

ENDURING TRAILS: AN INTERNSHIP WITH THE JICARILLA APACHE NATION
TRIBAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

by

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Jicarilla Apache people whose stories these are and whose perseverance and success in the face of adversity continues to humble, inspire and better the world for all of creation.

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ABSTRACT

The graduate internship and thesis option in American Indian Studies affords students a unique opportunity to directly apply their academic interests in a manner that address the contemporary needs of a Native nation. By engaging with tribes in this manner, students are assured that their academic efforts actively and positively contribute to ongoing and relevant tribal projects or programs, while the nation is assured that research concerning their community is being informed by a working experience with their community. This thesis documents my internship with the Jicarilla Apache Nation Tribal Historic Preservation Office in which I assisted the office in conducting oral history interviews and compiling a report for their project entitled: *Rediscovering Trail Roots and Routes: The Jicarilla Apache and the Old Spanish National Historic Trail*.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

A stated core value of the American Indian Studies (AIS) program at the University of Arizona is collaboration between students and faculty and tribal communities (AIS 2015). During summer and fall 2015, I served as an intern with the Jicarilla Apache Nation Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO). My primary task was to assist the office to complete an oral history project, which entailed conducting oral history interviews and compiling a report entitled: *Rediscovering Trail Roots and Routes: The Jicarilla Apache and the Old Spanish National Historic Trail* (O'Meara et al. 2015). The project was awarded on July 11, 2012, to the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO by the National Park Service Trails Division. The Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO received approval from the Jicarilla Apache Legislative Council on February 28, 2013 to proceed. The project, as defined by the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO, was designed to document contemporary Jicarilla Apache connections and oral histories related to the Old Spanish National Historic Trail and other trails that transect the Jicarilla Apache Nation. In an official letter dated July 10, 2015 (APPENDIX B) the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO granted me permission to use this project report as the basis for my thesis.

This thesis consists of four chapters. Chapter one reviews the organization of the thesis and examines my positionality as a non-native graduate student working with the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO, significance, and objectives of this thesis. Chapter two serves as a brief literature review that examines the responsibilities and challenges of THPOs in relation to three of the concentrations of the AIS program. Chapter three provides readers with a narrative of the internship and report drafting process. This chapter is significant in that it describes the logistics of collaborating with a Native nation and provides a summary of the report's chapters and

conclusion. Chapter four is the conclusion and here the reader will find a summary of the internship, limitations, and a discussion of avenues for further collaboration.

Following the references are the appendices. Appendix A, the report compiled for the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO, is the primary document of this thesis. This is the report in its entirety, and serves as the final deliverable for the project. Appendices B, C, and D include the internship agreement, permission to use the report from the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO, and the Human Subjects Protection Program's determination.

Positionality

As a non-Native student, my participation in the AIS graduate program has been fueled by my working relationship with over 30 Native American communities on seven federally funded projects since 2007. Through these experiences, I have come to believe that Native American education, research and scholarship should privilege the voice of Indigenous people first and foremost. Consequently, I have approached the master's degree with the belief that everyone involved in collaborative relationships with Native American communities must be fluent in the legal, economic, political, cultural and environmental implications of those relationships and that projects on Native nations should be conducted at the direction of and with a primary benefit to that nation. It was from this perspective that I approached the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO with a request to pursue an internship with their office.

This thesis would not have been possible without the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO the Jicarilla Apache elders who shared their stories. Each of the oral histories included in the report remain the sole property of the individual(s) who shared their stories and this publicly available report has been included here with the permission of the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO. These

elders are the cultural experts, however I assume full responsibility for any technical errors found there or in this thesis. In addition, this thesis shall not in any way be construed to represent the opinion of the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO, the Jicarilla Apache Nation or people. I maintain that history has the power to inspire people about the possibilities of their future and is a source of strength and pride for many, and that the history of a people belongs to its people.

Objectives and Goals

The goal of this thesis is to document the process by which a graduate internship in American Indian Studies can provide tangible and professional assistance to a tribal community. This thesis will summarize the activities associated with my internship at the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO in the hopes that future graduate students will continue to be encouraged to seek out and develop collaborative and professional relationships with tribal communities.

Significance

My internship provided professional assistance to the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO and resulted in the completion of a federally-funded oral history project. The timely completion of this project advances the possibility that future projects can be funded through similar grants. More significantly however, the report represents the first step in formally documenting for future generations the connections and oral histories maintained by Jicarilla families of important sites, routes and events that occurred or are found throughout the reservation.

