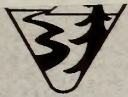




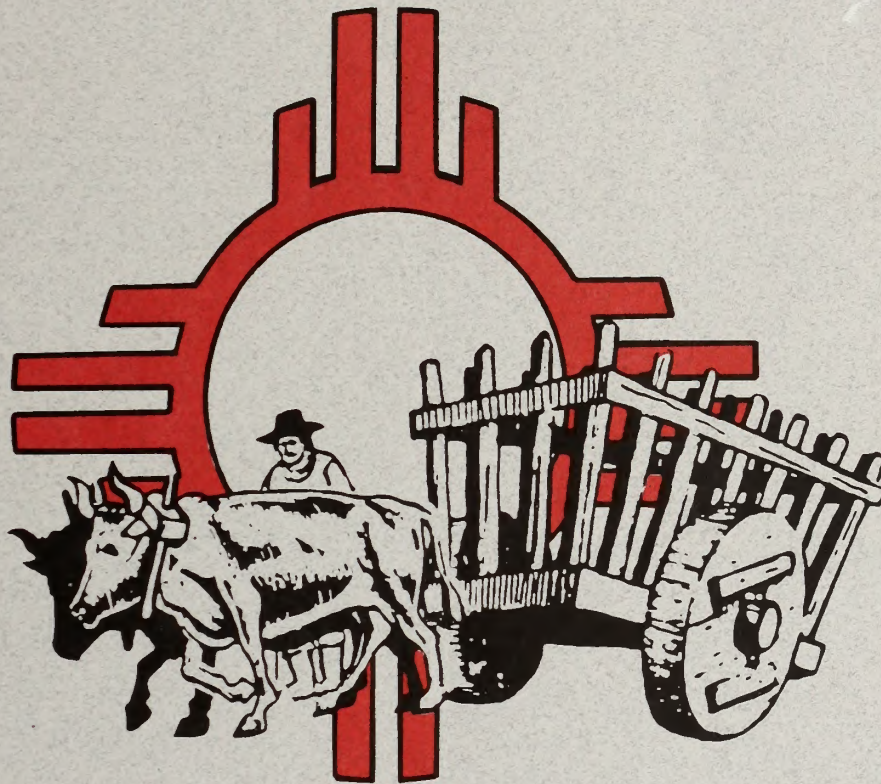
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EL CAMINO REAL de TIERRA ADENTRO

Essays compiled by Gabrielle G. Palmer, Project Director

Cultural Resources Series No. 11, 1993

NEW MEXICO BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

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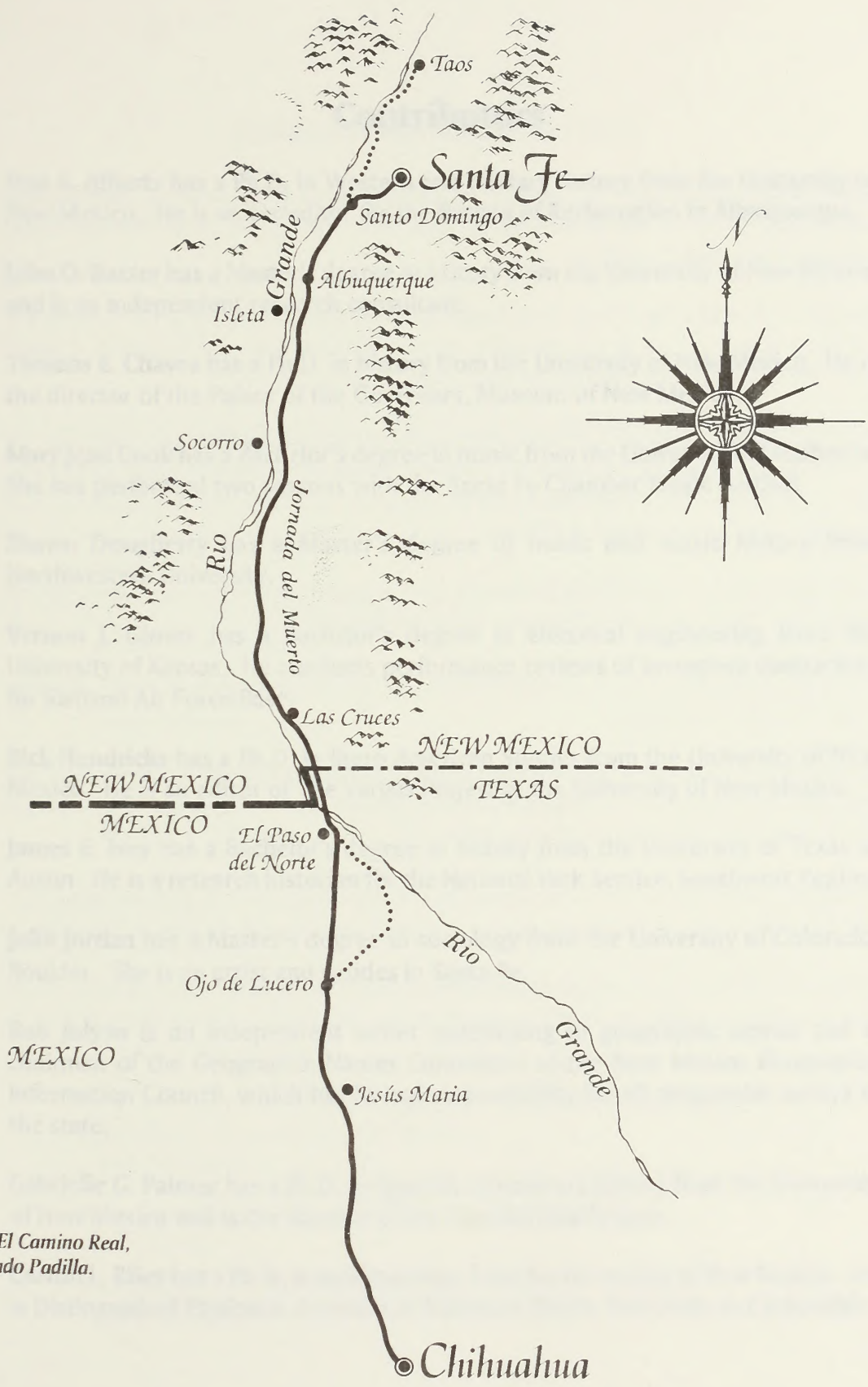
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Bureau of Land Management
New Mexico State Office
Santa Fe

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Map of El Camino Real,
by Orlando Padilla.

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Foreword

The Camino Real Project, directed by Dr. Gabrielle Palmer, resulted in several valuable contributions to our knowledge and interpretation of southwestern history. These include:

- the archeological inventory of the Camino Real;
- the Camino Real exhibit (*El Camino Real: Un Sendero Histórico*), funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, which has been shown in several western states and has just opened at the Mexican Cultural Institute in Washington D.C.;
- a catalogue, poster, and lecture series produced in conjunction with the exhibit;
- production of a map and brochure of the Camino Real and placement of 33 highway markers in New Mexico in collaboration with the New Mexico State Highway Department and the New Mexico Endowment for the Humanities;
- placement of 13 highway markers in the State of Chihuahua in collaboration with the Chihuahua State Highway Department;
- completion of aerial reconnaissance surveys over the road in New Mexico and Chihuahua;
- printing of a portfolio of fine arts photographs of the road in New Mexico and Chihuahua;
- and publication of this collection of essays, which provide insights on the significance of the Camino Real during the 300 years of travel along this 1800-mile corridor. Essay topics in this volume include the physical nature of the trail and the introduction of material culture, technology, customs, and ideas that helped to define the arts, culture, and religion of Spanish New Mexico.

The New Mexico Bureau of Land Management is pleased to be a contributing partner to the Camino Real Project. BLM archeologists inventoried several hundred miles of the Camino Real and recorded many features associated with the long-term use of the "Royal Road."

The completion of *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* is the result of the sharing of information, skills, and the extensive collection of material pulled together for the Camino Real exhibit. Figures included in the volume complement the text and emphasize points made regarding the movement of goods and culture up and down the road. Some of the essays were written more than four years ago, at the beginning of the project, and may not reflect the most current information available. Nevertheless, they still address important aspects of the Camino Real that are of interest to scholars and the general public.

We would like to thank the many individuals who went out of their way to assist in locating the illustrations and photos used here. We would particularly like to express our appreciation to the authors who responded so quickly to our request for a final review of the text. The general enthusiasm reflected for all aspects of the Camino Real Project is indicative of the tremendous interest in Southwest history. We look forward to future products and accomplishments from the Camino Real Project.

LouAnn Jacobson
Stephen Fosberg
Series Editors

Preface

In 1540, decades before the founding of the first English settlements on the eastern seaboard, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led an expedition into what is now the American Southwest in search of adventure and gold. Subsequent explorations in the second half of the sixteenth century penetrated into present-day New Mexico. However, it would be left to Juan de Oñate, the head of a large colonizing expedition, to establish a permanent Spanish settlement near the juncture of the Rio Grande and the Chama River in 1598.

In coming north, Oñate traveled portions of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro that had already been established. Once he left his last staging area near present-day Santa Barbara, Chihuahua, however, he would blaze the last segments of the trail across uncharted country. This King's Highway to the Interior Lands would eventually stretch 1800 miles to link Mexico City/Tenochtitlan to the distant outpost of the empire, Santa Fe, established as the capital of "La Nueva Mexico" in 1609.

For more than three hundred years it served as a major route for travel. It was also a primary conduit for change, responsible for the introduction of objects of material culture, of technologies, of customs and ideas which helped to define the arts, culture, and religion of Spanish New Mexico. The essays in this publication provide many insights into this historic process, the physical nature of the trail itself, as well as some of the important and colorful aspects of its past.

These essays were first commissioned by the Camino Real Project, a nonprofit organization formed in 1988, with the goal of rescuing this famous old trail from oblivion and increasing public awareness of its importance. The first organizations to support the project were the New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department (NMSHTD) and the New Mexico Endowment for the Humanities (NMEH). The grants received from these organizations enabled us to research old maps and historical sources and to fly over the trail in New Mexico to ascertain how much of it could still be seen. As a result of our initiatives, thirty-three special highway markers were placed along the New Mexico highways that paralleled the historic route, indicating some of its more important sites. A map illustrating the marker locations and providing a brief overview of New Mexico history was published concurrently with financial support from both NMSHTD and NMEH.

This period also marked the beginning of a cordial and productive collaboration between the Camino Real Project and officials of the State of Chihuahua, Mexico—with the office of the governor, as well as with the

Departamento de Desarrollo Social and the Departamento de Carreteras y Obras Publicas. They generously provided us with the means to fly over northern Chihuahua, enabling the project archeologists to identify and the photographers to record long portions of the original trail that still remain etched in this stark and beautiful landscape.

These various efforts culminated in the official designation in October 1992 by Governor Baeza Melendez of La Ruta de Oñate with the unveiling of a series of historical markers along the highways that link Santa Barbara, Chihuahua, with the border town of Ciudad Juarez, across the river from El Paso, Texas. We would like to take this opportunity to extend our sincerest thanks not only to Governor Baeza Melendez, but also to our friends Lic. Luz Ernestina Fierro Murga, Sr. Ramón Navarro Salazar, Ing. Luis de J. Lujan Pena, Ing. Jose Luis A. Fernández Casillas, Sr. José Luis Chávez Ochoa, and our intrepid pilot, Capitan Humberto D'Oporto, for their support.

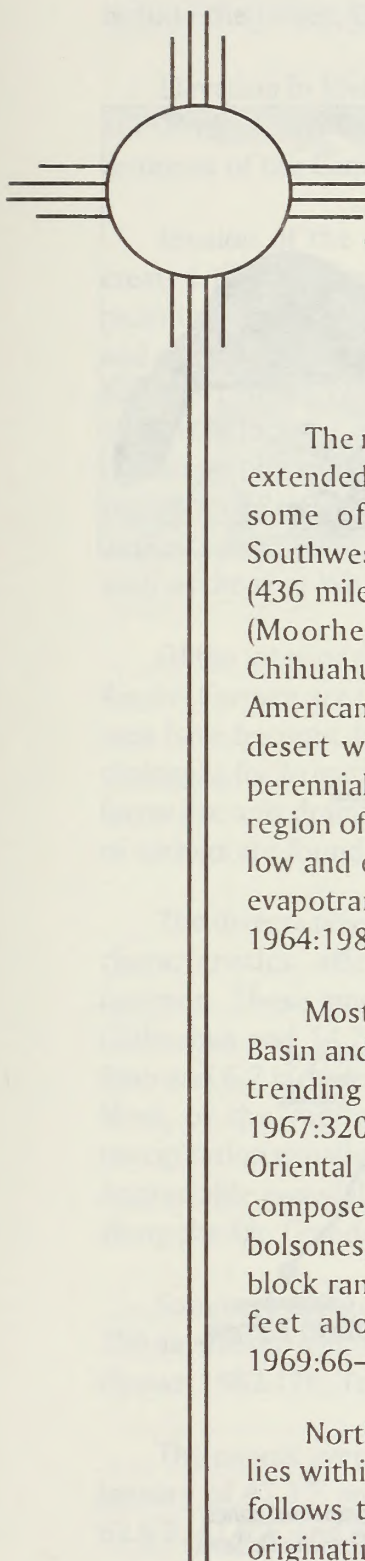
In 1989, the Camino Real Project and the Latin American Institute at the University of New Mexico were awarded a substantial grant by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) to develop a traveling exhibit. Entitled "El Camino Real: Un Sendero Histórico," and accompanied by a full-color 40-page catalog, this exhibit has been extensively displayed in New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado as well as Washington, D.C.

The NMSHTD and NMEH grants had also enabled the project to commission a series of essays covering a broad range of topics on the history of the trail. Thanks to the collaboration of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), with additional help from NEH, these essays are now being published and distributed.

We are indebted to the many distinguished historians who contributed these essays; to Mr. and Mrs. Monte Jordan, who first suggested their publication; and to BLM State Director Larry Woodard for generously supporting this and other Camino Real Project goals and activities. Karen Harris, the project's executive secretary, worked closely with June-el Piper, as did I with LouAnn Jacobson and others of the BLM staff in finalizing the details of this edition. On behalf of the Camino Real Project staff, we wish to thank everyone for their courteous and pleasant collaboration.

It is our hope that all of these efforts will contribute to the eventual designation of the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro* as a National—and some day, as an International—Historic Trail.

Gabrielle G. Palmer, Project Director



1. Through Desierto and Bosque

The Physical Environment of El Camino Real

Dan Scurlock

The northern portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, which extended 580 miles from Ciudad Chihuahua to Santa Fe, traversed some of the most desolate and rugged terrain in the Greater Southwest. The region lying between Ciudad Chihuahua and Socorro (436 miles) was known in the early colonial period as *tierra incognita* (Moorhead 1957:107–108, 1958:8–9). It is now known as the Chihuahuan Desert, the second largest of the four great North American deserts. In general, the Chihuahuan Desert is a vast, high desert with sparse vegetation and only occasional springs and rare perennial streams. Four hundred years ago it was as it is today, a region of climatic extremes with a wide range of annual temperatures, low and erratic rates of precipitation, high winds, low humidity, high evapotranspiration rates, and intensive solar radiation (Vivó Escoto 1964:198–209).

Most of the region lies within the Mexican Highland section of the Basin and Range province, which is characterized by north-northwest trending mountain ranges and coalescing basins (*bolsones*) (Hunt 1967:320–323; Schmidt 1973:12). Situated between the Sierra Madre Oriental and the Sierra Madre Occidental, this semi-arid region is composed of a vast expanse of desert mountains, rain-shadowed *bolsones*, outwash plains, low hills, and *bajadas*. Many of the fault block ranges are large anticlines, some of which rise more than 6500 feet above the desert floor (Brown 1982:169; Cordoba et al. 1969:66–67).

North of Albuquerque, extending to Santa Fe, the travel corridor lies within the Southern Rocky Mountains province. The Camino Real follows the Rio Grande Rift, which is flanked by mountain ranges originating from anticlinal uplifts and intrusive stocks. Major ranges

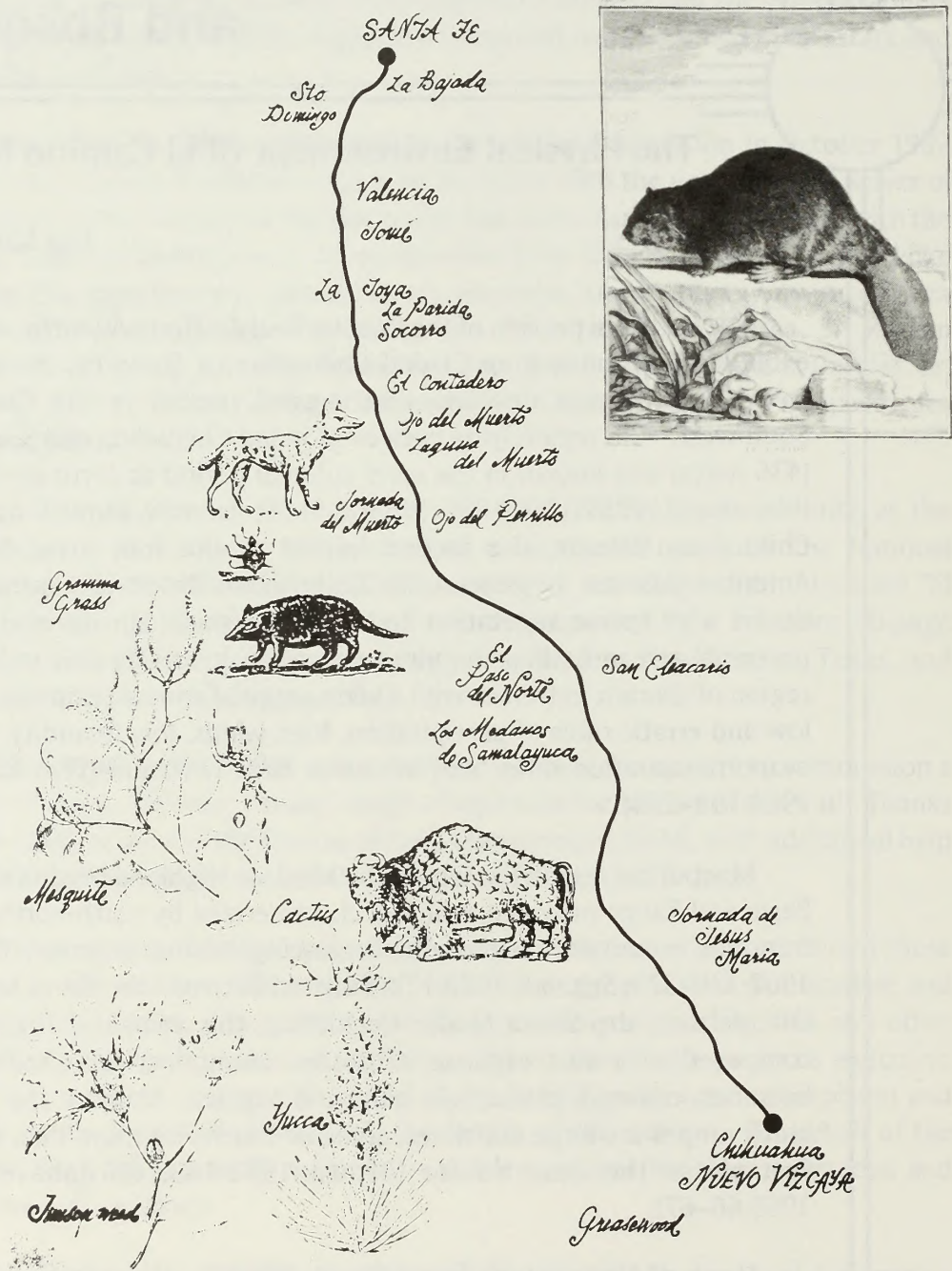
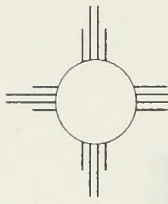


Figure 1. Travelers on El Camino Real passed through diverse environmental zones; upper right: Le Castor (the beaver), engraving, c. 1815, by Jacques-Eustache De Seve, courtesy of Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth.

include the Jemez, Ortiz, and Sangre de Cristo mountains (Hunt 1967:246–249).

Elevation in Mexico ranges from 4709 feet at Ciudad Chihuahua to 3719 feet above mean sea level at Ciudad Juarez (Schmidt 1973:20). At the northern terminus of the Camino Real, at Santa Fe, the elevation is just over 7000 feet.

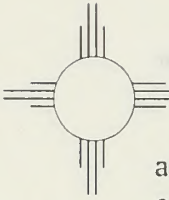
Erosion of the *sierras* since their formation in the late Tertiary period has created the *bajadas*, gradual sloping surfaces extending from the base of the mountains to the edge of the basins. Most of the *bolsones* are internally drained, and some of them have filled with aeolian or alluvial deposits and have turned into flat, dry plains (composed of limestone or gray gravels) or sand dunes (Brown 1982:169; Jackson and Wood 1975:118, 136–144). These *bolsones*, which once contained pluvial lakes (a few still do), are xeric and support only sparse, if any, vegetation. Relatively persistent winds have carried the finer, dried sedimentary deposits downwind and in some instances have formed extensive dune systems, such as those at White Sands and Samalayuca (Brown 1982:176).

Of the interior drainages, the Rio Santa Maria–Laguna de Santa Maria and the Rio del Carmen are the most extensive. These and other rivers and *lagunas* in the area have become drier as increasing amounts of water have been diverted from drainages for irrigation and for use in urban areas. The Rio Conchos–Rio Grande forms the only drainage system in the region that flows into the sea. A fair number of springs are found in north-central Chihuahua (Schmidt 1973:21, 23, fig. 9).

The diverse physiographic features in the region, along with other geographic characteristics, affect the amount of precipitation that the region annually receives. These amounts vary from mean annual highs of 15.1 inches at Ciudad Chihuahua and 14.2 inches at Santa Fe to mean annual lows of 7.7 inches at El Paso and 6.7 inches at Las Cruces (Gabin and Lesperance 1977; Schmidt 1973:20). Most of the rainfall occurs during thunderstorms in the summer; winter precipitation usually occurs as a result of Pacific frontal storms (Brown 1982:170). Appreciable snowfall is only experienced in the higher mountain elevations and along the Rio Grande valley from Socorro north to Santa Fe.

Summers are generally hot; winters are cold. Frost-free seasons vary from 250 days in the southern portions of the region to 140 days in the northern reaches (Brown 1982:170; Tuan et al. 1973:87).

The annual average temperature at Ciudad Chihuahua is 63.7°F with a low in January of 47.3°F and a high in July of 77.3°F. At Ciudad Juarez the figures are 62.6°F, 41.9°F, and 81.7°F, respectively; for Santa Fe the January and July averages



are considerably lower, at ca. 32°F and 70°F, respectively (Schmidt 1973:20; Tuan et al. 1973:76).

Available moisture and temperature range are the two most important factors related to the amount and type of vegetation present along the Camino Real. Soil types, exposure, and drainage are also important determinants.

Most of the lowland area south of Socorro is dominated by desert scrub of creosote bush (*Larrea tridentata*), tarbush (*Flourensia cernua*), and whitethorn acacia (*Acacia neovernicosa*). On finer-grained soils saltbush (*Atriplex* spp.) communities dominate; mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa* var. *torreyana*) is commonly found on sandy, wind-eroded hummocks. Above the plains, on upland outcrops, arroyos, bajadas, and foothills, are succulentlike plants and shrubs, such as various *Yucca* and *Agave* species, sotol (*Dasyllirion leiophyllum* and *wheeleri*), sacahuiste (*Nolina* spp.), ocotillo (*Fouquieria splendens*), and catclaw acacia (*Acacia greggi*) (Brown 1982:173–174).

Between these uplands and the lowland plains are the semidesert grasslands dominated historically by perennial bunch grasses, including grama (*Bouteloua* spp.), tobosa (*Hilaria mutica*), and a host of other grass species. Historically, cattle grazing has been intense, supporting many large ranches in the region. Shrubs were sparsely scattered over the grasslands until a century ago but have increased dramatically in the past hundred years, primarily because of grazing and the suppression of range fires (Brown 1982:127; Shreve 1942:191–194).

The bolson depressions, which receive infrequent runoff, are more mesic than the two floral communities just described. Here are found semidesert grasslands dominated by tobosa (*Hilaria mutica*) or alkali sacatons (*Sporobolus wrightii* or *airoides*), mesquite, Mormon tea (*Ephedra trifurca*), or soapweed yucca (*Yucca elata*). On the downwind side of these playas are dune fields populated by open plant assemblages of sand sagebrush (*Artemisia filifolia*), *Yucca elata*, mesquite, Mormon tea, and various dropseeds (*Sporobolus* spp.) and Indian ricegrass (*Oryzopsis hymenoides*) (Brown 1982:176–177).

Extensive canopy forests dominated by valley cottonwood (*Populus fremontii* var. *wislizenii*) with an understory of willows (*Salix* spp.) and saltgrass (*Distichlis spicata*) were found along the few perennial streams, at least until recent times. Periodic floods destroyed portions of these riparian woodlands, or *bosques*, and on large streams, such as the Rio Grande, floodwaters cut new channels and deposited rich sediments across the floodplain. After the abandonment of the Camino Real in the late nineteenth century, the introduced salt cedar (*Tamarix*

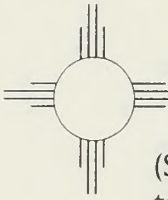


Figure 2. *Bosque del Apache*, photo by Mark Nohl, *New Mexico Magazine*.

chinensis) and Russian olive (*Elaeagnus angustifolia*) have invaded the bosques, becoming the dominant vegetation along some stretches (Brown 1982:242; Scurlock 1988a).

A number of mammals found along the route provided travelers with meat. On the semidesert grasslands were black-tailed jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus*) and pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*). The desert scrub supported mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), desert cottontail (*Sylvilagus auduboni*), desert bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), and scaled and Gambel's quail (*Callipepela squamata*, *C. gambelii*) (Brown 1982:129–130, 178; Schmidt 1973:34–38). Along the major stream valleys and on the lagunas were sandhill cranes (*Grus canadensis*), a large variety of ducks, several species of geese, wild turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*), and grizzly and black bear (*Ursus horribilis*, *U. americana*) (Ligon 1961:38–44, 106–107). Grease from the latter two species was used to lubricate axles and wheels of *carretas* (carts) and *carros* (wagons), and hides were used as lap robes. All but the rabbit and mule deer populations were dramatically reduced by hunting and habitat loss during the late historical period.

All of the above environmental factors played a role in the physical route of the camino, the rate of travel, the location of *parajes*, or campsites, and the mode of transportation. In general, historical roads traversed relatively flat, passable terrain and followed or extended from one dependable water source to another



(Scurlock 1988b:3). In the southern portion of the region the Camino Real traversed the extensive plains and basins, with their firm, gravelly soils. Springs and a few rivers provided the necessary water for travelers and their livestock, and grama and other nutritious grasses provided adequate forage for animals.

The northern portion of the Camino Real extended up the Rio Grande valley from El Paso to Santa Fe, except for the 90-mile-long Jornada del Muerto "cutoff." The terrain was generally flat, with a dependable water supply, fuelwood, and shelter. The surrounding uplands were rich in grass and shrub forage for livestock and draft animals, at least until the nineteenth century. As trail traffic increased and as villages along the corridor used more of the land for grazing, the grasslands and bosques afforded decreasing amounts of grass and forage. The overgrazing was exacerbated by periodic droughts, resulting in more losses of livestock sustenance.

In stretches, however, the rugged terrain, sandy soils, or seasonal flooding caused major problems. One of these sections, the stretch of the Rio Grande from Doña Ana to El Contadera, led to selection of the Jornada del Muerto as an alternative route. Here, the valley swings westward, narrows, and the flanking uplands are dissected by numerous and deep arroyos, making cart or wagon travel virtually impossible (Moorhead 1958:20; Gregg 1966[III]:73–74).

Other sections of the Rio Grande Valley and the southern portion of the route, from El Paso to Ciudad Chihuahua, have deep sands that impeded or precluded travel by loaded, wheeled vehicles. Two of the notable sandy stretches were along the east side of the valley from below Albuquerque to the La Joya de Sevilleta area, and the Parida hill across from Socorro. A third obstacle of deep sand was about 40 miles south of Ciudad Juarez. These sections will be discussed in some detail below.

Natural river crossings, or fords (*vados*), enabled travelers and their trains to cross to settlements, to reach other branches of the road, to avoid floodwaters, or to find better grass or other necessities. During flood periods, usually from late April to May, when the snowpacks melted, or from early July to late September, during summer thunderstorms, crossings could be dangerous. The two fords above El Paso are good examples; even when the water was relatively low, these crossings were difficult because of the swift current and quicksand. Merchants had to unload their cargos and ferry them across in dugouts or convert the wagons into rafts to float their goods across (Moorhead 1957:120–121). Barelitas Ford, just south of Albuquerque, provided access to the west bank road, which was more

easily traversed by heavy wagons than the sandier, east bank route (Simmons 1982:167).

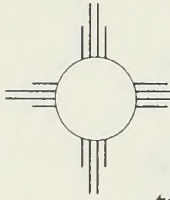
Because of the seasonal floods and the loose, deep sands, the road split into several alternate routes at various locations. For example, the "dry" route below Albuquerque followed the east bank of the Rio Grande to just north of Socorro. Stretches of deep sand sometimes forced wagons and carts to take the branch along the west bank of the river over firmer ground. During times of flooding, travelers were forced to follow the rough and difficult road through the sandhills that bordered the eastern edge of the floodplain (Simmons 1982:167).

Only two bridges apparently were ever built on the Rio Grande section of the Camino Real, and neither survived the floods for extended periods. One was built across the river at El Paso in the latter part of the nineteenth century, probably in an attempt to avoid the treacherous ford described above. This bridge, constructed of pine (ponderosa?), was more than 500 feet long and about 17 feet wide and was supported by eight caissons. Frequent floods resulted in intensive repairs and maintenance until the early nineteenth century, when it washed away. The second bridge, built for foot or animal traffic, spanned the river at San Felipe; it was constructed of pine logs over eight caissons. The bridge was built before 1791 but washed away by 1846 (Moorhead 1957:120-121).

Strategic camp sites with a dependable water supply, fuelwood, and grass for the livestock were named and illustrated on early maps. Because of these resources and their location on the Camino Real, some became settlements during the colonial period. Parajes were important not only because of the resources but also as places of rest after many hours or sometimes days over long, hard stretches of road (Moorhead 1957:122).

At least two parajes took on added importance as staging areas where wagon trains or livestock herds could rest and regroup before or after a difficult stretch of road or a long journey. One of these was El Contadera, which lay at the north end of the dreaded Jornada del Muerto. Here, between the lava flows of El Contadera Mesa and *cieneegas* (wetlands or marshes) along the east bank of the Rio Grande, people and beasts of burden could rest and find abundant water, grass, and wood (Wilson 1976).

The other paraje, La Joya de Sevilleta, was an important rendezvous point for wagon caravans (*conductas*) and livestock herds by the early nineteenth century (Baxter 1987:63). It was the last major settlement for southbound caravans before they reached the Jornada del Muerto.



The environment of other important sites along the Camino Real affected travel. These locations are listed below along with a brief description and their location in aggregate miles south of Santa Fe.

La Bajada (Mile 19). Formed by an escarpment of black basalt, La Bajada is a steep grade northeast of Cochiti Pueblo, approximately 16 miles southwest of Santa Fe. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the road at this location was a series of steep, hairpin curves that made a hazardous descent for loaded carts or wagons. One of the more important landmarks on the northern portion of the route, this escarpment was the dividing line between the Rio Abajo and the Rio Arriba (the lower and upper regions) of colonial New Mexico (Pearce 1965:80; Simmons 1982:38). Later, the American military opened a route south of Santa Fe, which skirted the east end of La Bajada (Scurlock 1990).

Barelas Ford (Mile 64). Located two miles south of Albuquerque, this crossing served the east bank and west bank branches of the Camino Real in central New Mexico. A ferry operated here in the mid-nineteenth century (Scurlock 1988c).

Valencia-Tomé Sandhills (Miles 80–95). Deep sand both north and south of Valencia-Tomé impeded cart and wagon travel and sometimes could only be traversed by mule train (Moorhead 1958:110).

La Joya Sandhills (Mile 117). At this location long, steep hills of sand closed in on the Rio Grande, causing difficult road travel for several miles (Moorhead 1958:111).

Parida Sandhill or La Vuelta de Socorro (Mile 134). Near Parida was more deep sand, this time on a steep hill that had to be negotiated by doubling the teams and pulling the wagons over in relays. Other sandhills in the immediate area were a problem as well (Moorhead 1958:111; Marshall and Walt 1984:238). James J. Webb, a trader in the 1840s, called Parida Sandhill "the worst piece of road between Santa Fe and Chihuahua" (Bieber 1931:189; Marshall and Walt 1984:238).

El Contadera (Mile 177). This pass is between the steep sides of a lava flow (Mesa El Contadera) and the marshes along the river just north of Fray Cristobal. Livestock were rested here before crossing the Jornada del Muerto (Marshall and Walt 1984:240; Wilson 1976:6–7).

Jornada del Muerto (Miles 191–281). This 90-mile stretch was virtually devoid of water except after a substantial rain, and the only available fuel was dried yucca, mesquite, or cattle dung. Caravans usually left El Contadera or Fray Cristobal in the afternoon or early evening to avoid the intense heat and to reach the Laguna del Muerto early in the morning after a 25-mile march. If this "lake" contained no water, it could usually be found at a mountain spring about five miles to the west at Ojo del Muerto. Sometimes water could be found at Aleman camp, 18 miles south of Laguna del Muerto, or at Ojo del Perrillo another 18 miles along the road. Travel across the vast, relatively barren Jornada del Muerto was likened to crossing the sea by some travelers (Moorhead 1958:112–113; Marshall and Walt 1984:235, 242).

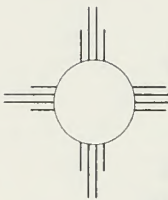
El Paso del Norte Fords (Miles 325, 329). Two river crossings, one six and the other two miles above the town of El Paso, enabled travelers to cross the river from the main trail along the left bank. Both crossings were dangerous because of quicksand and the swift current (Moorhead 1958:112–113).

Medanos de Samalayuca (Mile 370). The Medanos de Samalayuca, located south of Ciudad Juarez in northern Chihuahua, was also a difficult area to traverse. Covering 97 square miles, these continually moving dunes of fine sand were an obstacle to cart and wagon travel. Heavily loaded wheeled vehicles were usually routed around the dunes via a branch road down the right bank of the Rio Grande to Presidio de San Elizeario. From there the road turned back to the southwest over the Jornada del Cantarrecio. This detour took two days. Otherwise, cargos were transferred to mules for transporting goods across this barrier (Bartlett 1965[II]:373–377; Cordoba et al. 1969:36; Moorhead 1958:113–114).

Ojo Caliente (Mile 431). This hot spring, which issued from the top of a small hill about 20 feet in height, was the last dependable water supply before travelers entered the Jornada de Jesus María (Moorhead 1958:16, 115).

Jornada de Jesus María (Mile 475). This 45-mile, waterless stretch south of the Rio Carmen required a night's camp en route. The ground was level and provided a fast, hard-surfaced road for travel (Moorhead 1958:115).

Laguna de Encinillas (Mile 550). Located in a valley south of the Jornada de Jesus María, this brackish lake was the site of three haciendas with good grazing lands. There were also several springs at this location (Moorhead 1958:114–115).



Sacramento River Ford (Mile 501). This river crossing was located just north of Ciudad Chihuahua. Oñate called this river Agua de San José (Moorhead 1958:13, 116; Gregg 1966[II]:82).

Clearly the rate of travel along the trail varied with the conditions imposed by the environment. Travel between reliable water sources, such as perennial streams and springs, tended to be somewhat leisurely paced, but forced marches were necessary over the waterless stretches. Deep sands sometimes delayed trains for a day or two, and swift currents and "quicksand" at fords could cause considerable delays. About 12 miles a day was an average rate of travel for a cart or wagon caravan, but the 90-mile-long *Jornada del Muerto* was sometimes traversed in two days, including night travel. The length of the day's march was also determined by the weight of the cargo and the mode of transport (Moorhead 1957:122).



Figure 3. Tucson Springs, photo by Michael Marshall.

The difficulty of the terrain, climatic extremes, and other environmental factors notwithstanding, thousands of travelers spanning almost three centuries followed the Camino Real between Santa Fe and Chihuahua. Some of them died because of exposure to the harsh elements and attacks by Native Americans. The environment that brought about these tragedies and made travel such a challenge for many successful adventurers is slowly reclaiming the scars of the cart and wagon wheels and the artifacts discarded or lost along the way, but the heritage of this significant corridor of travel will endure for a much longer time.

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Dick-Peddie, William A.

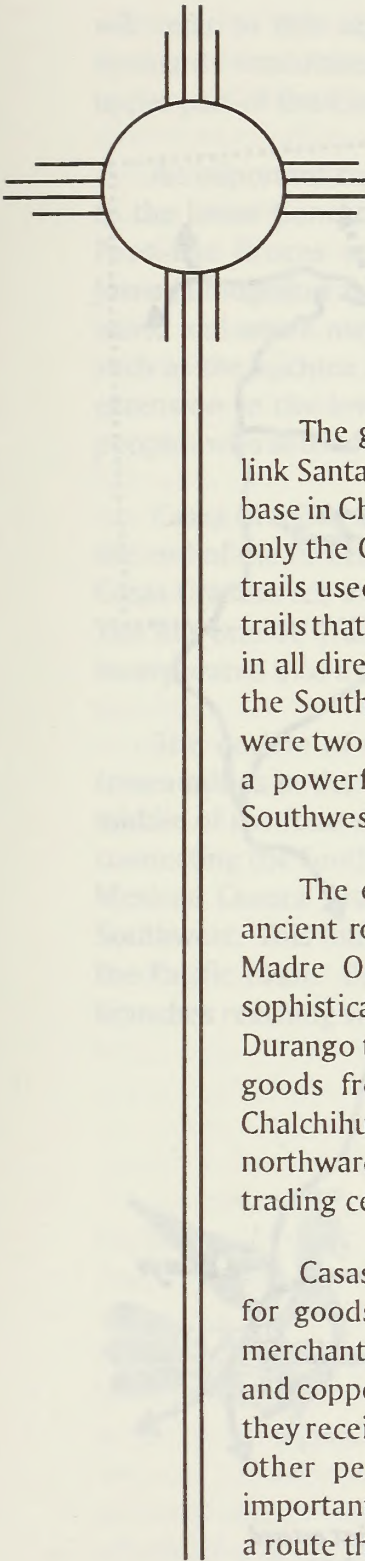
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2. The Pre-Spanish Camino Real

Carroll L. Riley

The great trunk route, developed in the seventeenth century to link Santa Fe and the province of New Mexico with the Spanish supply base in Chihuahua, is often called the Royal Road, or Camino Real. Not only the Camino Real but, to some degree, virtually all the roads and trails used by the Spaniards in the Southwest followed earlier Indian trails that crisscrossed the Southwest and extended beyond its borders in all directions. Nor was the Camino Real the first route to connect the Southwest with greater Mexico. Predating this Spanish highway were two prehistoric trails that reached deep into Mexico, each having a powerful and lasting influence on the Indian cultures of the Southwest.

The earlier of the two, the West Mexican Interior Trail, was an ancient roadway that extended along the eastern flank of the Sierra Madre Occidental and connected western Mesoamerica with the sophisticated Chalchihuites culture of Durango and Zacatecas. In Durango this route was joined by a much traveled trail which brought goods from the west coast of Mexico across the sierra to the Chalchihuites region. This interior trunk trail eventually continued northward, and sometime after A.D. 1000 it linked up with the great trading center of Casas Grandes in western Chihuahua.

Casas Grandes quickly became the primary redistribution center for goods moving into the upper Southwest. The Casas Grandes merchants exported marine shell, parrots, macaws and their feathers, and copper objects (especially copper bells). In return for these goods, they received turquoise, serpentine, pottery vessels filled with salt and other perishables, meerschaum, and alibates flint. One of the important northern segments of the Casas Grandes trail network was a route that extended from around El Paso to the upper Rio Grande. 1

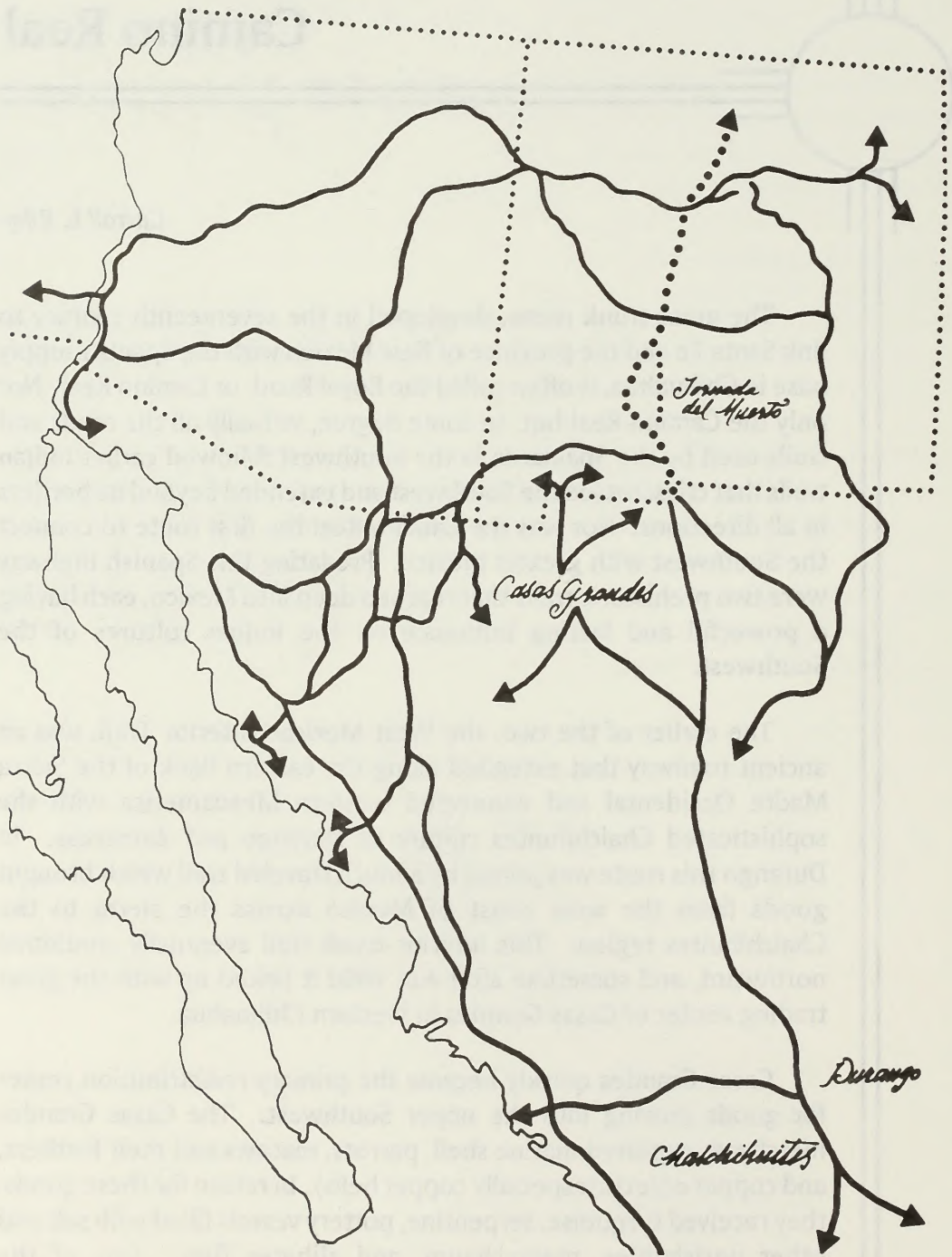
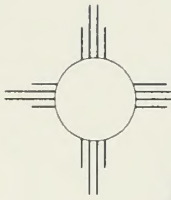


Figure 4. Indian trails were used by the Spaniards when they first entered the Southwest (Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail marked in dots).

will refer to this segment as the Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail. When the Spaniards established control of New Mexico, this Rio Grande Trail became the upper part of the Camino Real.

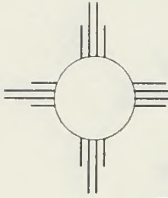
An important trail running generally west to east from southeastern Arizona to the lower Conchos Valley crossed the Rio Grande Trail somewhere in the El Paso-Las Cruces area. The older, western portion of this road tied the Jornada-Mogollon and Mimbres Indians of southern New Mexico with the Pueblo world and was a major avenue by which trade goods and religious ceremonies, such as the kachina cult, reached the Pueblo Indian region. The southeastward extension to the lower Conchos River was pioneered by the Jornada-Mogollon peoples who settled the La Junta Basin sometime after A.D. 1200.

Casas Grandes flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but by the end of the fifteenth century the city was in ruins. The roadways leading from Casas Grandes fell into disuse and the connection with Mexico shifted westward. The Rio Grande Trail segment remained intact, however, and it quickly became incorporated into a second interregional trail system.

The decline of Casas Grandes coincided with the rise of vigorous trading communities in the mountain valleys of northern Sonora. Beginning about the middle of the fourteenth century, these statelets became anchor points in a trail connecting the Southwest with western Mesoamerica. Within a century the West Mexican Coastal Trail was the major route from the Mexican heartland to the Southwest. This route threaded its way between the Sierra Madre Occidental and the Pacific coast. Beginning in Nayarit it ran through Sinaloa and Sonora, with branches reaching westward to the coast and eastward into the mountains.



Figure 5. Zoomorphic figures from prehistoric ceramic vessels.



In the modern state of Sonora the trail turned inland to the territories of the middle and upper Sonora and Yaqui river valleys. Then it progressed northward into the basin and range country of southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. One branch extended to the El Paso area, but the main route had its northern terminus at the Pueblo trading town of Cibola, the modern Zuni. This road supplied the Indians of the American Southwest with important trade goods, especially marine shell and parrots and macaws and their feathers. In return the Southwestern suppliers sent various goods, including turquoise, peridot, garnet, and other semiprecious stones; pottery; salt; processed bison products; and perhaps slaves. This trail quickly attracted Spanish attention, and Spanish parties began to use it in their slaving raids as early as 1530. Ten years later a major Spanish expedition marched over this route on the way to the Southwest.

Two major trunk trails connected Cibola-Zuni to the Rio Grande Trail. One threaded through the Zuni Mountains to Acoma and on to Tiwa country. The second cut across the northern edge of the Plains of San Agustin to the region around present-day Socorro. The southern terminus of the Rio Grande north-south road was in the Manso-Suma region around El Paso with an important extension down river to La Junta. To the west and south, the ancient route that once tied the Rio Grande valley to the Mimbres country and the Animas Valley was still in use—Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions may have traveled over it in 1535—though by that time it mainly functioned as a southern connector to the great West Coast traders' road.

By the sixteenth century, however, a major function of the trail was to link the Manso and Suma of the El Paso area, and the village-living Patarabuyes and nomadic Jumano of La Junta, with the Rio Grande Pueblos. It was also the main lifeline through which the detached Piro appendage of the Pueblo Indian world maintained contact with the river Pueblos in the upper reaches of the Rio Grande.

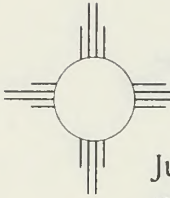
In its lower portion the route seems to have followed the river rather closely. From around modern San Marcial to near present-day Rincon, however, the Rio Grande swings in an arch around the western slopes of the Cristobal and Sierra Caballo ranges. Extending north and south, roughly parallel to the river but some twenty miles east of it, is the Jornada del Muerto, a series of ancient lake basins, quite flat in most places though bordered on the east by rugged mountains. Indian traders had long used the Jornada del Muerto cutoff and were well acquainted with its isolated springs and waterholes. When Spanish parties began moving up the Rio Grande they obtained Indian guides to take them through the Jornada. For the Spaniards it was an important alternate track because the mountainous terrain on the east side of the Rio Grande and the extensive arroyo cutting on the

west side made it very difficult for pack trains and wagons to go along or near the river. Because they used neither pack animals nor carts, Indian traders in pre-Spanish times had their choice of trails. They undoubtedly used either the line of the river or the Jornada del Muerto depending upon circumstances at a given time.

North of the Jornada the main trading route probably followed the Rio Grande, where pueblos extended along the river like beads on a string. At least from the mid-fourteenth century, however, sizable towns existed east and north of Socorro and ten to twenty miles east of the Rio Grande. A spur from the main Rio Grande route likely encompassed these towns and then looped northward to intersect an extension of the San Agustin route from Cibola. This latter road, more or less following the route of modern U.S. Highway 60, crossed the Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail and then continued south of the Manzano Mountains to Abo, Quarai, and the other pueblos of the Tompiro region. During late prehistoric times not only trade materials but religious ideologies (for example, the cremation cult) reached the Tompiro region from Cibola.

The main Rio Grande Trail continued northward from the edge of Piro country to the Tiwa pueblos. Somewhere in the region around present-day Bernalillo it linked up with the northernmost of the two trunk roads that connected the Rio Grande area to the towns of Cibola. The Rio Grande Trail continued upriver to Keres, Tewa, and northern Tiwa country. An important spur road ran to the Galisteo country, and an even more important one crossed Glorieta Pass to Pecos Pueblo. From Pecos Pueblo, roadways—precursors of the historic Santa Fe Trail—radiated to the Plains and its rich trade. Over Glorieta Pass went turquoise from the Cerrillos mines, shell and coral that originated along the Sea of Cortez and on the coast of California, Rio Grande Pueblo Indian pottery, and cotton goods from Hopi. Back across the pass came mainly bison products, but also flint cores and finished implements.

In 1540 Francisco Vázquez de Coronado employed guides from Cibola-Zuni and followed the San Agustin trail, intersecting the Rio Grande Trail in the vicinity of modern Socorro. All subsequent Spanish expeditions into the upper Southwest came along new routes east of the Sierra Madre Occidental. A line of mining settlements grew up along the eastern flanks of the mountains and by 1570 had reached northern Chihuahua. From the Chihuahua area, Spanish slaving parties began to extend down the Conchos River and its tributaries to La Junta, where the Conchos joins the Rio Grande. There the Spanish parties contacted the nomadic Jumano Indians. The Jumano wintered in the warm La Junta Basin and acted as middlemen for trade to the Pueblo world, with two major routes running from La



Junta into New Mexico. The first, already mentioned, followed the Rio Grande upriver to the El Paso region where it connected to the Rio Grande north-south trail. A second route, actually favored by the Jumano since their major trade was with the Tompiro Pueblos, went down Toyah Creek to the Pecos River and then followed the Pecos upriver to Pueblo Indian country. The Spanish expeditions of the 1580s and early 1590s used both the Rio Grande and the Pecos River trails, though as far as we know they all went up or down the Conchos.

By the mid-1590s the Spaniards were becoming sufficiently familiar with the region to realize that the aboriginal route down the Conchos and up the Rio Grande took them in a great arc. Could they cut across that arc, going directly from the mining settlements of Chihuahua to the Rio Grande? Probably the first Spanish party to try this new route—the southern portion of the Camino Real—was that of Juan de Oñate in early 1598. From the last Spanish outpost near modern Chihuahua, Oñate was guided by western Conchos Indians over *tierra nueva* to El Paso. It is quite possible that his route followed one of the aboriginal networks of trails used centuries earlier by Casas Grandes traders. By Oñate's time, however, the trail was used primarily by the nomadic inhabitants of the region. On arriving in the El Paso vicinity, Oñate's party, like previous Spanish groups, followed the Rio Grande Trail. Thus, Oñate and his company became the first Spaniards, for whom we have unequivocal evidence, to use the entire Camino Real.



Figure 6. Dress of the Indians of New Mexico, after a 1758 map illumination by Miera y Pacheco (from Kiva, Cross, and Crown, National Park Service (NPS); Kessell 1979:57).

Significant Indian use of the old north-south trail, now the upper Camino Real, ended within a few decades of Oñate's trip. Much of the aboriginal trade material coming into the Southwest from the south was ceremonial in nature (for example, the brightly colored feathers of macaws and parrots). During the seventeenth century the Indian population of New Mexico was undergoing rapid acculturation, and native religious, political, and economic institutions were under brutal attack. The result was a profound disruption of the trade and exchange mechanisms of previous centuries. Even during the twelve or fifteen years when the Pueblo Indians regained their autonomy as a result of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the trading networks were never reestablished. Indeed, the Mexican Indians with whom the Pueblos traded were themselves shattered by depopulation and Spanish exploitation. Nor was the old Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail, now the New Mexico segment of the Spanish Camino Real, securely in Pueblo hands, even during the revolt period, for Spanish military raiding parties used it to strike at the heart of the Pueblo region.

When the Spaniards returned in 1692–1694, Pueblo autonomy ended, except in the remote Hopi country. The Spanish missionaries were never able to destroy Pueblo Indian religion, however, and the demand for certain ceremonial goods continued. To meet the need for bright feathers, shells, and other ceremonial costume items, sporadic trade with Mexico continued, especially in the western part of the Pueblo world. But the Camino Real was now a Spanish highway.

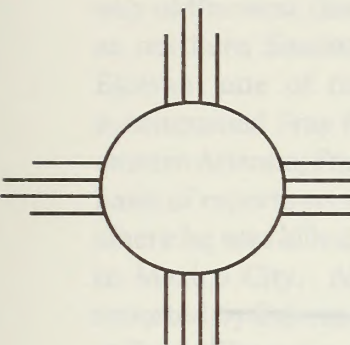
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3. At the Ends of the Roads in the 1500s

Albert H. Schroeder

Historical documents on New Mexico in the late 1500s are limited to the records of Spanish exploring expeditions. What is remarkable is that each subsequent expedition had access to the reports of the previous ones, even though they were often separated by only a few years and by several hundred miles. Nevertheless, each expedition came out of Mexico with its own objectives, took various routes, and yielded different results. Almost all involved travel over some portion of what was to become known as the Camino Real, the Royal Road. This name was applied to any major Spanish road that was supported and maintained by royal funds. In the case of the road into New Mexico, the name was assigned after supply caravans carried royal supplies to the fledgling colony in the early 1600s.

Spanish interest in New Mexico began by accident. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, a survivor of a 1527 shipwreck on Florida's Gulf coast, was attempting to make his way by foot to the nearest Spanish colony, in Mexico, when he was captured by Texas Indians. In 1534 he and three other captives escaped and headed southwest in an attempt to reach their original destination of Panuco, near present-day Tampico on the Mexican Gulf coast. Fearing Indians along that route, they decided to turn inland and go to the Pacific coast. At this point, they went up the Rio Grande to within about 75 miles of El Paso, turned west, crossed the Sierra Madre, where they met "clothed Indian farmers" (Opatas) en route, and finally reached Sonora. From there they proceeded south and met some Spaniards near the Rio Sinaloa. On their arrival in Mexico City in 1536, the party's reports stirred interest in the Indian farmers to the north.

