Collection 1959-179

Read's father, godparents, and his wife's parents were notable people in the Paso del Norte, Chihuahua area. Read grew up in Santa Fe, graduated from Saint Michael's School, and became an attorney, serving various terms in the New Mexico Territorial Assembly, and Speaker of the House from 1901-1902. He also served as the Superintendent of Santa Fe schools. He was an avid translator historian who researched and wrote on Latin American, Mexican and New Mexican history and accumulated a treasure of original historical documents, research notes, translations, correspondence and editorials which became part of this collection. Read's major work, *Historia ilustrada de Nuevo Mexico*, was published in Spanish in 1911, perhaps in competition with Ralph E. Twitchell's *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*. Read's self-described perspective was native, Spanish-speaking, and bi-cultural. To ensure its wider readership, he published *Historia ilustrada de Nuevo Mexico* in English in 1912

Works Progress Administration Collection

Collection 1959-232

Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails, Mexican Period
Folder 79

Lucien A. File. Research Files

A History of the Camino Real

Notes On the history of the Camino Real (Chihuahua Trail) in Silver City.

Albert H. Schroeder Papers

Rough manuscript "Camino Real in 1846-1847"

El Camino Real Project Inc. correspondence, financial records, etc.

Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Office of Historic-Artistic Patrimony & Archive

The archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe are administered by the Archbishop's Commission for the Preservation of Historic New Mexico Churches, Office of Historic-Artistic Patrimony and Archive, established to assist historic churches within the archdiocese and communities with preservation work on their churches. The collections may be accessed by researchers (for personal and/or professional investigations) on an appointment-only basis at the Archdiocesan Museum, located at 223 Cathedral Place in Santa Fe. Holdings include (but are not limited to): church history, library research, genealogical or family history research, etc.

The archive can trace its history to the establishment of custodial archives by the Spanish colonial government perhaps as early as 1616, around the time that the Spanish relocated their colonial capital from San Gabriel (at Ohkay Owingeh/San Juan Pueblo) to what is now the city of Santa Fe, New Mexico¹⁶. The Spanish established ecclesiastical headquarters at the more centrally located Kewa/Santo Domingo Pueblo, where an “archive room” was created. It had long been feared that all of the records contained in the Santo Domingo archive had been destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, until France V. Scholes discovered the 1776 “letter report” created by Fray Francisco Antanasio Dominguez, which included a description and inventory of contents of the archive. Translation and annotation of the Dominguez report by Fray Angélico Chávez and Eleanor Adams facilitated the identification of archival materials (including marriage and other genealogical records for colonists) dating from a few years prior to the Pueblo Revolt though 1776. The Santo Domingo archival materials survived other vicissitudes though the years, including the decline of the mission system (and concomitant dispersal of some records) following Mexico’s achievement of independence from Spain in 1821, and catastrophic flooding along the Rio Grande in 1886. Organization of the archive in its modern form followed the establishment of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe in 1875 and the creation of a “Church Museum” containing archival materials, paintings, and religious objects, and located in the new cathedral constructed by Archbishop Lamy. In the 1930s one of Lamy’s successors, Archbishop Gerken, initiated a comprehensive effort to gather dispersed church materials and catalog them, a project that would be continued by Fray Angélico Chávez during his periods of tenure as archivist for the archdiocese, and by his successors. Sustained preservation procedures for the documents began to be implemented in 1986, and new facilities constructed to house the archival storage facility as part of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe Museum were dedicated in 1993.

Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Palace of the Governors, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico

The Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, located in the old Santa Fe Public Library building on Washington Avenue in downtown Santa Fe, is the successor of New Mexico's

¹⁶ The history of the archdiocesan archives is detailed in “Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and 400 Years of Church History,” by Marina B. Ochoa, published in *U.S. Catholic Historian*, Vol. 16(1);22-34; the summary here is drawn from Ochoa’s account.

oldest library (1851) and is preserved as part of the Palace of the Governors. A non-circulating, closed stack research facility, it preserves historical materials in many formats relevant to the history of the state, the Southwest, and Mesoamerica from pre-European contact to the present. Library holdings consist of more than 15,000 cataloged items covering topics like Spain, Mexico, Central America, the American Southwest and the Historical Society of New Mexico in addition to ELCA and the Santa Fe and Old Spanish Trails along with biographies and biographical sketches of many former inhabitants of New Mexico. The collection preserves historic maps of New Mexico and the Southwest, including a collection of railroad maps that show land use, water rights, settlements and aspects of development in the state.

The Photo Archives

The Palace of the Governors Photo Archives contains an estimated 1,000,000 items comprised of materials of regional and national significance, dating from approximately 1850 to the present, and covering subject matter that focuses on: the history and people of New Mexico and the expansion of the West; anthropology, archaeology, and ethnology of Hispanic and Native American cultures among others. Curated items include historic photographic prints, cased photographs, glass plate negatives, film negatives, stereographs, photo postcards, panoramas, color transparencies, and lantern slides. Some of the most important 19th and 20th century photographers of the West are represented in the collection including: Adolph Bandelier, George C. Bennett, Wesley Bradfield, Nicholas Brown, W. C. Brown, W. H. Brown, W. H. Cobb, Edward S. Curtis, William Henry Jackson, Charles Lindbergh, Charles Lummis, Jesse Nusbaum, Adam Clark Vroman and Ben Wittick, among many others.

The Laboratory of Anthropology Library, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe, New Mexico

The Laboratory of Anthropology Library is a non-circulating, research-level, special collections library dedicated to collecting and preserving print and electronic resources devoted to the Precolumbian and historical archaeological record and the cultural anthropology of the indigenous cultures of New Mexico, the greater American Southwest, Mexico and Central America. The Library created when the Laboratory of Anthropology (LOA) was established in 1927 and the Laboratory of Anthropology Building opened in 1930.

The LOA Library collections preserve materials devoted to the origin and migration, social and political organization, as well as the historical and contemporary expression, including oral and written narratives, and linguistic and language texts of the cultures of the American Southwest. The geographic focus of the Library is the region of the Four Corner States (New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and Utah), with additional holdings supporting research on the indigenous cultures of the Great Basin, California, Nevada and panhandle region of Oklahoma and Texas. The LOA Library collections are maintained and administered as part of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture (MIAC), headquartered on Museum Hill, in Santa Fe.

New Mexico Cultural Resources Information System (NMCRIS, and the Archaeological Records Management Section (ARMS)

The NMCRIS, an integrated online computer information system designed to support historic preservation, cultural resources management, and academic research in New Mexico, is maintained by the Archaeological Records Management Section (ARMS), a repository of the Museum of New Mexico staffed by the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division (HPD). The ARMS is responsible for maintaining the confidentiality of cultural resource information while providing access to this information for historic preservation professionals, researchers and other qualified users. Physically, the ARMS repository is located at the LOA on Museum Hill in Santa Fe, and may be visited by researchers on an appointment-only basis. Registered users of the NMCRIS can, however, conduct detailed information queries—including reports research related to archaeological sites and other historic properties—as well as geospatial inquiries, online without visiting the facility in-person.

The ARMS was instituted at the LOA in 1979 as the recognized repository for all archaeological data and associated paper collections in New Mexico, bringing together numerous records held by state and other agencies as well as materials already curated at the LOA. These records resulted from—and/or were otherwise associated with—archaeological surveys (and other kinds of documentary efforts) conducted in New Mexico from the early decades of the twentieth century forward. By 1980, the ARMS introduced a computerized database of archaeological sites involving data entry offsite by keypunch operators. In 1985, ARMS became an administrative unit of New Mexico's HPD, and in 1993, the NMCRIS was introduced, based on a relational database platform. By 2002, the utility of the NMCRIS was greatly enhanced by the addition of the MapServer, an online Geographic Information System (GIS) portal, which allows users to view site locations, survey boundaries, and State Register property locations. The geospatial portal was enhanced with a major upgrade in 2010, facilitating web-based editing by users, and allowing greater integration of the GIS and tabular components of the database. In the current version of the NMCRIS, elements of built environment documentation (Historic Cultural Properties Inventory [HCPI] records and State Register properties) have been incorporated. Another important enhancement was the addition of a digital document management system which allowed users to upload and view versions of reports, forms, and other supplemental files.

Data that may be accessed via the NMCRIS pertains to four major classes of information for the state of New Mexico, for which it serves as the primary index: reports documenting cultural resources investigations and records for archeological sites (housed at the LOA), and records for historic architectural structures and registered properties (housed at the HPD). Particularly useful with respect to ELCA research, records for segments recorded as archaeological sites (including materials and feature inventories), as well as documentation of associated resources such as *parajes*, may be accessed online and viewed with respect to their geospatial positioning. Documentation of the identification/investigation of ELCA segments and associated resources, such as

archaeological survey and excavation reports as well as the results of other types of investigation (as described in Chapter 3.3), may also be accessed and viewed online, and downloaded by registered users. Information about how to register for access can be found at <<<http://www.nmhistoricpreservation.org/arms.html>>>.

Archives and Repositories in Mexico

Mexico City

Archivo General de la Nación (AGN)

The AGN serves as the national archive for the country of Mexico, and can trace its history to 1790, when *criollo* Viceroy Juan Vicente de Güemes Padilla Horcasitas y Aguayo (2nd Count of Revillagigedo) proposed the creation of an “Archivo General de la Nueva España” to the government in Spain as part of a reorganization plan for the Secretaria de Cámara del Virreinato. The AGN’s collection of Mexican and Latin American records is vast, and is considered to be one of the most important in the Americas. This is due in large part to the fact that Mexico City, founded in the 1520s, served as the capital of the viceroyalty of New Spain for 400 years, thus functioning as the bureaucratic center for Spain’s holdings from what is today the United States and Mexico to the Philippines, and including Belize, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Trinidad and Tobago. Documents curated in the AGN include materials from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries (and the recent past), with more materials—including many different kinds of contemporary records—added as time passes; at the AGN it is literally possible to look up records of deliveries of supplies to eighteenth-century forts somewhere (almost anywhere) in New Spain as well for Mexican residents to check their electricity bills online. The archive contains more than 740 collections available to the public.

In 1980 the archive was relocated to the site of a former prison once known as the “Palacio Lecumberri” and also, more notoriously, as the *palacio negro* (“black palace”) designed during the Porfiriato, which served as a penitentiary from 1900-1976. The prison had been slated for destruction in the early 1980s when a new director convinced the Mexican federal government to repurpose the aging structure. As significant historical and other kinds of documents were relocated to the facility, the AGN also began inventorying historic documents maintained in various state-level repositories throughout the country of Mexico and encouraging state governments to modernize their curation facilities. Today, records at many state repositories can be accessed through the AGN’s online portal. Until recently, the cellblocks at the *palacio* that once housed prisoners served as the repositories for the documentary history of the Spanish Empire, but in 2016 the AGN’s holdings were moved to a new state-of-the-art (and climate-controlled) facility built next to the original penitentiary.

The AGN complex is located at Eduardo Molina 113, esquina con Albañillos, Colonia Penitenciaria Ampliación, Delegación Venustiano Carranza, C.P. 15350, Ciudad de México (CDMX). You can access and search the collection online, at: << www.agn.gob.mx>>. For the online portal, the section tagged “Instrumentos de Consulta” provides access to historic documents under the categories of México Novohispano, México Independiente, México Contemporáneo, and Acervos Gráficos (“Graphic Archives”). “México Novohispano” The documentary collection cataloged under this title corresponds to the wide-ranging administrative activities of New Spain, and includes (among others) various documents

emanating from the Spanish Crown (including the Royal Treasury), proceedings of the Superior Court of Justice of Mexico City, and documentary evidence regarding the activities of the various clerical orders active during the period. For ELCA researchers, the “Colección Gráfica Mapas, Planos e Ilustraciones (MAPILU) cataloged as part of the Acervos Gráficos is particularly useful. Items in this collection are described in detail in the catalog, and if they have already been scanned, can be examined online; high-resolution copies of these documents can also be ordered.

Investigators planning to conduct research at the AGN in person will be asked to present research credentials and create an account with contact information. Researchers are encouraged to identify documents they wish to examine and schedule an appointment for viewing them in advance, so that they will be available at the desired time (otherwise, it may be necessary to wait some weeks until a document request can be filled). Masks and gloves are required for anyone handling original documents; cameras (without flash) and laptops may be used. In addition to the online catalog described above, copies of many documents archived at the AGN that are related to regional histories can be viewed at libraries in the United States, such as the trove maintained at the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico, described above. The Library of Congress also provides access to the AGN.



Photograph No. 1. The Palacio de Lecumberri, in Mexico City. The former prison now serves as a major repository for documents, maps, and many other items related to the history and governance of Mexico and other countries once part of New Spain, beginning with activities in Spanish Colonial times and continuing into the modern era. (Photograph by E.A. Oster).

Biblioteca Nacional de México (BNM)

The National Library of Mexico, also known by its acronym BNM, was established in 1833 and “modernized” as a legal deposit library for the country of Mexico in 1867 by order of President Benito Juárez. At this time the library coalesced records and archives of the religious orders, and the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico (predecessor of the modern national university), among others, and was relocated to the Church of Saint Augustine in downtown Mexico City. In 1914, the BNM was linked to the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), becoming a constituent part of the university in 1929. Newspaper and magazine collections were separated from the BNM’s book collection in 1944 with the creation of the Hemeroteca Nacional de México. In 1967, the UNAM created the Bibliographic Research Institute to manage these entities and facilitate research, and in 1979 many of the BNM’s holdings were moved from the church to the UNAM campus, although the “Reserves Collection” remained at the Church of St. Augustine at that time. Earthquake damage to the church in 1985 resulted in the construction of a new library annex for the reserves, dedicated in 1993 on the UNAM campus. France V. Scholes conducted the consequential research that led to the explication of the role and functioning of the mission supply caravans that operated between Chihuahua and Santa Fe in Spanish Colonial times in the BNM when it was still housed at the historic church.

Current collections at the BNM include printed and handwritten works dated from the 16th to the 20th centuries. The Reserves Collection (*Fondo Reservado*) stores the most valuable documents owned by the Library. This collection is available only to researchers and comprises about 200,000 documents. It is divided in four sections:

- Rare and valuable works includes 170 incunabula, including copies of the first books printed in Mexico. The Lafragua Collection, which contains several volumes documenting the social and economic history of Mexico between 1576 and 1924, is considered particularly useful for topics related to New Mexico history, particularly the years between 1821-1853.
- Archives, manuscripts and imagery contains manuscripts and archives—including the Archivo Franciscano—produced by several figures and institutions of Mexican history, as well as a collection of photographs, paintings and engravings known as the *Iconoteca*.
- Original collection (*Fondo de Origen*) comprises 95,000 documents, most of which were printed in Europe between 1501 and 1821.
- Special collections include private collections and personal libraries either acquired through donations or purchased by the library.

The BNM is located at Centro Cultural Universitario, Ciudad Universitaria Alcaldía, Coyoacán, C.P. 04510, Ciudad de México (CDMX), and can be accessed online at: <<<http://www.bnm.unam.mx/>>>.

Zacatecas, Zacatecas

Special attention has been devoted to archival resources available for consultation in the capital city of the state of Zacatecas, also referred to as Zacatecas (in American English parlance, such a location might be referred to as “Zacatecas City”). As described above, Zacatecas was a thriving silver capital in the sixteenth century and served as the staging ground for the colonizing expedition organized by Juan de Oñate. A variety of useful libraries/archives containing historic documents and other resources have been established there, including a library dedicated in part to topics relevant to tracing the history and use of ELCA.

Biblioteca Camino Real Tierra Adentro (CRTA)

The CRTA is considered a specialized regional library established to bring together and maintain a variety of documents related to the history of Zacatecas, and of ELCA. It is part of the network of libraries of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH), and is comprised of the following Collections: General Collection; Reserved Collection (“Fondo Reservado”); Periodical Publications; Codices; individual collections for maps, sound and video recordings, photos, and academic theses; a collection of microfilms and the “Zacatecas Collection.” The library holdings consist of approximately 13,000 titles and also include a Biblioteca Conventual, comprised of books and documents that once belonged to libraries of different religious orders active in this part of New Spain in colonial times.

The library traces its origins to 1978, when it was generally recognized that donated/deposited materials accumulating at the regional INAH center, primarily due to the work of area researchers, merited a local archival repository. Over time, as bi-national interest in identification, preservation, and dissemination of information regarding the route of ELCA in the United States and Mexico developed and intensified, the library was named for the Trail and began to specialize in acquiring documents relating to regional history and anthropology, including items related to ELCA. In 1993 efforts acquire regional source material intensified, and in 2016, the library received custody of the Federico Sescosse Lejeune Documentary Collection, a private archive donated by the family of an illustrious regional historian who had overseen the completion of significant historic preservation projects in Zacatecas during his lifetime. The collection contains the archival materials collected by Sescosse throughout his long and productive life, including a variety of rare historical books and contemporary publications as well as maps, plans, photographs, negatives, and a collection of specialized periodicals.

This repository is open to the general public during normal business hours from Monday to Friday and is located in the facilities of the Museum of Guadalupe, the former Apostolic College of Propaganda Fide, in Jardín Juárez Oriente (a photograph of a Franciscan church associated with the former *colegio* appears on the front cover of this document). Researchers interested in consulting the collection, should submit a request addressed to the director of the INAH regional center, with a copy to the Director of the

CRTA; the request must include the name of the project, the institution to which the researcher belongs and the documentary collection that will be consulted. Gloves and a mask are mandatory in the library; Photographs may be taken without flash, and laptops are permitted. The catalog can be accessed online at:

<<<https://elcaminoreal.inah.gob.mx>>>; electronic correspondence can be directed to: <<biblioteca.crta@inah.gob.mx>>.

Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas (AHEZ)

This archive safeguards an ample and valuable documentary collection of materials relating to the history of Zacatecas, with items dating from 1557 (the earliest *cabildo* book) to the first third of the 20th century. The files are catalogued as Collections, Series and Subseries. The topics are very broad, but in general they deal with issues related to administration and legal, taxation, and notarial processes (see guide, below). The Fondo Notarías (“Notaries’ Collection”), in particular, contains a trove of information about the activities of various individuals, including their business relationships, properties, wills, inventories, neighborhoods; truly an endless number of files that reflect the daily life of historic Zacatecanos. These proceedings are organized per actions of the notaries, so in some cases the documentary chain of actions or “protocolos” related to a particular individual may require consultation into the records of multiple notaries.

The archive is located in the facilities of the Instituto Zacatecano de Cultura at 105 Lomas del Calvario, Colonia Díaz Ordaz, Zacatecas, Zacatecas, C.P. 98020. It has lighted and ventilated rooms adapted for use by researchers consulting documents. It is open to the public during normal business hours from Monday through Friday, and it is not necessary to make an advance appointment. On the first visit, however, researchers are asked to complete a form with personal data, the project and the institution with which the researcher is working. Gloves are mandatory, and laptops and cameras (without flash) may be used. A catalog for the archive is unfortunately not available online, but inquiries can be made to staff at <<ahez@live.com.mx>>.

General Guide to the Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas (AHEZ)

Collection (Fondo)	Dates
Reservado	1557-1917
Ayuntamiento de Zacatecas	1557-1966
Ayuntamiento de Saucedá	1827-1906
Tierras y Aguas	1586-1890
Real Hacienda	1592-1638
Intendencia de Zacatecas	1789-1822
Jefatura Política de Zacatecas	1822-1917
Junta Departamental de Aguascalientes	1837-1846
Judicial/Colonia-Poder Judicial	1591-1906
Poder Ejecutivo	1822-1970
Poder Legislativo	1822-1899

Notarías	1608-1956
Colecciones Especiales	
Arturo Romo Gutiérrez	1688-1973
Gómez Gordo	1710-1656
Hacienda del Maguey	1825-1909
José I. Rodríguez Elías	Siglo XIX
Salvador Ibarra Pastrana	Siglo XIX
Mapas e Ilustraciones	1669-1969
Ruiseco Sánchez	1930-1974
Colecciones Complementarias	
Hemeroteca	Siglos XIX y XX
Fototeca	Siglos XIX y XX
Biblioteca	Siglos XIX y XX

Archivo Histórico Municipal de Guadalupe (AHMG)

This archive maintains information documenting the public administration of the city of Guadalupe, Zacatecas. The documents are classified into two collections divided by time periods. Of these, the oldest consists of the Political Administration Collection, which covers the years between 1838 and 1911. Also included in this collection are the early records of the Revenue Office (subdivided into revenue collection, the civil registry, cemeteries, and finally censuses and registers).

The second collection is the Contemporary Archive or Collection, which includes all the documents generated by the administration of the municipality of Guadalupe, beginning in 1912 and ending in 2013. This comprises a smaller collection that includes more recent documents than those included in the historical archive of the state of Zacatecas (AHEZ, described above). This collection includes the Salvador Vidal Library and Map Collection (*mapoteca*).

The archive is open for consultation on weekdays from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Visitors must provide their credentials and use latex gloves and masks while handling documents in the consultation room. Pencils only may be used for note-taking, but laptops and cameras without flash are also allowed. The facility is located at 390 Calle Independencia, in Guadalupe, Zacatecas, C.P. 98600.

Archivo Histórico Municipal de Zacatecas (AHMZ)

This archive conserves information related to the administration of the municipality of Zacatecas, primarily information from the 19th and 20th centuries (although a few documents from the colonial era are present). The guide to the collections (Relación General)—organized alphabetically, chronologically and geographically—permits efficient consultation of groups of documents but there is no catalog of the content of each of the files. The collections are organized into the following categories: Documentary Archive;

Collections; Special Collection; Confidential Collection; records of the newspaper *El Vergel Zacatecano*; the Newspaper Library (“Hemeroteca”), the Book of Cabildo Sessions; the Registry Book; the Treasury Collection; the Public Works Collection; Printed Works; the Thesis Collection; and the “Zacatecas” Library.

More detailed description of the contents of each of the collections noted above is available for consultation online at:

<http://transparencia.capitaldezacatecas.gob.mx/variados/archivo-historico-municipal/>>>. The facility is located at 110 Calzada Héroes de Chapultepec, Colonia Lázaro Cárdenas, C.P. 98040, en Zacatecas, Zacatecas. Access is available on weekdays from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., and requires only completion of a registration form. Staff may be consulted electronically at: <<archivompal_zacatecas@yahoo.com>>.

Other Mexican Archives and Repositories

Other Mexican states traversed by ELCA include Chihuahua, Durango, Aguas Calientes, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Querétaro, and the fringes of Hidalgo. Archival repositories of historic documents in these states (and all other Mexican states) can be accessed at least to some extent online. The federal government maintains useful internet portals through which a search for archives can begin via the Sistema de Información Cultural (SIC) Archivos Históricos as well as the AGN.

The SIC-Archivos Históricos home page displays a map that generally indicates the locations of historic archives in the system per state throughout the country (coded for numbers of resources present in various archives in each state), from which it is possible to navigate to a list of municipalities that contain archives, then to contact information for specific archives in which a researcher may be interested. The SIC-Archivos Históricos is accessible at: << [>> https://sic.cultura.gob.mx/index.php?table=archivo](https://sic.cultura.gob.mx/index.php?table=archivo)>>.

More information regarding locations for archives and repositories in Mexico can be obtained via the AGN portal, accessible at:

<<[>> https://archivos.gob.mx/DirectorioArchivos/DirectorioArchivos.html](https://archivos.gob.mx/DirectorioArchivos/DirectorioArchivos.html)>>. By clicking on a state name on the page (or directly in putting it into the address on the search line) it is possible to navigate to another list of archival repositories per state. This portal incorporates some important loci that are not reflected on the SIC-Archivos Históricos portal, particularly some very small municipalities as well as some archival repositories that are privately held, such as archives maintained by Catholic parishes.

The information in these two internet portals is not exactly the same; one or the other might prove more useful for drilling down to contact information for one or more archives in a specific location of interest. Also important to note, these listings generally reference archives and repositories maintained as public institutions by states and municipalities, although some privately maintained repositories are listed in some instances. Other important sources of historic documents and maps include various archives and repositories maintained by various orders of clergy of the Catholic Church, as well as the federal Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH), which has an office

(and generally, a *biblioteca*) in each state of the republic :
<<<https://www.inah.gob.mx/academia/red-de-bibliotecas-inah>>>. INAH maintains the state/federal atlas of site locations, information that could be particularly important for archaeological researchers.

Other Relevant Archives/Repositories

While the two archives described below were not specifically called out in the research plan for creating this research bibliography, one of the compilers had the opportunity to visit them as this document was being assembled. The value of research in their holdings for anyone investigating topics related to Spain's colonial empire is unquestioned, thus the information below has been included.

The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley

The Bancroft Library, located in the center of the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, serves as the primary special-collections library for the university. It was acquired from its founder, a failed miner and bibliophile named Hubert Howe Bancroft, in 1905, with the proviso that the name Bancroft Library be retained in perpetuity. Bancroft later published 39 volumes on the history of the American West, Mexico, and British Columbia, as detailed below (see section 3.2). The collection at that time consisted of 50,000 volumes of materials on the history of California and the American West (particularly the borderlands of northern Mexico and the southern United States, from Florida to California); today it is the largest such collection in the world. The founding director, Herbert E. Bolton, was also chair of the history department at the university. George Hammond also served as a director, from 1846-1966. The building in which the library is currently located, the Doe Annex, was completed in 1950, with a total renovation and seismic retrofitting completed from 2005-2008.

Additional rare documents—including a trove of Egyptian papyri excavated during an exhibition funded by Phoebe Hearst from 1899-1900—have been added to the collections, but the focus of the library on the history of the Americas has remained pre-eminent, in part due to the interests of directors such as Bolton and Hammond. Today, the Bancroft is one of the largest (and well-organized and cataloged) special collections libraries in the United States, holding more than 600,000 books, 55,000 linear feet of archival and manuscript collections, ca. eight million photographic prints and negatives (including the photographic “morgues” of the *San Francisco Examiner* and other local newspapers), and more than 20,000 historical maps. Numerous items relevant to New Mexico history are held by the library, including a group of original documents apparently “acquired” from the archives in Santa Fe during the nineteenth century by a French scholar (Alphonse Louis Pinart), and referred to as the “New Mexico Originals”. The collection was loaned to, then later purchased by, the Bancroft, with additional relevant materials added later.

Although the library itself is open to anyone who wishes to use it, access to some of its more valuable materials are restricted to researchers with a demonstrated need. The

library website (<<<https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/libraries/bancroft-library>>>) and the Online Archive of California (<<<https://oac.cdlib.org/>>>) offer access to online catalogs as well as to numerous collections in digital form. If you visit the Bancroft in person for the purpose of conducting research you will be asked to register, and staff will help you learn how to use the system, order copies of documents, etc.

Archivo General de Indias (AGI) Seville, Spain

The great Archivo General de Indias (“General Archive of the Indies”) is housed in the ancient merchants' exchange (*Casa Lonja de Mercaderes*) in Seville, Spain. The AGN is probably the only repository in the world that meets/exceeds the AGI in terms of the breadth and depth of its archival holdings as they relate to the history of Spain’s empire in the Americas and the Philippines. Depending upon the specific topic of inquiry, one or the other may have more relevant materials; the AGN, for example, houses materials that relate to New Spain, which would not include Spain’s territories in South America. The building was designed in 1572 by Juan de Herrera (architect of the Escorial, Spain’s principal government building) per instructions from Phillip II, in order to provide a place for the *Consulado de Mercaderes* (“Merchant’s Council”) to meet. Construction took place from 1584 well into the 1600s, although enough of the work had been completed by 1598 so that portions of the building could be occupied. In 1785, Charles III ordered the archives of the Council of the Indies to be housed in the Casa Lonja with the goal of uniting all of the documentation produced by the administration of the overseas empire, which until that time had been dispersed among various archives in Spain. Together with the Cathedral of Santa María de la Sede (Seville Cathedral) and the Alcázar of Seville (a Moorish fortress), the building and its contents were inscribed in 1987 as a World Heritage Site on the list of World Heritage Sites maintained by UNESCO.

Current holdings of the AGI occupy approximately nine kilometers of shelving, including ca. 43,000 *legajos* or bundles of documents, each of which might contain a stack of papers more than a foot high, relevant to Spain’s colonial empire from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. In addition to such noteworthy items as the journal of Christopher Columbus, the prodigious collection contains maps and plans (and many other kinds of documents) for municipalities and roads in the colonial Americas, thus making it a productive place to search for information about ELCA and the lands that it traversed. The AGI has been busily digitizing its documents since the 1980s and has created an organized (if not completely user-friendly) catalog that can be accessed at workstations at the archive as well as online via the “Portal de los Archivos Españoles” (PARES), which also provides online access to other archives in Spain:

<<<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/find?idAut=46555&archivo=10&tipoAsocAut=1&nomAut=Archivo+General+de+Indias+%28Sevilla%2C+Espa%C3%B1a%29>>>.