This thesis is important to AIS because it serves as a site-specific example of how the internship requirement and thesis option affords students the opportunity to apply the academic principles, knowledge and theory obtained in the classroom in a professional setting while supporting the needs of tribes.

CHAPTER TWO: THPO PERSPECTIVES IN THE LITERATURE

Prior working knowledge of the function of a tribal office or department is essential before engaging that office in a graduate-level internship. To that end, the following chapter presents a review of the Tribal Historic Preservation Office program (THPO) through the framework of three of the four concentrations of AIS: American Indian Education, American Indian Law and Policy, and American Indian Societies and Cultures. Underling this entire discussion is the concept of Native American sovereignty. Understanding the role of the THPO is crucial to understanding the responsibilities, challenges and functions that THPOs must address during any project that they undertake. For this discussion, THPOs are discussed more broadly in terms of cultural resource management (CRM), which would include other tribal entities engaged in cultural preservation that have not formally adopted a THPO.

Formation of the THPO Program

The THPO program, established in 1992 through an amendment to the National Historic Preservation Act, ushered in a new era of CRM and has been viewed as an extension of tribal sovereignty over heritage resources on reservations. The National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (NATHPO) states that the primary task of the THPO is to, “advise Federal agencies on the management of Tribal historic properties and strive to preserve their Tribes’ cultural heritage and preservation programs,” and lists among key priorities for THPOs: reviewing federal undertakings, conducting archaeological survey work, and incorporating traditional cultural values into the THPO. As of July 1, 2015, 157 tribes have established THPO programs across 30 states and manage over 50 million acres of land (NATHPO 2015). For many THPOs, their responsibility to preserve historic and cultural properties involves travel and work both on

and off the reservation, as certain lands located outside the reservation boundaries may represent among other things, aboriginal territory, sacred sites, and areas of significant cultural and natural resources that the tribe has a duty to protect. As such, demands on THPOs are two-fold, those from within the reservation and those from without.

Indigenous Worldview and Knowledge Systems

As stated above, incorporating cultural values into the work of the preservation programs is a priority of many THPOs. This task is complicated by a fundamental gap between indigenous and western knowledge systems or *epistemologies*. Stoffle (n.d., 11-12) and Stoffle et al. (1990, 20-23) provided a critical examination and reflection on this conflict, arguing that it stems from *epistemological* and *ontological* differences between Native and non-Native researchers. Cajete (1999, vii-viii) delineates between “non-anthropocentric (indigenous) and the anthropocentric (western industrial)” worldviews. Other differences include what constitutes the very nature of the world, as either sentient or inanimate, how knowledge is obtained and who has the authority to validate such knowledge. Troster and Parrotta (2012) and Berkes (2013) have each sought to quantify indigenous epistemologies in academic terms such as Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Traditional Forest Related Knowledge.

Deloria (1997, 23-45; 2003) critically examined western scientific assumptions and argued for the need to sincerely examine and give voice to Native American perspectives on issues pertaining to their own history and present. Cajete (1999; 2000, 2-4; 2003) articulated this point in his creation of the term *Native Science*, arguing not only for the acknowledgment of indigenous knowledge systems but also advocating that these knowledge systems were

comparable to western knowledge systems in their rigorous examination of the world and were of greater value and application for indigenous communities.

The discourse about world view and knowledge systems derives from generations of Native Americans being excluded from the interpretation, management and access to items of cultural patrimony and cultural significance. Through an arduous process, Native Americans have come to be seen as necessary and beneficial participants in CRM. That they have yet to fully direct and articulate the process is indicative that western institutions have not yet fully embraced true collaboration and power sharing when it comes to CRM activities and decisions. In his article in *American Antiquity*, McGhee (2008; 2010) recently reignited this debate, and there was an overwhelming response from CRM practitioners, both Native and non-Native (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Croes 2010; Silliman 2010; Wilcox 2010). Although this debate may at first seem largely rhetorical, the real impact felt by tribes in both on-reservation and off-reservation projects is apparent. This thesis takes the position that Native people are best suited, at times in collaboration with others, to interpret, assign significance, manage, and direct CRM activities as they relate to resources on and off reservation.