In 1539 the viceroy sent Fray Marcos de Niza with a small party to verify Cabeza de Vaca's report about these people. They traveled by

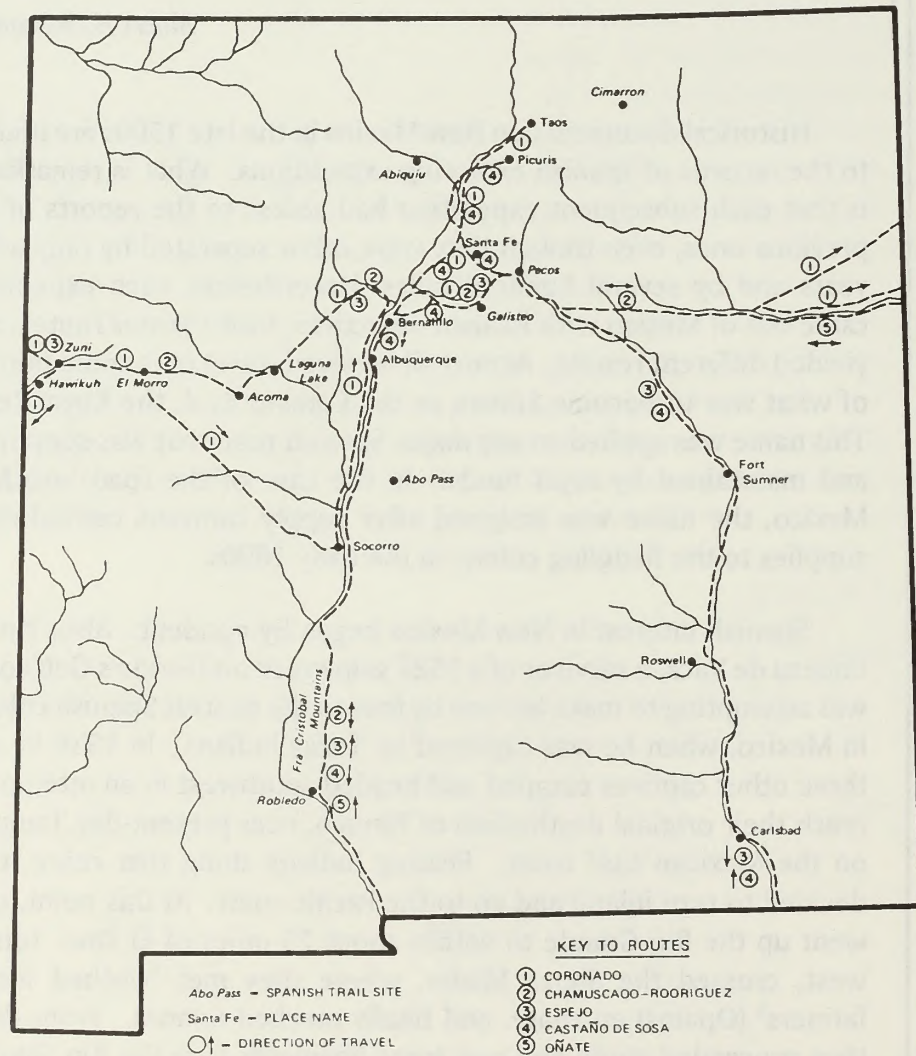


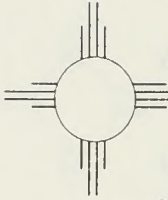
Figure 7. The routes of Coronado, Chamuscado-Rodriguez, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, and Oñate into New Mexico (from *A Brief History of New Mexico*, University of New Mexico Press; Jenkins and Schroeder 1975:15).

way of the west coast of Mexico; by this time the Spaniards had penetrated as far as northern Sinaloa, the region through which Cabeza de Vaca had returned. Estévan, one of the companions who had escaped from the Texas Indians, accompanied Fray Marcos. He went north in advance of the main party through eastern Arizona; Fray Marcos and the remainder of the expedition followed on the basis of reports sent back by Estévan. Estévan traveled as far as the Zuni pueblos, where he was killed. At this point Marcos and the rest of the expedition returned to Mexico City. Although they had passed to the west of the Opata Indians reported by Cabeza de Vaca, their journey did document another group of farmers at Zuni. The subsequent report further increased interest in these people to the north.

Later the same year, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado sent Melchoir Díaz and Juan de Zaldívar to verify the previous expedition's reports. Their party approached the junction of the Salt and San Pedro rivers in Arizona when winter weather caused them to turn back. On hearing the report of this advance scouting party, Coronado, who had already assembled an army for the journey north, began to have some doubts about Fray Marcos's account. The viceroy was attracted by the lure of riches and territorial expansion, however, and ordered Coronado to move out. Accompanied by 292 men, 1300 Indian allies, a few friars, 1000 horses, and 600 pack animals, plus supplies, Coronado left his staging area in northern Mexico in 1540. Fray Marcos guided them as far as Zuni, but Coronado and his army were disappointed by the inadequacy of his information and sent him back to Mexico City.

After ordering an exploratory group to the west, where they would be the first Spaniards meet the Hopis and see the Grand Canyon, Coronado sent his army to the Tiguex province (now the Albuquerque-Bernalillo metropolitan area) while he and a small party cut southeast across country from Zuni to the Rio Grande. Coronado reached the Rio Grande in the vicinity of Socorro and then went upriver to rejoin the army, journeying along the northern stretch of the future Camino Real. From Tiguex he explored east to the Big Bend of the Arkansas River in Kansas. Shortly after his return to the Rio Grande, he and his army went back to Mexico by the same way it entered, leaving a friar and a few clerical brothers behind.

As a result of clashes with the Zunis and with Indians in the Sonora region, as well as at Pecos Pueblo and with a number of Tiwas in the Bernalillo area, plus the failure of the anticipated riches to materialize, interest in this northern frontier waned. The reports did provide the first record of various groups of Indians in the Southwest, however.



Almost 40 years later, after the Spaniards had advanced northward on the east side of the Sierra Madre to the mineral deposits near Santa Bárbara in southern Chihuahua, interest surfaced again. While serving in this area, Fray Agustín Rodríguez heard stories from slavers of settled people to the north. He received permission from the viceroy to investigate. In 1581, Captain Francisco Chamuscado and a small party of soldiers traveled north with him by way of the Conchos River and the Rio Grande. After they arrived at the latter junction, informants told them about Cabeza de Vaca's journey through the region and also about Indian farmers who could be reached by turning west and travelling several days up the Rio Grande. These Indians were presumably the same ones that were reported by Cabeza de Vaca. Apparently they misunderstood their informants, because instead of turning west they continued up the Rio Grande. From the El Paso area to the Bernalillo–Santo Domingo area they were the first Europeans to traverse the future Camino Real, though they did not go beyond Santa Domingo. Instead they went east onto the Plains to the upper Canadian River, then west to Zuni and finally back to the Rio Grande, which they followed south to the Conchos River and then to Santa Bárbara. They had encountered the same people as Coronado. The reports of this *entrada* (entry or expedition) provided considerable information on the size of each pueblo they visited as well as some population figures. One padre was killed, but two others were left behind among the Tiwas of the Albuquerque-Bernalillo area, where Coronado had had considerable trouble at some of the pueblos.

Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (from Kiva, Cross, and, Crown, NPS; Kessell 1979:22).

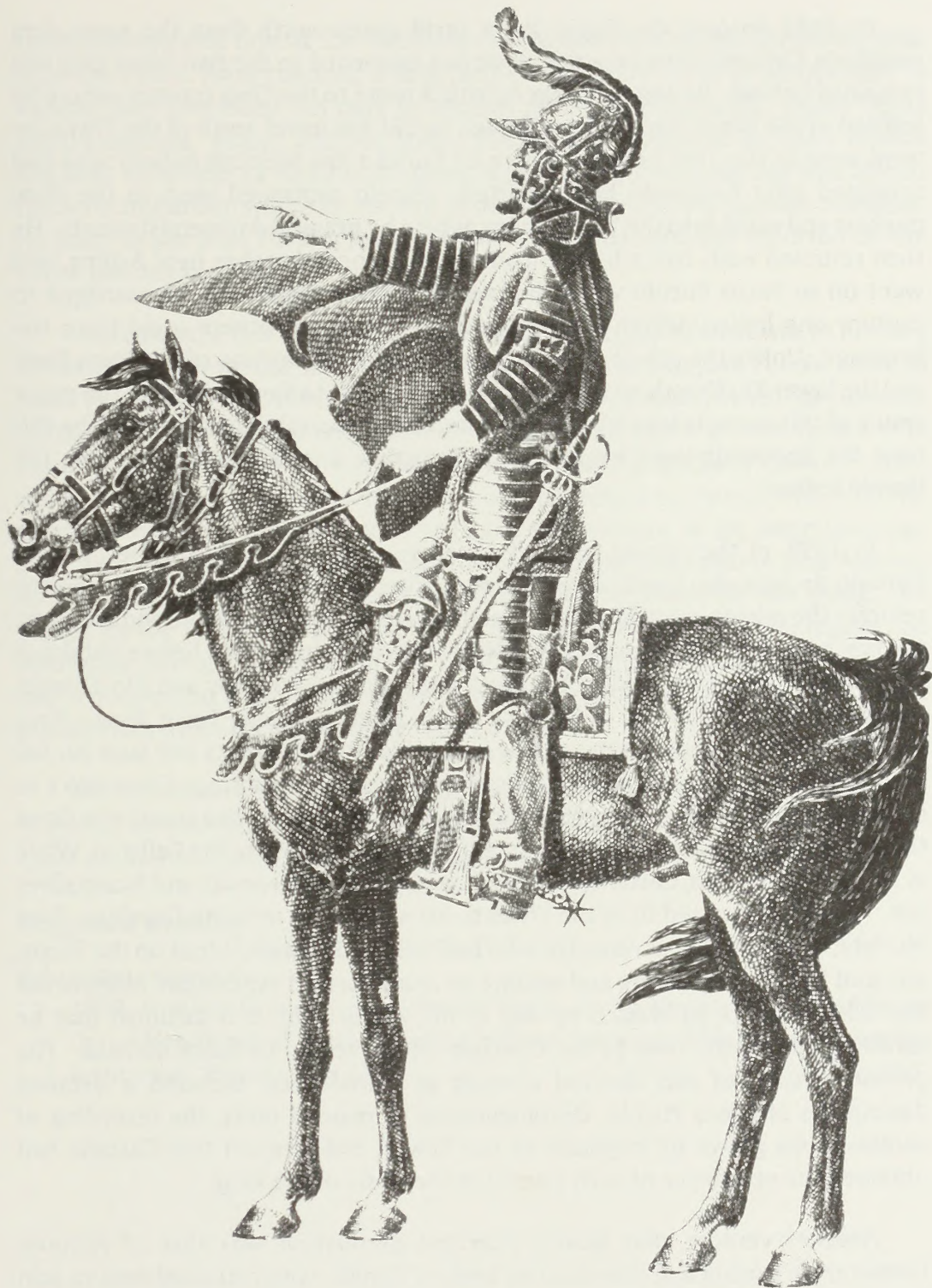
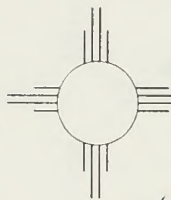


Figure 8. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, drawn by Jose Cisneros (from *Riders across the Century*, Texas Western Press, UTEP).



In 1582 Antonio de Espejo led a small group north from the same area (southern Chihuahua) to ascertain what had happened to the two friars who had remained behind. He retraced Fray Agustín's route to the Tiwa country, where he learned of the friars' martyrdom. Though he did not travel north of the Tiwas, he went west to the Zuni pueblos, where he found a few Mexican Indians who had remained after Coronado had departed. Espejo continued west to the Hopi pueblos and south into the Verde Valley, where he examined mineral deposits. He then returned east, had a brief encounter with some Apaches near Acoma, and went on to Pecos Pueblo where he met with some resistance but managed to capture one Indian, whom he took back to Mexico so others could learn the language. Unlike the others, Espejo returned to Mexico by way of the Pecos River and the lower Rio Grande to the Conchos River and on to Santa Bárbara. The major result of this entrada was a rekindled interest in mineral deposits. Also, by this time the Spaniards were beginning to recognize linguistic groups among the Pueblo Indians.

In 1590, at the mining town of Almaden on the northern frontier, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa also heard slavers' stories of people to the north. He planned to relocate the mining camp of 160–170 people to New Mexico, and he and his party, the first to use carts on a journey into New Mexico, started north before obtaining permission. Instead of taking the usual route via the Conchos and Rio Grande, they traveled north by way of Espejo's return route along the Pecos River. They left in July 1590, arriving at Pecos where first his advance scouts and later his full party ran into armed resistance. This entrada was the first since Coronado's to travel among the Tewas; they also journeyed into Northern Tiwa country as far as the pueblo of Picurís and spent time among the Keresans along the Galisteo. While at San Marcos Pueblo, Castaño examined nearby mineral deposits and found silver ore. When he returned from the Tiwas to his main camp at Santo Domingo, Juan Morlete, a political foe at Almaden who had followed Castaño's trail up the Pecos, arrested him for organizing and leading an unauthorized expedition. Morlete led the colonists back to Mexico by way of the Rio Grande. It is assumed that he continued down the river to the Conchos on the return to Santa Bárbara. The primary results of this aborted attempt at colonization included a detailed description of Pecos Pueblo, documentation of mineral finds, the recording of surplus crops grown by irrigation by the Tewas, and a report that Castaño had obtained the obedience of each pueblo in the name of the king.

Another venture that lacked viceregal permission was that of Antonio Gutierrez de Umana and Francisco de Leyba y Bonilla, who recruited men to join them and an Indian named Jusepe on a trip to New Mexico in 1595. Their route, though not known, was probably by way of the Conchos and Rio Grande. They

spent considerable time at San Ildefonso Pueblo and then, via Pecos Pueblo, went onto the Plains. After reaching a large settlement, believed to be somewhere in Kansas, they continued ten days to another river (the Missouri?), where Leyba killed Gutierrez. Jusepe and five others fled but were captured by Plains Indians and later were held by Apaches for about a year. Jusepe escaped and was able to reach Pecos Pueblo, where he learned of the 1598 arrival of the Spanish colonists. He went to San Juan Pueblo, Juan de Oñate's headquarters, and reported on the entire journey in 1599.

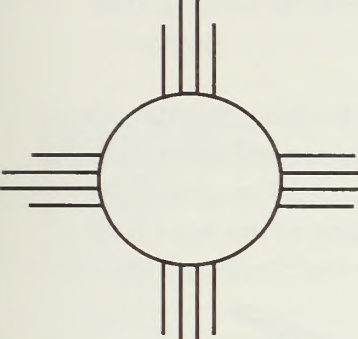
Oñate was the first Spaniard to traverse the full length of what was to become El Camino Real from the Santa Bárbara–Parral region to San Juan Pueblo north of Santa Fe. Instead of following the Conchos–Rio Grande route, he led his colonists north-northwest overland and reached the Rio Grande about 25 miles south of El Paso. In going through the pass, his party observed the tracks of Castaño's carts where they had crossed the river in 1591 on their return to Mexico with Morlete. Oñate arrived at San Juan Pueblo in August 1598. Enroute, in the Santo Domingo area, he met two of Castaño's Indian guides, who had remained in New Mexico. As a result of Castaño's entrada, Oñate knew exactly where he was going. He passed by the unfriendly Tiwa villages of the Albuquerque-Bernalillo region and continued through the Keres country to settle among the Tewas because Castaño had reported that these people were irrigation farmers with surplus crops whose pueblos had given their obedience to the king.

The historical links between these expeditions of the late 1500s are clear. Although several routes were followed, the Santa Bárbara or Parral to Rio Grande route proved to be the most practical and laid the basis for the Camino Real.

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4. Opening the Camino Real

Marc Simmons

During the Spanish colonial years, New Mexico was tied to the Euroamerican world by a single thoroughfare that descended the Rio Grande valley from Santa Fe, dropped through the natural gate at El Paso, and wended its way via the provinces of the old viceroyalty of New Spain to Mexico City, 1200 miles to the south.

This artery of trade and commerce was known as the Camino Real, which meant the Royal Road or the King's Highway. Actually, the term was applied to main government roads in both Spain and the New World colonies. The best-publicized Camino Real was the one established in the eighteenth century that ran up the coasts and valleys of California and connected the beautiful string of Franciscan missions.

Informally, the residents of the viceregal capital spoke of New Mexico's Camino Real as "the road to the interior" (*el camino de tierra adentro*). Of the great highways leading north, this was the oldest, having been extended by segments throughout the sixteenth century. For a time it also enjoyed the distinction of being the longest European road in North America.

By 1595 the Camino Real had been pushed as far as Santa Bárbara, a mining outpost in southern Chihuahua (then called Nueva Vizcaya). This community was well positioned to become the gateway to New Mexico, as soon as a man was selected to colonize that distant land.

The person who received the royal nod later in that year was Don Juan de Oñate, the son of a wealthy silver baron in the mining city of Zacatecas. He had participated in military campaigns against the Chichimec Indians and had learned the ropes of administration in the

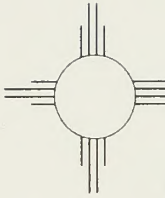


Figure 9. Juan de Oñate, drawn by Jose Cisneros
(from *Riders across the Century*, Texas Western Press, UTEP).

management of silver mines. In short, he qualified as an able soldier and frontier aristocrat.

Oñate received the title of governor and a contract to settle New Mexico during September of 1595; however, numerous problems delayed his expedition until early in 1598. To a blare of trumpets and the flutter of silken banners, he finally got under way, leading 129 soldiers, their families and servants, a huge cart train that stretched almost two miles, and a vast herd of livestock.

This impressive cavalcade struck a northward course from Santa Bárbara that took it across the Chihuahua desert toward a rendezvous with the Rio Grande at El Paso. Since previous explorers had followed routes that lay far to the east or west, Oñate was, in effect, blazing a new trail. Indeed, he was adding one more leg, the final appendage to the historic Camino Real.

To locate the best route, Oñate sent his young nephew Vicente de Zaldívar ahead with a scouting party. After getting lost, experiencing difficulties with Indians, and suffering from hunger and thirst, the Spaniards eventually found the river and then promptly returned to the expedition with the news. Oñate guided his caravan through a vast field of sand dunes named Los Médanos, which even today awe travelers who drive south from Ciudad Juarez, and he reached El Paso Valley in April during good weather.

Here Oñate conducted a formal ceremony, taking possession of the land in the name of His Majesty, for he considered this place as the beginning of his New Mexico jurisdiction. After an open-air religious service and a feast of fish from the river, the Spaniards concluded with a dramatic play written for the occasion by Captain Marcos Farfán de los Godos.

The Spaniards and their native guides, servants, and families now began the ascent of the valley of the Rio Grande, or the Rio del Norte as they were in the habit of calling it. The cart tracks continued to mark the route of the Camino Real, the new road all succeeding travelers would follow. Oñate selected and named each campsite, or *paraje*, and these camps later appeared on Spanish maps.

As they moved up the Mesilla Valley (below and above the future site of Las Cruces), the caravan experienced a series of small tragedies. A baby died and was buried on the side of the trail, two horses got into the river and drowned, and some valuable oxen strayed and were lost. Then on May 21, near the upper end of the valley, one of Oñate's officers died: sixty-year-old gray-headed Pedro Robledo. The official log gives no reason for his death, but we have to suppose



that the rigors of the journey must have been a contributing factor. He left four stalwart sons who went on to participate in the founding of New Mexico.

Appropriately, Governor Oñate named the campsite containing the new grave the Paraje de Robledo, and it was known by this name until the end of the colonial era. Just beyond that place the Rio Grande makes its long flat bend to the west, cutting through rough country as it skirts two mountain ranges. Oñate elected to leave the river with an advance scouting unit and bear due north to designate a path for the cumbersome cart train. He rode up a level and waterless plain that unfolded like a dove-colored ribbon for 90 miles between parallel chains of sierras.

The ten or more parajes that Oñate designated on this portion of the Camino Real were deficient in all three of the common necessities required of a good camp—water, firewood, and grass for grazing. Oñate, as well as every overlander who came after him, made a careful point of getting through the dreaded desert as swiftly as possible. At its north end, the governor rejoined the Rio Grande at a point named the Paraje de Fray Cristóbal, after his cousin, Cristóbal de Salazar, who was a missionary with the expedition.

Continuing upriver, Oñate and his followers entered the first villages of the Pueblo Indians, some of whom fled at his approach while others demonstrated a restrained friendliness. At the adobe community of Teypana the headman provided the hungry newcomers with an abundance of corn, whereupon Oñate christened the place Socorro (Succor or Assistance) in gratitude for the aid he had received.

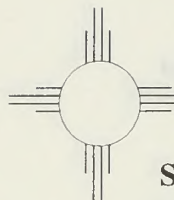
Juan de Oñate (from Kiva, Cross, and Crown, NPS; Kessell 1979:80).

At Santo Domingo Pueblo, situated 35 miles north of modern Albuquerque, the governor held a council on July 7 with Indians from the surrounding country. In a ceremony they must have poorly understood, the native leaders swore allegiance to the Spanish Crown and the Church. From there, Oñate's party commenced the last leg of the trip. Across an open plain, just past Santo Domingo, rose a 900-foot volcanic escarpment that became known afterward as La Bajada. Although a narrow switchback trail was passable by horse, it was no route for a cart caravan. Therefore, Oñate issued orders that would send the main expedition, still following at some distance, on a detour to the east.

By July 11, Governor Oñate and his companions had reached the Tewa pueblo of Caypa, or San Juan as they renamed it. Here he determined to establish his military headquarters and the capital of his grandly proclaimed Kingdom of New Mexico. According to tradition he selected this location in the Española Valley because it was well-placed in the center of his realm and because the Indians, since Coronado's day a half century before, had shown unusual hospitality toward Spaniards. On August 18 the body of colonists with their carts and livestock finally arrived at San Juan, thus completing an epic march that had lasted more than six months.

A short time later, Oñate moved his settlers to the west bank of the Rio Grande and founded the first formal European municipality west of the Mississippi, the Villa of San Gabriel. For the next decade it remained the official terminus of the far-flung Camino Real. Then, with the establishment of Santa Fe around 1610 as the new capital and main population center, the end of the King's Highway shifted to the plaza there.

By that time, Juan de Oñate had resigned as governor of New Mexico and departed for his old home in Zacatecas. But he left behind a well-marked road as a monument to his pioneering achievement. Although history has thus far neglected to so honor him, Oñate unquestionably deserves to be remembered as "The Father of the Camino Real."



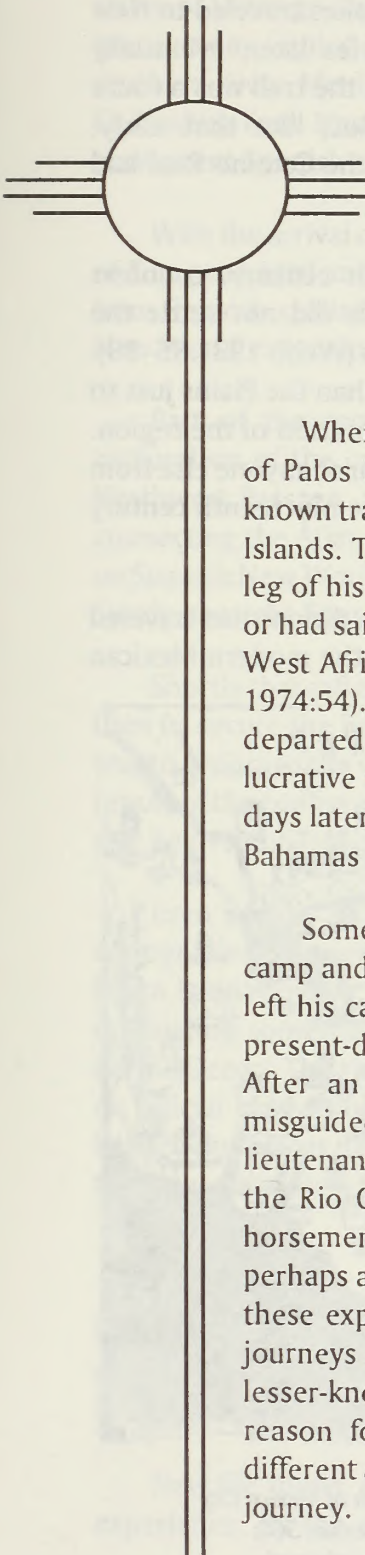
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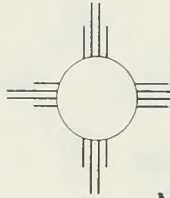
5. North from Mexico, Inland and Beyond

El Camino Real

Thomas E. Chavez

When Christopher Columbus sailed from the small Andalusian port of Palos in August of 1492, he initially traveled southwest along a known trade route off the African coast. His destination was the Canary Islands. There was nothing new or especially eventful about this first leg of his trip. Sailors from every maritime country in Europe knew of or had sailed this route to trade with people living farther south on the West African coast (Dunn and Kelly 1989:19; Fagg 1977:65; Morrison 1974:54). The real adventure began on September 6 when Columbus departed from the Canaries to demonstrate his theory that the lucrative Oriental trade could be reached by sailing west. Thirty-five days later a member of his squadron sighted land in what is today the Bahamas (Dunn and Kelly 1989:27; Fagg 1977:65).

Some forty-nine years later another Spanish adventurer left a base camp and traveled into the unknown. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado left his camp, an Indian village he and his soldiers had usurped near present-day Bernalillo, New Mexico, to travel onto the Great Plains. After an identical thirty-five days he realized that he had been misguided by his Indian informants, so he stopped to confer with his lieutenants. He decided to send the majority of the expedition back to the Rio Grande and take thirty of his healthiest and best-equipped horsemen in a different direction—north into present-day Kansas and perhaps as far as Missouri (Winship 1990:50–53). The fact that both of these explorers embarked on the important parts of their respective journeys from places distant from their actual home bases links the lesser-known with the well-known journey and hints at a very special reason for the Spanish entry into New Mexico and, therefore, a different and previously unemphasized aspect of the trail as well as the journey.



The Camino Real is the trail over which people and supplies traveled to New Mexico. It was primarily a commercial route that, centuries later, eventually connected with the Santa Fe Trail. There is no question that the trail was a route for commerce, especially in the nineteenth century. But, like that early, well-traveled sea route from Europe to the Canary Islands, the Camino Real had another purpose—further exploration.

The trail's very existence, dating from the sixteenth century, counters historian Walter Prescott Webb's arguments that Spaniards did not settle the Plains because they could not cope with the harsh conditions (Webb 1931:85–89). Those same Spaniards had to cope with land much harsher than the Plains just to get to New Mexico, the launching point for a thorough exploration of the region. It was the lack of an adequate technology that prevented them or anyone else from permanently settling on the Plains until the second half of the nineteenth century (cf. Webb 1931:96–97).

Before the end of the sixteenth century a number of expeditions had traveled from north-central Mexico through the area encompassing the modern Mexican



Figure 10. A sixteenth-century map of New Spain west and north of Mexico City (Sevilla, Spain; Archivo General des Indios, Torres Lanzas, Mexico, 560; from Kiva, Cross, and Crown, NPS; Kessell 1979:unnumbered page).

states of Durango and Chihuahua (then called Nueva Vizcaya) to El Paso del Norte (present-day Ciudad Juarez) and from there along the Rio Grande corridor into northern New Mexico. This trail would become the Camino Real, later the Chihuahua Trail. It was the trail along which Juan de Oñate led New Mexico's first permanent Spanish settlers in 1598.

With the arrival of those first Spaniards, New Mexico became an inland pocket of European settlement: an island distant from the sea, from navigable rivers, and from Spanish civilization. It was a settlement unique in the annals of European New World expansion for that epoch.

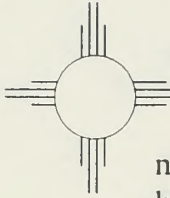
Part of the motivation for the settlement of New Mexico was further exploration of the continent, especially in search of the Straights of Anion, the Northwest Passage, a hypothetical waterway cutting through the continent and connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific. Francis Drake, an English captain preying on Spanish New World possessions, had mysteriously appeared on the West Coast. Surely, thought Spanish officialdom, he had discovered the illusive straights!

Shortly thereafter, Oñate received instructions to search for the waterway and then to secure the best port against all foreign, meaning European, intrusion. He was to report to the viceroy as soon as he found the passage and "give an accurate report of the configuration of the coast and the capacity of each harbor" (Hammond and Rey 1953:67). Subsequent governors were certainly also aware of this goal.

Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, New Mexico's great cartographer Bernardo Miera y Pacheco placed a great inland river, called the Rio Santa Buenaventura, into the poorly known region to the north; he pictured it originating somewhere to the northwest of New Mexico and emptying into the Pacific Ocean. The river even had a large city named Tiquex on its shores.¹ Thus an official expedition led by Franciscan priests and guided by Miera y Pacheco headed out in that direction in 1776. Among other things, they were to find a route that connected New Mexico to the new settlement at Monterey, California (Chavez 1976).

New Mexico became Spain's Canary Islands, a base from which the interior of North America could be explored. *La tierra incognita*, the unknown land, posed problems and danger but not more so than the sea. Still, it was a place from which the explorers might not return.

New life forms, peoples, and knowledge would be garnered from this inland experience. By the downfall of the Spanish empire in the first quarter of the

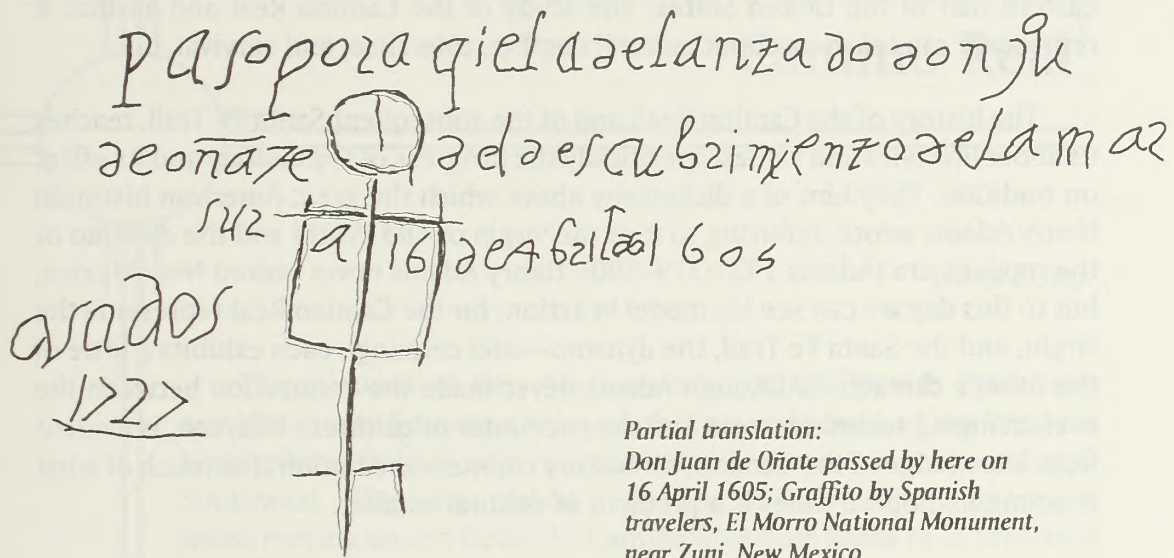


nineteenth century, Spaniards and their cultural as well as biological descendants had explored and named every river between Nebraska, Oregon, Texas, and California. Unlike their European counterparts, they continued their tradition of maritime exploration, but on land. They did not hesitate to move away from the major waterways and sea shores. Their desire to satisfy their curiosity and the drive to explore inland have mostly been overlooked by historians.

Initially, experienced seafarers traversed the Camino Real and set up their base camp in New Mexico. They ventured off their "island" to explore the Great Plains, which they likened to their previous experiences. A survey of the many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century expeditions' records reveals the explorers' background, for they described the Plains in maritime terms. For example, the Plains were so vast that "it is as if one were traveling on the sea"; the buffalo were so large they resembled "ships at sea," and so numerous they only could be compared to "the fish at sea" (Chavez 1992). Even the journals of these expeditions were strikingly similar to the journals of the early sea-going voyages. New Mexico became an integral part of the race to fulfill Columbus's dream. The Camino Real became the route that opened up the next step—exploration for the Straights of Anion, a passage to the Orient.

Looking for the Northwest Passage was not unique. In this the Spanish were no different than their European competitors. England, the "mother" country of the United States, sought to beat Spain to the Orient by locating the water passage. The United States inherited that goal and, after independence, joined the race. President Thomas Jefferson sent out Meriwether Lewis and George Rogers Clark to learn how much of an impediment the continent was to getting to the Orient. If possible, they were to see if they could cross the continent on water. Not until President James K. Polk successfully concluded a costly war with Mexico did the United States gain a geographical advantage over the rest of Europe for the West Indies trade. He secured the West Coast ports of San Diego and San Francisco. Thus, not until the nineteenth century did the United States fulfill Columbus's plan. Even then, part of the strategy necessitated securing New Mexico and its connection to the south, the Chihuahua Trail.

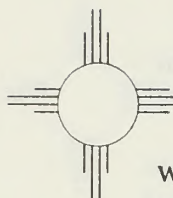
As exploration continued, New Mexico became a home rather than just a base camp. It was a unique European settlement in the middle of the continent, situated in the crosshairs of the expansion of two New World European cultures. Coming from the east were primarily the English, who settled on the coast, and in a period of two and one-half centuries their early colonies became a transcontinental world power. In the south were primarily Spaniards, who were moving northward into what would become the United States. The members of these two European



*Partial translation:
Don Juan de Oñate passed by here on
16 April 1605; Graffito by Spanish
travelers, El Morro National Monument,
near Zuni, New Mexico.*

cultures had the same experiences as they moved across the continent. They had to learn to live in the wilderness, and they encountered new people, plants, and animals. They continuously experienced situations unique to the new frontier, including discoveries of minerals, migrations, Indian wars, engagements with other Europeans, and challenges of the topography and the environment. In the process, these Europeans became American, and eventually they met in the southwestern United States. The re-encounter of these two Old World rivalries, the Protestant leader of the Reformation (England) and the Catholic leader of the Counter-Reformation (Spain), is one of the most significant events in North American history. The hub of this meeting was in northern New Mexico, and it could not have happened if the long-established Camino Real had not been there and provided a connecting point for the upstart Santa Fe Trail. The two trails became the veins through which the cultural lifeblood of both peoples flowed.

All this history speaks to our country's heritage and how that inheritance has been molded by centuries-old goals and rivalries (Garcia Carcel and Mateo Bretos 1990; Sanchez n.d.). The Camino Real is important beyond its longevity; it hints at and speaks to a much more important picture. It also raises questions. For example, why did the people who traveled up the trail treat the native Americans they encountered so differently than their eastern counterparts did, in spite of the Indian rebellion that forced the Spaniards out of New Mexico for thirteen years? The Spanish survivors took the old trail south and returned, reinforced, on the same route. Yet more Indian tribes in northern New Mexico today inhabit land on



which they were located around the time of European contact than in the whole eastern half of the United States. The study of the Camino Real and all that it represents can teach us about cultural conflict, tolerance, and survival.

The history of the Camino Real, and of the subsequent Santa Fe Trail, teaches us about lifestyles and values, specifically the progress of technology and its effect on tradition. They hint of a dichotomy about which the great American historian Henry Adams wrote, referring to it as the virgin or Old World and the dynamo or the modern era (Adams 1931:379–390). Henry Adams never visited New Mexico, but to this day we can see his model in action, for the Camino Real represents the virgin, and the Santa Fe Trail, the dynamo—and certainly, each exhibits a little of the other’s character. Although Adams never made the connection between the ever-changing technical world and the encounter of cultures, this, too, is evident from knowledge of the Camino, for history counters the notion that much of what is wrong in modern times is a problem of cultural conflict.

The Camino Real, begun in 1598, is still vibrant, perhaps about to become more so. It is a living symbol of Old World life and New World adjustments. The old trail has contributed to our many cultures and permeated our lives in ways that we have not even imagined. The trail is an important piece to the large mosaic that is today’s society.

Note

1. Plano de Nuevo Mexico por Bernardo Miera y Pacheco (ca. 1750). Original in the collections of the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe.

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6. Seventeenth-Century Mission Trade on the Camino Real¹

James E. Ivey

The missions of New Mexico were part of Spanish Franciscan establishments forming a network that covered most of the Western Hemisphere from South America to the American Southeast and Southwest. They were linked to the rest of Nueva España by wagon trains moving up and down the Camino Real from Santa Fe to the Santa Bárbara–Parral area of Nueva Vizcaya and ultimately to Mexico City. The Camino Real and its supply trains formed the principal artery for New Mexico. Along it flowed goods, personnel, and information that kept not only the missions but the province itself alive. Almost every item or furnishing in the missions was brought to them along the roads from Mexico City. This support, however, was only enough for the minimum operation of the missions. The executives of the Franciscan network expected each mission to contribute to its own support as much as it could, and New Mexico missions purchased many necessities and luxury items with the income from the sale of their surplus corn, sheep, cattle, and woven goods, and the hides, nuts, and salt that the Indians collected under the direction of the missionaries and shipped to markets in Nueva Vizcaya and Mexico City.

Because the wagon trains were necessary for the survival of the missions, the Franciscans operated them with great efficiency. The supply caravan reached New Mexico about every three years throughout the seventeenth century. During the period from 1600 to 1629 ten dispatches arrived in New Mexico at intervals of between two and four years. From 1631 through the 1670s the dispatches arrived regularly every three years (Ayer 1916:14–15).²

In 1631, the Franciscans and the government of New Spain arranged a contract standardizing the arrangements for the supply trains to New Mexico (Scholes 1930). The contract clearly described



the typical caravan and the usual procedure followed by the supply system. The assembly of a supply train began with an official letter brought by the wagons returning from New Mexico, outlining the needs of the missionaries for the upcoming triennium. To this the Franciscans in Mexico City added the requirements of any new missionaries to be sent with the next dispatch, including both the supplies for the journey and the initial goods needed to establish a mission. The necessary goods were then purchased from local suppliers in Mexico City.³

Prior to 1631, an agent of the viceroy purchased the supplies at auction as they became available and turned them over to the Franciscans. The vagaries of this system resulted in delays and uncertainties, however, which contributed to occasional four-year intervals between dispatches. Worse, the supplies were frequently not of good quality and the cost was sometimes excessive.

The contract of 1631 changed this arrangement. The viceregal treasury transferred the total budget due the New Mexico missions to the Franciscan procurador-general, who then arranged for the purchase of goods from merchants



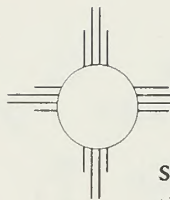
*Figure 11. Mission ruins at Salinas National Monument,
photo by Mark Nohl, New Mexico Magazine.*

and suppliers, usually in Mexico City. This method enabled purchase of the goods in a timely manner and at minimum cost. In addition, the treasury would purchase and outfit the necessary wagons, including all spare parts; hire the drivers, guards, and other necessary personnel; and cover the expenses of their upkeep during the journey to and from New Mexico. In return, the Franciscans agreed to pay for the upkeep of the wagons and personnel during the time they were in New Mexico and to keep up the full complement of mules for each wagon. After the return of the supply train to Mexico City, the government agreed to maintain the wagons and mules during the year and a half until the next dispatch, but it reserved the right to use them as needed during this period.

The Wagon Train

A supply train for the New Mexico missions usually had thirty-two wagons. It was under the supervision of the Franciscan procurador-general for the province of New Mexico, who made each round trip himself. The thirty-two wagons were divided into two *cuadrillas* or sections of sixteen wagons, each under the supervision of a mayordomo. The *cuadrilla* was divided into two subsections of eight wagons, with the mayordomo probably driving the lead wagon of the leading subsection and the trailing subsection supervised by the driver of its lead wagon. Each wagon had a single *chirriero*, or driver, assigned to it, so thirty-two men were under the direction of the procurador-general. In addition, the mule train usually employed four Plains Indians to serve as scouts, drovers, and hunters, and sixteen Indian women as cooks, making a total standard wagon crew of fifty-two. Accompanying each wagon train was a military escort of unstated size. A second friar accompanied the procurador-general as his companion and assistant on the road. Frequently other friars, merchants, and government personnel on their way to New Mexico would join the train.

A number of animals accompanied the train, some to pull the wagons and others to serve as food for the people making the journey. A team of eight mules hauled each wagon. A wagon had two teams and alternated between them, making sixteen mules per wagon. The entire caravan had an additional thirty-two mules to replace those that were lost or died on the trip, for a total of 544 mules on the usual train. As the meat supply for the trip, seventy-two head of cattle would be driven with the train. In addition, each friar on his way to New Mexico for the first time received ten heifers, ten sheep, and forty-eight hens. The heifers and sheep were the beginning of the new friars' mission herds; the chickens were to be eaten on the road as needed, with the survivors becoming part of the mission flock. In the dispatch of 1631 there were twenty new friars, meaning that the wagon train had two hundred heifers and two hundred sheep along with the



seventy-two head of livestock that usually accompanied it. The usual train, therefore, had anywhere from about six hundred to about one thousand head of stock moving in company with the wagons.

Each wagon could carry a minimum of two tons of cargo. In the 1660s they were loaded far beyond that weight, probably hauling as much as three tons. The wagons were strong four-wheeled vehicles very similar in design to the wagons built a century later in the Conestoga Valley of Pennsylvania. This design derived from a general wainwright's tradition common to most of sixteenth-century Europe (Eggenhofer 1961:35–36, 38, 90).⁴ They had iron-tired, spoked wheels and a canvas cover mounted on ribs above the wagon bed. Each wagon carried a supply of extra tires and axle parts. Other spare parts were carried by selected wagons in the *cuadrillas*. These spares included 16 axles, 150 spokes, harness parts, 144 prefabricated mule shoes, and tools enough to rebuild a wagon on the road.

The *procurador-general* outfitted the wagons not only for utility, but with an eye toward appropriate ceremony. The lead wagon of each *cuadrilla* had four small bells mounted on frames, one frame with two bells on each of the two lead mules. The entire team pulling the two lead wagons was outfitted with *rebozos*, blankets more decorative than the *mantas* worn as harness blankets by the other teams. Finally, the four lead wagons of the four subsections of the *cuadrillas* each flew a banner with the royal coat of arms, notifying all who watched the train pass that this was a caravan of some importance.

These wagons averaged about ten miles per day along the unmaintained roads of northern Mexico. Compared with the twelve to fourteen miles per day that Conestoga freight wagons covered on the surfaced and maintained roads of the American Northeast in the early 1800s, this achievement was astonishing. The amount of freight hauled was equally astonishing. Later versions of the Conestoga used on the Santa Fe Trail from St. Louis to Santa Fe in the 1850s and 1860s were considered to be pushing their limits when they hauled three tons, yet the freight wagons of the mission supply trains carried an average of more than two tons. The usual train on the Santa Fe Trail in 1860 consisted of twenty-five wagons, carrying a total of about seventy to seventy-five tons. The mission supply train hauled more than eighty tons.

The Trip to New Mexico

As the *procurador-general* purchased the supplies, they were stored in a warehouse in Mexico City. When the full stock had been collected he sent orders

for the mayordomos in charge of the wagons to bring them to the warehouse and load them.

Once loaded, the wagon train set out for Santa Fe, about sixteen hundred miles to the north along the Camino Real. The trip took about six months, including a two- or three-week stopover at Zacatecas, four hundred miles from Mexico City. In 1631 this was the last town at the edge of the empty lands of the north, where the wagons would refit and resupply before setting out into the wilderness. At a distance of nine hundred miles from Mexico City the road passed through a small island of civilization in the form of the mining district of Santa Bárbara, established in 1567. By 1600, mining towns, ranch holdings, and farms extended for eighty miles up the valleys of the tributaries of the Río del Parral and the Río Florida, north of Santa Bárbara. The town of Parral was founded near Santa Bárbara in 1631 and quickly grew into a major new commercial center. It became the principal point where merchants and Franciscans could sell goods from New Mexico. (Brief outlines of the history of the Santa Bárbara–Parral area and the north road from Mexico City to Santa Fe can be found in Deeds 1991:345–365; Griffin 1979:1–2; and Bloom 1937:209.)

The Santa Bárbara area must have been considered an oasis in the unpopulated northlands. It provided a welcome rest stop before the next long, desolate leg of the journey. After Santa Bárbara, the road ran about 560 miles through flat, arid country inhabited largely by nomadic Indians before reaching Senecú on the Rio Grande, about fifteen miles south of Socorro. There the caravan would stop and resupply again before continuing on to ecclesiastical headquarters at Santo Domingo, another 125 miles north.⁵

Missions along the route probably received their supplies as the train passed through. When the wagon train arrived at Santo Domingo, the procurador divided the train into smaller caravans, each carrying the supplies for missions in other regions of the province. For example, one section headed west to Acoma, the Zuñi missions, and on to the Hopi establishments. A second went north to Santa Fe and the Rio Arriba missions. A third division headed east to the Galisteo missions and south to the Salinas area (Scholes 1937:155).

Once they were unloaded, the wagons returned to Santo Domingo to await the return of all the other wagons and the assembly of the wagon train for the trip back to Mexico City that would begin within a few months. For example, the supply train that arrived in New Mexico in 1659 reached Santo Domingo in July and left for the return trip to Mexico City in October. The wagons were used



during these four months to distribute the supplies to the missions and bring trade goods from the missions back to Santo Domingo (Scholes 1937:155, 163).

The Return to Mexico City

After a period of four to six months in New Mexico, the wagon train and the procurador-general began the trip back down the Camino Real to Mexico City. The returning wagons usually carried the products of manufacturing and collection carried out at each mission. The wagons were probably almost as heavily loaded on the return trip as they were when they arrived in New Mexico. Most of the trade goods on the wagons, however, were due to be unloaded and sold at Santa Bárbara. The missions traded extensively with the Santa Bárbara-Parral area, orienting much of their daily and yearly activity to provide for this trade.

Among the goods shipped by the missions to the Santa Bárbara area, or on to Mexico City, were piñon nuts, antelope hides, wheat, corn, raw wool, mantas, and wool stockings. In Mexico City in 1630, piñon nuts sold at wholesale for between fourteen and fifteen pesos the bushel, and deer hides for between five and six pesos (Ayer 1916:36-37). Other items in which the friars probably traded were cowhides, buffalo hides, and salt, needed in quantity by the mining and refining operations of the Santa Bárbara-Parral area (Hackett 1937:188, 191-192; Scholes 1930:395, 1937:159).⁶ Sheep and cattle were driven down the trail by the thousands. During one period in 1659, for example, the missions exported between one thousand and three thousand head of sheep (Scholes 1937:161).⁷

With the income from trade, the missionaries bought luxury items that they otherwise could not afford on their stipend from the Crown. These luxuries included horses, musical instruments, rich vestments for the Mass, decorations such as *retablos* (altarpieces) and gold and silver implements for the interior of the church, clothing for the servants, tools for the workshops, an organ for the choir loft, and other luxuries, such as chocolate and clothing for the friars (Hackett 1937:188-192).⁸

Brief inventories of several of the churches of New Mexico in 1672 demonstrate that the typical seventeenth-century retablo seen in churches in Mexico was also common in New Mexico. At Acoma, for example, there were three retablos, one behind the main altar and one behind each of the two side altars. The central retablo had three *cuerpos*, or levels. It was gilded and decorated with images in the form of statues and paintings "from the hand of the best artists of Mexico." The two side altars were similar. All three had statues of principal saints in the center of each. Tajique and Chililí each had three retablos made in Mexico,

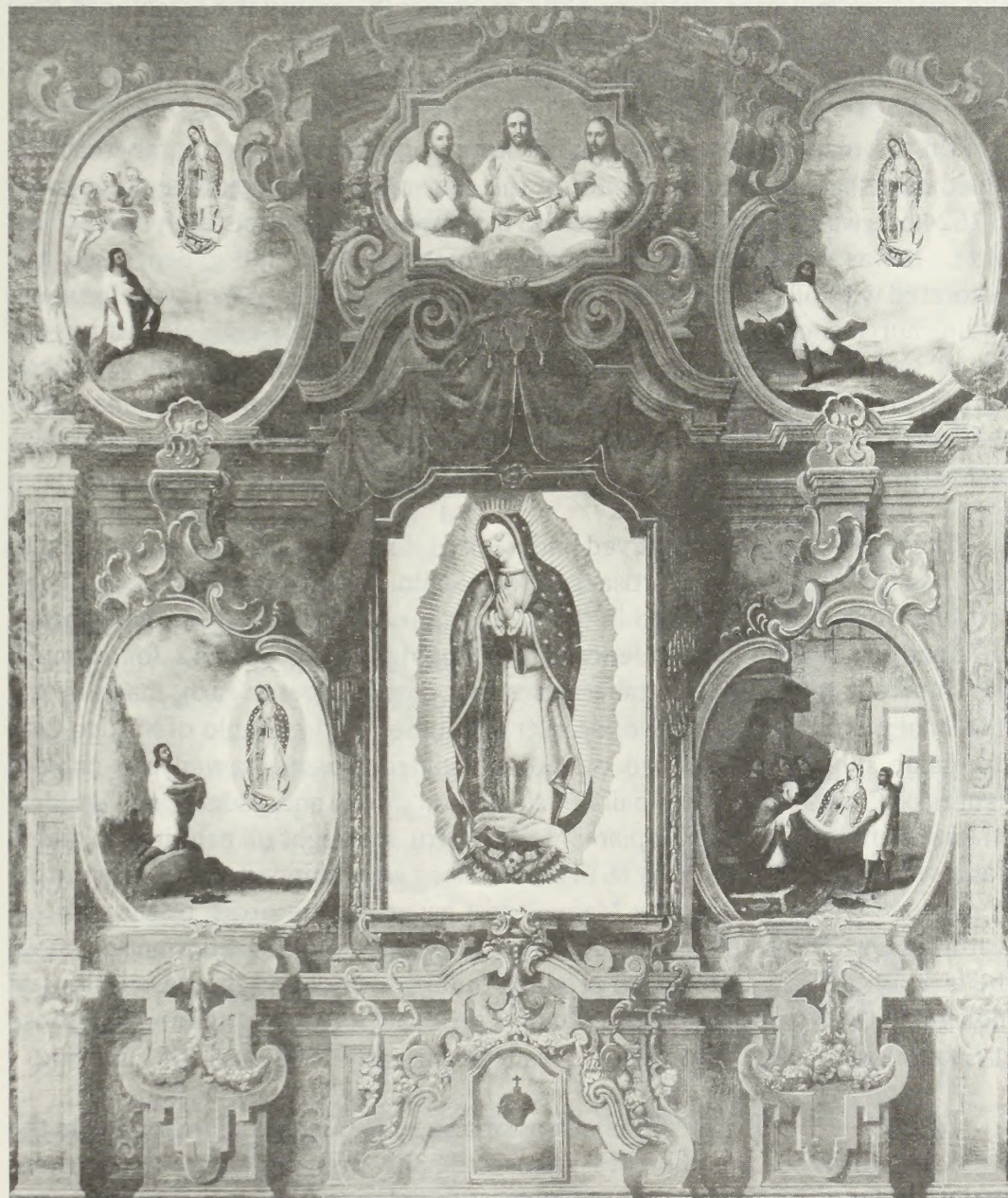
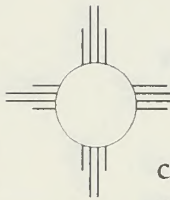


Figure 12. *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, by José de Alzibar (1782), Santuario de Guadalupe, courtesy of Guadalupe Historic Foundation, Santa Fe.



carved figures of various saints, several paintings of saints made in Mexico, and many silver and gold accessories for the Mass, all probably purchased and shipped using mission trade money. Equally common in New Mexico were retablos decorated only with paintings rather than statues: the retablo of Socorro was one.⁹ The evidence indicates that during the seventeenth century the retablos in New Mexico were typical of seventeenth-century Mexico rather than of some local tradition. They were, in fact, made in Mexico and shipped to New Mexico.

On the main altar itself, the major item of furnishing was the tabernacle, a veiled case that stood in the center of the altar table. This could be quite large: in 1624 one was shipped to New Mexico that measured 6 3/4 feet high by 4 3/4 feet wide. It was octagonal and made of elaborately carved and gilded wood and decorated with oil paintings. The paintings on the retablo and hanging elsewhere in the church could also be large. The shipping records, for example, list a set of five oil paintings sent to the missions in 1624, each of which was 7 feet high and 5 1/2 feet wide, with a gilded and ornamented frame. Hanging over the main altar at Socorro in 1672 was a painting of Nuestra Señora del Socorro that exceeded 11 feet across.¹⁰

The retablos and other carved and painted items sent up the Camino Real to New Mexico were made by artisans in New Spain, principally Mexico City. Their provenance is explicitly stated in the descriptions of some New Mexico altars in 1672 and substantiated by evidence in the shipping records. In 1612, for example, the shipment contained two tabernacles that cost 250 pesos each, made by the *entallador y ensamblador*, the woodcarver and joiner, Andres Pablo of Mexico City. The same shipment contained carved and gilded crosses, carved and painted figures of Christ, and twelve pairs of *ciriales*, or carved and gilded candleholders on long staffs, all made by the *pintor* Martín Borru, and eight oil paintings in gilded frames by Francisco Franco. In 1614 the missions were shipped a large oil painting in a gilded frame, painted by Manuel de Chaves on the order of the viceroy, featuring both San Antonio de Padua and San Diego. All of this information about the level of expertise needed to produce the woodwork and the descriptions of individual items suggest that the retablos probably looked something like those at Cuautinchan, Puebla, or Tezcoco, made in the early 1600s and still surviving.¹¹

Beyond the hints in the descriptions of some New Mexico churches and in the physical remains of the churches themselves, the shipping records offer more evidence about the size and construction of retablos, as well as the method used to get them to the province.

Church Fittings and Supplies Shipped to New Mexico

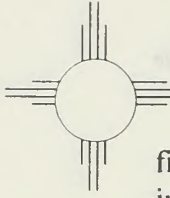
The tabernacles, crosses, paintings, statues, silver items, vestments, and retablos were packed in Mexico City, loaded on the wagons, and hauled to New Mexico. For example, in 1626 the shipping records list the charges for packing crates for a retablo being sent from Mexico City to an unnamed mission church in New Mexico. The retablo itself is not mentioned in the listing, implying that it may have been paid for by the mission receiving it (or by donation from private persons).¹²

The information about the boxing of this retablo does not indicate the actual size of the retablo, but it implies that the retablo was composed of sections measuring about 4 feet by 5 feet; the principal sections were *el banco del retablo* (the base of the retablo); at least two *cuerpos*, or levels; and *la cornixa*, the cornice of the retablo. It had *dos columnas redondas*, two lathe-turned columns, and *pilastras y guardapolvo del retablo*, pilasters and a canopy (a rooflike projection at the top of the retablo). The *recuadros*, or painted panels, were about 2 feet square. The retablo had a large *caja*, or niche, about 5 feet by just under 3 feet by about 1 1/2 feet deep for an image of the Virgin. The statue of the Virgin, also shipped in a packing case, was about 3 feet tall. The *caja* rested on a pedestal about 1 1/2 feet across and 1 1/2 feet high.