While the online PARES portal is a good place to start, many of the materials in the vastness of the AGI have not yet been digitized, so depending upon the particular topic of interest, in-person research may still be necessary; a building across the street from the Casa Lonja houses staff offices and a *Sala de Investigadores* for consultants to work in as a

reading room. Researchers who wish to conduct investigations in the AGI (and other Spanish archives) must apply in person for a *Tarjeta Nacional de Investigador* (“National Researcher Card” [TNI] by presenting your professional credentials and completing the requisite form (there is also an online version of the form, for online access only). Original documents (as well as microfilm) copies may be requested for viewing at a workstation in the reading room, with limits as to the number of items that can be requested in day (and at specific times of day), etc., and the space available for spreading materials out, which could make using a laptop difficult (be sure to bring pencil and paper). Also, as described for the some of the documents held by the AGN, above, copies of some documents at the AGI can be found at the CSWR of the Zimmerman Library at the University of New Mexico.



**Photograph No. 2. Entrance to the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.
(Photograph by E.A. Oster).**

Additional Online Resources for Relevant Archival Information

New Mexico's Digital Collections

<http://econtent.unm.edu/>

This digital repository is devoted to New Mexico history and culture. Included are images digitized from materials at the New Mexico History Museum, the Institute of American Indian Arts, the Silver City Museum, and the CSWR at the University of New Mexico.

Rocky Mountain Online Archive

<http://rmoa.unm.edu/>

The Rocky Mountain Online Archive project began with a 2004 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. It is an online finding aid to collections housed in archives and libraries in New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming. Users may browse by particular institution or subject, or conduct advanced searches using specific key words.

Heritage West

<http://heritagewest.coalliance.org/>

Heritage West is a database containing digital representations of items from museums, libraries, archives, and histories societies across the West.

3.2.a. Published Works: Books and Articles in Edited Volumes

Abert, James W. *Abert's New Mexico Report, 1846-1847*. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1962.

Lieutenant James William Abert was a member of the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. Between 1846 and 1847, Abert and Lieutenant William G. Peck mapped the New Mexico territory for Stephen Watts Kearny, then commander of the Army of the West. Among its responsibilities, the Army of the West was tasked with protecting the trade caravans along the Santa Fe Trail and ELCA.

The document is packed with details about New Mexico's geology, flora and fauna, and native people. Abert's report and map were originally published as Senate Executive Document No. 23 in 1848.

Alberts, Don E. *Rebels on the Rio Grande, The Civil War Journal of A.B. Peticolas*. Albuquerque: Merit Press, 1993.

This Civil War journal offers a look into the experiences of Confederate soldier Alfred Brown Peticolas in New Mexico, describing the experiences of Peticolas, a young lawyer, when he volunteered to take part in the Confederate invasion of the New Mexico Territory with the Texas Mounted Volunteers under Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley. Spanning February to June of 1862, the journal begins with the Battle of Valverde and ends with the company's march back into Texas. Peticolas's journey in New Mexico took him along portions of ELCA. The journal is also illustrated with the soldier's sketches of New Mexico buildings and terrain.

Adams, Eleanor, trans., ed. *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760*. Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History, no. 15. Albuquerque: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1954.

Eleanor Burnham Adams was an esteemed historian and paleographer, specializing in Spanish colonial history. As a researcher for the Carnegie Institute during the 1930s, she transcribed and photographed many documents found in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Mexico City. Her lifelong collaboration with France V. Scholes produced many works on New Spain.

The work is an edited translation of a portion of a report by Don Pedro Tamarón y Romeral. As Bishop of Durango, he traveled up ELCA to visit New Mexico in the summer of 1760, while conducting an inspection of his entire diocese. Bishop Tamarón's account is full of descriptions of life and conditions in the New Mexico Pueblos, among many other things, and as such, it is an important resource.

Adams, Eleanor B. and Fray Angelico Chavez, trans. and ann. *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with Other Contemporary Documents*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956.

Adams and Chavez's *Missions of New Mexico* is a transcription and annotation of the report of Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez. By order of the Province of the Holy Gospel of Franciscan Observants of New Spain, Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez headed to New Mexico in 1775 in order to report on the spiritual and economic health of the missions there. Domínguez visited 21 Pueblos in addition to Albuquerque, Abiquiu, and Santa Cruz de la Cañada. Professor and prolific scholar France V. Scholes (see below), who had a lifelong collaboration with Eleanor Adams, discovered this document in 1928 in the archives of the Biblioteca Nacional de México.

The Franciscan friar's commentary on the missions of New Mexico includes rich details of everyday life there in the late eighteenth century. Focusing mostly on the architecture, economics, and administration of the missions, the priest also describes many aspects of Pueblo life and culture. Dominguez also provides detailed descriptions of the New Mexico terrain, ELCA ("the highway"), and distances between settlements.

Alessio Robles, Vito, ed. *Demostración del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya--1765 : Durango, Sinaloa, Sonora, Arizona, Nuevo Mexico, Chihuahua y porciones de Texas, Coahuila y Zacatecas*. Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo, de J. Porrúa e hijos, 1937.

As described above, Bishop of Durango Pedro Tamarón y Romeral traveled ELCA to visit New Mexico in the summer of 1760, while conducting an inspection of his diocese. Alessio Robles published a transcribed and edited copy of the report curated in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico (BNM). The portion of Alessio Robles' publication that details the bishop's observations of conditions in New Mexico was later translated and edited by Eleanor Adams, as described above.

Alessio Robles was something of a Renaissance man, pursuing a distinguished career in the Mexican Army, followed by a career in public office (including a stint as the governor of the Mexican Federal District). In the 1920s he spent time at the University of Texas at Austin examining historic documents, beginning a new career as a history professor. Fruits of this work included editing and publishing of Lafora's account, as well as the documentation of the Tamarón y Romeral and Rivera expeditions (see below), making them available for consultation by regional scholars.

_____. *Nicolás de Lafora, relación del viaje que hizo a los presidios internos situados en la frontera de la América septentrional*. Mexico City: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939.

From 1764-1766, the Spanish field Marshall Marqués de Rubí led a military escort on an inspection of the presidial system of the *provincias internas* of New Spain's northern frontier, a huge territory extending from Guanajuato to *la Villa* of Santa Fe, and Sonora to Texas. Significant products of the expedition included the "Reglamento of 1772" (a set of military regulations) and the maps created by

Nicolás de Lafora, the expedition's cartographer, which include graphic representations of ELCA. This presentation of Lafora's account of the trip provides much useful detail about the conditions of various settlements the expedition encountered.

_____. *Diario y derrotero de los caminados, visto y observado en la visita que hizo a los presidios de la Nueva España septentrional el brigadier Pedro de Rivera*. Mexico City: Taller Autográfico, 1946.

This work—also resulting from careful transcription and editing by Alessio Robles—presents the account of Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera y Villalón's inspection of the presidios and settlements along the northern military frontier, beginning in 1724. Unlike the version published by Porrás Muñoz in Mexico the previous year, Alessio Robles included the more formal documents—the *Proyecto* and the *Reglamento*—produced by the expedition as appendices to the documentary version of the “Diario” that he had found in the Archivo Histórico Militar in Mexico, a restricted repository.

The journey encompassed more than 8,000 miles and incorporated visits to, and descriptions of, New Mexico and Texas. Rivera, a *peninsular*, had already pursued a distinguished military career when he was assigned to lead the inspection. The expedition utilized the road system that would become ELCA (although many detours and side routes were incorporated) and included a cartographer as well, Francisco Barreiros, who produced maps of ELCA itself, as well as of various associated settlements. The entries in the diary provide interesting details about the lifeways of the frontier settlers, the merchants who traveled the road, and some of the earliest descriptions of the *villas* of Albuquerque and Chihuahua. This account is considered to be useful for the histories of both Texas and New Mexico.

Almaráz Jr., Félix D. “Misiones Franciscanas de Nuevo México y El Paso del Norte a través del Camino Real.” In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 223-229. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

_____. “Franciscan Missions along New Mexico's Rio Grande Corridor in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.” In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, comp. José de la Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 109-124. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

In this essay, Almaráz details the early missionary efforts of the Franciscans in New Mexico—their numbers, names, and settlements as well as the legal framework in which they operated. Not only was the Camino Real the artery for vital supplies, Almaráz emphasizes, it also carried new and replacement friars for the missions. The locations of the various missions are described in relation to the route of ELCA.

Alvarez, Salvador. "La Hacienda-Presidio en El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro en el Siglo XVII." In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 183-207. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Ayer, Mrs. Edward E., trans; Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis, ann. *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*. Chicago: Edward E. Ayer, 1916. Reprint, Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1965.

Fray Alonso de Benavides, a Franciscan friar, served as superior of the New Mexico missions from 1623 to 1629. Benavides arrived in 1626, traveling with one of the mission supply caravans from Mexico. At the end of his tenure, the Franciscan was sent to Spain to convince the royal court to spend more money on missionary efforts in New Mexico. Benavides produced the 1630 report or *memorial*, which (some scholars believe) painted a rosier picture of religious conversions and relations between the indigenous people and the Spanish than was the reality. However, his descriptions of life there in the early seventeenth century are essential to the historical record for their wealth of detail on the New Mexico—including ELCA and Jornada del Muerto.

Bailey, Jessie B. *Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

Published during the Coronado Cuarto Centennial, Bailey's biography of de Vargas describes the conquistador's reconquest of New Mexico beginning with his departure from El Paso in August of 1692, through his first term as governor of the territory, and ending with his death in 1704 shortly after beginning his second term as governor. This published doctoral dissertation was generally poorly received, with other scholars criticizing both the grammar and content as subpar. According to historian John Kessell, Bailey relied on the doctoral research of J. Manuel Espinosa (see Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande*) for this book, published two years earlier than Espinosa's *Crusaders*.¹⁷

Bakewell, Peter J. *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico, Zacatecas, 1546-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

One of the principal centers of silver mining in Mexico, Zacatecas was located on the Camino Real north of Mexico City. Indeed it served as Don Juan de Oñate's departure point for the 1598 Oñate Expedition into New Mexico. Bakewell details the formative history of Zacatecas in the first half of this book, describing how the mining industry there led to a regional population boom. The second half is dedicated to describing the mining industry in Zacatecas—the technology, labor,

¹⁷ See John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840*, (Chapter 6, Note 15, 535).

and resultant silver production. Bakewell also analyzes the economic depression post 1630 when silver production plummeted.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*. San Francisco: The History Company, 1889. Reprint, Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1962.

Hubert Howe Bancroft was a prolific collector of written materials about the western half of the North American continent. Inspired by the size of his ever-growing library, Bancroft decided to begin producing his own historical works with the help of assistants whose numbers eventually grew to 600. The *History of Arizona and New Mexico* was the seventeenth in Bancroft's 39 volumes of work on the history of the American West, Mexico, and British Columbia. Ultimately, his collection would form the nucleus of the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley (described above).

The *History of Arizona and New Mexico* is a masterful synthesis that begins with Coronado and ends with a summary of the towns and counties of 1887 New Mexico. Several chapters of the book address the build-up and execution of Juan de Oñate's "Conquest of New Mexico" as well as the exploits of the pre-Oñate forays into the *despoblado* of the north. The value and accuracy of various sources (both primary and secondary) for reconstructing aspects of New Mexico history are discussed in detail, and the footnotes contain a great deal of useful information (Chapter 1 ends with a bibliography of early New Mexican history in the notes). The focus of the work is providing an accurate reconstruction of the timing of significant historic events—along with descriptions of the various participants and the locations in which they occurred. Many useful items of information included, together with source references.

_____. *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, 2 vols. San Francisco: The History Company, 1884-1889.

History of the North Mexican States and Texas was the sixteenth in Bancroft's 39 volumes of work on the history of the American West, Mexico, and British Columbia. Volume I covers the years 1531 to 1800; Volume II details the years 1801 to 1889. The latter book includes some discussion of the Santa Fe Trail trade, as well as the skirmishes between Mexican and American troops along ELCA during the Mexican-American War.

Bandelier, Adolph F.A. *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885* (vol. 1). Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, 3. Cambridge [Mass.]: Printed by J. Wilson and Son. 1890.

This work is iconic for students of Southwestern studies, containing Bandelier's unique observations and interpretations of natural, cultural, and historic phenomena. While some of these may be outdated or incorrect, they are important

nonetheless because of the impacts they have had on contemporary thought on these topics.

Bannon, John Francis. *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

John Francis Bannon was a student and avid follower of Herbert Eugene Bolton. This book by Bannon was published just shy of 50 years after Bolton's seminal work, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest*. Intended as an update to Bolton's earlier synthesis, Bannon's book covers the Spanish explorations of the sixteenth century; Juan de Oñate's entrée into New Mexico; Spanish efforts in California, Texas, and Louisiana; the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and reconquest by Diego de Vargas, the 1766-1767 inspection of the borderlands by the Marqués de Rubí, and the decades leading up to the Mexican War of Independence. Regarding ELCA, the author very briefly addresses the seventeenth century supply caravans, and traces the 1766 journey of the Marqués de Rubí up the trail to Santa Fe.

Bargellini, Clara. "Objetos Artísticos Viajeros: ¿Cuáles y Por Qué Llegaron al Nuevo México?" In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 233-258. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Barnes, Thomas C., Thomas H. Baylor, and Charles W. Polzer. *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981.

This research guide derives from the work of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW) project at the Arizona State Museum. Included within this volume are explications of the kinds of archival documents available for research (administrative, military, civil, and ecclesiastical); a list of significant archives in Europe, Mexico, and the United States; and a list of notable secondary sources.

Bartlett, John Russell. *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission during the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1854. Reprint, 2 vols., Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1965.

John Russell Bartlett's narrative chronicles his journeys as the United States Boundary Commissioner, appointed in 1850 to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Though the Bartlett-Garcia Condé (for Mexico's boundary commissioner) line was rejected—resulting in the Gadsden Purchase—Bartlett's book was well-received as a guidebook to the greater Southwest and Texas.

Barrett, Elinore M. *The Spanish Colonial Settlement Landscapes of New Mexico, 1598-1680*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012.

Barrett argues that access to ELCA was one of the factors delineating certain lands as valuable and desirable. The book is divided into three sections. The third section examines the settlement landscapes of San Gabriel and Santa Fe, as well as larger geographical areas including the Santa Fe River Valley, the Galisteo Basin, and the Middle and Southern Rio Grande Regions.

Baxter, John O. *Las Carneradas: Sheep Trade in New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

Baxter's history details the sheep industry in New Mexico from the early eighteenth century to the American Civil War. New Mexico ranchers sold and traded sheep within the Rio Grande region as well as to the cities of Parral, Chihuahua, and Durango by way of ELCA. Caravans of sheep were sometimes transported as far as Mexico City during the mid-eighteenth century.

Bayer, Laura, Floyd Montoya, and the Pueblo of Santa Ana. *Santa Ana: The People, the Pueblo, and the History of Tamaya*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

Working with pueblo historian Floyd Montoya and the Pueblo of Santa Ana, Bayer presents a history of Santa Ana Pueblo (*Tamaya* in the pueblo's language) incorporating both oral and documentary sources. Spanning the sixteenth century to the recent past, the book is the result of an extensive effort by the pueblo and the University of Utah's American West Center to create a tribal archive of documents formerly scattered across the country and an oral history collection. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the mission supply caravans and goods exchanged between the Spanish and the Tamayame people; and Chapter 7 for early encounters with American soldiers.

Beck, Warren A. and Ynez D. Haase. *Historical Atlas of New Mexico (reissue originally published in 1969)*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

The *Historical Atlas of New Mexico* was a collaboration between historian Beck and Haase, a geographer and cartographer. The sixty-two maps published in this book each depict a particular aspect of New Mexico history. Map subjects range from game fauna to Spanish land grants to military forts and mineral resources. ELCA researchers will find numerous useful maps including First Towns; Spanish-Mexican Expeditions; Principal Towns and Road, 1800; U.S. Military Expeditions After the Mexican War; Principal Towns and Cart Roads, 1850; and Historic Trails.

Bell, William Abraham. *New Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travel and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the Pacific Ocean During 1867-8*. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co., 1870. Reprint, Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1965.

Bell, an English physician and photographer, wrote this travel narrative while accompanying a survey party employed by the Union Pacific to find a route for a southern railway to the Pacific. His journey measured some 5,000 miles from St. Louis to Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, down into Sonora, north into California, and back east to Kansas. This book is full of details of people, places, geography, flora and fauna. In New Mexico, Bell's survey party traveled from Las Vegas to Albuquerque and then down the Rio Grande Valley to Fort Craig—one of the U.S. Army forts built to protect travelers on ELCA—and farther south to the 32nd parallel.

Bieber, Ralph P., ed. *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*. Southwest Historical Series, no. 4. Glendale CA.: Arthur H. Clark, 1936.

Ralph Bieber was a professor of western history at Washington University in St. Louis. He is best known for editing the first eight volumes in the Southwest Historical Series produced by the Arthur H. Clark Company between 1931 and 1943.

_____. ed. *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854* by Philip St. George Cooke, William Henry Chase Whiting, François Xavier Aubry. Southwest Historical Series, no. 7. Glendale, CA.: Arthur H. Clark, 1938.

Bieber edited these four different journals, by a U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army Lieutenant, and a French Canadian merchant and trader, respectively. Of interest here are the journal prepared by Cooke, who served in the American Military from the late 1820s through the Civil War (see entry below under Cooke), and the two journals by Aubry, who led a caravan to Chihuahua in 1849.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene, ed. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.

Longtime chair of the University of California, Berkeley's History Department and the first director of the Bancroft Library, Herbert Eugene Bolton has been called "the scholar who opened up the Spanish Borderlands, integrating them into the broader understanding of American history."¹⁸ He was the first American historian to extensively use original manuscripts found in Mexican archives. This early work of

¹⁸ See John Francis Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), vii. Bolton's *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (1921), according to borderlands scholar Albert L. Hurtado, "for nearly half a century...stood as the only synthesis of the field." See Albert L. Hurtado, "Parkmanizing the Spanish Borderlands: Bolton, Turner, and the Historians' World," *Western Historical Quarterly* 26 (Summer 1995), 149.

Bolton's is divided into four sections focusing on California, New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona, respectively. Each section begins with an introduction by Bolton, followed by translations of personal accounts, reports, letters, etc. The New Mexico section addresses the expeditions of Fray Agustín Rodríguez (1581), Antonio de Espejo (1582), and Don Juan de Oñate.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949, 1964 and 1974.

Although Oñate's expedition would not establish ELCA in the United States until the end of the sixteenth century, Coronado's journey provides essential historic context for the colonization of the Spanish Borderlands. Bolton's biography of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado focuses on the explorer's 1540 expedition into New Mexico in search of gold. Determined to discover treasure, Coronado moved beyond the Rio Grande pueblos into west Texas and Kansas while sending other men into Arizona. Bolton focuses on identifying the exact route taken by Coronado – dispelling several conclusions set forth earlier by other scholars. In the current era, of course, specification of Coronado's route continues to be a subject of scholarly controversy; see, for example, the works by Richard and Shirley Flint cited in this bibliography.

Bosch Garcia, Carlos. *Material para la historia diplomática de México (México y los Estados Unidos, 1820-1848)*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, 1957.

This publication consists of a chronological catalogue or “calendar” of diplomatic documents held in archives in Mexico and the United States. Myers' notes point to inclusion of Ambassador Poinsett's reports on efforts to retrieve the members of the ill-fated expedition sent by the president of the Republic of Texas, Mirabeau Lamar, to negotiate with the Mexican governor of New Mexico, Manuel Armijo, in 1841. The Texans were eventually freed, but not until being marched down to Mexico City, where they were held until April of 1842.

_____. *Historia de las relaciones entre México y los Estados Unidos, 1819-1848*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, 1961.

In this synthesis Bosch García primarily addresses the Texas revolution and the Mexican-American War (Intervención Estadounidense en México), but devotes one chapter to discussions of commerce.

Bourke, John G. *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fé, New Mexico to the villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1884. Reprint, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984.

John Gregory Bourke, a U.S. Army captain, saw action in both the Civil War and the later Apache Wars as an aide-de-camp to General George Crook. Bourke was very

interested in Southwestern Indian cultures, and chronicled his ethnographic observations in diaries and notebooks—earning him the nickname “Paper Medicine Man” by an Apache. During the early 1880s he was assigned the task—by Lieutenant General Philip Sheridan—of investigating the “manners and customs of the Indians of the South-Western Territories.” This book resulted from Bourke’s journey to observe the Snake Dance. He began his trip by ambulance from Santa Fe down to Santo Domingo Pueblo, as rainstorms had washed out a portion of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad track. In terms of ELCA, Bourke briefly describes traveling down La Bajada, “in former days...the most dangerous spot on the road between Santa Fé and El Paso, Texas.”

Bork, Albert. *Nuevos aspectos del comercio entre Nuevo Mexico y Misuri, 1822-1846*. Mexico City: 1944.

Historian David J. Weber referred to this book as “the first serious effort to illuminate the Mexican side of the Santa Fe trade.”¹⁹

Boyle, Susan Calafante. *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

Boyle’s work focuses on the role of Hispano merchants in the Santa Fe Trail trade. According to the author, New Mexicans were the largest group of merchants traveling to Mexico by 1835. In addition to detailing this previously “overlooked” group of traders, Boyle’s other focuses include the effects of the Mexican War on the trade industry, the role New Mexico culture and socioeconomics played in the trade, and the geographical boundaries of the Santa Fe Trail. The author devotes a chapter to “Going Down the Royal Road” into Mexico.

_____. “El Comercio y la Economía entre Chihuahua y Nuevo México durante el Siglo XIX.” In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 301-371. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Brown, Ray Bernard. “Arqueología colonial en Chihuahua: el caso de El Carrizal.” In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 49-62. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

This work provides archaeological details about a colonial settlement near Ahumada, in northern Chihuahua, essentially located on the “Ruta de Oñate”(ELCA).

¹⁹ See David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 397.

_____. "Maíz y El Camino Real en Nueva Vizcaya." In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 119-131. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Considers the economics of the cultivation and transport of an important staple commodity, corn, while discussing the history and development of ELCA.

Cámara Barbachano, Fernando. "El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro y las Subculturas de Frontera." In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 281-298. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Carlson, Alvar W. *The Spanish-American Homeland: Four Centuries in New Mexico's Río Arriba*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Geographer Alvar Carlson analyzes the upper Rio Grande Valley through the lenses of economic development, demographics, and material culture. In Chapter 5, "A Region of Self-Sufficiency, 1600-1930," Carlson provides a short history of ELCA trade from the pre-Pueblo Revolt mission supply caravans to later commercial caravans incorporating the trade goods of some New Mexico ranchers and merchants. Carlson also briefly discusses the impact of the Santa Fe Trail on trade with Mexico.

Carroll, H. Bailey and Juan Villasana Haggard. *Three Mexico Chronicles, the Exposición of Don Pedro Bautista Pino 1812; the Ojeada of Lic. Antonio Berreiro 1832; and the additions by Don José Augustin de Escudero, 1949*. Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1942.

Castañeda, Carmen. "Circulación de Libros por El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro." In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 259-279. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

An interesting discussion of the cultural impact exerted by the arrival of books in northern New Spain (e.g., Zacatecas, Durango, and New Mexico). Contains an appendix detailing known works circulating in Parral in the late seventeenth century.

Chaput, Donald. *François X. Aubry: Trader, Trailmaker, and Voyageur in the Southwest, 1846-1854*. Western Frontiersman Series XVI. Glendale, CA.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1975.

According to author Chaput, François Aubry was "the busiest, most effective merchant on the Saint Louis-Santa Fe-Chihuahua-California routes."²⁰ Aubry was also a prolific writer of both journals and letters, many of which were published by newspapers around the country. Chaput details the trader's life, and discusses in

²⁰ p. 11.

detail many aspects of the trading business. Numerous passages from Aubry's writings about the Santa Fe Trail and Camino Real are included in the appendices.

Chávez, Fray Angélico. *Our Lady of the Conquest*. Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1948.

Franciscan priest, poet, historian, and visual artist Fray Angélico Chávez created a remarkable body of work celebrating the heritage of New Mexico and the American Southwest over the course of his life. Ordained a Franciscan priest in 1937, Chávez served as a pastor to isolated Hispanic villages and Indian pueblos and as an army chaplain in World War II. In addition to discharging his clerical duties he published almost two dozen books. He was also celebrated for his work as an artist and muralist.

In this book, Chávez examines New Mexico's centuries-long devotion to *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* (Our Lady of the Rosary or Mary) or *La Conquistadora* (the Conqueror [female]). According to Chávez, this devotion was "a popular movement which brought the scattered Hispanic colonists of the Southwest together without regard to class or station."²¹ Based on his research of early parochial records and the journals of Don Diego de Vargas, Chávez posits that the movement and its associated confraternity or religious society dates as far back as 1630—to a statue located within the first *parroquia* or parish. This statue of *La Conquistadora* was transported down ELCA to San Lorenzo during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and returned to New Mexico by de Vargas in 1693.

_____. *My Penitente Land: The Soul Story of Spanish New Mexico*. Santa Fe: William Gannon, 1986.

This particular book is a personal reflection on the Hispano heritage of New Mexico. Chávez very briefly refers to ELCA or "the well-worn and readily visible trail from El Paso del Norte to Santa Fe." The author muses about how priests coming up ELCA for the first time would have viewed the settlements of New Mexico during the period from 1798 to 1821. Chavez references a few of the place names—El Alemán, La Cruz de Anaya, etc.

Chávez, Jorge. "Un suceso en el camino: el Movimiento de Independencia en la Nueva Vizcaya y su repercusión en la conformación de la frontera México-estadounidense." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 155-168. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

²¹ p. 1.

Cisneros, José. *Riders of the Border: A Selection of Thirty Drawings*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1971.

José Cisneros was a world-renowned historical illustrator of the Southwest. He was particularly interested in the Southwest border region. This monograph includes thirty drawings and text by Cisneros of horsemen spanning five centuries. The dress and equipment of a variety of historical figures are depicted in great detail. Drawings depict a sixteenth century conquistador, viceroy, and Spanish pioneer woman; an eighteenth century Franciscan missionary, dragoon, and hacendado; and a nineteenth century Texas field judge, Mexican ranchero, and California caballero. King Juan Carlos of Spain knighted the illustrator for his contributions to New World history.

_____. *Riders Across the Centuries: Horsemen of the Spanish Borderlands*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1984.

This later book of Cisneros' book contains 100 pen and ink sketches of generic figures in New Mexico history. These figures range from the Lord Archbishop of Mexico (mid-sixteenth century) to Spanish Officer (early eighteenth century), Vaquero del Bajo Río Grande (c. 1770), New Mexico Comanchero (c. 1825), U.S. Army Buffalo Soldier (c. 1870), and so on. Specific people illustrated by Cisneros include Don Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, and Billy the Kid. Each sketch is accompanied by descriptive text. *Riders Across the Centuries* received a National Humanities Medal in 2002.

Clark, Dwight L., ed. *The Original Journals of Henry S. Turner, with Stephen Watts Kearny in New Mexico and California, 1846-1847*. American Exploration and Travel Series no. 51. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

A military academy graduate, Turner was an officer of the First Dragoons and served in a number of western forts, eventually rising to the rank of acting assistant adjutant general in the newly formed Army of the West under Colonel (later Brigadier General) Stephen Watts Kearny as Kearny commenced the expedition to (invasion of) New Mexico and California. Turner kept a daily diary on the trip, ending in December of 1846 when his unit arrived in Santa Ysabel, California. Clark's volume includes this diary as well as a biography of Turner and letters written to his wife recounting events in California until he returned to American Territory with Kearny.

Cleeland, Robert Glass. *This Reckless Breed of Men: The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

Cleeland's book takes an insider's look at early to mid-nineteenth century fur trappers and traders—how they lived and worked. See Chapter 4, "To Santa Fe and Beyond," for a discussion of the Santa Fe Trail trade. Cleeland details both American

and Mexican trade goods, wagon construction, livestock, and the various dangers faced by the traders.

Cohrs, Timothy, and Thomas J. Caperton. *Fort Selden, New Mexico*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1974.

Fort Selden, built in 1865, was located eighteen miles north of Las Cruces along the Camino Real. It served as a base camp for soldiers protecting the Mesilla Valley and travelers along ELCA from Apache attacks and other threats. This location placed the fort at the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto.

Connelley, William Elsey. *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California*. Kansas City: Bryant and Douglas, 1907.

An *aficionado* of history, Connelley worked as a schoolteacher, farm hand, and county clerk before he became the president of the Kansas Historic Society in 1912 and its secretary in 1914, producing a five-volume histories of Kansas and Kentucky, respectively, as well as maps of historical sites in the region among other works.