In *Working Together* (Dongoske, Aldenderfer, and Doehner 2000), authors provide overviews of collaborations between Native and non-Native participants of CRM work after the passage of the NHPA in 1966. The authors make the argument that both Native American and western scholars, historians, researchers, land managers benefit from collaboration and integration. Cohen and Swidler (2000, 40-50) provide a retrospective and evaluation of the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Office and the challenges and strategies they have used to create a dynamic cultural resource management program. Ferguson et al. (2000, 25-36)

examine the impact of NHPA on tribal CRM work and points to the economic, ethical and socio-cultural effects of the NHPA, arguing strongly that tribes that have embraced CRM work despite the challenges have a greater economic and cultural commitment to the process than many states and federal agencies. Two Bears (2000, 15-22) provides the perspective of college-age youth entering into the field of archaeology and anthropology, and describes the challenges that young people face when simultaneously employing indigenous and western methodologies. Two Bears identifies ways in which Native students can adapt archaeological and anthropological research methods to an indigenous framework.

Collectively, these scholars demonstrate how tribal CRM programs are growing by integrating and adapting archaeological and anthropological methodologies. Challenges continue on the individual, tribal and national levels regarding adequate funding, acknowledgement of authority, and coordination between inter-tribal agencies. Other challenges include: coordinating on projects with multiple agency jurisdictions, application and development of indigenous methodologies that satisfy multiple agents in CRM projects, inconsistencies in consultation practices in and between agencies, language issues between researchers and among community members, technological literacy, adequate funding for tribal programs involving skill building and professional development, and credentialing and mentorship of Native students in western academic environments. The benefits of tribally centered or directed CRM work are extensive. These include: economic development on the reservation, direct influence on federal and state policy, reconnection to aboriginal lands outside and within the reservation boundaries, and involvement in the management and interpretation of cultural resources both on and off the reservation. A final, significant benefit is the development of skills

and knowledge that can be used to assert tribal sovereignty when advocating for the documentation, protection, management, interpretation and access to areas of cultural significance.

Federal Indian Law and Policy

Because the adoption of a THPO program by a Native nation is an outcome of federal law and a tribal resolution means that THPOs are intrinsically both a tribal and non-tribal undertaking. The relationship between Native nations and the United States is that of two sovereign nations interacting in government-to-government relations (EO 12898, 1994). This is largely a federal-to-tribal relationship, with the exception of states that adopted P.L. 280, which grants states certain relationships with the tribes. As such, tribal governments and their agencies are influenced by laws pertaining to how federal agencies must consult with Native American communities.¹

Numerous reports and articles produced in the past five years provide valuable insight into how federal policy supports or hampers efforts by tribes to proceed with their CRM agendas. Dongoske, Pasqual and King (2015) look at consultation involving the National Environmental Protection Act and how it has come to restrict tribal actions to protect sacred sites. Alexander (2012) provides a reflection on the National Historic Preservation Act 20 years after the amendments were made to establish THPO programs. The National Park Service (NPS 2006,

¹ Policies that inform Native American consultation and cultural resource management include: National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA); National Environmental Policy Act of 1966 (NEPA); The American Indian Religious Freedom Act 1978 (AIRFA); Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA); Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA); Executive Order 12875 (1993) Tribal Governance; Presidential Memorandum of April 29, 1994, "Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments; Executive Order 12898 (1994) Environmental Justice; Executive Order 13007 (1996) Indian Sacred Sites; Executive Order 13175 (2000) Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments (NATHPO 2005: 6-11) and Executive Memorandum of November 5, 2009 Tribal Consultation.

2012, 2014) and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (2012) provide summary data on the state of historic preservation in the U.S. as well as details about the success of THPO operations. Stapp and Burney (2002) provide a more focused account of tribal CRM work mainly in interactions between tribes and agencies. These texts add to the literature on effective tribal consultation primarily on undertakings located outside the reservation.

THPO Perspectives and Tribal Sovereignty

Several tribal agencies and their collaborators (STOFTHPO 2015; Welch et al. 2009; Ferguson et al. 2000; Downer and Roberts 1996) have documented their unique experiences forming cultural preservation offices and how they conduct CRM work on their reservations. All suggest that the creation of a THPO, or other tribal entities such as Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Rights and Protection Office, or NAGPRA office, is an act of tribal sovereignty.

In the Seminole THPO 2015-2020 strategic plan, the THPO articulated the THPOs position and responsibility as directly aligned with other tribal efforts and interest to protect sovereignty (STOFTHPO 2015). Welch et al. (2009) writing on behalf of the White Mountain Historic Preservation Office (HPO) reiterated the relationship between historic preservation and tribal sovereignty as indicated in comments from the White Mountain tribal council on the establishment of the THPO office. The experience of establishing and administering the White Mountain THPO program was expressly written as a source and guideline for other tribes because few exist². These tribal narratives are representative of a small but growing body of literature that seeks to describe the process of formalizing CRM work on reservations and the needs that must be addressed in the future.