Obviously this retablo was "prefabricated," probably made to fit a particular space with the pieces preassembled into components, packed, and sent to New Mexico where a local artisan or the missionary himself carried out the



Figure 13. *San Antonio*, photo by Margery Denton, courtesy of Museum of International Folk Art (MOIFA), Santa Fe.



final assembly. The fact that persons with enough skill lived in New Mexico is indicated by various descriptions of altar furnishings, which include several locally carved picture frames. Further evidence of woodworking skill in the province can be seen in the intricately joined and carved choir loft beams of San Buenaventura at Las Humanas, the railings at Hawikuh, and the bench found in the portería of Abó, all of which appear to have been made locally.

In addition to the major fittings of the church, each missionary received one standard-issue, 200-pound bell in the founding supplies for his mission. Most of them were virtually identical bronze bells. The seventeenth-century Pecos and Aguatobi bells were cast in the same mold as the bell at Acoma made in 1710; the bells at the Salinas missions probably looked the same (Boyd 1964:266–269; Montgomery et al. 1949:55–56, n. 9, fig. 6). The bells were usually made in Mexico City. For example, in 1612 the Franciscans contracted with the *maestro de campanero*, the master bellmaker, Hernán Sanchez for a number of brass items, including six large bells, each weighing 200 pounds. Hernán Sanchez was a recognized maestro in Mexico City. Among others, he made the bell called "Santa Maria de los Angeles" in the capital city's cathedral.¹³

Supplies for the Sacristy

The missionary kept the *ornamentos y alajas*, the vestments and accessories, stored in a large cabinet in the sacristy. One example, the cabinet built into the sacristy of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of El Paso del Norte, dedicated in January 1668, was "a handsome chest of drawers of fourteen divisions, as elaborate as if it had been made in Mexico City" (Scholes 1929:198–199). The last phrase indicates that the cabinet had been made in New Mexico. A typical set of vestments, all shipped up the Camino Real, included the following (definitions of vestments and accessories paraphrased from Adams and Chavez 1956:350–363):

The amice, a linen cloth placed on the head and tied by two ribbons crossing over the chest and tied around the waist under the alb.

The alb, a loose-fitting white linen gown worn over the priest's cassock or habit and tied at the waist with the cincture, or cord.

The stole, a scarf of the same material as the chasuble, worn over the shoulders and secured in front by the cincture.

The dalmatic, a wide-sleeved overgarment with slit sides, usually worn over the alb.

The chasuble, the outer vestment of the minister at Mass. Since the color of the chasuble depends on the feast or season, several chasubles of different colors are needed: sometimes made reversible so one garment has two of the appropriate colors.

The choir cope, a hooded cape worn by members of the choir.

The sacristan's cassock, a decorated habitlike robe worn by the sacristan when he assists the minister during Mass.

The maniple, a long strip of cloth worn over the left arm during Mass.

The surplice, a loose white outer vestment, knee length, with wide sleeves.

Accessories were any items used during the various services through the year. They included a number of articles made of fabric:

The altar cloths, three long linen cloths for the table of the main altar on which Mass is celebrated. Other altar cloths were undoubtedly needed for the side altars.

The frontal, the cloth used as the front facing or decorative curtain of an altar table, usually of the same color and material as the chasuble worn on a given occasion.

The canopy, a portable cloth covering, carried on four poles, one at each corner, used to protect special items during processions.

The cross sheath, a sleeve-like cylinder of fine cloth tied onto a processional cross, hanging from the base of the cross and covering the shaft of the staff. The Spanish sheath had a cylindrical frame.

The pall, a cloth used to cover the chalice during Mass.

The purificator, a linen cloth folded to form a small narrow towel, used to clean and dry the chalice after the Communion.

The corporal, a square piece of cloth used with the chalice during Mass.

The banner, a flag or pennant, usually hanging down vertically from a crosspiece on a staff, carried during processions.

Towels, sometimes decorated, used by the minister after washing his hands in preparation for the Mass.

These items of cloth were made of a variety of materials and decorated in several ways. The chasuble and other vestments could be of Rouen, brocatel, damask, or lamé. Rouen was a kind of linen, usually made in Rouen, France. The name became generic, so eventually any linen cloth made in the same way was called by that name. Brocatel was a heavy fabric with a very pronounced raised design woven into its surface. It was usually made of silk with wool or cotton. Damask was a rich fabric with a wavy decorative pattern resembling the marks on



Figure 14. *La Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Ciudad Juárez*, by Richard H. Kern (1850), courtesy of William S. Reese.

Damascus steel, and it could be made of cotton, silk, linen, or wool. Lamé was a fabric worked with metallic threads, either gold or silver. Watered lamé had a wavy or watermarked pattern, like damask, in addition to the metallic threads.

Decoration could be by embroidery, galloon, point lace, or drawn work. Embroidery was the addition of decorative figures or patterns by needlework. Galloon was a narrow band or braid added to the edge of fabric, and made of lace, embroidery, or metallic thread. Point lace was lace made by needlepoint, following a pattern. Drawn work was fabric worked into patterns by pulling up individual threads of the weave, or by drawing selected threads out of the fabric altogether, leaving a lacelike pattern.

The accessories included a number of silver vessels:

The chalice, the communion cup, covered with the corporal and pall.

The paten, a silver dish, gold-plated on top, used to carry the bread used at Mass.

The dish, a silver plate on which the cruets were carried during Mass.

The cruets, two small vessels, one for the wine and one for the water used at Mass.

The thurible, or censer, a metal receptacle with a perforated lid, suspended from a ring by chains, for burning incense in church ceremonies.

The monstrance, a highly decorated silver receptacle in the tabernacle, in which the consecrated bread, the Holy Eucharist or Host, was displayed during Mass.

The ciborium, a goblet-shaped vessel for holding the Eucharist.

In 1612, for example, the silversmith Miguel de Torres of Mexico City made seven chalices and patens for the missions of New Mexico. Each chalice and its paten weighed a total of 31.1 *onzas*, or 28.8 troy ounces. Torres charged 31.6 pesos for the silver in each chalice and paten, plus an additional 24 pesos for making and gilding each one, for a total of 55.6 pesos for a chalice and paten.¹⁴

Start-up Supplies for a Church

As part of the materials given to a friar for founding a new mission, the king supplied an initial set of vestments and accessories:¹⁵

- One complete set of vestments, including chasuble, stole, maniple, frontal, and bundle of corporals
- One alb of Rouen cloth
- One surplice
- One pair of palls for the altar, made of Rouen, each 36 feet long
- One embroidered pall for the altar
- One damask pall for the altar
- Some coarse corporals
- Two cassocks of "Chinese stuff"
- One rug for the altar steps
- Three yards of Rouen to make amices

Each mission received additional items:

- Two choir robes of chinese damask
- Two sets of dalmatics of Chinese damask
- One pall for the Holy Sacrament
- Three cross sheaths of velvet with gold edgings



Accessories usually received as starting supplies by each friar were:¹⁶

- One enameled silver chalice, with gilded paten
- One cupboard for the chalice
- One small bell to sound the Sanctus
- One pair of gilded wooden processional candleholders
- One pair of brass candlesticks
- One pair of snuffing scissors
- One small chest with chrismes, vials of baptismal oil
- One copper vessel for the Holy Water
- One tin plate with cruets



Figure 15. Candlestick, photo by Margery Denton, courtesy of MOIFA, Santa Fe.

One crucifix with gilded brass handle, probably a processional cross
One wafer box for the unconsecrated host

Each mission also received the following:

One ciborium
One communion wafer iron or mold
One brass oil lamp for the altar

Other supplies were needed by the friar to prepare for Mass:

Two and a half pounds of incense
Two and a half pounds of copal, a transparent resin used as incense
Three ounces of silk wicking to make candles
Three pesos' worth of soap for washing the vestments
One missal and three books of chants

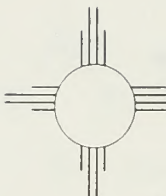
Every three years the friar received the following supplies:

45 gallons of sacramental wine
85 1/2 pounds of prepared candle wax
26 gallons of lamp oil for illuminating the altar

"In addition, things to replace vestments and things for the sacristy, and other necessities" would have included more incense, copal, wicking, and soap as needed.

Through time the friars purchased additional items for the church and sacristy, using the stipend and the profits from their trade down the Camino Real. Among these additional items were musical instruments for the choir, such as an organ, trumpets, oboes, and bassoons. A shipment of three sets of trumpets, three sets of oboes, and a bassoon was sent to the missions in 1628, at a total cost of 522 pesos.¹⁷ Sets of these instruments were included as standard equipment in the 1631 contract (Scholes 1930:103). Organs are listed as present in many of the missions of New Mexico by about 1640 (Scholes 1929:48).

Another category of goods that was frequently shipped up the Camino Real was vestments; many missions purchased new sets of vestments of richer material and in a wider range of colors than those provided to them in the standard issue, when they could afford them.



For example, in 1672 at Tajiique, one of the Salinas missions, the sacristy contained four complete sets of vestments, including the chasuble, alb, amice, and stole. One set was of red watered lamé and two were of Chinese damask with gold trimming; one of these sets was black. The fourth set was of white cloth. In addition to the full sets of vestments were another twelve chasubles of damask in different colors. Each had a matching frontal for the altar table. There were four albs decorated with drawn work from the waist down, and with an 8-inch-wide section of point lace; another six albs without decoration; twelve amices decorated with drawn work; twelve altar cloths, four with drawn work and point lace; twenty palls, "all very rich and splendid"; twelve towels with drawn work and point lace; and two choir copes, one of pearl-colored Italian damask trimmed with silver galloon. Accessories included two silver chalices with patens, one silver thurible and incense boat, one silver-gilt tabernacle 1 1/2 feet high with monstrance with rays, and a silver dish with cruets (Scholes and Adams 1952:27-38). All these items were somewhat more luxurious than the basic issue sent to each new mission and must have been bought with the proceeds from sales of livestock and produce from the mission fields or provided by the Indians (Hackett 1937:254).

Mission Workshops

In the eighteenth century, missions had shops for carpentry, blacksmithing, weaving, and sometimes stoneworking. In the seventeenth century, however, weaving was the only craft activity that was incorporated into the buildings at the New Mexico missions. The other activities were apparently conducted by specialists located elsewhere in the province, or in the pueblo where the mission was located. For example, carpentry was carried out by Indians from the pueblo of Pecos. Their finished goods or their expertise was transported all over the province. The Franciscans supported these craft activities because the Indians produced items needed for mission activities.

Blacksmithing may have been relatively rare in the pueblos and at the missions, although it must have been practiced in the civil settlements and military establishments. Most necessary iron items, such as hinges, nails, and tools, were probably shipped from Mexico. Zuñi maintained a large smithy in the nineteenth century; whether this skill existed earlier at this pueblo is not known. The mission wagon trains must have needed smiths as part of their traveling staff, to take care of the almost certain breakdowns during the long months of travel to New Mexico. This expertise would surely have been made available to individual missions as needed. Bulk iron and steel was occasionally shipped to the missions, demonstrating that at least some blacksmithing was conducted for the missions.

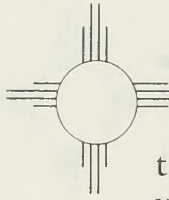
Some missions contained a weaving workshop, using imported looms and other equipment (Hackett 1937:213). It is likely that the workshop was usually maintained in a convento workroom, since the equipment was costly and replacement time would be three to six years. The missionary probably supplied the Indian workers with the necessary equipment and supplies through the mission supply system. None of this equipment is listed as part of the founding stock sent to a new mission, but it may have been usual to start this industry later, after the new mission operation was stabilized. Unless specific items are included in supply lists for the caravans, or the archaeological remains of loom equipment are discovered in the conventos, the occurrence in missions of weaving on imported looms cannot be proven.

A major weaving industry existed in New Mexico during the seventeenth century. In 1638, for example, the weaving industry of New Mexico produced just under a mile of cloth for a single shipment by Governor Luís de Rosas (Bloom 1935:244). The missions were strongly involved in this industry, as is shown by an order of governor Peñalosa Brizeño in 1664 in which he prohibited the missionaries from employing "Indian women in spinning, weaving mantas, stockings, or any other things" without permission from the governor (Bloom 1927:229). The prohibition, part of the ongoing competition between the Franciscan establishment and civil enterprises in New Mexico in the latter half of the seventeenth century, indicates that these activities must have been relatively common in the missions.¹⁸

Luxuries were not forbidden to the Franciscans. For example, on social occasions chocolate was served in the same way as coffee would be today (Hackett 1937:173; Kessell 1979:199). Some items were very expensive, such as a large clock purchased in 1628. It cost 450 pesos, more than the full three-year stipend for a missionary.¹⁹ It is difficult to imagine that the friars could afford this type of expenditure unless the income from the sales of mission products was quite good.

Mission Storerooms

The *oficinas*, or storage rooms of the convento, were an important part of the mission operation. They contained the produce of the friars' fields, other staples collected by the Indians and given to the convento, the cotton and wool to be made into cloth for the convento in the pueblo, and the supplies shipped to the mission by the triennial wagon trains. The goods brought in each shipment had



to last until the next arrival three years later and therefore had to be well-protected.

The Infirmary and Its Storeroom

Fray Alonso de Benavides briefly mentions one of the principal functions of the convento: "Scarcely does one [of the Indians] begin to be sick before he comes quickly to see the Religious. . . . This is the continuous occupation of the Religious, treating them in their sicknesses and supplying all their necessities" (Ayer 1916:33). Ricard (1966), describing the hospitals established in major Indian towns in Mexico in the sixteenth century, states that they were not only intended "to shelter and care for sick natives, but also to receive and entertain travelers and passers-by. . . . The hospitals were, moreover, free provisioning centers, where the natives found everything they could want: meat, oil, wine, lard, and sugar. . ." (1966:159).

This importance is demonstrated by the basic allotment of triennial supplies sent to the missions. Nearly half of the items listed in these goods are for the infirmary. The supplies would have been stored in the infirmary or the oficina and used as needed. Clothes, bedding, and bandages are part of the list:

- One shirt
- One sheet of Rouen
- One pillow
- One blanket
- Six and a half yards of coarse linen

Medical instruments formed part of the stock renewed every three years:

- A copper cupping instrument
- A syringe
- A lancet

These were basic tools of the healing arts of the time.

In the seventeenth century the surgeon was usually also the barber, and the combination of these two activities in the infirmary is reflected in the supplies for the room:

- One pair of barber's scissors
- One razor
- Four pairs of razor hones
- One large brass basin, for both barbering and general use

The last item is familiar to many as the Golden Helmet of Mambrino.

Medicine and medicinal items made up a large part of the supplies and would have required careful storage:

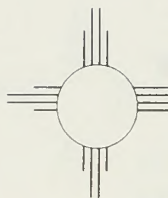
- Thirty-five pesos' worth of medicines
- Six and a half pounds of sweetmeats
- Twenty-five pounds of sugar
- Three ounces of saffron
- One pound of pepper
- Six ounces of cinnamon
- Ten and a half pounds of raisins
- Six pounds of almonds
- Two jugs of Campeche honey "for the entire infirmary"
- Five boxes of conserves
- Five pounds of conserves in syrup

This list seems to include items that should be in the kitchen, such as sugar, pepper, cinnamon, and saffron. The attitude of seventeenth-century Franciscan Spaniards concerning the difference between spices and medicines is difficult to determine; conceivably the spices sent for the infirmary could also be used as medicinally effective cooking spices.

Finally, three items of general equipment were sent every three years:

- One grindstone
- Two stills, for distilling water
- One box of *loza de Puebla*

The stills were *alquitaras*, or *alembics*.²⁰ An alembic was a large two-piece apparatus used to distill liquids or brew medicinal curatives and essences, and could be made of copper or ceramic. The base of the alembic was a squat cylindrical pot called a *cucurbit*. It was placed on a stove or oven. Into the cucurbit was placed the mixture from which the distillate was to be extracted. On top of the cucurbit and fitting onto it tightly sat the *helm*, a conical vessel with a channel or trough inside the rim and a spout extending from the side like a hollow handle. The evaporated distillate would rise from the cucurbit, condense on the inner surface of the helm, run down into the channel, and drip from the spout into a catch container, such as a pot or jar.²¹



The last item in the list was a box of plates, bowls, and cups made in the city of Puebla. This item on the triennial shipment list is the source of virtually all the majolica found in small amounts in seventeenth-century New Mexico (Lister and Lister 1976:57).

The Kitchen and Its Storeroom

The "standard" kitchen in the missions appears to have been a rectangular room with a bench along one wall, probably for food preparation, and a large rectangular fireplace or hearth along another wall for cooking. Over the hearth a large hood was built to collect the smoke and exhaust it through a chimney. The hearth was lined with stone slabs, and several upright slabs partitioned it into sections. Some of these partitions would serve to support *comales*, or griddles, of iron, copper, ceramic, or even sandstone.

The equipment to be found in the convento kitchen was issued to the friar as part of his basic allotment on his departure from Mexico City. These items were for general use during the trip to New Mexico but would have continued in use at the convento to which the friar was assigned.

- 6 wooden bowls
- 12 small bowls or cups, possibly made of gourd
- 6 pewter plates
- 2 pewter bowls
- 2 barrels for water
- 2 metates for grinding corn and wheat
- 2 tablecloths
- 24 napkins
- 2 iron spoons
- 1 tin grater
- 3 spits, one of them large
- 2 sieves
- 1 frying pan
- 1 comal, or griddle of copper, iron, or ceramic
- 1 grinding bowl, or mortar and pestle

In addition, each mission received the following:

- 1 bronze olla
- 1 bronze saucepan or kettle

Food and Supplies

As part of his supplies for the trip to New Mexico, each friar received a stock of foodstuff to last during the journey, which lasted six to eight months. Some of these supplies would have lasted beyond the trip and been used in the convento. More important, the list shows what were considered to be staples in the colonial Franciscan's diet. A six- to eight-month food supply for one man included the following:

- 52 pounds of bacon
- 41 pounds of cheese
- 25 pounds of dried shrimp
- 54 pounds of dried haddock
- 12 1/2 pounds of dried tolo (dogfish)
- 6 pounds of dried oysters
- 600 pounds of flour
- 300 pounds of biscuits
- 13 bushels of corn
- 1 1/2 bushels of beans
- 1/6 bushel of garbanzo beans
- 1/6 bushel of lentils
- bushel of chiles
- 1/2 box of onions and garlic
- 2 gallons of wine
- 2 gallons of cooking oil
- 5 pints of vinegar
- 12 1/2 pounds of lard
- 1 bushel of salt
- 8 pounds of sugar
- 6 pounds of raisins
- 4 pounds of almonds
- 4 pounds of conserves

The last items are of interest because the restocking supplies automatically sent on every triennial shipment included a large quantity of sugar, raisins, almonds, and conserves for the infirmary, as well as four gallons of vinegar. The infirmary may have served as the pantry for the convento kitchen, and its stock as part of the convento food supply.

Once at his new mission, the friar would depend as much as possible on local food supplies because the cost of shipping most foodstuffs except spices and

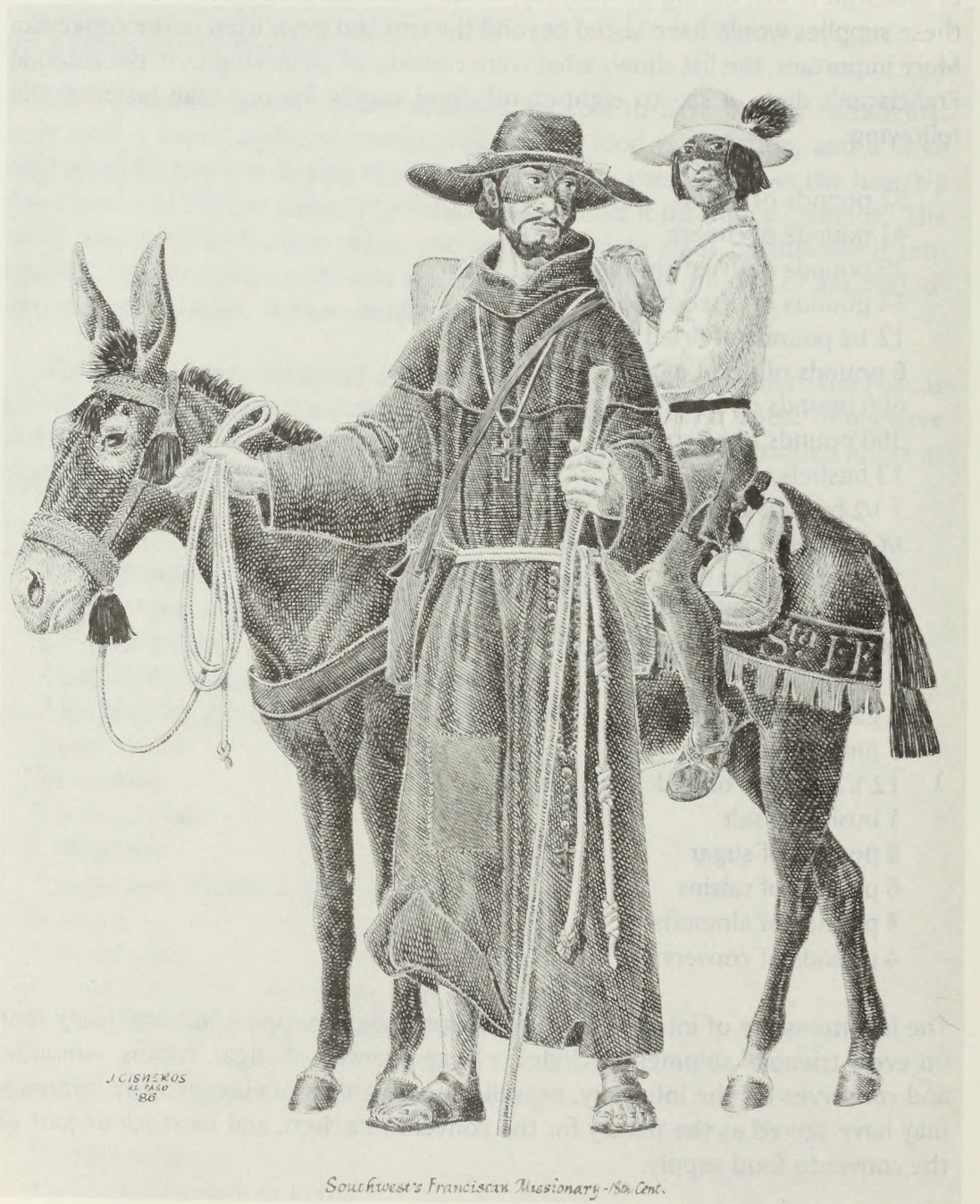
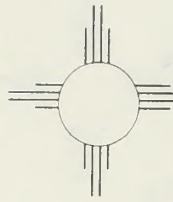


Figure 16. Eighteenth-century Franciscan Missionary, drawn by Jose Cisneros (from *Riders across the Century*, Texas Western Press, UTEP.

special items, such as raisins and almonds, would have been prohibitive. The mission was to be as self-supporting as possible.

Personal Supplies

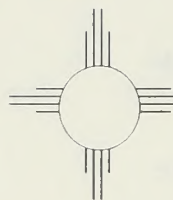
For the trip to New Mexico, each friar received an issue of supplies to feed and clothe him for the duration of the trip. Most of these materials were apparently intended to last beyond the trip itself and formed a basic stock of personal equipment and supplies. The following clothing, bedding, and personal items were issued:

- 2 pairs of shoes
- 2 pairs of stockings
- 2 pairs of leggings
- 6 yards of Rouen
- 15 yards of burlap
- 1 hat and hat-box
- 2 blankets
- 9 yards of canvas for making mattresses
- 1 traveling bag of leather or canvas for the mattress
- 1 wine bottle
- 1 drinking jug
- 1 chest with a lock and key
- 1 large brass basin
- 1 hundred-weight of tallow candles
- 2 brush-axes for cutting firewood
- 2 tin-plated lanterns
- 1 table and benches

The tin-plated lanterns were provided for saying Mass on the road, but again would have been available for use in the convento after more permanent provisions were made. The table and benches were to be used to make a temporary altar on the road and in the pueblo until a permanent altar was completed, and thereafter they would have been available for use in the convento.²²

Over the years the missionaries ordered the shipment of additional furnishings and luxury items for the convento, such as a large clock or chocolate for the friars. Other items would have been made either by the friar himself or on his request by local craftsmen. These items would probably have included chairs, a desk, a bed frame, and extra tables as needed.

Every three years the friar received additional supplies for use in the convento:



8 gallons of lamp oil
 1 ream of paper
 2 blankets
 3 pairs of sandals
 2 pairs of woolen stockings
 1 friar's hat
 1 pound of domestic yarn
 1 hundred yards of sackcloth
 12 yards of Rouen
 12 yards of linen
 2 pairs of scissors
 12 awls with handles
 12 square needles
 12 coarse needles
 24 regular needles
 20 large knives
 6 common rosaries

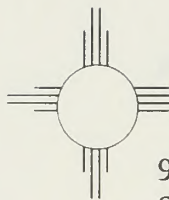
The last two items may have been intended for use as trade goods or gifts. Knives, rosaries, and rings were commonly ordered gift items in the Texas missions of the eighteenth century. The provision of cloth and sewing equipment rather than finished clothing indicates that the friar was expected to make his own garments or have them made locally.

This survey of the goods and materials shipped north to the missions of New Mexico reveals the strength of their dependence on the Camino Real trade. The wagon trains moving along the Camino Real provided the vital link between the missions and the supply and trade centers of New Spain. Without this link, the mission system of New Mexico would have collapsed, probably bringing down the civil settlement with it. The goods and raw materials shipped down the Camino Real to Nueva Vizcaya and on to other markets were probably not as important to their purchasers as the proceeds were to their suppliers, but the goods usually found a market. In spite of the great distance, New Mexico was kept a part of greater Nueva España by the Camino Real alone.

Notes

1. This chapter is adapted from James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions* (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1988), pp. 201-228.

2. Accounts for the supply trains up to 1631, including lists of most of the goods carried, are in the Royal Treasury records, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter referred to as the AGI), *Contaduría*, largely in legajos 695–931. These records are available in the Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico as bound photostats, loose photostats, or transcripts. Hodge et al. (1945:app. IV, 109–124) published a translation of the 1625 account.
3. Scholes (1930) provides a complete translation of the contract of 1631. A copy of the manuscript is in Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico, legajo 1, part 1, no. 9, in the bound photostats of the Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
4. The question of the actual design of the supply wagons of the seventeenth century is still being debated by Southwestern historians. Much of the argument centers around the number of wheels on the standard freight wagon. The traditional view that all Mexican wagons were two-wheeled carts has so colored the imaginations of Americans that historians are reluctant to question it. In actuality, it would be a difficult technological achievement to build a two-wheeled cart capable of carrying three tons of cargo, and the problem of balancing the load over sixteen hundred miles of unimproved road would have been virtually impossible. For simplicity, this report assumes that the wagon structures implied by the equipment were, in fact, what was used. Four-wheeled wagons had long been common in Europe and were used in New Spain; there is no reason to suppose that they would be rejected for heavy freight haulage to New Mexico.
5. Senecú was near present-day San Antonio, New Mexico, and was abandoned in 1680. The site is presently unlocated.
6. Archivo General y Publico, Mexico (AGM), *Inquisición, Primera Audiencia de Don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, Año de 1663*, tomo 594, FVS typescript pp. 39–42, 69–71.
7. AGM, *Inquisición*, tomo 594, FVS typescript p. 190.
8. AGM, *Inquisición*, tomo 594, FVS typescript pp. 39–42, 69–71. Chocolate was one of the luxuries the Franciscans permitted themselves. For example, a priest at Concepción de Quarai, probably Fray Francisco Freitas, made chocolate for Nicolás de Aguilar while they were dining in the convento in around 1659; see Hackett 1937:173. See also Kessell 1979:199.



9. Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico, legajo 1, document 34, bound photostats in the Special Collections, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque; part of this document was translated by Scholes and Adams (1952:27–38).

10. AGI, *Contaduría*, legajo 726, p. 329–330.

11. See, for example, Toussaint 1967:fig. 148. The descriptions never mention a retablo in the sacristy, even though some sacristies clearly had them. For example, the presence of somewhat elaborate sacristy altars at Abó and Hawikuh, probably including retablos, is indicated by beam-edged platforms built in the sacristies of each mission.

12. Retablos were usually given by the king, and would have been listed in the treasury accounts; see Hackett 1937:72. The retablo listed here appears only in the form of the costs of the packing, and therefore was probably a donation by someone else at no cost to the crown.

13. AGI, *Contaduría*, legajo 714, LBB no. 59, pp. 129–130. Five more bells of the same size were included in the 1625 listings; see *ibid.*, legajo 726, p. 331. The other items made by Sanchez were six communion-wafer molds of brass with a tin wash, nine brass mortars, six chrismeras, and twelve little bells for ringing the Sanctus. See also Toussaint 1967:268 for a brief discussion of Hernán Sanchez.

14. AGI, *Contaduría*, legajo 714, p. 138.

15. These items and the following lists are from the supply contract of 1631 (Scholes 1930:96–113; BNM, legajo 1, part 1, no. 9, pp. 1–15).

16. In the records, some items are listed as for each two, three, or five missionaries and lay brothers. Apparently the intent was to have one of each item at each church.

17. AGI, *Contaduría*, legajo 728, p. 385.

18. In their plan and activities, New Mexico missions resemble *haciendas* to a surprising extent. Haciendas were large, centralized establishments intended to produce one or several variations of goods for marketing—that is, ranches or factories.

19. AGI, *Contaduría*, legajo 728, p. 381.

20. BNM, legajo 1, no. 9, p. 4.

21. Ivor Noël Hume found the ceramic helm of such an alembic at the farmstead of Martin's Hundred in Virginia, in a context dating it to ca. 1630. This helm and Noël Hume's discussion of it gives a good idea of the appearance and use of such a device in the European colonies of North America in the early seventeenth century; see Noël Hume 1983:101–103, fig. 11.

22. The charred remains of a wooden bench were found in the portería of Abó by Joseph Toulouse in 1938, demonstrating that such furniture was indeed used in the seventeenth century in the convento (Toulouse 1949:24, fig. 33, pl. 38, 39).

The first part of the report discusses the background of the project and the objectives of the study. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology used in the research.

The second part of the report presents the results of the study. This section includes a detailed analysis of the data collected and a discussion of the findings.

The third part of the report discusses the implications of the findings and provides recommendations for future research. It also includes a conclusion and a list of references.

The fourth part of the report provides a detailed description of the experimental setup and the procedures used to collect the data. This section is intended to provide a clear and concise overview of the methodology used in the study.

The fifth part of the report discusses the results of the statistical analysis of the data. This section includes a detailed description of the statistical methods used and the results of the analysis.

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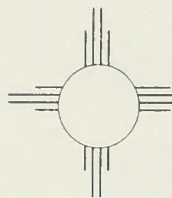
7. "A Headdress of Pearls"

Luxury Goods Imported over the Camino Real during the Seventeenth Century

Cordelia Thomas Snow

Although some historians would have us believe that life in seventeenth-century New Mexico was primitive at best, "characterized by a roughness, a lack of luxury and refinement, a crudeness, and a striking degree of ignorance" (Scholes 1935:99), that was not necessarily the case. Linked to Mexico by the Camino Real, New Mexico may have been a geographical frontier but it was never a "mental" frontier to the Spanish colonists and mission personnel who settled there. Both the missionization and the colonization of New Mexico were intended to proceed along the lines of those same efforts in Mexico or Peru. The goods and belongings brought to New Mexico were simply the goods and belongings with which the Church and colonists in Mexico and Spain were familiar; to those who brought them, they were, simply, items of everyday use. At the same time, possession of luxury goods served to announce the status of the individuals who owned them. This template, seen in both mission and domestic sites, was nothing more than a reflection of the times, and a resistance to change when they were faced with life on the frontier.

During the Salazar inspection of Don Juan de Oñate's expedition in 1597, most of the colonists declared only their arms, armor, supplies, and livestock. However, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra also declared a salt shaker and silver pitcher (Hammond and Rey 1953:238). Capt. Alonso de Sosa declined to list his silks, clothes, silver, or jewels along with those of his wife, but he needed seven carts to transport his belongings (Hammond and Rey 1953:239)! Cristóbal López, a fencing master, brought with him two fencing foils and two shields (Hammond and Rey 1953:256), while Hernán Martín brought four fencing foils (Hammond and Rey 1953:238).



Alonso de Quesada brought with him a bed, two blankets, bedspread, sheets, pillows, mattress, four suits, four hats, four doublets, silk and woolen stockings, linen shirts, "needles, thimbles, scissors, white thread and silk threads of all colors," shoes of cordovan leather and calfskin, three pewter plates and a brass mortar, and seven books, "religious and non-religious" (Hammond and Rey 1953:252–253).

In 1600, supplies sent to Oñate included "four pounds of saffron" (Hammond and Rey 1953:523), an item as expensive then as now. Included in the shipment was a box for "Juan Guerra, the younger," which contained, among other things, "a damask bedspread lined with gold and silk, [valued] at 50 pesos."

The contents of two boxes labeled for "Don Cristóbal" [Oñate?] were valued at more than 1000 pesos. The boxes contained, among other items,

One set of trappings for a horse, including caparison and everything else, with very elegant stirrups, [valued at] 120 pesos. . . . One gilded sword and dagger with straps and belt trimmed with gold and silk . . . six hats . . . three elegant black, for use with feathers, 50 pesos . . . [a] fine brown hat, with braid of gold and large pearls and set with stones of various colors and brilliancy, at 130 pesos . . . one green damask bedspread, finished on both sides, with fringes of silk and gold, at 70 pesos . . . two pipes of wine, 280 pesos (Hammond and Rey 1953:527).

Antonio Conde de Herrera declared among his belongings

seven men's suits of wool, coarse cloth (raja), and silk . . . two pairs of house slippers [for use at San Gabriel!] . . . three doublets . . . one of taffeta; five pairs of spurs . . . handkerchiefs . . . a woolen field tent . . . a camp bed . . . eight small chairs . . . one Michoacán table . . . one tub for washing (Hammond and Rey 1953:538–539).

Not to be outdone, Conde de Herrera's wife, Doña Francisca Galindo, took nine dresses, including one of

tawny color with a white China embroidered skirt . . . a damask and velvet hoopskirt . . . four ruffs . . . a necklace of pearls and garnets, with a large gold cross . . . a headdress of pearls, with a gold image of our Lady . . . a small pot and saltceller of silver with six small and one large spoons . . . three pairs of new clogs . . . one bedspread of crimson taffeta trimmed with lace; eight sheets, six pillows . . . three bolsters. . . . and many other

things suitable for the adornment of women and the home (Hammond and Rey 1953:539–540).

Most of the items mentioned above were perishable; however, archaeological evidence for luxury goods comes from such artifacts as the gilded brass buttons, silver chains, ivory and glass rosary beads, brass candlestick fragments, a portion of an incised bone plaque from a jewel box, and shards of cobalt-blue, knobbed drinking glasses, all recovered from San Gabriel. Gold and silver galloon, intricately woven silver galloon buttons, an earring with a pearl drop made of blown glass covered with gold leaf, and fragments of an ivory chess set have been recovered from the Palace of the Governors.¹

In 1567, Spaniards opened trade with the Orient across the Pacific Ocean via the Manila galleons. Within a surprisingly short time, spices, fabrics (especially silks), ivory, and Chinese porcelain flooded into Mexico. Although far more common at the time in Mexico than in Europe, porcelain was extremely costly, and worth "its weight in silver," according to one observer (in Pierce 1990). More important, less than forty years after the Manila galleons began to cross the Pacific Ocean, examples of Chinese porcelains, ivories, and other materials carried by those ships were transported over the Camino Real from Mexico City through Zacatecas into New Mexico.

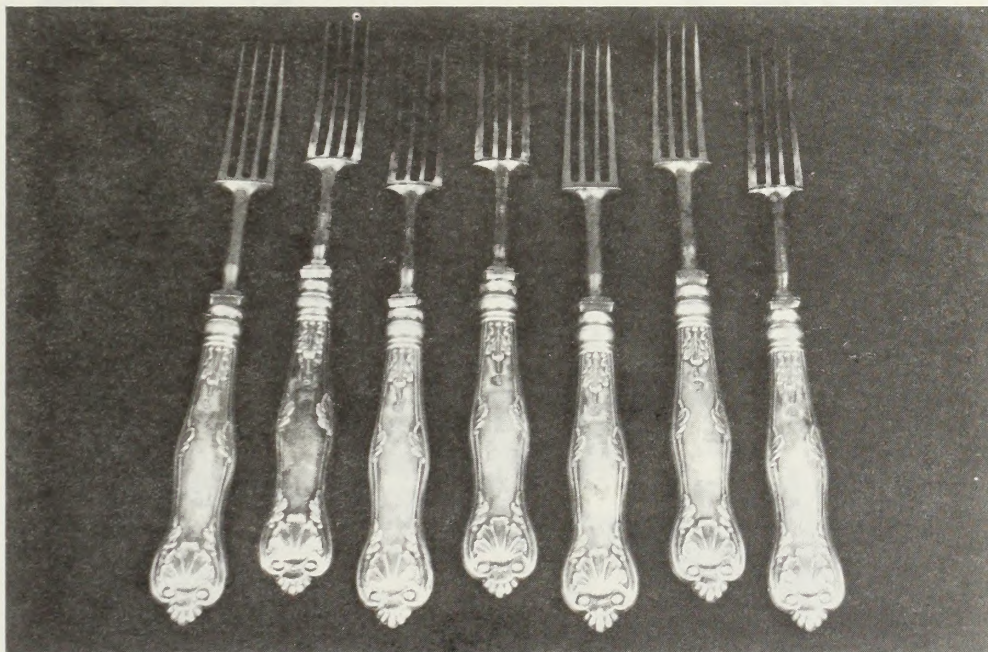
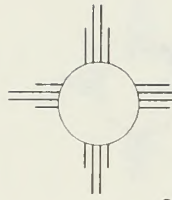


Figure 17. Silver forks, photo by Margery Denton, courtesy of MOIFA, Santa Fe.



Several sherds of a Chinese porcelain vessel with a red overglaze decoration on the exterior and blue underglaze design on the interior were recovered from San Gabriel. The sherds have been dated to the reign of Chia 'Ching (1522 to 1566) during the Ming dynasty (1398–1644).² Several sherds from the Palace of the Governors with a blue underglaze, scroll-like design were from vessels dated to the same period. In other words, the vessels from which those sherds came were heirlooms at the time of their arrival in New Mexico. Other examples of Chinese porcelain recovered from the Palace of the Governors include a cup with a cobalt blue exterior with the design of a fern leaf in gold leaf, and blue-on-white porcelains dated from the late Ming dynasty.

Majolica, a soft paste ceramic with lead-tin glaze, was made in Europe and Mexico in imitation of Chinese porcelain. In addition to the "more common" types



Figure 18. Majolica plate, courtesy of Centennial Museum, UTEP.

of seventeenth-century majolica found in New Mexico (i.e., Fig Springs polychrome, Abó polychrome, and Puebla polychrome), which predate the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, sherds of an early form of Puebla Blue-on-white have been found in the Palace of the Governors. The banded designs on this type of majolica, tentatively named "Palacio Blue-on-white," were taken directly from *kraakporselein*, a style of Chinese porcelain made from the mid-sixteenth century to about 1650. Other examples of majolica recovered from San Gabriel and the Palace of the Governors included sherds of Spanish majolica, *Hispano-moresque* lusterware, and a rare example of a white majolica decorated with gold leaf.

The Church was no different than the colonists in bringing to New Mexico the trappings with which they were familiar. In 1609 when the Crown assumed support for the missions in New Mexico, the mission supply service was instituted. On an average of every three years during the seventeenth century, huge caravans left Mexico City to travel over the Camino Real to Santa Fe, taking with them not only supplies for the missions but also settlers, mail, and periodically, a new governor (Scholes 1930).

Foodstuffs, including chocolate, saffron, cinnamon, sugar, sweetmeats, raisins, dried shrimp, garlic, onions, chile, oysters, beans, flour, oil and vinegar were all shipped to New Mexico for mission personnel (Scholes 1930:100–113). In addition, the supply trains included such necessities for the missions as table

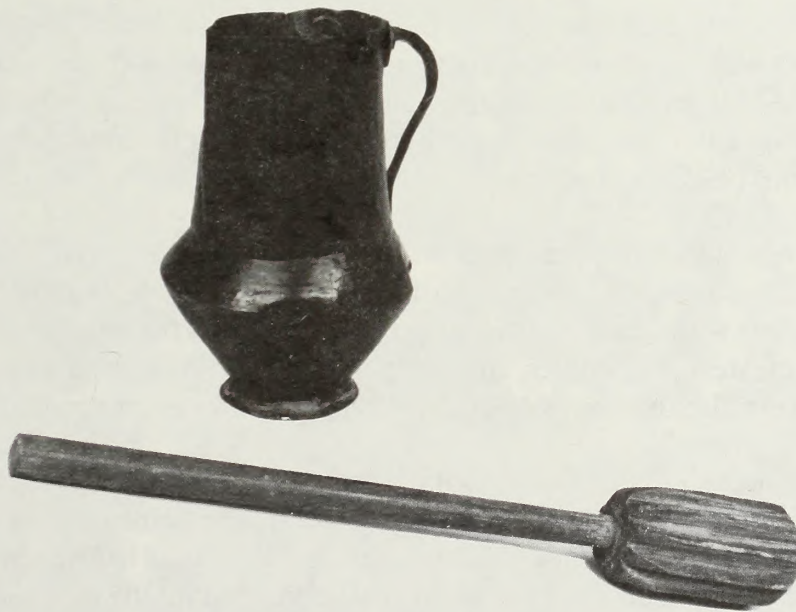
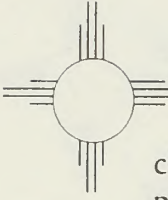


Figure 19. Chocolatera (photo by Margery Denton, courtesy of MOIFA, Santa Fe) and chocolate mixer (photo by Margery Denton, Spanish Colonial Arts Society, courtesy of MOIFA, Santa Fe).



cloths and napkins, boxes of *loza de Puebla* (majolica), brass basins, and pewter plates and bowls. Even more importantly, the caravans included ornaments to adorn the mission churches.

Although now considerably altered in form and in name, La Conquistadora was brought to New Mexico by Fray Alonso de Benavides before 1630 (Chávez 1948).

The altar in the church that served Tajique and Chilili was

adorned with many religious paintings from New Spain . . . the sacristy has: A complete set of vestments of red watered lamé . . . and two others of Chinese damask with gold trimming . . . there are twelve towels with drawn work and point lace. There are two silver chalices with their patens, a silver thurible and incense boat, and a silver-gilt tabernacle half a vara high with a very beautiful monstrance with rays (Scholes and Adams 1952:27-38).

Both churches also had trumpets, flageolets (flutes), and other musical instruments for celebration of Mass. The church at Socorro also had

a Holy Christ from Mechoacán . . . the making of which would cost about ninety pesos in this land . . . a Roman painting on copper of the Virgen del Pópulo, with its ashes of roses taffeta canopy . . . a carved image of Our Lady, with its gilded pedestal, imperial crown of silver and robes, with some pieces of jewelry . . . three silver chalices . . . four large carpets and two Turkish rugs . . . also a set of trumpets with a bassoon (Scholes and Adams 1952:31-34).

The church at Acoma, described in 1672 as "one of the best . . . in this kingdom," contained in addition to "a most excellent large organ," "a gilded retablo in three sections with images in the round and paintings, the handiwork of the best artists in Mexico" (Scholes and Adams 1952:34). Fragments of a gilded altarscreen were also uncovered by Joseph Toulouse in his excavations at Abó.³

There are numerous additional examples of personal and church wealth in the province during the seventeenth century. However, the point has been made. Luxury goods arrived in New Mexico with Oñate, and continued to arrive with each supply train and succeeding governors and civil officials until the mid-1670s.

Why then the continual cry to Mexico of poverty on the part of colonists and the Church alike throughout the extant seventeenth-century documents? In part

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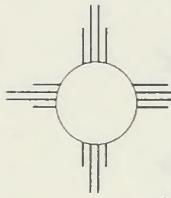
because New Mexico was impoverished when compared to Mexico—no gold or silver, to speak of, was found to provide economic support for the province. However, the lack of gold and silver was not the cause of the cries of poverty.

What New Mexico lacked, and the reason for the pleas to the viceroy, were practical goods, such as iron and steel to make to make horseshoes and tools. Perhaps this was best said in 1639 in a report from the cabildo of Santa Fe to the viceroy:

without some articles that are not to be had here it is impossible to support or hold this country. Iron tools for cultivating and ploughing the land are especially needed . . . in particular iron for horse shoes, for without it it is not possible to make any punitive expedition . . . but no iron has been [sent] since the year 1628. Consequently we are perishing, without a pound of iron or a plough. For the love of God, your excellency, do us the favor and charity to order this assistance to be sent (Hackett 1937:73).



Figure 20. Gold filigree rosary, photo by Margery Denton, courtesy of MOIFA, Santa Fe.



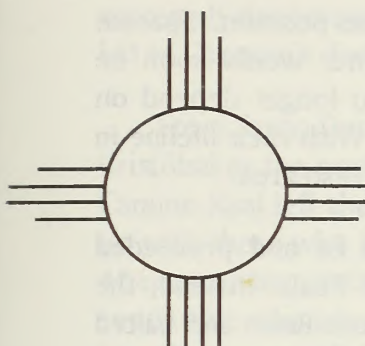
Life was most certainly enjoyable in the remoteness of New Mexico if one was able to drink chocolate from porcelain cups, surrounded by the trappings of "civilization," but life was impossible without the most prosaic of materials, metal tools.

Notes

1. These artifacts and corresponding entire pieces are on display at the Palace of the Governors in the exhibit entitled "Another Mexico: Spanish Life on the Upper Rio Grande." The archaeological materials from San Gabriel are owned by San Juan Pueblo and have been loaned to the Palace of the Governors by the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico.
2. Linda Shulsky, research curator in the Department of Asian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, identified the Chinese porcelains from excavations at San Gabriel and the Palace of the Governors. For a good discussion of Chinese porcelains in Mexico, see Mudge 1986.
3. Two gilded altar screen fragments from Abó are in the collections of the Laboratory of Anthropology/Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe.



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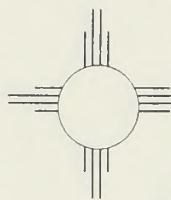
8. Road to Rebellion, Road to Reconquest

The Camino Real and the Pueblo-Spanish War, 1680-1696

Rick Hendricks

For almost a century the Camino Real was the remote colony of New Mexico's lifeline to the burgeoning metropolis of Mexico City, seat of government and commerce in New Spain. From the arrival of Don Juan de Oñate in 1598 until the late summer of 1680, the Camino Real served the largely peaceful role of transportation artery, carrying goods and people to and from New Spain's far northern frontier. On 10 August 1680 the peace was shattered as the Pueblo Indians rose up in rebellion to cast out the Spaniards and the Camino Real was turned into an escape route. The tumultuous events begun that day marked the beginning of the Pueblo-Spanish War, a dramatic struggle that would characterize much of the next two decades in New Mexico. For Spain, the revolt was a stunning, if temporary, reverse, a rare example of a conquered people successfully challenging Spanish authority. For the Pueblos, the events of 1680 were nothing less than a desperate battle for independence.

The rebellious Pueblos moved with notable speed. Within five days, the Spanish settlements in northern New Mexico had been overrun. Most of the survivors, some 1500, were gathered at Isleta under the leadership of Lt. Gov. Alonso García. The remaining group of around 500 took refuge in the capital city of Santa Fe, where Gov. Antonio de Otermín led defensive efforts. Lines of communication were severed, and the southern contingent had no reason to hope that their northern compatriots had survived. Therefore, on August 14 they began their trek down the Camino Real to El Paso and a measure of safety. The following day the Pueblos laid siege to Santa Fe but were unable to breach its walls. After five days of often furious fighting, the Spaniards managed to break the siege. Though Pueblo casualties were heavier, the colonists also suffered from wounds and even death.



Otermín and the remaining colonists were in a dangerous position. Spanish control of the colony had essentially been lost, and winter would soon be approaching. Isolated in Santa Fe, the colonists could no longer depend on supplies and reinforcements arriving on the Camino Real. With their lifeline in peril, they decided to abandon the colony and flee to the El Paso area.

In better times the colonists would have left Santa Fe and proceeded southwest toward Santo Domingo Pueblo on the Camino Real. Instead, the refugees took the cart road and fled south down the Galisteo Basin and halted near the village of San Marcos. From there they turned west and traveled along Galisteo Creek to Santo Domingo, where they picked up the Camino Real. It is not certain why Otermín made this detour and took the route used by heavily laden wagons approaching Santa Fe. The terminus of the Camino Real was at the principal gate of the plaza at Santa Fe, but use of the main highway in time of war posed a number of difficulties. He may have hoped to find survivors at San Marcos, or friendly Indians who might provide intelligence about the revolt. Keresan-speaking Indians living in the Cienega area, some fifteen miles south of Santa Fe, were in revolt and might have blocked the Spaniards' retreat. Another four or five miles down the road, the Camino Real wound its way down a cliff of black basalt that connected the Rio Arriba and Rio Abajo districts. La Bajada was a precipitous grade and more than a mile long. Its switchbacks made the trip slow under normal conditions, and attack by hostile Indians would have made it

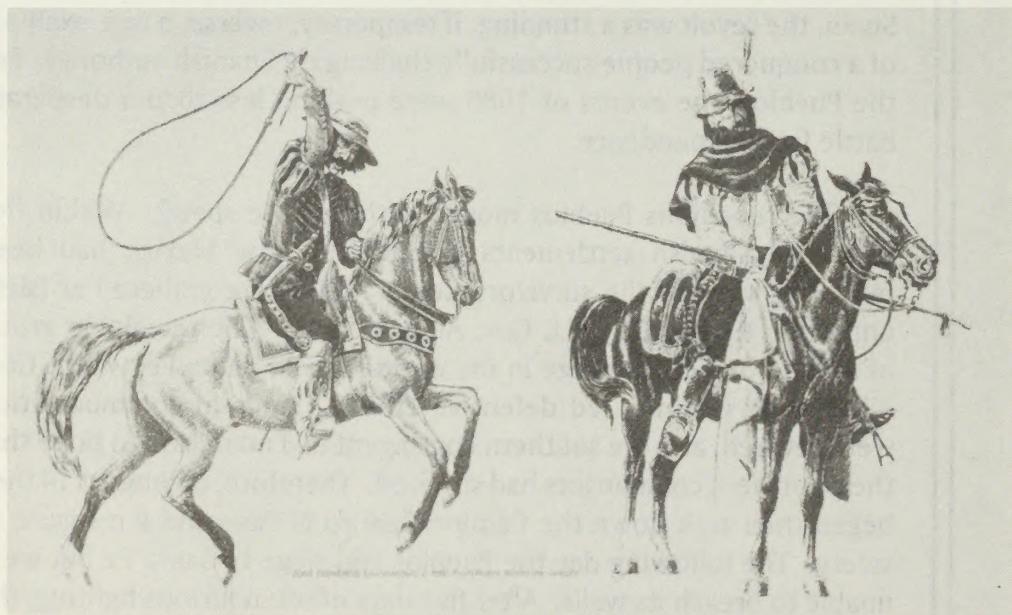


Figure 21. *Encomendero*, c. 1560, drawn by Jose Cisneros (from *Riders across the Century*, Texas Western Press, UTEP).

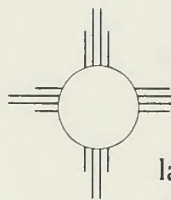
extremely dangerous. Any one or a combination of these considerations may have led to Otermín's decision.

From Santo Domingo the Spaniards followed the Camino Real south to Fray Cristóbal at the northern entrance to the Jornada del Muerto. Here, where the Camino Real left the Rio Grande valley, the fugitives from the Rio Arriba caught up with those who had fled from the Rio Abajo region at the time of the revolt. After receiving much-needed supplies brought by Fray Francisco Ayeta from the south, the colonists continued to the El Paso area where the New Mexico colony in exile was established under conditions of extreme hardship.

The following year Father Ayeta was back in El Paso, having traveled over the Camino Real from Mexico City with reinforcements for the settlers and orders for Otermín to reconquer New Mexico. In the Spaniards' absence the Pueblo alliance came apart. The prime mover of the rebellion, the San Juan Indian leader, Popé, was ousted and Luis Tupatú from Picuris put in his place at the head of the confederation. Before long, Keres, Jemez, Taos, and Pecos Indians were at war with the Tano, Tewa, and Picuris. Both factions were soon set upon by Apaches and Ute raiders.

On 5 November 1681 the Spanish expedition of almost 150 men and 1000 animals and the necessary wagons crossed the Rio Grande and began their march upriver. At Robledo, the Camino Real left the river and proceeded north across the Jornada del Muerto. By December 6 the Spaniards arrived at Isleta and overcame the Indian's armed resistance. Eager to know how the Pueblos to the north would react to the Spaniards' return, Otermín dispatched Juan Dominguez de Mendoza to the Tiwa and Keres pueblos. The force followed the road as far north as La Cieneguilla but accomplished next to nothing. The Indians proved their resolve to live free from the Spaniards by raising a force to drive them out. By February 1682 the expeditions had beat a hasty retreat down the Camino Real to El Paso.

In 1688, Gov. Pedro Reneros de Posada led an expedition that burned Santa Ana Pueblo, then located atop Black Mesa. The next year, however, Domingo Jironza Petrés de Cruzate's raid on Zia had a very different effect. According to Jironza's account, he burned the pueblo and killed six hundred Indians. It is difficult to know, but it seems that Jironza was writing his own press releases. His story sounds remarkably similar to that related about the activities of Juan de Oñate's forces at Acoma in 1599. At any rate, Jironza's victory had a lasting effect because of a captive he took. The Indian governor of Zia, Bartolomé de Ojeda,



later proved crucial to the reconquest of New Mexico because of his knowledge of the Pueblos and his ability as a military leader.

On August 10, San Lorenzo's Day, Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León y Contreras, governor and captain general of the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico, launched the successful reconquest of the colony. The expedition traveled up the Camino Real as far as the southern entrance to the Jornada del Muerto. Here Vargas divided his forces to make better use of the scarce water available at El Perrillo, Las Peñuelas, and the Paraje del Muerto. After safely crossing the parched desert, the forces reunited at Fray Cristóbal. Following the Camino Real alongside the east bank of the Rio Grande, Vargas and company made their way toward Santa Fe. At Santo Domingo the expedition apparently left the highway, swinging east and then north to the city. After visiting the pueblos in northern New Mexico as far as Taos, Vargas went to the Hopi country, passing by Acoma on the way. He returned to the west bank of the Rio Grande, descending as far south as Robledo where he forded the river and picked up the Camino Real for the trip to El Paso. The 1692 reconnaissance was merely a symbolic reconquest, the significance of which Vargas greatly exaggerated.

