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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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

XX New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Camino Real in New Mexico, AD 1598–1881

B. Associated Historic Contexts

1. Geography and natural character; physical character and setting of the road
2. Exploration and settlement, invasion and war
3. Social, political and cultural significance
4. Economic and commercial significance

See pp. 3–70

C. Form Prepared by

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D. Certification

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

Jan Biella, NMSHPO 1/20/2011
Signature and title of certifying official | Date

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

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

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

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

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The geographic area of the Camino Real in New Mexico includes portions of Doña Ana County, Sierra County, Socorro County, Valencia County, Bernalillo County, Sandoval County, and Santa Fe County in the State of New Mexico. See Map 1 (Section J, Page 106) and maps accompanying individual nominations.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

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J. Maps

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1. Map of the state of New Mexico showing the sections of the Camino Real referenced in the attached National Register nominations.
2. Section of a 1779 map showing the Camino Real between Santa Fe and Fra Cristobal.
3. Section of Lt. James W. Abert and W. G. Peck's 1846–1847 Map of the Territory of New Mexico showing the Camino Real in the area of La Bajada, Cañon de las Bocas, and Alamitos segments.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503
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E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Summary:

This Multiple Property Documentation Form describes the oldest wagon road in North America. This road was developed by travelers, caravans, and expeditions over most of the sixteenth century, but it reached its full historical length with the passage of the Oñate expedition of 1598. This colonizing expedition added a northern segment to the Camino Real so that it extended from Mexico City to the silver district of northern Chihuahua (the community of Santa Bárbara) to Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo) in New Mexico. After 1609, when the Viceroy of New Spain ordered New Mexico Governor Pedro de Peralta to establish a new capital city, the new settlement of Santa Fe became the generally recognized terminus of the Camino.

The northern segment of the Camino Real (the portion in New Mexico), which we are here proposing for listing, was established by Juan de Oñate ten years before the first English colonists landed at Jamestown, Virginia. The Camino Real was the connection between Spain's northernmost province and Mexico City, the capital of the viceroyalty of New Spain.

There were various *caminos reales* in Spanish America. The term "camino real" means literally a royal road, but these roads were neither authorized by the king nor laid out by government officials. They were trails defined and developed over time for the use of colonists, merchants, ecclesiastics, government officials, and visitors [Jones 1999:342]. They served as primary routes for transportation, communication, and colonization.

The name "Camino Real de Tierra Adentro" is used throughout the modern literature of the road. It is a designation that may have been commonly used in Mexico City and New Spain. It was intended to distinguish this road from other caminos reales [Simmons 1993:29]. Alexander von Humboldt, writing from his travels and observations in New Spain in 1803–1804, says that "los caminos más frequentados y más importantes para el comercio son . . ." [here he lists the road from Mexico City to Veracruz; the road from Mexico City to Acapulco; the road from Mexico City to Guatemala, and finally the fourth] "El de Mexico a Durango y a Santa Fe de Nuevo Mexico, vulgarmente llamado *el camino de tierra adentro*" – that is, the roads most used and most important for commerce are . . . fourth, the road from Mexico City to Durango and to Santa Fe in New Mexico, popularly [or commonly] called *el camino de tierra adentro*" [Humboldt 1966:462].

The qualifying phrase "de tierra adentro" was likely not used in New Mexico. As Humboldt and Simmons explain, this name was used in central Mexico to refer to the far north, but it was a common, not an official, designation. Simmons has not found it in documents or correspondence [Simmons, personal communication, 2009]. In New Mexico, any place beyond New Spain's northernmost frontier, but Mexico in particular, was referred to as "tierra afuera" [David H. Snow, personal communication, 2009]. Snow notes that his review of more than four hundred original colonial and Mexican period documents has not produced any reference to

"tierra adentro." "Tierra afuera" does appear several times—for example, in a matter of inheritance in 1739, in which the deceased is said to have brought certain personal property from "tierra afuera," most likely the interior of Mexico [Snow ibid. citing SANM II:427, Roll 7, fr. 1023-25]. It is unlikely on its face that New Mexicans would call their own homeland "tierra adentro," a description that views New Mexico or the far north of New Spain in general, from a distance.

A sixteenth-century route connecting Gijón, Leon, and Madrid was referred to as a camino real. The route through the Isthmus of Panama that linked Panama with Nombre de Dios and Portobelo was also referred to as a camino real. The pre-European roads of Peru remained in use after the arrival of the Spaniards and were sometimes called *caminos reales.* The relationship between prehistoric trails such as the Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail and the Camino Real is somewhat comparable (see below, Context 2, pp. 19–21).