² Downer and Roberts (1996) wrote on the creation of the Navajo Nation HPO, described as the first of its kind.

Conclusion

This review contextualized the role of the THPO by examining the current literature on CRM work as it relates to law, education, culture and sovereignty. Sources included both Native and non-Native publications that address the opportunities and challenges faced by THPOs and, more broadly, Native American CRM professionals. THPOs are an extension of tribal sovereignty and consequently are tasked with privileging Native voice. The following chapter describes how one such undertaking was accomplished.

CHAPTER THREE: INTERNSHIP LOGISTICS AND PROJECT REPORT

This chapter provides readers with an account of how the internship was established and how the internship project was completed by examining the prior working relationship between Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO and myself, logistics surrounding the internship, and the drafting of the report. Specific project methodology can be found with the report (APPENDIX A).

Prior Professional Experience

In 2007, while working as a research assistant under the direction of Dr. Richard Stoffle at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona, I was involved in completing an ethnohistoric and ethnographic study of American Indians and the Old Spanish Trail (Stoffle et al. 2008A and 2008B). During the study I participated in fieldwork on the Southern Ute Reservation headquarter in Ignacio, Colorado (located approximately 35 miles northwest of Dulce, NM), and assisted in archival research and drafting of the final report.

I first began working with the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO professionally in the summer of 2012 on an ethnographic and ethnobotanical survey for the United States Air Force Academy (Kelley and O'Meara n.d.(a), 2015). Over the course of the next three years I worked with Jicarilla elders to document cultural connections and ethnobotanical information on five field sessions. These field sessions and subsequent meetings helped to develop a comfortable working relationship founded on trust and mutual respect. In 2014, I worked again with Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO and elders on an ethnographic overview and assessment of Capulin Volcano National Monument (Kelley and O'Meara n.d.(b)). Each of these projects demonstrated my commitment to protect and respect the information shared by elders.

Internship and Involvement in the Oral History Project

In the spring of 2015, I approached the director of the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO, Dr. Jeffery Blythe, about engaging the office in a graduate level internship. After a phone conversation and follow-up email, Dr. Blythe, my colleague Shawn Kelley, and I met in April 2015 in Albuquerque. Numerous project needs were discussed and, after soliciting comments from the THPO staff, Dr. Blythe suggested the Old Spanish Trail oral history project would be the best fit given the need for the timeline for the project, my previous work experience on the trail and with the Jicarilla elders. Thus the project was deemed mutually beneficial, and feasible given the time, skills and people involved.

Internship Logistics

As a condition of the internship, a formal agreement was negotiated to recognize my official participation in the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO project and, more significantly, to protect any culturally sensitive material or intellectual property rights associated with the oral history project and my presence on the reservation (APPENDIX B). This document was designed to protect any information shared by elders with me, regardless of its nature, and any observations I made during my time on the reservation. The agreement states that cultural information remains the property of the individual and the tribe. Secondly, I agreed not to disclose any information, regardless of its perceived significance, until a thorough review had been completed and approval to use that information had been granted by the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO. Lastly, I agreed not to in any way claim to represent the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO. These stipulations were generated by the THPO and are critical in any internship involving

access to privileged information, whether it be through interviews, participant observation or access to cultural resource information, i.e. maps, locations of sites, or agency reports.

On May 5, 2015 I travelled to the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO headquarters located in Dulce, New Mexico to meet with the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO staff, discuss the project, sign the internship agreement, observe ongoing activities at the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO and to attend, as an observer, two multi-agency meetings in the San Luis Valley. During my visit we also discussed fieldwork logistics and met with the Jicarilla Apache Traditional Culture Committee President Mr. Bryan Vigil at the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO to discuss preliminary project information. It was decided that the project would at a minimum result in transcriptions of oral history interviews and that individuals would select the site visits and topics of the interviews. Dr. Blythe agreed to serve as a special member on my committee and on July 8, 2015, gave me permission to incorporate all or part of the final report into my thesis (APPENDIX C).

Upon returning to Tucson I submitted the Human Subjects Protection Program's (HSPP) Form V as required by the University of Arizona. On July 10, 2015 I received a determination from HSPP that this thesis did not constitute human subjects research (APPENDIX C) on the grounds that it was an oral history project, that the information was not generalizable and because of the support, review and direction of the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO.