Having concluded the first—largely ceremonial—stage of the reconquest, Vargas set about the business of the permanent recolonization of New Mexico. He submitted a plan that, though approved, was never carried out. According to this plan for better government in New Mexico, many of the Spanish and Indian settlements would be relocated nearer the Camino Real. The governor felt that it would take at least five hundred families and one hundred soldiers to resettle and defend the colony. By early 1693 Vargas was in New Biscay and New Galicia, enlisting soldiers and gathering together former residents of New Mexico. As an incentive, all refugees who chose to return would be granted the status of noble

Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León
(from Kiva, Cross, and Crown, NPS; Kessell 1979:296).

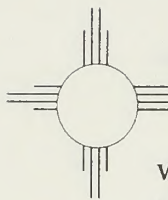
settlers. Throughout much of the year Vargas traveled up and down the Camino Real, stopping at Casas Grandes, Cusihuiriac, Parral, Durango, Fresnillo, Sombrerete, and Zacatecas.

The recolonizing expedition was ready to depart on October 4, San Francisco's Day. All told, more than 800 people made the trip, among them some 70 families, 100 soldiers, and a contingent of Franciscans. An impressive array of livestock went along as well: 900 head of cattle and sheep, 2000 horses, and 1000 mules. Twelve large wagons carried passengers, and six held supplies and the image of Nuestra Señora de la Conquista.

The condition of the Camino Real was a major concern for Vargas and vital for the success or failure of his recolonizing effort. Although there had been several military forays up the Camino Real in the dozen years since the 1680 revolt, the road had fallen into disrepair. From the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spanish citizens were responsible for maintaining the roads; the Pueblos had no incentive to take over the task for the departed Spaniards. Because he had been over the Camino Real the previous year, Vargas prepared for the worst. In many places the roadbed was almost overgrown, and for this reason Vargas drove the cattle and horses in the vanguard of the expedition. The passage of the animals helped beat down the vegetation and smooth the way for the wagons and the main body of settlers that followed. Over the years the rains had washed out the road in many places, and Vargas planned to have people ready to grade the road. In addition, he doubled the number of mules harnessed to each wagon. Some of the wagons were lightened and their load shifted to pack mules. The difficulty of the journey was made greater by the lateness of the season and approach of winter weather. As he moved upriver, Vargas and some of his men left the Camino Real at San Diego, near the southern end of Jornada del Muerto, and forded the river, while the principal group continued up the road. At Fray Cristóbal, Vargas recrossed the Rio Grande and joined the wagons.

At the same time that Vargas was actively recruiting in northern New Spain, the Franciscan father procurator, Fray Farfán, was in Mexico City trying to enlist settlers to go to New Mexico. By mid-July 1693 he had gathered more than 230 people to travel under the direction of Cristóbal de Velasco. This group of settlers moved slowly up the Camino Real from Mexico City and did not arrive in El Paso in time to accompany Vargas when he began the recolonizing effort. They joined Vargas and his group in the spring of 1694 in Santa Fe.

The Camino Real was slowly returning to its traditional role as the essential commercial and transportation link among the several towns in New Mexico and



with the rest of the Spanish empire. Early in 1695, Juan Páez Hurtado left Zacatecas with the last major group of colonists recruited for settlement in New Mexico. Forty-four families and one thousand head of livestock began the journey up the highway to Santa Fe.

At the time of the outbreak of the Pueblo-Spanish War in 1680 the Camino Real changed from a carrier of peaceful traffic to an avenue of flight. During the second phase of the war—though it was mostly fought in abeyance—the road was used as a way to move the troops up and down the Rio Grande valley in various attempts at reconquest. When the Spaniards returned to stay in 1693, the Camino Real facilitated both the fierce military struggle and the reestablishment of a civilian population. The final dramatic episode of the clash between Pueblo and Spaniard, the 1696 Pueblo Revolt, was quickly suppressed without fundamentally altering the relationship of the colony to its principal thoroughfare.

Around this time, Lázaro de Mizquía, procurador mayor and member of the cabildo of Santa Fe, submitted a proposal reminiscent of the plan for better government submitted earlier by Vargas. According to Mizquía's way of thinking, the towns and pueblos of New Mexico should be relocated in the east bank of the Rio Grande and along the Camino Real. As in the case of the earlier attempt at urban redevelopment, the plan was never put into effect.

After the conclusion of the Pueblo-Spanish War, the importance of the Camino Real to the New Mexico colony continued to grow. As a crucial element in the system of Spanish infrastructure in the New World, the highway took on the character of a living entity. With regular, peaceful traffic up and down the road, New Mexico was drawn more tightly into the economy of northern New Spain. By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, New Mexico would depend once again on its lifeline to the south, the Camino Real.

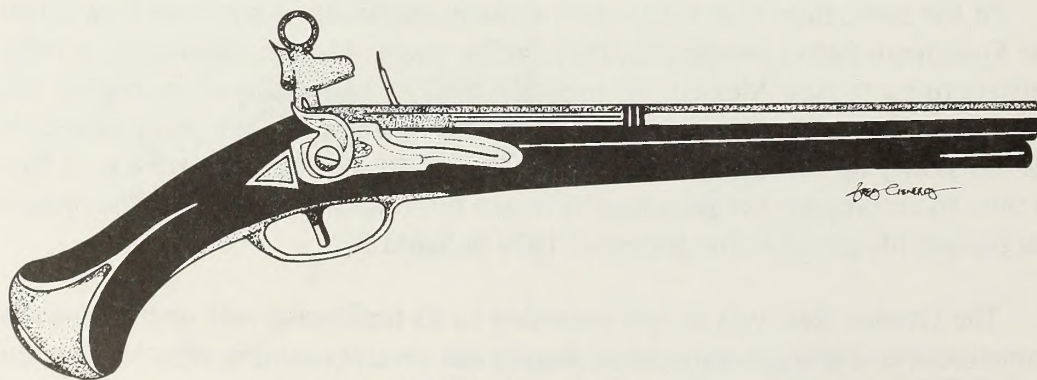


Figure 22. Pistol, drawn by Jose Cisneros, courtesy of Albuquerque Museum.

Suggested Reading

Espinosa, J. Manuel

1977 *Crusaders of the Rio Grande: the Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico*. Documentary Publications, Salisbury, North Carolina.

Hackett, Charles W., and Charmion C. Shelby

1942 *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Moorhead, Max L.

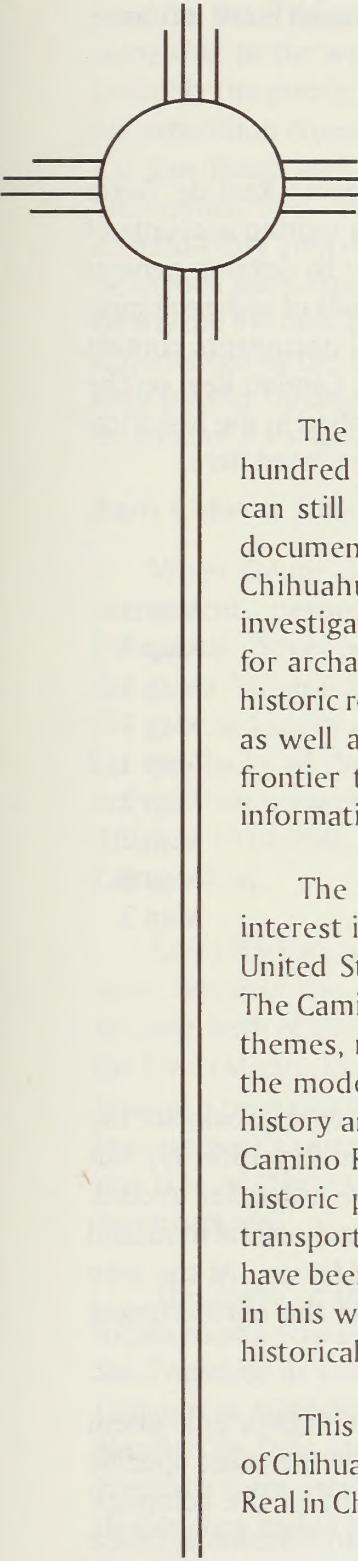
1958 *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

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9. Tracing the Camino Real

The Chihuahua Section

John Roney

The historic route of the Camino Real was abandoned almost a hundred years ago, but many traces of the old wagon and carreta route can still be found today. Recently systematic efforts to locate and document these remains have been made between Parral in southern Chihuahua, Mexico, and Santa Fe, in the United States. These investigations have two basic objectives. The first is to provide a basis for archaeological study of the Camino Real. Precise location of this historic road will allow archaeological documentation of the trail itself, as well as parajes and other more substantial sites associated with frontier travel. Through scientific study these remains can provide information that complements written historical accounts.

The second objective of this study is to maintain awareness and interest in the history of northwestern Mexico and the southwestern United States by placing the Camino Real in its geographic context. The Camino Real is a historic feature that unites a variety of important themes, ranging from initial Spanish exploration and colonization to the modern cultural and economic processes that continue to shape history and lifeways in the border region. The physical traces of the Camino Real provide a tangible link between our own times and the historic people, events, and processes that are associated with this transportation corridor. They reveal landmarks and landscapes as they have been experienced by travelers for almost four hundred years, and in this way the landscape itself becomes a powerful reminder of the historical forces that have brought us to this point in time.

This paper focuses on the portions of the Camino Real in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. Efforts to locate the precise route of the Camino Real in Chihuahua were undertaken by Mike Marshall and myself, under



the auspices of the Camino Real Project. They complement much more intensive studies Marshall (1990) has completed in New Mexico.

Historical Sources

The first step in identifying the actual route of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro was a review of the history of settlements and major written accounts of travel along this route. This exercise was necessary in order to develop general expectations about the course of the Camino Real and the kinds of archaeological evidence we might find. In addition, many of the historical documents contain place names and geographical details that help to locate the Camino Real on the ground (see Maps 1 through 3). Location of key places described in the historical literature is complicated by name changes, some of which are listed here.

Historic Name	Modern Name	
San Bartolomé	Valle de Allende	Map 1
Atotonilco	Villa López	Map 1
Todos Santos	Cordero	Map 1
Guaquilla	Ciudad Jimenez	Map 1
Santa Rosario	Ciudad Camargo	Map 1, 2
Santa Cruz Tapacoims	Rosales	Map 2
San Pablo	Meoqui	Map 2
Nombre de Dios, Chuvíscar	Chihuahua	Map 3
Los Medanos	Samalayuca Dunes	Map 3
El Paso del Norte	Ciudad Juarez	
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe		

Oñate's Route

The Morlete expedition in 1591 may have been the first to approximate the route of the Camino Real through Chihuahua (Hammond and Rey 1966:47), but the 1598 expedition of Juan de Oñate was the first to leave a detailed record. Oñate was leading a party of more than five hundred settlers and several thousand head of livestock to establish a new Spanish colony in New Mexico. At the time of his departure the Santa Bárbara–San Bartolomé area was the northernmost outpost of Spanish settlement.

Some information about Oñate's route is provided in Villagrà's epic poem written several years after the journey (Espinoza 1933), but the most specific geographic information is contained in a day-by-day account of the colonists' progress (Hammond and Rey 1953:309–328). After leaving San Bartolomé, Oñate

went to the Todos Santos mines and then seems to have followed a course somewhat to the west of the future Camino Real. His Agua de la Tentación was probably the paraje Chancaplea (Márquez Terrazas 1990:18), and it is likely that his expedition crossed the Rio San Pedro at San Pedro de Conchos. Between the Rio San Pedro and Valle de San Martín, in the vicinity of present-day Ciudad Chihuahua, the route is difficult to follow because the itinerary presents contradictory information. Nevertheless, Oñate's Laguna de San Benito can only be Laguna Encinillas, and farther on, Rio de la Mentira and Banos de San Isidro are clearly the Rio del Carmen and Ojo Caliente. The itinerary describes the difficulties experienced by the expedition in crossing the Samalayuca Dunes and implies that they passed through Puerto Presidio to reach the Rio Grande near the future location of Presidio San Elisario.

Early Colonial Times: 1598–1700

When Oñate departed from the Santa Bárbara area it was a very small settlement, perhaps supporting no more than thirty-five Spanish *vecinos* (residents). Silver bonanzas in the 1600s brought a major influx of settlers into the Santa Bárbara–Parral area, however, and new haciendas were established in the general vicinity of San Bartolomé. Farther north, Spanish settlements spread up the flanks of the Sierra Madre. Except for towns associated with livestock activity near present-day Chihuahua and Laguna Encinillas very late in the period (Hughes 1914:364), however, these settlements were all well to the west of the Camino Real.

Santa Bárbara and Parral were important settlements, and these two places were certainly the destination of much of the traffic along the Camino Real. Because both of these settlements were mining centers located in the foothills of the Sierra Madre, long-distance traffic may not have routinely entered either town. Instead it probably passed through San Bartolomé, Atotonilco, or other haciendas in more gentle terrain 40 to 50 kilometers east of Santa Bárbara and Parral. This was true of Oñate's main party, and probably of other travelers bound for New Mexico as well.

The route of the early Camino Real farther north may be indicated by the locations of a series of Franciscan missions established in the seventeenth century: San Francisco de Conchos was founded in 1604, Atotonilco by 1611, San Pedro de Conchos in 1649, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at El Paso del Norte in 1659, and Nombre de Dios (near present-day Ciudad Chihuahua) in 1697 (Gerhard 1982). Presidios were established at two of these missions in the 1680s, San Francisco de Conchos and El Paso del Norte.

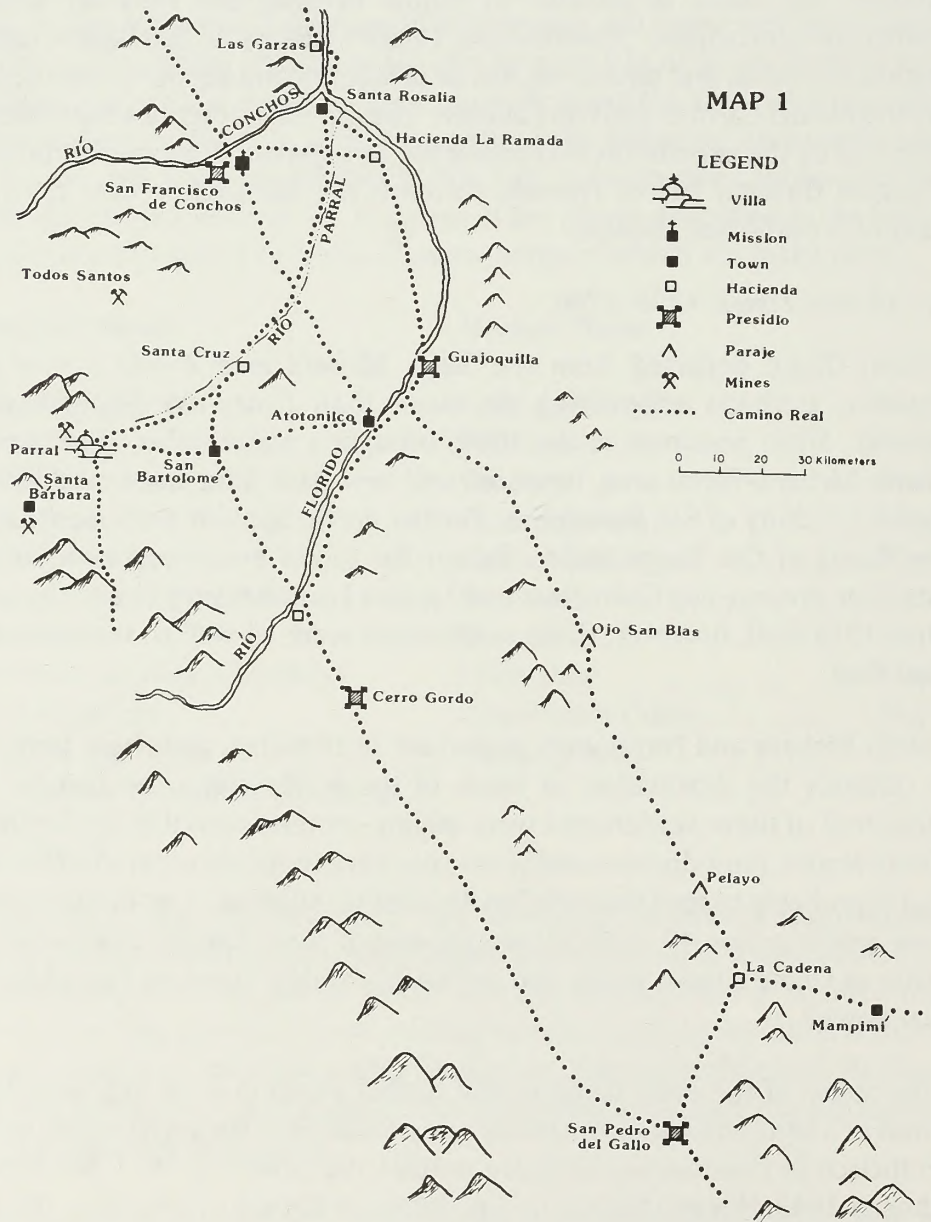
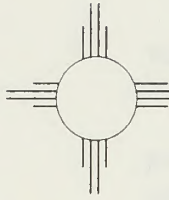


Figure 23. Aerial and on-the-ground reconnaissance of portions of the Camino Real in Mexico: Map 1.

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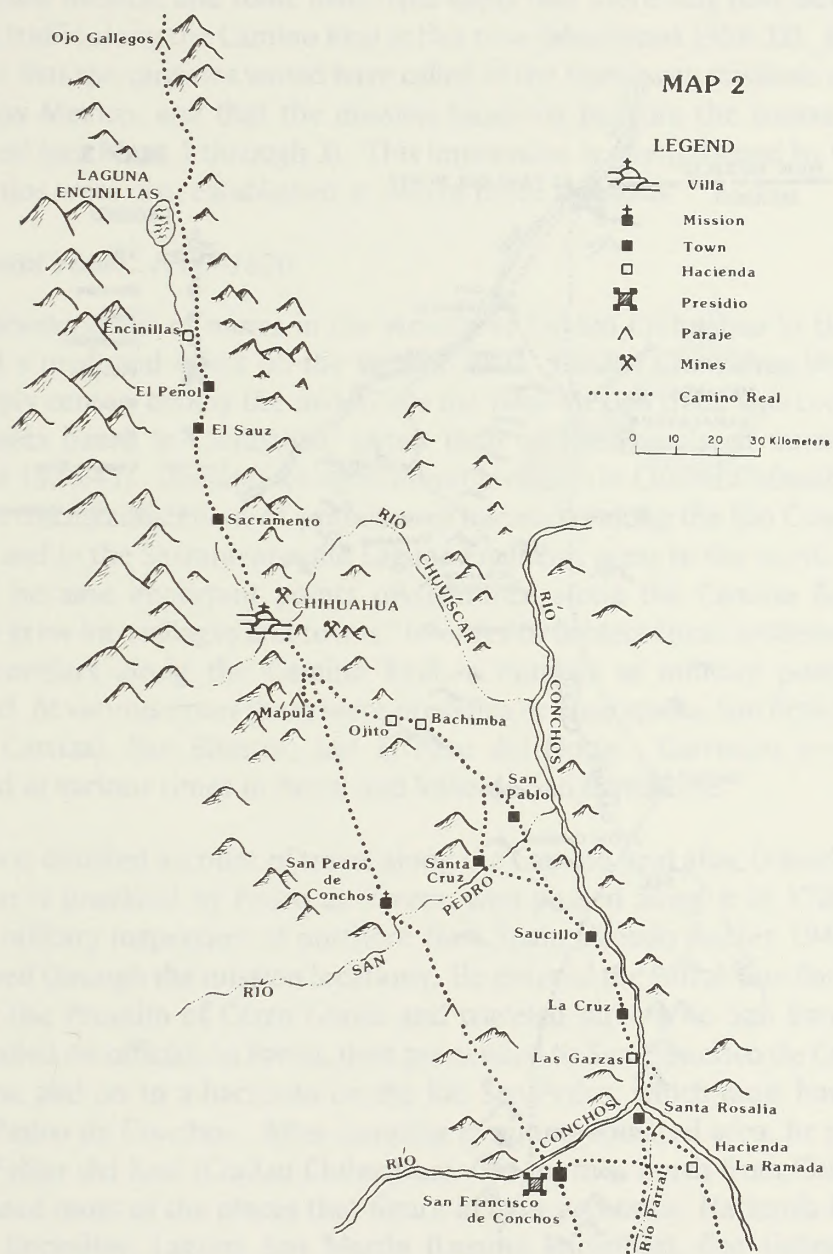


Figure 24. Aerial and on-the-ground reconnaissance of portions of the Camino Real in Mexico: Map 2.

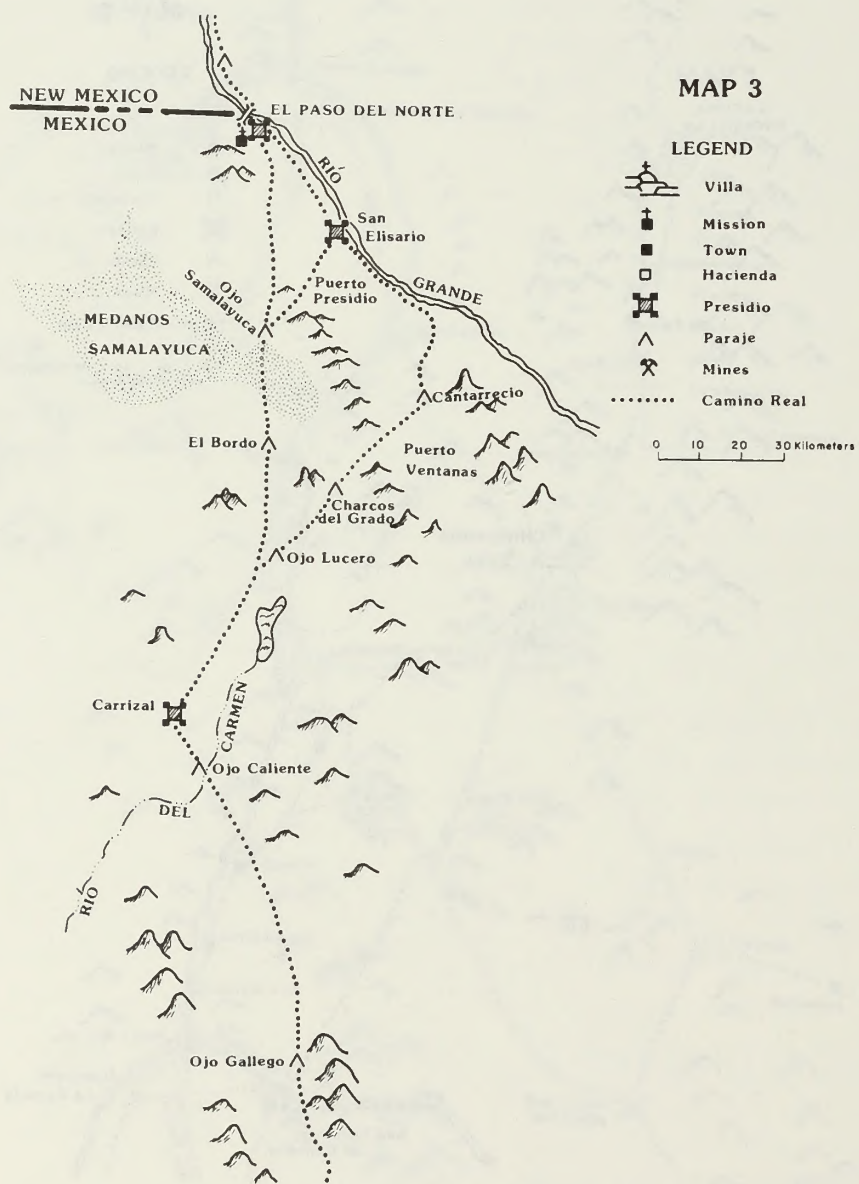
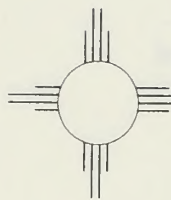


Figure 25. Aerial and on-the-ground reconnaissance of portions of the Camino Real in Mexico: Map 3.

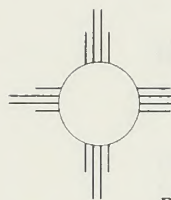
SC-655, PLATE 1
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During the 1600s almost all traffic bound to and from New Mexico was attached to large caravans organized by the Franciscans. These caravans journeyed from Mexico City to New Mexico and back at three- to seven-year intervals (Scholes 1930). They were the principal means of commerce and communication with the colony in New Mexico, and some historians imply that there may have been little additional traffic along the Camino Real at this time (Moorhead 1958:32). It seems reasonable that the caravans would have called at the Franciscan missions on their way to New Mexico, and that the mission locations indicate the course of the Camino Real (see Maps 1 through 3). This impression is strengthened by the fact that presidios were also established at two of these missions.

Late Colonial Times: 1700–1820

The development of mines in the vicinity of Ciudad Chihuahua in the early 1700s had a profound effect on the Camino Real. Ciudad Chihuahua became a major supply center, and by the mid-1700s the New Mexico trade was controlled by merchants based in Chihuahua, rather than by the Franciscan missionaries (Moorhead 1958:41). Demand for agricultural products in Ciudad Chihuahua also resulted in the establishment of a number of haciendas along the Rio Conchos to the south and in the Sacramento and Laguna Encinillas areas to the north. These haciendas became important points of reference along the Camino Real and eventually grew into villages and towns. In order to protect these settlements, as well as travelers along the Camino Real, a number of military posts were established. At various times there were presidios at Guajoquilla, San Francisco de Conchos, Carrizal, San Elisario, and El Paso del Norte. Garrisons were also maintained at various times in Parral and Valle de San Bartolomé.

The first detailed account of travel along the Camino Real after Oñate's initial exploration is provided by Pedro de Rivera, who passed along it in 1726 while making a military inspection of northern New Spain (Alessio Robles 1946). His route passed through the mission locations. He entered the Parral–San Bartolomé area from the Presidio of Cerro Gordo and traveled directly to San Bartolomé. Later he called on officials in Parral, then proceeded to San Francisco de Conchos, Chancaplea, and on to a hacienda on the Rio San Pedro, which must have been near San Pedro de Conchos. After camping in an unpopulated area, he reached Villa San Felipe del Real (Ciudad Chihuahua). His journey north from Chihuahua encompassed most of the places that figure in later accounts: Hacienda El Sauz, Hacienda Encinillas, Laguna San Martín (Laguna Encinillas), Ojo Gallego, Ojo Caliente, Laguna de los Patos, the sand dunes (Samalayuca), and El Paso del Norte.



Relatively detailed accounts were written by two travelers in the 1760s: Bishop Pedro Tamaron y Romeral and Nicolas de Lafora. Tamaron (Alessio Robles 1937; Adams 1954) was a Catholic Bishop who made an extensive ecclesiastical tour of Sonora, Nueva Viscaya, and New Mexico; Lafora (Alessio Robles 1939; Kinnaird 1958) was a lieutenant in the Spanish army who accompanied his superior officer on an inspection of military installations on the northern frontier. Neither of these travelers stayed strictly on the main route of travel, but both provide excellent discussions of settlements along the Camino Real, as they existed in the 1760s. At this time the route seems to have been essentially the same as that followed by Pedro de Rivera; these are the last accounts that describe a route through San Francisco de Conchos and San Pedro de Conchos.

By the early 1800s the main route of travel in the south had shifted eastward to incorporate a number of the haciendas along the Rio Conchos. This observation is based largely on an account written by U.S. Army officer Zebulon Pike (Coues 1895; Jackson 1966), who was conducted over this route in 1807 by a Spanish escort. For diplomatic reasons the Spanish authorities did not arrest Pike, but they clearly understood that his mission was to gather military information which might be used against them in the future. From El Paso del Norte, Pike was taken down the Camino Real through Chihuahua, then up the Rio Conchos and Rio Florido as far as Guajoquilla. A few kilometers south of Guajoquilla his party left the fertile Rio Florido area and struck out into the desert on a route that eventually led to Monterrey.

Mexican Period: 1821-1860

Mexico achieved independence from Spain in 1821, and seven years later a British naval officer, Lieutenant Robert William Hale Hardy, left a lively account of his travels along portions of the Camino Real (Hardy 1977). Hardy was traveling from Sonora to central Mexico, and he apparently joined the Camino Real near Laguna Encinillas. From Chihuahua Hardy continued south to Santa Rosalia, but rather than take an easterly route through Guajoquilla, as Pike had done, he proceeded up the Rio Parral to San Bartolomé.

One important effect of Mexican independence was the opening of the Santa Fe trade. By 1824 traders from Missouri were active in Chihuahua, bringing goods across the Great Plains to Santa Fe and then down the Camino Real. These Santa Fe traders have left several important accounts of travel along the Camino Real in Chihuahua, including those of Josiah Gregg (1933), Susan Magoffin (Drumm 1962), James Webb (Bieber 1931), and George Rutledge Gibson (Frazer 1981). Most of

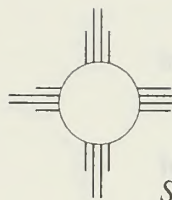
these accounts date from the 1840s, and they are especially useful for portions of the trail between El Paso del Norte and Ciudad Chihuahua.

In 1841 the newly independent nation of Texas sent a party of more than three hundred men to New Mexico in hopes of inciting the residents to revolt against Mexico. Instead, they were taken prisoner and conducted on a grueling journey down the Camino Real to Mexico City. Several first-hand accounts of this incident have proven useful in reconstructing the route of the camino, including those of Kendall (1935) and Falconer (1963).

Another important group of eyewitness descriptions of the Camino Real resulted from the invasion of Mexico by the United States in 1846. In December Col. Alexander S. Doniphan and the Army of the West occupied El Paso del Norte, and several months later they took Ciudad Chihuahua. In April the military expedition continued down the Camino Real as far as Guajoquilla (Ciudad Camargo) and then followed the route Pike had taken, southeast and east to Saltillo and Monterrey. Many accounts of this episode remain (Bieber 1935, 1936; Connelley 1907; Edwards 1847; Fulton 1944; Hughes 1907; Robinson 1932; Wislizenus 1969). George Ruxton, a British traveler, journeyed up the Camino Real from Mexico City to Santa Fe in 1846, just prior to Doniphan's invasion, leaving a detailed account of his experiences (Ruxton 1973).

The California gold rush followed closely after the Mexican-American War, and one route to California was through Mexico. Several published accounts describe travel from Monterrey to Mampimí, joining the Camino Real southeast of Guajoquilla (Bieber 1937; Dobyns 1961). These travelers passed down the Rio Florido, through the settlements along the Rio Conchos, and on to Ciudad Chihuahua. From Chihuahua they traveled north through Sacramento, El Sauz, and Encinillas, where they left the Camino Real, striking for Hacienda Carmen, San Buenaventura, Janos, and Arizona.

After the Mexican-American War, John Russell Bartlett headed the United States Boundary Commission, charged with establishing the new international boundary. In this capacity, Bartlett traveled widely in the southwestern United States and northern Mexico, including an 1852 trip from El Paso del Norte to Chihuahua, Monterrey, and eventually on to San Antonio, Texas. His account of these experiences is among the most interesting and detailed descriptions of the nineteenth-century Camino Real (Bartlett 1965).



Summary

Results of the review of historical literature are summarized in Maps 1 through 3. Correlations between some of the common place names and their modern counterparts are provided above. From the south, two main routes led into the San Bartolomé area. The older was through Cerro Gordo to various haciendas on the Rio Florido and on to San Bartolomé. This course was taken by Pedro de Rivera in 1825, Nicolás Lafora in 1766, Hardy in 1828, Gregg in 1835, the prisoners of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition in 1841, and by Ruxton in 1846. The second, more easterly route was through Pelayo and Ojo San Blas, striking the Rio Florido a few kilometers above Guajoquilla. This route was described by Pike, who traveled it in 1807. Later it was taken by the Doniphan Expedition in 1847, by most of the California emigrants in 1849, and by Bartlett in 1852.

The area between Parral and Guajoquilla had been relatively well populated since the early 1600s, and a number of alternative routes exist in this area. The earliest accounts allude to San Bartolomé and Atotonilco. By the mid-1700s Guajoquilla was an important node for travelers, and later on a number of individual haciendas are mentioned. It is likely that an extensive system of local routes in this area connected the various settlements and haciendas. Travelers along the Camino Real probably used whichever routes were convenient, based on availability of forage and supplies, hospitality at the haciendas, and road conditions.

Northward from this region were two principal routes to the Chihuahua area, an early route through San Francisco de Conchos and a later route down the Rio Conchos. There were several approaches to the San Francisco route. The earliest routes taken by the Franciscan supply trains may have been overland across relatively easy terrain between San Bartolomé and San Francisco and between Atotonilco and San Francisco. In 1776, on the other hand, Lafora traveled to Guajoquilla, down the Rio Florido to La Ramada, and then westward to San Francisco de Conchos. From San Francisco the early route went northward through Chancaplea, San Pedro de Conchos, Mápula, and on to the Rio Chuvíscar near present-day Chihuahua.

Beginning with Pike's in 1807, all accounts of travel along the Camino Real describe a route paralleling the Rio Conchos. Travelers from Parral or San Bartolomé would journey down the Rio Parral, past Hacienda Santa Cruz to Santa Rosalia. Travelers on a more easterly route would go down the Rio Florido through Guajoquilla to Santa Rosalia. From there the route was along the east bank of the

Rio Conchos to the ford at Las Garzas, then through a series of settlements to Hacienda Bachimba, through a narrow pass at Ojito, and on to Ciudad Chihuahua.

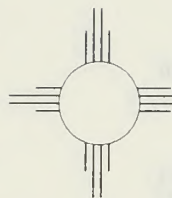
North of Chihuahua the haciendas of Sacramento, El Sauz, El Peñol, and Encinillas are often mentioned. From Laguna Encinillas the route was northward to Ojo Gallego, or sometimes a smaller spring called El Gallegito, then across the long, waterless Jornada de Jesus María to Ojo Caliente. Prior to the founding of Presidio Carrizal in 1758, travelers may have continued down the Rio del Carmen to Laguna de los Patos, but in later years all travel accounts mention Carrizal.

North of Laguna de los Patos, near Ojo Lucero, the route divided. The more direct route continued to a small, unreliable water source known as El Bordo and then crossed the Samalayuca Dunes. These dunes were a major obstacle, especially for wheeled vehicles. To cross this area of deep sand it was often necessary to unload the wagons, to use double teams of draft animals, or even to rent fresh mule teams or pack animals from El Paso del Norte. Ojo Samalayuca on the northern margin of the dunes was a reliable source of water. At that point some parties would travel directly north around the northern end of the Sierra Presidio to El Paso del Norte. Other parties would take the shortest route to the river valley itself, crossing the Sierra Presidio at Puerto Presidio and striking the river near the site of the Presidio San Elisario.

Travelers wishing to avoid the Samalayuca Dunes took a route that was two days longer but much easier on their draft animals. Leaving the direct route north of Laguna de los Patos, they would proceed northeast to Charcos del Grado and across the Sierra Presidio at Puerto Ventanas. On the opposite side they watered at Tinajas de Cantarrecio, then continued down Las Bandejas drainage to the Rio Grande.

Terrestrial Reconnaissance

Review of historical sources showed the general route of the Camino Real and identified many of the important places and landmarks along the way. The next phase of this project was an attempt to locate the trail on the ground and plot it on 1:50,000 scale topographic maps provided by the Chihuahua Departamento de Carreteras y Orbas Publicas. We began by studying the maps to locate as many of the place names known from the accounts as possible, and to determine likely routes of the camino based on topography. Important locations were highlighted on the topographic maps, and the entire route as we had reconstructed it was plotted on 1:250,000 scale maps.



Next we spent six days on the ground in the section between Ciudad Juarez and Chihuahua, attempting to locate the major parajes and to find actual traces of the trail. Marshall (1988) has written a detailed account of our findings during this phase of the project. In the area south of Juarez we were able to identify Ojo Samalayuca where several broad swales represent the Camino Real, and where we found a hand-forged tack and an olive jar fragment. We located El Bordo pass based on topography, and we were able to see another trace of the Camino Real leading back toward the Samalayuca Dunes. We were unable to locate historic Ojo Lucero. Modern Ojo Lucero, Banco El Lucero, Estación Lucero, El Lucero, and a windmill called Los Dos were all inspected, but no early historical artifacts or swales that might have been the Camino Real were found.

On the more easterly route through Tinajas de Cantarrecio and Puerto Ventanas we were able to approximate the course of the trail and observe the regional topography. Access into this area is controlled by locked gates, however, and we were not able to approach the actual locations of the Camino Real. Near Laguna de los Patos we inspected several springs (Ojo Coyote and El Alamo) resembling those described in the historical accounts but did not find definite evidence of the Camino Real.

Today Carrizal is a sleepy village adjacent to an oasis-like cienega. Although the walls of the old presidio are no longer standing, its outline is indicated by substantial adobe mounds accompanied by a seventeenth-century midden (Gerald 1968:24). Outside the presidio are a series of adobe house mounds which apparently date to the nineteenth century, based on the occurrence of black and aquamarine glass, delft, and black- and blue-banded ironstone. We also found a sherd from an Acoma Polychrome vessel, presumably a relic of the Santa Fe trade.

South of Carrizal we relocated Ojo Caliente near present-day El Olivo. Although the spring is now dry, its location is indicated by a large cluster of trees and an earth and stone masonry impoundment. A series of adobe house mounds and the Santa Rosa church, partly in ruins, are adjacent to the spring. Artifacts associated with these buildings indicate an occupation in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, and tombstones in the *campo santo* (cemetery) date to as early as 1905. A massive masonry wall almost a meter in width overlooks the spring and could be the remains of the earlier settlement, abandoned during the Suma Revolt in 1684. There are also stacked rock circles two to five meters in diameter, a single rectangular enclosure, and a group of rock cairns on the summit of an adjacent hill. These structures and a group of bedrock mortars were observed by Bartlett in 1853 and are presumed to be of aboriginal origin.

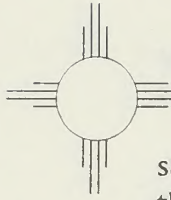
In the Sierra Gallegos the historical sources describe two springs, Ojo Gallego and, about four miles farther on, Ojo Gallecito. We believe that these springs correspond to present-day Arroyo La Reserva and Los Alamos–El Galleguito near El Sueco. Our reconnaissance focused on Arroyo La Reserva, which featured bedrock pools near the mouth of a canyon that were overflowing and running a short distance onto the bajada at the base of the Sierra Gallego. In a brief reconnaissance we found a few prehistoric stone artifacts, and overlooking the spring was a *peñol* (rocky steep-sided hill) with several rude parapet walls on its summit. We did not note any historical artifacts, but on the bajada below the spring is a dramatic remnant of the Camino Real. This linear zone of mesquite about 50 meters in width can be traced for 20 to 30 kilometers from the air. No swale is visible, but an arroyo cut across this feature has exposed a lenticular stratum about 50 centimeters in depth which appears to be the refilled trailway.

The southernmost stage of our reconnaissance passed along the eastern shore of Laguna Encinillas, through El Peñol and El Sauz. These two villages, as well as nearby Encinillas, are presumably successors of the haciendas that figure prominently in the historical literature, but no inquiries or field inspections were made in this area.

Aerial Reconnaissance

Our terrestrial reconnaissance enabled us to determine the general route of the Camino Real. Some of the parajes and other important locations were identified and we were able to show that physical traces of the old wagon route could still be seen in several areas. This information was plotted on 1:250,000 and 1:50,000 scale topographic maps. In many areas, however, physical traces of the trail are difficult to see from the ground, and terrestrial reconnaissance is necessarily limited in scope. Our previous experience with prehistoric Chacoan roads in the San Juan Basin suggested that these limitations could be overcome using aerial reconnaissance (Kincaid 1983; Niles et al. 1987).

Through the generosity of the Chihuahua Departamento de Desarroyos Social we were able to fly over large portions of the trail between Juarez and the Parral–Santa Bárbara area. These flights demonstrated that large portions of the Camino Real in Mexico are still preserved. Although little actual road construction had occurred along the trail, repeated wagon and carreta traffic has often left clear evidence of its route. In many areas erosion along the trail has resulted in long, straight arroyos which are not necessarily parallel to prevailing drainage patterns. In other areas, such as the Samalayuca Dunes, repeated disturbance loosened the



sandy soil and left it susceptible to eolian deflation, resulting in a deep swale along the old course of the Camino Real. Some of the most dramatic traces of the trail, as seen from the air, are in the vicinity of El Sueco, where its route can be seen as a linear area of dense mesquite extending for 20 or 30 kilometers. The increase in mesquite may have been enhanced by the intensive livestock traffic in these areas. Finally, some portions of the Camino Real are still in use and are apparent as streets and other routes that crosscut more recent transportation systems. All of these features are most easily seen from the air.

Altogether we documented more than 100 kilometers of visible trail in the section between Ciudad Juarez and Ciudad Chihuahua. The impressive section near El Sueco–Ojo Gallego has already been mentioned. Almost as impressive is the 25-kilometer-long section between Laguna de los Patos and Puerto Ventanas, and a 16 kilometer section that can be seen in the Samalayuca Dunes, extending south as far as the pass at El Bordo. Closer to Chihuahua recent agricultural and urban development has undoubtedly destroyed many traces of the trail, but a clear segment was found extending northwards from Molinar, a small community near Sacramento.

To the south of Chihuahua the situation is more complex. To the south of Chihuahua the situation is more complex due to modern disturbance and a higher level of historic activity unrelated to the Camino Real. Most of the Rio Conchos section has probably been obliterated by agricultural development, although we did see clear evidence of the trail between Ojito and Ciudad Chihuahua. Also, to the south of San Francisco de Conchos and in the Parral–San Bartolomé area the traces of many old trails are visible. In a brief reconnaissance flight, it was not possible to sort out which of these trails might actually be main routes of the Camino Real.

Despite these difficulties, we did find traces between Mápula and San Pedro de Conchos that may represent about twenty kilometers of the seventeenth-century route. Other potential evidence of this route includes ten kilometers between San Pedro de Conchos and San Francisco de Conchos and a segment of unknown length extending southeast from San Francisco de Conchos. Finally, an impressive set of multiple parallel ruts ascends from the Valle de Allende drainage about two kilometers west of San Bartolomé. The ruts merge into a swale which was traced across a drainage divide into the Rio Parral. Time did not permit reconnaissance in the vicinity of Atotonilco or Guajoquilla, and much more work is warranted in this area.

Summary

Review of historical literature pertaining to the Camino Real in Chihuahua established the general route of this historic transportation corridor and identified important places that might reward archaeological investigation. Subsequent terrestrial reconnaissance identified several promising archaeological localities and suggested that at least some traces of the actual trail still exist. Aerial reconnaissance showed that extensive remnants of the Camino Real are still preserved, both north and south of Ciudad Chihuahua. Altogether almost 150 kilometers of the historic Camino Real have been plotted on 1:50,000 scale topographic maps.

Clearly, much work remains to be done. A systematic documentation of the route of the Camino Real using aerial photography has not been undertaken, and many important haciendas and parajes along the trail have not yet been located. Additional archival work will almost certainly be necessary to sort out the situation in the Parral–San Bartolomé area. Nevertheless, the work reported here has firmly established the route of the Camino Real in many areas. In doing so, it has laid a basis for further archaeological work and established a firm foundation for interpretation of the Camino Real to wider audiences.



Figure 26. Modern travelers on I-25 parallel the Camino Real, photo by Teresa Sanchez-Martinez, courtesy of the New Mexico State Highway and Transportation Department.

The first of these is the fact that the...
 The second is the fact that the...
 The third is the fact that the...
 The fourth is the fact that the...
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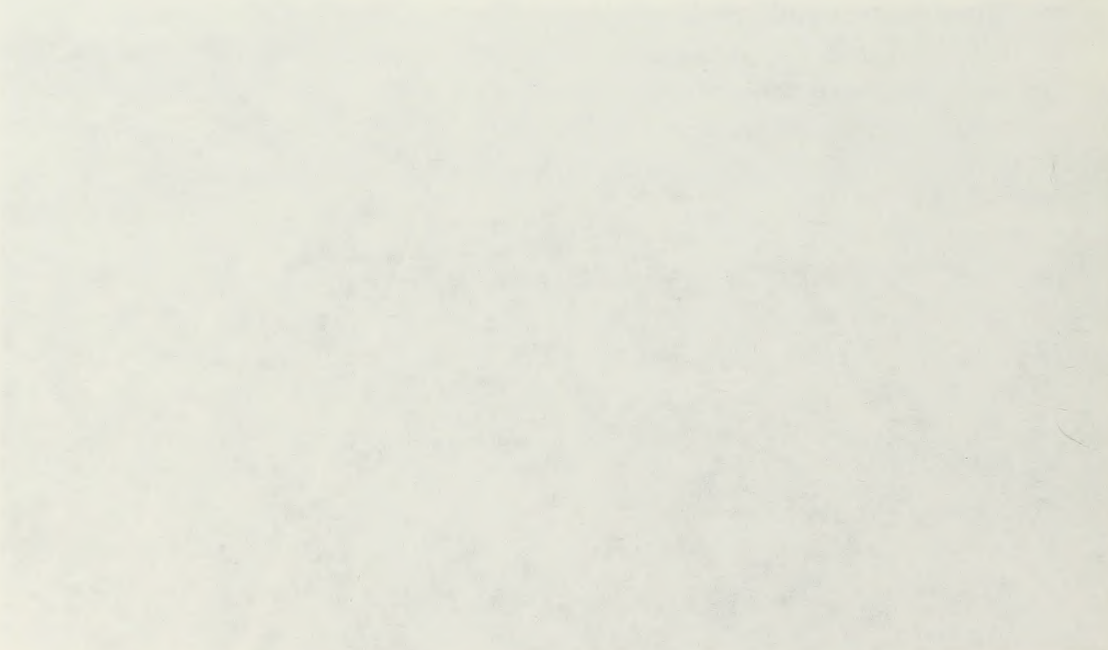


Figure 10. Aerial photograph of the...
 showing the New Mexico State Highway and...
 and...
 and...

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10. Livestock on the Camino Real

John O. Baxter

Travel over the New Mexico portion of the Camino Real began in 1581 when Fray Agustín Rodríguez and Captain Francisco Chamuscado led a small party out of Santa Bárbara in present-day Chihuahua for a reconnaissance of the mysterious lands to the north. From its confluence with the Rio Conchos they followed the Rio Grande upstream, fording the river where El Paso is today. Continuing north, they followed the east bank to present-day Rincon, where they left the river to cross a formidable 100-mile stretch of desert, later known as the Jornada del Muerto (Journey of the Dead Man). South of Socorro they returned to the river and encountered the first Pueblo Indians nearby. The trail opened by Rodríguez and Chamuscado, subsequently known as the Camino Real, was trod by soldiers, missionaries, and supply trains entering New Mexico. Later, merchant caravans and large flocks of sheep traveled south over the historic trace en route to markets in the interior of New Spain.

Like other sixteenth-century explorers, Rodríguez and Chamuscado relied on horses for transportation and on small droves of cattle and sheep for sustenance. Permanent establishment of Old World livestock species did not occur in New Mexico before the arrival of the colonizing expedition led by Don Juan de Oñate in 1598. In his proposal to Viceroy Luis de Velasco indicating equipment and supplies needed to establish a new settlement, Oñate included 150 mares with colts, 4000 sheep, 1000 goats, and 1000 cattle. Making an interesting distinction, he also listed 100 head of "black cattle." J. Frank Dobie, the prominent Southwestern writer and folklorist, has speculated that Oñate brought the blacks to start a strain of fighting bulls in his new domain. It seems more likely, however, that the ancestry of the hundred cattle set apart from the common herd could be traced to Avila and Andalucia in central and southern Spain. From ancient times,



Figure 27. Spanish Barbs (Barbary horses), photo by Larry Beckner, *The New Mexican*, courtesy of Olivia Tsosie.

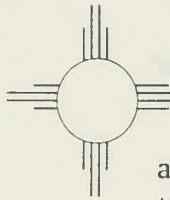
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herdsmen in those provinces had bred black cattle that served as both meat and draft animals. Demonstrating admirable foresight, Oñate probably wanted to ensure a supply of oxen for farming and transportation.

The sheep assembled by Oñate in the Valle de San Bartolomé for the colonization of New Mexico also served a dual purpose. Of a type known as *churro*, they were descended from the common sheep of southern Spain, whose long but humble heritage extended back to Roman times. Small of stature and producing only a minimal quantity of coarse, long-staple wool, the *churro* adapted readily to the semi-arid grasslands of the New World. Its meager fleece proved well-suited to hand processing, and all agreed that the *churro's* meat was unsurpassed for flavor. Able to substitute morning dew and succulent plants for drinking water, these tough little sheep could withstand drought better than cattle, sometimes surviving for days on the trail without recourse to streams, springs, or ponds. Because of these attributes, the hardy *churros* showed themselves equal to conditions prevailing on New Mexico's frontier.

While preparing for the long journey north, Oñate's followers assembled an enormous *caballada* or horse herd, comprising more than 1200 head. In addition to the 150 mares and colts pledged as breeding stock for the colony, Oñate's personal outfit included twenty-five horses, a like number of mules, two coaches, two carts, with all the necessary harness. To minimize lameness and keep their mounts sound through rough country, the Spaniards carried a fully equipped forge and several thousand horseshoes. Unfortunately, descriptions of the horses in Oñate's *caballada* are sketchy at best. The Mexican historian Pedro Saucedo Montemayor does provide some information concerning the horses of New Spain during the post-Conquest era, however. Of Arab and Moorish ancestry, the *caballo criollo* inherited such valuable traits as great stamina, good heads, and an intelligence rare in other strains. Most breeders preferred dark colors—bays, blacks, and sorrels—because they were hard to see from long distances, an especially useful attribute in times of war. Size and weight varied according to region, with larger animals originating on the plains of the northern provinces. Evidently, not all Oñate's mounts measured up to the high standard indicated by Saucedo. After making a final inspection prior to the departure from San Bartolomé, Captain Juan de Frías Salazar asserted grumpily that part of the herd failed to qualify as army horses; he described them as "old nags."

With the completion of the Frías inspection, Oñate's colonizers were ready to begin the long and arduous journey to New Mexico. The expedition must have presented an awesome sight as it left the Valle de San Bartolomé on 26 January 1598. Fray Alonso de Benavides later wrote that the livestock, wagons, and pack



animals spread over the countryside for more than a league. As the march began, the crowd broke into applause, but the colonists' cheers were quickly overpowered by a deafening screech from dozens of ungreased cartwheels, according to the party's poet laureate, Gaspar Pérez de Villagr a.

During the seven-month journey, the livestock suffered from occasional water shortages. Before reaching the Rio Grande, many almost died from thirst, a fate averted by a fortuitous cloudburst that made pools large enough for all 7000 head to drink. Thereafter, the place was known as Socorro del Cielo (Help from the Sky). Near present-day El Paso the party found the Rio Grande high enough to make crossing difficult for the sheep, which were helped across by friendly Indians, the first encountered during the journey. As the pioneers moved up the Camino Real, water shortages also occurred in the section that would later be known as the Jornada del Muerto. Finally, in July, the colonists reached the Tewa Indian village of Ohke near the junction of the Rio Grande and the Chama. There, on the west bank of the Rio Grande, O ate made his headquarters in a settlement known as San Gabriel. As they established new homes, the Spaniards scattered their livestock over the surrounding grasslands to provide food, fiber, and transport for the community.

Once New Mexico had been established as a colony, authorities in Mexico City had to solve the problem of maintaining communications with this frontier outpost, almost 1500 miles away. At first, supply trains made their way over the Camino Real to Santa Fe, the capital, at lengthy intervals of up to five or six years. These long delays left government and church officials completely out of touch with conditions in more populated areas of New Spain. As the Franciscan Order gradually increased the number of friars engaged in conversion of the Pueblo Indians, mission supply costs also grew at a rapid rate. To control escalating expenses, Fray Tom s Manso signed a contract with officials of the Royal Treasury in 1631 for the organization and management of the supply trains that, henceforth, were to make a round-trip every three years. Manso then secured thirty-two heavy-duty freight wagons with all the equipment and spare parts necessary for maintenance during the 3000-mile journey out and back. He also obtained some 550 mules—two eight-mule teams for each wagon, and replacements for any that became lost or died en route. Each wagon carried sufficient supplies to outfit two friars for three years, including clothing; cooking utensils; sugar, spices, and other food items; sacramental wine; and candles. Having begun a very efficient enterprise, Manso remained in charge until 1656 when he was named bishop of Nicaragua.

From their inception until the great Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the mule-powered wagon trains remained the most important link between New Mexico and Mexico City. During the long journey over the Camino Real by way of Zacatecas, Durango, and Parral, Indian laborers, supervised by Hispano mayordomos, looked after the mules and protected the freight. For the return trip, New Mexico's governors frequently commandeered the empty wagons to benefit themselves. During this era the provincial executive often monopolized export trade, which consisted of a few coarse textiles produced with Indian labor and a poor assortment of raw materials—salt, hides, piñon nuts, and livestock. Because sales of live animals offered one of the few opportunities to secure cash in outside markets, excessive exports became a major problem. These sales stripped the province of its breeding stock and food supply, a difficulty that plagued New Mexico for many years. For example, in 1634 a viceregal decree ordered an investigation into charges that Governor Francisco de la Mora Ceballos had "destroyed" New Mexico by sending 400 mares, 800 cows, and a large number of sheep and goats down the Camino Real for sale at Santa Bárbara. A successor, Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal, attempted to monopolize the livestock trade by denying dealers "from other kingdoms" entry into the province.

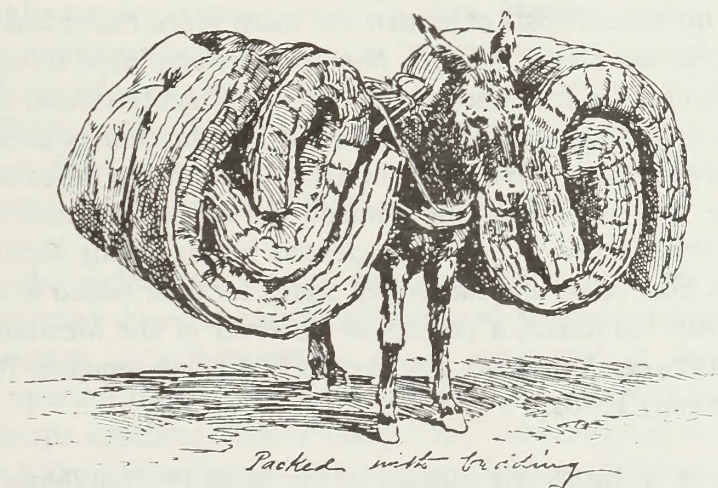
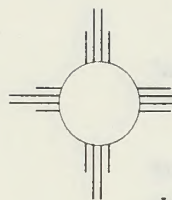


Figure 28. "Packed with bedding," from *Harper's Weekly*, courtesy of History Library Graphics Collection, Museum of New Mexico (MNM), box 1-item 20B.