The chronicle of Doniphan's journey down ELCA into Mexico was originally published by John Taylor Hughes in 1847 as "Doniphan's Expedition," recounting Hughes' experiences while serving under Colonel Doniphan as part of Kearny's Army of the West during the Mexican War. Hughes enlisted as a private in the First Regiment Missouri Mounted Volunteers under Doniphan's command when the war was declared. Apparently intending from the outset to chronicle the expedition, he kept a diary. Doniphan's were troops absorbed into the Army of the West under Kearny, traveling from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, where Kearny detached with a smaller force to push on to California. Doniphan's forces, following orders, waited until General Sterling Price arrived in Santa Fe and then traveled south to Chihuahua, winning two decisive battles at Brazitos and Sacramento, then marching to Saltillo and Matamoros to embark for New Orleans. Hughes described the impressive journey of approximately 3,600 miles from the perspective of a soldier the ranks, describing the army and its maneuvers and providing many details about the environment settings they traversed, including the passage of the troops through the Jornada del Muerto.

Connelly added: a long introduction and detailed footnotes; rosters of all of the participating companies; numerous illustrations, including maps, battle plans, and portrait sketches of Doniphan, Hughes, Price, and others; a portion of Hughes' the hitherto unpublished diary; and eleven appendices that enhance the value of the original work (these include an interview with now-General Alexander Doniphan conducted in 1880, short biographies of some of the participants, and a description of the Santa Fe Trail).

Connor, Seymour V., and Jimmy M. Skaggs. *Broadcloth and Britches: The Santa Fe Trade*. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1977.

This work provides useful detail about the products flowing in and out of Santa Fe (moving along ELCA as well as other important routes) during the period encompassing Mexican independence from Spain and the growth of mercantile interests coming in from the United States.

Cooke, Philip St. George. *The Conquest of New Mexico and California, An Historical and Personal Narrative*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878. Reprint, Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1964.

General Philip St. George Cooke was a U.S. Army cavalry officer active from the late 1820s through the Civil War. *The Conquest of New Mexico and California* was a companion to Cooke's earlier *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* about his experiences on the frontier as a dragoon officer and explorer. For the Army of the West during the Mexican War, Cooke led the Mormon Battalion from Santa Fe to California with the purpose of cutting a wagon road to the Pacific Ocean. From Santa Fe, Cooke followed ELCA south to the area of Hatch, before heading west to Arizona. *The Conquest of New Mexico and California* contains journal excerpts describing the terrain written during this march.

Coues, Elliott. *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, during the Years 1805-6-7: A New Edition*, 3 vols. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895. Reprint, New York: Dover, 1987.

Elliott Coues graduated from medical school at Columbian University (now George Washington University) in 1863, and served as a military medical cadet, then assistant-surgeon assigned to Fort Whipple, Arizona. From 1873–1880 Coues was attached as surgeon and naturalist to the United States Northern Boundary Commission, and then as surgeon and secretary United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, respectively. He is best-known for his efforts to promote the systematic study of (and his publications on) ornithology; his work was instrumental in establishing the currently accepted standards of trinomial nomenclature for ornithology and ultimately zoology. In later life he taught anatomy in the medical school of the Columbian University.

Coues published the journals of Army Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike in three volumes, adding critical commentary, maps and other illustrations, and a memoir of Pike, who had led a military expedition to explore the southwest portion of the Louisiana Purchase in 1806-1807, the first official American effort in the region. When Pike and his men wandered into Colorado, they set up a stockade near present day Alamosa, locating the headwaters of the Rio Grande, which Pike mistakenly thought was the Red River. Spanish authorities ultimately discovered Pike's location, and considering him a trespasser into their territory, escorted the group to Santa Fe, then down ELCA to Chihuahua to face questioning from Spain's

Commandant General of the Internal Provinces. Pike's travels through present-day New Mexico, Mexico, and Texas provided Pike (and the American government) with important data about Spanish military strength and civilian populations; the accounts of his travels also include many ethnographic details. Although he and most of his men were ultimately released, some of his soldiers were held in prison in Mexico for years.

Cramaussel, Chantal. "De la Nueva Galicia al Nuevo México: Por el Camino Real de Tierra Adentro." In *El septentrión novohispano: ecohistoria, sociedades e imágenes de frontera*, ed. Salvador Bernabeu Albert. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000.

_____. "Historia del Camino Real de Tierra Adentro de Zacatecas a El Paso del Norte." In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 11-33. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Traces the evolution of the route through time on the Mexican side of the border, from Zacatecas to El Paso, considering the communities along the way and identifying gaps in extant information.

Crespo-Francés y Valero, José Antonio, and Mercedes Junquera de Flys. *Juan de Oñate y El Paso del Río Grande: El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, 1598-1998*. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 1998.

Crouch, Brodie. *Jornada del Muerto, A Pageant of the Desert*. Western Lands and Water Series, no. 15. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1989.

This book has been criticized for relying primarily on secondary source material—something the author readily admits to in Chapter 1 (p. 7). Crouch details the path of numerous expeditions-- from Oñate to Colonel Doniphan-- through the ninety-mile stretch of desert, and the various *parajes*. The author also briefly addresses the mission supply service, Santa Fe Trail trade, and United States mail delivery. Another chapter is devoted to the nineteenth-century American army presence on the Jornada relative to the Apache tribes living there.

Day, A. Grove. *Coronado's Quest: The Discovery of the Southwestern States*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940.

deBuys, William. *Enchantment and Exploitation: The Life and Hard Times of a New Mexico Mountain Range*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985.

This volume offers an account of the relationship between society and environment in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains of northern New Mexico, focusing on changes through time in land stewardship and use policies devolving from changes in governance. Contemporary arroyos along ELCA are briefly described. Also included is a discussion of historic Santa Fe trade.

Díaz, Josef, ed. *The Art and Legacy of Bernardo Miera y Pacheco: New Spain's Explorer, Cartographer, and Artist*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013.

A collection of essays about the biography, products, and legacy of the fascinating and artistically gifted mapmaker, recently determined to be the sculptor of the beautiful *reredos* created for La Castrense (the former military chapel in Santa Fe) now on display in Cristo Rey Church in Santa Fe. He is best-known for the quality of his excellent maps, the bellwether for the art of cartography in the region for his era, and this volume includes some beautiful reproductions of Miera's maps. Miera's other artistic endeavors—including sculptures, paintings, and architectural elements—are also described in some detail and illustrated in photographs of high quality.

Dobyns, Henry F. *Hepah California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Coutts, from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, during the Years 1848-1849*. Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1961.

Cave Johnson Coutts gave his diary, written during his service in the Mexican War, to Hubert Howe Bancroft during the latter nineteenth century. This work is an edited reproduction, by Cornell professor Dobyns, of one portion of the diary.

Dublán, Manuel and José Maria Lozano, eds. *Legislación Mexicana: o, colección completa de las disposiciones legislativas expedidas desde la independencia de la república*, 19 vols. Mexico City, 1876-1890.

Edwards, Frank S. *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan*. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1847. Reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Eidenbach, Peter. *An Atlas of Historic New Mexico Maps, 1550-1941*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012.

This extremely useful publication has set out to compile and reproduce a massive collection of New Mexico's historic maps. One can see the progression of New Mexico's history from a virtually unknown *despoblado* to a Spanish, then Mexican colony. ELCA served as an important integrative mechanism during this period. The American period has produced a proliferation of maps for exploration, military campaigns, and economic development.

Eggenhofer, Nick. *Wagons, Mules and Men: How the Frontier Moved West*. New York: Hastings House, 1961.

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

This volume is comprised of papers presented during the first international colloquium organized to explore topics related to ELCA in the United States and Mexico, held in 1995 in Valle de Allende, Chihuahua. It contains the products of research conducted by ELCA scholars from both countries. The articles are referenced separately in this bibliography.

Elder, Jane and David J. Weber, eds. *Trading in Santa Fe: John M. Kingsbury's Correspondence with James Josiah Webb, 1853-1861.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1996.

Ellis, Florence Hawley. *San Gabriel del Yunque as Seen by an Archaeologist.* Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1989.

A classic and significant description of the settlement founded at Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo) by the Spanish when they arrived to colonize New Mexico, by one of the foremost Southwestern archaeologists of the twentieth century.

Erickson, Bruce A. "Urbanization and Route Variation on the Camino Real." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 277-289. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

In this essay, Erickson summarizes the development of several towns along ELCA between Mexico City and Zacatecas.

Espinosa, Gilberto, ed. and trans. *History of New Mexico by Gaspar Perez de Villagrà, Alcalá, 1610.* Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1933.

Espinosa, Gilberto and Tibo J. Chávez. *El Rio Abajo*, ed. Carter M. Waid. Portales, N.Mex.: Bishop Publishing Company, 1967.

Espinosa, J. Manuel. *First Expedition of De Vargas Into New Mexico, 1692.* Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, vol. 10. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

The editors of the Vargas Project at the University of New Mexico described this book as a "pioneering documentary publication."²²

²² See John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller, eds., *A Settling of Accounts: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1700-1704* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), xiii.

_____. *Crusaders of the Rio Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico*. Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History, 1942.

This classic text is attributed to have “reawakened interest in this formative era” of New Mexico history.²³

Fagg, John Edwin. *Latin America: A General History*. New York: Macmillan, 1977.
Falconer, Thomas. *Letters and Notes on the Texan-Santa Fe Expedition, 1841-1842*. New York: Dauber and Pine, 1930. Reprint, Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1963.

Another account of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition, a failed attempt by the Republic of Texas to annex New Mexico from Mexico, or at least establish a route to divert some trade off the Santa Fe Trail to Texas. Upon the expedition’s arrival, New Mexico Governor Manuel Armijo arrested the party of Texan merchants and soldiers, who were forced to march down to Mexico City where they were imprisoned for months.

Flint, Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds. and trans. *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542: They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005).

According to Borderlands historian David J. Weber, this “remarkable collection of documents on the Coronado expedition,” has made the classic Hammond and Rey edition obsolete.”²⁴ Not all area researchers would agree, but the compilation is certainly valuable. Although the focus is Coronado, the volume provides useful background context for ELCA investigations as well.

_____. eds. *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva: The 1540-1542 Route Across the Southwest*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1997.

This collection of essays edited by Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint resulted from a 1992 conference.

Florescano, Enrique and Isabel Gil Sánchez, comps. *Descripciones Económicas Generales de Nueva España, 1784-1817*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas, 1973.

_____. *Descripciones Económicas Regionales de Nueva España: Provincias del Norte, 1790-1814*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas, 1973.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See David J. Weber, “The Spanish Borderlands, Historiography Redux,” *The History Teacher* 39 no. 1 (November 2005): 43-56.

Fontana, Bernard L. *Entrada: The Legacy of Spain and Mexico in the United States*. Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments, 1994.

Foreman, Grant. *A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A.W. Whipple During His Explorations for a Railway Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Years 1853 and 1854*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.

Lieutenant Whipple served as a railroad supervisor looking for a railroad route between the Mississippi River and the Pacific. He provided a description of El Rancho de las Golondrinas, detailing a worn wagon road villagers still refer to as the "Camino Real."

Fournier, Patricia G. "Ceramic Analysis from the Paraje de San Diego Campsite." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 63-76. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Patricia Fournier conducted a typological study of the ceramics found during the 1994 survey and excavation of the Paraje de San Diego led by archaeologist Edward Staski. This essay presents her findings. Located on ELCA within the southern plains of the Jornada del Muerto, the Paraje de San Diego dates to the late sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. Fournier provides a nice summary of the ceramics trade in New Spain, which included imported European majolicas and earthenware and Oriental porcelains. In addition to these imports, local potters produced their own majolicas, glazed and burnished ceramics. According to Fournier, many artisans chose to locate along major transportation routes like ELCA, especially in proximity to mining centers, presidios, and ecclesiastical centers. Earthenwares produced by the New Mexican pueblos were also commodities within the Provincias Internas.

Frazer, Robert W., ed. and ann. *Over the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails, 1847-1848*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.

Frazer, Robert W. *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

_____. *Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846-1861*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.

Fuentes, Carlos. *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.

Fulton, Maurice Garland, ed. *Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg, Excursions in Mexico and California, 1847- 1850*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944.

García, Luis Navarro. *La conquista de Nuévo Mexico*. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica del Centro Iberoamericano de Cooperación, 1978.

García Carcel, Ricardo, and Lourdes Mateo Bretos. *La Leyenda Negra*. Madrid: Biblioteca Básica, 1990.

Gardiner, Mark L., ed. and ann. *Brothers on the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails: Edward James Glasgow and William Henry Glasgow, 1846-1848*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1993.

This book is an edited collection of letters and other materials relating to an 1846 trading expedition taken by merchant brothers Edward and William Glasgow. Coinciding with the United States' declaration of war on Mexico, the trip was fraught with difficulties including numerous delays. Letters written by the brothers detail camp life along the trail and their trading activities in Chihuahua.

Gerald, Rex E. *Spanish Presidios of the Late Eighteenth Century in Northern New Spain*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1968.

Gerhard, Peter. *The North Frontier of New Spain*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Gibson, George Rutledge. *Over the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails, 1847-1848: George Rutledge Gibson's Journal*, ed. Robert Walter Frazer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.

George Rutledge Gibson, a Southern lawyer and newspaperman, joined the Army of the West during the Mexican War. Gibson served under both Colonels Stephen Watts Kearny and Alexander Doniphan, respectively. *Over the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails* details Gibson's journey upon leaving Chihuahua for Santa Fe in the spring of 1847, following the Battle of Sacramento. The latter portion of the journal covers the trip from Santa Fe to Fort Leavenworth.

_____. *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale, Ca.: Arthur H. Clark, 1935.

Goetzmann, William H. *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.

_____. *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.

González, Francisco García. "Guerra y consumación de la Independencia en Zacatecas." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 169-190. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

González de la Vara, Martín. "Mexicanos y norteamericanos en el desarrollo del comercio de Santa Fe, 1821-1860." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 191-213. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Gregg, Josiah. *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Max L. Moorhead. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

This now-classic standard of Santa Fe Trail history was first published in 1844, and this edition, edited by Max Moorhead, is believed by many to be the most useful. Although the focus is the Santa Fe Trail rather than ELCA, the descriptions of trade and commerce of the era, and of the relationships and interactions with Mexico, are germane.

Grinstead, Marion C. *Life and Death of a Frontier Fort*. Socorro, N. Mex: Socorro County Historical Society, 1973.

Gutiérrez, Edgar O. "La Oficina de Rescate de Platas de la Villa de Chihuahua. In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 291-299. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Gutiérrez, Ramon A. *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Gutiérrez briefly addresses trade between Chihuahua and New Mexico. The author points out the negative balance of trade during the early nineteenth century when the monetary value of New Mexico imports exceeded exports by two to one. "New Mexicans," according to the author, also "frequently complained to royal authorities about the unscrupulous practices of Chihuahua's merchants and their agents." Bourbon reforms soon alleviated some of the disparity of trade relations. See Chapter 10: The Bourbon Reforms on the Northern Frontier.

Hackett, Charles W., Adolph F.A. Bandelier, and Fanny R. Bandelier, eds. *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vols. 1-3. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923-1937.

This massive reference provides copies of transcriptions and translations of documents collected by Adolph and Fanny Bandelier at the Archivo General de las Indias in Sevilla, Spain in the early 1900s. Bandelier died in Sevilla in 1914 while he was conducting this research. Charles Hackett took the project up and published many of the documents the Bandeliers had collected in this three-volume set. It is a large and diverse assemblage of documents on a variety of topics related to northern Mexico and New Mexico.

Hackett, Charles W., and Charmion C. Shelby. *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, vols. 8-9. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942 and 1970.

Hadley, Diana, Thomas H. Naylor, and Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, comp. and eds. *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History, vol. 2*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.

The four-volume work—*Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*—is a product of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest collection at the University of Arizona. The books are compilations of transcriptions of documents—Spanish “originals” presented together with annotated English translations—of official documents pertaining to the presidio system. This second volume, focusing on New Spain’s “central corridor” and the Texas corridor from 1700-1765, addresses the presidial system in what is today Texas, New Mexico, and northern Mexico. Documents featured in the volume include letters, diaries, military reports, and judicial papers.

Hall, Martin H. *Sibley's New Mexico Campaign*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960.

A treatment of the ambitious but ill-fated Confederate incursion into New Mexico during the Civil War.

Hallenbeck, Cleve. *Land of the Conquistadores*. Caldwell, Id.: Caxton Printers, 1950.

A meteorologist by profession, Hallenbeck served the United States Weather Bureau for in a variety of posts, ultimately moving to the station at Roswell, New Mexico, where he made his permanent home. He published numerous professional technical reports and papers, but also wrote on many articles and books about the Spanish history of the Southwest. This book is believed to have helped spark renewed interest in the history of ELCA, which is addressed in Chapter 13; Hallenbeck writes about ELCA within the larger context of the Spanish conquest of North America.

Hammond, George Peter. *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico: A New Investigation into the Early History of New Mexico in Light of a Mass of New Materials Recently Obtained from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain*. Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History. Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, 1927.

George Hammond was a noted professor of Latin American Studies and director of the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley. This work, and various others related to the Spanish colonial history of New Mexico (listed below) that he produced with his frequent collaborator Agapito Rey (a professor of Spanish literature), are considered foundational for regional studies and provide a wealth of detail related to the creation and use of ELCA.

Hammond, George Peter and Agapito Rey, trans. and eds. *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*. Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, 1927.

This account, written by chronicler Hernán Gallegos, describes the “illegal” expedition into what would become New Mexico in 1581-1582, led north from Santa Barbara, Mexico, by Fray Agustín Rodríguez and Francisco Sánchez (“el Chamuscado”). This effort had not been officially approved by the Spanish government and was not viewed positively at the time, although it did renew Spanish interest in colonizing the north. The account provides useful information about the status and conditions of various Native American settlements, which had not been visited by the Spanish for approximately 40 years. The route encompassed portions of what would become ELCA along the Conchos and Rio Grande rivers, although the trail would not become formalized until Oñate’s colonizing expedition. Two priests who remained in the *despoblado* when the expedition returned would ostensibly spark the Espejo expedition a short time later (see below).

_____. trans. and eds. *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583: As Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a Member of the Party*. Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1929.

An account of another expedition unauthorized by the Spanish government, this journal describes the expedition into the northern *despoblado* mounted by Antonio de Espejo, ostensibly to rescue the two priests “left behind” by the Rodriguez-Chamuscado expedition. This group followed the same route north used by the earlier expedition, so some portions of what would become ELCA were traversed. As was the case for the Gallegos account (described above), the chronicler included interesting detail about the peoples and settlements along the way is provided.

_____. trans. and eds. *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*, vols. 5 and 6. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953.

The essential presentation and treatments of Oñate’s colonizing expeditions, these volumes present English translations of the documents that memorialize the events involved in Oñate’s quest to found a successful colony on New Spain’s northern frontier, from hopeful beginning to inglorious end. A wealth of detail for regional scholars is presented, including the lists of exactly who accompanied the Oñate expeditions, much of what they carried with them, how the Spanish interacted with various indigenous peoples they encountered, etc.

_____. trans. and eds. *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580-1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, vol. 3. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1966.

The introduction to this volume summarizes the various unauthorized expeditions to the northern *despoblado* made in the decades prior to Oñate's trek. The volume presents translations of a number of the key documentary accounts.

Hardy, Robert William Hale. *Travels in the Interior of Mexico in 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828*. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1929. Reprint, Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press, 1977.

Hendricks, Rick. "The Camino Real at the Pass: Economy and Political Structure of the Paso del Norte Area in the Eighteenth Century. In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 125-141. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

The Paso del Norte area consisted of "the riverine communities stretching down the Rio Grande south and east from El Paso." This region experienced a remarkable increase in prosperity between the mid-1680s and late 1720s. This change in circumstance, Hendricks asserts, was due to El Paso's location along ELCA. From the late 1720s to circa 1750, El Paso was more economically significant than Santa Fe. The area produced livestock, maize and wheat, and wine and brandy—thanks to a thriving viticulture. Hendricks details haciendas of note, a prominent merchant, and several captains of the presidio at El Paso. As a conduit for commerce, trade, and migration, ELCA was essential to El Paso's success during this period of time.

Hodge, Frederick W., George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey. *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, vol. 4. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945.

Another of the essential descriptions of the early years of the New Mexico colony, written by a Portuguese Franciscan missionary (born in the Azores) who traveled on ELCA while serving as *custos* of the missions from 1626-1629. This account consists of a revision of an earlier document (see Ayer et al. above). Together, these accounts provide valuable contextual details about the native peoples and settlements of northern New Spain as well as the Spanish colonists, although some historians believe that Benavides inflated the numbers of people present.

Hodge, Frederick W. and Theodore H. Lewis, eds. *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1984.

Holmes, Allan J. *Fort Selden, 1865-1891: The Birth, Life, and Death of a Frontier Fort in New Mexico*. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2010.

Fort Selden, built in 1865, was located eighteen miles north of Las Cruces along the Camino Real. It served as a base camp for soldiers protecting the Mesilla Valley and travelers along ELCA Real from Apache attacks and other threats. This location placed the fort at the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto.

Hordes, Stanley M. "The History of the Santa Fe Plaza, 1610-1720," pp. 129-145. In *All Trails Lead to Santa Fe: An Anthology Commemorating the 400th Anniversary of the Founding of Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1610*. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2010.

Relying heavily on archival material from the Spanish Archives of New Mexico collection, Hordes traces the spatial development of the Santa Fe plaza and surrounding buildings in this anthology chapter. In his discussion, the author postulates that the Camino Real entered Santa Fe from the west along what is today San Francisco Street.

Hughes, Anne E. *The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District*. University of California Publications in History, vol. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914.

This early work on the history of Spanish El Paso covers the period from 1659 to 1685. Hughes details the early missions of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, San Francisco, and La Soledad, as well as the settlers scattered around them. The author then covers the arrival of Governor Antonio de Otermín and nearly 2,000 refugees fleeing New Mexico following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In the wake of Domingo Jironza Pétriz de Cruzate's establishment of a presidio at El Paso, the Manso revolt of 1684 causes the settlers to request permission to abandon the El Paso area.

Hughes, John Taylor. *Doniphan's Expedition, 1847*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997.

This book is a republication of John T. Hughes' chronicle of the Doniphan Expedition, described in detail under the heading for an augmented version published by William E. Connelley. Mexican War expedition traveled down ELCA into Mexico, a trek that encompassed approximately 3,600 miles and involved significant military engagements.

Hyslop, Stephen G. *Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Hyslop focuses on the economic and cultural exchanges resulting from the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail. Using more than one hundred different personal accounts, the greater part of the book is devoted to depicting the journey "as travelers experienced it" – their preparations, physical journey, and interactions with Native Americans and Mexicans along both the Santa Fe Trail and the Chihuahua Trail (ELCA). Because "Santa Fe, once the prime destination for traders, would become for many a way station on the road to Chihuahua," Hyslop devotes a great deal of attention to the route south to Mexico City—especially in regard to the Texan-Santa Fe expedition and Colonel Alexander Doniphan's march to Chihuahua during the U.S.-Mexican War.

Ivey, James. *In the Midst of Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions*. Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers no. 15. Santa Fe: Southwest Regional Office of the National Park Service, 1988.

Intended as a management tool for the National Park Service, *In the Midst of Loneliness* is a Historic Structures Report on the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument in central New Mexico. The monument includes the ruins of three seventeenth century mission churches—Quarai, Abó, and Gran Quivira—and the Pueblo villages (both excavated and undisturbed) at which they were constructed. Travelers along ELCA had forged an offshoot trail over Abó Pass to the Salinas Pueblos by the early 1600s. This work includes a discussion of the mission supply service via ELCA.

Jackson, Donald, ed. *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike with Letters and Related Documents*, 2 vols. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

Army Lt. Zebulon Montgomery Pike led an expedition to explore the southwest portion of the Louisiana Purchase in 1806-1807. When Pike and his men wandered into Colorado, they set up a stockade near present day Alamosa. Pike located the headwaters of the Rio Grande, which he mistakenly thought was the Red River. Spanish authorities discovered Pike's location there, and considering him a trespasser into their territory, escorted the group to Santa Fe. Pike was sent down to Chihuahua via ELCA to face questioning from the Commandant General of the Internal Provinces. This two-volume work was the first reproduction of the journals since 1895. Jackson's version includes maps and papers of Pike's that remained in Mexico for more than a century. Jackson also provides translations of available Spanish correspondence concerning Pike.

Jackson, Hal. *Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

In a forward, Marc Simmons describes this book as “the first motorists’ guide to the Camino Real.”²⁵ The book does indeed trace the route of ELCA from Santa Fe to Mexico City, emphasizing locations that be reached traveling by car (and/or that involve a short walk leaving after parking the vehicle). Sixty maps and numerous photos accompany brief descriptions of various locations along the route. Of greatest interest to many American ELCA researchers may be cities and other locations in Mexico that are periodically difficult to visit, a least while traveling by automobile, due to the vagaries of local criminal activity. One of the most interesting of these is Zacatecas, Zacatecas, the “home town” of Juan de Oñate. Jackson includes a visit to nearby Panuco, where the Oñate family property or *casco* (a walled-in collection of buildings) is located.

²⁵ p. xi.

Jackson, W. T. *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1869*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

Jenkins, Myra Ellen and Albert H. Schroeder. *A Brief History of New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.

Johnston, Abraham Robinson, Marcellus Ball Edwards, and Philip Good Ferguson. *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale, Ca., Arthur H. Clark, 1936.

Jones, Oakah L., Jr. *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.

As the title suggests, the author's focus is on the settlers who colonized the "northern frontier." One of a number of publications very useful for ELCA researchers by Jones, a respected historian.

_____. *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

_____. "Spanish Penetrations to the North of New Spain" in *A Continent Defined*, Vol. 2 of North American Exploration series, ed. John Logan Allen, 7-64. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

_____. "Puerta de El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: El Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar y los Pobladores de El Paso del Río del Norte. In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 209-222. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Jordan, Louann and St. George Cooke. *El Rancho de Las Golondrinas: Spanish Colonial Life in New Mexico*. Santa Fe: Colonial New Mexico Historical Foundation, 1977.

Julyan, Robert. *Place Names of New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Keleher, William A. *Turmoil in New Mexico: 1846-1868*. Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, 1952.

Kendall, George Wilkins. *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, vols. 1 and 2, ed. Gerald D. Saxon and William B. Taylor. Dallas: P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, 2004.

In 1841, journalist George Wilkins Kendall accompanied the Texan-Santa Fe Expedition—a heavily armed, but doomed, attempt by Texas President Mirabeau Lamar to take control of eastern New Mexico and divert some of the Santa Fe trade to his republic. The recent co-founder of the *New Orleans Picayune*, Kendall was keen to take part in the adventure, which unfortunately led to the party's arrest by the Mexican government. See Chapters 17 and 18 in vol. 1 for Kendall's account of

the forced march down ELCA to Paraje Cristobal. Chapters 1 to 3 in vol. 2 continue the account of the journey down to Mexico City, where the group was imprisoned for some time.

Kenner, Charles L. *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

Kessell, John L. *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1979. Reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

John Kessell's definitive narrative of Pecos Pueblo documents its history from first contact with the Spanish to its abandonment in 1838 and beyond. Pecos Pueblo's status as a gateway between the Pueblo and Plains Indians' worlds made it an important center for trade and communication. For the purposes of this study, *Kiva Cross and Crown* offers useful details concerning the annual mission supply and trade caravans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This includes the caravans of 1612 and 1631.

_____. *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.

Focusing on seventeenth century New Mexico, Kessell details the complexity of Pueblo-Spanish and Spanish civil-ecclesiastical relations in this monograph. *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico* begins with the 1598 settlement of New Mexico by Don Juan de Oñate, and analyzes the events leading to both the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and subsequent reconquest of 1692. Kessell briefly touches on the environment of ELCA between Mexico City and El Paso, and discusses the conveyances and costs involved in the triennial mission supply service to New Mexico. The historian also details the 1760 journey of Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, a bishop of Durango, up the Camino Real to Santa Fe.

_____. *Miera y Pacheco: A Renaissance Spaniard in Eighteenth Century New Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.

A detailed biography of one of the fascinating characters of eighteenth-century New Mexico; a gifted mapmaker, painter, sculptor, and ELCA traveler.

Kessell, John L. and Rick Hendricks. *By Force of Arms: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691-1693*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.

By Force of Arms is the second volume of translations in a six-volume series titled "The Journals of don Diego de Vargas." The series resulted from the University of New Mexico's Vargas Project, a decades-long effort to transcribe, translate, and annotate the papers of don Diego de Vargas. Using seventeenth-century documents from Mexican, Spanish, and American archives, Kessell and Hendricks illuminate de

Vargas' initial 1692-1693 *entrada* into New Mexico, resulting in a successful reconquest effort, as well as his time spent in El Paso preparing for this first excursion. This book is divided into thirteen sections, each with a prefatory summary and extensive endnotes. Translated documents include journals, correspondence, official reports, and viceregal orders. The translation of de Vargas' journal detailing his first *entrada* serves as the cornerstone of this important work.