I returned to Dulce on July 13 to conduct oral history interviews on the reservation. Upon my arrival, Dr. Blythe and I appeared before the Jicarilla Apache Traditional Cultural Committee to explain the goals of the project, solicit additional interest, and clarify my role in the project. During the following week, members of the THPO staff and I worked with three Jicarilla Apache elders, visiting sites and conducting oral history interviews. Due to scheduling

conflicts, Dr. Blythe conducted field work and interviews with the remaining three participants with the final interview occurring on August 20, 2015.

The Report

From its inception, this project privileged the oral histories provided by Jicarilla Apache elders. Although some background information on the reservation, environment and history of the Old Spanish Trail was deemed necessary to aide readers in understanding the basics, it was agreed that the report would not seek to make definitive claims on identification of routes and would not provide an analysis of oral history information obtained during the project.

Consequently, the report contains only a brief environmental and historical context section comprised largely of recently completed work produced for the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO.

I was responsible for transcribing interviews conducted in 2015 and to finish the 2013 interview transcriptions begun by Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO intern Cameron Mundo. All spatial information collected using a Global Positioning System (GPS) unit was done by Dr. Blythe, and photographs of the visits were taken by Dr. Blythe and myself. Site maps were produced by Dr. Blythe, and all project information is stored and maintained by the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO.

After completing the transcripts, and reviewing notes taken during the field visits, I compiled individual field session sections and sent them via email to Dr. Blythe for the individual participants to review. These chapters included quotations from transcripts (presented as either excerpts or in their entirety), maps, photographs and summaries of the visits and information discussed. Dr. Blythe conducted individual reviews of these sections with participants and changes were made to the document during and after these review sessions. Following the

review of these sections, Dr. Blythe and I worked on multiple drafts to complete the remaining sections of the report. Dr. Blythe then reviewed and made contributions to the entire draft document, which was submitted to the National Park Service on September 30, 2015. The subsequent final report was submitted on November 9, 2015. Following the submission of the final report, I received approval to share the public document with members of my committee.

The report is organized into five chapters. Chapter one contains an executive summary that describes the origin and development of the project, a brief synopsis of the fieldwork and a description of the report's organization. Fieldwork was primarily carried out over a two-year period. The first field session took place in May 2013 and fieldwork resumed in the summer of 2015. A total of 11 field and interview sessions were conducted in which eight Jicarilla Apache tribal members participated.

Chapter two describes the methodologies employed by the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO during this project. The Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO has its own ethical guidelines that are designed to protect cultural information, and the rights of tribal members who participate in THPO projects. The principles and best practices for oral historians adopted by the Oral History Association (2009) also informed this project. The Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO solicited project participants and reviewed the informed consent and payment invoices with the contributors prior to the fieldwork. Contributors determined how and when information would be recorded, selected interview topics and sites for visitation, and reviewed their individual sections for accuracy and sensitive information.

Chapter three of the report provides readers with a description of the environmental setting on the reservation and a brief historical context related to the Jicarilla Apache Nation and

the Old Spanish Trail. The Jicarilla Apache, with 3,403 enrolled tribal members (BIA 2015), are organized into two bands: the Red Clan, also known as the Llanero or Plains People and the White Clan, also known as the Ollero or Mountain-Valley People (Tiller 1992, 4). Dulce, New Mexico is the headquarters and major population center for the reservation, which was established in 1887. Located in northern New Mexico approximately 165 miles northwest of Albuquerque and 90 miles east of Farmington and the reservation presently consists of 880,000 acres. The terrain is punctuated by high elevation mountains, canyons and volcanic dikes and elevations range from 6,400 to 10,600 feet. Ecologically the landscape is dominated by multiple biotic communities including sagebrush and subalpine grasslands, riparian wetlands, and conifer forests. The landscape greatly influenced travel and settlement prior to and after the reservation was established. The Jicarilla Apache traditionally occupied an ancestral territory of approximately 50 million acres, covering part of northern New Mexico east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, parts of southeastern Colorado and into the Oklahoma panhandle.

The Old Spanish National Historic Trail officially commemorates the trade route taken by predominantly non-Native traders and entrepreneurs during the period from 1829 to 1848. The trail and its tributaries had wide reaching social and environmental impacts for both Native and non-Native communities across its approximately 2,700 mile route, which traversed the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and California and linked the trading hubs of Santa Fe, New Mexico and Los Angeles, California (Stoffle et al. 2008B, 2-3). The Armijo Route, an official branch of the Old Spanish Trail National Historic Trail, was taken by Antonio Armijo in 1829 and is known to have crossed the present-day Jicarilla Apache Reservation. This section of the trail and its tributaries were used by Native people before the Spanish period and continue

to be used by Jicarilla Apache to this day. Where the Old Spanish Trail is specifically referenced in the report, it largely refers to the Armijo Route.