In August 1680 the outbreak of the Pueblo Revolt forced New Mexico's Hispano residents to abandon the province. After gathering their livestock, the settlers retreated southward down the Camino Real to the area near El Paso, where they remained for twelve years. When Spanish forces under Captain General Diego de Vargas made a triumphant reentry in 1692–1693, they found that the Pueblo Indians had retained some cattle and sheep, although their numbers had dwindled during the Spanish hiatus. After a series of bitter campaigns, Vargas realized that recolonization would fail without more men and the resources to sustain them. After obtaining approval from authorities in Mexico City, Vargas's representatives assembled a relief expedition in Parral to transport dry goods, munitions, and a large herd of cattle, sheep, and goats. With the textiles loaded on pack mules and livestock trailing behind, the caravan headed up the Camino Real, arriving at Santa Fe in April 1697. Soon thereafter, Vargas distributed everything among the settlers on the basis of family size. During the livestock division, approximately 1000 New Mexicans received more than 4000 ewes, 170 goats, and 500 cows. They also acquired 150 bulls that were to be used to breed draft animals. Following the Vargas disbursement, the settlers scattered out to Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Bernalillo, and other pre-Revolt communities. Their herds increased slowly at first, but New Mexico's livestock industry was back on its feet again.

During the years after the Pueblo Revolt, most of the freight moving between trade centers in New Spain and New Mexico was transported by long trains of pack mules. Although wheeled vehicles continued to be used occasionally in the eighteenth century, mules proved to be better adapted to traversing rough country and fording dangerous streams. Tough, sure-footed, and sagacious, they outperformed horses as beasts of burden. For many years, mules had shown their worth in the colonial mining industry. Mine owners employed thousands of the long-eared hybrids to carry unprocessed ore out of subterranean shafts to the surface and to provide power for primitive crushing machinery (*arrastras*). Mule trains also conveyed loads of bullion from reduction works to the *casas de monedas* where coinage was minted. As the demand for mules increased early in the nineteenth century, more and more haciendas began raising them, importing well-bred jacks from Spain and the United States for their added size. According to Alexander von Humboldt, a perceptive observer of the Mexican scene, the freight traffic between Vera Cruz and Mexico City alone required 70,000 mules annually in the early 1800s.

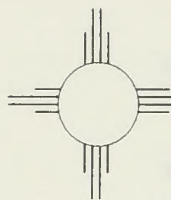
Josiah Gregg, in his classic account of the Santa Fe Trail (Moorhead 1954), wrote that mules performed the same indispensable function for Mexicans that camels did for Arabs. During his travels, Gregg was particularly impressed by the way the *arrieros* (muleteers) entwined their animals in a web of intricate hitches

as they cinched down heavy loads on *aparejos* (packsaddles) with long ropes made of seagrass or rawhide. Working together in pairs when loading or unloading the train, half a dozen arrieros could easily manage forty or fifty mules, making twelve or fifteen miles a day. Strung out behind the bellmare, the trains presented a picturesque sight that seldom failed to catch the attention of travelers on the Camino Real. Because the arrieros received less than five dollars a month in wages, supplemented by a meager ration of beans and *chile colorado*, freight rates remained surprisingly low, much cheaper than transportation by wagon.

Although freighters preferred mules as beasts of burden, most of the hardy frontiersmen following the Camino Real traveled on horseback. Wills and other documents indicate that horses suitable for long-distance travel (*caballos de camino bueno*) commanded extremely high prices in eighteenth-century New Mexico. Wealthy ranchers took great pride in their mounts, each one presenting a colorful picture when turned out in his silver mounted saddle, bridle, and spurs, topped off with a broad sombrero and brilliant serape from Saltillo.

Once horse breeding had been established by Oñate's settlers, the colony's Indian neighbors soon learned to value this exotic animal. As early as 1609, Fray Francisco de Velasco suggested that Pueblo Indian converts to Christianity should be rewarded with gifts of breeding stock—cows, ewes, and mares. Beginning with the Apaches, nearby nomadic tribes acquired increasing numbers of horses through trade or, more frequently, by raiding. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, most of the southern Plains tribes as far as the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, including the Pawnees, Osages, and Wichitas, had obtained horses in this manner. Once plentiful in New Mexico, horses became scarce because of continuing thefts. Frequently, presidial troops headquartered in Santa Fe had difficulty taking the field against Indian foes because of a lack of mounts. In 1775, officials in New Spain sent 1500 head up the Camino Real to Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta to replace others that had been crippled, lost, or stolen, incurring a heavy expense for the Royal Treasury.

During the eighteenth century, horses of Spanish ancestry continued to spread among the tribes of the northern Plains and intermountain regions. In 1787, David Thompson, a well-known fur trader employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, reported that a party of hostile Piegans, traveling far south to raid Shoshone camps, captured a Spanish pack train. The booty included thirty or forty horses, which Thompson described as mostly dark brown, standing about fourteen hands, with neat heads, short ears, clear eyes, and fine manes and tails. Obviously, these handsome animals had journeyed a long way from home.



At the beginning of the nineteenth century, large herds of feral horses, or mustangs, roamed at will over the vast plains of New Spain's northern provinces. In 1806, the German scientist Alexander von Humboldt likened the untamed horses of Nuevo Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya to those of Chile, declaring that both were descended from the Arab breed of North Africa. Each year, Anglo adventurers gathered herds of mustangs for sale in New Orleans or Natchez. Occasionally, Ohio River boatmen, eager to reinvest profits from a successful trading venture, returned home overland with some of these unbroken horses, which brought up to fifty dollars in hard cash from dealers in Kentucky.

Although horses and mules continued to carry most of the travelers and freight on the Camino Real during the colonial era, the great flocks of sheep that moved south from New Mexico to interior markets provided the greatest volume of traffic. With peace restored after the Vargas reoccupation, settlers hoped to renew commerce with towns below the Rio Grande but possessed few merchantable commodities. Lacking the rich mines that sustained Zacatecas, Durango, and Chihuahua, New Mexicans continued to depend largely on exports of raw



Figure 29. Churro sheep, photo by Larry Heller.

materials. In exchange for tanned skins, piñon, sheep, raw wool, and woolen textiles, they obtained tools, weapons, dry goods, and other manufactured goods so necessary on the frontier.

In the early 1770s New Mexico's governors banned exports of wool and livestock to prevent depletion of resources needed to maintain the provincial economy. As flocks slowly grew, officials relented somewhat, allowing outside sales of woolen products and wethers (*carneros*). Ewes remained under embargo to conserve breeding stock. Because of their value in trade, sheep became a medium of exchange, often replacing cash in retail transactions. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, sheep numbers began to outstrip local requirements, permitting exports to increase dramatically. To market the surplus, entrepreneurs assembled enormous flocks of wethers, known as *carneradas*, at La Joya de Sevilleta, the last settlement north of the Jornada del Muerto. Taking advantage of summer rains, which filled water holes and improved grazing conditions, the caravans usually departed in August for the long, slow drive down the Camino Real to Chihuahua, the leading trade center at that time. Protected by a military escort, the expeditions were large enough to discourage Indian depredations. Most of the commerce in sheep was controlled by a few wealthy New Mexico families, often related by marriage, who were bound together by economic and political ties.

After several decades of steady growth in the late colonial period, New Mexico's sheep exports reached a climax following Mexican independence. Big traders, such as Mariano Chaves y Castillo, Antonio Sandoval, and members of the Ortiz, Otero, and Perea families, exported up to 30,000 wethers in a single year, although drives of 2000 to 5000 head were more common. To find new markets, many flocks bypassed Chihuahua and continued down the Camino Real to change hands at Durango, an important regional trade center. In 1832, drovers trailed 4000 New Mexico sheep all the way to Mexico City and Cuernavaca.

A strong demand for sheep was not the only factor that caused increased traffic on the Camino Real during the years following Mexican independence. Officials of the new nation quickly abandoned the Spanish policy of excluding foreign merchandise, a change that resulted in the opening of the Santa Fe Trail connecting New Mexico and the United States. After William Becknell's successful business venture in 1821, dozens of Anglo traders followed his lead. Within a few years, a sharply increased supply of consumer goods flooded the New Mexico market, causing the traders to follow down the Camino Real to Chihuahua, Durango, and other southern towns to sell their wares. As in the seventeenth century, long trains of canvas-covered wagons laden with all kinds of merchandise began to ply the Camino Real. According to Gregg, freighters employed equal



Figure 30. Sheep camp, courtesy of Western History Department, Denver Public Library, negative no. F14573.

numbers of mules and oxen to draw their vehicles. Although stronger and less excitable, oxen proved slower, harder to maintain, and more prone to lameness than mules. For many years, New Mexicans had used oxen for farming and to pull their noisy carretas.

In 1846, sheepmen and traders alike found that the turmoil caused by the Mexican War disrupted business ties with southern cities. For a brief period, cavalry horses and military supply wagons superceded civilian traffic as U.S. Army forces marched down the Camino Real for campaigns in California and Chihuahua. The war did not permanently end commercial travel on the historic trail, however. In the 1850s, after the discovery of gold in California, New Mexican sheepmen pointed their flocks westward, hoping to open new markets at the prosperous mining camps. From the old rendezvous at La Joya, they followed the route opened by Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke and the Mormon Battalion across southern New Mexico to the Rio Gila, continuing down that stream to the Colorado and the gold fields beyond. At about the same time, venturesome merchants reopened connections with Chihuahua, Guadalajara, and other commercial centers in Mexico. Wagon trains continued to roll down the Camino Real until the advent of the railroads in the 1880s, but the trade never regained the importance that it had in earlier times.

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The following information was obtained from the records of the Denver Police Department regarding the investigation of the above-captioned case.

On [redacted] at approximately [redacted] hours, [redacted] was observed by [redacted] who is a [redacted] of the Denver Police Department. [redacted] advised that [redacted] was acting in a suspicious manner and was being followed by [redacted].

[redacted] advised that [redacted] was wearing a [redacted] and was carrying a [redacted]. [redacted] advised that [redacted] was seen to enter the [redacted] building located at [redacted] and [redacted] Street, Denver, Colorado.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] was seen to exit the building at approximately [redacted] hours and was driving a [redacted] vehicle. [redacted] advised that [redacted] was seen to enter the vehicle and drive away from the building.

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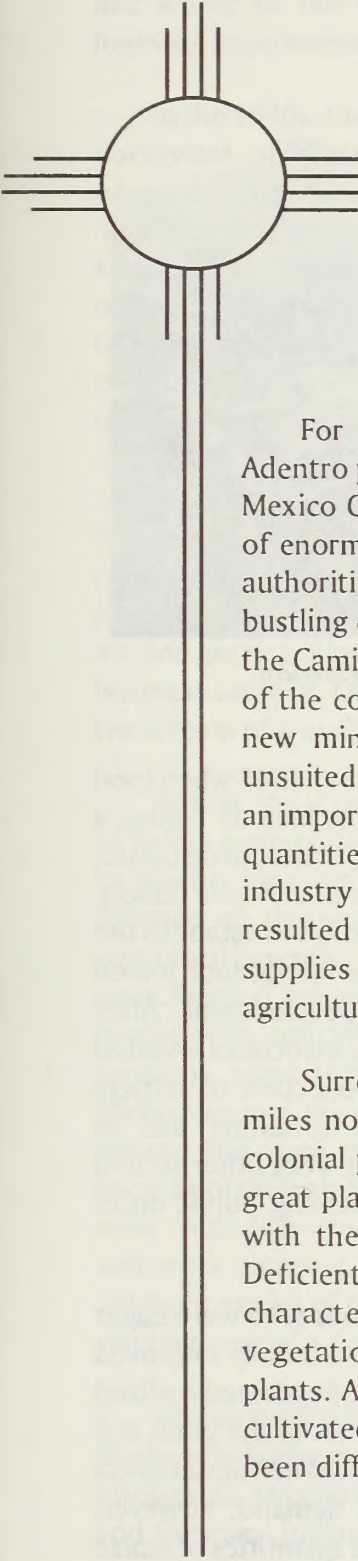
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11. Agriculture and the Camino Real

Food Supplies for Zacatecas

John O. Baxter

For more than three centuries the Camino Real de la Tierra Adentro provided New Spain's principal communications link between Mexico City and the far-off northern settlements. With the discovery of enormous silver deposits at Zacatecas and beyond, governmental authorities recognized the need for an improved road to supply the bustling camps and expedite delivery of bullion to the capital. By 1598 the Camino extended all the way to New Mexico, following the arrival of the colonizing expedition led by Don Juan de Oñate. Because the new mines were often located at high elevations in arid regions unsuited to farming, transport of agricultural products quickly became an important part of the traffic on the "King's Highway." To deliver large quantities of grain and other commodities at the camps, a freighting industry sprang up, one of the many secondary enterprises that resulted from the mining boom. The problem of providing food supplies to Zacatecas illustrates the relationships between mining, agriculture, and transport in New Spain's economy.

Surrounded by low mountains, Zacatecas is located about 370 miles northwest of Mexico City at an elevation of 8000 feet in the colonial province of Nueva Galicia. Close to the southern edge of the great plateau that slopes downward to the north toward the border with the United States, it is one of the highest cities in Mexico. Deficient in rainfall, the surrounding countryside is a desertic region characterized by thin soils unsuitable for farming. The native vegetation consists of nopal cactus, mesquite, yucca, and similar plants. Although the Zacatecos Indians and other neighboring tribes cultivated small patches of maize and beans, agriculture has always been difficult there.



Figure 31. *New Mexico Scene*, by Richard Tallent, courtesy of Western History Department, Denver Public Library.

The first silver strike at Zacatecas took place on 8 September 1546 when local Indians gave some rich ore samples to an exploring party led by Juan de Tolosa, a Basque prospector. Tolosa's backers included another Basque, Cristóbal de Oñate, an experienced mining entrepreneur and one of the richest men in Nueva Galicia. His son, Juan de Oñate, subsequently obtained royal authorization to establish the first permanent colony in New Mexico. A third Basque, Diego de Ibarra, soon joined Tolosa at the mines and played a leading role in their development. After discovering more promising silver lodes, the Basques and their associates founded the town of Zacatecas to encourage settlement. A rowdy collection of settlers arrived, including at least three hundred Spaniards "skilled in mining" and an uncounted number of Indian, black, and mestizo laborers. Far from other settled communities, Zacatecas faced immediate problems in maintaining public order and securing a reliable food supply.

News of the bonanza soon reached farmers in other regions who were eager to cash in on the high prices rumored at Zacatecas. Despite a lack of improved roads and increased raiding by Indians, farmers and speculators (*regatones*) realized that anticipated profits made the risks worthwhile. At first most of the grain and other food products carried to Zacatecas came from settled areas in Nueva Galicia near Guadalajara, the provincial capital. Continuing strong demand, however, encouraged producers from more distant regions to send large quantities of maize

and wheat to the mines. To expedite travel, governmental authorities gave highway improvements their full attention.

In the 1540s, the improved portion of the Camino Real ended about 130 miles northwest of Mexico City at Querétaro, an important town in the fertile wheat-growing area known as the Bajío. Beginning in 1549, Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza pressed for new construction all the way to Zacatecas by way of San Miguel, San Felipe, and Cuicillo, a distance of about 240 miles. Mendoza also ordered the renovation of existing routes, especially feeder roads west of the Camino that reached into Michoacán, another important agricultural center. For the convenience of travelers and to prevent forcible expropriation of food supplies from Indian villages, the viceroy allowed concessionaires to operate a series of inns (*ventas*) along the Camino. Managed at various locations by Spanish ranchers, sedentary Indians, and members of New Spain's many religious orders, the *ventas* furnished food and resting places at regular intervals in otherwise uninhabited regions. They also provided some protection from nomadic raiders and brigands. In 1550, authorities granted one of the first licenses to Cristóbal de Oñate for an inn and grazing allotment ten leagues up the road from San Miguel. With his usual business acumen, Oñate had been quick to recognize possibilities for profit from the stream of travellers following the Camino Real.

At first, most of the supplies bound for Zacatecas were carried on the backs of Indian porters (*tamemes*), the same carriers who had provided basic transport in Mexico long before the Spaniards arrived. Although governmental officials frowned on the use of *tamemes* and tried to prohibit their exploitation, they continued in service until livestock numbers increased sufficiently to replace them. As additional animals became available, mule trains began to ply the Camino, loaded with agricultural products of all kinds. The muleteers, often Indians or mestizos, acted as middlemen between the farming villages in Nueva Galicia and Michoacán and the diverse population at the mines. Wheeled vehicles known as *carretas* and *carros* eventually took over most of the heavy hauling on the Camino because of their ability to carry bulky loads. Made almost entirely of wood, *carretas* were crude two-wheeled carts, usually drawn by a pair of oxen. *Carros* were larger and more complex, but historians disagree as to whether they were simply an enlarged model of the *carreta* or were built with four wheels, somewhat like the running gear of a Conestoga wagon.

Not surprisingly, the nomadic tribesmen who inhabited the region bisected by the new highway regarded the Spanish intrusion into their hunting grounds as intolerable. Hostilities began late in 1550 with attacks by Zacatecos, Guachichile, and Guamare Indians on mule trains and wagons plying the Zacatecas road. The

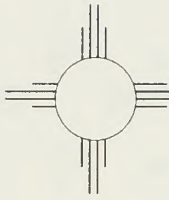


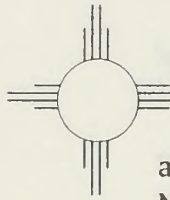
Figure 32. Oxen and carreta, photo by Ben Wittick, courtesy of Centennial Museum, UTEP.

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first raids were easily repulsed, but they marked the beginning of the great Chichimec War, a conflict that raged intermittently for fifty years. In 1561, after looting a number of haciendas, the natives attacked Sombrerete and San Martín, mining towns northwest of Zacatecas, and even cut off food supplies to Zacatecas itself. These episodes of intensive warfare were interspersed with long periods of relative peace. During the 1570s, Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa ordered the erection of several presidios beyond San Miguel, which ameliorated the risks to merchants and other travelers along the Camino. Although long and costly, the Chichimec War failed to discourage Spanish expansion in the north.

Of the agricultural products exported to Zacatecas, the two staple food grains, maize and wheat, were the most important. For centuries before the Spanish conquest, maize had been the principal source of nourishment among the indigenous peoples throughout Mesoamerica. Although Spaniards much preferred white bread made from wheat flour to corn tortillas, during times of shortage they often preempted native maize supplies, causing much suffering among the Indians. At Zacatecas, the gangs of laborers working in the mines required substantial amounts of maize each day. A regulatory code issued in 1570 required employers of free Indians to give them a daily ration of a *cuartillo* (about 2 1/2 pounds) of maize, and an unspecified quantity of *frijoles* (beans). Also, during the dry season when pasture was short, the community needed additional maize to maintain the thousands of mules employed at the mines. As we have seen, some maize came from Michoacán and the Bajío over the Camino Real and its feeder roads. Additional supplies arrived from sources nearer at hand, including the deep canyons to the southwest near Juchipila, which provided the warm and humid environment needed for maize production. East of the canyons, farmers from Aguascalientes and Lagos brought grain to Zacatecas. Northwest of the town, the Fresnillo region, which was watered by the absurdly named "Río Grande," provided maize, wheat, and an assortment of garden produce: squash, chile, tomatoes, beans, cabbage, and lentils.

Wheat was also in great demand. Once the conquistadores had successfully established themselves in New Spain, they began to yearn for some of the accustomed amenities left behind, particularly the taste of white bread. Tired of corn tortillas, the newcomers attempted to begin wheat production by persuading the Indians to sow a few seeds beside their maize plants. The experiment failed, however, because of basic differences between the two cereals, exacerbated by native apathy. Unlike maize, which usually did well enough with only seasonal rains, wheat almost always needed irrigation. To raise a satisfactory crop required careful supervision of the Indian labor force throughout the entire growing cycle. In the Bajío, hacendados usually plowed their fields in early fall and planted wheat



around the first of November. Usually, three irrigations were required: in November, either just before or soon after sowing; when the first sprigs emerged in January; and in March. The harvest took place in May. Raising a winter crop eliminated the danger of infestation by *el chahuistle* or *la roya*, folk terms for stem rust, a fungal plant disease that destroys wheat and spreads rapidly during hot, humid weather.

Although Zacatecas became renowned for the quality of its white bread during the colonial era, much of the grain for its manufacture came from distant places. After 1550, as mentioned previously, wagon trains loaded with wheat toiled up the Camino Real toward Zacatecas from such Bajío towns as Queretaro, Celaya, and other points in the Lerma and Laja valleys. Undaunted by an arduous 240-mile haul that greatly inflated costs, producers there effectively used economies of scale to retain market share well into the late seventeenth century, despite competition from new sources closer at hand. As the Chichimec War came to an end, the Spanish Crown approved a number of large land grants in the Bajío and other areas recently evacuated by the Indians. Many of these grants were subsequently consolidated into the great haciendas, which became the dominant socioeconomic institution of that era. In addition to grazing vast herds of livestock, many hacendados raised irrigated wheat for sale at the mines, thus beginning commercial agriculture in New Spain. Substantial capital resources enabled them to design and construct the large-scale water projects needed to irrigate their crops.

Extension of the Camino Real to Zacatecas mitigated, but did not eliminate, problems resulting from food shortages at the mines. As in Spain and other European countries, the Zacatecas *cabildo* (town council) assumed responsibility for controlling runaway prices. To prevent profiteering in grain during times of



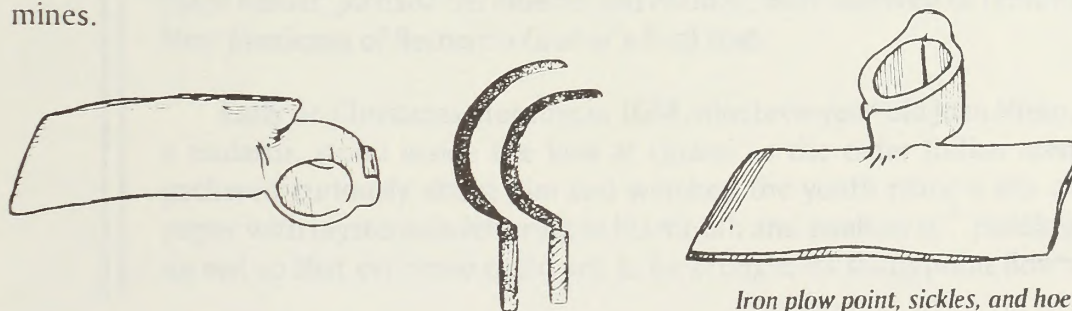
Figure 33. *Acequia*, by Charles Graham, courtesy of MNM, negative no. 147650.

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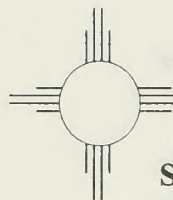
scarcity, the cabildo relied on two institutions that had originated in the Middle Ages: the *alhóndiga* and the *pósito*. First established at Zacatecas in 1623, the *alhóndiga* was a central grain market operated by municipal officials who supervised every sale of wheat and maize within the city. Dealing at other locations was illegal and subject to heavy fines. Producers paid an excise tax on each fanega delivered, and the proceeds funded various civic improvements. Occasionally, when supplies were short, officials waived the tax to discourage farmers from seeking more profitable markets elsewhere. By the end of the seventeenth century, the cabildo had surrendered management of the *alhóndiga* to private entrepreneurs who secured biennial contracts for its operation through competitive bidding.

Although the *alhóndiga* helped to stabilize prices in the short run, it lacked the necessary storage capacity to supply the city for more than a week or so if deliveries were interrupted. In New Spain during the seventeenth century, local shortages sometimes caused food riots among the poor, such as the uprisings that devastated Mexico City in 1634 and 1692. To curb urban unrest in their town, the Zacatecas cabildo, in 1692, set up a facility known as a *pósito* where they stored cheaply bought grain when supplies were ample. If hunger threatened, the city fathers offered provisions from the *pósito* to the disadvantaged at reasonable prices. Not only a grain store, the *pósito* also represented a sizable investment of the town's financial reserves. The original capital for its organization came from a loan of 6100 pesos provided by a consortium of leading citizens. Later, the *pósito* depended on tax revenues and occasional profits for operating funds, but financing proved to be a continual problem since grain supplies often sold below cost.

Although they were not completely effective, the *alhóndiga* and *pósito* provided some relief from the soaring grain prices and food shortages that resulted from drought, crop failure, and Indian warfare. Construction of the Camino Real, however, was probably more significant in providing stability in the city's grain market. Although wild price swings took place from time to time, the cost of bread at Zacatecas remained fairly steady for more than one hundred years after the first silver strike, once a reliable transportation route had been established to the mines.



Iron plow point, sickles, and hoe.



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12. Bernardo Gruber and the New Mexican Inquisition¹

Joseph P. Sanchez

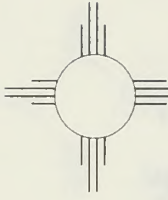
This Bernardo Gruber . . . I found to have been imprisoned . . . since the nineteenth of April of the year 1668. . . . Fray Juan de Paz has not sent him to the Holy Tribunal; and at present it is almost impossible to send him for . . . the whole land is at war with the . . . Apache Indians, who kill all the Christian Indians they can find and encounter. No road is safe.
Fray Juan Bernal, Santo Domingo Pueblo, 1 April 1670

"The German" wrote eleven slips of paper, and . . . Juan Martín also wrote. The papers had a cross on them and then these letters "ABNA"; then there was made another cross, and then the letters "ADNA" and finally a third cross.

Juan Nieto, Cuarac, 28 February 1668

Between 1668 and 1670 the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Mexico investigated its last case in the Jurisdiction of Salinas. Facing charges of superstition, Bernardo Gruber, a German trader from Sonora, suffered an ordeal at the hands of frontier Inquisition authorities that cost him his life. Aware that Gruber had been mistreated, officials of the Holy Tribunal in Mexico City moved to lessen the powers of local agents of the Holy Office in outlying provinces like New Mexico. By that time, however, Gruber was dead and his case closed. Along the dry wastelands north of El Paso, two place names, Jornada del Muerto and Alemán, have survived to remind New Mexicans of Bernardo Gruber's final test.

Early on Christmas morning in 1668, nineteen-year-old Juan Nieto, a mulatto, stood inside the kiva at Quarai as the older Indian men gathered curiously about him and watched the youth place a slip of paper with mysterious lettering in his mouth and swallow it.² Holding an awl so that everyone could see it, he brought its sharp point down



Fray Juan Bernal
Comis. del E. Auó.

Fray Juan Bernal, agent of the Holy Office (from Kiva, Cross, and Crown, NPS; Kessell 1979:213).

swiftly on his hand and again on his wrist. In awe, the spectators watched the self-mutilation, but they were amazed that no blood flowed from his upturned arm.

Later, Juan went to the *casa de comunidad*, a communal lodging house in the pueblo. Upon entering, he saw his wife, Magdalena Montaña, and two other people. Calmly, he swallowed another piece of paper, grabbed a dagger, and began to stab at his legs. Juan quickly explained his bizarre behavior by saying that he did not believe the slips of paper would protect him; he only pretended to stab himself with the dagger in order to fool those who saw him do it. At the time, Juan did not realize that this hoax would spell serious trouble for Bernardo Gruber, also known as El Alemán (the German). For Gruber, this was to be the beginning of a two-year nightmare.

Just an hour before Juan Nieto's strange feats of "magic," Bernardo Gruber and his New Mexican friend Juan Martín Serrano were inside Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, the church of Quarai Pueblo, attending Christmas mass. As Fray Francisco de Salazar began to sing the Gospel Acclamation, Gruber and Martín climbed up the choir loft ladder and approached the chorus members. Whispering to them, Gruber explained, "He who eats one of these slips of paper, will, from that hour of this first day to that same hour of the second day, be free from any harm, whether it be caused by knife or shot."³ Nodding to them with assurance, he pulled some slips of paper from his pocket, and on eleven of them he and Martín wrote "†ABNATAKNAT†". Nieto stepped forth and asked for one.

After the Nieto incidents at the kiva and the *casa de comunidad*, Juan Martín, who had acknowledged that the act of swallowing the slips of paper was one of superstition, challenged Gruber to test his belief in their power. As Martín drew his sword, El Alemán unsheathed his weapon, yelling, "This is how the test should

be made!"⁴ As Nieto looked on, Martín backed down. Three days later, encouraged by his wife, Juan Nieto reported his behavior and the activities of Gruber to Fray Joseph de Paredes, the *ministro guardian* of San Buenaventura de las Humanas. By that time, the threat of a widespread practice of this superstitious activity had passed, for witnesses stated that Gruber had said the charm could only be worked on the first day of Christmas. Nonetheless, Father Paredes began the investigation of Bernardo Gruber's magic.⁵

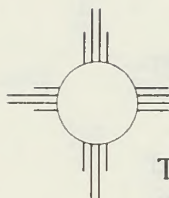
Because of the cold weather, Gruber remained in the protected valley of the Manzano Mountains where he could graze his livestock and trade with the people of Quarai and Abó. As spring approached, Fray Juan de Paz, *comisario de Nuevo México*, the agent of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, who presided at the northern mission of Santo Domingo along the Rio Grande,⁶ demanded that Gruber remain at his present location and warned him not to flee.⁶ Undoubtedly the apprehensive German weighed the consequences of remaining in New Mexico any longer.

Meanwhile Father Paz made a decision that would begin the severe testing of Bernardo Gruber. Unbeknown to El Alemán, his trial began on 19 April 1668, just after 7 P.M. Armed with a writ of arrest by order of the Holy Office, Captain Joseph Nieto, the *alcalde mayor* of the Jurisdiction of Salinas; Fray Gabriel Toríja, the Franciscan minister of San Gregorio de Abó and notary for the Inquisition;⁷ and Juan and Joseph Martín Serrano departed Abó for Quarai to arrest Gruber.

As night fell on the trail from Abó to Quarai, the four men walked through one of the many small valleys of the Salinas Jurisdiction. At about 10 P.M. they arrived at Quarai Pueblo. Entering the *casa de comunidad*, they found the unsuspecting Gruber, who had simultaneously entered the room through another door. In the dim candlelight, the blue-robed Fray Gabriel could see that the German was unarmed and held a *jícara de agua* (gourd of water) in his hands. Behind him was another man, Manuel Valencia, a visitor to Quarai.

Stepping forward, Captain Nieto told Gruber that he was under arrest "by order of the Holy Office of the Inquisition." Gruber responded, "Very well," and submitted without a struggle. Next the captain asked him to surrender his weapons, a harquebus and a sword, which were leaning against one of the walls. The German also pulled a knife from his pocket and cautiously handed it over to Captain Nieto. Valencia was then told to leave, and he did so without speaking a word.

While Captain Nieto and Fray Gabriel went out to saddle Gruber's horses, enough for all of them to ride, Joseph and Juan Martín stood guard over El Alemán.



Their silent prisoner was dressed in fine clothing, typical of the period. Gruber wore a *jubón* or doublet, which is a short-waisted jacket, and pantaloons with woolen stockings. To keep warm, the German wrapped himself with an elkskin overcoat. In a short while, Captain Nieto returned and gave the order to mount the horses.

After midnight the small party arrived at Abó; the prisoner was taken to a small room for detention. Because the room lacked security, Gruber's guards, Joseph and Juan, were obliged to watch the room day and night until a more suitable place could be found.

Later that day Fray Juan de Paz arrived, the agent of the Inquisition and a Franciscan Gruber had met once before. Captain Nieto and Juan Martín Serrano followed him into the cell. Fray Juan explained that he was there as a matter of routine to ask Gruber a few questions and to take inventory of his property.⁸ When this was done, Father Paz read the list to Gruber for verification: ten mules, thirteen stallions, five mares, three oxen, three Apache servants (two of them female and one of them a fourteen- or fifteen-year-old male, all of them non-Christians), 105 pairs of assorted woolen socks, an embroidered pillow, fourteen pairs of understockings, two beautifully painted elkskins, and, of course, a sword, a harquebus, one knife, a powder belt, and a small ax. The list continued with eighty-eight elkskins, one tent made from several buckskins, three buckskin bags, two old saddles, one mule bridle, seven harnesses with ropes, and packsaddle pads. Before he approved the inventory, Gruber presented Paz with notes signed by seven individuals who owed him a total of ninety-two pesos. Gruber double-checked the list to make sure it was correct.

Speaking to Paz, the German made several requests, the first of which named Sargento Mayor Francisco Valencia, alcalde mayor of the Jurisdiction of Isleta, as the executor of his property. Paz agreed. Gruber also asked that a representative be named to collect his debts. Because he was confident that he would be acquitted, Gruber requested that his case be expedited so he could get back to his business. Offering to pay the salaries of two guards, El Alemán proposed that he be sent to Mexico City as soon as possible so the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition could hear his case.

On May 14, Father Paz reported to the Holy Tribunal that Gruber had been held at Abó for nearly a month in a cell that did not have the necessary facilities to ensure his incarceration. The guards, under pain of excommunication, watched the cell door and window every moment of the day. Because Abó lacked a room large enough for the Inquisition to hold hearings on the matter, Father Paz

negotiated with Captain Francisco de Ortega, owner of the *estancia* (ranch) of San Nicolás in the Jurisdiction of Sandía Pueblo, to use his house. Four days later, the shackled prisoner was taken over a mountain road under heavy guard to Ortega's ranch. The captain met him at the door and politely extended his hospitality to the entire party, in accordance with Spanish custom. Gruber was led to a room that had one window with heavy wooden bars and one door. For the next twenty-five months this small room, albeit an improvement over his cell at Abó, would be his prison.⁹

He was fully aware of the testimony against him that had been taken in March. By that time Juan Nieto, the leading witness, had explained the hoax and affirmed the powerlessness of the formula that Gruber had given him. At least one witness shrugged off the incident by saying that Gruber had been drunk at the time. But to Paz the damning ingredients of the German's magic could not be put aside. After all, Gruber had promised immortality to Juan Nieto on a holy day inside a church while Mass was being said, and he had used a mysterious formula to work his charm. There would be no pardon for Gruber; he was remanded to his cell at Ortega's house on the Rio Abajo under the custody of the Inquisition.

Almost two years passed without any action from the Inquisition authorities in New Mexico. If the officials of the Holy Office had any case against El Alemán, they had failed to present it. No new evidence or testimony had surfaced. Later, after harsh criticism from the Holy Tribunal in Mexico City about the inability of Friar Paz to bring the case to trial, his replacement, Fray Juan Bernal, responded that owing to drought, famine, and Apache raids it would have been difficult to transfer Gruber to Mexico.¹⁰ Instead, the German had languished in his little cell at Ortega's ranch.

During that time, Gruber's property was loaned out to different individuals. Too weak to survive the winters of New Mexico, his stock began to die. Indians hired to care for his herds reported that five horses and one mule had died. In June of 1668, Gruber's teenage Indian servant Atanasio, who had been given to the widow María Martín of the Salinas Jurisdiction, ran away. Father Toríja made every effort to find him, but failed.¹¹

After two years of imprisonment, a desperate Gruber began to plot his escape. Somehow he had managed to enlist two accomplices. One of them was his guard and debtor, Juan Martín Serrano. The other was Atanasio, who had secretly returned to help his former master. Juan's role was to smuggle supplies and a weapon to Gruber, while Atanasio would implement the escape plans. In the meantime, Gruber would complete his part of the plot.¹²

A few days before the daring escape, Gruber called to his guards and complained of a sharp pain on his right side. He said he had some sort of liver ailment. In order to make him more comfortable the guards agreed to remove his shackles. The German further convinced his keepers of his failing health by refusing to eat for three days. As soon as he was alone, he began to loosen the wooden bars to his prison window. With his shackles removed and the heavy wooden bars loosened somewhat, Gruber waited for his accomplices to act.¹³

For three successive nights before the escape, a servant of Captain Ortega named Nicolasillo, from the Humanas nation, observed Juan Martín Serrano ride his horse to the smithy on the Ortega ranch, dismount, and tie his horse to an iron ring. As usual, Martín went to Gruber's window and handed him supplies. A loaf

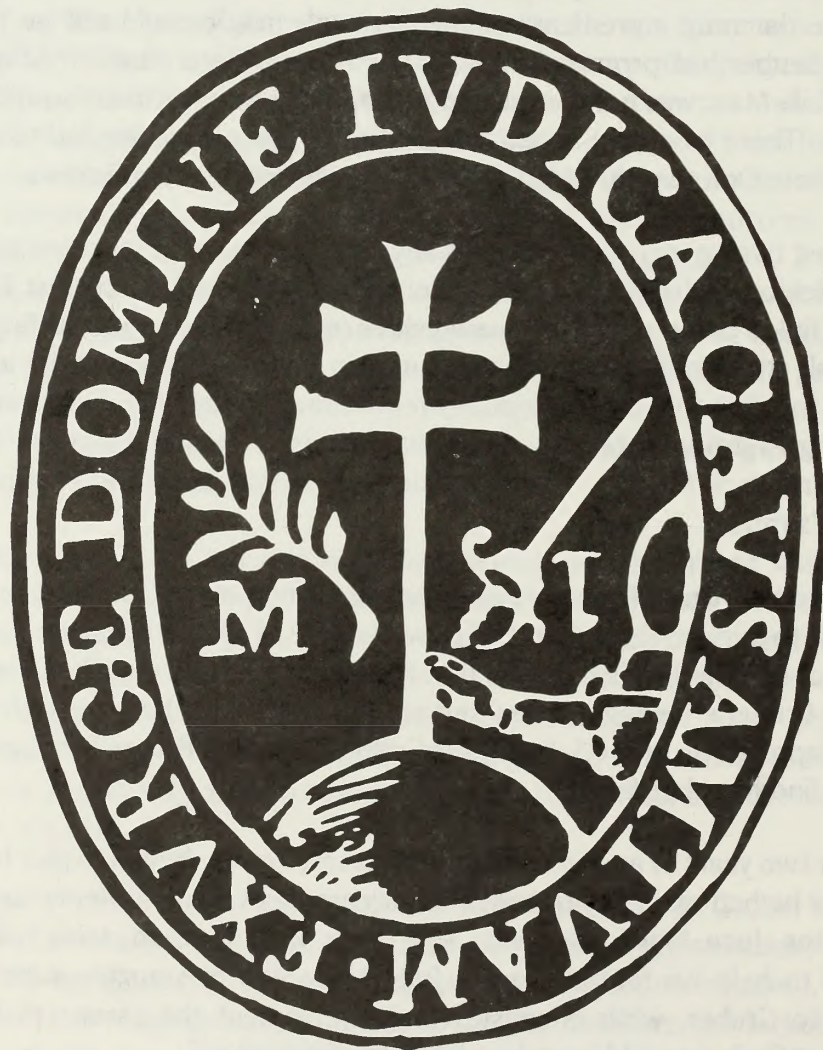


Figure 34. Seal of the Mexican Inquisition (from Kiva, Cross, and Crown, NPS; Kessell 1979:172).

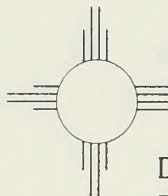
of sugar, a small bag with toasted ground maize, a bag of gunpowder, and three rounds of shot were passed to him through the bars of his jail. On the last night, the German received the harquebus belonging to Captain Ortega, who lay asleep near the cell. Juan had completed his part of the plan.

At midnight on Sunday, 22 June 1670, Atanasio made his way into Ortega's corral, saddled two horses, and separated three others for the escape. Sneaking past the sleeping guard, Atanasio reached Gruber's window. Quietly they worked to remove the bars. The German handed his supplies to the waiting Apache and then climbed out. It had taken longer than they had anticipated. By the time they led their horses out of the corral, it was nearly three in the morning.¹⁴

Riding south through the *bosques* of the Sandía Jurisdiction, the two horsemen followed the Camino Real. After several leagues they came to a fork in the road. One of the roads led to the house of Thomé Domínguez de Mendoza, an *encomendero* of the area, nearly a league away. They were getting close to Isleta Pueblo. Suddenly, El Alemán's heart must have skipped a beat; he saw a rider coming toward them! It was Francisco, son of Thomé. They greeted each other. Gruber said, "Don't tell anyone you have seen me." The good-natured Francisco agreed, then offered them better riding horses. Gruber refused, saying, "I appreciate your offer, but we'd best get on, it's getting late." Francisco watched in the pale light of dawn as they rode away.

Hours later, at the estancia of San Nicolás, Ortega awakened from his slumber. Passing near Gruber's cell, he noticed the broken window bars. Quickly he opened the cell door and saw that Gruber was gone. After a fruitless search of the general vicinity, Ortega dashed off a message to Captain Alonso de García, alcalde mayor of the Sandía Jurisdiction, informing him of the escape. Running his horse at a gallop, Ortega went south to the Camino Real, where he picked up Gruber's trail. He stopped at Francisco Valencia's hacienda to alert him of Gruber's escape. Riding hard from there, Ortega followed the trail leading to Domínguez de Mendoza's house. A short while later, a tired Ortega arrived at Don Thomé's doorstep and told him about Gruber. Thomé listened but refused to aid in the search; he believed that Gruber had suffered enough. Angry, Ortega mounted his jaded horse and returned to his ranch. Without horses and supplies he could not pursue Gruber into the hot *malpaís* that lay to the south.¹⁵

On June 24, Ortega departed his ranch for Pecos. Riding northeast, he arrived at the mission four days later. There Fray Juan Bernal, the commissary of the Inquisition, received him. Ortega explained that Gruber had escaped from his house near Sandía Pueblo and that he had followed the trail as far south as



Domínguez de Mendoza's ranch. Hopes for catching Gruber had been dashed by Don Thomé's refusal to help. After listening to Ortega, Friar Bernal offered an idea. In a few days, messengers were sent south to the agents of the Holy Office in Chihuahua and Sonora advising them to apprehend Gruber should he enter their jurisdictions. After his conference at Pecos, Ortega went to Santa Fe to tell Governor Juan de Medrano y Mesias (1668–1671) about Gruber's flight into the *despoblado*. Nine days had passed since the German's escape before Captain Cristóbal de Anaya, under the governor's orders to pursue the fugitive as far as El Paso del Norte, led eight soldiers and forty Christian Indians southward.¹⁶

Many miles from them, however, Bernardo Gruber's life had already come to an end. A lone Atanasio rode into Mission Senecú not far from Socorro. There he was apprehended by Anaya. Atanasio confessed his story to Fray Francisco Nicolás Hurtado, *ministro de doctrina del Convento de Senecú*. The Apache picked up the narrative at the fork in the Camino Real after they had left Francisco Domínguez de Mendoza. Riding day and night through Tuesday, June 24, they passed the feast day of San Juan on the trail somewhere near Senecú. That night they camped at a place called Fray Cristóbal. The next day they pulled their tired horses through the hot wasteland to Las Penuelas, which was waterless. They arrived there at about 4 P.M., when the sun was still high. Exhausted, thirsty, and dusty, Gruber, unable to travel any farther, sent young Atanasio in search of water. "Bring it back in a *jícara*," he said hoarsely. In case of danger, he gave his harquebus to the Apache, who traveled a full day to the water hole at San Diego, reaching it at midday on Thursday.¹⁷

At the water hole, Atanasio filled the jug and rode back toward Las Penuelas. But on the way the *jícara* broke, and Atanasio returned to San Diego for water. The only way he had to carry water was to soak his *sudador* (saddle blanket). When Atanasio finally arrived at Las Penuelas on Friday morning, Gruber was gone! He had taken only one horse south along the Camino Real; the other three were still there. The youth spent the rest of Friday and Saturday in an unsuccessful search for El Alemán. Returning to Senecú, Atanasio went to the convento to report Gruber's disappearance.

After listening to the young Apache, Fray Francisco ordered four Indians to take Atanasio to Pedro de Leyba, the *alcalde mayor* of the Jurisdiction of Senecú in Socorro. From there he was transferred to Sandía Pueblo, where he was interrogated by Fray Pedro de Ayala and Padre Bernal. At first Atanasio claimed to be the sole accomplice in the escape of Bernardo Gruber. But Fray Pedro, who was aware of Nicolasillo's testimony, was able to implicate Juan Martín Serrano as well. Soon after his interrogation, Atanasio ran away. Father Ayala believed that he had

returned to Sonora. Later it would be said, without proof, that Atanasio had killed Gruber.¹⁸

Although Leyba and seven Indians also searched the despoblado in vain for Gruber, what were believed to be the German's remains were found quite by accident by another group of men near a point that would later bear the place name Alemán. New Mexican lore would commemorate the trail as the Jornada del Muerto (The Dead Man's Journey). Almost three weeks after his escape, five traders on the way to Parral in Chihuahua passed between Las Penuelas and El Perillo. One of them, Captain Andres de Peralta, strayed from the group, then called out to his companions that he had found something. Francisco del Castillo Betancur, who knew Gruber well, was with them. Writing from Parral to a friend in New Mexico in September 1670, Castillo described what he had seen:

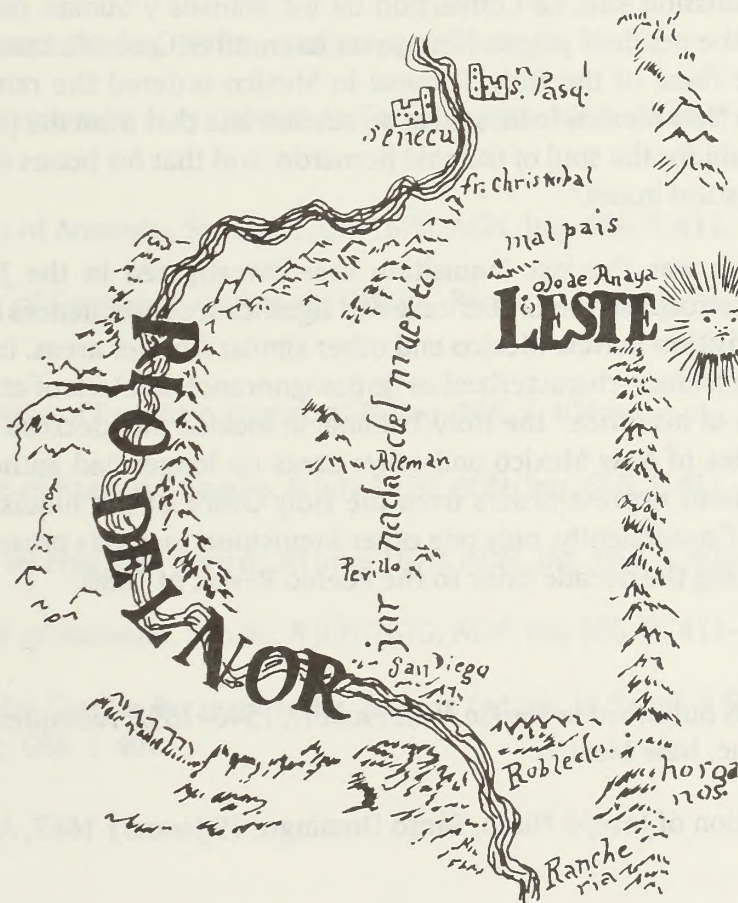
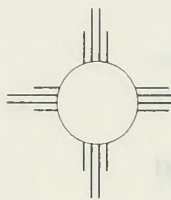


Figure 35. Detail of Miera y Pacheco's 1758 map.



I went to him and found a roan horse tied to a tree by a halter. It was dead and near it was a doublet or coat of blue cloth lined with otter skin. There were also a pair of trousers of the same material, and other remnants of clothing that had decayed. I examined them, and it seemed that they belonged to Bernardo Gruber, the fugitive. I made a search which did not result in vain, for I found at once all of his hair and the remnants of clothing which he had worn. I and my companions searched carefully for the bones, and found in very widely separated places the skull, three ribs, two long bones, and two other little bones which had been gnawed by animals. This, sir, occurred on Wednesday the thirtieth of the month of July of this present year. It is supposed that an Indian who was traveling with Bernardo Gruber killed him.¹⁹

Castillo and his companions took Gruber's remains to El Paso del Norte. There, outside a mission site, La Conversión de los Mansos y Sumas, the bones were buried by the resident priest. Nine years later, after Gruber's case was officially closed, the fiscal of the Holy Tribunal in Mexico ordered the remainder of his property in New Mexico to be sold at an auction and that from the proceeds "mass might be said for the soul of the said Bernardo, and that his bones might be given an ecclesiastical burial."²⁰

Gruber's was the last Inquisition case investigated in the Jurisdiction of Salinas. In retrospect, the Gruber case had significant consequences for the history of the Inquisition in New Mexico and other similar frontier areas. In condemning Friar Paz's conduct, characterized as "gross ignorance and lack of attention to the obligations of his office," the Holy Tribunal in Mexico City decreed that the local commissaries of New Mexico and other areas no longer had authority to make arrests without express orders from the Holy Office of the Inquisition (Scholes 1942:321). Consequently, only one other Inquisition case was prosecuted in New Mexico during the decade prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

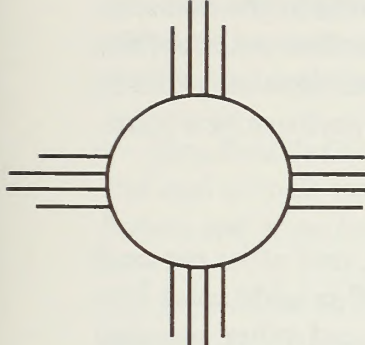
Notes

1. Originally published in *The Rio Abajo Frontier, 1540-1692*, Albuquerque Museum, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
2. Declaration of Joseph Nieto, Santo Domingo, 19 January 1667, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 375.
3. Declaration of Juan Martin Serrano, *ibid.*, f. 380. Testimony of Joseph Nieto, Santo Domingo, 9 January 1667, AGN, Inq. 608, f. 435.

4. Contestación, Cuarcac, 8 February 1668, AGN, Inq. 608, f. 436.
5. Declaration of Juan Martín Serrano, *ibid.*, f. 380. Inquiry signed by Fray Joseph de Paredes, Abó, 21 June 1668, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 387.
6. Testimony of Fray Gabriel Toríja, Joseph Martín Serrano and Juan Martín Serrano in AGN, Inq. 666 and 608.
7. *Ibid.* Also see, Writ of Arrest, Abó, 19 April 1668, AGN, Inq. 608, f. 390.
8. Inventory of Gruber's sequestered property, AGN, Inq. 608 and 666.
9. Autos sent by Fray Juan Bernal to Mexico City, AGN, Inq. 608, f. 333. Also see, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 406.
10. *Ibid.* Also see AGN, Inq. 590 for similar commentary.
11. Signed statement by Fray Gabriel de Toríja, 9 June 1668, Cuarcac, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 399.
12. Declaration of Atanasio, Sandía, 8 July 1670, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 411.
13. Testimony of Captain Francisco de Ortega, Pecos, 30 June 1670, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 406.
14. Undated letter of Fray Juan Bernal, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 404.
15. Declaration of Atanasio, Sandía, 8 July 1670, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 411.
16. Statement by Fray Juan Bernal, 30 June 1670, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 408.
17. Declaration of Atanasio, Sandía, 8 July 1670, AGN, Inq. 666, ff. 411–412.
18. Francisco del Castillo Betancur to Dr. Juan de Ortega, El Parral, 1 September 1670, AGN, Inq. 666, f. 402.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*

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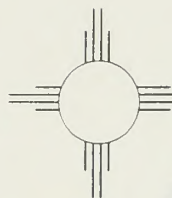
13. "Purchased in Chihuahua for Feasts"

David H. Snow

On 7 February 1598, under the leadership of Juan de Oñate, 83 wagons and carts filled with an impressive array of personal and trade goods, equipment, and supplies, accompanied by some four thousand head of cattle, sheep, and goats, horses, and mules; 129 soldiers, their wives, children and assorted Mexican Indian and mulatto servants, along with ten friars, marched northward from Santa Bárbara toward the northern Rio Grande valley in New Mexico (see Chapter 4 for additional details). That entourage must have cut a highly visible swath across the terrain as it worked its way northward into what is now the United States; whatever its exact route, it was the initial imprint of the Camino Real between Santa Fe and the Mexican interior.

Over this grandiloquently named cart trail and cattle path for the next roughly 225 years moved the wherewithal by which the colonial frontier maintained a semblance of civilization and, more important, of "Spanishness." Supplies, equipment and tools, household furnishings, and personal items in the form of necessities or luxuries from Europe, China, or elsewhere in the New World were carried in large quantities over this trail into northern New Mexico by local merchants and entrepreneurs well into the mid-nineteenth century.

Initially the six-month journey from Mexico, through the staging settlements located in the Indé and Santa Bárbara valleys in southern Chihuahua, was supported by the Crown and supplied mission and colonist alike. The missions were supplied once every three years, but wagon trains with military escorts bringing new colonists and goods were more frequent, as individual colonists, civil administrators, and an increasing number of merchants moved back and forth in an effort to enhance their position and fulfill personal aspirations in this unfamiliar and often hostile natural and cultural environment.



This brief overview of the highlights of that trade, supported by the exchange of mundane subsistence products of New Mexican colonial endeavors, identifies some of those merchants and the nature of the necessities and luxuries critical to the well-being and self-esteem of the *vecinos* (residents) of far northern New Spain.

Colonists, Missions, and Politicians

The inventories of personal equipment, tools, clothing, and other personal effects taken north by Oñate's men and their families in 1598 provide some idea of the value associated, for example, with proper dress and other personal accoutrements worthy of Spanish conquerors. A complete declaration of what Captain Alonso de Quesada took "to serve his majesty in New Mexico" in 1598 follows (also see Chapter 7); for comparison, the belongings of a common soldier, Juan Ruíz de Cáceres, are also listed (Hammond and Rey 1953:252–253, 534–535).

Alonso de Quesada: First, two male servants and a woman servant married to one of the males; personal armor consisting of one fine coat of mail, beaver, cuisses, and a jacket, all of excellent mail; one good native harquebus and accessories, together with two pounds of powder and four of shot; one short lance and a captain's lance; a sword and dagger; some fine horse armor of buckskin; one strong leather shield; three *jineta* saddles and one good *estradiota* saddle; four cavalry horses; two team mules and two team horses; twelve ordinary horses, fifteen mares, and one jackass; two tents, one with 54 varas of frieze cloth; one bed, two blankets, a bedspread of green cloth, four sheets, four pillows, a mattress and bedding bag of frieze; four suits, one of purple velvet with a short cloak of pale green Castilian cloth, one of coarse plain gray Castilian cloth, one of fine monk's cloth lined with yellow damask and trimmed with silver braids, and the last of plain greenish cloth; four hats, two expensive and two plain; six doublets, two of silk and two of linen, two buff; four pairs of stockings, of various colors, and four woolen; ten linen shirts; four pairs of linen breeches; three towels; three pairs of sleeves and three of garters; two under-waistcoats for the mail; needles, thimbles, scissors, white thread, and silk thread of all colors; one gross of buttons and six dozen ribbons; three boxes of knives; six bridles, three of local make; one hundred cakes of soap; ten pairs of cordovan leather shoes; three pairs of cordovan buskins and some white boots; two pairs of calfskin boots and six pairs of calfskin shoes; three pairs of spurs; one dozen pairs of horse and mule shoes with three hundred nails; a set of horseshoeing tools; two halters, girths, and two cruppers; eight sacks of frieze; an iron bar; two currycombs; an ax for firewood; one large boiler, one olla and one comal all of copper; one grinding stone, three pewter plates and one large brass mortar; some pincers to mend the meshes of a coat of mail and punches and tools for making arms; seven books, religious and

non-religious; further, one soldier armed at my expense, with all his equipment, including harquebus, beaver, coat of mail, cuisses, horse-armor, saddles, horses, clothes, and foot gear.

Juan Ruíz de Cáceres: One sword; one harquebus, with accessories; one beaver and coat of mail; two suits of clothes; two pairs of boots; four pairs of shoes; six horses; and some horse armor.