Kessell, John L., Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, eds. *To the Royal Crown Restored: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1692-1694*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

To the Royal Crown Restored is the third volume of translations in a six-volume series titled "The Journals of don Diego de Vargas." The series resulted from the University of New Mexico's Vargas Project, a decades-long effort to transcribe, translate, and annotate the papers of don Diego de Vargas. This volume details de Vargas' preparations and recruiting efforts for his second *entrada* into New Mexico undertaken in 1693, and the bloody siege of Santa Fe in late 1693 when de Vargas retook the villa by force of arms. Translated documents include letters, official decrees, itineraries, musters, and recruitment lists of colonists.

_____. *Blood on the Boulders: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1694-1697*, Book 1. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

Blood on the Boulders is the fourth volume of translations in a six-volume series titled "The Journals of don Diego de Vargas." The series resulted from the University of New Mexico's Vargas Project, a decades-long effort to transcribe, translate, and annotate the papers of don Diego de Vargas. *Blood on the Boulders* picks up de Vargas' story following his aggressive retaking of Santa Fe in 1693. During this time period, the New Mexico governor battles to reestablish Spanish colonial settlement in the face of Pueblo resistance, which continued despite much warfare and negotiation over the following three years.

Kessell, John L., Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, and Larry D. Miller, eds. *A Settling of Accounts: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1700-1704*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

A Settling of Accounts is the last volume of translations in a six-volume series titled "The Journals of don Diego de Vargas." The series resulted from the University of New Mexico's Vargas Project, a decades-long effort to transcribe, translate, and annotate the papers of don Diego de Vargas. *A Settling of Accounts* covers three distinct episodes: de Vargas' time in Mexico City spent defending himself against allegations of fraud, the New Mexico governorship of Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, and de Vargas' triumphant return to New Mexico for his second gubernatorial term cut short by his untimely death. This last volume includes a very useful list of all of the documents used in the series and a cumulative index. A separately available CD-Rom includes Spanish transcriptions of all the documents used in the series.

Kinnaird, Lawrence, ed. *The Frontiers of New Spain: Nicolás de Lafora's Description, 1766-1768*. Berkeley: Quivira Society, 1958.

Nicolás de Lafora, Captain of the Royal Engineers, accompanied the Marqués de Rubí on his eighteenth century inspection of northern New Spain's military defenses, which incorporated travel along portions of ELCA. Appointed by King Charles III, Rubí was tasked with producing a comprehensive report of the situation as well as recommendations for improving the presidial system; Lafora was responsible for much of the report.

Kubler, George. *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and Since the American Occupation*. Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum, 1940.

Lange, Charles H., and Carroll L. Riley, eds. and anns. *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1880-1882*, vol. 1. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966.

This work and the succeeding volumes (listed below) provide transcriptions of Adolph Bandelier's journals and a wealth of interpretive material for periods of his life during which he spent a considerable amount of time in New Mexico. Bandelier was an archaeologist, historian, and ethnographer who has had considerable influence on the evolution of archaeological thinking in New Mexico. As a peripatetic researcher, he traveled along portions of ELCA many times in his travels through New Mexico and even deep into Mexico. His contributions cannot be overstated, since he was often the first researcher to record observations about the nature, extent, and location of so many archaeological and historical sites.

_____. *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1883-1884*, vol. 2. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970.

Lange, Charles H., Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange, eds. and anns. *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier 1885-1888*, vol. 3. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975.

_____. *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier: 1889-1892*, vol. 4. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

Lawson, Russell M. *Frontier Naturalist: Jean Louis Berlandier and the Exploration of Northern Mexico and Texas*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012.

Lea, Tom. *Calendar of Twelve Travelers Through the Pass of the North*. El Paso: Carl Hertzog, 1947. Reprint, El Paso: El Paso Electric Co., 1981.

Twelve Travelers is a collection of ink drawings of conquistadors and settlers on ELCL. Tom Calloway Lea, III, was an esteemed American artist and writer, producing such novels as *The Brave Bulls* and *The Wonderful Country*. An accomplished

muralist, Lea also contributed illustrations to *Life* magazine during and post- World War II. This calendar resulted from the lifelong collaboration between Lea and El Paso book designer and typographer Carl Hertzog.

Leonard, Irving A. *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*, 2d ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

This classic text focuses on the role played by popular literature in the Spanish settling of North America. Leonard used ship manifests as a framework to research the popular fiction brought over during the Spanish Colonial era. The author conjectured that the popular chivalric romances of the day strongly affected the conquistadores, and likely influenced their actions.

Lister, Florence C. and Robert H. Lister. *Chihuahua: Storehouse of Storms*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966.

Lloyd, Mecham. *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1927. Reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

Ibarra, a *basco* born in Spain, arrived in Mexico in the middle of the sixteenth century and was sponsored by his uncle, silver mine owner Diego de Ibarra, to lead an expedition to explore the region northwest of Zacatecas in 1554 (accompanied by Spanish historian Baltasar Obregón). Francisco de Ibarra was about twenty years old at the time, and the expedition marked the beginning of an illustrious career that shaped the colonial cultural trajectory of much of the region. He continued explorations to the north and west in 1562 and 1564, always on the lookout for more silver. In 1562 he was appointed governor of the newly formed province of Nueva Vizcaya—including the area encompassed by the modern Mexican states of Chihuahua and Durango, the eastern portions of Sonora and Sinaloa, and the southwestern part of Coahuila—and established the city of Durango as its capital in 1563. Soldiers sent out by Ibarra from Durango founded the town of Santa Bárbara (in present-day Chihuahua) as a base for mining the silver they discovered in the area. As they traveled and established settlements (particularly mining towns), north of Zacatecas, Francisco de Ibarra and his soldiers laid down traces of portions of the route that would be used a few decades later by Juan de Oñate and other historical explorers heading north to the *despoblado*.

Loomis, Noel M. *The Texan-Santa Fe Pioneers*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.

López-Gastón, José R. *Tradición Hispánica de Nuevo México*. Mexico City: Editorial Progreso, S.A., 1985.

López Morales, Francisco J. "El Camino de la Plata." In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 99-116. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Lummis, Charles F. *The Spanish Pioneers*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1893.

Magallones, Norma. "Los museos comunitarios del Camino Real de Tierra Adentro." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 259-268. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Magoffin, Susan Shelby. *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847*, ed. Stella M. Drumm. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926.

Magoffin's diary provides the relatively unique perspective of a female nineteenth-century traveler in the wilds of the Spanish Borderlands (and along ELCA), and is filled with interesting details about her adventures.

Mahr, Aarón P. and Roy Bernard Brown. "La defensa de Chihuahua: la batalla de Sacramento, 28 de febrero de 1847." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 77-108. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Marshall, Michael P. and Henry J. Walt. *Rio Abajo: Prehistory and History of a Rio Grande Province*. Santa Fe: New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, 1984.

This work resulted from the Rio Abajo Research Project, a series of archaeological field trips conducted in 1980 and 1981. See Chapter 10, "Place Names of the Camino Real in the Rio Abajo and in the Jornada del Muerto." Marshall begins this chapter with a brief history of the Jornada from Onate's 1598 expedition through to the American era. The history is followed by definitions of twenty-five different places, the majority of which are organized geographically from north to south. Each entry includes a brief description of the place with locational information and the bibliographic source(s) in which it is mentioned. For example, Marshall quotes Bishop Tamarón's description of La Vuelta de Socorro (a bad stretch of road) from the 1953 translation, by Eleanor Adams, of Tamarón's 1760 report. Parajes defined in this chapter include El Nogal, El Contadero, Fra Cristóbal, Las Tusas, Madrid, Las Peñuelas, La Cruz de Alemán, Perillo, San Diego, La Cruz de Robledo. Geographical landmarks include Black Mesa, Laguna del Muerto, and Black Hill.

Martin, James C. and Robert Sidney Martin. *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press for the Amon Carter Museum, 1984.

McGowan, Kendall, and Nicole A. Ramirez Thomas. "Parajes Perdidos, Parajes Encontrados: A NMCRIS Investigation into Stops Along the Camino Real in New Mexico." In *Scholar of the City Different: Papers in Honor of Cordelia Thomas Snow*, Emily J. Brown, Matthew J. Barbour, and Genevieve N. Head., eds., 135-149. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico vol. 45. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 2019.

McGowan and Ramirez Thomas describe a series of analyses conducted using qualitative and quantitative data archived in the New Mexico Cultural Resources Information System (NMCRIS), the cultural sites archive for the state, to investigate the archaeological site data associated with ELCA. A primary purpose of the research was to examine data for artifact assemblages from identified ELCA sites—in particular, *parajes*—for purposes of comparison with similar sites/assemblages that have not been specified as ELCA-associated, in the hopes of illuminating previously unidentified associations. Several patterns in the data are identified that are interpreted as diagnostic with respect to identifying trends in the creation of *paraje* sites and associated material assemblages, and (as a second phase in the analyses) identifying sites that have not been previously specified as associated with use of ELCA.

Mirquez Terrazas, Zacarias. *Satevó: Periodo Colonial*. Chihuahua: Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 1990.

Moorhead, Max L. *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

New Mexico's Royal Road followed Moorhead's highly regarded editing of *Commerce of the Prairies* in 1954. Sometimes referred to as Moorhead's own *Commerce of the Prairies*, this book is a thorough study of the overland trade—from the livestock and wagons to campsites, customs, and trade goods. While Moorhead addresses seventeenth and eighteenth century trade along the Camino Real, the majority of this history is devoted to the period following the establishment of the Santa Fe Trail. Moorhead was first to emphasize the amount of Santa Fe Trail trade conducted in Mexico. According to Moorhead, "Santa Fe became a mere port of entry, and most of the wagons passed through it without even breaking their loads" (p. 76-77). More than 50 years later, Moorhead's book remains one of the definitive scholarly works on the Camino Real and Santa Fe Trail.

_____. *The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769-1791*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.

_____. *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Moorhead's book provides a comprehensive look at the presidio system and its influence as a frontier institution on colonial New Spain. The author delineates the system's "five most significant functions" as a military fort, a company of troops, a government payroll, an epicenter for the surrounding community, and an agency for nearby Indian reservations. Moorhead details the daily operations of the presidio from fort design to payroll issues to training.

Naylor, Thomas H. and Charles W. Polzer, comps. and eds. *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain, 1724-1729: A Documentary History of His Frontier Inspection and the Reglamento de 1729*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988.

This volume is a product of the scholars involved in the Documentary Relations of the Southwest collection at the University of Arizona. The book is a compilation of transcriptions of documents—Spanish “originals” presented together with annotated English translations—pertaining to the inspection tour of military installations along the northern frontier of New Spain led by Brigadier Pedro de Rivera y Villalón in the early eighteenth century, a journey that encompassed travel along ELCA. The documents are presented in English and Spanish, and include Rivera’s official reports to the viceroy of New Spain and the military regulations (*reglamento*) promulgated in 1729 as a result of Rivera’s findings. Detailed descriptions of the maps produced by Rivera’s cartographer, Francisco Alvarez Barreiro, and reproductions of a number of the maps, are included.

New Mexico State Highway Commission. *Camino Real*. Santa Fe: New Mexico State Highway Commission, 1915.

Camino Real is a very early promotional publication produced by the New Mexico State Highway Commission to advertise the opening of the “Camino Real highway” for traffic. The highway is defined as “a combination of the Camino Real proper and portions of State Highway No. 1.” State Highway No. 1, from Raton in the north to Anthony in the south, is today Interstate Highway 25. This 28-page booklet is filled with black-and-white photographs of road sections, graveled and/or graded, all along the promoted route. For example, one caption reads “Camino Real between Rincon and Fort Selden: Clay-gravel road through the sand hills.” The publication concludes with eight zinc-etched strip maps of the promoted route.

Nieto Gamiño, Luis Felipe. “Análisis del Mapa de San Miguel y San Felipe, que Corresponde a las Relaciones Geográficas de 1580.” In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 34-53. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Provides an analysis of the symbology of a historic map created for a portion of the Archdiocese of Michoacán, Mexico, comparing it to the information provided in the Relación Geográfica prepared in 1580 for approximately the same geographic area. Portions of the historic map are reproduced and likely segments of ELCA are identified and discussed, although they are referenced in terms such as “Camino de México a Zacatecas.”

Ortiz Vidales, Salvador. *La arriería en México. Estudio folklórico, costumbrista e histórico*. Mexico City: Ediciones Botas, 1941.

Oster, Elizabeth A. “Who were the Mexican Indians of Santa Fe?” In *Scholar of the City Different: Papers in Honor of Cordelia Thomas Snow*, Emily J. Brown, Matthew J. Barbour,

and Genevieve N. Head., eds., 165-180. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico vol. 45. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 2019.

Examines the probable ethnicities of the Native Americans from Mexico that accompanied Juan de Oñate (and other Spanish) to the New Mexico Colony. A candidate group that has not been previously considered, the Nahuatl-speaking Caxcans of Nueva Galicia, is introduced and described.

Padilla, Carmen and Jack Parsons. *El Rancho de las Golondrinas: Living History in New Mexico's La Ciénega Valley*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2009.

This book traces the history of El Rancho De las Golondrinas, the Spanish colonial living history museum in La Cienega Valley south of Santa Fe. Located along the route of ELCA, the site originally served as a *paraje* or campsite for travelers. See Chapter 3, "A Well-Placed Road," detailing the forging of the Camino Real and the history of the *paraje* known as El Alamo de San José pre- and post-Pueblo Revolt. Nearby El Rancho de las Golondrinas was established around 1710, and served as a stopover along the trail for two centuries.

Pacheco, José De La Cruz, Comercio y Tráfico de Mercancías en la Nueva Vizcaya Nuclear en el Ultimo Tercio del Siglo XVIII. In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 133-152. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Carefully referenced, and contains a useful appendix detailing known merchants active during the referenced time period, listed together with their locations, types of goods traded and their values, etc.

Pacheco, José De La Cruz and Joseph P Sánchez, coord. *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

This book is a compilation of essays resulting from the first five Coloquia Internacional held for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, which took place between 1995 and 1999. The symposia, held on both sides of the border, have been a bi-national project of Mexico and the United States focusing on the preservation and continued research of the historic route. Published by Mexico City's National Institute of Anthropology and History, this book is subdivided into four thematic sections devoted to archaeology, history, museums, and general focus. In this bibliography, the book's essays are each detailed separately and organized by author name.

Palmer, Gabrielle (comp). *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*. BLM Cultural Resources Series No. 11. Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1993.

This volume became the first in a series with the publication of “Volume Two” several years later (listed below). Created by The Camino Real Project, It contains articles written by a variety of researchers—historians, archaeologists, musicologists, and Camino aficionados—in the 1990s as the significance of ELCA to the cultural trajectories of both Mexico and the United States was in the process of being acknowledged, studied, and celebrated with a World Heritage listing in Mexico and the establishment of a National Historic Trail in the United States. All of the articles (as well as the references and “suggested reading” lists) contain information of relevance for Trail scholars, depending, of course, on a particular researcher’s focus. In order to facilitate consultation by users of this bibliography, they are listed below per order of appearance in the publication.

1. Scurlock, Dan, “Through Desierto and Bosque: The Physical Environment of El Camino Real” (1-11).
2. Riley, Carroll L., “The Pre-Spanish Camino Real” (13-19).
3. Schroeder, Albert H., “At the Ends of the Roads in the 1500s” (21-27).
4. Marc Simmons, “Opening the Camino Real” (29-34).
5. Chavez, Thomas E., “North from Mexico. Inland and Beyond: El Camino Real” (35-40).
6. Ivey, James E., “Seventeenth-Century Mission Trade on the Camino Real” (41-67).
7. Snow, Cordelia Thomas, “A Headdress of Pearls”: Luxury Goods Imported over the Camino Real during the Seventeenth Century” (69-76).
8. Hendricks, Rick, “Road to Rebellion. Road to Reconquest: The Camino Real and the Pueblo-Spanish War, 1680-1696” (77-83).
9. Roney, John, Tracing the Camino Real: The Chihuahua Section (85-99)
10. Baxter, John O., “Livestock on the Camino Real” (101-111).
11. Baxter, John O., “Agriculture and the Camino Real: Food Supplies for Zacatecas” (113-120).
12. Sanchez, Joseph P., “Bernardo Gruber and the New Mexican Inquisition” (121-131).
13. Snow, David H., “ ‘Purchased in Chihuahua for Feasts’ ” (133-146).
14. Cook, Mary Jean, “Daughters of the Camino Real” (147-156).
15. Dougherty, Shawn, “A Brief Survey of Hispanic Music on the Camino Real (157-168).
16. White, Robert R., “Early Anglo-American Artists along the Camino Real: John Mix Stanley and Peter and Thomas Moran” (169-176).

17. Schroeder, Albert H., "The Camino Real in 1846-1847" (177-186).
18. Jordan, Julie, "Military Guardians of the Nineteenth-Century Camino Real" (187-194).
19. Alberts, Don. E., "Civil War along the Camino Real" (195-203).
20. Glover, Vernon J., "Rails on El Camino Real" (205-211).
21. Julyan, Bob, "The Persistence of Memory: Names along the Camino Real" (213-220).

Palmer, Gabrielle, G. and Stephen L. Fosberg (comps.). *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, Volume Two*. BLM Cultural Resources Series No. 13. Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1999.

As noted above, a follow-up to the compendium of useful articles published about ELCA by the BLM Cultural Resources Series No. 11. The articles are listed below (together with authors' names and page numbers) in their order of appearance in the volume.

1. Levine, Frances, "What Is the Significance of a Road?; Cultural Change and Cultural Exchange along El Camino Real" (1-14).
2. Marshall, Michael P., "Journal of a Reconnaissance of the Camino Real" (15-39).
3. Scurlock, Dan, "Floods, Fords, and Shifting Sands" (41-54).
4. Esquibel, José Antonio, "Mexico City to Santa Fe; Spanish Pioneer son the Camino Real, 1693-1694" (55-69).
5. Pierce, Donna, and Cordelia Thomas Snow, "A Harp for Playing; Domestic Goods Transported over the Camino Real" (71-86).
6. Cunningham, Elizabeth, and Skip Miller, "Trade Fairs in Taos; Prehistory to 1821" (87-102).
7. Brugge, David M., "Captives and Slaves on the Camino Real" (103-110).
8. Torrez, Robert J., "Governor Allende's Instructions for Conducting Caravans on the Camino Real, 1816" (111-116).
9. Bakker, Keith, "New Mexican Spanish Colonial Furniture and the Camino Real" (117-131).
10. Winter, Mark, "Saltillo Sarapes" (133-146).
11. Hill, David V., and John A. Peterson, "East Meets West on the Camino Real; Chinese Export Porcelain in Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo Mexico" (147-152).
12. Fournier, Patricia, "Ceramic Production and Trade on the Camino Real" (153-175).

13. Ivey, James E., "Último Poblado del Mundo (The Last Place on Earth); Evidence of Imported Retablos in the Churches of seventeenth-Century New Mexico" (177-195).
14. Pierce, Donna, "Heaven on Earth: Church Furnishings in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico" (197-208).
15. Hendricks, Rick, "El Paso del Norte; New Mexico's Southern Gateway on the Camino Real" (209-220).
16. Gavin, Robin Farwell, "Santeros of the Río Abajo and the Camino Real" (221-230).
17. Scurlock, Dan, "The Camino Real at Cerro and Plaza Tomé" (231-240).
18. Cook, Mary Jean, "Gertrudis Barceló; Woman Entrepreneur of the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails, 1830-1850" (241-245).
19. Gardner, Mark L., "The Mexican War and the Chihuahua Trail; the Doniphan and Price Expeditions" (247-261).
20. Taylor, Mary D., "Cura de la Frontera, Ramón Ortiz" (263-278).
21. Gardner, Mark L., "The Case of Manuel X. Harmony; From the Chihuahua Trail to the U.S. Supreme Court" (279-291).
22. Taylor y Romero, J. Paul, "La Caravana; A Vehicle for the Transmission of Culture" (293-306).
23. Fosberg, Stephen L., "El Camino Real International Heritage Center; History and Future of a Unique Partnership" (307-318).
24. Lawrence Beal, "El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro; National Historic Trail Feasibility Study" (319-333).
25. Jones, Oakah L., "Epilogue; Perspectives on the Camino Real in New Mexico" (335-345).

Pearce, T. M. ed. *New Mexico Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1965.

Perea, José Luis. "Los apaches y la conformación regional del Camino Real en Chihuahua. In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 241-249. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Pérez González, María Luisa. "Los caminos reales de América en la legislación y en la historia." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 291-337. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Pons, Elsa Hernández. "La arqueología del Valle de Allenda, Chihuahua." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco

and Joseph P. Sánchez, 29-48. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Poole, Joy L, ed. *Over the Santa Fe Trail to Mexico; The Travel Diaries and Autobiography of Dr. Rowland Willard*. Reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017.

In early summer, 1825, young Dr. Rowland Willard joined a wagon train headed out of Saint Charles, Missouri, and bound for Santa Fe, New Mexico. Not stopping long in New Mexico he continued south to Chihuahua and Durango, where he was able to practice as a physician and save (and keep) \$7,000 in cash for his return to the United States in 1828. Willard detailed his exploits in diaries, and later, wrote an autobiography. Excerpts from his diaries were published in the *Western Travel Review* in 1829 and two years later the complete text of his diaries was added as an appendix to *The Personal Narrative of James Ohio Pattie*. Poole recognized the value of the diary when she learned that it was being put up for auction, and has included the text of the diary as well as Willard's autobiography in this volume, along with a contextual introduction and a biography of Willard, extensive (and useful) annotations, maps, and figures (photographs and drawings) that illustrate aspects of Willard's life.

Poore, Anne V. and John Montgomery, eds. *Secrets of a City: Papers on Albuquerque Area Archaeology in Honor of Richard A. Bice*. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico no. 13. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1987.

Porrás Muñoz, Guillermo. *Diario y derrotero de lo caminado : visto, y observado en el discurso de la visita general de Precidios, situados en las Provincias Ynternas de Nueva España, que de orden de su magestad executó D. Pedro de Rivera, Brigadier de los Reales Exercitos. Haviendo transitado por los Reinos del Nuevo de Toledo, el de la Nueva Galicia, el de la Nueva Vizcaya, el de la Nueva Mexico, el de la Nueva Estremadura, el de las Nuevas Philipinas, el de Nuevo Leon. Las Provincias, de Sonora, Ostimuri, Sinaloa, y Guasteca, 1724-1728*. México D.F.: Librería Porrúa Hermanos, 1945.

One of two presentations of the “Diario y Derrotero” attributed to Pedro de Rivera y Villalón following his eighteenth-century inspection tour of the northern presidios published by Mexican scholars in the 1940s. This volume contains only the “Diario”—that is, the narrative version of the journey created by Rivera—as transcribed and annotated by Porrás Muñoz based the version he accessed in Mexico's AGN. Porrás Muñoz was born in the United States to parents from Chihuahua, Mexico, to which he emigrated to enter the priesthood as a Jesuit. Specializing in historical investigations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he also earned a law degree and a canonical doctorate, and served as a chaplain at Harvard University for several years.

Porter, Eugene O. *San Elizario: A History*. Austin: Jenkins Publishing Co., 1973.

Powell, Philip Wayne. *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952.

A seminal work by one of the most important scholars of the region often described as the “Spanish Borderlands” and ravaged in the sixteenth century by the “Chichimec War,” this book has been reprinted various times, in English and in Spanish. It focuses on the geopolitics, military history, and economics of the Spanish advances into and ultimately through northern Mexico, and provides rich details regarding the interactions of the Spanish with indigenous people of the region (and of their interactions with each other, prior to and during the Spanish incursions). Although the book is not about ELCA per se, it offers a useful analysis about the challenges that the Spanish faced as they attempted to export their conquest to the north, and the ways in which they had to adapt their methods to the *guerra a fuego y a sangre* required to pacify the region.

Preston, Douglas, José Antonio Esquibel, and Christine Preston. *The Royal Road: El Camino Real from Mexico City to Santa Fe*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

This volume describes a trek—accomplished by the Prestons via automobile, on horseback, and on foot—along the route of ELCA from Mexico City to Santa Fe, as a commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the trail. Novelist Douglas Preston contributes an essay that describes the journey, accompanied by Christine Preston’s stunning color photographs of various locations they visited along the route. A genealogical appendix, “The People of the Camino Real” by José Antonio Esquibel, is also included.

Rangel, Miguel Ángel Mendoza. “El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: los museos ante el reto de su adecuación a los nuevos escenarios de gestión del futuro.” In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 253-258. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Reinhartz, Dennis, and Gerald. D. Saxon, eds. *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.

This book provides a fascinating account of the role of cartography in the empire-building of Spain, Mexico, and the United States in the west, both as a method of presenting spatial extents of territories and for controlling them. Of particular interest in this volume are the discussions, sources, mapmakers, and presentations of other data regarding early maps of New Mexico.

Reséndez, Andrés. *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Rex, Gerald. *Spanish Presidios of the Late Eighteenth Century in Northern New Spain*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1968.

Riley, Carroll L. *Sixteenth Century Trade in the Greater Southwest*. Mesoamerican Studies no. 10. Carbondale: University Museum and Art Galleries, Southern Illinois University, 1976.

_____. *Rio del Norte: People of the Upper Rio Grande from Earliest Times to the Pueblo Revolt*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995.

Riley briefly details the forging of ELCA by Don Juan de Onate, as well as early trade and settlement supply efforts along the route.

_____. *The Kachina and the Cross: Indians and Spaniards in the Early Southwest*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999.

The Kachina and the Cross, a sequel to *Rio del Norte*, is focused on the history of seventeenth century New Mexico. Riley offers a comprehensive look at the people, economy, religion, and government of the Spanish colony. The Camino Real is discussed in reference to Juan de Oñate's 1598 forging of the trail and the triennial mission supply trains. *The Kachina and the Cross* also includes a very useful and detailed bibliographical essay on Riley's sources.

Rittenhouse, Jack D. *The Santa Fe Trail: A Historical Bibliography*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.

Rittenhouse's bibliography of the Santa Fe Trail provides more than 700 sources of trail history, some of which are also relevant to ELCA.

Robb, John Donald. *Hispanic Folk Music of New Mexico and the Southwest: A Self-Portrait of a People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Robinson, Jacob S. *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan*. Portsmouth Journal Press, 1848. Reprint, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932.

Rodríguez, Andrés Reyes and Benjamín R. García García. "El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro en Aguascalientes." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 339-. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Ross, Frank. *From Settler to Citizen: New Mexican Economic Development and the Creation of the Vecino Society, 1750-1820*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.

Ruxton, George Frederick Augustus. *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*. London: John Murray, 1847. Reprint, Glorieta, N. Mex.: Rio Grande Press, 1973.

Ruxton was a British explorer who wrote about the westward expansion of the United States (among other areas in which he traveled) in the nineteenth century and is believed to be one of the earliest chroniclers of the "mountain men." His

journeys in the American West took place after he had completed his service for the British Army. This account includes some details traveling north along ELCA, including some acerbic descriptions of the communities along the route through which he passed; “Limitar” (Lemitar), for example, is described as “another wretched village”. He does provide some useful details about the environment.

Sánchez, Arturo Guevara. “Zona arqueológica La Ferrería, nuevos hallazgos e interpretaciones.” In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 23-28. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Sánchez, Joseph P. *The Rio Abajo Frontier, 1540-1692: A History of Early Colonial New Mexico*. Albuquerque Museum History Monograph Series. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Museum, 1987; 2d ed. 1996.

Provides detail on the journey of Bernardo López de Mendizábal—upon assuming the governorship of New Mexico—up ELCA with a supply caravan in 1658. The tale of Bernard Gruber—*el alemán* who bestowed his name to an important location on the Jornada del Muerto—and the New Mexico Inquisition is related in the 1996 edition.

_____. “The Peralta-Ordóñez Affair and the Founding of Santa Fe.” In *Santa Fe: History of an Ancient City*, ed. David Noble Grant, 27-38. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1989.

_____. El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: An Historical Overview. In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 69-95. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Traces the development of ELCA through time, particularly with respect to its economic importance. Included is a discussion of the four principal *caminos reales* of New Spain. Details about the eighteenth-century inspections (both of which involved mapping) led by Pedro de Rivera and the Marqués de Rubí are provided.

_____. *Don Fernando Durán y Chaves’s Land and Legacy*. Albuquerque: National Park Service Spanish Colonial Research Center, 1998.