Chapter four consists of six sections, and is organized chronologically and titled by contributor(s). Each provides a summary of the respective field visit and includes selected quotations by elders, photographs and maps depicting areas visited. Section one pertains to a specific family property where the contributor lived with his grandmother during his youth. The contributor described life on a sheep ranch in the 1970s and 1980s. He also shared oral histories passed on by his grandmother and relatives about the trail that date to a time before and during Spanish use. Section two pertains to the first major river crossing of the Old Spanish Trail at Carracas and the experiences of two Jicarilla Apache elders who made the crossing with their families in wagons during their youth. These trips were to visit relatives, the neighboring Southern Ute and for other activities. Section three describes an elder's recollection of a series of routes on the reservation that her family and other Jicarilla Apache families utilized during the early 20th century to move agricultural products from their fields to the towns of Bayfield, Colorado and Rutherford, New Mexico. Section four covers numerous aspects of the trail, including pre-contact and early colonial periods, the old Spanish trail and subsequent use by the Jicarilla Apache for a variety of purposes including travel to the Southern Ute, trade, wood cutting and wild horse wrangling. Section five focuses largely on sites of personal importance to the contributors. The commentary at these sites centered on archeological features containing Spanish and Hispanic motifs that serve as evidence of the trails' usage by non-Native people. The contributor for section six described her family's property located in the southeastern edge of the reservation and was the site of a tribal-run toll both that taxed non-Native travelers who

were moving their sheep. This section also describes the southern portion of the reservation, which was used as wintering grounds by Jicarilla Apache families who ran sheep during the 19th and 20th centuries. Through these collected oral histories, contributors touched on numerous aspects of Jicarilla Apache lifeways, while discussing a network of trails that were consistently used for a period of at least four centuries.

Chapter five serves as the conclusion. This project was not intended to synthesize or interpret the information shared by elders and consequently, the conclusion recommends avenues for future projects. References used in the report follow the chapters and appendices are found at the end of the report and include the Scope of Work, which provides a background to the Old Spanish National Historic Trail, sample invoices for contributors and Tribal Resolution No. 2013-R-148-02, which granted the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO approval to proceed with the project.

This project afforded Jicarilla Apache cultural experts the opportunity to visit and comment upon multiple areas across the reservation that are of individual, familial or tribal significance. These cultural experts chose these sites and topics for their respective field session and it is their stories that this report privileges. The oral histories contained in this report document for future generations a sampling of the ongoing connections to trails found across the reservation and numerous aspects of Jicarilla Apache life in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

AIS at the University of Arizona fosters in its graduate students a respect for Native American sovereignty and lists collaboration between faculty, students and Native nations as a core value. The purpose of this thesis has been to provide an example of how graduate students in AIS can utilize some of the 1620 hours required for the completion of a master's degree toward assisting Native communities to meet their goals.

The oral history project referenced here afforded Jicarilla Apache elders the opportunity to visit places of personal, familial, and tribal importance and comment upon their ongoing and historic significance. Because the project was conducted by the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO, the resulting report privileged community members' perspectives, and field sessions were conducted with greater cultural sensitivity and attention to the interests and needs of the contributors. Maintaining oversight over the project also allowed the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO to mitigate some of the challenges associated with CRM work such as integrating the sensibilities and needs of the community with outside funding models, and contract and publication requirements. As stated in the report, this is the first formal oral history project directly implemented by the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO since its establishment in 2009. Interest and involvement in this project suggests that participation in future oral history projects undertaken by the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO is of interest to Jicarilla Apache tribal members. Should such projects occur, this report can serve as a baseline model. In addition, research undertaken during this project identified photographic collections housed at Princeton University that relate to events and individuals discussed during this project, and may warrant future research.

This internship was made possible by several years of respectful collaboration, longer than the time generally allotted toward a master's degree. However, where relationships do exist, either through the student's professional or personal background or that of faculty members, fully engaging in a tribal directed project is an extremely rewarding use of one's academic efforts. For future graduate students, I recommend choosing projects that meet the timeframe of both the student and the Native nation, align the technical needs of the community with the skills and interests of the intern, and most importantly, conform to standards of ethical engagement as established by the Native nation and the university.