In addition to the formally organized and controlled mission supply trains (discussed in Chapter 6), a certain amount of trade was controlled by New Mexico's early governors, whose official capacity provided an opportunity for the unscrupulous accumulation of quantities of local products, such as "hides, coarse textiles, salt, and piñon, and a goodly number of [Indian] slaves to be resold in New Spain" (Scholes 1935:110, 1936:328; also see Hackett 1937:47, 68–69). Along with cattle and sheep—most of which were in the hands of the church personnel, who "had more stock than the citizens" (Scholes 1935:107–108; also see Hackett 1937:69)—these items were the stock-in-trade of New Mexico's seventeenth-century exchange system with the interior of Mexico.

Among the more notorious of the commercially minded governors of the period were Juan López de Mendizabal, Luis de Rosas, and Diego de Peñalosa. López, for example, was said to have set up "a store in the Casa Real in Santa Fe, where he did an extensive business" (Scholes 1937:380). Following his arrest by Peñalosa, López' successor, among his effects were listed 410 libras of chocolate, "the remainder of a large supply that López had brought from New Spain for sale" (Scholes 1940:258). More significant, Peñalosa also seized silver bullion valued at 2904 pesos, "the proceeds of goods sold in Sonora for López' account," as well as an unsettled claim by López against Francisco Xavier "for goods sold in Parral" (Scholes 1940:258–259). Peñalosa and his agents illegally purchased these and other goods from López' storehouses, and an amount totaling five cartloads was destined for resale in Parral, Zacatecas, and Mexico City. Two of Peñalosa's servants, Lucas de Villasante and Tomás de Granillo, were in charge of the shipment, with Villasante and Pedro Martínez de Moya listed as "owners." Part of the gross had been consigned to Peñalosa's agents in Nueva Vizcaya, but sacks of piñon nuts and other items were "sent as gifts to various persons in Mexico City, including the viceroy, *oidores* ("hearer"; judge), treasury officials, and friends of the governor" (Scholes 1940:261). An embargo was placed on the shipment in January 1663, presumably because Peñalosa's seizure of the goods from the former governor was illegal, but Martínez de Moya presented witnesses to prove his ownership. These witnesses testified that "Martínez had been engaged in trade between Parral and New Mexico . . . [and] that he had purchased the goods sent

in the carts with the proceeds of European and Mexican products sold in Santa Fe" (Scholes 1940:261), but it was well known that Peñalosa was the owner and that the goods in question had formerly belonged to López de Mendizabal (additional claims against Peñalosa regarding his commercial activities are detailed in Scholes 1938).

Luis de Rosas, who was murdered by citizens of Santa Fe in 1642, was accused of forcing both Indians and Spanish citizens to work in sweatshops and weave coarse woolen and cotton fabrics, primarily blankets and stockings, for him to sell in the Mexican interior (as did López de Mendizabal). Rosas was said to have turned the Casas Reales into a public tavern where wine and chocolate were sold (Scholes 1936:329). Rosas employed a merchant-freighter, Enrique López, who claimed residence in both Santa Fe and Parral.¹ During these troublous times in seventeenth-century New Mexico, some of the citizens were also accused of collusion with the governors. Juan Gómez Robledo and his brother, Andrés, were said to have stored a large quantity of piñon nuts, tribute from the Pueblos, for Governor Peñalosa (Chavez 1954:37). In the other direction, Juan Gómez de Luna and Matías Romero were charged with illicit trafficking among the Plains Indians for Governor Rosas (Chavez 1954:64, 97).



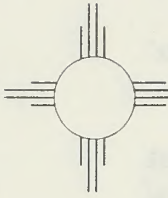
Figure 36. Wagon train, from Simonin, *Le Tour de Monde*, courtesy of Western History Department, Denver Public Library.

Yet a third system operated in seventeenth-century New Mexico, one that survived and ultimately linked the Camino Real with the commercial interests of the Santa Fe Trail trade of nineteenth-century fame. This network involved individual colonists and entrepreneurs moving goods between Santa Fe and the interior. By the mid-seventeenth century a local citizen, Andres López de Gracia (perhaps related to the earlier Enrique López, freighter-merchant for Luis de Rosas), was reported to have had wagons running between Santa Fe and Mexico City (Chavez 1954:55), and in 1669, Bernardo Gruber, "a native of Germany and a resident of the mines of Sonora . . . came to these provinces [of New Mexico] to sell merchandise and other trifles which this kingdom lacks" (Hackett 1937:271). Although the trifles are not detailed, when he was arrested on charges of witchcraft his effects were seventeen saddle- and pack-mules, thirteen horses and mares, thirteen pairs of fine stockings and socks, painted buckskins, 88 large buckskins, and a list of 92 pesos owed him by local residents (also see Chapter 12).

More mundane charges were leveled against Antonio de Carbajal, who was accused of "profiteering" along with his relatives of the Durán y Chávez clan. Diego Domínguez de Mendoza and his brother (whose mother was a sister of Pedro Durán y Chávez) were apparently involved in "black-market operations," primarily in the movement of cattle for sale in Parral (Chavez 1954). Pedro Durán y Chávez himself was reputed to have sold imported goods from Mexico at exorbitant prices, in addition to having stockpiled local products for local resale, at equally exorbitant prices (Hackett and Shelby 1942:177). Old Pedro was a baker by trade with a household, in 1680, of more than thirty servants and uncounted numbers of Indian laborers.

Few documents survived the Pueblo Revolt of 1680; what little information exists concerning the mercantile activities of the period is contained in miscellaneous Inquisition records and the *residencia* papers of former governors. Consequently, the role of the individual colonists in these affairs is virtually unknown, and our picture of the times is decidedly biased by the charges and countercharges hurled between civil and religious authorities, such as the following:

For the religious it is an interminable process, for [Governor López de Mendizabal] has tried to make us his small merchants, and to have his trading conducted in various places through the hands of the religious, so that we are buying and selling such products as are in this unhappy land in exchange for his knives. Many days before he was received he visited the convents, leaving in all through which he passed a large



number of knives, which the religious were to sell for antelope skins. He also obliged them to plant fields of cotton for him (Hackett 1937:130).

Antelope skins and woven cotton mantas and blankets had a ready market in Parral and Sonora in the seventeenth century.

The continual detailing of abuses and excesses on the part of both sides in this bitter and divisive argument was cut short only by the successful revolt of the beleaguered Pueblo Indians in August of 1680. As a result, for the next twelve years traffic along the Camino Real moved only between El Paso del Norte and the Mexican interior.

"They All Want to Be Merchants"

One Mexican viceroy commented that in eighteenth-century New Spain everyone wanted to be rich, "*y para serlo quieren todos ser mercaderes*" (and in order for it to be [to become rich] they all wanted to be merchants; cited in Brading 1985:135). According to another observer, most Spaniards in Mexico preferred to own a small shop or roadside stand (Brading 1985:135). The same author provides information on the backgrounds of fifty newly created titles of nobility conferred on residents of New Spain in the eighteenth century, the sole criterion being wealth and what it could buy; of those, 20% were listed as *comerciantes* (merchants; Brading 1985:283). In 1709, of forty heads of household listed as *vecinos* of the mining district of Santa Eulalia, outside of Chihuahua, 17.5% were either full- or part-time merchants; by the late sixteenth century the mercantile network from the interior was already reaching rapidly northward along the Camino Real across the lower reaches of the Gran Chichimeca, through Nueva Galicia, and into Nueva Vizcaya. Between 1590 and 1630, for example, in Querétaro alone more than twenty-five merchants were resident; by the mid-eighteenth century in that community were 149 *comerciantes*, sixty of whom were *peninsulares* (native Iberians; Super 1983:108-109). According to West (1949:83), thirty-seven merchants' shops comparable to the general stores in frontier communities of the American West served a mere eight hundred *vecinos* of the Parral district in 1639.

During the colonial period in Mexico the independent storekeeper, normally a *vecino* of the local community, was supplied with local products and goods obtained through local trade or from agents of Mexico City *comerciantes* and itinerant merchants and freighters. Larger stores may have been owned and operated by dealers (*comerciantes*) in Mexico City, but in New Mexico, at least, the independent entrepreneur, like Pedro Durán y Chávez, and the freighter-merchants, like Enrique and Andrés López, appear to have been the

norm. In 1650, 40 of the 56 merchants in Parral claimed permanent residence; the rest apparently operated stores as agents of large Mexican firms and were themselves vecinos of the capital (West 1949:129).

Many of New Mexico's merchants in the late seventeenth century were immigrants to the region who maintained close ties with the trading centers along the Camino Real, specifically in Chihuahua and Parral. Among the more famous of these local merchants was the Frenchman Juan de Archibeque (Jean l'Archiveque), who had accompanied La Salle from the Midwest to the coast of Texas and was among the few survivors captured by Spanish authorities and returned for trial to Mexico City. He was banished to the frontier of New Mexico and became a resident of Santa Fe. At the time of his death in 1720 as a member of the ill-fated Villasur expedition to the Plains, Captain Archibeque was also "a merchant in this Kingdom" of New Mexico, concerned with his affairs, "as much within as without this kingdom, with the traffic of his goods."²

Included in the merchandise inventoried after his death were six spoons and six forks and a salt-cellar, all of silver, weighing all together 2 pounds and 3 ounces; silk cloth, Campeachy [Campeche] blankets, a paper packet with fifteen dozen waistcoat buttons of silver thread, 6 1/2 varas of English linen (almost 18 feet), three pieces of Rouen linen (of more than 62 varas in length, or slightly more than 170 feet), 13 1/2 dozen women's shoes, 68 bundles of tobacco, and ten books of accounts owed him. His personal effects included "a small white elk skin bag with fifty-four ingots and 'tepuscos' of gold, large and small, which weighed sixty-six pounds and twelve ounces" (a *tepusque* was a small illegal copper coin used in the early years of colonial Mexico).

At the time of Juan's death, his son Miguel was on his way to Sonora to deliver *productos de la tierra*, New Mexican products, consisting of 309 pairs of locally made stockings, 36 "chamois" skins (Rocky Mountain bighorn sheepskins?), 11 painted elk-skins, 28 buffalo hides, four leather jackets, twelve thick elk-skins, and seven blankets of coarse cloth. Miguel continued his father's trade, and in a 1727 will executed by Salvador Montoya of Santa Fe, Montoya noted that Miguel owed him a horse used for trading purposes. Among Miguel's creditors were Diego Belasco, Santiago de [Laguers ?], Pedro de [Almuino ?], Pedro de la Sierra, Francisco Romero, Feliz [Gueron ?], Salvador de Cásseres [?], and Joséph Del Villar, all residents and traders in Parral.³

Montoya was also engaged in commercial trading, for he declared among his effects twelve mules broken to the rein, eight packsaddles, seven broken horses, fifty-five tanned buckskins, four white buffalo skins, and three thick buffalo skins.



Figure 37. Oscar Schiller with G.W. Hodge's mule team, courtesy of MNM, negative no. 14875.

He declared also that "various residents of this Kingdom of New Mexico owe me as is on record in two memorandum books where their names are set down," in the amount of four hundred pesos. Furthermore, he stated that Javier Romero, resident of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, "owes me twenty pesos in silver or coins, and if he does not pay the same he will have to bring me twenty-three varas of flowered Rouen linen, and if he does not comply with said trade he will have to deliver a young sorrel-colored male mule with the brand of [Miguel] Archiveque and the cost of transportation for said mule."⁴

Other eighteenth-century merchants or traders in northern New Mexico included Francisco Afán de Ribera Betanzos, native of Mexico City and resident of Santa Cruz de la Cañada in 1718 (Chavez 1954:266); Juan Bautista Durán de Bachicha, a "European" merchant and resident of the Pajarito district below Albuquerque from the 1740s to 1782; Clemente Gutiérrez, also of Pajarito, along with his son-in-law José Mariano de la Peña, merchant and native of Mexico City (1780s–1790s); Juan Bautista Piño and his two adult sons, Mateo and Joaquín, also of Mexico City and resident in the San Clemente area below Pajarito in the period ca. 1740–1750; Juan Felipe de Rivera of Santa Fe, who sometime prior to his death about 1770 had "departed for Chiguagua . . . [with a "small money-bag of silver," and] . . . a quantity of chamois skins, and stockings and other local products which

he invested in Chiguagua in merchandise";⁵ and José Rafael Sarracino, merchant and native of Chihuahua, resident in Santa Fe in the 1790 census (Olmsted 1979).

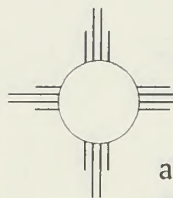
The number of merchants, particularly in Santa Fe, appears to have increased substantially during the first half of the nineteenth century. By then, Juan Bautista Piño had moved to Santa Fe (1823 census; Olmsted 1979) and was still listed as a merchant; his nephews, Manuel Doroteo and Justo Pastor Piño, were also merchants in town (1841 census; Vigil n.d.). Also residing in the barrio de San Francisco in Santa Fe in 1841 were Juan Manuel Baca, Luis and Antonio Rubidoux, Tomás Ortiz, and Mateo Sandoval, merchants and "estranjeros." Among the more famous of Santa Fe's early nineteenth century merchants was Manuel Delgado, whose 1815 estate was inventoried on three legal-size pages listing merchandise on hand at his death.

"Purchased in Chihuahua for Feasts"

The type of goods that moved north into New Mexico and south to Chihuahua and Parral (and, often, to Sonora) is apparent to some extent in the foregoing accounts. Imports represent practical, utilitarian tools, equipment, household items, and a range of luxury goods, primarily clothing and textiles. The latter consisted of materials made in New Spain as well as yard goods imported from Europe and China. In return, New Mexicans sold coarse, locally made textiles and clothing (mostly stockings), hides, and aside from animals on the hoof, occasional subsistence foods produced locally. Among the latter is an interesting item mentioned in the last will and testament of Juan Manuel Gavaldón, a resident of Santa Fe in 1745:

I declare being indebted to Don Pedro Gandanela in the sum of four hundred and more pesos in silver . . . for whose payment forty-five fanegas of tomatoes were placed in the possession of Don Pedro Almayua and placed in forty-seven sacks [taking into account] the shrinkage that [occurs] in said tomatoes, and having an agreement with Don Pedro Almayua, that if the above amount has not been satisfied, for reason of being unable to sell the tomatoes, or if the amount has been satisfied from the tomatoes, the balance, if any, shall be turned over to me by Don Pedro Almayua.⁶

In 1771, at least one trader had considerable traffic with local Pueblo Indians as well as with vecinos in the area. Miguel Romero was a rural merchant in the small community of Cañada de Cochiti, some thirty miles west of Santa Fe but only a short distance from the Camino Real. In his last will and testament he declared



as goods "for commerce at my house" one hundred large, fifty small, and thirty even smaller buckskins; a piece of woolen cloth and a piece of "fine" scarlet cloth for a lapel; 82 varas of carpet (approximately 225 feet); 10 varas of linen; and sixteen knives, in addition to 163 cattle and horses, including pack- and saddle-mules and horses, breeding cows and mares, and "broken" bulls.⁷

In circumstances reminiscent of Governor López de Mendizabal's seventeenth-century tactics among the missions (see above), Miguel had ten knives on consignment in the possession of José Chinago, almost certainly a Pueblo Indian, in addition to ten with Nicolás, "Indian" (of the Pueblo of Cochiti); nine with José Tegua of that pueblo; twelve with Antonico, "son of the Che"; four at the house of Lorenzo from Zia; and ten with Gallego from San Felipe. The list of products owed him on account suggests the importance of the local merchant to the Pueblo Indians and, more important, the importance of the latter to the local economy: Basilio and his mother-in-law, of Santo Domingo, sixteen large buckskins and one cart of corn; Lucas of Santo Domingo, two large buckskins at 2 pesos each, and Miguelito, of the same pueblo, one large buckskin; Lorenzo and those "of his household" at Zia, fourteen buckskins at 2 pesos each, seven small ones, and two blankets; the son of Miguel Chapetón, also of Zia, one large buckskin; Melchor of Santa Ana, one large and one small buckskin, and a three-year-old bull; Gallego of San Felipe, three large buckskins; at Cochiti Pueblo he was owed fourteen buckskins, a cow and calf, and one fat ox, by Baltazar, José Tegua, Vicente, and Gervasio; and listed simply as "the Indian," Che, his son Antonio, Sambrano, and José collectively owed eighteen large and five small buckskins.

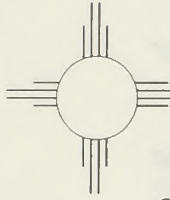
Among the everyday items one might expect to find in a well-stocked frontier mercantile store are the following items owned by Manuel Delgado at his death in Santa Fe in 1815: wool carders, looms, spindles, needlework and "counter" scissors, needles and firecrackers, razors and hair combs, mirrors and buttons and rosaries, ribbon, vermilion in packages, cigarette papers and mouth organs, coffee pots, 14 packages of face powder and 16 pounds of chocolate, four packages of saffron and 21 sacks of rice, 48 pounds of sugar, 5 pounds of copper sulphate, miscellaneous steel, iron and copper, candlesticks, 260 quarts of whiskey, olive oil, pots and pans, washbowls from Michoacán, 41 chairs and small stools, flour, corn, chile, carpets, knives (one to cut cheese with), and 53 cups and dishes from Puebla, Mexico. The total value of his inventory of goods was 2484 pesos, 1 real, and 5 granos.

The type of dishes subsumed under the familiar term *majólica* have been considered by some to have been not only an expensive luxury but a symbol of upper-class status and ethnicity (in colonial San Augustine, Florida; see Deagan

1983). One of many items carried north over the Camino Real (and included in the inventory of mission supplies as early as 1631, as "one box of *loza de Puebla*"; Scholes 1930:101), majolica may have provided a sense of participation in and identification with Old World values and traditions. The value of those dishes in Delgado's inventory was only 11 pesos, 2 reales; the dishes were valued at 3 1/2 reales each, and the cups at 2 reales each. Since most of the colonists' domestic pottery was purchased or traded from the Pueblo and Apache Indians, at least until late in the nineteenth century, majolica can be considered something of a luxury, particularly in view of the long-distance freight costs involved. Nevertheless, a recent analysis of values assigned to imported ceramics in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century New Mexico households (Snow 1987) indicates that majolica listed in 42 will and estate inventories was valued at an average of only 3 reales and 5 granos apiece.⁸ In contrast, *loza de China*, Chinese porcelain, was valued in the same wills and inventories at an average of 2 pesos, 1 real each. A similar study by Fournier (1989), based on the evaluations of majolica in wills and inventories in the Parral Archives, found that pieces ranged in cost from 1/8 of a real to 2 reales each; for Chinese porcelain, the cost ranged from 1/2 to 4 reales apiece.

The average inventory cost of majolica from two Puebla factories in 1772 and 1793 was less than 1 real (Snow 1987); a markup of approximately 14% above factory costs is apparent in New Mexico. For Chinese porcelain, the markup for profit and freight between Mexico City and Parral was obviously considerable, and from Parral (or Chihuahua) to Santa Fe it was more than double, as indicated in the valuations provided in Santa Fe and Parral inventories. Clearly, Chinese porcelain was a luxury in New Mexican households; its prestigious role is perhaps best illuminated by Alphonzo Raél de Aguila's last will and testament, made in Santa Fe in 1745, which itemized five china cups and four china chocolate mugs "purchased in Chihuahua for fiestas."⁹

With the opening of the Santa Fe Trail, a variety of imported English and other European as well as American-made ceramics (often listed as "flintwares" or *loza de Pedernal*, the familiar ironstone and its predecessors) became available to New Mexican households. In the same analysis of wills and inventories (Snow 1987) these ceramics were valued, on average, at 5 reales, 5 granos each, not much more expensive than Mexican majolica and still far less than Chinese porcelain. Boyd (1974:315) provides an 1835 manifest of goods brought into Santa Fe by Langham and Boggs and valued at the customhouse: among the items declared for taxation was a barrel containing 30 dozen dishes of white flintware, whose value is given at 36 pesos, or 1 peso, 2 reales the dozen, or 8 granos each. Increasingly cheaper as time passed, ironstones eventually replaced the more traditional majolica.



The role of the local merchant and trader in colonial New Mexico, and their counterparts strategically located along the nearly 2000-mile Camino Real between Mexico City and Santa Fe, cannot be overemphasized. More important, the significance of that route, truly a lifeline for 250 years, cannot be appreciated simply in terms of the quantity and quality of goods and merchandise transported between the mining and ranching communities that gradually reached northward through time. The Camino Real provided the only means by which New Spain's non-Indian populations at the end of the trail in New Mexico maintained contact with the civilized world, its values, and its symbols.

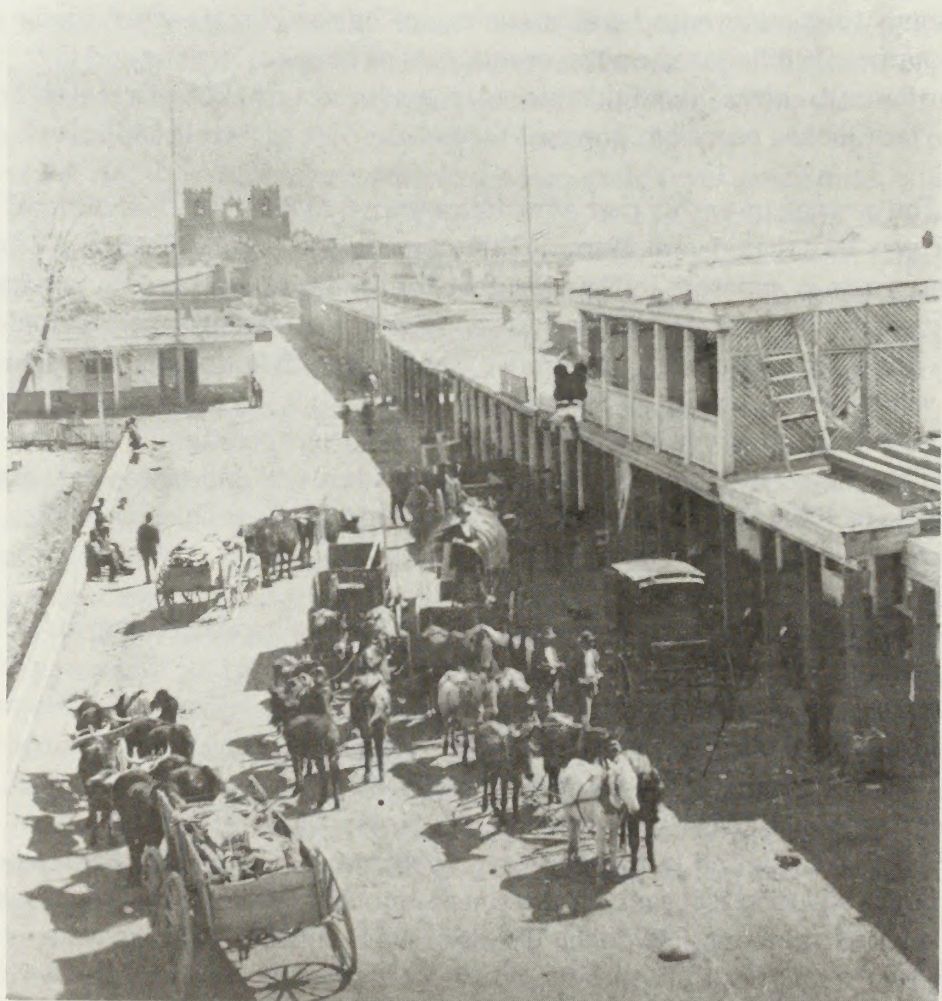


Figure 38. Wagons just arrived in Santa Fe from Mexico, 1874, Sylvia Loomis Collection, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, negative no. 21949.

Notes

1. Bloom (1935:242–248) has translated a trade invoice, dated 1638, for goods shipped by Governor Luis de Rosas from Santa Fe to Parral. The goods itemized in this invoice are clearly products of New Mexico:

Nineteen pieces of *sayál* containing 1,900 varas

also: five bales of buffalo hides, painted (*cueros de cívola, pintados*), containing 122 hides

also: two bales containing 92 shammy skins (*queros de gamuzas*)

also: 12 doublets (*jubones*), and jackets (*queras*) which go with the said bales

also: another bale containing 100 shammies and 2 jackets

also: two large boxes (*cajones*) of candles (*belas*) containing 900

also: a bale containing 24 cushions (*cojinillos*), 12 doublets (*soletos*) and 6 shammies

also: another bale containing 32 doublets (*coletos*)

also: a box No. 1, containing 12 hangings (*repostereros*)

also: another No. 2, with 11 hangings

also: another No. 3, with 13 hangings

also: another No. 7, with 68 blankets (*mantas*)

also: another No. 5, with 63 small blankets and 6 drapes (*antepuestas*)

also: another No. 6, with 13 hangings

also: another No. 7, with 68 blankets

also: another No. 8, with 68 blankets

also: another No. 9, with 33 drapes

also: another No. 10, with 30 blankets

also: another No. 11, with 60 blankets

also: another No. 12, with 60 blankets

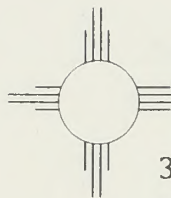
also: another No. 13, with 64 blankets

also: another No. 14, with 11 hangings

also: No. 15, with 7 drapes, 8 overskirts (*faldellines*), 19 large doublets and 2 small ones

All of which the above said [López] is taking to sell at retail and to account for with payment therefore at the prices at which he may sell them for which, dead or living, he makes the present [invoice] and obligates himself in due form with his person and effects.

2. State Archives of New Mexico (SANM) I, No. 13, Roll 8, frames 007–117.



3. I copied these names from WPA translations of the cited document, and I have not yet checked the original Spanish text to clear up the last names of several of these merchants. Santiago de Laguers [?] may be a misreading of Seberino Legarreta, resident of Parral in the eighteenth century (Fournier 1989:5); Diego Belasco, listed in the Parral Archives as "nacido en Santa Fe, Nuevo Mexico, vecino [de Parral], comerciante," was apparently the son of old Diego de Velasco, the "lame carpenter" in charge of the reconstruction of San Miguel Chapel in 1710 (Chavez 1954:309–310). Diego II was married in Santa Fe in 1746, his widow having died in 1751; given the date of Miguel Archebeque's death (September 1727), however, it is more likely that the Diego Belasco referred to was, in fact, the "Master Carpenter," native of Guadiana in Durango and still living in Santa Cruz de la Cañada in 1746.

4. Will, Salvador Montoya, SANM I, No. 512, Roll 3, frames 733–741.

5. SANM I, No. 793, Roll 9, frames 007–058; 1771.

6. SANM I, No. 339, Roll 2, frames 803–809. The Don Pedro Almayua in this passage is no doubt the same as one of Miguel Archiveque's creditors in Parral, given in WPA translation as "Pedro de Almuino [?]; the name does not appear in Fournier's (1989) list of Parral merchants and citizens, but that list represents only a sample enumerated for her study. In his will Gavaldón declared that a piece of land should be purchased from Francisca de Salazar in Santa Fe "to be used as a road to connect with the camino real"—a frequently used term denoting any public street or road in Santa Fe throughout the colonial and early territorial periods.

7. SANM I, No. 792, Roll 4, frames 1246–1267.

8. The peso represented 8 reales or 96 granos; thus, there were 12 granos to the real (cf. Barnes et al. 1981:67).

9. SANM I, No. 765, Roll 4, frames 1045–1051.

Suggested Reading

Drumm, Stella M., ed.

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

Moorhead, Max L., ed.

1954 *Commerce of the Prairies*, by Josah Gregg. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.



14. Daughters of the Camino Real

Mary Jean Cook

Upon his second expedition to New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate decreed in 1602 that honorary titles were to be given to the sons of the colonizers. They were to be known as *hidalgos* (*hijos de algo*). What then of the *hijas*, the daughters of the colonizers? They were destined to carry the honor only vicariously, through their male offspring. But history tells us that these daughters of the colonizers also lived, fought, and died in the New World, not to mention gave birth. In truth, were it not for the women who also traveled the Camino Real beside the men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there would have been no consummate *hidalgos*.

Few historical documents record the many women who came up the Royal Road from central Mexico during its several centuries of existence. Seldom do we learn more about women other than their names, their relationship to the men of the caravans, and the names of their children or servants. In only one notable exception, that of nineteenth-century Doña Gertrudis Barceló, can the feminine thread of history be unraveled to its finality. Nevertheless, it may be said that the early women who crossed the Camino Real into the New World helped to shape the course of history with intelligence, pluck, and amazing style.

In 1600 Captain Antonio Conde de Herrera, traveling with his wife, children, and brothers- and sisters-in-law, listed his wife's extensive wardrobe for the distant journey. Doña Francisca Galindo brought clothing and household effects befitting her social status at San Gabriel, the site where Juan de Oñate's colonizers settled in 1598 at the convergence of the Chama River and the Rio Grande in northern New Mexico. For the arduous journey northward, Captain Conde



Figure 39. Spanish pioneer woman, c. 1650, drawn by Jose Cisneros (from *Riders across the Century*, Texas Western Press, UTEP).

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DENVER, CO 80225-0047

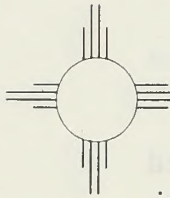
packed his family's belongings in two *carretas* (carts), "one very large," accompanied by the twenty-two draft oxen required to pull the load.

Archaeological artifacts found at the San Gabriel site on the Rio Grande near San Juan and at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe—jewelry, buttons, and pieces of early sixteenth-century heirloom Chinese porcelain—confirm that women adorned themselves and their adobe homes with unexpected elegance.¹ In addition to artifacts, a lengthy inventory in the will of Juana Luján in 1762 records the size and international scope of an early New Mexico woman's estate (Ahlborn 1990). Some of Juana Luján's possessions were brought across the Camino Real, imported from the French provinces of Bretaña, Cambrai, and Ruán (Rouen), and from China, by way of Mexican ports.

In 1600 the commander-in-chief of the Oñate expedition of reinforcements, Captain Bernabé de las Casas, ordered an appearance of all women about to depart from Santa Bárbara, Chihuahua. The muster roll enumerated Spanish and Indian, married or single, and free or slave, including mulattas (called mulattos). Indian women, some bringing children, originated from Pachuca, Tecama, Puebla de los Ángeles, Peaca, Toluca, and Tepeaca in Mexico. Not only the marital status of these Indian women was determined, but also whether they were currently living in mortal sin. A priest was assigned to take care of such matters.

Of particular interest among the Indian women was the mulatta named Isabel de Olvera, who described herself as a free woman, single, and a native of Pachuca. Earlier in 1600 she had appeared in Querétaro before his majesty's *alcalde* (magistrate) Don Pedro Lorenzo de Castilla. Isabel's strong declaration reveals a woman of intellect, determination, and individualism. In apparent recognition of the validity of her complaint, the *alcalde mayor* (chief magistrate) signed the formal document, ordering that the original, not the copy, be returned to the courageous woman. Isabel de Olvera recorded possibly the earliest statement about sexual and racial harassment by a woman in the New World:

as I am going on the expedition to New Mexico and have reason to fear that I may be annoyed by some individuals, since I am a mulatto, and as it is proper to protect my rights in such an eventuality by an affidavit showing that I am a free woman, unmarried, the legitimate daughter of Hernando, a negro, and an Indian named Madalena, I therefore request your grace to accept this affidavit, which shows that I am free and not bound by marriage or slavery. I request that a properly certified and signed copy be given to me in order to protect my rights, and that it carry full legal authority. I demand justice. Isabel.



Isabel's life in the ensuing years is unknown. Two men named Olvera appear in seventeenth-century documents of New Mexico. Juan de Olvera (Olvera), a resident of Santa Fe, upon orders of Governor Eulate (1618–1625) was allegedly hanged for his overly zealous church work during the Mexican Inquisition. In 1642, a Francisco de Olvera, born in 1604 and thirty-six years of age, was living in Santa Fe. After the murder of Governor Luis de Rosas, which was instigated as a result of a controversy between the friars and the civil authorities, Francisco was sent to Nueva Vizcaya. The murderer, Nicolás Ortiz, had been apprehended by the governor at Parral, and Francisco's mission was to return the murderer to Santa Fe (Scholes 1936–1937 [reprint 1937:158]). Juan and Francisco may have been the natural (born out of wedlock) children of Isabel de Olvera.

The name of Diego de Olvera, who gives Madrid, Spain, as his birthplace, also appears in 1696. Diego records an accounting of the rentals of land owned by Don Diego de Vargas. His relationship to Isabel de Olvera, if any, remains unknown.

Relentless hours of dusty travel on the Camino Real were lightened with the feminine touch by such entertainment as music and singing, dancing, card-playing, love-making, as well as the laughter and pranks of children on the expeditions. Most certainly, disease and death occurred, as well as births and marriages, even marital discord. Social amenities and comforts, such as tablecloths and napkins at mealtime, sheets and pillowcases for beds, mattresses and tents, were not dispensed with, as can be seen from the inventory of articles carried by the travelers.

The Spanish custom of formal meals during travel along the trail may be found in the journal of U. S. Army Second Lt. Philip St. George Cooke. One such dinner was served on the Santa Fe Trail in 1829 by Colonel José Antonio Vizcárra, *gefe militar* (military governor) in Santa Fe. The colonel commanded Mexican dragoons riding escort for protection of a wagon train leaving New Mexico with fleeing Spaniards bound for Missouri in the wake of the Mexican Revolution. Fried ham, "various kinds of cakes, and delightful chocolate; and . . . several kinds of Mexican wines" were served on a low table set with silver in a large oval tent (Young 1952:148). This elaborate occasion occurred on the windswept prairie of Kansas near Chouteau's Island, in today's Kearny County.

Following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Spanish and Indian families were again recruited from Zacatecas in 1694–1695 for resettlement in Santa Fe. This expedition was led by Juan Páez Hurtado, captain of the presidio of El Paso del Rio Grande del Norte, site of today's Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico. Bonuses of 320 pesos (a *peso* was the approximate equivalent of a dollar) for a family of four

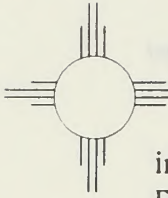
or more, plus living expenses of 1 1/2 *reales* (a Spanish silver coin the equivalent of twelve and a half cents), were paid during the time the expedition was being organized. Money was an attractive incentive, especially for widows with children. Of the forty-six different families mustered, ten were widows with children ranging in age from one to twenty-five (Strout 1978:264–269). Prospects for not only a new life, but also a new husband, awaited the more adventuresome women in New Mexico.

Seventeen-year-old Francisca Gigosa (de Guijosa, Aguijosa, Equijosa) was among the returning colonists with Gen. don Diego de Vargas in 1693. She accompanied her stonemason husband, Antonio Moya of Mexico City. By 1713, following Moya's death, Francisca's entrepreneurial acumen was made apparent by her sizable real estate transactions. She petitioned for and received from Gov. Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón a land grant in the Taos Valley, where she pastured her sheep and goats.

Another early New Mexican woman fully capable of managing her own estate while also managing a family of seven children was Antonia Moraga. She had been in the retreat to El Paso following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, returning to Chimayó



Figure 40. *Women in Mexico*, detail in untitled work by Carl Nebel.



in 1695 to the hacienda de Moraga. Antonia's property included the area of Santa Fe's *ciénega* (wetland), with a *torreón* (tower), which she eventually conveyed to Governor Flores Mogollón as part of the municipal commons.

Josefa Bustamante, wife of Nicolás Ortiz III, proved less talented in business affairs than Francisca and Antonia. Her husband's death in 1769 made her one of the wealthiest women in New Mexico. Within twenty years she had squandered her real estate and her business in Chihuahua by poor judgment. In her final days Josefa was reduced to living on the pension income of a presidial captain's widow. Josefa Bustamante is best remembered for the reestablishment of the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary) and Santa Fe's annual fiesta in honor of the statue of "La Conquistadora" (known today as Our Lady of Peace).

Spanish soldiers found their women equally capable of valor in battle in the New World, according to seventeenth-century New Mexico historian Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà. He tells us about Doña Eufemia, wife of Royal Ensign Diego de Sosa Peñalosa. Villagrà admiringly describes her as "a lady of distinguished beauty and singular courage and wisdom." Doña Eufemia had in the "land of the unconquered Araucanians, of southern South America, put an entire garrison to shame by her example." Just what that example was, Villagrà fails to record.

In Villagrà's words, Doña Eufemia castigates thieving and rebellious soldiers in New Mexico with this address worthy of a commanding officer:

Tell me, O, noble soldiers, where is that courage which you so professed when you enlisted in this noble cause? Why gave you then to understand that nothing could resist the might of your arms if now you turn your back and ignobly desert? What explanation have you for such conduct if you hold yourself men?

For shame! Such are not the actions of Spaniards. Even though everything else might be lost, there is yet land on the banks of some mighty river where we may raise a mighty city and thus immortalize our names. To such a place we can go, and it were better that we halted right here and rested than to retrace our steps and leave upon ourselves and our posterity a stigma which can never be erased (Espinosa 1933:91).

Fearing an Indian reprisal in 1599, two Spanish captains found Doña Eufemia had already gathered all the colonist women together, a total of twenty-two, on the roof tops at San Juan to fight beside their husbands. In canto form, Villagrà

writes that "Don Juan was highly pleased at this display of valor coming from feminine breasts." The women were *ordered* to defend the housetops, patrolling "with proud and martial step." It should not be forgotten that Indian wives fought valiantly against the conquering Spaniards and beside their warrior husbands as well.

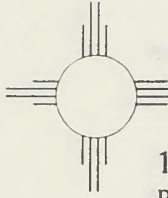
Although specific names of Camino Real women who fought in early battles go unheralded, other than "wife of ensign . . .," one name continues to mark the map of New Mexico today. The memory of Doña Ana Robledo, wife of Oñate's loyal lieutenant, Juan Guerra, has endured since 1682 as the name of a Camino Real settlement north of Las Cruces (Pearce 1965). The legendary Doña Ana was a woman of charity and good deeds.

For two centuries, soldiers, priests, colonists, and their supplies crossed the Camino Real. Then in the 1820s when the Santa Fe Trail linked with the route into central Mexico, merchants and their heavily laden wagons dominated the highway. These men were an ethnic mix of traders from Mexico, Germany, France, Canada, and the United States. Often gone for a year or more, merchants occasionally traveled with their wives and families.

The eighteen-year-old bride of Chihuahua trader Samuel Magoffin, Susan Shelby Magoffin, kept a rare journal of her observations and adventures in



Figure 41. Family in front of log cabin, courtesy of National Archives, negative 111-SC-89608.



1846–1847. After crossing the Santa Fe Trail from Independence, Missouri, to Bent's Fort in Colorado, she suffered a miscarriage only a day after her nineteenth birthday. She contrasts her miscarriage with a healthy birth by an Indian woman who was in the fort at the same time. Thirty minutes following childbirth, the Indian woman walked to the Arkansas River to bathe herself and her baby. Susan calls the practice a "heathenish custom."

Amid the confusion of U. S. Army dragoons marching south on the Camino Real to fight the Mexican War, and the possibility of Indian attacks on the Jornada del Muerto (Journey of the Dead Man), the Magoffins reached El Paso del Norte and Monterrey. Susan describes the aftermath of a fierce battle between the Mexican and U. S. troops. Abandoning difficult and hazardous inland travel, she returned to the United States by boat, never again crossing either the Santa Fe Trail or the Chihuahua Trail.

Migrating families from the Mexican frontier traveled northward into New Mexico. Around 1816, the Catalan Barcelós had settled in the village of Valencia south of Albuquerque, coming up the Camino Real from the Bavispe River valley of northeast Sonora. Incessant Apache Indian raids surely influenced their flight from the area.

Later to become wealthy and politically influential in Santa Fe during the 1830s and 1840s, gambler Doña Gertrudis Barceló, known as "La Tules," traveled the Chihuahua Trail portion of the Camino Real, and possibly as far south as San Juan de Los Lagos, to gamble at Mexican fairs. She returned to New Mexico with silver and gold for her *monte* (card) games. Hard specie was difficult to obtain in what for centuries had always been a bartering society.

In late 1846 with the arrival of the Americans, the dashing Colonel David Dawson Mitchell of the U. S. Army escorted Doña Tules to a Santa Fe *baile* (ball). Adding a new dimension to the word, she had bartered with Mitchell and agreed to give him a loan of \$1000 in return. According to local rumor, he needed the money to clothe and feed his one hundred volunteers as they set out down the Camino Real to fight the Mexican War.

Besides being an expert monte player, Tules was a spirited and brilliant woman gifted in the art of feminine persuasion of both Mexican and American high-ranking officers. Doña Gertrudis Barceló emerges as one of the most extraordinary women to have lived during the nineteenth century in New Mexico.

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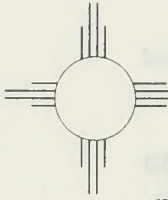
Other members of Tules's family traveled the Camino Real in the 1800s. An adopted daughter, María del Refugio, married a native of Chihuahua in Santa Fe, Santiago Flores, who traded in Mexico and the United States as well. Flores was fluent in both Spanish and English, as were virtually all merchants. Church records show that Refugio gave birth to children in Santa Fe and to at least one child in Chihuahua, indicating that she traveled the Chihuahua Trail with her trader husband.²



Figure 42. Taos Pueblo Woman, courtesy Western History Department, Denver Public Library.



Figure 43. Taz-ayz-Slath, wife of Geronimo and child, courtesy Western History Department, Denver Public Library.



Through continued research on women of the Camino Real, it is certain that more outstanding lives will be brought into focus. We will learn that there were other Isabels, Doña Eufemias, and Gertrudis Barcelós who may have missed the pages of present-day history, but who no less nobly led the way for future daughters of New Mexico.

Notes

1. Palace of the Governors Collections, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe; Maxwell Museum, Albuquerque, NM, artifacts on loan to the Museum of New Mexico.
2. Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Santa Fe Marriages, Roll 31, fr. 844 and Santa Fe Baptisms, Roll 17, frs. 188, 287, 577. Church of Latter Day Saints, International Genealogical Index for the Parish of El Sagrario, Chihuahua, Chihuahua, Mexico (Salt Lake City).

Suggested Reading

Chávez, Fray Angélico

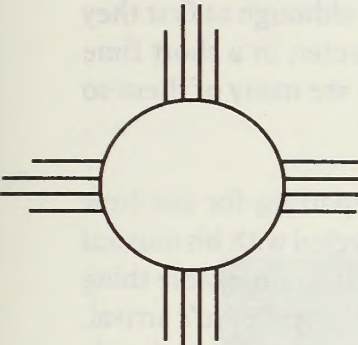
1975 *Origins of New Mexico Families* (reprint). William Gannon, Santa Fe.

Drumm, Stella M., ed.

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

Jenkins, Myra Ellen

1983 Some Eighteenth-Century New Mexico Women of Property. In *Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory*, edited by Marta Weigle. Ancient City Press, Santa Fe.



15. A Brief Survey of Music on the Camino Real

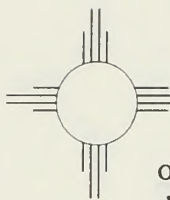
Shawn Dougherty

Music at the Source of the Camino Real: Mexico City in the Sixteenth Century

The first group of missionaries sent to New Spain by Charles V to begin the task of converting the Indian population consisted of three Flemish Franciscans. One of them, a relative of Charles who would be known in the New World as Pedro de Gante, was a skilled musician. Fray Pedro established the first school for Indian pupils, and the "three r's" at Pedro's school were reading, writing, and music.

Music education was of great importance to the friars, both in the city of Mexico and in what would become New Mexico, since the Indians expressed a genuine interest in it, and it was therefore a great tool for the friars in their efforts to convert the Indians to Christianity. Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico, wrote in a letter to Charles V: "Experience has taught us how greatly edified the Indians are by sacred music; indeed the fathers who hear their confessions tell us that more than by preaching the Indians are converted by the music."

Numerous comments can be found in the writings of Pedro de Gante and other chroniclers of the time, such as Fray Toribio de Motolonía and Fray Juan de Torquemada, which document the lightninglike spread of Spanish music throughout the Valley of Mexico and beyond. Robert Stevenson provides a liberal sample of quotes in his books dealing with Mexican music (1952). We read of the aged friar whose task it was to train the first Indian choirboys. Motolonía relates that the friar knew nothing of the Aztec language, only Castilian, and goes on to say "He talked with the boys as correctly and sensibly as if he were talking with Spaniards. Those of us who heard him were beside ourselves with laughter as we watched the boys standing



open-mouthed to see what he meant. It was marvelous that, although at first they did not understand a thing, and the old man had no interpreter, in a short time they understood him and learned to sing, so that now there are many of them so skilful that they direct choirs."

Pedro de Gante's trip from Ghent to Seville before departing for the New World was taken in the company of Charles V, who always traveled with his musical chapel, one of the best choirs in Europe. So Pedro knows what a remarkable thing he is saying when he writes to Charles in 1532, only nine years after Pedro's arrival, and says: "I can tell Your Majesty without exaggeration that there are already Indians here who are capable of preaching, teaching and writing. And with the utmost sincerity I can affirm that there are now trained singers among them who if they were to sing in Your Majesty's Chapel would at this very moment that perhaps you would have to see them actually singing in order to believe it possible."

Motolonia gives a report on the advanced state of musical affairs in Tlaxcala, Mexico, in 1539, a mere eighteen years after the conquest. After boasting of not one, but two choirs of twenty Tlaxcaltecas, each of whom can sing the Divine Office, he goes on to describe a play with music on the subject of Adam and Eve. As the choir members singing the parts of Adam and Eve left the Garden of Eden, accompanied by six angels, "they went out singing a polyphonic setting of the psalm 'Circumdederunt me.' This was so well performed that no one who saw it could keep from weeping bitterly. . . . Consoling the disconsolate pair, angels went off singing in parts a *villancico* in the Tlaxcalan language."

It is important to understand the types of music that constituted the mainstays of sacred music in the sixteenth century, which would have been performed in missions, churches, and cathedrals. The music of the Catholic church for centuries before and after this time rested on a firm foundation of plainsong, or "Gregorian" chant. This music is used not only during the Mass but also during the Divine Office, a series of short services to be performed at set times during the day—Matins at midnight and Vespers before sundown, for example. Plainsong settings of various texts are used, including that of the Mass, the Psalms, responsories, and antiphons, such as the favorite Marian antiphon of the Spaniards, "*Salve Regina*."

Choral music is generally preferred for high Mass, any festive occasion, and whenever it can be afforded. Whether in the sixteenth century or the twentieth, it is expensive compared with some other options, often requiring funds for scores and salaries. The missionaries did try to train and employ professional Indian singers.

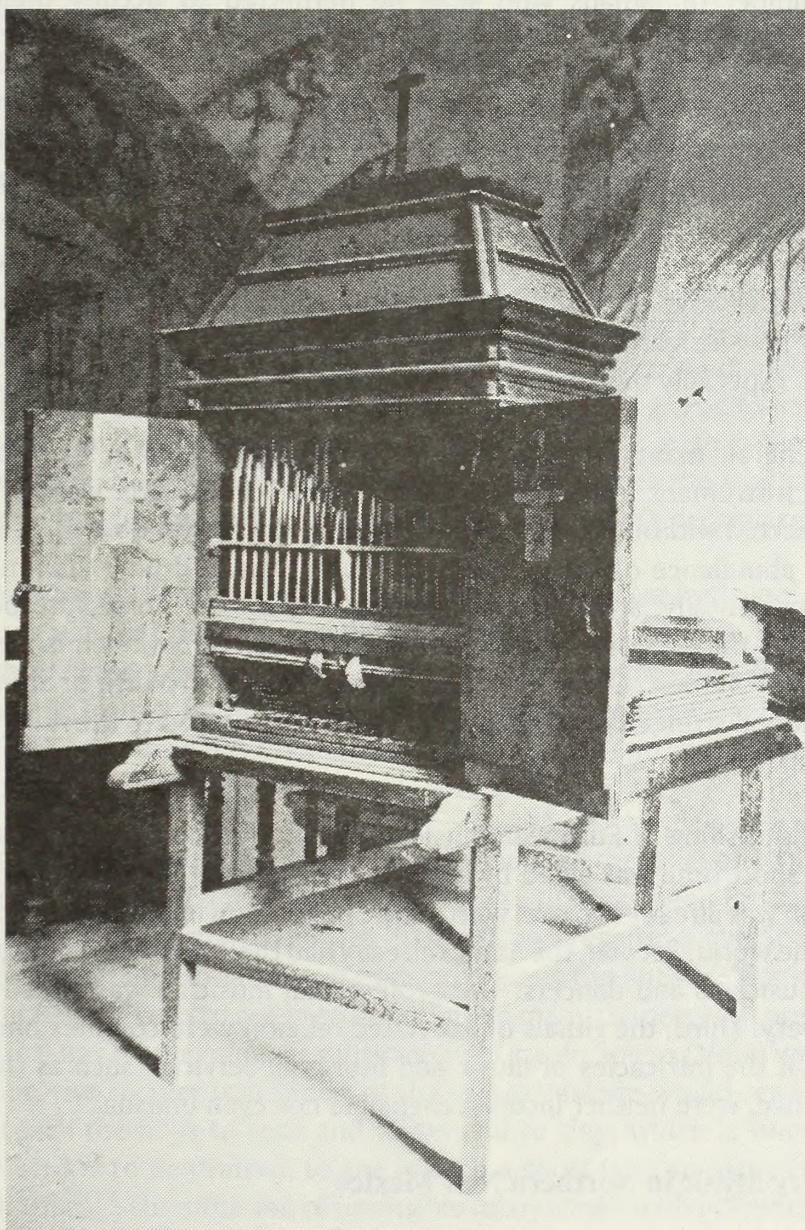
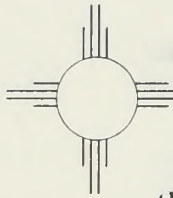


Figure 44. Organ.



The missionaries' musical efforts were so successful in just a few decades that the overabundance of musicians by 1556 caused Philip II to write in a cedula to the Royal Audiencia, "and because the number of musicians and singers is reported to be increasing constantly in both large and small towns . . . and because very many of those reared simply to sing and play on instruments soon become lazy scoundrels whose morals are reported to be extremely bad, we require a reduction in the number of Indians who shall be permitted to occupy themselves as musicians."

We learn from Juan de Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana* that by 1615 abundant musicians were found not only in the capital, but in the provinces as well: "Nowadays every town of one hundred population or more contains singers who have learned how to sing the Offices, the Mass, Vespers and are proficient in polyphonic music; competent instrumentalists are also found everywhere. The small towns all have their supply of instruments, and even the smallest hamlets, no matter how insignificant, have three or four Indians at least who sing every day in church. Especially this is true in the provinces of Michoacán and Jalisco."

In general, manufacturing was not encouraged in the Spanish colonies; however, instrument manufacturing flourished. Torquemada wrote: "One thing can be asserted without fear of contradiction: in all Christendom there is nowhere a greater abundance of flutes, sackbuts, trumpets and drums than here in New Spain." (Incidentally, stringed instruments can join the horse, the potato, and chocolate on the list of items that were not common to both hemispheres before the Spanish conquest. None of the indigenous peoples in North or South America had developed stringed instruments; they were introduced to the Americas by the Spaniards.)

The flourishing of European music in central Mexico on such an active level in such a short time was aided by a few circumstances. First, a highly developed civilization was already in place, with a large population inhabiting one of the great cities of the world. Second, the Aztecs already had their own corps of highly trained temple musicians and dancers. The professional musician was already a part of their society. Third, the rituals of the Aztec religion were complex and of such a nature that the intricacies of music and liturgy in services, such as those of the Divine Office, were neither incomprehensible nor even unusual.

Missionary Music in Northern New Mexico

Although much less well documented, the musical efforts of missionaries at the other end of the Camino Real in northern New Mexico were also based on the

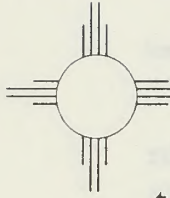
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conviction that music was an important aid to religious conversion. Perhaps the first music teacher to work within the present borders of the United States was the Franciscan Cristóbal de Quiñones. This friar was probably a member of Juan de Oñate's colony, and before his death in 1609 he was said to have learned the language of the Queres Indians, erected the church and monastery at San Felipe, installed an organ in the chapel there, and taught many of the natives so successfully that they were skilled singers of the church services. (Such is the information from Agustín de Vetancurt's *Menológico Franciscano* of 1698. It is the belief of one scholar that Vetancurt confused Quiñones with Fray Cristóbal de Quirós. The question is not important for the purpose of this paper, which is to relate that the chroniclers of New Mexico of the 1600s took the same pride in the achievements of mission musicians as that expressed by their counterparts farther south.)

The most important chronicler of musical activity in early seventeenth century New Mexico is Father Alonso de Benavides. Several passages in his *Memorial* of 1630 (Ayer 1916) and *Revised Memorial* of 1634 (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945) mention music, choirs, and instruments, at least in passing. For example, while speaking of Taos Pueblo he remarks, "Most outstanding in this Pueblo is the marvelous choir of wonderful boy musicians, whose voices the friar chose from among more than a thousand who attended the schools of Christian teaching."

In a petition to Philip IV Benavides reports, "The native lords and chieftains resent very much that they are compelled to pay tribute. Likewise all the Indians who are choir singers and assistants in the churches are free only from personal service, but not from tribute, because of their regular attendance in church and in the schools." Thus Benavides documents the existence of professional, or at least semiprofessional, choral singers.

Two passages from the *Memorial* help to indicate the level of sophistication that music in New Mexico may have reached. The first has been mistranslated in most editions of the *Memorial*, owing to confusion regarding the Spanish term *canto de órgano*. It has normally been translated along the lines of: "For it is a thing for which praise the Lord to see in so little time so many chapels with organ chant." "Organ chant" has no meaning; as musicologist Lincoln Spiess (1964) was the first to point out, the correct translation of the entire passage would read, "likewise the friars teach the boys to read and write, and to sing, which is something for which the Lord is to be praised, to see in such a short time so many choirs with polyphonic music." The situation of having "so many choirs with polyphonic music" on the frontier after only thirty years of settlement would indicate a very admirable achievement.



The second passage of significance concerns a Navajo captain, who returned to the church the day after having made peace with Benavides, just before Benavides was going to say Mass. The Navajo wanted to stay for Mass, but he was told he could not until he had been baptized. As a show of good will, however, Benavides writes, "I ordered the singers to sing the *Salve [Regina], de canto de órgano* (in polyphony) with all solemnity, and with trumpets and shawms [early oboes]."

The tantalizing question here is, whose "*Salve Regina*" was it? Who composed the music? The period with which we are dealing is the Golden Age of Spanish polyphony, the age of the great Spanish composers Cristóbal de Morales, Francisco Guerrero, and Tomás Luís de Victoria. The works of these men are well represented in the colonial music archives of Mexico City, Puebla, Guatemala City, and other Latin American cities. Did copies of these works make their way up the Camino Real to Santa Fe?