_____. “Atrisco and the Villa de San Felipe de Albuquerque: 1692-1760.” In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 143-154. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

The Atrisco Land Grant was awarded to Don Fernando Durán y Chávez following his participation in the 1692 resettlement of New Mexico with Don Diego de Vargas. Atrisco was located west of the Rio Grande across from Albuquerque, settled shortly

after in 1706. Established as a defensive post within the Valle de Atrisco (later the Valle de Albuquerque), Albuquerque soon eclipsed Atrisco politically, economically, and religiously. Atrisco, however, continued to be “an important farm and stock raising area.” Sanchez asserts that both Atrisco and Albuquerque were “profoundly significant” for determining the route of ELCA through the valley.

Sánchez, Joseph P. and Bruce A. Erickson. *From Mexico City to Santa Fe: A Historical Guide*. Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Rio Grande Books, 2011.

A useful and comprehensive historical dictionary of place names associated with ELCA from south to north, accompanied by maps, comprises the centerpiece of this volume. An introductory chapter provides a history of ELCA during the various centuries of its use. Appendices include a copy of the legislation that established El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail, and a discussion of significant terminology, particularly the appellation *camino real* (written by Sanchez and Erickson, with Maria Luisa Pérez González).

Sánchez, Joseph P. and Larry D. Miller. *Martineztown 1823-1950: Hispanics, Jesuits & Land Investors in New Town Albuquerque*. Los Ranchos de Albuquerque: Rio Grande Books, 2009.

In this history of Martineztown, Sánchez and Miller focus on patterns of land tenure over a century-plus of development. Originally communal grazing lands east of Old Town Albuquerque, Martineztown became popular with land speculators following the 1880 arrival of the railroad. In telling the story of Martineztown, Sánchez and Miller discuss the various iterations of ELCA within the Albuquerque area – depending on the time of year and condition of the Rio Grande. Briefly addressed is the crossing of the Camino Real over the Rio Grande from the east side of the river to the Atrisco Land Grant on the west. See Chapter 1 for recollections of Albuquerque by numerous ELCA travelers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Sánchez-Clark, Angélica. A Descriptive History of the Camino Real Place names in New Mexico: Two Early Accounts. In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 55-67. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Compares the accounts of Spanish colonial exploration into New Mexico along portions of what would become ELCA created by two early travelers and leaders of expeditions, Francisco Sánchez Chanscado (1581-1582) and Juan de Oñate (1598). Among other interesting details, various theories regarding the development of the appellation “Jornada del Muerto” are examined, and some founding stories not generally considered in contemporary discussions about the term are mentioned. Information about the statuses and locations of the Pueblo settlements encountered by the two expeditions is also briefly discussed.

Schmidt, Robert H., Jr. *A Geographical Survey of Chihuahua*. Southwestern Studies Monograph 37. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1973.

Scholes, France V., and Eleanor B. Adams. "Inventories of Church Furnishings in Some New Mexico Missions, 1672." In *Dargan Historical Essays: Historical Studies Presented to Marion Dargan by His Colleagues and Former Students*, University of New Mexico, ed. William M. Dabney and Josiah C. Russell, 27-38. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952.

Schroeder, Albert H. and Don S. Matson. *A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal, 1590-1591*. Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1965.

Unauthorized by the Spanish Crown, Castaño de Sosa set off in 1590 to colonize New Mexico with a group of followers from Nuevo León, where he had served as lieutenant governor to a man (Luis de Carbajal y Cueva) arrested on suspicion that he was a "crypto-Jew." Portuguese by birth, Castaño de Sosa was believed to have led raids north along the Rio Grande that resulted in capturing and selling hundreds of Native Americans into slavery prior to embarking on his illegal expedition. He apparently undertook the journey in order to absent himself from scrutiny following Carbajal y Cueva' arrest, and also to recoup financial losses. The expedition, which included colonists and their possessions but no clergy, proceeded north from Almaden (in what is now Coahuila) up the Pecos River, ultimately reaching the Pueblo of Pecos. Meanwhile, the Viceroy of New Spain, unamused by the proceedings, had Castaño de Sosa followed, arrested, and tried; the erstwhile conquistador was ultimately exiled to the Phillipines, where he died.

This volume is the first translation of the journal to be made available in English.

Scurlock, Dan, comp. *Spain in North America: Selected Sources on Spanish Colonial History, Archeology, Architecture and Art, and Material Culture*. Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1973.

Simmons, Marc. *Albuquerque: A Narrative History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

_____. "Carros y Carretas: Vehicular Traffic on the Camino Real." In *Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory in the Southwest: New Papers Inspired by the Work of E. Boyd*, ed. Marta Weigle, Claudia Larcombe, and Samuel Larcombe. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1983.

_____. "Colonial New Mexico and Mexico: The Historical Relationship." In *Colonial Frontiers: Art & Life in Spanish Colonial New Mexico*, ed. Christine Mather, 71-89. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1983.

_____. *New Mexico: An Interpretive History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

_____. *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Simmon's generally complimentary biography of Juan de Oñate documents some interesting details about his family history, including kinship ties (on his mother's side of the family) with both Hernán Cortés and Moctezuma Xocoyotzin.

_____. "Observations on El Camino Real." In *Memorias del Coloquio Internacional El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, coord. José De La Cruz Pacheco and Joseph P. Sánchez, 269-275. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000.

Simmons, Marc (essay) and Joan Myers (photographs). *Along the Santa Fe Trail*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

Snow, David H. "The Identification of Puaray Pueblo." In *Collected Papers in Honor of Florence Hawley Ellis*, ed. Theodore R. Frisbie, 463-480. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico no. 2. Norman: Hooper Publishing Company for the Albuquerque Archaeological Society, 1975.

_____. "Santiago to Guache: Notes for a Tale of Two (or More) Bernalillos." In *Collected Papers in Honor of Marjorie Ferguson Lambert*, ed. Albert H. Schroeder, 161-181. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico no. 3. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Archaeological Society Press, 1976.

Stanford, Thomas E. *El villancico y el corrido mexicano*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1974.

Staski, Edward. *Research on the American West: Archaeology at Forts Cummings and Fillmore* (NMCRIS 124728). BLM Cultural Resources Series No. 12. Santa Fe: BLM New Mexico State Office, 1995.

Ed Staski is probably best-known for his work at Paraje San Diego in southern New Mexico, but prior to those investigations, Staski and others conducted excavations and other studies at Fort Fillmore, identified as a high-potential site on ELCA located south of Las Cruces. Fort Fillmore, first occupied in 1851 and officially abandoned in 1862, served for a time as the southernmost military establishment on the expanding western frontier of the United States. Ostensibly constructed to protect both local residents from Apache depredations, its primary mission was to implant an American military presence in a region recently acquired from Mexico. The fort was surrendered to Confederate forces from Texas in the summer of 1861, but was retaken by Union troops in 1862 and then abandoned that same year. The investigations revealed a variety of information about the construction, layout, use, abandonment, and post-abandonment processes at the site.

_____. Archaeology on the Camino Real in Southern New Mexico: The *Paraje San Diego*. In *Archaeology of the Jornada Mogollon: Proceedings from the 10th Jornada Mogollon Conference*, M. Stow and M. Slaughter, eds., 111-123. Geo-marine, Inc., El Paso: 1999.

A summary of archaeological fieldwork conducted at the site, a *paraje* or campsite used by ELCA travelers.

Stoddard, Ellwyn R., Richard L. Nostrand, and Jonathan P. West. *Borderlands Sourcebook: A Guide to the Literature on Northern Mexico and the American Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.

Strickland, Rex. *Six Who Came to El Paso: Pioneers of the 1840s*, Southwestern Studies, vol. 1 no. 3. El Paso: Texas Western College Press, 1963).

Strickland details six early pioneers of what became the American El Paso. Individuals such as T. Frank White and Ben Franklin Coons built trading houses on the American side of the border, just across from El Paso del Norte, which had flourished as a commercial center due to the Camino Real. By the 1850s, American James Wiley Magoffin had already been involved in the Santa Fe-Chihuahua trade for 25 years. He settled in El Paso in 1849. Hugh Stephenson was another trader along the Camino Real beginning in the 1820s.

Suárez Argüello, Clara Elena. "Los arrieros novohispanos." In *Trabajo y sociedad en la historia de México*, ed. Gloria Artis Espritu. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1992.

_____. *Camino real y carrera larga: La arriería en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVII*. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1997.

_____. "La Arriería Novohispana y las Rutas de Tierra Adentro." In *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Historia y Cultura*. Primer Coloquio Internacional, eds. National Park Service and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 153-179. México: Prisma Impresiones, 1997.

Contains a great deal of useful information about muleteers on the Camino, including tables of types of goods being transported, distances and time frames involved, etc.

Super, John C. "Miguel Hernandez, Master of Mule Trains." In *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, ed. David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

_____. *La vida en Querétaro durante la Colonia, 1531-1810*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983.

Swift, Roy L. and Leavitt Corning Jr. *Three Roads to Chihuahua: The Great Wagon Roads that Opened the Southwest, 1823-1883*. Austin: Eakin Press, 1988.

Taylor, John. *Bloody Valverde: A Civil War Battle on the Rio Grande, February 21, 1862*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

Taylor, Michael R., ed. *Along the Rio Grande: A Pastoral Visit to Southwest New Mexico in 1902*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

Thomas, Alfred Barnaby. *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932.

_____. *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935.

_____. *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, vol. 11. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

Timmons, Wilbert H. *El Paso: A Borderlands History*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1990.

_____. *James Wiley Magoffin: Don Santiago, El Paso Pioneer*. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1999.

Timmons uses the life of the trader and businessman involved in commerce along the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails (the latter a moniker used historically to describe the portion of ELCA between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Chihuahua, Mexico) as a lens through which to explore the U.S. Mexico borderlands of the nineteenth century.

Torok, George D. *From the Pass to the Pueblos: El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail*. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2012.

This is a guidebook for the trail with histories and overviews of places in New Mexico and West Texas. It starts with a summary of the trail's history from Oñate's colonizing effort of 1598 until the arrival of the railroads in the 1880s. The book describes places along the trail, the natural environment, archaeology of important sites, some of the buildings, and way the trail is interpreted for the public.

Turney, William F. "Jornada del Muerto, Preliminary Survey of Prehistoric and Historic Sites, March 1974." In *La Jornada: Papers in Honor of William F. Turney*, ed. Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, 179-185. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico no. 22. Albuquerque: Albuquerque Archaeological Society Press, 1996.

Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5 vols. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1911-.

Attorney Ralph E. Twitchell moved from Michigan to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1883 when he graduated from law school to begin employment with a local firm providing legal counsel for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway. In addition to his lifelong work with the railroad, he served, variously, as: the president of the New Mexico Bar Association, judge advocate for the New Mexico Territorial Militia (which he helped organize, receiving the rank of colonel); mayor and later, district attorney for the City of Santa Fe; special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General for Pueblo land titles; chair of the Republican Party's territorial central committee; president of the New Mexico Historical Society and of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce; director of the Santa Fe Fiesta; and (secretly) a member of the Knights of Liberty, associated with the Santa Fe Ring. His studies in regional history may have been sparked by an acquaintance with Adolph Bandelier and his friendship with Edgar L. Hewett, as well as the parallel, contemporaneous interests of some of his legal colleagues, including Thomas B. Catron and L. Bradford Prince. Twitchell's writings have been criticized as reflecting biases of the era typical for a man of his socio-economic status, including disparagement of local Native American cultures as primitive, unqualified praise for the American invasion of the western states ruled by Mexico, etc. Nevertheless, his works represent a valuable legacy and certainly helped establish and solidify the importance of regional historical scholarship and the preservation of documents and archives.

Leading Facts in New Mexico History, Twitchell's best-known publication is comprised of a two-volume narrative history, accompanied by three volumes of substantiation derived from documents and books in his personal collections, as the libraries of his colleagues. *Leading Facts* proved to be Twitchell's best-known publication, and was considered as an authoritative area history for generations.

_____. *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1914.

Published in 1914, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* represents the first calendar (or catalog) and guide to manuscript documents from the Spanish Colonial Period that Twitchell had helped rescue from a fire in the Territorial capitol. These volumes form the basis for the *Calendar of the Microfilm Edition of the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, 1621-1821* and the *Calendar to the Microfilm Edition of the Land Records of New Mexico*, two guides that still serve as the principal aids for navigating through the most important collection of Spanish manuscript sources for New Mexico at the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

Tyler, Daniel. *Sources for New Mexican History, 1821-1848*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1984.

This work is intended to serve as a finding aid for sources of information New Mexican history from 1821-1848—that is, the Mexican Period—located in various

archives and repositories in the United States and Mexico. Given the publication year of 1984 it is, of course, somewhat dated; the advent of records accessible by means of the internet has changed how research can be accomplished, and some of the archives and repositories Tyler describes have been reorganized, moved, and/or changed their access policies, acquired new holdings, etc. Nevertheless, much of the information remains useful, particularly as a starting point for those new to archival research into topics relevant to the subject matter/region.

Vetancurt, Fray Agustín de. *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelico*. Vol. 3 of *Teatro mexicano: descripción breve de los sucesos exemplares de la Nueva-España en al Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias*. Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1960.

Vetancurt, a Franciscan scholar, describes the seventeenth-century Franciscan missions of New Spain in this five-volume series. He was responsible for chronicling the province of the Holy Evangel, which included New Mexico. Ventancurt describes missions ranging from Mexico City and Puebla to California and New Mexico. Originally published in 1697 and 1698, the work was republished in Mexico in 1870 to 1871 in four volumes. According to Lansing Bloom and France V. Scholes, the *Teatro Mexicano* “contains many inaccuracies and consequently is not entirely trustworthy.”²⁶

Villagrà, Gaspar Pérez de. *History of New Mexico*, trans. Gilberto Espinosa. Quivira Society Publications, vol. 4. Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1933. Reprint, Chicago: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1962.

An eyewitness account of Juan de Oñate’s 1598 expedition, recounted as an epic poem and translated into English.

_____. *Historia de la Nuevo Mexico*, trans. Felipe I. Echenique March. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1993.

The Spanish version of Villagra’s epic work.

Vallebuena Garcinava, Miguel, José Luis Punzo Díaz, and Rubén Durazo Álvarez. *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Travesía histórica y cultural al Septentrión Novohispano*, Durango, Mexico: Gobierno del estado de Durango, 2011.

Webb, James Josiah. *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-1847*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale, Ca.: Arthur H. Clark, 1931. Reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1995.

This book was the first volume of the Southwest Historical Series, edited first by Ralph P. Bieber and then LeRoy Hafen. Bieber’s insightful annotations were influenced by his research of Webb’s business records. As a trader on both the Santa

²⁶ See Lansing Bloom and France V. Scholes, “Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629, I” *New Mexico Historical Review* 19 no. 4 (1944): 318-320.

Fe and Chihuahua (Camino Real) trails, Webb's memoir is a fascinating account of trade—the people, the process, and the travel—in the years leading up to the Mexican-American War. Of particular interest is Webb's description of his 1846 trade journey to Chihuahua, where he and his party were briefly imprisoned.

Weber, David J. *The Extranjeros: Selected Documents from the Mexican Side of the Santa Fe Trail, 1825-1828*. Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967.

This early work by Weber offers translations of various reports produced by Mexican officials in Santa Fe and Taos concerning the location and activities of foreigners present in New Mexico. Of interest is a listing of *guias* or trade permits for travel from Santa Fe to Chihuahua issued from 1826 to 1828. The list contains Spanish, Anglo, and French surnames.

_____. *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846. The American Southwest Under Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

Weber discusses trade during the Mexican period, including the interest of Santa Fe Trail merchants in the Mexican cities of Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, and Sonora for silver and mules. The author also analyzes the boom in the fur trade, which coincided with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail. See Chapter 7: The New Colonialism, Americans and the Frontier Economy.”

_____. *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Weber's 1992 book provided a more contemporary look at the Spanish borderlands than that covered by earlier scholars Herbert Eugene Bolton and John Francis Bannon. Weber's Spanish frontier ranges from California to Florida in this history.

West, Robert C. *The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District*. Ibero-Americana, no. 30. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949.

Robert C. West conducted extensive research at the Municipal Archive of Parral, Chihuahua, for this monograph on the seventeenth century mining community. Pertinent to ELCA studies is West's brief discussion of the *carros* (carts) and *recuas* (mule trains) used to export the silver bullion, and the use of ELCA from Parral north to New Mexico and south to Mexico City.

Wislizenus, Friedrich Adolphus. *Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico, Connected with Col. Doniphan's Expedition, in 1846 and 1847*. Washington, D.C.: Tippin and Streeper, 1848.

A German-born physician and botanist, Wislizenus arrived in the United States in 1834, after graduating from school and failing to find employment in Paris. He eventually moved out west, first to Illinois, then to St. Louis, Missouri, from whence he embarked on expedition fielded by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to the source of the Green River in the Wind River Mountains, traveling for a time with Nez

Perce and Flathead Indians. In 1846 he joined an expedition heading out of Missouri to Santa Fe, ultimately traveling down ELCA to Chihuahua with the group that would be imprisoned by the Mexican government until 1847. His memoir of the trip provided details about the “western country” (some of which were thought to correct contemporaneous “erroneous views”) and provided in-depth descriptions (with maps and sketches) of the lands near Rio Grande. He also apparently managed to return with some botanical specimens, described by a colleague in an appendix to Wislizenus’ account of his travels, and kept “meteorological tables,” which are also appended to his memoir.

The memoir provides descriptions of the trek south down ELCA to Chihuahua and through the Jornada del Muerto and specifically mentions significant water sources, including the Ojo del Muerto. His entry for August 3, 1846, reads in part as follows: “Started early [from somewhere south of Ojo del Muerto, on the Jornada], and reached within six miles *Alamos*, a place where sometimes a water pool is found , but which was now perfectly dry, and went four miles further before we nooned, without water. Our camp was on a hill, near a prairie grave, distinguished by a cross.” These words are believed to reference “la cruz del alemán (“the cross of the German”), which marked the gravesite of the unfortunate Bernard Gruber who had perished while fleeing the Spanish Inquisition as well as a location where a relatively reliable water source could (sometimes) be found.

3.2.b. Published Works: Articles in Periodicals

Aberts, Don E. "The Battle of Peralta." *New Mexico Historical Review* 58, no. 4 (1983): 369-380.

Abert's provides extensive detail on the Battle of Peralta between Union and Confederate forces during the Civil War. Called "one of the least bloody on record," the battle was waged around the residence of Governor Henry Connelly.

Adams, Eleanor B. "Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760." *New Mexico Historical Review* 28 no. 2 (April 1953): 81-114; no. 3 (July 1953): 192-221; no. 4 (October 1953): 291-315; and *New Mexico Historical Review* 29 no. 1 (January 1954): 41-47.

These three articles, published sequentially, comprise a series that presents in narrative form information derived from the author's translation (described above) of Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral's report of his visit to New Mexico in 1760.

Ahlborn, Richard Eighme. "The Will of a Woman in 1762." *New Mexico Historical Review* 65, no. 3 (1990): 330-355.

Armijo, Isidoro, trans. "Information Communicated by Juan Candelaria, Resident of This Villa de San Francisco Xavier de Alburquerque." *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 no. 3 (July 1929): 274-297.

Ashton, John. "History of Jack Stock and Mules in Missouri." Jefferson City: Missouri State Board of Agriculture, 1924.

This bulletin traces the history of the jack stock and mule industry in Missouri. The state began importing mules from Santa Fe during the 1820s in conjunction with the Santa Fe Trail trade. By 1870, Missouri was using and producing more and better mules than any other state in the union, which led to the coining of the "Missouri Mule."

Atherton, Lewis E. "James and Robert Aull—A Frontier Missouri Mercantile Firm." *Missouri Historical Review* 30 no. 1 (October 1935): 3-27.

_____. "Disorganizing Effects of the Mexican War on the Santa Fe Trail." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 6 no. 2 (May 1937): 115-23.

_____. "Business Techniques in the Santa Fe Trade." *Missouri Historical Review* 34 no. 3 (April 1940): 335-41.

Avery, George. "More Friends than Foe: Eighteenth Century Spanish, French and Caddoan Interaction at Los Adaes, A Capital of Texas Located in Northwestern Louisiana." *Louisiana Archaeology* 22 (1995): 163-193.

Bandelier, Adolph F. "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico, 1536-1542." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 no. 1 (January 1930), 38-66; no. 2 (April 1930): 154-185; no. 3: 333-384.

Bartlett, Katharine. "Notes Upon the Routes of Espejo and Farfán to the Mines in the Sixteenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review* 17 no. 1 (January 1942): 21-46.

Baur, John E. "The Evolution of a Mexican Foreign Trade Policy, 1821-1828." *The Americas* XIX (January 1963): 238-49.

Bennett, R.W. "Highway History in New Mexico." *New Mexico Magazine* 10 (6): 16-18, 41.

Bieber, Ralph P. "Papers of James J. Webb, Santa Fe Merchant, 1844-1861." *Washington University Studies* 9 no. 2 (April 1924): 255-305.

Binkley, William C. "New Mexico and the Texan Santa Fé Expedition." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 27 no. 2 (October 1923): 85-107.

Bloom, Lansing B. "Ledgers of a Santa Fe Trader." *El Palacio* 14 no. 9 (May 1923): 133-136.

Originally a Presbyterian minister, Lansing B. Bloom became a historian with the School of American Archaeology and the Museum of New Mexico in 1917. During the 1920s, Bloom served as the first editor of the *New Mexico Historical Review* and joined the faculty of the University of New Mexico as an associate professor of history. During the course of his life, the historian and his wife Maude conducted extensive research in Spanish and Mexican archives and contributed much to the archives of New Mexico. This article captured the text of a paper Bloom presented at a meeting of the Southwestern Division of the American Association for the advancement of Science; he expanded on the topic in an article published two decades later in the *New Mexico Historical Review* (see below).

_____. "Early Bridges in New Mexico." *El Palacio* 18 no. 8 (April 1925): 163-182.

The author explores the tribulations experienced by colonial Spanish administrators as the need for bridging major watercourses in order to permit transport of the animals and conveyances brought north along ELCA by the colonists became significant. Documents relating to the construction of what Bloom asserts would likely have been the two earliest bridges ever built in New Mexico—both crossing the Rio Grande, at El Paso and near Belén, respectively—are highlighted and discussed; lengthy translations are included.

_____. "Early Weaving in New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 no. 3 (1927): 228-238.

Bloom asserts that Coronado introduced sheep to New Mexico in 1540, and "thus a

new medium for weaving was introduced.” The historian details a small number of eighteenth century documentary references to wool and weaving, including the mention of manufactured wool materials as trade goods taken south on ELCA.

_____. “Barreiro’s Ojeada Sobre Nuevo Mexico.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 3 no. 1 (January 1928): 73-96; 3 no. 2 (April 1928): 145-178.

Sent by the Mexican government in 1831, Antonio Barreiro served as the first official lawyer of New Mexico. One of his first tasks was the writing of an *ojeada* or a descriptive “glimpse” of the territory for his superiors in Mexico. Barreiro’s “cosmopolitan point of view” inspired Bloom’s translation of this “discriminating yet sympathetic picture.” Included within the ojeada are discussion of commerce in general and specifically of the July gatherings in Santa Fe of traders and merchants from Mexico, New Mexico, and Missouri. Barreiro also suggests the establishment of a presidio and customs house at Valverde along the Camino Real.

_____. “Bourke on the Southwest II.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 9 no. 1 (January 1934): 33-77.

This article is the second in a two-part series on John G. Bourke, a U.S. Army captain, who saw action in both the Civil War and the later Apache Wars as an aide-de-camp for General George Crook between 1871 and 1886. Bourke was stationed at Fort Craig in New Mexico for some time. According to Bourke, Fort Craig “was a lonesome sort of a hole maintained at the north end of the ‘Jornada del Muerto’ for the protection of travelers again prowling Apaches.” Excerpts from the soldier’s journals, interspersed with commentary by Bloom, provide rich detail on life at the post and in surrounding communities including various means of transportation including *carretas*, prairie schooners, and wagons.

_____. “A Trade-Invoice of 1638.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 no. 3 (1935): 242-248.

In 1639, New Mexico Governor Luis de Rosas sent a shipment of goods from Santa Fe down the Camino Real to be sold in Parral. In this 1930s article, Lansing Bloom translates the trade invoice of the venture, an archival document that had been recently discovered in Parral. Rosas’ invoice provides a fascinating look at seventeenth century New Mexico trade goods—painted buffalo hides, candles, and blankets.

_____. “The Chihuahua Highway.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 12 no. 3 (1937): 209-216.

Historian Bloom traces the earliest incarnation of the Camino Real to the discovery of silver in Zacatecas in 1548.

_____. “Ledgers of a Santa Fe Trader.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 21 no. 2 (April 1946): 135-139.

Blumenschein, Helen G. "Historic Roads and Trails to Taos." *El Palacio* 75 no. 1 (Spring 1968): 9-19.

Blumenschein, an artist, describes various historic routes to and from Taos, identified on the basis of documents and maps. In this article, ELCA is described as continuing north from Santa Fe to Taos "at least during the early days."

Deeds, Susan M. "Mission Villages and Agrarian Patterns in a Nueva Vizcayan Heartland, 1600-1750." *Journal of the Southwest* 33 (Autumn 1991): 345-365.

Ellis, Bruce T. "Crossbow Boltheads from Historic Pueblo Sites." *El Palacio* 64 no. 7-8 (July-August 1957): 209-214.

A brief discussion of a small assemblage of crossbow boltheads recovered from historic contexts at Pecos, "Puaray," and Kuaua; the latter two are/were located near/on ELCA. Detailed descriptive information, including measurements and photographs, and the results of a brief report written by a subject-matter expert asked to review the information for a subset of the items are included.

Bruce Ellis was a New Mexico archaeologist of note, completing significant numerous investigations in and around Santa Fe in the twentieth century. He also served as the Acting director of the Museum of New Mexico, at various times head of different museum divisions (History Collections, and Publications) and editor of *El Palacio*.

_____. "La Garita: Santa Fe's Little Spanish Fort." *El Palacio* 84 no. 2 (1978): 2-22.

A description of "emergency salvage excavations" Ellis conducted at the site of La Garita in Santa Fe over the course of several years, beginning in 1954. "La Garita" translates in contemporary Spanish as "sentry box" or guardhouse; the location a short distance northeast of the Santa Fe Plaza near the head of Washington Avenue appears to have been strategically situated to permit surveillance of the trail that extended north from Santa Fe through Tesuque to Taos. Ellis traces the history of ownership (which included Sylvanus G. Morley late in the sequence) from Spanish Colonial times through the modern era. Photographs document the excavation as it progressed as well as the appearance of the crumbling adobe, stone, and wooden structure in historic times, and plan maps and drawings detail the layout. The historic artifact assemblage includes metal and glass and remains of structural wood sufficient to permit the calculation of tree-ring dates. Precolumbian/protohistoric occupation (under the Spanish Colonial materials) is also indicated.

Ewing, Floyd F., Jr. "The Mule as a Factor in the Development of the Southwest." *Arizona and the West* 5 no. 4 (Winter 1963): 315-326.

Floyd's article discusses the immense importance of the Spanish mule in the Southwest between 1820 and 1860. Due to the quickly growing popularity of the

mule among Santa Fe Trail traders, Floyd asserts that New Mexico suppliers went south to Chihuahua and Sonora in search of more of the pack animals. Santa Fe Trail traders also were rumored to have gotten mules from Texan Apaches.

Greenleaf, Richard E. "The Founding of Albuquerque, 1706: An Historical-Legal Problem." *New Mexico Historical Review* 39 no. 1 (January 1964): 1-15.

_____. "Atrisco and Las Ciruelas, 1722-1769." *New Mexico Historical Review* 42 no. 1 (January 1967): 5-25.

The Atrisco Land Grant was awarded to Don Fernando Durán y Chávez following his participation in the 1692 resettlement of New Mexico with Don Diego de Vargas. Atrisco, then situated on the west side of the Rio Grande across from the Albuquerque settlement, is believed to date to 1703. The grant inspired numerous land disputes—over titles, ownership, boundaries, etc.—over the next two decades. This article focuses on an eighteenth century dispute over the Las Ciruelas property, bounded on one side by ELCA and located within the grant. Greenleaf's piece illustrates the complexities of land grant adjudication at that time.

Gregory, H. F., George Avery, Aubra L. Lee and Jay C. Blaine. "Presidio Los Adaes: Spanish, French and Caddoan Interaction on the Northern Frontier." *Historical Archaeology* 38 no. 3 (2004): 65-77.

Hackett, Charles W. "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia in 1680-1681." *Old Santa Fe* 2 no. 4 (April 1915): 381-391.

Haecker, Charles M. "Brazito Battlefield: Once Lost, Now Found." *New Mexico Historical Review* 72 no. 3 (July 1997): 229-238.