As a non-Native CRM professional and graduate student, I found that working with the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO afforded me new perspective on CRM work and deepened my respect for the responsibilities and challenges that THPOs face working both on and off their reservation. The scope of any cultural resources project assigns significance to some stories while marginalizing others. Although this project was structured around trails, the Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO created space for elders to talk about the places and events that mattered most to them. I believe this approach elevated the project from a cultural resource identification project to a rich experience that saw elders brought together through their shared memories and cultural history. A phrase that I heard repeatedly on this project was, "I never thought I would make it back out here." To be involved in a project that facilitated the reconnection of people to their places while preserving their memories for future generations has been a privilege and my most treasured experience from my graduate school career. Healing, reflection, reconnection and culturally appropriate preservation are some of the key elements with which to gauge the impact and success of any CRM project and, from my perspective, the Jicarilla

Apache Nation THPO excels in incorporating these into their projects. This internship gave me a deeper appreciation for those who are involved in cultural preservation, both the culture bearers themselves and outsiders. Each role is vital to reasserting ownership and authorship over their storied places, both on and off the reservation, and in creating an atmosphere in which multiple perspectives within a tribe can be honored. I stated in my application to the AIS program that the goals for my graduate career were to work closely with a THPO to better understand the complexity of issues facing cultural preservation programs, obtain an alternate perspective of the CRM consulting process and to provide meaningful assistance to a Native nation. This thesis represents the fruition of those goals.

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APPENDIX A: REDISCOVERING TRAIL ROOTS AND ROUTES: THE JICARILLA APACHE AND THE OLD SPANISH NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

The report entitled *Rediscovery Roots and Routes: The Jicarilla Apache and the Old Spanish National Historic Trail* has been removed at the request of the Jicarilla Apache Nation Tribal Historic Preservation Office. To request a copy of this report please contact the office using the contact information below:

Dr. Jeffrey Blythe, THPO
Office of Cultural Affairs
Jicarilla Apache Nation
P.O. Box 1367 Dulce, NM 87528
Phone: 575-759-1343
Fax: 575-759-1342
Alternative Phone: 575-756-8659
Email: janthpo@gmail.com

APPENDIX B: INTERNSHIP AGREEMENT AND PROTECTION OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS

**Intellectual Property
Volunteer/Intern Participation Agreement
Jicarilla Apache Nation
Cultural Affairs Office**

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Individual/Organization: Sean O'Meara University of Arizona, American Indian Studies Graduate Program | |
| Signature:  | Date: May 5, 2015 |

I affirm that any information gathered on the customs, traditions, and lifeways of the Jicarilla Apache will remain the intellectual property of the Jicarilla Apache Nation. I will not divulge information collected while participating with the JAN THPO as a volunteer/intern without the permission of the JAN THPO.

I understand that the JAN THPO reserves the right to review and edit materials collected under this agreement that may contain culturally sensitive information prior to being published or otherwise released to the public.