New Spain boasted a fine group of composers who filled the *maestro de capilla* or "music director" positions in the cathedrals and convents of Mexico City and Puebla. The works of composers Hernando Franco and Antonio Rodríguez de Mata of the Mexico City Cathedral, and Gaspar Fernandes and Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla of Puebla Cathedral, survive in part. Might it have been their compositions that were copied to be taken up the Camino Real to the distant northern settlements?

These questions remain unanswerable because of the absence of early musical manuscripts or prints in New Mexican archives. The early archives did not survive the Pueblo Revolt, and therefore one can only speculate whether the early mission music was provided by the composers mentioned above, or whether it was locally composed by friars with musical training. This was the case in the California missions a century and a half later. Spiess ponders an ambiguous notation in a Benavides supply list: "40 pesos for five antiphonary books '*compuesto por*' Fray Jerónimo Ciruelo of the order of St. Francis, in one volume." Spiess declares, "Whether Father Ciruelo was the actual composer, or simply the scribe, must remain for the moment an unanswered problem. '*Compuesto*' could mean either."

The Villancico and Other Song Forms

Of course, not every note of music in New Spain was sung to a Latin text. One of the best-represented and most delightful genres in colonial archives is the Spanish villancico. The villancico takes its name from the word *villanus* or *villano*, that is, "ruffian." Inherent in its name then is the idea that the villancico is a song for the lower classes. By extension, since the religious villancico is usually a

Christmas piece, it is a song bound up with the idea that Christ brought his message to the lowly of the earth, even the humble shepherds.

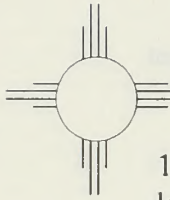
The ancestry of the villancico can be traced back to the medieval troubadour songs of France, and to similar songs of other nations. The *Cancionero de Palacio* is an important Spanish collection of villancicos and other part-songs from the age of Ferdinand and Isabel. The composer best represented in the *Cancionero* is Juan del Encina (1468–1529). Encina was a poet as well as a musician, as were the old troubadours. He also wrote a series of pastoral plays that are generally considered to be a major starting point for Spanish drama. His part-songs in the *Cancionero* include love songs, laments, bawdy songs, and devotional songs, as well as villancicos.

These few facts about Encina and the *Cancionero* indicate some important aspects of the villancico in Latin America. Encina was a poet, and the villancico is, partially, a poetic genre. In Latin America, the villancico as a poetic genre is considered to be the "property" of New Spain's brightest literary light, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Sor Juana usually gathered her villancicos into "suites" of eight or nine villancicos each, in a manner reminiscent of the sonnet sequence. The villancico suites were usually broken up into groups, with three villancicos being sung at the first nocturne of Matins and two or three being sung at the second and third nocturne of Matins.

Although villancico music was not printed in New Spain in the colonial period, villancico poetry was printed frequently. The poetry was so very popular that villancico poetry often found its way into print at times when paper shortages prevented the printing of government documents.

Juan del Encina was also an author of pastoral plays; the villancico is sometimes folk music, as in the play "Los Pastores." The folk music of "Los Pastores" is generally simpler than the composed villancicos of the cathedral choirmasters of New Spain, but the *Cancionero de Palacio* itself contains simple chordal music, alongside more intricate contrapuntal songs. The villancico is a flexible composition musically and poetically. It is comfortable "dressed up" with Sor Juana's sophisticated and erudite puns and with the music of Spain's and New Spain's best polyphonists. It is also at home in the casual garb of genuine orally transmitted folk poetry and tunes.

Some of Encina's songs in the *Cancionero de Palacio* are bawdy to the point of obscenity. The villancico, though normally thought of as church music, was often not considered to be sufficiently pious and was actually banned by royal decree in



1765, prohibited from use in churches in Spanish dominions. The villancico never lost its association with the peasantry and peasant verse and dance forms. In its profane form as a relative of the Spanish romance, it occasionally took a satirical, biting, or anticlerical turn.

Never really suppressed, its popularity is suggested by an inventory of musical works possessed by the cathedral of a city on the Camino Real—that of Durango, Mexico. A published catalog of the cathedral's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical holdings lists 492 musical compositions, including 42 settings of the Mass, 57 overtures, and fully 159 villancicos (Atúnez 1970). The contemporary editor of the catalog asks, "For what reason should our colonial musicians have preferred such a compositional genre? Probably it was owing to the simplicity of the music and to the texts of the poetry." By the early nineteenth century, however, the villancico as *música culta*, or classical music, had gone the way of all Mexican art music of that period. That is to say it succumbed completely to the stylistic invasion of Italian opera, the musical form that dominated classical music in Mexico for most of the nineteenth century. It is the villancico as folk music that continued unabated as a potent musical form.

As one moves northward from Durango, up the Camino Real into Texas and New Mexico, one faces the same problem with the colonial villancico as one does with Latin church music: lack of surviving music, or in the case of northern Mexican cities, lack of published information about the music that did survive. In those same regions, however, around the time of the decline of the villancico as *música culta*, a new song form became very important, a song form that may be related to the villancico: the *corrido* or narrative ballad. It is related as a literary genre to the romance and the *jácara*, a narrative dealing with a singular or notable event. This form stretches back into the colonial era and is one that Sor Juana employed. When the "notable event" is the birth of Christ, or a miracle performed by a saint, then the *jácara* becomes a type of villancico.

The *corrido*, according to one scholar, "has inherited from the *jácara* an exaggerated emphasis on manhood." The Christmas *jácara* "*A la xácara, xacarilla*," set to music as a choral villancico by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla in Puebla, bears this out in the sense that the narrator of the piece is a valiant fellow prone to use such exclamations as "*vaya!*" or "*afuera!*" He boasts that if the newborn king will listen to his song, it will be like no other song about this most prodigious child.

The noted musicologist Robert M. Stevenson (1974) states, "The only pronounced difference between a seventeenth century *jácara* honoring [St. Peter] Nolasco and a twentieth century *corrido* mentioning Zapata is that one is a ballad

MI DIOS Y MI REDENTOR

Melodia Nacional

My God and my Redeemer, In whom I hope and with confidence, For

This system of sheet music features a treble and bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in the treble clef, and the accompaniment is in the bass clef. The lyrics are: "Mi Dios y mi Reden-tor, En quien es-pero y con fi'-o, Por".

tu pa-sión Je-sús mí-o, A-bra-sad-me en vuest-ro a-mor.

This system continues the melody and accompaniment. The lyrics are: "tu pa-sión Je-sús mí-o, A-bra-sad-me en vuest-ro a-mor.". The system concludes with a double bar line and the word "Fin" written above the staff.

Es-cu-cha con a-ten-ción Lo que pa-de-ció Je-sús, Desde el

This system is marked "SOLO" above the staff. The lyrics are: "Es-cu-cha con a-ten-ción Lo que pa-de-ció Je-sús, Desde el".

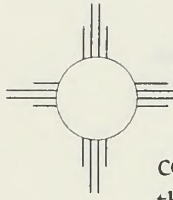
huer-to has-ta la cruz En su sa-gra-da pa-sión.

This system continues the melody and accompaniment. The lyrics are: "huer-to has-ta la cruz En su sa-gra-da pa-sión.".

Lá-gri-mas de de-vo-ción Nos dé á to-dos el Se-ñor.

This system concludes the piece. The lyrics are: "Lá-gri-mas de de-vo-ción Nos dé á to-dos el Se-ñor.". The system ends with a double bar line and the marking "D.C." above the staff.

Figure 45. Sheet music.



concerning the exploits of a religious figure, and the other is a ballad concerning the exploits of a political figure." Sor Juana herself writes in one of her *jácaras*: "*un corrido es lo mismo que una jácara*" [A corrido is the same thing as a *jácara*]; however, this line was written two hundred years before the type of song we now know as a corrido made its appearance.

The corrido is a song form known throughout modern Mexico and Latin America as well. It is often associated with the Mexican Revolution of this century, but earlier it was associated with part of the territory crossed by the Camino Real: specifically, its early associations are with the border conflicts of the nineteenth century. One scholar even proposes that the corrido "may actually be a creation of the Mexican community in the U.S. This form later diffuses *southward* as the stimulating events of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 provide new narrative themes."

On the other hand, Vicente T. Mendoza, the great Hispanic song collector and scholar, is quoted as stating that the first real corridos date from the 1820s, and reference is made to corridos dealing with the Juarez reform period (1855–1863), Maxamillian's ascension to the throne in 1864, and other nineteenth-century events in central Mexico.

The corrido is a strophic song—that is, a song made up of verses or *coplas*. The verses consist of four lines each, and each line contains eight syllables. The corrido is most often in 6/8 or 2/4 time, and songs of this form often assume the rhythms of a waltz or polka. The text of the corrido often mentions at the outset the date and place of the events to be described. The final verse may be a *despedida* (farewell) beginning with the words *Vuela, vuela palomita* (fly, fly little dove) or giving the name of the singer.

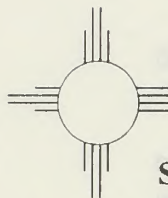
The twentieth-century composer Carlos Chávez said disparagingly of the corrido, "The many four-line verses are all sung with the same monotonous melody, accompanied by tonic-dominant chords on the guitar." The thrust of the corrido, however, is obviously not as a vehicle for displaying clever musical invention or melodic improvisatory facility; rather it is a vehicle for musical narrative, social commentary, and verbal improvisatory skills. After the Tlateloco massacres of 1968 in Mexico City, during which many students were killed by the military, students used the corrido as a protest form and wrote new texts to traditional corrido melodies. Because it is a type of verse often associated with death or conflict, there is no shortage of material to inspire new texts, and corrido composition continues to the present day.

An often happier type of improvised strophic song is definitely a New Mexico invention: the *entriega de novios* (delivery of the newlyweds), a folk wedding ceremony. It is described by Lamadrid (1990) as being the product of a "regional folk Catholicism" that developed in the nineteenth century, a time when the northern frontier suffered a chronic shortage of priests. During this period the ceremony might be used to give community sanction to a new couple. Later, when a priest arrived in the village, the couple would then receive the sanction of the church.

Presently the *entriega de novios* is almost always performed at wedding receptions. Earlier in the century it was frequently performed late at night after the wedding dance at the house of the bride's parents. The sections of the ceremony include an invocation; commentary on verses from the Holy Scripture, often stressing the importance of Mary and Joseph as role models; verses recapitulating the wedding; advice from the singer; and "verses for the people." This last section is usually improvised, humorous at times, directed to relatives and friends of the couple in attendance, and can last from a few minutes to a half an hour.

The *entriega de novios* is described as representing the phenomenon of "cultural resistance." That is, it demonstrates adherence to traditional Hispanic customs, even though the area in which these customs prevail was formerly a physically remote part of the larger Hispanic society, and even though the area is currently subject to strong social and linguistic pressures from outside the Hispanic community. It is interesting to note that New Mexico is also cited as an area in which Spanish romances whose texts date back many centuries are better preserved than in Spain herself.

This article has only attempted to touch very briefly on selected aspects of a very rich musical tradition. It is hoped that it might serve as a useful jumping-off point for those interested in further study.



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Lamadrid, Enrique R.

1990 *Las Entriegas: Ceremonial Music and Cultural Resistance on the Upper Rio Grande*. *New Mexico Historical Review* 65(1):1-19.

Robb, John Donald

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

Stevenson, Robert

1952 *Music in Mexico: A Historical Survey*. Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.

16. Early Anglo-American Artists along the Camino Real

Robert R. White

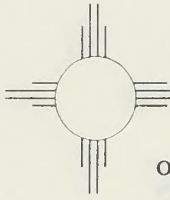
John Mix Stanley

John Mix Stanley was the first Anglo-American artist to travel extensively in New Mexico. He was the official artist with General Stephen Watts Kearny's Army of the West, and he contributed the illustrations to the report of the expedition. It was through Stanley's eyes that Americans obtained their first glimpse of the recently conquered territory.

Stanley was born in 1814 at Canandaigua, New York. He developed an early interest in Indians because of the Iroquois who lived near his home. In 1834, Stanley moved to Detroit to make his living as a sign and house painter, but shortly thereafter he began painting portraits. By 1842, Stanley was living in Troy, New York, and was beginning to make a reputation as a portrait painter. In that year, he and a partner, Sumner Dickerman, headed west to paint Indians in Arkansas and Oklahoma (Indian Territory).

By January 1846, Stanley had painted 83 canvases that he thought were suitable for display, and he and Dickerman collaborated in exhibitions in Cincinnati and Louisville titled "Stanley and Dickerman's North American Indian Gallery." This promotion was obviously in competition with "Catlin's Indian Gallery," which had been touring the United States and Europe since 1836.

In June 1846, Stanley joined a trading expedition on the Santa Fe Trail. Susan Shelby Magoffin was on the wagon train, and in writing in her diary of the beauty of a sunset at Council Grove, she said that it would be a fitting subject for an artist. She then remarked, "We have



one in our Company, Mr. Stanley, rather celebrated for his Indian sketches."

Stanley's wagon train arrived in Santa Fe on 31 August 1846, about two weeks after General Kearny's Army of the West had conquered New Mexico in the name of the United States. Shortly thereafter, Stanley was appointed official artist for the army and was assigned to Lieutenant William H. Emory of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. (Emory mentioned in his journal that he had retained the services of "J. M. Stanly, draughtsman," misspelling the artist's name as he was to misspell many other words in the official report of the expedition.)

Stanley left with part of the army for California on 25 September 1846, heading down the Camino Real to Santo Domingo Pueblo and then on to San Felipe Pueblo. In his journal, Lieutenant Emory referred to "the pretty village of San Felipe, overhung by a steep craggy precipice, upon the summit of which are the ruins of a Roman Catholic church, presenting in the landscape sketch the appearance of the pictures we see of the castles on the Rhine."

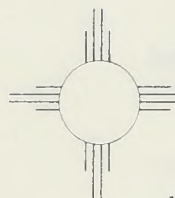
The army passed through Albuquerque and on 30 September was at Isleta Pueblo, where Emory stopped with Stanley to pay a social call on the alcalde. Emory recorded what transpired: "Mr. Stanly accompanied me, for the purpose of sketching one of the women as a specimen of the race. I told the alcalde of our object, and soon a very beautiful woman made her appearance, perfectly conscious of the purpose for which her presence was desired. Her first position was exquisitely graceful, but the light did not suit, and when Stanly changed her position, the charm of her attitude was gone."

South of Socorro, the army was met by Kit Carson, who reported on the course of the war in California. Then near the Fra Cristobal Mountains, Kearny and the Army of the West left the Camino Real and headed west. They went through the Mimbres Valley of New Mexico and on through southern Arizona and southern California, finally arriving at San Diego on 12 December 1846, after several fierce battles with Mexican troops.

Stanley went to San Francisco to complete in oil the sketches he had made when he was with Kearny's army. Emory's report of the expedition was published in 1848 in three editions (as a Senate document, a House document, and in a commercial edition published by H. Long and Brother, New York). The report included about two dozen lithographs from Stanley's paintings. Although the lithographs are very charming, they do not compare favorably with the original paintings that have survived; in many instances, the lithographers did not really capture the spirit of the artist's work.



Figure 46. Valencia, New Mexico, by John Mix Stanley, courtesy of the Stark Museum, Orange, Texas.



When Stanley returned to the East Coast, he enlarged his Indian Gallery and displayed it in a number of cities. In early 1852 he arranged to have 152 of his paintings shown at the Smithsonian Institution. His object was to induce Congress to purchase the paintings as the basis for a national collection portraying the original inhabitants of the continent. The purchase price discussed was almost \$20,000. Congress failed to act, but the artist left his paintings at the Smithsonian in the hope that arrangements would eventually be made. On 24 January 1865, Stanley suffered a disaster of enormous proportions: a fire at the Smithsonian destroyed all but five paintings in his Indian Gallery. The fire consumed a substantial part of what the artist had been able to produce in three decades of hard work.

A review of his major paintings shows that John Mix Stanley was a highly competent artist. The fact that he is not well known today must be due in great part to the destruction of much of his life's work in the Smithsonian fire.

Peter and Thomas Moran

Peter and Thomas Moran were among the prominent Eastern artists who toured New Mexico at various times during the territorial period. At the height of their fame, Peter and Thomas Moran had the reputation of "having been the first among the artists to recognize the picturesque qualities of the scenery of the Southwest" (Koehler 1885). A book published in 1883 (*Original Etchings by American Artists*, Cassell & Company, New York) contained praise for the New Mexico work of Peter Moran while at the same time criticized other artists for going abroad for inspiration: "Our young men . . . go off to Egypt . . . while they neglect the Indian who is almost at their door. Here, upon the table-lands and in the canyons of New Mexico is all the color they need, all the glaring sunlight, all the romance of wild life, and—for that matter—all the dirt and squalor of the Orient."

Thomas and Peter Moran were born in Bolton, England—Thomas in 1837 and Peter in 1841. Their family came to America in 1844 and eventually settled in Philadelphia. Edward, the oldest of the Moran brothers, became an artist and was eventually Thomas's teacher. Peter, in turn, was taught by both of his older brothers.

Peter Moran remains something of a mystery to us; he seems never to have kept a journal or even to have written any letters—at least none have come to light—so what little we know of him comes from the writings of others or from trying to reconstruct where he was from his works of art.

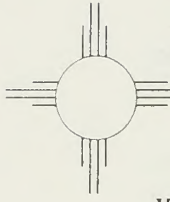
There is some question as to when Peter Moran first came to the Southwest. It is certain that he was in New Mexico in 1880; he visited Taos, Santa Fe, and Jemez, and went to Santo Domingo in the company of General Hatch, the local army commander.

In the summer of 1881 Peter Moran was back in New Mexico; in Santa Fe he met Lt. John G. Bourke, an army officer who devoted most of his time to anthropological studies. Moran and Bourke wanted to attend the Snake Dance at Hopi, but recent rains had washed out the railroad tracks south of Santa Fe. As a consequence, they obtained an army ambulance and left Santa Fe on the old Camino Real on the afternoon of 3 August 1881. They went to the Tablet Dance at Santo Domingo Pueblo and then were able to catch a train to Albuquerque and on to Fort Wingate.

Peter Moran and Bourke borrowed another army ambulance at Fort Wingate and went to the Hopi villages, where they witnessed the Snake Dance. Bourke recorded their activities and travels in great detail (in 1884 he published a book about their journey). Bourke said that Moran was frequently sketching and was sometimes the object of considerable curiosity and interest; he commented on "Moran sketching, his every movement watched by a coterie of four naked boys, three mongrel pups, two full-grown Navajos, and six Moquis, who form his admiring clientelage" (Bourke 1884). After leaving Hopi, Moran and Bourke went to some of the Mormon towns on the Little Colorado River, rode on to Camp Apache, and then returned to New Mexico and spent some time at Zuni.

In 1882, Peter Moran was back in New Mexico, visiting Taos, Santa Fe, and Zuni, as dated drawings of these places attest. In 1883 he seems to have spent some time at Albuquerque. After that, Peter Moran returned to the West only one more time, in 1890, when he spent some time in Wyoming. He was attracted to New Mexico for the same reasons that would bring many other artists in the following decades: he was fascinated by the Indians, adobe architecture, and the vast landscape (and, as an "animal painter," he loved to do pictures of New Mexico's burros).

Peter Moran was able to travel frequently to New Mexico because of a great technological advance: after the railroad reached Santa Fe in early 1880, Moran could get on a train in Philadelphia and be in Santa Fe in just a few days. No longer did travel to the Southwest have to be considered in terms of the speed of horses and wagons.



Thomas Moran did not seem to feel the fascination for New Mexico that his younger brother Peter did—Thomas's favorite places were Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon—but he actually visited New Mexico more often than did Peter. Thomas Moran's first trip to New Mexico was during September 1881 in the company of his old friend, the photographer William Henry Jackson. Moran had agreed to provide some illustrations for a Colorado magazine, so with a private railway car at their disposal, the painter and photographer worked their way down from Denver to Alamosa and beyond.

At one point, their railway car was stopped on a siding about twelve miles from Ojo Caliente, New Mexico. They sent a request to the hotel at Ojo Caliente for transportation, and in due time an ordinary farm wagon arrived at the rail siding. When they arrived at Ojo Caliente, they found a hotel that could accommodate fifty guests, and they were likely surprised when their first meal at the hotel began with Baltimore oysters! Thomas Moran was so taken with the location that he painted a watercolor of the old adobe church as seen from the hotel.

On returning to their railroad car, Moran and his friends were taken to the Rio Grande valley, where they stopped at San Juan Pueblo. A few days later they stopped at the Embudo siding on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad; from there, they took the wagon road to Taos Pueblo. Moran would do paintings of both San Juan and Taos in the following year. Ironically, Thomas and Peter Moran were both working in New Mexico in September 1881, though there is no indication that they met, and it is likely that each was unaware of the other's presence in the territory.

Most of Thomas Moran's subsequent visits to New Mexico were part of trips to and from the Grand Canyon. In 1892, on returning from Arizona, he stopped at Gallup and Laguna to do some sketching. The death of his wife in 1899 impelled Moran to travel more frequently than in the past, now often with his daughter Ruth. In 1900, Moran went to Colorado and then headed south to New Mexico, where he sketched at Laguna and Acoma. In May 1901 he visited Laguna and Acoma on the way home from the Grand Canyon. In 1902, surviving sketches indicate that Moran worked in the area of Acomita. In 1903 Moran and his daughter went to Mexico, but they stopped in Albuquerque in April and stayed for a time at the new Alvarado Hotel. He was at the Grand Canyon in 1904 and 1905 and sketched in Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona in 1907 and 1908. Thomas Moran visited the Grand Canyon in subsequent years, but he spent many of his remaining winters in Pasadena, California.

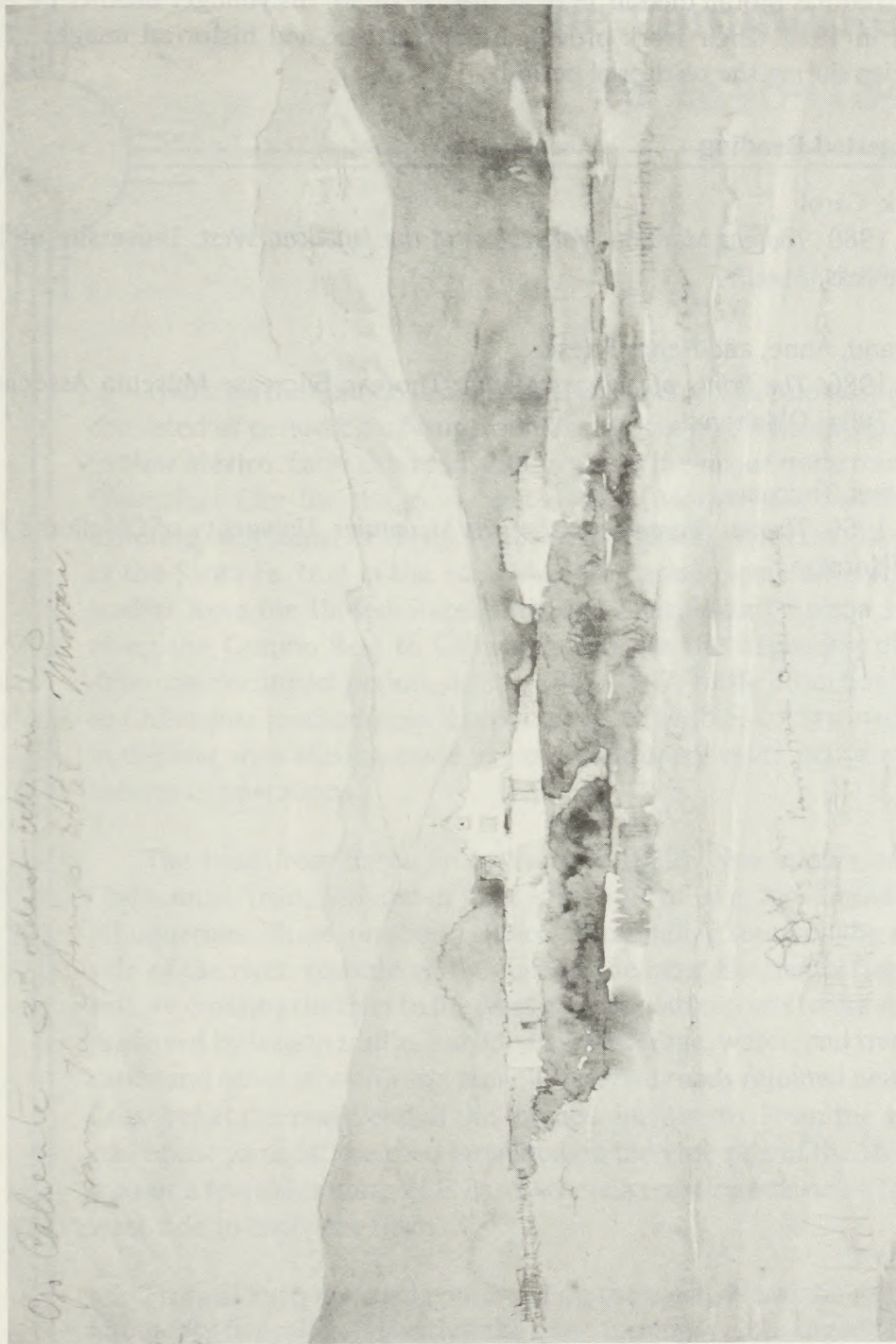
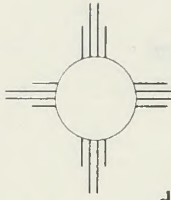


Figure 47. Ojo Caliente, by Thomas Moran, courtesy of the Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa.



Thomas Moran died in 1926 at the age of 90. His younger brother Peter had died in 1914. Their work provided many artistic and historical images of New Mexico during the territorial period.

Suggested Reading

Clark, Carol

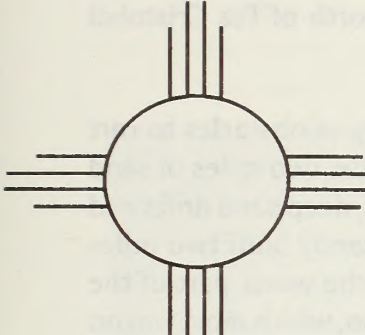
1980 *Thomas Moran—Watercolors of the American West*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Morand, Anne, and Nancy Friese

1986 *The Prints of Thomas Moran*. Thomas Gilcrease Museum Association, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Wilkins, Thurman

1966 *Thomas Moran—Artist of the Mountains*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.



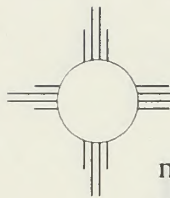
17. The Camino Real in 1846--1847

Albert H. Schroeder

Traffic on the Camino Real during the early Spanish colonial period consisted of periodic caravans from Mexico carrying mission supplies to New Mexico. Later this road also served as the major trade route to Chihuahua City for the governors of New Mexico and merchants handling such items as sheep, salt, and piñon nuts. With the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in the early Mexican period, some enterprising traders from the United States extended their Santa Fe trade south along the Camino Real to Chihuahua City. At the beginning of the American territorial period, during 1846–1847, traffic from Santa Fe to Chihuahua reached record proportions when U.S. troops involved in the war with Mexico made use of this primary route into a major theater of operations.

The road from Santa Fe in the mid-1800s, also known as the Chihuahua Trail, led down the east side of the Rio Grande to Albuquerque. There, one had a choice of continuing south on the same side of the river, considered by some as the most frequently traveled side, or crossing the river to the west side. The latter route to the south, preferred by wagon traffic, provided better forage, water, and trade in cattle and other stock for the army. These two roads rejoined near Fra Cristobal at the north end of the Jornada del Muerto. From the south end of the jornada, the road remained on the east side of the river to a point a few miles north of El Paso, where a crossing was made to the west side to enter the town.

From El Paso the road continued on the west side of the river for about fifty-five miles. It then left the river, turning west to Laguna Patos and then south through Laguna Encinillas to Chihuahua City. Other crossings of the Rio Grande took place a few miles south of Los Lunas; in the area of La Joyeta; a short distance north of Socorro; four miles



north of and at San Pedro; at Valverde; and three miles north of Fra Cristobal campground.

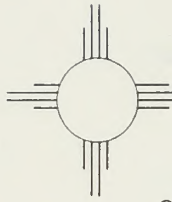
The terrain over which the road passed offered a variety of obstacles to cart or wagon travel, such as the sandy stretch above Albuquerque, two miles of sand between Albuquerque and Isleta, an "ugly" hill above Placeras, deep sand drifts and rocky creeks below the Puerco River junction, and a high sandy bluff two miles below Parida. This last area was considered by some to be the worst part of the road aside from six to eight miles of sandy hills south of El Paso, which most wagon trains usually avoided. Another problem was the lack of water—only one spring in the ninety-mile stretch of the Jornada del Muerto, and there is a similar lack of water over a sixty-mile jornada to Laguna Patos and another forty-mile jornada south of Ojo Caliente below Laguna Patos.

The environment through which the road passed varied considerably; daily camps were made in areas with good forage and water for the animals and with wood for cooking, although at other times the camps were lacking in some or all of these resources. The river often froze in winter or ran with chunks of ice, making it difficult to cross. South of La Joya the banks of the river supported heavier growths of cottonwood and more cacti appeared among the vegetation. South of Doña Ana thorny plants became more common than they were upstream. Depending on the locale of the traveler, advance planning for the purchase of wood or forage for the days ahead, particularly for the army, became an almost daily ritual.

Settlements along the road ranged in size from villages to ranchos to individual houses. The region between San Pedro and Robledo, as well as between Doña Ana and El Paso and in all jornadas, lacked any type of settlement. Similarly, the stretch from Presidio, 25 miles south of El Paso, to Carrizal was uninhabited, as was the road from Carrizal to Chihuahua City except for Encinillas. Population estimates for some of the places, as described by one soldier, include Algodones with 1000, Bernalillo with 500, Sandia with 300 to 400, Albuquerque with an unknown number but stretching for seven to eight miles along the river, Placeras with 200 to 300, Tome with 2000, Socorro a "considerable town," El Paso with 5000 to 6000, and Carrizal with 400. The Socorro-San Pedro areas represented the southernmost settlements of New Mexico. According to some travelers, the border of Chihuahua ran east-west, in the vicinity of Robledo, about ten miles north of Doña Ana.



Figure 48. *New Mexico Mountaineer, c. 1840*, drawn by Jose Cisneros (from *Riders across the Century*, Texas Western Press, UTEP).



Traders and units of the U.S. Army purchased goods and supplies from the occupants of settlements along the way. The following list of supplies obtained at different places indicates the variety of food and other items available.

- 2 mi. south of Cochiti—melons, peaches, grapes
- San Felipe—same as above
- Algodones—fruit, melons, bread
- Sandia—grapes, pears, peaches, wood, fodder
- Alameda—corn
- Albuquerque—corn, melons, apricots, grapes, wine, mescal, beer, bread, fish, meat, eggs, poultry, and fodder from a priest
- Los Lunas—corn
- below Isleta—eggs, fruit
- Valencia—pack blankets
- Plaza Chávez—whiskey
- Jarales—wood, chickens, bread, cheese, melons, molasses, meal, and a priest had wood, corn, and whiskey
- between Belen and Sabinal—cattle, mules, corn, wood, fodder
- above La Joya—corn bought from wagons going north
- La Joya—corn, sheep, cattle, bees
- Lemitar—mules
- Socorro—corn
- San Pedro—chickens
- Doña Ana—corn, watermelons, dried fruit, meal, sheep, cattle, pumpkins, El Paso wine, grain and forage for animals
- El Paso—fruit, beans, salt, soap, fresh meat scarce
- Carrizal—corn
- Laguna de Encinillas—sheep, hogs, beef

The following are a few examples of prices paid or amounts purchased by the army, including trading or bartering by individual soldiers.

- Albuquerque—mule at \$35 or ten at \$40 each
 - Trade three poor mules for three good ones plus \$65.
 - A brass button worth a dime in trade.
 - A pin or a piece of wire for a melon.
- Valencia—unreasonable prices for mules, twenty-two bushels of corn
- Jarales—moderate prices
- La Joya—thirty sheep, 14,500 pounds of beef on the hoof, twenty-eight bees

Parida—everything had doubled in price: beef at \$20, corn at \$6 per fanega

Luis Lopez—\$93 for seven cattle

El Paso—wheat at \$2.50 per fanega

The army salvaged some items from broken-down wagons abandoned along the road, such as axles or spokes, which were fashioned into picket pins. If an army wagon broke down, it was sent to a nearby town and placed in care of the alcalde, to be picked up later.

Wildlife along the road, reported by common name below, sometimes provided travelers with food. Lt. James W. Abert (1962) listed scientific names for some of the birds, but several differ from names currently assigned.

between Cochiti and Albuquerque—geese, ducks, cranes, curlews

between Bernalillo and Albuquerque—shore larks, ravens, flocks of black birds

Albuquerque—cranes, geese, brants, reptiles, frogs, turtles

Pajarito to La Joya—turtles, fish

Jarales—muskrat

north of Casa Colorado—geese, long-legged cranes

below Rio Puerco junction—red-winged flicker, shore larks, geese, brants, ducks, mallards, mergansers, teals, cranes (none white)

La Joya—flocks of red-winged flicker, meadowlarks

near Parida—crested quail

north of Socorro—fish, bear tracks, beaver sign

Socorro—creeper, woodpecker, red-winged flicker

south of Socorro to north of Valverde—white fish with blue spots, quail, golden-winged woodpecker, butcher birds, swans, loons, mergansers, bald eagle

Valverde—sparrow hawk, sapsucker, Mexican bluebird, deer, turkey

between Valverde and present-day Truth or Consequences—otter, catamount, wild cat, plover, California quail, western meadowlark, creeper, red-winged flicker, butcher bird, swan loon, merganser

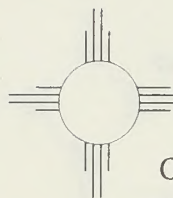
San Diego—wolves, turkeys, fish, turtles

El Paso—beaver

Los Patos—ducks, geese

Gaige—antelope

When stopping at towns or ranchos to purchase supplies, travelers picked up news and rumors of ongoing events in New Mexico, Chihuahua, and even



California. At other times, while on the move along the trail, an army or trader express came through from the north or south or from the United States carrying mail and newspapers. Merchants coming north crossed paths with others going south and exchanged news concerning Mexican and American troop movements in Chihuahua or referred to problems relating to duty costs at El Paso. Letters written on the road went to Santa Fe with an express or a trader returning north.

In one instance prior to the Battle of Taos a courier from New Mexico was captured carrying letters to Chihuahua, indicating a readiness to plan an insurrection against the U.S. troops. Some news was received near Valverde only four days after the December 20th Battle of Brazito, and below Presidio five days after the February 4th Battle of Taos. On the other extreme, news of the Navajo Treaty took nineteen days to reach army units moving south. Mail from the United States eventually reached merchants or troops on the road. One letter received on 15 February 1857 contained news from 15 October 1846, four months out of date. On one occasion, troops in El Paso were cut off from all news for almost a month. On leaving the Rio Grande en route to California, Gen. Stephen W. Kearny and his Army of the West passed beyond the reach of existing mail facilities.

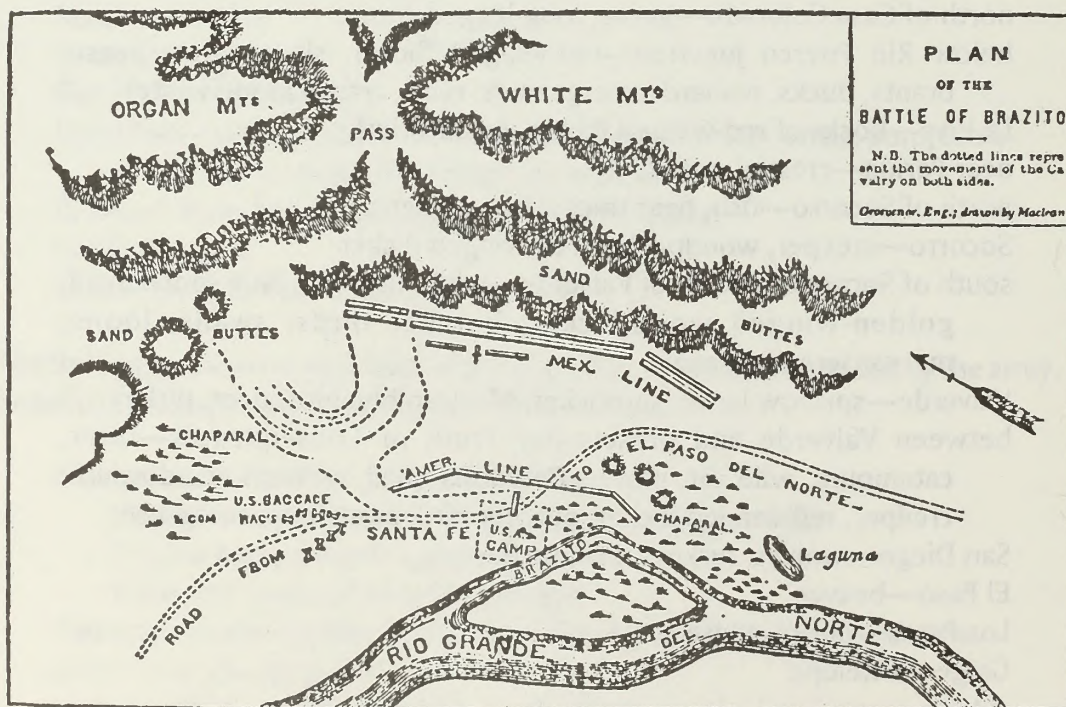


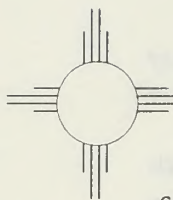
Figure 49. Plan of the Battle of Brazito.

The army, new to the territory, hired well-known guides and interpreters with knowledge of the country and its people (Bieber 1936). Kearny met Col. Kit Carson a few miles south of Las Huertas carrying dispatches to Washington from California. Antoine Robidoux also joined Kearny as an interpreter. Santiago Kirker, an American hunter employed by Mexico to fight Apaches, escaped when the war with Mexico broke out and came into Col. A. W. Doniphan's camp at the south end of the Jornada del Muerto (Connelley 1907). Pauline Weaver acted as a guide for the Mormon Battalion under Gen. St. George Cooke's force, and Antoine Leroux joined Cooke just north of the Jornada del Muerto (Bieber 1938).

At this latter area, south of Valverde and Fra Cristobal, merchants and troops camped to prepare to cross the jornada. This campground became a major target for Navajo raiders, attracted by the large numbers of livestock accompanying the wagon trains. During late October to December 1846, some 500 troops and 30 merchants, plus teamsters with several hundred wagons, suffered from at least five major Navajo attacks, resulting in a large loss of sheep, some oxen, and mules. Raids such as these forced the abandonment of the village of Valverde in the late 1820s. In the area south of La Joya, sheep were brought down from the mountains in November, and armed men from different places would gather at Sabinal to face Indian parties coming down the Puerco River. One unlucky Navajo held captive at Isleta was kept in a hole in the ground 12–15 feet deep. The following day, a war dance was held over Navajo captives.

Other raids by Gila and Mescalero Apaches took place at the south end of the Jornada del Muerto. One band of the Gila Apaches stole almost 900 sheep and was pursued sixty to eighty miles west into the sierras and Mimbres Valley. They also stole mules in Chihuahua and sold them in New Mexico, Socorro being one of their trading centers. Some stolen mules purchased by traders in New Mexico were reclaimed in El Paso by Mexican agents who kept record of brands for this purpose. In Chihuahua, north of the first jornada, Apaches took most of one trader's ox teams, but after pursuit, sixty-three animals were recovered.

Merchants carrying goods to Chihuahua needed passports to identify their nationality and to pass through El Paso. Two men from one firm, Cufford, an Englishman, and Gentry, an American, both carried English passports. Albert Speyer had a Prussian and an English passport. Other nationalities represented among them included Harmony, a Spaniard; Porrus, a Mexican; and Defoe, a Frenchman, illustrating the wide range of nationalities attracted to the trade on the Chihuahua Trail.



Traders traveled with varying numbers of wagons, ranging from two to forty-five each. Samuel Magoffin had forty conestogas in his train (Drumm 1962). When the merchants entered the Jornada del Muerto, after camping for several months at Fra Cristobal, their wagons stretched along the trail for at least a mile. Five or six merchants placed a half million dollar value on their combined merchandise. The transportation cost to traders for each pound of goods to Santa Fe was nine cents, and to Chihuahua, eighteen cents. Calicos and prints bought at ten cents sold at thirty-seven and a half cents, and cloths costing about twenty-five cents sold for two dollars. Duties paid per wagonload at El Paso amounted to \$1000 for goods that originally cost \$2000 to \$3000. While at the camp at Fra Cristobal, the merchants received word from the governor of Chihuahua to dismiss all American drivers and replace them with Mexicans, and to pay a duty of thirteen cents per pound and any internal consumption tariff that had been fixed by law. The drivers for American merchants were not dismissed.

With so many people traveling on the Chihuahua Trail, some wagons would pass slower trains or meet other New Mexicans returning from El Paso. Companies of one army regiment would move to relieve another group en route to Navajo country or pass merchants on the road. Lieutenant Abert overtook eighteen men who had left the employment of traders and were making their way back to the United States. He employed them for his own return trip. The following day he met a contingent of Colonel Doniphan's men with sheep and cattle en route to join troops farther south.

On those occasions when army units were camped along the road, they tried to avoid boredom, especially by playing card games. Depending on where they camped, the men would wrestle, hold running and jumping contests, race horses, smoke, sing, joke, lounge around, or sleep. They also visited with merchants who came into camp. Once in a while, when they were located near a village, the troops would take in some local activity, such as a marriage in Jarales between the alcalde's daughter and a wealthy ranchero. On another occasion, the town of Tomé drew their attention as it celebrated an ecclesiastical anniversary, placing pine faggots on the walls of the town and church and sending up skyrockets and fireballs for three hours. Three or four priests officiated over the ceremony the next day.

The traders had one luxury in being close to regiments plying the trail. On several occasions a doctor from the dragoons was called on to prescribe for a trader's illness or for one of his hired help. In one instance, a resident French doctor at Los Padillas tended Jose Chavez, who had broken both arms. This doctor also set an officer's dislocated elbow, charging a fee of thirty dollars, which some



Figure 50. General Wool and staff in the Calle Real, Saltillo, Mexico, c. 1847, photographer unknown, sixth-plate daguerreotype, courtesy of Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth.



thought was rather high. As for army personnel, those who fell sick on the Navajo campaign were sent to Socorro or Albuquerque for further care.

Merchants on the road made a point of stopping at villages and visiting people they had met on previous trips. If camped in the same spot for several days, they would open some of their merchandise to attract buyers both locally and from nearby places. As a means of recreation, wagoners would go into nearby towns after setting up camp, which sometimes led to overzealous celebrations. During an extended stay at a town, sometimes traders would rent a house or a room to avoid camp life for a while.

It appears that the needs and associated events of travel along the Camino Real in the middle 1800s only differed from those of today in the mode of transportation and the threat of Indian raids. Replace the words forage with gas, supplies with groceries, camps with campgrounds or motels, express mail en route with radio, water and wood with meal stops, guides with road maps, and passports with visas, and one finds many requisites in common. However, the rough surface of the road, exposure to all types of weather at all times, camps lacking the necessities of travel, and occasional lack of supplies in the 1840s certainly stand in sharp contrast to the comforts enjoyed by most modern travelers.

Suggested Reading

Frazer, Robert W., ed.

1981 *On the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails, 1847–1848: George Rutledge Gibson's Journal*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Ruxton, George A.

1975 *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains, 1846–1847*, reprint edition. Rio Grande Press, Glorieta, New Mexico.

18. Military Guardians of the Nineteenth- Century Camino Real

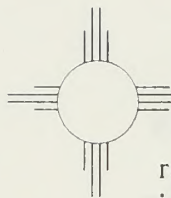
Julia Jordan

This chapter places the story of the nineteenth-century American military forts along the trail in the context of the Camino Real. The Bureau of Land Management has planned for a permanent "Boots and Saddles" tour of these and other forts whose remains are found on public and private lands in New Mexico.

The trail, broken by Oñate in 1598 and extended to a northern terminus at Santa Fe when the territorial capital was founded in 1609, continued as an avenue for commerce until the 1880s. The "Royal Road" was what would today be defined as a "way," in that it was maintained solely by the passage of traffic, far from having been "constructed," let alone paved. In fact, in 1800 most of the Spanish colony of New Mexico would have qualified as wilderness by today's standards, with settlements confined mostly to the Rio Grande valley, where the fertile soil deposited by millennia of spring floods enabled farming and livestock husbandry by Mexican settlers and sedentary Pueblo Indians.

Along this north-south agricultural corridor traders wended their way from Chihuahua to Santa Fe, bringing goods and mail from Europe and Mexico and returning southward with livestock and products of rural craftsmanship. Meanwhile, out on the desert plains astride the river communities, the nomads of the Apache, Navajo, Comanche, and Kiowa tribes ranged freely, pausing occasionally to raid the scattered settlements and the merchant caravans along the Camino Real. These circumstances remained fundamentally unaltered throughout all of the turbulent years up to the 1880s, when the Camino Real was superseded by the coming of the railroad.

When the nineteenth century began, the Spanish colonial regime controlled commerce along the Camino Real with an iron hand. As a



result of Spanish trade policies, merchants of New Mexico found it nearly impossible to maintain a balance of trade or any reasonable cash flow. Prices of goods brought from Chihuahua were extremely high, and even then they were too infrequently delivered. Thus, when American merchants broke a trail from Missouri to bring cheaper and better-quality goods to New Mexico, the resident merchants and populace eagerly snapped up the American imports. Leery of this new commercial competition, the Spanish colonial government often imprisoned the American traders and confiscated their merchandise.

Even after Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821, American traders were frequently harassed with ever-changing import regulations and requirements. Given the tremendous profits to be made by carrying goods to New Mexico, the American trade, far from being deterred, persisted and even expanded. In 1822 the Santa Fe Trail, stretching from Missouri to Santa Fe, in effect extended the Camino Real another 800 miles in an easterly direction. Although soon so many wagon loads of merchandise arrived in Santa Fe that the market quickly became glutted, the Missouri merchants determined that profits could still be made by continuing on down the Camino Real to sell their goods in Chihuahua and Durango.

As always, Indian raiders along the way were a constant hazard to the trader caravans. In 1825, Congress authorized a payment of \$800 each to the Kansas and Osage tribes to induce them to leave the wagon trains in peace. Still, to the west the Pawnees, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas remained an ongoing threat along the Santa Fe Trail, not to mention the Apaches and Navajos, who were known to attack travelers on the Camino Real. Since American troops could not legally enter Mexican territory, the merchant caravans protected themselves by traveling in large groups and hired armed outriders to ward off Indians.

When the United States went to war with Mexico in 1846, interruptions to the commercial travel between Missouri and Chihuahua were minimal. In fact, Susan Shelby Magoffin, a young bride who had just come west with her prominent trader husband, Samuel Magoffin, accompanied a commercial caravan all the way to Chihuahua in 1846 without serious concern about the war in progress. Actually, New Mexico surrendered without a fight, thanks in part to the intervention of James Magoffin, Samuel's brother and another leading merchant of the day.

After New Mexico became American territory, most officials in the new government were merchants who had been active in the Missouri trade. Given the traders' familiarity with conditions and mores in New Mexico, their service greatly eased the transition to American rule.

With American ownership came the end of trade tariffs and a tremendous increase in commercial and immigrant traffic along the Santa Fe Trail and the Camino Real. Once New Mexico was American territory, the safety of residents as well as travelers along its trails became the responsibility of the United States. In the 1850s more than a thousand American soldiers were scattered among outposts at communities throughout the New Mexico territory.

In 1851, Secretary of War C. M. Conrad, displeased with the ineffectiveness of the enormously expensive New Mexico garrisons in suppressing Indian depredations, directed Lt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner to take command in New Mexico and "revise the whole system of defense." Sumner began by moving military headquarters from Fort Marcy at Santa Fe, "that sink of vice and extravagance," to a new fort at the junction of the Mountain and Cimarron branches of the Santa Fe Trail—Fort Union.

Other troops were moved out of the settlements into outposts "more toward the frontier, nearer the Indians." Hence, the post at Socorro was broken up and moved south to the northern terminus of the Jornada del Muerto, at Valverde. Here, Fort Conrad was founded. This location had for many years been a popular camping spot for travelers on the Camino Real, but apparently it was an inauspicious site, and in 1854 Fort Conrad was abandoned for a new fort, Fort Craig, located about eight miles to the south. Fort Craig was described by a soldier as "the best and prettiest fort in New Mexico." In 1863 Fort McRae was established near Ojo del Muerto (Spring of the Dead), about halfway along the Jornada, at a point intersecting an east-west route often used by Navajos and Apaches. Fort Selden was constructed at the southern end of the Jornada in 1865, to guard both the Camino Real and settlers in the Mesilla Valley, near present-day Las Cruces.

Until the nomadic Indian tribes were confined to reservations toward the end of the nineteenth century, a pattern of never-ending raids and skirmishes marked the interaction of the New Mexico garrisons with the Indian warriors. The Indians treated the settlements along the river and the travelers along the trails as a "renewable resource." Although settlers sometimes abandoned their rancheros because of repeated Indian predations, the raiders took a certain amount of care to leave enough behind to assure a continuing supply of food, livestock, and captives. New Mexicans actually took more Indians captive as slaves than Indians took New Mexicans, although the Indians apparently came out ahead on stolen livestock.

The nomads knew the wild terrain apart from the domesticated riverside as no settlers or soldiers ever could. To soldiers in pursuit of a raiding party, the

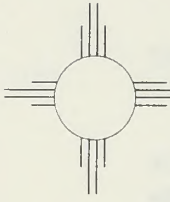


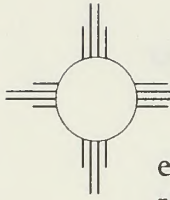
Figure 51. Mescalero Apache scouts, courtesy of Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth.

Indians could seem to disappear where there was virtually no cover. Conversely, the Indians could appear apparently out of nowhere, and when least expected. Patrols of soldiers would escort merchant caravans or immigrant wagon trains and sometimes would succeed in protecting them. Pitched battles between troops and Indian warriors occasionally took place during this period, but they seldom seemed to make an appreciable difference in the overall pattern of depredation. The forts were small islands of resistance in a sea of hostile natives, and their success was limited in a way reminiscent of modern combatants faced with guerrilla warfare.

In the midst of the ongoing "guerrilla" war, the Civil War intervened. On their way to the decisive western encounters of that war, Confederate troops under the command of Henry H. Sibley marched up the Camino Real from Texas to Fort Craig, where they engaged with Union forces in the Battle of Valverde. Military historians are not unanimous on whether Sibley or Canby, commander of Fort Craig, won the battle. Technically, the Confederates won the day, but their supply lines were sufficiently compromised to hinder them from winning the second, and conclusive, battle against troops from Fort Union and volunteers from Colorado at Glorieta Pass on the Santa Fe Trail. Taken together, these two battles ended any chance for Confederate victory in the West.

After the distraction of the war was removed, an all-out effort was undertaken to control the Indians, who in the interim had taken advantage of the conflict to despoil the settlements. General James H. Carleton, the new commander of New Mexico forces, determined to place the Apaches and Navajos on a reservation constructed on the Pecos River and named Fort Sumner. There, the traditional enemies were expected not only to live in harmony but to take up the plow with good grace. They did neither, and they suffered greatly from cold, hunger, and disease as well as internal conflicts. After five years the imprisonment of the tribes was abandoned and the nomads were permitted to return to their old lands. Henceforth, the Apaches resumed their predations for years to come, whereas the Navajos withdrew to their country and more or less settled down.

Apart from patrols and campaigns against the Indians, the life of soldiers at the forts was deadly dull routine. At first, the forts were constructed by the soldiers themselves, and their unskilled labor produced flimsy buildings of barked logs that harbored bedbugs and other insects, which quickly reduced them to sawdust. Some of the forts were reconstructed several times between their establishment and decommissioning. Many families were living at the forts, and the hardships for wives were sometimes extreme; they especially dreaded the military activity, which from time to time relieved the tedium for the men. Inhabitants of the forts



entertained themselves as best they could, with dances and plays, sing-alongs, and recitations. Less wholesome diversions, such as drinking and gambling, were also very common, despite constant efforts to bring such behavior under military discipline.

The Rio Grande valley was ineradicably linked to the rest of American civilization in the early 1880s with the opening of the railroads over its full length. Electricity, the telegraph, the telephone, and other modern conveniences began to shrink the vastness of the wilderness, and gradually the nomadic Indian tribes were pacified and relocated onto reservations. When a heliograph was placed on Robledo's highest peak, near Fort Selden, to communicate between Fort Selden, Cooke's Peak, Fort Stanton, Mount Franklin, and Fort Bliss, settlers could be warned of the approach of Indian raiders. Geronimo was heard to lament, "If the white man can speak with light, the Indian can do little. Our day is finished."

One by one, the forts along the Camino Real and Santa Fe Trail became superfluous and were abandoned: McRae in 1876, Craig in 1885, Selden and Union in 1891. Now the forts are reduced to low ruins scattered across the desert plain. Some, like Selden (managed as a New Mexico State Monument) and Union (managed by the National Park Service), have been stabilized and have visitor centers. Fort McRae (under Bureau of Reclamation management) is somewhat difficult to visit since the creation of Elephant Butte Lake. Fort Craig, administered by the Bureau of Land Management, has been stabilized, and trails and visitor guides have been prepared. In the summer of 1989 the Battle of Valverde was recreated by Civil War buffs at the original site near Fort Craig. All of these forts, as well as several others, have been included in the "Boots and Saddles" tour, designed to make these historical locales more accessible to the public and to enhance their protection. Because they represent a significant period in the development of the Southwest as an integral part of the United States, they are worthy of attention and preservation.