Lafora used *El Paraje de los Bracitos* or the Brazito campsite—between the east bank of the Rio Grande and the Organ Mountains—in August of 1766, while accompanying the Marshall Marqués de Rubí's military inspection of the presidial system of New Spain's northern frontier. After leaving Brazito, Lafora headed to Robledo. Approximately eighty years later, on Christmas Day, 1846, U.S. troops (the Missouri Volunteers) under Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan defeated a Mexican unit at Brazito (see Figure 3.5, below). This article describes the successful efforts to locate and document the battle site.

Hendricks, Rick. "Viticulture in El Paso del Norte during the Colonial Period." *Agricultural History* 78 no. 2 (Spring 2004): 191-200.

Hendricks details the wine industry in El Paso, that began with the planting of vines by fray García de San Francisco at the mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos. Vineyard cultivation expanded beyond the mission during the early eighteenth century as El Paso experienced population growth. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the market value of Mission grapes coming from the

El Paso area was “equal to that of maize” and surpassed “all other products” grown in the region. As such, Hendricks points out that wine and brandy products were popular commodities up and down ELCA for both sacramental and recreational consumption.

Hockman, A. “El Camino Real: Effects on Eastern Puebloan Assimilation During the Spanish Conquest. *McNair Journal* 7 (2004):

Hull, Dorothy. “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition to New Mexico in 1590.” *Old Santa Fe* 3 no. 12 (October 1916): 307-332.

This article discusses the unauthorized Castaño de Sosa expedition to New Mexico of 1590, which included colonists and their possessions but no clergy. The group proceeded north from Coahuila up the Pecos River, ultimately reaching the Pueblo of Pecos. The erstwhile conquistador was followed and arrested by viceregal troops, tried, and ultimately exiled to the Phillipines, where he died.

Ives, Ronald L. “Melchior Diaz: The Forgotten Explorer.” *Hispanic-American Historical Review* 16 (1936): 86-90.

_____. “The ‘High’ Latitudes of Early Spanish Maps.” *The Kiva* 41 no. 2 (1975): 161-184.

_____. “La Bajada Hill Will Be Re-built in 1946.” *New Mexico Magazine* 23 (12): 27.

Lamadrid, Enrique R. “Las Entriegas: Ceremonial Music and Cultural Resistance on the Upper Rio Grande.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 65 no. 1 (1990): 1-19.

Mecham, J. Lloyd. “Supplementary Documents Relating to the Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition.” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 29 (January 1926): 224-232.

_____. “The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 1 no. 3 (July 1926): 265-298.

_____. “Antonio de Espejo and his Journey to New Mexico.” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 30 no. 2 (October 1926): 114-138.

In November 1582, Antonio de Espejo joined a rescue party traveling to New Mexico to determine the welfare of two Franciscan friars. Espejo, a wealthy cattle rancher, was elected captain of the small party of friars and soldiers. This article details the journey from San Bartolomé (located on ELCA) in Nueva Vizcaya to the Rio Grande, and then up the Rio Grande to El Paso and beyond to the Piro people (in the vicinity of contemporary Socorro, New Mexico). Upon hearing that the two friars had been murdered, the party continued up the river to the region of the Tiguas people where they claim to have visited 16 different pueblos. From there, the focus of the expedition turned to exploration. By the return journey, Espejo and numerous soldiers had explored parts of Arizona as well as New Mexico. The subsequent

publication of Espejo's exploration narrative served to heighten the Spanish crown's interest in settling the region.

Metzgar, Joseph V. "The Atrisco Land Grant, 1692-1977." *New Mexico Historical Review* 52 no. 4 (October 1977): 269-291.

The Atrisco Land Grant was awarded to Don Fernando Durán y Chávez following his participation in the 1692 resettlement of New Mexico with Don Diego de Vargas. Atrisco, then situated on the west side of the Rio Grande across from the Albuquerque settlement, seems to have been officially established in 1703. The grant inspired numerous land disputes—over titles, ownership, boundaries, etc.—over the next two decades.

Miller, Darliss A. "Los Pinos, New Mexico: Civil War Post on the Rio Grande." *New Mexico Historical Review* 62 no. 1 (January 1987): 1-32.

Moorhead, Max L. "Spanish Transportation in the Southwest, 1540-1846." *New Mexico Historical Review* 32 no. 2 (April 1957): 107-122.

Murphy, Retta. "The Journey of Pedro de Rivera, 1724-1728," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 41 no. 2 (October 1937): 125-141.

Summarizes and discusses material used by the author for her doctoral dissertation at the University of Texas at Austin on the eighteenth-century inspection of military posts in New Spain.²⁷ The paper's focuses on Rivera's travels in Texas, New Mexico, Coahuila, and Nuevo León, and begins with a discussion of the rationale for the expedition based on official documents promulgated in Mexico City and Spain.

Nostrand, Richard L. "The New Mexico-Centered Hispano Homeland." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 13 no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1993): 47-59.

Nostrand, a cultural geographer of note, outlines a rationale for the referent "Hispano" as a gender-neutral term used in substitution for "Spanish American" in the American Southwest, particularly in New Mexico and Colorado. In their New Mexico-centered homeland, he argues, Hispanos adjusted to the natural environment and marked it with cultural traditions that reflect both their Spanish heritage as well as the circumstances that brought about their arrivals, creating a unique, place-centered identity.

Plowden, William W., Jr. "Spanish and Mexican Majolica Found in New Mexico." *El Palacio* 65 no. 6 (1958): 212-219.

A brief general discussion of places of origin for various types of majolica

²⁷ Murphy, Henrietta. *Spanish Presidial Administration As Exemplified by the Inspection of Pedro de Rivera, 1724-1728*. 1938. University of Texas at Austin, PhD dissertation.

ceramics—a key “index artifact” for signaling Spanish Colonial presence—likely to be encountered in archaeological contexts in New Mexico; includes of list of locations (including some archaeological sites, referenced by their Laboratory of Anthropology numbers) where majolica has been found in the state.

Preston, Douglas J. “Riding Through History on the Camino Real.” *Smithsonian Magazine* (November 1995).

A brief description of a journey following the route of ELCA from Mexico City to Santa Fe, New Mexico, made by Doug Preston and his wife via automobile, on horseback, and on foot to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the Trail. A book also resulted, as described above.

Riley, Carroll L. “Early Spanish-Indian Communication in the Greater Southwest. *New Mexico Historical Review* 46 (October 1971): 285-314.

_____. “Blacks in the Early Southwest.” *Ethnohistory* 19 no. 3 (Summer 1972): 247-260.

Riley, Carroll L. and Joni L. Manson. “The Cibola-Tiguex Route: Continuity and Change in the Southwest.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 58 no. 4 (October 1983): 347-367.

Scholes, France V. “Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, I.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 no. 1 (1929): 45-58, 195-201.

This article, and many of those noted below, was inspired by Scholes’ discovery of “a mass of new documentary material for the history of New Mexico” in Mexican and Spanish archives during the years 1927 and 1928. Its focus is one of the key colonial institutions in New Mexico—and one of the most significant sources and arbiters of traffic along ELCA—during the centuries when Spain ruled. Many of the documents that Scholes studied as he researched the mission supply service (and other aspects of Spain’s colony in New Mexico) were items that he had unearthed during visits he made in the early twentieth century to the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) and the Biblioteca Nacional de México (BNM) and other archival repositories in Mexico, as well as the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Spain and other European repositories. Recognizing that much of the documentary history of colonial New Mexico and the Spanish Borderlands had been destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Scholes and his colleague Lansing Bloom, and others, made copies of thousands of colonial-era documents and provided them to the University of New Mexico (where they are now accessible at Center for Southwest Research, as described above) and the Library of Congress.

A Harvard graduate, Scholes came to New Mexico as a tuberculosis patient and elected to stay after he recovered his health, undertaking a teaching career at the University of New Mexico (UNM) where he taught intermittently beginning in 1924, and more regularly as a professor of history from 1946 until his retirement in 1970. He also served UNM as Dean of the Graduate School and as the first Academic Vice

President, and founded the *New Mexico Historical Review*. Scholes also held a post-retirement position as a Visiting Professor at Tulane University. In addition to his research and writing about various topics related to the history of New Mexico and the Borderlands, he conducted seminal research (and located and copied numerous documents) related to the colonial history of Yucatán, Mexico, and Maya cultures. Scholes' research has inspired generations of scholars, including anthropologists as well as historians.

_____. "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 no. 1 (1930): 93-115; 5 no. 2 (1930): 186-210; and 5 no.4 (1930): 386-404.

In this article Scholes details the 1631 contract for the mission supply caravan to New Mexico and inaugurates his substantive series of publications based on original documents related to religious and civil administrative activities in New Mexico and the Borderlands in Spanish Colonial times. All are essential reading for researchers investigating colonial -era users of ELCA, particularly in the seventeenth century.

_____. "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century." *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 no. 2 (1935): 71-111.

_____. "Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670, Part I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 12 no. 2 (1937): 134-174.

_____. "Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670, Part V." *New Mexico Historical Review* 13 no. 1 (1938): 63-84.

Scholes, France V., and Lansing Bloom. "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629, I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 19 no. 4 (1944): 318-320.

_____. "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629, concl." *New Mexico Historical Review* 20 no. 1 (1945): 58-82.

Scurlock, Dan. "The Rio Grande Bosque: Ever Changing." *New Mexico Historical Review* 63 no. 2 (1988): 131-140.

Simmons, Marc. "Governor Cuervo and the Beginnings of Albuquerque, Another Look." *New Mexico Historical Review* 55 no. 3 (July 1980): 188-208.

_____. "Spanish Attempts to Open a New Mexico-Sonora Road." *Arizona and the West* 17 no. 1 (Spring 1975): 5-20.

During the mid-seventeenth century, bureaucrats and merchants in New Mexico and the province of Sonora sought to establish mutually beneficial trade relations. This initiative, however, was hampered by the lack of a highway between the two regions. Simmons' article discusses the efforts made to establish a route like ELCA,

connecting New Mexico with Nueva Vizcaya. Numerous trading efforts are detailed, as well as various exploratory routes considered.

Sinclair, John L. "The Pueblo of Kuaua." *El Palacio* 58 no. 7 (1951): 206-214.

A brief description of Kuaua, a Tiwa pueblo occupied when Coronado arrived and now part of what is known today as the Coronado Historic Site, adjacent to ELCA. Includes some useful historic photographs.

Snow, Cordelia Thomas. "Care Packages: Luxury Foods Transported Over Camino Real." *El Palacio* 117 no. 4 (2012):44-51.

Among other fascinating details, this article provides some surprising information about the consumption of saffron, not to mention chocolate, in colonial New Mexico. It is accompanied by gorgeous photographs, including some taken of the ceramic vessels that would have been used to consume the foods described.

Spiess, Lincoln B. "Benavides and Church Music in New Mexico in the Early 17th Century." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XVII (1964): 144-156.

Staski, Edward. "Surface and Subsurface Patterns of Archaeological Materials at Fort Fillmore, New Mexico." *North American Archaeologist* 10 (1989): 205-225.

This article, and the item referenced immediately below, represent some of Staski's earliest reporting on his work at Fort Fillmore.

_____. "Site Formation Processes at Fort Fillmore, New Mexico: First Interpretations." *Historical Archaeology* 24 (1990): 79-90.

_____. "Change and Inertia on the Frontier: Archaeology at the Paraje de San Diego, Camino Real, in Southern New Mexico.: *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 2 no. 1 (1998): 21-44.

Located almost 30 miles north of Las Cruces, New Mexico, the Paraje de San Diego was a campsite on ELCA from the late sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. This article details the results of archaeological testing conducted at the site in 1994, one of the first such investigations to be undertaken for a known ELCA stopping place in New Mexico.

_____. "An Archaeological Survey of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, Las Cruces-El Paso." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 8 no. 4 (December 2004): 231-245.

Staski, Edward, and Paul S. Johnston. "Munition Artifacts from Fort Fillmore, New Mexico." *Historical Archaeology* (1992) 26:66-73.

Staski, Edward, and Joanne Reiter. Status and Adobe Quality at Fort Fillmore, New Mexico: Old Questions, New Techniques." *Historical Archaeology* 30 (1996):1-19.

Steele, Thomas J. Albuquerque in 1821:" Padre Leyva's Descriptions." *New Mexico Historical Review* 70 no. 2 (April 1995): 159-178.

Strout, Clevy Lloyd, "The Resettlement of Santa Fe, 1695: The Newly Found Muster Roll." *New Mexico Historical Review* 53 no. 3 (1978): 264-269.

Timmons, Wilbert H. "The El Paso Area in the Mexican Period, 1821-1848." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 84 no. 1 (July 1980): 1-28.

In his discussion of the El Paso area during the Mexican period, Timmons writes about the Chihuahua trade along ELCA. This trade "was but a natural extension of the Santa Fe trade with Missouri that began a decade earlier." Timmons asserts that trade between Santa Fe and Mexico City—augmented by the Santa Fe Trail—made the El Paso del Norte area a center for commerce between the two countries. Details include trade goods, transportation equipment, and livestock used to transport the commodities. Timmons discusses the establishment in El Paso del Norte of a customs house in 1835 by the Mexican government for overseeing the trade. Also included are summaries of four American businessmen of significance in Mexico: James W. Magoffin, Stephen Courcier, Robert McKnight, and Hugh Stephenson.

_____. "American El Paso, 1848-1854." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 87 no. 1 (July 1983): 1-36.

Timmons asserts that the El Paso area suffered a decline in commercial prosperity when the Rio Grande became an international boundary line between the United States and Mexico. While the U.S. continued to import large quantities of Mexican liqueurs, sugar, leather and the like, U.S. trade in Mexico took a hit when Mexico levied high tariffs on American goods.

Wilson, Spencer. "El Contadero." *Rio Grande History* 6 (1976): 6-7.

3.3. Cultural Resources Management and Historic Preservation Documents

Cultural Resources Management Reports and Related Documents

Anschuetz, Kurt F. *Archaeological Testing of an Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Torreon (ERDLG 55 [LA127373]) at El Rancho de las Golondrinas, La Cienega, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 140922). Santa Fe: Rio Grande Foundation for Communities and Cultural Landscapes, 2012.

Describes completion and results of two field phases of archaeological testing in 2008 and 2010 at a low mound of stone rubble and melted adobe, (LA 127373) at El Rancho de las Golondrinas, conducted in order to determine whether the feature represented a Spanish colonial *torreón* (watchtower) or a residence dating to the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Bass, Angelyn, and Douglas Porter. *El Rancho de las Golondrinas Torreon LA127373; Preliminary Condition Assessment and Recommendations for Preservation*. Manuscript on file at the National Park Service-National Trails, Intermountain Region (NPS-NTIR): Santa Fe, 2011.

A condition assessment prepared for the *torreón* identified at El Rancho de las Golondrinas during the fieldwork conducted by Anschuetz in 2008 and 2010.

Bauer, Skylar, and Charles M. Haecker. *Sample Metal Detection Survey of La Bajada Mesa and Las Bocas Trail Segments of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro; Santa Fe County, New Mexico*. Manuscript on file at the NPS-NTIR: Santa Fe, 2015.

Report of sample metal detecting surveys completed for La Bajada Mesa and Las Bocas segments of ELCA by archaeologists from the National Park Service in 2014 and 2015.

Brown, Emily J., Aleta Lawrence, and Jeff Brown. *Archaeological Site Management Plan for Sites Associated with El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in Bosque del Apache National Wildlife Refuge* (NMCRIS 130559; Aspen CRM Solutions Report No. 2014-04). Manuscript on file at the NPS-NTIR: Santa Fe, 2014.

A management plan created for three archaeological sites located on the Bosque del Apache—the Piro pueblos of San Pascual (LA 487), Qualacú (LA 757), and San Pascualito (LA 756), as well as the intersecting segments of ELCA. As part of the work accomplished to develop the plan—which includes detailed and useful suggestions for proactive site management—the information available for surface remains on these sites was comprehensively updated.

Bureau of Land Management (BLM). *National Historic Trails Inventory Project*. BLM National Operation Center: AECOM, 2012.

Describes results of the National Historic Trails Inventory Project conducted by the BLM for historic trails in seven western states, addressed ELCA segments throughout the state. The study applied the BLM's Visual Resource Management (VRM) methodology to evaluate the scenic quality and visual sensitivity and visibility of long-distance trails, and elements of the NPS Cultural Landscape approach were employed to document and assess the historic integrity and contributing/noncontributing elements of the trail settings in a manner compatible with NRHP criteria. For ELCA, eight "Analysis Units" were defined and assessed. In addition to ELCA and the Old Spanish NHTs, aspects of other trails were also studied, including the California, Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, and the Pony Express NHTs.

Cowell, Shannon, Matthew Defreese, and Kelly L. Jenks. *Archaeological Documentation and Evaluation at La Parida (LA 31718), Socorro County, New Mexico* (NMCRI 140550). Manuscript on file at the BLM Las Cruces District. Las Cruces, New Mexico: New Mexico State University (NMSU), Department of Anthropology, 2018.

Another product of ongoing research stemming from a cooperative agreement between the NMSA and the BLM, this technical report describes archaeological survey and site recording activities at La Parida (LA 31718), a nineteenth-century Hispanic village located along ELCA. The NMSU crew re-surveyed the village site, documented portions of the site located on BLM land, and provided a site condition assessment and management recommendations.

Defreese, Matthew. *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: Locating Trail Segments through Predictive Modeling*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, NMSU. Las Cruces, New Mexico: 2017.

Archaeologists have previously identified several points where paths diverge from ELCA near Paraje San Diego, and these alternative trail segments are important as they represent some of the only remnants of decision-making of drivers along the trail. In order to predict where other alternate paths may be located, for the purpose of recording and studying new regions, this study developed and field-tested multiple least-cost path analysis predictive models using ArcGIS software. For this research, attempts were made to locate alternate segments by replicating physical variables affecting transportation along the trail (slope and water accumulation), while also taking into account human behavior and decision-making. While these models were ultimately unsuccessful in identifying alternate trail segments within the San Diego Section of ELCA, the experiment provided new insight into the behaviors that produced ELCA, potentially benefiting future predictive models.

Dello-Russo, Robert D. *A Cultural Resource Inventory of Four Proposed Gravel Pit Locations near Engle and Upham, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 72549). Albuquerque: Taschek Environmental Consulting (TEC 600-24), 2000.

This report describes an archaeological survey of 68.9 hectares/170.2 acres conducted in three different locations advance of the proposed excavation of gravel pits. An archaeological site that includes a segment of ELCA as a feature, LA 131589, was recorded. Upon examination of the site records and geospatial data for LA 131589 it has been possible to determine that the site as documented by Dello-Russo is essentially a re-recording of LA 80071, a historic artifact scatter originally recorded by Marshall.

Dutton, Hannah. *Recovery of Legacy Collection Data from a Southern New Mexico Historical Campsite*. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, NMSU (Proquest Number 13860889). Las Cruces, New Mexico: 2019.

Although Paraje San Diego functioned an important stopping place for ELCA travelers whether heading north or south, little has been known of the activities that took place at the campsite. Paraje San Diego has been surveyed and excavated in the early 1990s, but a final artifact catalog had never been created, created and many of the spatial data are outdated. In order to answer questions about behaviors and activities at Paraje San Diego, re-analyses of the legacy collection from 1994 were undertaken and the spatial data were updated in ArcGIS software. Applying the principles of behavioral archaeology and examining site formation processes, several activity locations and trends were observed.

Federal Aviation Administration and the New Mexico Spaceport Authority (FAA and NMSA). *Mitigation Plan for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Spaceport America 2010*. Manuscript on file at the NMSA, Las Cruces: 2010.

The plan was developed for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, in order to mitigate adverse effects to ELCA associated with the Spaceport America undertaking. It contains summaries of the information available at least at the time the plan was created) for the portion of ELCA that crosses the lands leased by the Spaceport America in the south-central Jornada del Muerto.

Gerow, Peggy A. and William H. Doleman. *Across the Caja del Rio Plateau: Hunters and Farmers in the Northern Rio Grande, A Class III Inventory of the NMARNG Camel Tracks Training Site, Santa Fe County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 127942 [synthetic report for investigations described in NMCRIS 51927 and NMCRIS 73013]). Albuquerque, Office of Contract Archeology-University of New Mexico (UNM-OCA): 2002.

The UNM-OCA conducted a large-scale, intensive cultural resources inventory in two phases (reported as NMCRIS 51927 and 71303) of over 8,000 acres on the Caja del Rio Plateau above and east of La Bajada escarpment for the New Mexico Army National Guard (NMARNG), encompassing terrain several miles of ELCA's

designated route. The results of both survey phases were synthesized in a single report. Other investigations, including archaeological excavations, were conducted on at least 25 sites (Gerow and Kurota 2004, Gerow and Hogan 2005; see below). Some of the results of this work may have informed later archaeological inventory survey conducted by the UNM-OCA within the La Bajada Project Area administered by the Santa Fe National Forest (Española District).

Gerow, Peggy A. and Alexander Kurota. *Across the Caja del Rio Plateau II: Hunters and Farmers in the Northern Rio Grande, Archeological Investigations at 15 Sites in the NMARNG Camel Tracks Training Site, Santa Fe County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 127943). Albuquerque, UNM-OCA: 2004.

Gerow, Peggy A. and Patrick Hogan, eds. *Across the Caja del Rio Plateau III: Hunters and Farmers in the Northern Rio Grande, Archeological Investigations at 10 Sites in the NMARNG Camel Tracks Training Site, Santa Fe County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 127945). Albuquerque, UNM-OCA: 2005.

Harper, Tom. *Aerial Photography of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro on Sevilleta National Wildlife Refuge*. Manuscript on file at the NPS-NTIR. Santa Fe: 2010.

Cameras mounted on remote-controlled model airplanes were used to locate and photograph ELCA segments between La Joyita and the southern boundary of Sevilleta National Wildlife Refuge in 2009 and 2010. The results of this work were analyzed to locate potential trail segments and associated features and artifacts in the project area, then the segments (and associated features and artifacts) thus identified were visited by an archaeologist conducting reconnaissance survey to verify their association with the Trail.

Historic American Engineering Record (HAER). *La Bajada Historic Trails and Roads Project* (HAER NM No. 15). Manuscript on file at the NPS-NTIR: Santa Fe, 2008

Describes information collected for submittal to the Historic American Buildings Survey-Historic American Engineering Records (HABS-HAER) under the auspices of the "La Bajada Historic Trails and Roads" project (HAER NM No. 15) by a group of students from the 2008 Southwest Summer Institute for Preservation and Regionalism, at the University of New Mexico, School of Architecture and Planning.

Human Systems Research (HSR). *Southwest Regional Spaceport: Archeological Survey of the Proposed Upham Area Site*, vols. 1 and 2 (NMCRIS 49589). Tularosa, New Mexico: HSR, 1997.

Between June 1995 and June 1996, archaeologists from HSR conducted survey on 12 project areas encompassing 1,657 hectares (ca. 4,094.5 acres) and located in the southern portion of the Jornada del Muerto near the abandoned railroad siding of Upham, on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway. They documented a segment of El Camino Real 10.6 kilometers/6.6 miles long between the Upham siding and the

Aleman Ranch Complex, and some associated archaeological sites exhibiting trail-related features. This survey was conducted in advance of the “Southwest Regional Spaceport” undertaking, and a large portion of their study area was recently re-surveyed (see Swope et al., 2020, described below).

Hudspeth, William. “Imagery Analysis of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, in the Jornada del Muerto, Vicinity of Alemán Ranch, Sierra County, New Mexico in Support of the Spaceport America Data Recovery Project.” Appendix G in *Report on Data Recovery Efforts for Four Sites along the Spaceport America Entrance Road in Sierra County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 114231), Vaughan et al. Las Cruces, New Mexico: Zia Engineering & Environmental Consultants, LLC, 2014.

An optical remote sensing study (3-band) of acreage in the vicinity of the Spaceport America campus, designed to identify segments of ELCA.

Jenks, Kelly L., Lauren E. Jelinek, and Paul Van Wandelen. *Previous Archaeological Work on and around El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in Doña Ana, Sierra, and Socorro Counties* (NMCRIS 136088).

Jenks et al. conducted a literature review (Class I, in BLM parlance) of previous archaeological research conducted on or relating to ELCA in Doña Ana, Sierra, and Socorro Counties, New Mexico. This research was completed as part of a cooperative agreement between NMSU and the New Mexico BLM, and served as a precursor to archaeological field investigations.

Jenks, Kelly L., and Paul van Wandelen. *Plan of Work for Four Projects on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in Southern New Mexico, Doña Ana and Sierra Counties, New Mexico*, (NMCRIS 137508). Manuscript on file at the BLM Las Cruces District. Las Cruces, New Mexico: New Mexico State University (NMSU), Department of Anthropology, 2016.

Building upon research themes and needs identified in the literature review described above, a plan of work was created for four potential research projects on ELCA in Doña Ana and Sierra Counties, including: site recording and surface collection at Paraje San Diego (LA 6346, LA 80065); site recording and surface collection at the Yost Metal Detection Area; 3) survey of ELCA segments in the San Diego South and Yost Draw areas; and development of public interpretation material relating to ELCA in southern New Mexico. This research was also completed as part of a cooperative agreement between NMSU and the New Mexico BLM.

Koenig, Alex. *Archaeological Analyses and Comparisons from Two Paraje Sites in Southern New Mexico*. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, NMSU (Proquest Number 13860841). Las Cruces, New Mexico: 2019.

This study involved analysis of survey data from the North Fork Paraje (LA 80081) on ELCA and includes a comparison to the archaeological assemblage from Paraje

San Diego (LA 6346). Analysis of the North Fork assemblage revealed that the *paraje* was used primarily in the eighteenth century by northward-bound travelers following ELCA; it also continued to be used into the Territorial and Statehood periods. The comparison with Paraje San Diego revealed marked differences in the ceramic assemblages; the Paraje San Diego assemblage contained large quantities of wares not found after the seventeenth century, and its period of use began earlier than that indicated for the North Fork Paraje. A lack of thermal features at the North Fork Paraje compared to San Diego suggested that it may have been used for purposes other than camping and cooking, perhaps as a stop to collect water and ready wagons for the trek across the Jornada del Muerto. This comparison indicated that *paraje* sites like these, although geographically close and available to the same pool of travelers, need not necessarily be similar in all respects.

Kludt, Trevor, Dave Love, Bruce Allen, and Talon Newton. *Landforms of the central Jornada del Muerto: Influencing the Path of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*. New Mexico Bureau of Geology and Mineral Resources, Open-file Report 575. Socorro: New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, 2015.

This study results from the suite of mitigation efforts devised to address adverse effects to ELCA in the central Jornada del Muerto, associated with the Spaceport America undertaking. The primary focus of the study was the identification of water sources that would have been available to ELCA travelers during the historic era (see Newton et al. 2015). This companion effort reports analyses of the landforms along the route, and considers how trail surfaces might have affected the choices made by travelers moving animals and heavy wagons.

Laumbach, Karl W., and David Legare. *A Compilation of Summary Reports on the Metal Detecting of Four Selected Areas on the Camino Real, Jornada del Muerto, Doña Ana and Sierra Counties, New Mexico, HSR Project Numbers 2008-14, 2008-23, 2008-27, and 2009-10*. Manuscript on file, BLM, Las Cruces District Office. Las Cruces, New Mexico: HSR, 2009.

Four selective surveys using metal detectors were conducted along four segments of ELCA in the Jornada del Muerto in 2008 and 2009, in locations that have been designated as interpretive waysides for public use. The locations include three contiguous segments in the Yost Escarpment area and one segment in the Point of Rocks area. Identification, collection, and analyses of metal artifacts (together with provenience data) in order to interpret different aspects of travel along the Trail were the primary objectives of the work that was performed in the field and later in the lab, but some samples of other historic materials were collected and analyzed as well.

Legare, David V. *Archaeological Survey of Two Proposed Interpretive Waysides for the Bureau of Land Management in Sierra County, New Mexico* (NMCRI 111872). Las Cruces, New Mexico: 2008, BLM, Las Cruces District Office.

A small archaeological survey was conducted by the BLM in advance of construction of the exhibitry and interpretive trail planned for the Yost Escarpment area (the Yost Escarpment Interpretive Trail), as described in this report. The archaeologist identified two sites, LA 161043, a prehistoric campsite, and LA 161044, a possible gravesite located approximately a short distance west of the primary ELCA alignment.

Lopez Morales, Francisco Javier. *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, World Heritage Site Nomination No.1351*. Prepared for the International Council of Monuments and Sites by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México: 2010.

A great deal of information about the trail in Mexico has been captured in this document, including maps. It was created to serve as the basis for the formal inscription for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in Mexico on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2010, and has information (including maps) difficult to obtain anywhere else.

Marshall, Michael P. *Qualacu: Archaeological Investigation of a Piro Pueblo*. Albuquerque: UNM-OCA, 1987.

Marshall's study of Qualacú (LA 757), a Piro site visited by Oñate's sixteenth-century expedition, provided excavation data for an indigenous village contemporaneous to Spanish colonial exploration.