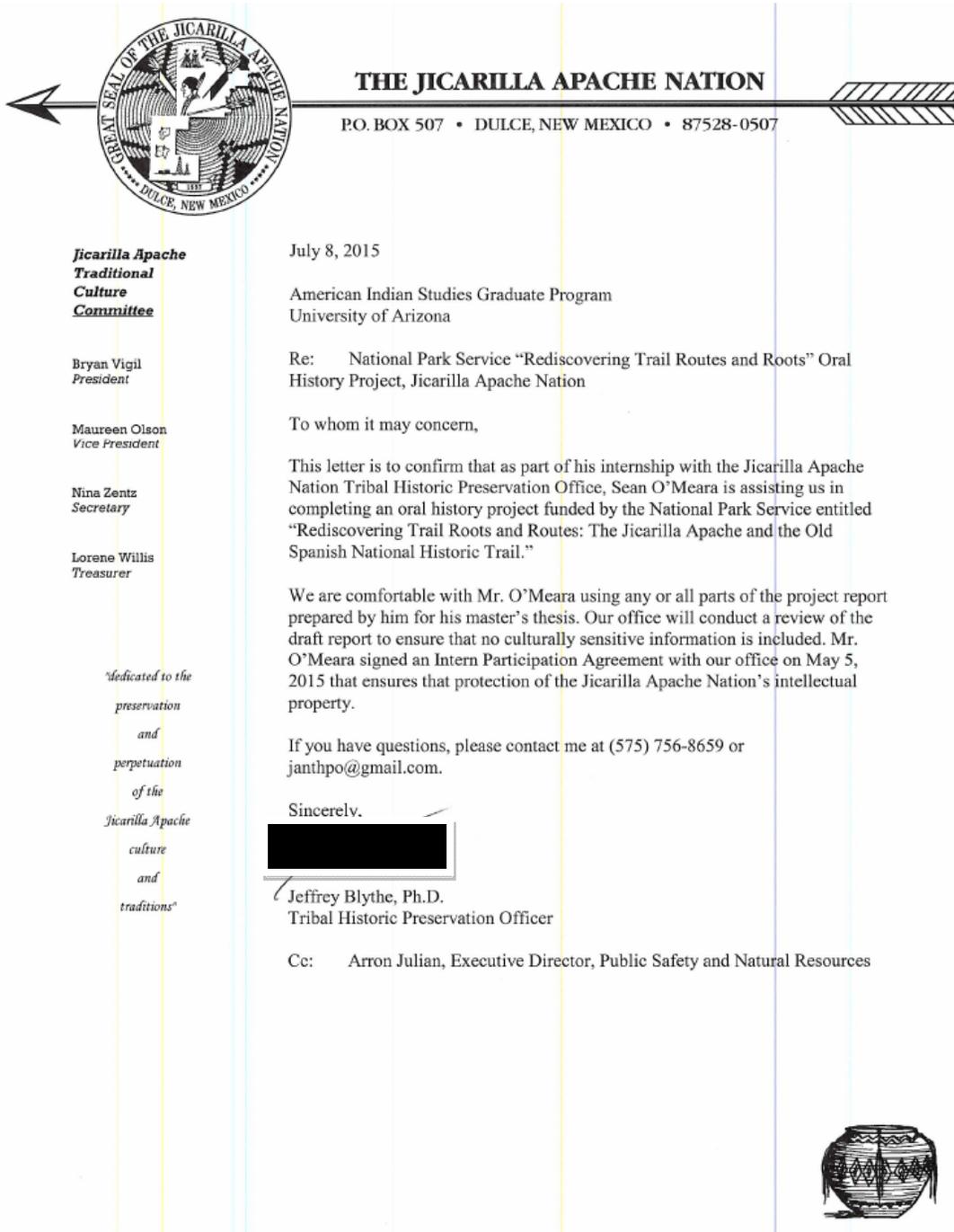
I will not purport to represent the official views of the Jicarilla Apache people or Jicarilla Apache Nation governmental entities. While conducting activities under this agreement, I will not willfully infringe upon or violate any patent, copyright, or intellectual property rights of the Jicarilla Apache Nation or Jicarilla Apache tribal members.

My dated signature above constitutes an acknowledgement and agreement to the provisions of this agreement.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Acceptance | |
| Name/Title: Jeffrey Blythe, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer | |
| Signature:  | Date: 05/05/15 |

The individual listed above is granted permission to participate with the Jicarilla Apache Nation (JAN) Tribal Historic Preservation Office as a volunteer/intern to conduct research and/or recording activities for the period beginning May 5, 2015 and ending December 31, 2015.

APPENDIX C: PERMISSION TO USE PROJECT REPORT FOR GRADUATE PROGRAM



APPENDIX D: HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTECTION PROGRAM DETERMINATION



Human Subjects
Protection Program

1618 E. Helen St.
P.O. Box 245137
Tucson, AZ 85724-5137
Tel: (520) 626-6721
<http://ocr.arizona.edu/hpp>

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Date: | July 10, 2015 |
| Principal Investigator: | Sean M Omeara |
| Protocol Number: | 1507967652 |
| Protocol Title: | The "Old Spanish Trail" and the Jicarilla Apache Nation: An Oral History Project |
| Determination: | Human Subjects Review not Required |

The project listed above does not require oversight by the University of Arizona because the project does not meet the definition of 'research' and/or 'human subject'.

- **Not Research as defined by 45 CFR 46.102(d):** As presented, the activities described above do not meet the definition of research as cited in the regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services which state that "research means a systematic investigation, including research development, testing and evaluation, designed to contribute to generalizable knowledge".
- **Not Human Subjects Research as defined by 45 CFR 46.102(f):** As presented, the activities described above do not meet the definition of research involving human subjects as cited in the regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services which state that "human subject means a living individual about whom an investigator (whether professional or student) conducting research obtains data through intervention *or* interaction with the individual, or identifiable private information".

Note: Modifications to projects not requiring human subjects review that change the nature of the project should be submitted to the Human Subjects Protection Program (HSPP) for a new determination (e.g. addition of research with children, specimen collection, participant observation, prospective collection of data when the study was previously retrospective in nature, and broadening the scope or nature of the research question). Please contact the HSPP to consult on whether the proposed changes need further review.

The University of Arizona maintains a Federalwide Assurance with the Office for Human Research Protections (FWA #00004218).