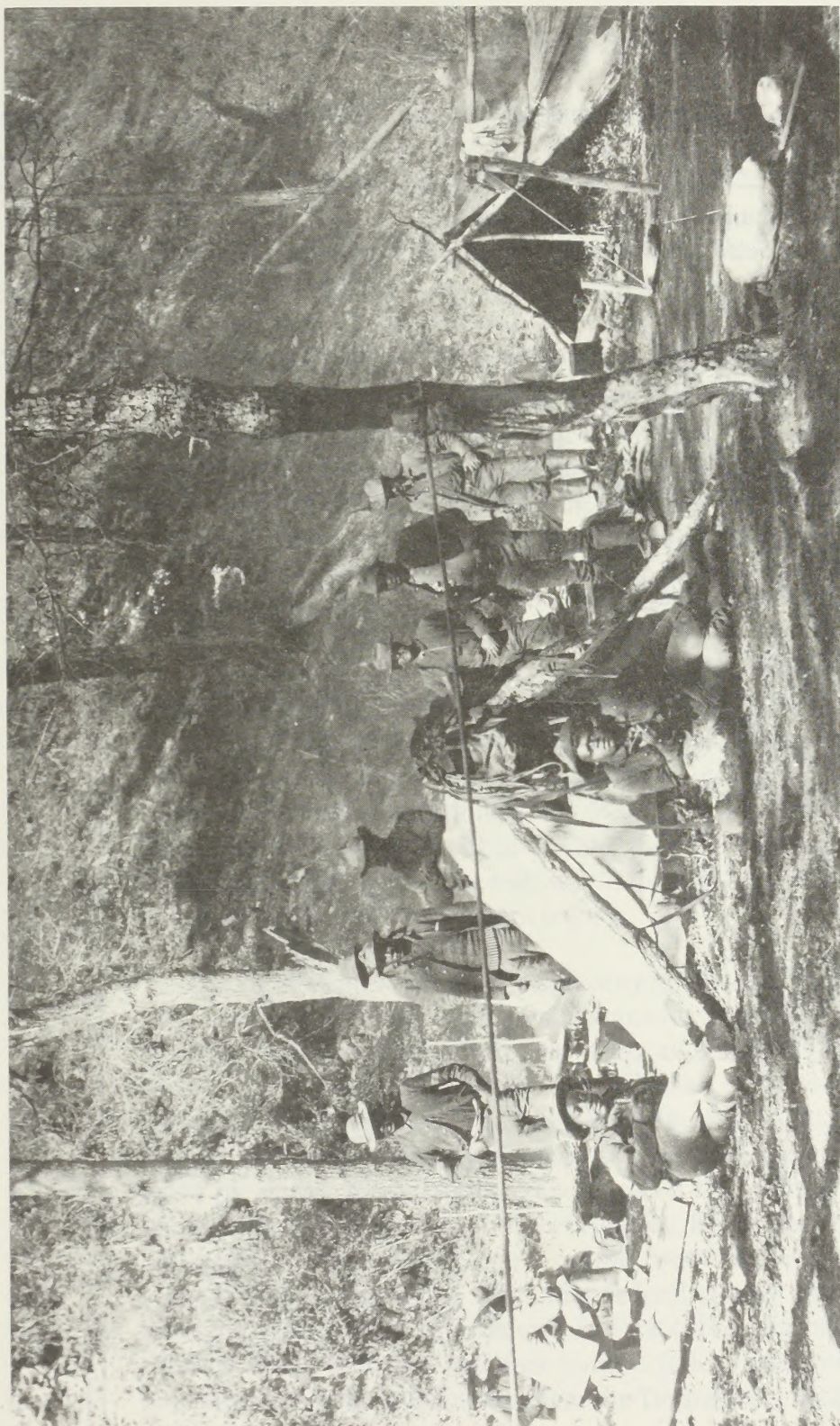


Figure 52. Tenth Cavalry, photo by Henry A. Schmidt, Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico, negative no. 000-179-0728.



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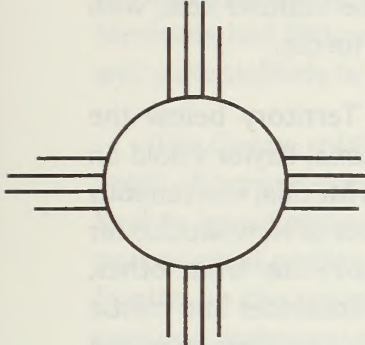
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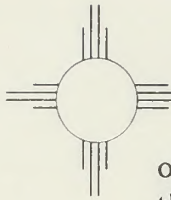
19. Civil War along the Camino Real

Don E. Alberts

The famous roadway running north and south along the Rio Grande bottomlands of New Mexico Territory had seen many an unusual sight, but none more so than the passage along it of both Union and Confederate armies. Those armies resulted from the attempt of Rebel Texans to capture and occupy the federal territory, and its defense by northern forces, in what became the westernmost campaign of the Civil War.

The Camino Real's initial involvement came in the wake of Texan secession from the Union. The Union commander of the Department of Texas quickly surrendered all federal property to Texas authorities and agreed to withdraw his soldiers from posts within Texas. As a result, Union troops abandoned Fort Bliss, at Franklin (now El Paso), Texas, on the last day of March in 1861. Located where the Camino Real crosses into Mexico, the post would thereafter serve as a site for the concentration of Confederate troops.

During the latter part of June and early July, Lt. Col. John R. Baylor led a battery of artillery and four companies of the Second Texas Mounted Rifles regiment into Fort Bliss as its new garrison. His immediate objective was capture of Fort Fillmore, in the Mesilla Valley, some forty miles north of Fort Bliss, near present-day Las Cruces, New Mexico. With approximately 300 men and audacious maneuvers, and aided by almost incredible incompetence on the part of Maj. Isaac Lynde, the federal commander of Fort Fillmore, Baylor was able to force his enemies to abandon the post on the twenty-seventh of July. He subsequently followed the retreating federal troops northeastward from the smoldering Fort Fillmore and captured almost the entire garrison, about 500 men with their transportation, arms, and artillery. The only remaining Union troops near the Texans were in the garrison



of Fort Craig, New Mexico, some sixty miles north along the Camino Real, with the inhospitable Jornada del Muerto between the opposing forces.

Although he quickly proclaimed all of New Mexico Territory below the thirty-fourth parallel to be the Confederate Territory of Arizona, Baylor's hold on the lower Rio Grande valley, from his new territorial capitol of Mesilla, was tenuous at best. Col. Edward R. S. Canby, commanding the Department of New Mexico for the Union, was busy reinforcing Fort Craig with the garrisons from other, less-defensible posts within the territory and by calling up volunteer and militia regiments from the territory's civilian population. These new soldiers marched southward along the Camino Real to bolster the regular federal troops already within the fort's reservation. Canby maintained contact with Baylor's Texans by sending out occasional patrols to reconnoiter the Camino Real and its enemy outposts. During September, the captain and nine soldiers in one such patrol, commanded by Capt. John H. Minks of the New Mexico Volunteers, were captured by Texans guarding the village of Cañada Alamosa on the Camino Real, now under the waters of the northern reaches of Elephant Butte Reservoir.

To counter the potential threat that Fort Craig represented to all that the Confederates had already won in New Mexico, a new Texan column reached the Fort Bliss area toward the end of 1861. Commanded by Brig. Gen. Henry Hastings Sibley, a former federal officer who had served in New Mexico Territory, the approximately 3200 men with associated supply trains and artillery marched northward along the Camino Real and camped at scattered locations along the Rio Grande while Sibley concentrated his troops. Sibley proclaimed this brigade-sized force, consisting of the Fourth, Fifth, and Seventh Texas Mounted Volunteer regiments with associated support personnel as well as Baylor's men, who were already in the area, to be the Army of New Mexico. He assumed command of all Confederate troops in New Mexico and soon replaced Baylor as head of the local Confederate government.

Sibley not only expected to defeat opposing Union forces easily, he then planned to occupy the rest of New Mexico north of Fort Craig; live off the land; recruit native New Mexicans to bolster his Texan ranks; attack and capture Fort Union, near Las Vegas, New Mexico, the military supply center for the Southwest; and continue on to the rich gold and silver mines around Denver City, in Colorado Territory. From there, Sibley believed he could go westward through Utah, where disaffected Mormons would join his band, and continue to the Pacific coast, where he would take Los Angeles and San Diego as warm-water ports for the South. His ambitious plans failed to take into account the subsistence economy of New Mexico, which would not support an invading force of more than 3000 men and

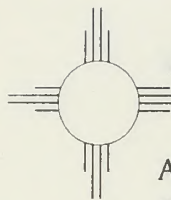
associated animals. Nor did they recognize the fact that, although native New Mexicans had little interest in the issues of the Civil War, they detested Texans and were unlikely to aid Sibley in any way.

The Texan soldiers gradually concentrated around abandoned Fort Thorn, north of present-day Hatch, New Mexico. From there they scouted up the Camino Real to guard against any surprise Union attack, and they used the roadway to pursue small parties of Indians that periodically raided herds and supply dumps. Finally, on the seventh of February 1862, with approximately 2500 men, fifteen cannons, and an extensive supply train, Sibley moved northward along the Camino Real to attack Canby and the federal forces in and around Fort Craig.

Colonel Canby had approximately 3800 men with whom to oppose the oncoming Texans; however, only 1200 were seasoned and trained regulars. The only complete and reasonably well-trained local unit present was Col. Christopher "Kit" Carson's First New Mexico Volunteer regiment of almost one thousand mostly Hispanic soldiers from northern New Mexico. Companies from the Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth New Mexico Volunteers and hastily collected, raw militia made up the balance, along with a single company of Colorado Volunteers that had made a strenuous forced march to join Canby. This mixture of veteran and untrained troops awaited Sibley at Fort Craig.

With some difficulty owing to fierce snow and dust storms, the Confederates pushed toward Fort Craig. By February thirteenth, advance elements encountered Union scouts along the Camino Real, but no confrontation developed and the federal troops returned to their post at dark. The next day yet another encounter resulted in a skirmish in which twenty-one New Mexico volunteers were captured. On the fifteenth, Sibley and his two subordinates, Col. Thomas Green and Lt. Col. William Scurry, came to a point some five miles south of Fort Craig. There, reconnaissance indicated the post was too heavily armed and manned to be assaulted successfully. Nevertheless, Green, acting as commander since Sibley was ill, decided to attempt to lure the federal garrison outside the walls of the fort and into open ground and battle. The Texans attempted this ruse on the sixteenth of February, extending their battle line across the Camino Real and into the gravel hills to the west. Canby refused to take the bait, although minor skirmishing resulted, leaving the Texans in something of a dilemma.

Rather than return to the Mesilla Valley supply base, with supplies running short, Green decided to move southward again from Fort Craig, ford the Rio Grande, bypass the fort to the east of the river, and then bring on a major battle by returning to the Rio Grande, thus threatening federal supply lines north to



Albuquerque and Fort Union. The Confederates accomplished this flanking movement and camped some four miles east of Fort Craig on the night of the twentieth of February 1862. Their position brought on the first of four Civil War battles in New Mexico, the Battle of Valverde.

The next morning, Texan advance parties reached the Rio Grande bottomlands five miles north of the federal post. They were opposed by Union forces sent by Canby to keep an eye on enemy movements. After both sides sent for reinforcements, the federal second-in-command, Col. Benjamin Roberts, sent his men and an accompanying artillery battery across the river to dispute the Confederate advance. Through the first half of the day (21 February) the battle raged indecisively among the cottonwood thickets around Valverde, a famed campground on the Camino Real. A charge by a company of mounted Texan lancers was withstood by the Colorado volunteer company on the north end of the battlefield, whereupon the Confederates sheltered themselves behind the banks of an old riverbed and were slowly pushed back by advancing federal troops.

About noon, Colonel Canby arrived to take personal command. He brought more reinforcements and sent a six-gun battery of artillery east of the river to

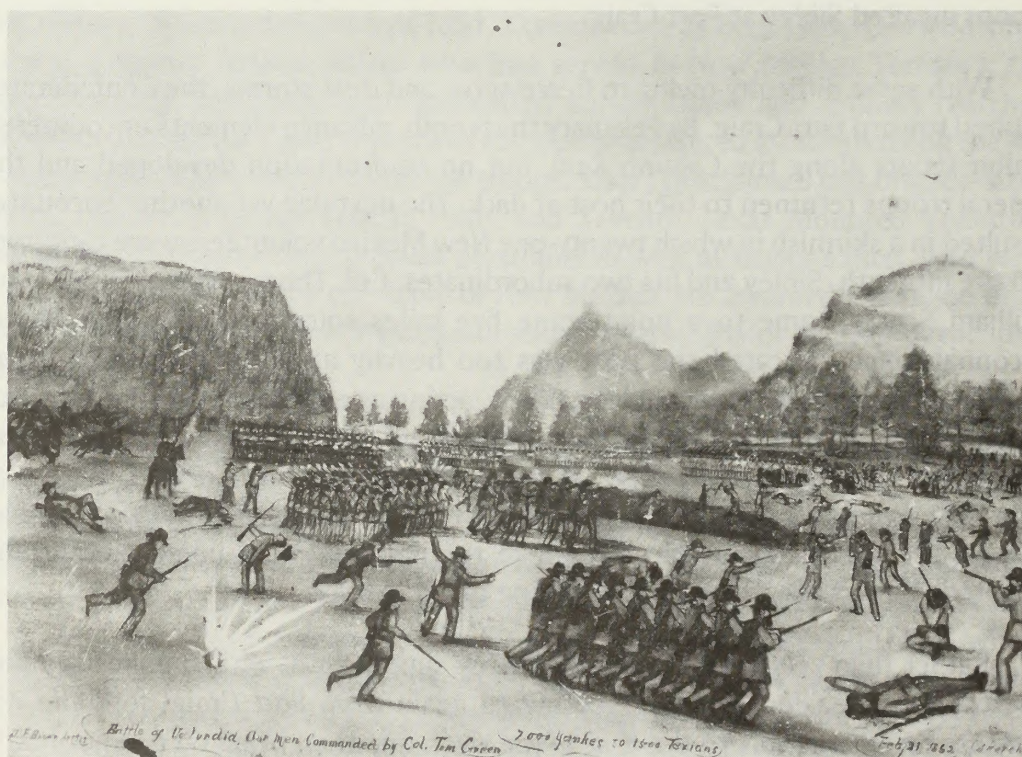
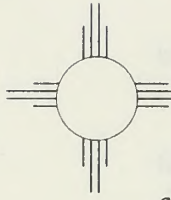


Figure 53. Battle of Valverde, courtesy of the Texas State Archives, Austin.

support his apparently victorious infantry. In desperation, the Texans delivered a furious mounted charge against Canby's lines on the southern edge of the field, at the base of the flat-topped Mesa de la Contadera. Kit Carson's First New Mexico supported the Union artillery at that point and rose from the bosque bottomland to decimate the Texan charge. Coincident with the mounted charge, however, Colonel Green delivered an equally desperate infantry charge against the Union artillery and infantry supports on the northern flank of the battlefield. It succeeded, overwhelming the raw native soldiers of the Third and Fifth New Mexico Volunteers and spreading panic through nearby ranks of some regular units. With his northern flank gone, Canby recalled his forces and sent them in retreat to protection behind the walls of Fort Craig. The Texans had thus won an impressive tactical victory at Valverde, but they found themselves almost out of food for men and fodder for animals.

Having lost about 80 men killed and 150 wounded at Valverde and immediately thereafter, a number almost identical to federal losses, Sibley's Texans remained on the field to bury their dead, exchange prisoners, and reconnoiter Fort Craig for a day after the battle. With rations at a dangerously low level, however, they could not remain to besiege the post. Accordingly, on 23 February, the rebels moved northward along the Camino Real once more. Passing Col. Robert Stapleton's store and the village of Valverde, they marched toward the villages of San Antonio and Socorro, where they established a hospital to care for their wounded and sick men. Continuing slowly northward along the highway, the Texans camped near the villages of Polvadera, La Jolla, Sabinal, and Belen, where they forded the icy Rio Grande and marched still northward to Peralta and the southern edge of the town of Albuquerque.

The post of Albuquerque was a federal supply subdepot that Sibley badly needed to capture in order to continue his campaign north to Fort Union. His vanguard entered the town on the second of March, only to find that Union forces had removed or destroyed almost all the military supplies and rations stored in the post's buildings. Nevertheless, the Texans managed to secure a forty-day supply of rations and other necessary materials to continue the campaign. Sibley split his force, sending half through Tijeras Canyon to the eastern slope of the Sandia Mountains, on the military road to Fort Union, while he established himself comfortably in a headquarters in Albuquerque. His vanguard, commanded by Major Charles Pyron of Baylor's regiment, marched farther north on the Camino Real to its terminus at Santa Fe. Pyron occupied the territorial capitol on the thirteenth of March to find that its federal garrison, along with the territorial government, had fled to Las Vegas and the protection of Fort Union.



Sibley commanded his divided forces from Albuquerque but quickly lost control of their actions. After two weeks in Santa Fe, Pyron's men, augmented by a locally recruited "Company of Santa Fe Gamblers," again advanced toward their supposed Union foe. This time, however, the Camino Real played no part in events, since the subsequent Battle of Apache Canyon, fought with advance elements of an approaching federal force on 26 February, occurred along the Santa Fe Trail near the village of Cañoncito.

After having lost few men, but capturing some seventy Texans, the federal column, consisting of the First Colorado Volunteers and detachments of Union regulars, concentrated its forces for a major battle with the Texans. Lieutenant Colonel Scurry, leading the Confederates once his regiment united with Pyron's vanguard, did likewise and brought on the key battle of the Civil War in New Mexico, the Battle of Glorieta, on 28 February 1862. Again fought along the Santa Fe Trail, this time at Pigeon's Ranch, some twenty-five miles east of Santa Fe, the engagement on the main battlefield was a draw. Union flanking forces managed to get into the Confederate rear, however, and burn Scurry's supply train parked at Cañoncito. That part of the Battle of Glorieta resulted in the engagement becoming a major victory for the federal troops, the high-water mark for the Confederacy in the far West.

When General Sibley learned of the defeat of his field column at Glorieta, he left Albuquerque with most of his troops, who had been guarding his meager supply depot. He arrived in Santa Fe on the third of April, too late to recoup the fortunes of his soldiers, who had retreated into the city after the previous week's battle, and unable to find enough subsistence to remain long in the capital. His dilemma was soon resolved when he received news from Albuquerque that resulted in abandonment of Santa Fe by the Texans and their forced march back south along the Camino Real.

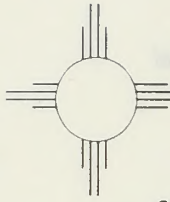
On the first of April, Colonel Canby had left Fort Craig with a field column of more than 1200 men and artillery, leaving Colonel Carson and the First New Mexico Volunteers to hold the fort. The federal commander had marched northward toward Albuquerque, calling for the Union troops who had fought at Glorieta to meet him near that town. Canby had decided to draw the rebels southward out of Santa Fe by threatening their supply depot in Albuquerque. He would then join the Fort Union troops in the mountains east of the town and, with the resulting overwhelming force, harry the Confederates southward and out of New Mexico. He apparently felt that the objective was consistent with his inability to feed and care for large numbers of prisoners, should he defeat and capture Sibley's brigade.



Figure 54. Union soldiers on parade at Fort Craig, courtesy of National Archives.

The federal approach to Albuquerque had the desired effect. Sibley abandoned Santa Fe on April eighth, the same day Canby arrived before Albuquerque. There, the Union forces fired on the two Texan companies guarding the depot and then withdrew into the Sandia Mountains after dark on the ninth of April to join their companions just arriving from Fort Union. The Confederates gathered their meager remaining supplies and transportation and abandoned Albuquerque on April twelfth, traveling southward along the Camino Real on both banks of the Rio Grande. Three days later, the main Texan column had reached Los Lunas, while Colonel Green's Fifth Texas Mounted Volunteers were three miles away, separated from Sibley by a fast-flowing river. There on April fifteenth, at Los Piños, just north of the village of Peralta, Canby attacked Green's regiment while they were camped around the mansion and fields of New Mexico governor Henry Connelly.

The resulting Battle of Peralta was one of the least bloody on record. Canby and Green exchanged artillery fire during the day, but there was no federal assault, and under cover of a fierce spring dust storm the Texans escaped across the river to join their companions at Los Lunas. Thereafter, Sibley's men marched southward along the Camino Real west of the Rio Grande while Canby's larger force followed along the east side of the river.



Two days later, after once more passing through Belen and camping on the south bank of the Rio Puerco, the Confederate commanders were convinced they were being trapped between two overwhelming enemy forces, one led by Canby coming behind them and another still holding impregnable Fort Craig, ahead. As a result, they decided to abandon the Camino Real, burn most of their wheeled transportation, leave their wounded to be cared for by Canby, and bypass Fort Craig via a wide detour through the Magdalena and San Mateo mountains west of the fort. After dark on April seventeenth they began this epic retreat. For eight days, over a hundred miles of rugged terrain, bringing with them the guns captured at Valverde as their only tangible trophies, the Texans struggled southward. Meanwhile, Canby continued southward along the Camino Real, reaching Fort Craig while the Southerners struggled around it to the west. There, he sent out spies to monitor the progress of the Confederates but did not venture to attack the retreating column.

By 25 April the rebels reached the Camino Real and the Rio Grande near its junction with Cuchillo Negro Creek. Thereafter, the Texans marched by easy stages back down the Camino Real, passing their old camps near Fort Thorn and camping at Willow Bar, north of Doña Ana, and at the Cottonwoods, some twenty-three miles from Fort Bliss, during the first week of May. They finally quartered in and around Fort Bliss and Franklin, gathering strength and supplies for the next month. Finally, after publishing a bombastic proclamation praising his army's successes in New Mexico, Sibley started his troops back to south Texas, leaving a rearguard to care for the sick in hospitals at Franklin and in the Mesilla Valley.

The Camino Real played only one more role during active campaigning in the Civil War in New Mexico. By late June, Canby had a strong force that was equipped and organized to drive any remaining Confederates from the Mesilla Valley and West Texas. Before he had time to act on his plans, however, he had unexpected reinforcement. From the Department of the Pacific, a column of 1400 men, with attached artillery, had marched across the deserts of Arizona to Canby's relief. Arriving on the Rio Grande near old Fort Thorn on the fourth of July, this "California Column" joined Canby's force, causing the final abandonment of New Mexico and West Texas by the Confederate rearguard. Thereafter, federal troops traveled southward along the Camino Real to reoccupy Fort Bliss and other abandoned government posts in the immediate area.

The Confederate invasion of New Mexico was barren of tangible results for the Texans, but it forms an interesting and important chapter in the history of the territory and the Camino Real.

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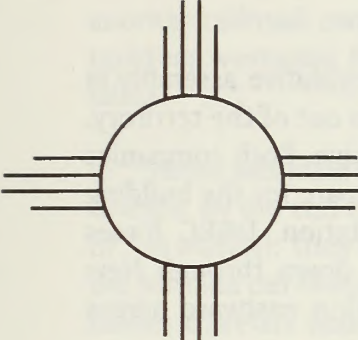
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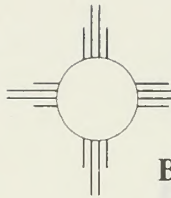
20. Rails on El Camino Real

Vernon J. Glover

As rails replaced rutted roadways in New Mexico, the Camino Real gradually faded from public consciousness. Having been over-shadowed in history by the impact of the rapidly developed freight and passenger traffic between the East and California, the traditional north-south corridor nevertheless continued to play a significant role in Western transportation. The new railroads completed in the early 1880s not only carried routine carloads of goods and passengers, but they fostered many new Western industries. Coal, timber, ores, and heavy machinery were shipped north and south along the rails, thereby fueling and encouraging the boomtown economies of the period.

The transformation of the Camino Real from a long, hard road to smooth, fast rails was accomplished by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF) as part of the company's strategy to capture as much traffic as possible from the competing Southern Pacific Railroad (SP). Building out of Topeka, Kansas, in 1869, the AT&SF headed west toward Colorado, developing traffic from cattle ranchers as it went. Along the way, the company transformed its large land grant into a productive farming region by encouraging and supporting immigrant farmers from Europe.

By 1876 the AT&SF reached Pueblo, Colorado, at the foot of the Rockies. In the meantime, the tiny, narrow-gauge trains of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad (D&RG) were running up and down the Rocky Mountain front from Denver to El Moro, a company-developed town just outside Trinidad, Colorado. The SP, which was being built eastward from Los Angeles, California, was at the Yuma crossing of the Colorado River. The stage was set for the railroad conquest of New Mexico and Arizona.



Building the Railroads

The SP made its move in early 1878, influencing the legislative assembly in Santa Fe to pass legislation aimed at keeping other railroads out of the territory. The reactions of the AT&SF and D&RG were swift and decisive. Both companies immediately sent construction crews into Raton Pass to prepare for the building of railroads into New Mexico. Following a brief confrontation, D&RG forces withdrew, but the AT&SF commenced its rapid advance down through New Mexico. By November 1878, the SP resumed its construction eastward across Arizona.

AT&SF trains began running to Las Vegas on the fourth of July, 1879. Service to Santa Fe began on 16 February 1880, and the Santa Fe Trail came to a practical end. Reclining-seat chair cars and luxurious Pullman sleeping cars reduced the once-arduous journey to a comfortable interlude.

Construction of the AT&SF main line was then aimed at heading off the SP by proceeding down the Rio Grande valley as rapidly as possible. Trains reached Albuquerque on the fifteenth of April, 1880. The arrival of the AT&SF resulted in



Figure 55. Laying track, courtesy of National Archives, negative no. 92-F-79B-21.

another railroad company, the affiliated Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, hurriedly building westward from A&P junction, a point just south of Albuquerque near Isleta.

There was little to slow railroad construction crews proceeding along the Rio Grande. By the end of 1880, the tracks passed Socorro and the new railroad town of San Marcial. They crossed to the east bank of the Rio Grande and pushed along the Jornada del Muerto. The rails left the river valley for the same reason that the earlier travelers had—to avoid the wide swing of the Rio Grande and the many deep arroyos that enter the river valley.

As the tracks were built down the Jornada, water supplies were found for the thirsty steam locomotives. Wells equipped with steam pumps were dug at Lava, Engle, and Upham, eliminating yet another danger of the old trail.

At Rincon, the AT&SF main line swung west to meet the eastward advance of the SP at a point somewhere in southwestern New Mexico. The tracks were joined on the first of March, 1881, at the new town of Deming. The second transcontinental railroad route was open, and through schedules to California were established.

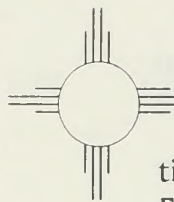
El Camino Real was not forgotten in the rush of new traffic. The Boston capitalists behind the AT&SF long planned to extend their influence into old Mexico through the construction of the Ferrocarril Central Mexicano (FCCM). This route was to extend from El Paso, Texas, and Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juarez), Chihuahua, all the way to Ciudad Mexico.

Construction of the FCCM commenced at both ends during 1880, and a branch of the AT&SF extended from Rincon toward El Paso, opening for business on July first, 1881. The tracks of the FCCM arrived at Ciudad Chihuahua from the north, completing the conversion of the Camino Rail from roadway to rails.

Rails over the Camino Real

The changes brought to New Mexico and Chihuahua by the railroads affected all aspects of life. The long, dangerous journey over the old road became routine and even luxurious with the early introduction of Pullman Palace sleeping cars. Tourists traveled over the line in special Pullman trains outfitted with fully equipped dining cars.

As soon as the Rio Grande was bridged and rails reached Paso del Norte (Ciudad Juarez), freight traffic increased markedly. Hundreds of carloads of railroad



ties and bridge timbers were brought from Arizona and New Mexico to build the FCCM. Coal from the new mines at Gallup fed the FCCM locomotives for many years. Even more significant were the effects of industrial growth. Mining boomed on both sides of the border. Ever-increasing tonnages of ores, coal, merchandise, and even carloads of ice from the mountains moved along the tracks. Smelters were built, and towns grew and prospered all along the railroad.

One of the most spectacular mining and smelting developments took place in Socorro County, New Mexico, under the guiding hand of Gustave Billing. Rail lines of the AT&SF were its veins and arteries. Billing was an experienced and successful smelter owner and operator when he came to Socorro in 1882. His first move was to purchase the Kelly mine, a rich source of lead-silver ore. Next he planned and built a modern smelting plant just west of Socorro, which opened for business in September 1883.

Fuel for the smelter, in the form of coke, was initially imported. By February 1884, coke ovens were operating at San Antonio, fed by rail from mines at Carthage, east of San Antonio. The branch railroad to Carthage had been opened during 1882 to provide access to the coal.

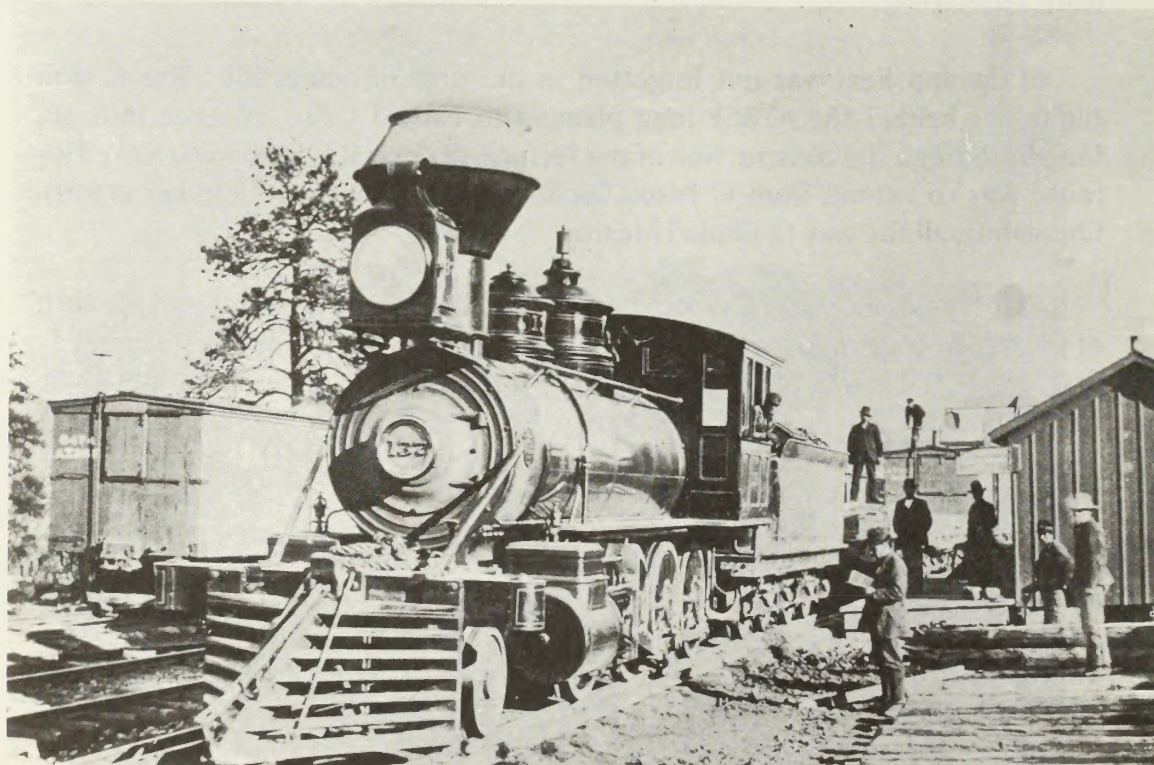


Figure 56. AT&SF engine #137, "Baby," by Ben Wittick, courtesy of School of American Research Collections in the Museum of New Mexico, negative no. 15870.

The Billing smelter ran successfully for eleven years until external forces caused its closure. Since the Kelly mine was worked out, increasing quantities of Mexican lead-silver ore were brought to the smelter at low tariff rates. Demand for silver decreased, and a competing smelter opened at El Paso. Finally, the United States Congress repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in late 1893.

Stockraising boomed in New Mexico. From 347,000 head in 1880, the number of cattle in the territory grew to 1,630,000 by 1890. Cattle ranching was a way of life in Chihuahua, and the railroad provided access to markets in both countries. At the same time, the tiny Spanish agricultural communities along the Rio Grande were overshadowed by Anglo towns along the railroad: Albuquerque, San Marcial, Deming, El Paso.

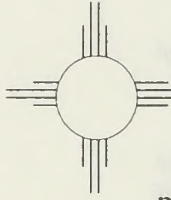
Even as the Billing smelter closed, other mining and agricultural business was handled by the AT&SF and FCCM lines. Mining districts, especially those near Ciudad Chihuahua and Parral, were served by the FCCM, which was ultimately absorbed into the national railway system, Ferrocarriles Nacionales de Mexico (NdeM). Chihuahua became a major smelting center. For a brief time, between 1921 and 1931, lead mines in northern Chihuahua sent their ore to the El Paso smelter via a connecting railroad, Ferrocarril Chihuahua y Oriente (CyO). This short-lived operation was typical of the smaller mining companies.

After about 1905, lumber and timber shipments increased as mills in the Sierra Madre were linked by rail to Ciudad Juarez. Railroads, new towns, and mines were insatiable consumers of lumber and timber, so the demand was always there.

Passenger Service

First-class passenger service with Pullman sleeper cars was extended first to El Paso, and when the FCCM was completed in 1884, all the way to Ciudad Mexico. Service soon settled into a pattern that lasted for decades. A daily first-class passenger train operated each way over the entire route, but through passengers were required to change trains at the El Paso Union Depot. The passenger trains carried the mails with such regularity that even a few hours' delay caused editorial comment in the local press.

The AT&SF daily train ran overnight and carried Pullman cars from Denver to Albuquerque with the AT&SF transcontinental and with the NdeM train at El Paso. When the big copper mines at Silver City were working, an overnight Pullman also ran on a leisurely schedule between Albuquerque and Silver City.



The depression of the 1930s and the paving of roads greatly reduced the passenger traffic on the AT&SF line between Albuquerque and El Paso. A short daily coach train sufficed, while the mail contract supplemented sparse ticket revenues. When the overnight passenger train was taken off, truck farmers near Las Cruces complained that the morning service to their El Paso customers had been eliminated. A freight train was scheduled in its place.

The overnight train and the Pullman car returned with better times and continued in service until 1953. After that, a single train of ancient baggage cars and modern stainless steel coaches pulled by a red and silver diesel locomotive made a daily round trip between Albuquerque and El Paso. In 1965, modern self-propelled diesel cars were assigned to the run, but they were taken off in 1968, and passenger train service on the U. S. portion of the Camino Real ended.

On the NdeM, the through trains carried full passenger accommodations: coaches, sleeping cars, and cafe-lounge cars. In the late 1950s the trains were modernized with nearly new rolling stock purchased from retrenched U.S. railroads. Trains 7 and 8, now named "el Fronterizo," carried full dining cars and bar-lounge observation cars that had once graced New York Central limiteds.

With the opening in 1961 of the Ferrocarril Chihuahua al Pacifico (ChP) route over the mountains to the West Coast, fast two-car autovias, or motor trains, began to supplement the through trains between Juarez and Chihuahua, providing more convenient schedules for tourists. With a through sleeping car train and speedy autovias, the Mexican portion of the rail line retains its traditional services right up to the present.

The Railroads Today

General awareness of the railroads diminished with the coming of paved highways and greatly improved air services. Nevertheless, the rail lines along El Camino Real retain their value as part of the transportation systems of both New Mexico and Chihuahua. The NdeM line from Ciudad Juarez to Chihuahua and points south is a major north-south traffic route, and a solid main line freight service is maintained in addition to the three passenger runs each day.

The AT&SF line, now known as the El Paso Subdivision, has long been overshadowed in traffic by the east-west main lines. It generally operated as a major branch line with through freight trains six days a week. Local freights ply the southern section of the line as well. The railroad occasionally serves as a bypass route if other lines are blocked by accident or weather. Over the years, the AT&SF

has modernized its track and bridges along the line, and it is capable of handling heavy main line trains at speeds of up to 49 miles per hour.

In 1986 the AT&SF inaugurated its Quality Service Network, a service of fast freight trains on major main lines scheduled to provide faster and more dependable service than any competing means of transportation. During 1987 the Albuquerque–El Paso route was added to the network with a round trip six days a week. In many ways, the rail route of El Camino Real continues to serve as an important part of the transportation system between two countries, two economies, and two cultures.

Note: This article was written in 1989 and new dynamic information has come to light which, unfortunately, could not be included.

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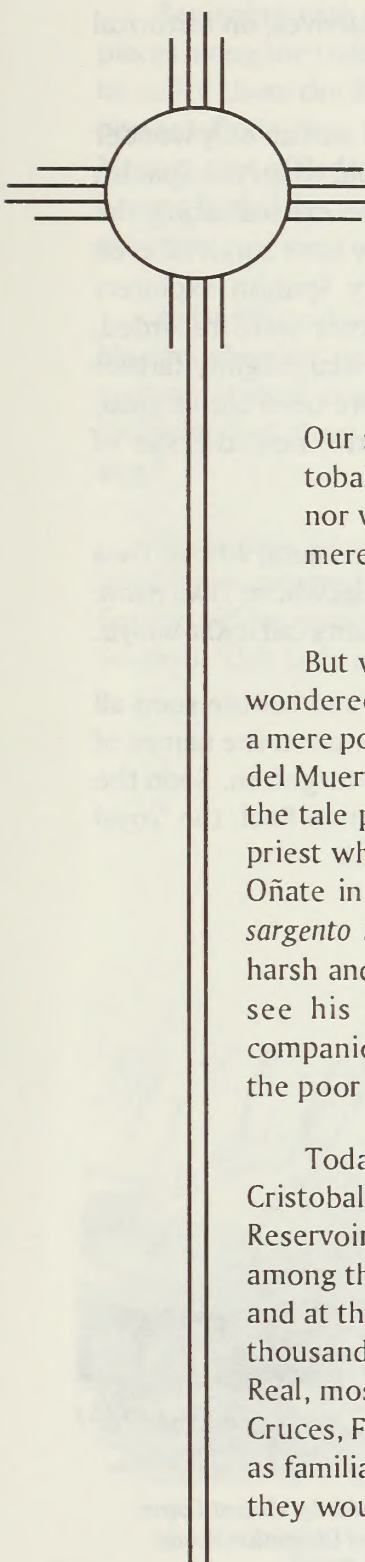
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21. The Persistence of Memory

Names along the Camino Real

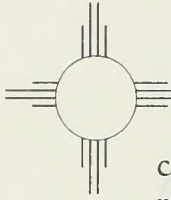
Bob Julyan

Our next camping place deserving of mention was Fray Cristobal, which like many others on the route, is neither town nor village, but a simple isolated point on the river-bank—a mere *paraje* or camping ground.

Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1844

But where did the name "Fray Cristobal" originate? Gregg surely wondered about it as he sat with his companions around a campfire, a mere point of light in the vast darkness at the north end of the Jornada del Muerto on the Camino Real. Did his Hispanic companions tell him the tale passed down by their ancestors, of Cristobal de Salazar, the priest who had come north along this same route with Don Juan de Oñate in 1598, the priest who was Oñate's favorite, his cousin and *sargento mayor*, and who, returning to New Spain in 1599 from this harsh and alien land to seek reinforcements, had died here, never to see his home? "Tomorrow, when we journey south," Gregg's companions may have said, "you will see a mountain range named for the poor father, and perhaps you can see his face on its rocky crest."

Today, the *paraje* of Fray Cristobal has vanished, but the Fray Cristobal Range survives, and now it is fishermen at Elephant Butte Reservoir who wonder, "Where did this name come from?" For it is among the ironies of names that they are among the most ephemeral and at the same time the most durable of human cultural artifacts. Of thousands of items left by thousands of travelers along the Camino Real, most have vanished utterly—yet many of the names remain. Las Cruces, Fra Cristobal Range, Socorro, El Cerro de Tome, Belen—all are as familiar to persons sitting in cars cruising at 70 mph along I-25 as they would have been to drovers trudging beside the cumbersome



carretas two centuries earlier. Even the name Camino Real survives, on historical markers.

Yet time and cultural change can erode even names, and we can only wonder what names the Indians used for the route that was already old when the Spanish arrived. Of the thousands of Indian names that must have existed along the trail—for Indians are very prolific namers—only a pitiful few have survived even as historical footnotes. Though the Piro pueblos the early Spanish explorers encountered have long since vanished, some of their names were recorded: Qualacu, south of present Socorro, meaning unknown; Senecu, slightly farther north, whose name in the extinct Piro language is said to have been *She-na-ghua*, "eye-socket, or spring hole"; and Teypama, still farther north, near the site of present Socorro, meaning "village flower" in Piro.

Farther north, other Pueblo peoples were more resilient: Isleta, whose Tiwa name *Tsugwevaga* means "kick flint", for a popular game; Sandia, whose Tiwa name *Nafiat* means "dusty place"; San Felipe, whose Keresan inhabitants call it *Kat-isht-ya*.

But as elsewhere in New Mexico, the Spanish language and culture soon all but overwhelmed the indigenous cultures. The pueblos were given the names of saints, and the Indian names along the trail were ignored or forgotten. Soon the ancient route, too, was Spanish, with a Spanish name—Camino Real, the "royal road," or as it also was called in the north, the Chihuahua Trail.



Figure 57. Sandia Mountains, near Albuquerque, New Mexico, 25 June 1869, by Vincent Colyer; collections of the Albuquerque Museum, museum purchase, 1983 General Obligation Bonds; photo by Kennedy Galleries, Inc.

Beginning with Oñate in the spring of 1598, the Spanish created names for places along the trail. When Oñate passed by the mountains now known as Organ, he called them the Sierra de Olvido, "mountains of oblivion." Farther on, north of present Doña Ana, occurred the expedition's first death in what is now New Mexico, that of Pedro Robledo, who was 60 years old and a native of Toledo; where he was buried became a *paraje*, and today Robledo Mountain overlooks his likely gravesite.

As Oñate's colonists crossed the harsh, arid stretch now called the Jornada del Muerto, they set up camp on the evening of 23 May without water. Later that evening a small dog strayed from camp—and returned with muddy paws. Its footprints led them to a spring they called Ojo del Perrillo, "spring of the little dog."

Some days later, Oñate's party entered the Piro pueblo of Teypama, whose inhabitants received them with generosity, giving them water, food, and shelter. For the aid he received, on 14 June Oñate christened the site Nuestra Señora de Socorro, "Our Lady of Help."



Figure 58. Organ Mountains, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

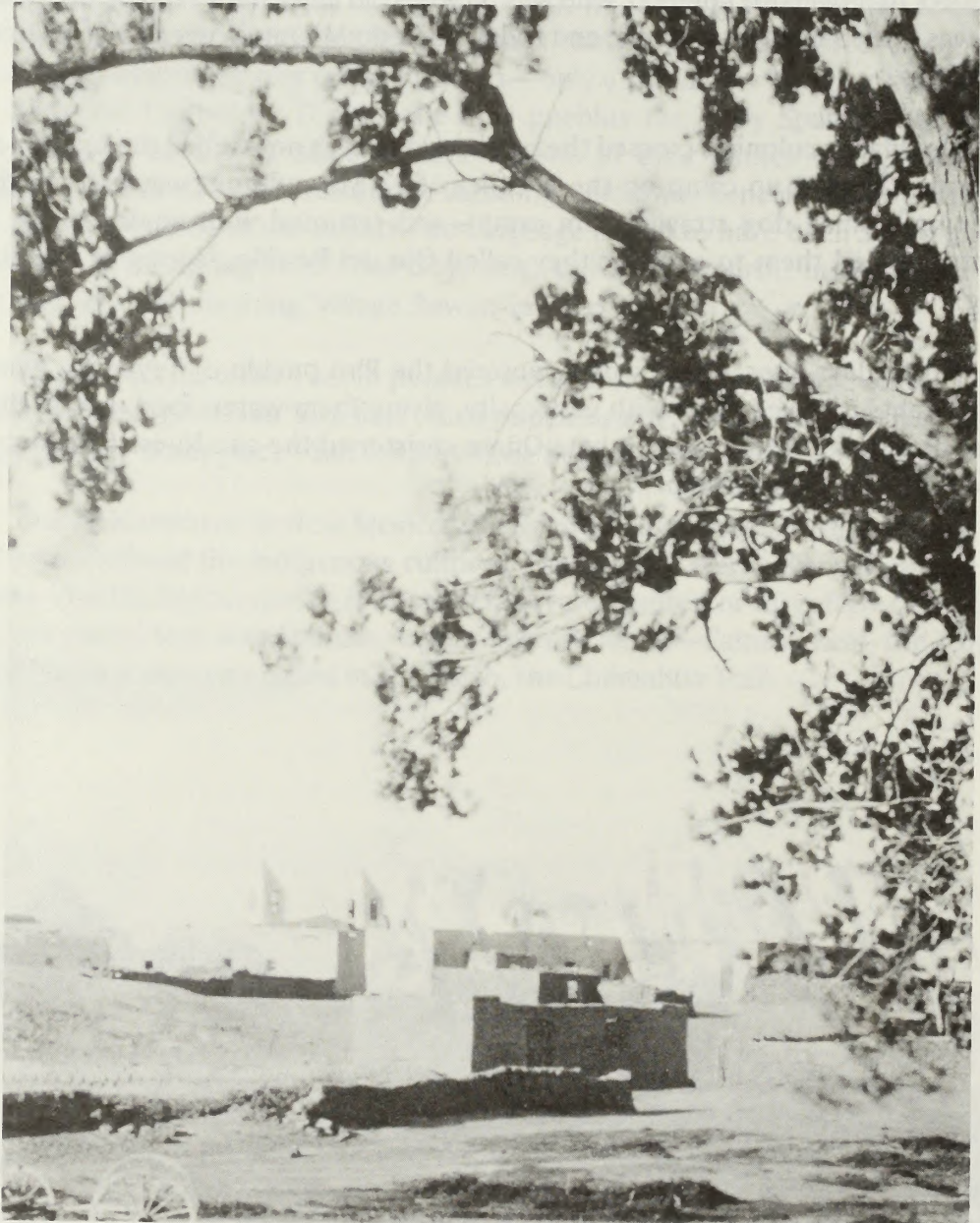
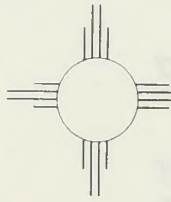
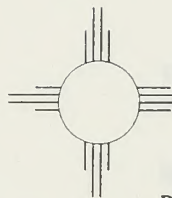


Figure 59. Isleta Pueblo, photo by C.F. Lummis, courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, negative no. P.7895.

Most early Spanish names along the Camino Real were not formally bestowed but simply evolved from the incidents and observations of countless unnamed travelers. By the time of the Otermin documents of 1682 and the de Vargas documents of 1692, many names along the Camino Real were already in place: El Mesa de Contadero, south of San Marcial, named because sheep were driven into a constriction between the mesa and the river so they could be counted; the Organ Mountains, which resembled pipe organs; Doña Ana, for the Spanish lady whose exact identity remains a mystery; Las Cruces, "the crosses," another mystery; Las Nutrias, "the beavers," south of Belen; Luis Lopez, south of Socorro, where a man by that name had his hacienda; Tome, where Tome Dominguez de Mendoza had his hacienda; and numerous obscure parajes: Las Tusas, "the prairie dogs"; Estero Largo and Estero Redondo, "the long pond or marsh," "the round pond or marsh"; El Nogal, "the walnut"; Vega de la Rio del Norte, "meadow of the river of the north." (The greatest landmark along the Camino Real, the Rio Grande, was known to early travelers by numerous names: Rio Bravo, "wild river"; Rio Caudaloso, "river with much water"; Rio Turbio, "muddy river"; and most commonly until the nineteenth century, Rio del Norte, "river of the north.")



Figure 60. Zuni Pueblo, drawn by Captain S. Eastman from a sketch by R.H. Kern, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico, negative no. 133944.



The most infamous name along the Camino Real was Jornada del Muerto. Popularly believed to mean "journey of death," for the many people who died along it, this name is more accurately translated "journey of the dead man." In 1670, Bernardo Gruber, a German trader at Tajiقة, was arrested by the Inquisition and accused of witchcraft (Chapter 12). Imprisoned in Santa Fe, he escaped in 1672 and fled south over the route later named for him. His desiccated body was found at a site to be called El Alemán, "the German."

Eventually, communities sprang up along the Camino Real, some around the estancia or hacienda of a local landowner, others simply taking the names of the dominant local family. Around Belen and north, these communities have survived. For example, Barelás, still a neighborhood in Albuquerque, recalls the family that settled near an old ford on the Camino Real. But to the south, many communities and parajes were abandoned, the victims of Indian attacks, floods, or simply isolation. Nothing remains but their names: Acomilla, "little Acoma"; Canta Recio, "it sings loudly," for noisy pools in the Rio Grande; La Joyita, "the little basin"; San Marcial; La Parida, "the birth," for reasons unknown; Las Cañas, "the canes"; Los Torreones, "the towers"; Sabino, "cedar."

This was the situation along the Camino Real when the Americans arrived in the mid-nineteenth century, and the Spanish names taken together reveal a great deal about the people who created them, for names tend to mirror a people's values. And along the Camino Real the names showed what was important to the people who traveled and settled along the route: the land, religion, and family. Names commemorating natural features, such as Alameda ("the cottonwood grove"), El Nogal ("the walnut"); religious names, such as San Andres, San Marcial, San Diego, San Pasqual; and family names, such as Adelino, Bernalillo, Los Lunas, and Valencia—all remind us that the early Spaniards on the Camino Real lived in isolated rural communities, far from the centers of Spanish power. With the exception of Albuquerque, no places along the Camino Real were named to honor rich or powerful persons in either New Spain or Spain. To the contrary, the Spaniards along the Camino Real depended for their sustenance and support on the land, the church, and their families—and from these they created their names.

The American conquest of New Mexico in 1846 meant the end of the Camino Real as it had functioned for approximately 250 years. Henceforth, New Mexicans would look north and east for their trade, not south to Chihuahua. Yet just as the ancient route had existed before the name *Camino Real* was born, so the route would continue after its Spanish identity was fading. When the railroad pushed south from Santa Fe in 1881, reaching Rincon the following year, it was only natural that it follow the route of the Indian foot travelers and the Spanish carretas. And

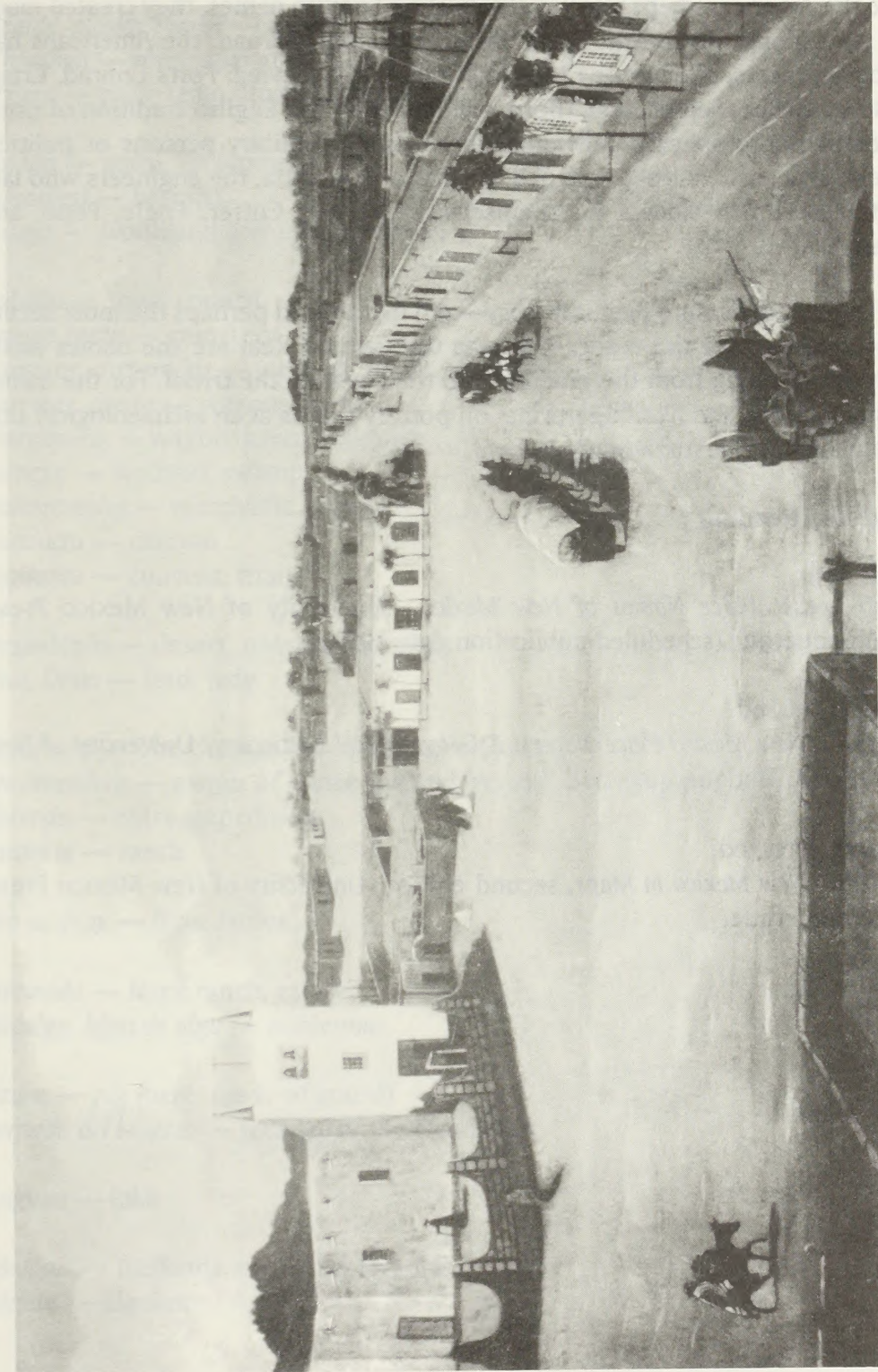
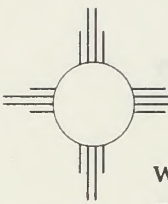


Figure 61. Old Mesilla Plaza, 1885, courtesy of MNM, negative no. 37917.



while the Americans kept many of the existing Spanish names, they created many new ones along the ancient route. Even before the railroad, the Americans had established forts, a luxury the New Mexicans surely envied: Forts Conrad, Craig, Fillmore, McRae, Selden, and Thorn—all named in the English tradition of using names to honor specific individuals, here usually military persons or political leaders. When the railroad spanned the dreaded Jornada, the engineers who laid the tracks named sidings for themselves—Crocker, Cutter, Engle, Pope, and Upham.

Today, the Camino Real is history—and myth—and perhaps the most secure anchor we have to the reality that was the Camino Real are the names along it—names ranging from the grandiose to the tragic to the trivial. For the names are still with us, and like fingerprints on pottery shards at an archaeological site, the human imprint survives upon them.

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Glossary

Alcalde, alcalde mayor — mayor

Alhóndiga — municipal grain market

Arriero — mule team driver, muleteer

Bajada — scarp, escarpment

Bolson(es) — basin(s)

Bosque — woodland (generally riverine)

Cabildo — town council

Campo santo — cemetery

Carneros, carneradas — wethers, flocks of wethers

Carretas, carros — wagons, carts

Chirrionero — wagon driver, wagoner

Cienega — wetland, swamp

Comerciantes — merchants, traders

Conducta — caravan

Convento — convent, friary

Despoblado — desert, uninhabited place

Don, Doña — lord, lady

El Alemán — The German (here, Bernardo Gruber)

Encomendero — owner of estate granted by royal decree

Entrada — entry, expedition

Estancia — ranch

Fra or *Fray* — friar, father

Hacienda — large ranch, estate

Hidalgo, hijos de algo — nobleman

Jícara — jug (here, made of gourd)

Jornada del Muerto — Journey of the Dead Man

Laguna — lake

Malpaís — badlands, especially lava field

Manta — blanket

Glossary (continued)

Paraje — camp, campsite

Peninsulares — native Iberians

Peñol — isolated hill with steep, rocky sides; butte

Pósito — municipal granary

Rebozo — blanket

Retablo — altarpiece

Rio Abajo, Arriba, Medio — Lower, Upper, and Middle River (here, the three provinces of New Mexico named after sections of the Rio Grande)

Sierra(s) — mountain(s)

Tierra Adentro — Interior Lands (here, New Mexico and the Greater Southwest)

Tierra nueva — new lands

Tierra incognita — unknown/unexplored lands

Vado — ford

Vecino — resident

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