_____. *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro; an Archaeological Investigation; the 1990 New Mexico Historic Preservation Division Survey* (NMCRI 39797). Manuscript on file, Department of Cultural Affairs, Historic Preservation Division. Santa Fe: 1991a.

A detailed report captures the results of an innovative study of ELCA conducted from 1988 to 1990 that resulted in the identification of sixteen road segment "study areas," from Galisteo and La Bajada in the north to the Robledo Paraje near Fort Selden in the south (also see 1991b). This research was undertaken under the auspices of the Camino Real Project, Inc., and the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, and set the stage for much of the work related to ELCA that would be accomplished in the ensuing decades, including the recent investigations that provided the basis for the multiple property nomination to the NRHP. The project work ultimately combined the results of research using historical documents begun by Marshall earlier in the 1980s with a study of place names related to ELCA, adding an archaeological reconnaissance survey of selected locations along the Trail in New Mexico.

_____. *Archeological Survey of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, The 1991 BLM Jornada Del Muerto Survey: An Interim Report and Preliminary draft of the field notes* (NMCRIS 36548). Manuscript on file, BLM, Las Cruces District Office. Las Cruces, New Mexico: 1991b.

_____. "Paraje Alemán and the Jornada del Muerto, an Historical and Archeological Context." Appendix K in *Report on Data Recovery Efforts for Four Sites along the Spaceport America Entrance Road in Sierra County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 114231), Vaughan et al. Las Cruces, New Mexico: Zia Engineering & Environmental Consultants, LLC, 2014.

This document describes a reconnaissance survey conducted along a short segment of ELCA north of Aleman Draw, conducted to complement some of the data recovery excavations for the Spaceport America undertaking.

McCullogh, Kirsten. *Final Report Rail Runner Phase 2 Cultural Resource Mitigation Activities Santa Fe County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 108949). Albuquerque, Criterion Environmental Consulting, LLC: 2008.

Described here are extensive investigations of another northern segment of ELCA (the Juana Lopez-San Felipe road, LA 80012), conducted in 2007 and 2008 for the New Mexico Department of Transportation during the New Mexico Rail Runner Phase 2 Project between Bernalillo and Santa Fe, in order to mitigate adverse effects to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT and the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe (AT&SF) Santa Fe to Lamy Railway Spur. LA 80012 had been identified as an alternate route of the main ELCA trace between Albuquerque and Santa Fe, serving as an important detour route to the La Bajada and Las Bocas roads. The report describes the results of investigations and field activities, including: development of a historic context; imagery analysis of ELCA in the study area; remote sensing survey using proton magnetometer and ground penetrating radar (GPR); metal detection survey; test trenching across ELCA to reveal the subsurface profile; production of scaled drawings; and archival photography.

Morrow, Baker H., and Will Moses. *Cultural Landscape Report La Bajada*. Manuscript on file, NPS-NTIR: Santa Fe, 2016, MRWM Landscape Architects .

Prepared for the NPS, the report focuses primarily on the extensive historic road network at La Bajada, including: portions of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, Territorial-era wagon roads, the National Old Trails Highway, and U.S. Highway 66. This document also discussed the Puebloan use of the surrounding landscape and its associated features, as well as cattle and livestock grazing activity in the area dating to twentieth century and its associated features

National Park Service (NPS). *National Historic Trail Feasibility Study and Environmental Assessment, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, New Mexico*. Santa Fe: NPS, 1997.

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the feasibility and desirability of designating El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (the Royal Road of the Interior) as a national historic trail under the aegis of the National Trails System Act (Public Law 90-543, 16 USC 1241 et seq.). The feasibility study focused on the part of the trail that lies in the United States and follows a route from El Paso, Texas, to San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico, and resulted in a determination that the portion of the trail thus addressed does in fact meet the relevant criteria for establishing a National Historic Trail. The history and significance of the Trail was outlined and discussions of the cultural resources along the route were included. The Comprehensive Management Plan created by the NPS and the BLM some years later, after El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail was established in 2000 (see below) amplified much of the information presented in this document.

NPS and BLM. *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail Comprehensive Management Plan/Final Environmental Impact Statement*. Santa Fe, NPS and BLM: 2004.

Finalized in 2004 after lengthy review and consultation with a wide variety of stakeholders and interest groups—including federal and state agencies, Native American tribal governments, and private citizens and organizations—the Comprehensive Management Plan/Final Environmental Impact Statement (CMP/EIS) for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT jointly prepared by the Trail Administration staff (the BLM and the NPS) offers an overarching “big picture” view of the Trail and its importance as one of the major historic routes of North America. The plan includes detailed discussions about the location, history, and significance of the Trail and the various ethnic groups occupying the lands it crossed, as well as the many challenges and opportunities for preservation of Trail segments and associated resources. Public education and recreation are also addressed, and historic sites—including those considered to have high potential for interpreting the history of the Trail—are listed.

Newton, Talon, Trevor Kludt, Dave Love, and Ethan Mamer. *Hydrogeology of Central Jornada del Muerto: Implications for Travel along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, Sierra and Doña Ana Counties, New Mexico*. New Mexico Bureau of Geology and Mineral Resources, Open-file Report 575. Socorro: New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, 2015.

This report consists of a paleohydrology study resulting from the suite of mitigation efforts devised to address adverse effects to ELCA in the central Jornada del Muerto, associated with the Spaceport America undertaking. The primary focus of the study was the identification of water sources that would have been available to ELCA travelers during the historic era. The study was successful in that regard. While much of the information presented in the report consists of technical data regarding the water sources and the hydrogeologic processes that have brought them to the land surface, the archaeologist on the study team used available historic data from

the descriptions of the mission supply caravans and later efforts to estimate and interpret changing water needs for ELCA travelers.

Oakes, Yvonne R., and Dorothy Zamora. "Archaeological Survey of the Proposed Southern Road, County Roads E070, E071, E072, and A013, Doña Ana and Sierra Counties, New Mexico" (NMCRIS 122314). *Archaeology Notes 443*, Office of Archaeological Studies, Museum of New Mexico (OAS-MNM). Santa Fe: 2013.

Reports archaeological survey conducted along the network of county roads that provide access to the Spaceport America from the south—collectively known as the "Southern Road." This report provides additional information about previously documented Trail segments as well as some newly identified traces and associated resources.

Oster, Elizabeth A., and Michael L. Elliott. *A Management Plan for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro on State Lands in New Mexico*. Manuscript on file at the NMSA, Las Cruces: 2019.

A planning document prepared as another component of the suite of mitigation efforts designed to address effects to ELCA associated with the Spaceport America undertaking. The plan is intended primarily for use by state agencies located on/near the trail. A detailed examination of the known vs. projected trail trace loci conducted using comparative Geographic Information Systems (GIS) data as maintained by a variety of agencies is reported, with results that indicate discrepancies between the way various land managing agencies (state and federal) have determined the route of the trail. These data are captured on a series of maps contained in the document.

Oster, Elizabeth A. and David H. Reynolds. *A Plan of Investigation for Survey, Recordation, and Mapping of Trail Traces and Associated Resources in the Jornada del Muerto, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*. Manuscript on file at the NMSA, Las Cruces, New Mexico: 2012.

This is the research design for the ELCA survey conducted in order to mitigate adverse effects to the trail associated with the Spaceport America undertaking (Oster et al. 2020; Swope et al. 2020). While some of the information about the archaeological sites in the study area has been superseded, the document serves as a compendium of information about ELCA in the south-central portion of the Jornada del Muerto, and about methodologies that might be used to identify physical traces of historic trails.

Oster, Elizabeth, David H. Reynolds, and Michael L. Elliott. *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: Survey, Recordation, and Mapping of Trail Traces and Associated Resources in the Jornada del Muerto; Report of Survey Conducted North of the Aleman Ranch Complex* (NMCRIS 142895). Santa Fe: Jemez Mountains Research Center, LLC, 2020.

A comprehensive report of results of archaeological survey conducted in the south-central Jornada del Muerto just to the north of the Aleman Ranch Complex, as

mitigation for adverse effects to ELCA associated with the Spaceport America undertaking. A previously undocumented segment of ELCA located north of the Aleman Ranch Complex (ca. approximately 9.025 kilometers/5.61 miles in length) was recorded as LA 193994. An additional potential/probable trail alignment was also identified and recorded, as LA 193995. All sites/features/artifacts encountered during the survey were recorded, whether or not they appeared to be related to use of the historic trail. As a result, thirteen additional sites were recorded, including sites exhibiting prehistoric components, sites exhibiting historic components, and sites that exhibit both prehistoric and historic components. The historic components/sites were likely associated with use of ELCA.

Post, Stephen S., David H. Snow and L. W. Stoesz. *The Search for an Early Colonial Era Transportation Camp in Santa Fe County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 62312). Santa Fe: 1999, OAS-MNM.

In 1998, the OAS-MNM surveyed ca. 18.66 hectares/46 acres of BLM land near the Caja del Rio Road and Dead Dog Well in Santa Fe, combining pedestrian inventory with metal detection. The survey was conducted in order to investigate an undocumented portion of ELCA. LA 124491, a site that had been suggested as a potential Oñate campsite, was recorded, as well as a few prehistoric lithics and refuse and features related to ranching and transportation activities dating from the late Territorial period to modern times, including spikes from the Chili Line.

Quaranta, James, and Victor Gibbs. *Cultural Resources Survey of 2,720 Acres for the Proposed Spaceport America Sierra County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 104538). Las Cruces, New Mexico: Zia Engineering & Environmental Consultants, LLC, 2008.

The FAA, in partnership with the NMSA, began to conduct intensive cultural resource investigations for the Spaceport America undertaking in 2007. These efforts built upon earlier survey that had been conducted in advance of the proposed “Southwest Regional Spaceport” by HSR (1997); the earlier survey overlapped some of the locations and associated resources—including ELCA segments—but also encompassed new locations. The inventory efforts resulted in survey of approximately 3,000 acres and included extensive research about ELCA and its setting. The investigations combined information derived from previous studies of the trail and aerial photography with data provided by the ground surveys. ELCA resources that were documented included LA 80071, as well as a potential location for the Paraje del Alemán.

Reynolds, David H. “Geophysical Survey of LA 155962 and LA 80070 Results.” Appendix A in *Archaeological Date Recovery Plan for Four Sites Along the Spaceport America Entrance Road Sierra County, New Mexico*, Gibbs et al. Las Cruces, New Mexico: Zia Engineering & Environmental Consultants, LLC, 2009.

This effort represented a pilot study for the feasibility of using GPR technology to seek out ELCA traces/signatures in the Jornada del Muerto environment. The results

were successful enough so that the method was deployed later, during the data recovery conducted along the Spaceport America entrance road (see Reynolds 2014, below).

_____. "Magnetic Geophysical Survey Results and Data Analysis from LA 155962 and LA 80070." Appendix J in *Report on Data Recovery Efforts for Four Sites along the Spaceport America Entrance Road in Sierra County, New Mexico* (NMCRIS 114231), Vaughan et al. Las Cruces, New Mexico: Zia Engineering & Environmental Consultants, LLC, 2014.

The third of three specialized studies ancillary to the data recovery conducted along the Spaceport American entrance road. For this effort, GPR technology was utilized to look for "trail signature" at two sites that had been previously examined using this method. The results indicate that subsurface traces of a trail feature such as ELCA can be seen in this environment, if one knows where to look.

Reynolds, Kristen. *Historic Buildings and Structures of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT: A Literature Review and Records Search*. Manuscript on file at the NPS-NTIR. Albuquerque: David Reynolds GIS Services, LLC, 2013.

A comprehensive literature review and records search for extant historic buildings and structures associated with ELCA National Historic Trail in New Mexico. These historic properties include mission churches, mercantiles, *ranchos*, and residences dating from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. While the primary focus is on buildings and structures, Reynolds also documented all ELCA-related standing archaeological ruins referenced in the research materials. Includes a useful table that lists of the ELCA-associated properties in New Mexico, and scanned copies of extant Historic Buildings Inventory (HBI)/Historic Cultural Property Inventory (HCPI) forms.

Staski, Edward. *Final Report Archaeology at the Paraje San Diego Southern New Mexico* (NMCRIS 121941), for the Bureau of Land Management. Manuscript on file at the BLM. Las Cruces, New Mexico, New Mexico State University and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico, 1996.

_____. *Final Report New Mexico State University Archaeology Field School Chihuahuan Desert Rangeland Research Center* (NMCRIS 90488. Las Cruces, New Mexico: New Mexico State University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology 1996.

Swope, Karen K., David T. Unruh, George M. Basham, Tara del Fierro Duran, Carrie J. Gregory, and Phillip O. Leckman. *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro: Survey, Recordation, and Mapping of Trail Traces and Associated Resources in the Jornada del Muerto; Report of Survey Conducted South of the Aleman Ranch Complex* (NMCRIS 144179). Albuquerque: Statistical Research, Inc., 2020.

A comprehensive report of results of archaeological survey conducted in the south-central Jornada del Muerto to the south of the Aleman Ranch Complex, as mitigation

for adverse effects to ELCA associated with the Spaceport America undertaking. The methodology developed and used for the archaeological survey of the Trail alignment north of the Aleman Ranch Complex (described above; see Oster et al. 2020) was also employed for this fieldwork. This survey revisited some of the locations surveyed by HSR for the “Southwest Regional Spaceport” undertaking in the 1990s. The primary ELCA alignment and other archaeological sites were recorded/updated.

Vaughan, David, Victor Gibbs, Maria Jonsson, and Joanne Eakin. *Report on Data Recovery Efforts for Four Sites along the Spaceport America Entrance Road in Sierra County, New Mexico* (NMCRI 114231). Las Cruces, New Mexico: Zia Engineering & Environmental Consultants, LLC, 2014.

This is a report of data recovery conducted in 2009 at four archaeological sites (LA 8871; LA 51205; LA 80070; LA 155962) located along the Spaceport America entrance. ELCA crosses the entrance road at this location, identified as LA 80070 on the south side, but also bisects a prehistoric site (LA 155962) and touches the Aleman Draw historic district, LA 8871. Three appendices to the report capture the results of specialized studies of ELCA, including: an optical remote sensing study (3-band) of additional acreage in the vicinity of the Spaceport campus (Hudspeth 2014); a magnetic geophysical investigation conducted using a gradiometer in portions of LA 155962 and LA 80070 (Reynolds 2014); and a reconnaissance conducted along a short segment of the Trail north of Aleman Draw (Marshall 2014). In addition, the analyses and interpretations for LA 8871 (the Aleman Ranch Complex) and LA 80070 (an ELCA segment) include the results of comprehensive archival research into the history of the south-central Jornada del Muerto, with a focus on the ranch and the coming of the railroad.

Worman, F. Scott and Peggy A. Gerow. *La Bajada Archeological Survey* (NMCRI 120192). Albuquerque, UNM-OCA: 2011.

The UNM-OCA investigations conducted in the La Bajada Project Area featured intensive cultural resources inventory of 22.86 hectares/56.5 acres, including systematic pedestrian survey of corridors along four historical routes that traverse the escarpment. Historic artifacts and roadways recorded in the study area were believed to be related to travel along four routes that may follow ancient indigenous paths or traces. The historic roadways included segments of ELCA (LA 169388), a wagon road improved by the U S Army in the 1860s (LA 169386); and alignments of New Mexico Highway 1 and Route 66 (LA 49903) completed in 1909 and 1926, respectively.

National or State Register Sites/Districts Related to ELCA in New Mexico and Texas

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) is the “master list” of significant archaeological and historic sites, districts, buildings, and objects all across the nation. “Significance” is evaluated on the basis of an evaluation of events, people, styles, and information that the particular property may be related to, and the integrity of the site. Nominations are completed and submitted by the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) to the NPS. Once approved, the site is afforded recognition of its importance which must be considered by federal land managers before federal undertakings that might affect the property can be approved.

The basis for recent National Register work in New Mexico related to ELCA is the Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) prepared in 2010 by a team including Tom Merlan, Mike Marshall, and John Roney. The form provides historic contexts and property types for ELCA that can be used as a basis or framework for individual property nominations. The information within the MPDF provides an excellent summary of historic events, significant individuals who traveled the trail, and the kinds of properties that might be encountered along ELCA. Eleven of these individual nominations have been prepared by the team that prepared the MPDF, and are described in the table below. Nine ELCA segments are included in this group, totaling about 30.9 miles of trail. Five more segments totaling 3.2 miles have been nominated later by the Baker Morrow Group, using the MPDF as a basis. The Merlan et al. MPDF of 2010 is available for download at:

<<<https://www.nps.gov/elca/learn/historyculture/upload/National-Register-of-Historic-Places-Multiple-Properties-508.pdf>>>.

Copies of National Register (and State Register of Cultural Property) documents can be obtained in printed form from SHPO archives. Older ones (but not the ELCA individual nominations below) are scanned and available at:

<<<https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/database-research.htm>>>.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2, below, summarize the ELCA nominations for properties in New Mexico. The locations of some National Register sites are withheld from public release due to concerns about vandalism. The forms for these sites may still be available, but be redacted.

Table 3.1. National and State Register listings for ELCA segments in New Mexico.

SR #	NR #	Name of Property	County	SR Date	NR Date	Length (miles)**
174	N/A	Camino Real*	Dona Ana	4/24/70	N/A	N/A
1952	N/A	Camino Real in New Mexico, AD 1598-1881 MPDF	Multiple	12/10/10	4/8/11	N/A
1953	11000168	Camino Real - La Bajada Mesa Section	Santa Fe	12/10/10	4/8/11	5.9
1954	11000170	Camino Real - Cañon de Las Bocas Section	Santa Fe	12/10/10	4/8/11	4.1
1955	11000169	Camino Real - Los Alamitos Section	Santa Fe	12/10/10	4/8/11	0.7
1958	11000167	Camino Real - Jornada Lakes Section	Sierra	12/10/10	4/8/11	5.0
1959	11000163	Camino Real - Yost Draw Section	Sierra	12/10/10	4/8/11	4.0
1960	11000171	Camino Real - Point of Rocks Section	Sierra	12/10/10	4/8/11	2.4
1961	11000172	Camino Real - Rincon Arroyo - Perrillo Section	Dona Ana	12/10/10	4/8/11	0.7
1962	11000165	Camino Real - San Diego South Section	Dona Ana	12/10/10	4/8/11	2.3
1963	11000166	Camino Real - San Diego North-South Section	Dona Ana	12/10/10	4/8/11	5.6
1992	13000775	El Camino Real: La Cieneguilla South	Santa Fe	4/12/13	9/25/13	8/0.3
1993	13000774	El Camino Real: El Rancho de las Golondrinas	Santa Fe	4/12/13	9/25/13	0.3
2000	14000898	El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro--North Arroyo Alamillo Section	Socorro	4/4/14	11/5/14	1.3
2042	10002204	El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro--La Bajada North Section	Santa Fe	8/11/17	3/19/18	0.6
2043	10002205	El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro--La Bajada South Section	Santa Fe	12/4/17	3/19/18	0.7

*An older nomination to the SR; provides little information. Should be considered as updated by the “Camino Real in New Mexico, AD 1598-1881” Multiple Properties Documentation Form (MPDF).

**Length is approximated along the main stem of ELCA and does not include offshoots or other variants. Abbreviations used in this table: SR = State Register of Cultural Properties; NR = National Register of Historic Places.

The team that prepared the MPDF for ELCA and individual nominations for nine segments in 2010 also nominated two Indian Pueblos along ELCA. These are listed below in Table 2.

Table 3.2. Indian Pueblos nominated to the State and National Registers on the basis of their association with ELCA.

SR #	NR #	Name of Property	County	SR Date	NR Date	Acres
1956	11000174	Camino Real - Qualacú Pueblo	Socorro	12/10/10	4/8/11	8.6
1957	11000163	Camino Real - San Pasqual Pueblo	Socorro	12/10/10	4/8/11	28.0

Abbreviations used in this table: SR = State Register of Cultural Properties; NR = National Register of Historic Places.

The NPS also identifies the properties noted below in New Mexico (n=18) and Texas (n=5) and listed on the NRHP as related to/associated ELCA.²⁸ The individual nomination forms for these sites should be available at the SHPO archives in each state. Four of these, as noted, are also designated as National Historic Landmarks (NHLs).

New Mexico

International Boundary Marker No. 1, United States and Mexico, Sunland Park
 Fort Fillmore, Las Cruces vicinity, (restricted, private property)
 Mesilla Plaza, Mesilla (NHL)
 La Mesilla Historic District, Mesilla
 Doña Ana Village Historic District, Doña Ana
 Fort Selden State Monument, Radium Springs
 Fort Craig National Historic Site, San Antonio vicinity
 San Miguel Church, Socorro
 Teypama Piro Site (address restricted)
 El Cerro Tomé Site, Los Lunas vicinity
 Gutiérrez-Hubbell House, Albuquerque
 Kuaua Ruin (Coronado State Monument), Bernalillo
 San Marcos Pueblo, Cerrillos vicinity
 Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe (NHL)
 Santa Fe Plaza, Santa Fe (NHL)
 Fort Marcy Ruins, Santa Fe
 San Gabriel de Yungue-Ouinge, Española vicinity (NHL)
 San Juan Pueblo, Española vicinity

Texas

Presidio Chapel of San Elizario, Mission Trail, El Paso
 San Elizario Historic District, Mission Trail, El Paso
 Socorro Mission, Mission Trail, El Paso
 Mission Socorro Archeological Site
 Ysleta Mission, Mission Trail, El Paso

²⁸ More information is available at: <<<https://www.nps.gov/elca/learn/historyculture/national-register-research.htm>>>.

3.4 Sources for Maps and Illustrations; Online Resources.

Maps can serve as invaluable sources of information about many categories of historic properties, but they are especially useful in an investigation of historic trails. Printed or published maps illustrating ELCA and the places it crosses may be bound in books found in libraries and curated archives across the globe, including the repositories described above. Most books about ELCA provide some illustration of the route, although the specifics (and accuracy) may vary between sources. The purpose for which a particular map was created, the date it was drawn, and the identity of the mapmaker are all factors that can affect the accuracy and level of detail depicted on a map. In the current era and at least since the nineteenth century, increasing care has been taken by governmental institutions (including military services) to produce maps based on careful measurements, an endeavor that continues to increase in accuracy as GIS and associated cartographic technologies become increasingly refined. By contrast, the oldest maps that depict the beginning of the route that would come to be identified as ELCA (perhaps dating to the sixteenth century, at the earliest) can seem wildly inaccurate, even fanciful, as mapping standards that are now commonplace—such as employing cardinal directions for orientation, and using standard, agreed-upon units of measure—were not routinely used even a few centuries ago. The earliest maps of locations in the Spanish Borderlands sometimes employ a mix of archaic Spanish and Native American words (particularly Nahuatl) for place names and descriptors, and even symbology derived from the documentary traditions already developed and in use by indigenous peoples; native scribes learned to modify the manner in which they were accustomed to create pictorial documents in order to encompass the needs identified by the Spanish for mapmaking. While these maps may not be strictly accurate in their measurements and/or topographical orientation, they often reveal details about the perceptions of the mapmaker(s) with respect to the “cultural landscape” in a way that their modern-day counterparts cannot.

At least two historical atlases for New Mexico maps have been published and are available for consultation, as described below. Cultural resources management documents and maps created for land managing agencies sometimes relate specifically to ELCA (as in the case of NRHP/SRCP nominations described above). Some current United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic quadrangle maps (“quads”) depict the route of ELCA as it passes through undeveloped areas as a dashed line, though it is seldom labeled as such. A number of websites offer viewable scanned and digitized maps—often downloadable—from a variety of time periods that show or provide a wealth of information about ELCA.

Online Sources for Maps

Many historic and contemporary maps illustrating ELCA and its route, or places that the trail crossed, are available from online sources. Many of these maps are available for research purposes in digital formats or are for sale. The following list provides internet addresses or “urls” current as of 2019 for some of the more important such sources. Considerable overlap exists among these sites, but some maps are only found at one of

them. It can be worth checking various websites to ascertain whether a copy of a particular map of interest may be available at a higher resolution, and/or free of charge.

As with any list of urls, frequent changes to the addresses for these sites can be expected, but a search engine query for “New Mexico historic maps” is likely to provide numerous sources for these items. While many offer printed maps for sale, the list below concentrates on downloadable digital maps that can be downloaded for no cost.

1. Atlas of Historic New Mexico Maps

<<<http://atlas.nmhum.org/atlas.php?phndl=themes>>>

This website contains twenty historic maps of New Mexico, annotated with descriptions by the mapmakers and by other people living, working, and exploring in New Mexico at the time the maps were made.

2. Library of Congress

<<<https://www.loc.gov/collections/?fa=original-format:map>>>

The Library of Congress contains numerous historic maps of New Mexico detailing the route of ELCA, and stops along the way. Some maps available here date to before New Mexico was a U.S. Territory, but one of the strengths of this site consists of the numerous maps associated with military explorations and campaigns in New Mexico in the nineteenth century. The Library also curates a large collection of nineteenth century Sanborn’s insurance maps of Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Socorro, some of which illustrate where ELCA passed through those towns. Most of their online maps are viewable and downloadable. Besides maps, the Library of Congress has documents, photographs, film, and many other resources that could be valuable for ELCA studies.

3. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

<<<https://www.davidrumsey.com/>>>

From the website:

“The David Rumsey Map Collection was started over 30 years ago and contains more than 150,000 maps. The collection focuses on rare 16th through 21st century maps of North and South America, as well as maps of the World, Asia, Africa, Europe, and Oceania. The collection includes atlases, wall maps, globes, school geographies, pocket maps, books of exploration, maritime charts, and a variety of cartographic materials including pocket, wall, children's, and manuscript maps. Items range in date from about 1550 to the present.”

Needless to say, this wonderful collection is an invaluable resource for anyone studying historic maps and documentation for ELCA, as well as many other topics. Some 94,000 of these maps are available digitally for research on this site, and many items can be downloaded, some even at high resolution. The website offers many other valuable tools, including a digital georeferencer, which allows the researcher to see where a historic map lies in terms of modern roads, cities, or other landmarks.

4. Old Maps Online

<<https://www.oldmapsonline.org/en/New_Mexico>>

This site primarily provides links to other webpages for digital maps.

5. University of New Mexico Libraries

<<<https://nmdigital.unm.edu/digital/search/searchterm/maps>>>

The University of New Mexico maintains a digitized map collection with many unique and interesting maps.

6. University of Texas Perry-Casteñeda Library Map Collection

<<http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/topo/new_mexico/>>

This library curates, and has digitized, many historic USGS topographic maps of New Mexico dating to the late nineteenth—early twentieth centuries.

7. Texas Historical Commission

<<<https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Map>>>

This online map service offers digital maps of National Register properties, historical markers, and other historic properties in the Texas portion of ELCA in the El Paso area.

8. Texas Archaeological Society

<<<https://texasbeyondhistory.net/paso/index.html>>>

This website contains a nice summary of the history of the missions in the El Paso, Texas, area, and their relationship to ELCA. Of particular interest is the map and discussion about how the Rio Grande changed course in 1852, moving several missions and a portion of ELCA from the southern or Mexican side of the Rio Grande to the northern or United States side.

9. The History Center

<<<http://www.thehistorycenteronline.com/exhibits/grid/imagining-texas-an-historical-journey-with-maps/>>>

Offers access to 13 high-resolution viewable and downloadable maps illustrating the mapping history of Texas. Many of these are relevant to New Mexico mapping history as well.

10. University of Alabama Historical Map Collection

<<http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/us_states/newmexico/index.html>>

The University of Alabama maintains a nice collection of nineteenth and early twentieth century maps of New Mexico, some of which depict the route of ELCA.

11. United States Geological Survey (USGS)

<<<https://ngmdb.usgs.gov/topoview/>>>

The USGS website has an excellent search engine that allows digital download of many historic USGS topographic maps.

12. United States General Land Office (GLO)

<<<https://glorerecords.blm.gov/default.aspx>>>

The BLM maintains this website, which provides some digitized maps from United States GLO surveys of plats and land grants performed in New Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century. Surveyors' notes and other kinds of information about the maps are also digitally available in some instances. Road and trails are sometimes marked on the plat maps.

13. Google Books and Google Scholar (general historic references, and military reports and maps)

<<<https://books.google.com/> and <https://scholar.google.com/>>>

These two websites can provide digital copies of general historic references, as well as many historic military reports and maps. Many are free but some are behind a paywall.

14. Google Earth

Because the route of ELCA is highly visible from the air in some places, Google Earth is an excellent means by which to see location of the trail in certain areas.

15. Internet Archive.org

<<<https://archive.org/>>>

This website can provide free access to digital copies of many general historic references, military reports, diaries, and maps.

16. Wikipedia/Wikimedia

You never know what maps you may find here! The site is being updated all the time, and is worth checking frequently.

17. National Park Service ELCA website

<<<https://www.nps.gov/elca/index.htm>>>

This site provides access to a map viewer depicting the designated route of ELCA National Historic Trail, a trail brochure, the ELCA comprehensive management plan, and other documents related to preservation and management of the trail.

18. National Park Service Integrated Resources Management Applications (IRMA) website

<<<https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/Reference/Profile/2238908>>>

This address takes you to a GIS shapefile showing the designated route of ELCA. It can only be downloaded using GIS software.

19. BLM ELCA website

<<<https://www.nps.gov/elca/index.htm>>>

The BLM is co-administrator of the ELCA NHT, with the NPS. Their website offers maps and information about the trail.

20. Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Association (CARTA) website

<<<http://www.caminorealcarta.org/>>>

CARTA is a volunteer association that promotes the study, preservation, and recreational use of the trail. Their website offers maps, photographs, videos, copies of documents relating to trail history, and links to downloadable issues of their former publication *Chronicles of the Trail*.

21. Socorro Historical Society website

<<<http://socorro-history.org/CAMINOREAL/home.htm>>>

This part of the Socorro Historical Society's website provides access to maps, research, and other information about ELCA within Socorro and Sierra Counties.

Atlases and other Published Sources

Eidenbach, Peter. *An Atlas of Historic New Mexico Maps, 1550–1941*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012.

This extremely useful publication has set out to compile and reproduce a massive collection of New Mexico's historic maps. One can see the progression of New Mexico's history from a virtually unknown *despoblado* to a Spanish, then Mexican colony. ELCA served as an important integrative mechanism during this period. The American period has produced a proliferation of maps for exploration, military campaigns, and economic development.

Beck, Warren A. and Ynez D. Haase. *Historical Atlas of New Mexico* (reissue originally published in 1969). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

A historian (Beck) and a cartographer (Haase) collaborate to show specific aspects of the state's geography and historic events through a narrative illustrated by maps. Topics include geographical data (such as topography and weather), prehistoric archaeological sites, Spanish expeditions, first towns, historic trails, the United States invasion, the Civil War, stagecoach lines, roads, railroads, counties, cities and towns, parks and monuments, and even state judicial districts.

Summary

The list above only scratches the surface of available digital and other mapping information. The amount of information one may glean from a search of online sources in a relatively short period of time is staggering when considering the time, energy, and other resources required to visit an archive to view primary sources.

The figures below (3.1-3.5) provide examples of some of the maps downloadable from online sources. Any map lover can tell you that old maps are works of art as well as geographic representations. The first few examples illustrate this maxim.

Figure 3.1 is believed to be the earliest map made of New Mexico after Juan de Oñate's colonizing expedition of 1598, prepared by Enrico Martinez in 1602. Part of what we now know as ELCA is shown as a dashed line heading south towards Mexico City from San

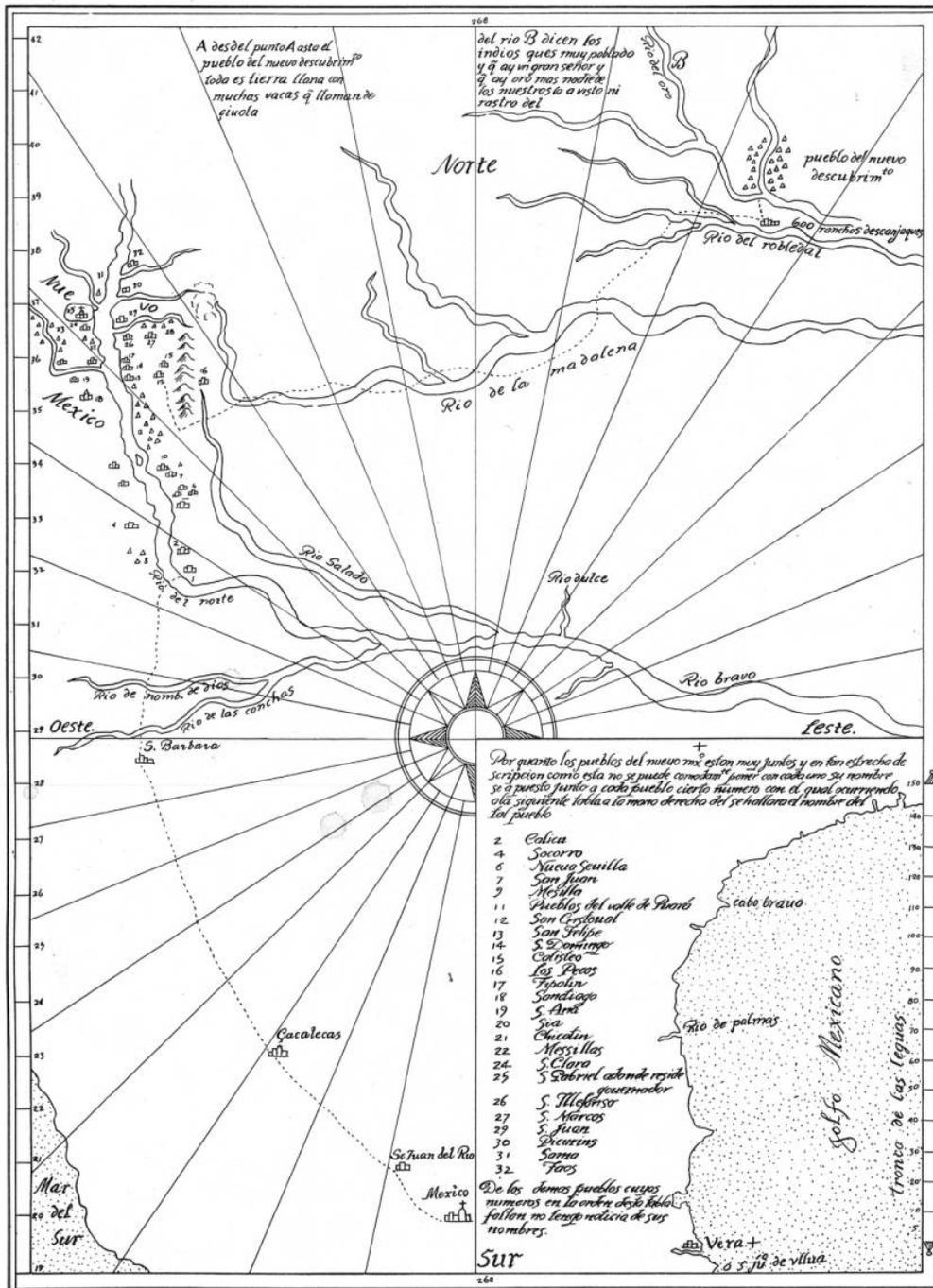
Gabriel, the first capital of New Mexico, at Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan) Pueblo. Other dashed lines head east towards the plains with notes about native people encountered there. The legend contains a list of Indian pueblos and places known at the time. The map also shows the Gulf of California and the Gulf of Mexico. While wildly inaccurate in terms of exact locations, the wealth of geographic and cultural information is extremely valuable.

Figure 3.2 is a portion of a map drawn in 1767 of northern New Mexico by the Basque/Spaniard Joseph de Urrutia (he signed his name “Joseph” on his maps). Urrutia’s boss was Nicolás de Lafora, Captain of the Royal Engineers, who sometimes apparently took credit for Urrutia’s work. Urrutia made a number of well-known maps of locations northern New Spain (especially New Mexico and Texas) in the latter eighteenth century. Urrutia drew the first known plan map of Santa Fe, one of the termini of ELCA, the first detailed map of San Antonio, Texas, and a map of Los Adaes, first capital of the Province of Texas (although the site is now in Louisiana). Urrutia rose to the rank of general after he returned to Spain, and had his portrait painted by Goya in 1798.

Figure 3.3 is a map drawn by Bernardo Miera y Pacheco of the greater Southwest region, an important and prolific cartographer who created a number of maps that conveyed the political and cultural developments of his time. Miera y Pacheco also was the mapmaker for the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition of 1776-1777. He was born in Spain but after arriving in Santa Fe and receiving a land grant, remained in New Mexico until his death. He was an artist and *santero* of some renown, especially known for his wood carving of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. He is now credited with sculpting the massive stone *reredos* or altar screen originally displayed in La Castrense, the military chapel once located on Santa Fe’s plaza (the screen is now at the Cristo Rey Church). Miera y Pacheco also created numerous beautiful paintings.

Figure 3.4 is a portion of map drawn by Zebulon Pike during his “expedition” into New Mexico during 1806-1807. He got lost and was eventually arrested for trespass and sent to Chihuahua, Mexico for interrogation. Pike was released in 1807. This section of his map depicts the route he traveled across the Jornada del Muerto, one of the most treacherous sections of ELCA.

Figure 3.5 is a detail map showing a portion of ELCA north of Las Cruces. The map depicts the battle lines for the Battle of Brazito (sometimes incorrectly spelled “Bracito”) of the Mexican War of 1846-1848. The battle occurred on December 25, 1846. ELCA is labeled as the “Road from Santa Fe to El Paso del Norte.” The map was drawn by an American soldier named Lachlan Allan MacLean, who traveled with the Doniphan Expedition. MacLean also assisted with the design and construction of Fort Marcy in Santa Fe.



Martinez Map of New Mexico, after 1602, (Courtesy of France V. Scholes)

Figure 3.1. Enrico Martinez map of New Mexico, ca. 1602 (University of New Mexico Libraries digital collection)

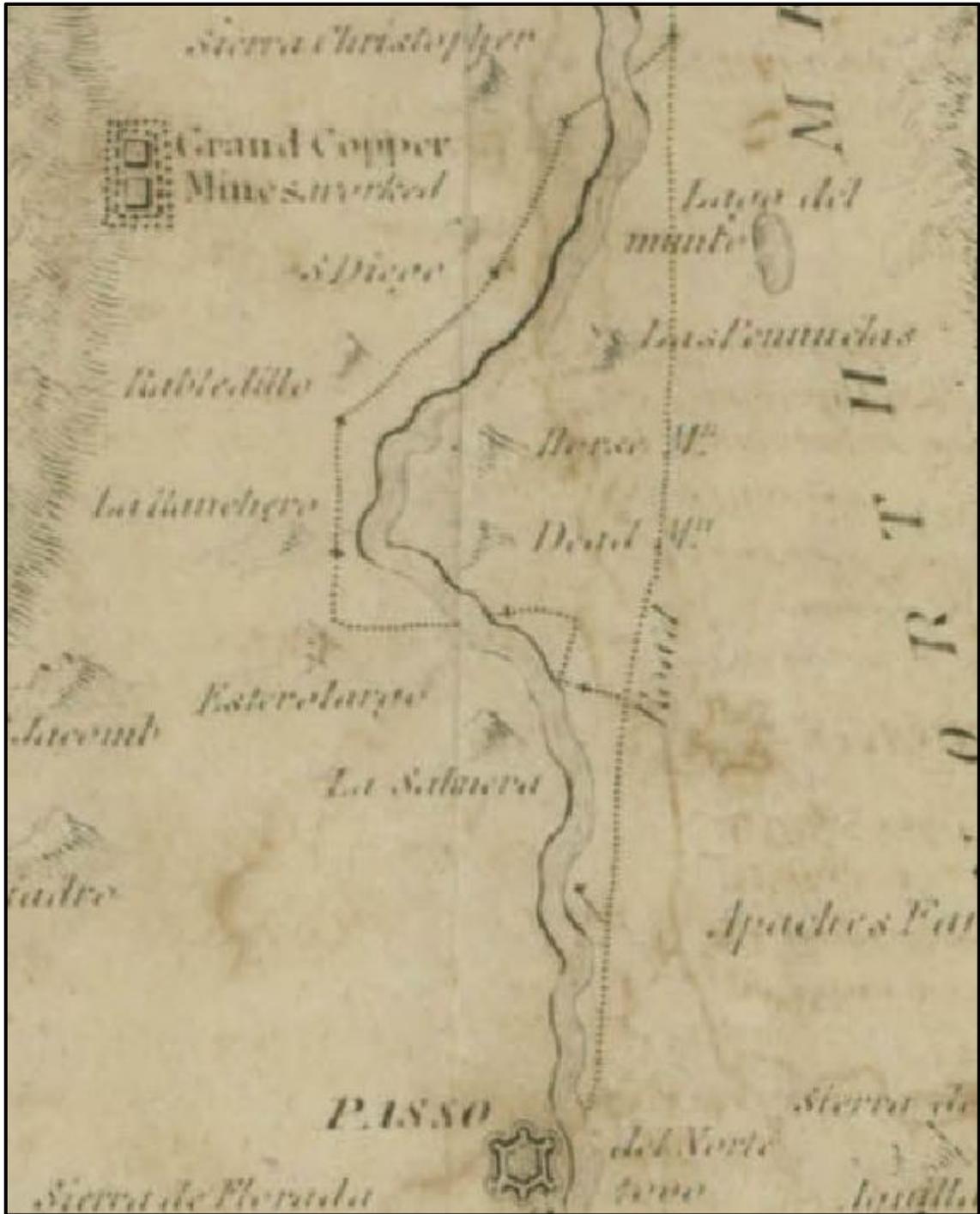


Figure 3.4. Detail of 1810 map by Zebulon Pike showing the Jornada del Muerto section of ELCA.

(Available at: <<<https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~930~60171:A-Map-of-The-Internal-Provinces-of->>>>>).

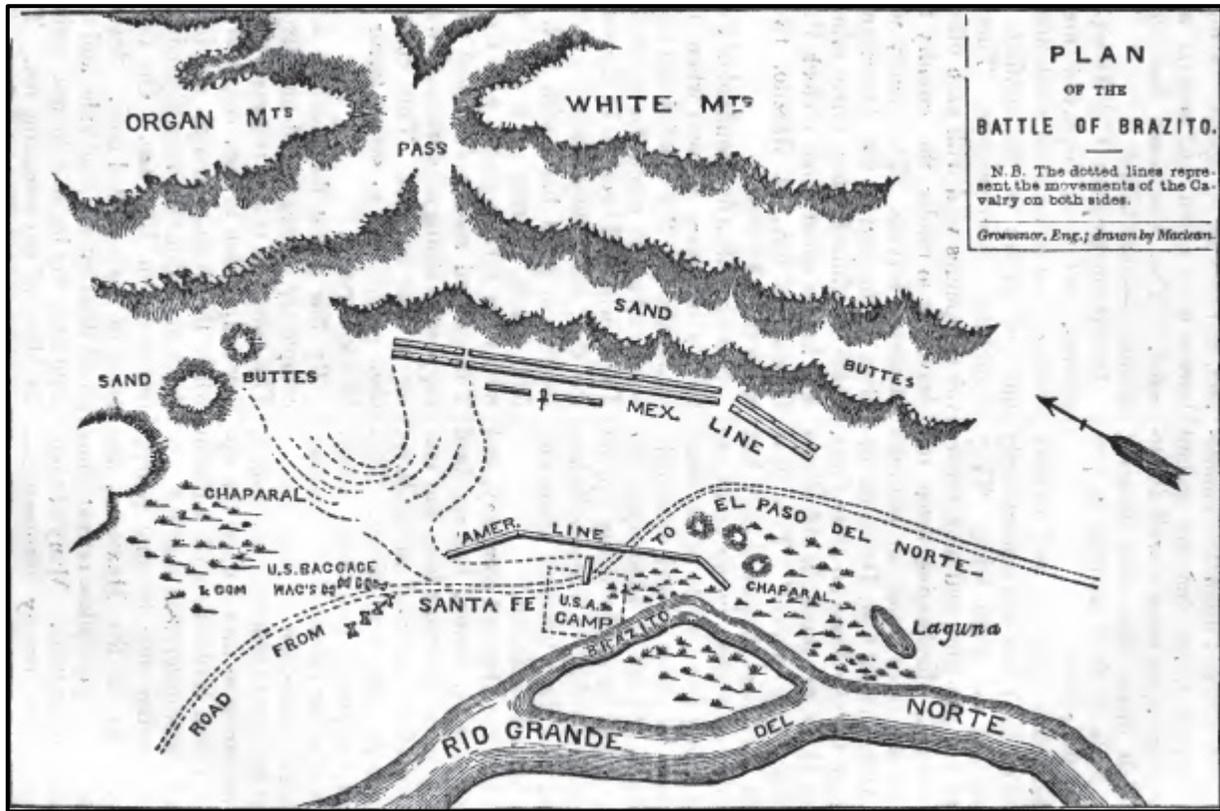


Figure 3.5 Map showing the 1848 Battle of Brazito site (sometimes spelled “Bracito”) of the Mexican War. ELCA is the “Road from Santa Fe to El Paso del Norte.”

(Available at: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_El_Brazito#/media/File:ElBrazito_Doniphan_map.jpg>>).

3.5. Additional Published Sources of Information about the Peoples and Places of the Lands Traversed by El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

The items incorporated in this section comprise as select list of references encountered by/familiar to the compilers of this bibliography. As described above, the decision about which to include in the document was made on a case-by-case basis based on an information source's degree of relationship to the primary topic, that is, ELCA. The references listed below, while linked more tangentially to the regional setting of the Trail and its peoples, are nevertheless useful for the reader interested in exploring related subject matter. These listings do not represent a comprehensive survey of the source materials for the subject matter that they reference; rather, they are useful sources that various compilers have used, and/or items that cropped up in bibliographic searches that appeared to be particularly useful. They are listed by subject matter (arranged alphabetically).

Architecture

Bunting, Bainbridge. *Early Architecture in New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976.

Archival Documents

Chávez, Fray Angélico, trans. *The Dominquez-Escalante Journal*, ed. Ted J. Warner. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976.

Franciscan friars Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Domínguez set out from Santa Fe in 1776 to forge an overland route to California. The party of nine men headed northwest to Colorado and Utah, and then traveled south, to Oraibi and back to Santa Fe. Valuable and important, but they were only on ELCA at the end of their journey, and they said nothing about it—they were probably anxious to get home. Notable for Miera y Pacheco's gorgeous maps.

Agriculture

Dunmire, William W. *Gardens of New Spain, How Mediterranean Plants and Food Changed America*. University of Texas Press, 2004.

_____. *New Mexico's Spanish Livestock Heritage: Four Centuries of Animals, Land and People*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013).

Ceramics (Historic)

Deagan, Kathleen. *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800*. Volume 1: Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987.

Goggin, John M. *The Spanish Olive Jar, An Introductory Study*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 62. New Haven: Yale University, 1960.

_____. *Spanish Majolica in the New World, Types of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 72. New Haven: Yale University, 1968.

Craft Arts/Fine Arts

Boyd, E. *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1974.

Toussaint, Manuel. *Colonial Art in Mexico*, trans. Elizabeth W. Weismann. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967.

Genealogy

Chávez, Fray Angélico. *Origins of New Mexico Families*. Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1954, reprinted in 1992.

Mines and Mining

Ackerly, Neal W. *An Overview of the Historic Characteristics of New Mexico's Mines*. Silver City, New Mexico: Dos Rios Consultants, Inc., 1997.

Brading, David A. *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763-1810*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Vaughan, Charles David. *Taking the Measure of New Mexico's Colonial Miners, Mining, and Metallurgy*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, (Proquest Number 3230840). Albuquerque, New Mexico: 2006.

Miscellaneous Items

Spicer, Edward H. *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962.

Curtis, F.S., Jr. "Spanish Arms and Armor in the Southwest." *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 no. 2 (1927): 107-133.

Spell, Lotta. "Music Teaching in New Mexico in the 17th Century." *New Mexico Historical Review* 2 no. 1 (1927): 27-36.

Native Americans

Bandelier, Adolph F. and Edgar L. Hewett. *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*. Handbooks of Archaeological History, no. 3. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937.

Griffen, William B. *Indian Assimilation in the Franciscan Area of Nueva Vizcaya*. Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, no. 33. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979.

Sando, Joe S. *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1992.

_____. *Pueblo Profiles: Cultural Identity Through Centuries of Change*. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1998.

Handbook of North American Indians

Ortiz, Alfonso, ed. *Southwest*. Vols. 9 and 10, *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest*, by William C. Sturtevant. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979 and 1983.

The *Handbook of North American Indians* series, produced by the Smithsonian Institution, serves as an encyclopedia of North America's aboriginal people. Volume 9 summarizes the prehistory of the Southwest, and the history and languages of the Pueblo people. These include the Pueblos of Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso (now Ohkay Owingeh), Nambe, Pojoaque, Tesuque, Tigua, Sandia, Isleta, Cochiti, Santo Domingo (now Kewa), San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Jemez, Pecos, Laguna, and Acoma. Also included in Volume 9 is an ethnographic description of "Genízaros"—de-tribalized Native Americans related to/descended from Native Americans captured and trafficked as slaves during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—written by Fray Angélico Chávez. The non-Pueblo people of the Southwest (with whom the Spanish also had prolonged interactions, and others) are summarized in Volume 10. These groups include the Pima, Seri, Yaqui, Mayo, Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Apache, and Navajo.

4. Summary and Conclusions; Productive Avenues for Future Research

The history of the exploration and colonization of the Spanish Borderlands and the study of the indigenous peoples who weathered and absorbed the various cycles of conquest have been subjects of fascination and engagement for scholars of various stripes since Territorial times, if not before. The value of careful record-keeping and map-making was ensconced in the Spanish colonial tradition of exploration and governance, and the various representatives of the crown, the church, and the military who came to New Spain were vigorous from the first in their efforts to document who and what they found, where they went, and what they managed to accumulate. Later, as the various disciplines under the aegis of American anthropology began to develop, the persistence of indigenous cultures in the region attracted generations of scholars to study them (a consequence that has not, of course, necessarily been viewed by the subjects in a strictly positive light). This has resulted in vast array of documentary material available for research into the myriad topics relevant to exploring and interpreting the historical trajectory of cultural change through time in the region.

Access to records and other materials has been and continues to be a key element in developing any successful investigation. In another era, documentary research most often required travel to locations where archive repositories maintained them, not to mention persistence in finding and identifying a particular source item of value curated in a container or location filled with extraneous material. The image of a researcher rooting through piles of paper or boxes of artifacts in the hopes of finding a useful item has not been an inaccurate one, even up to the end of the twentieth century in some locations. In the current era, however, archives and repositories around the world—and certainly in the United States, Mexico, and Spain, where records related ELCA are most likely to be found—have made admirable strides in organizing and cataloging their various collections, creating digital copies of rare items that should be handled only on a limited basis, and standardizing procedures for searching and viewing source materials, including the creation of online portals that greatly facilitate research. This is not to say that it is no longer necessary to view original materials, be they books, documents, or items of material culture. But many, many museums and archives have been (or are industriously creating) digital copies of a variety of items that can be searched out and viewed online. Even in instances where it is necessary to arrange for access to an original document or artifact, catalogs can be accessed online to facilitate efficiently planning for a site visit to a repository, and/or at the facility itself to maximize the productive use of a researcher's time.

What all of this means is that there is an abundance of useful material for study of all manner of topics related to El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, and a wide variety of places to access it, in locations that are becoming increasingly more organized and accessible with the passage of time. The pace of this improvement is rapid; even over the few years that this bibliography was being organized, some of the organizational frameworks, access procedures, and certainly online portals for various archives and repositories changed, a process that will no doubt continue.

Likewise, a prodigious amount of research has already been accomplished. As stated at the outset, a guiding principle for selecting items to include in this bibliography was their applicability to investigations centered on ELCA, as opposed to a comprehensive bibliography for all potential sources and investigations related to elucidating the culture history of the entire region. Even so, as this document indicates, the amount of published and unpublished material available for research is vast, and it is accumulating. New primary and secondary sources are likely in the process of being identified and made available as you are reading these words. This bibliography will begin to become dated as soon as it is printed or placed online.

Part of the direction for organizing this effort was to attempt to identify lacunae in the current research setting for area scholars and researchers. After viewing the prodigious array of available material, it seems clear that few if any relevant large-scale topics—such as military and ecclesiastical history, commerce, and changes in the locations of indigenous settlement patterns in response to colonization—that have remained unaddressed. What is evident, however, is that opportunities certainly exist for researchers to explore the changes in time experienced by cultures along the route of ELCA from new perspectives. For historians, this would mean seeking out information about participants whose voices have largely remained unheard until now, including: women, children, members of the various *castas* (“castes”) at lower socio-economic levels than the *peninsulares* (Spaniards who were born in Spain, that is to say, the elites of their era); and native leaders. For anthropologists (including archaeologists), this would mean working with descendant indigenous groups to identify and incorporate their traditions and viewpoints regarding their own histories as well as their interactions with the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans—along with the material cultural that they brought with them—who explored and settled in the region.

Some of aspects this kind of effort are already being accomplished. Many historians have moved on from the late nineteenth-early twentieth century emphasis on explicating the arc of cultural change through time solely per the deeds of the “great men” and major events for their era, predicated on the assumption that any circumstance of importance would thus be revealed. With respect to anthropological concerns, the creation of nationwide legislative protection for Native American traditional cultural properties, including funerary objects and human remains, has engendered the inclusion of indigenous participants in decision-making that affects how cultural properties are viewed and preserved. Many Native American groups are now represented by Tribal Historic Preservation Officers and other personnel that interact with outside agencies and individuals when planned development—such as roadway improvement, or installation of a cell tower—has the potential to affect locations under their purview. For some native groups, a tradition of conducting their own scholarship has emerged. And museums and other repositories routinely consult descendants (including those of non-indigenous groups) regarding displays of ancestral/contemporary material culture, while ethnographers and archaeologists are generally required to solicit approval for proposed projects that require access to locations, individuals, and sometimes even previously

curated materials relevant to particular indigenous cultures. The results in many cases have been unexpected, and interesting.

Perhaps the most significant “gap” in regional cultural studies at this point in time is represented to the degree to which scholars in different disciplines are not communicating well with each other. While focus is certainly necessary to productive research outcomes, cross-disciplinary efforts should be enabled and amplified, particularly with respect to a topic as large as ELCA. The National Historic Trail is a physical manifestation of a historic long-distance route that exemplifies and memorializes the sweep of the currents of change that created the cultural landscape of the Spanish Borderlands as perhaps no other single cultural property could. While the array of relevant research topics is certainly vast and being vigorously pursued, not enough effort is being made to share results across disciplines.

A pertinent example is provided by the efforts to define the route of the Trail. Recognition of the historic importance of ELCA certainly is attributable to the careful work of historians who pored over documents and maps, and who provided the inspiration for the organizers of the preservation effort. Definition (and preservation) of the actual physical route is another matter, requiring the kind of ground-truthing and analysis best-suited to field archaeologists, trained to identify and document material correlates of human activity on the landscape, no matter how large or small. In order to accomplish this effectively, however, the archaeologists need to know where to look, which means that they have to consult the historians. For this reason, this bibliography cites publications/studies generated within the research traditions (now sometimes referred to as “silos”) of different disciplines, in the hope of facilitating cross-disciplinary access to useful research products.

Ongoing research, if communicated effectively and made available to the general field of Trail-related scholarship across disciplines, can produce unexpected and felicitous results. A recent focus of archaeological and related research in southern New Mexico (particularly on the Jornada del Muerto), for example, has been the identification and investigation of the physical locations of *parajes* (literally, “stopping places”)—generally thought to signify campsites, although they may have had some other functions—along ELCA, and to specify the water sources available trail travelers (see the citations in Chapter 3.3, above). Some of the results of this research challenge assumptions made by historians and others about how the trail functioned through the different phases of its use, and can refine our interpretations of it.

Also important is the necessity of public access to the results of Trail studies. If the great historic route is to be effectively preserved, members of the public need to participate in the process. In some locations original alignments and of ELCA (and associated sites) have remained intact enough to be identified and recorded, while others have been covered over by modern urban development, and/or have been subsumed into modern roadways. It is certain that development will continue, and decisions about how and what of the Trail to preserve will need to be supported by the public. An informed public is more likely to support pro-active decision making about this (or any other) historic resource. The agencies that concomitantly manage the National Historic Trail—the NPS and BLM Trail

Administration—have made great efforts to provide information about ELCA to the interested public, and to support recreational use of the Trail where possible and appropriate. Likewise, The Trail Administration has continued ongoing work with researchers and governmental agencies in Mexico who are also involved in preservation and investigation, including sponsorship of scholarly conferences and publications. All of this good work needs to continue, but it will only happen if Trail researchers, managers, and enthusiasts on both sides of the international border keep talking to other. Current events have made this more difficult, of course, but it may be helpful to keep in mind the metaphor of cross-cultural interaction through time represented by ELCA: a historic route that transcended geographic locations and myriad peoples through time, resulting in the unique and shared cultural landscape of northern Mexico and the American Southwest. Stated more simply, if explorers and merchants could manage to functionally connect coming from ports of call as remote as Santa Fe and Chihuahua, or even Mexico City, during historic times, we should be able to keep on communicating.