The designation *camino real* is also more broadly understood to include the maritime routes that connected Spain's possessions in the New World and the Far East (e.g., the sea lane to Manila, in the Philippines; Comité Nacional Español de ICOMOS: 53). A Manila galleon (la Nao de la China) arrived at Acapulco once a year, bringing goods from the Far East, such as porcelain, some of which were then transported up the Camino Real after ca. 1600 [Fournier 1999].

Two other, later caminos reales were designated in the American Southwest: the Mission Trail in California and the route from Monterey in present-day Mexico through Texas to Robline, Louisiana.

The Camino Real or Mission Trail that ran through western Mexico to San Diego, California, and then on to San Francisco was established in the 1760s. This trail, as its cognomen suggests, was primarily used by the mission fathers and for mission commerce, although it was also a cart road. This camino real has largely lost its integrity, being overlain by modern roads and development.

The camino real that ran from Monterey, Mexico, through Texas to Robline, Louisiana, was somewhat similar, both physically and historically, to the Camino Real in New Mexico. However, it is a century younger, and its history primarily has to do with the efforts of Mexico to retain Texas by establishing a physical link with the province.

The road from Durango to Santa Fe was also known as the Camino de Chihuahua [Fournier 1999]. The part of the road in present-day Mexico, connecting the northern mining towns with Mexico City, was known as the "Camino de Plata"—the silver road [Fournier 1999:161].

New Spain or Nueva España was the name given by Hernan Cortés to the lands he conquered in 1521. A viceroyalty after 1535, New Spain was ruled by a viceroy who was the representative and immediate subordinate of the king. It included the southeastern and southwestern regions of North America—that is, the area that later became the American Southwest (New Mexico, south Texas, Arizona, California, southern Utah,

and southern Colorado); Louisiana and the Floridas; Mexico as far south as Guatemala, but not including Panama; and the Philippines.

Statement of Significance

The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, hereinafter referred to as the "Camino Real," is directly associated with historic events of universal importance, including the colonization of North America by Europeans. For two hundred and eighty-three years (1598–1881), the Camino Real was the principal link between central Mexico and the northernmost province of New Spain. The road has national and international significance.

The significance of the Camino Real is, first, that it was the primary route for the exploration, conquest, and colonization of New Mexico and the northern Southwest; second, that it had a profound social and cultural influence on New Spain, conveying music, sculpture (primarily religious), household furnishings, textiles, ceramics, styles of architecture, and methods of construction of buildings, acequias (ditches), dams, and bridges, and other arts and practices, as well as adverse phenomena, such as European diseases (all of which are discussed in the following contexts), into the northern Southwest; and third, that it was the primary route of trade, supply, transportation, and communication between New Mexico and the northern provinces of New Spain and Mexico City.

The Camino Real encompasses the route along which the Hispanic colonists retreated from New Mexico after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680; the route on which expeditions of reconquest, including those of Governor Diego de Vargas in 1692–1693, reentered the province; the route of invasion of New Mexico, Arizona, and California by U.S. forces in 1846; and the route of invasion of New Mexico by Confederate forces in 1862; as well as their line of retreat when U.S. forces recaptured New Mexico. Thus it has been not only the route of culture change and cross-fertilization of civilizations but the line of invasion, battle, and military conquest as well.

Public Law 106-307 [114 Stat. 1074], designating the Camino Real a National Historic Trail, notes that the Camino Real is a symbol of cultural interaction among nations and ethnic groups, as well as commercial exchange resulting in development and growth of the borderland of two nations.

Gustavo F. Araoz of US/ICOMOS, speaking in April 2006 to an international colloquium on the Camino Real, offered this characterization: "The intercontinental Camino Real [was] the first successful global network intentionally established on the principles of economic interdependence among many world regions." Araoz noted that the Camino Real linked the silver mines of Zacatecas with the mercury mines of Almadén, Spain (whose product made silver extraction possible), and that "the Camino Real's full significance [could] not be understood outside the context of its full global network of economic interdependence and cultural exchange over several centuries" [Araoz 2006].

For three centuries, the Camino Real has facilitated the interchange of ideas, values, and customs under the governments of colonial New Spain, independent Mexico, and the United States. This exchange created the social, religious, economic, and political landscape of the border region. The trail promoted cultural interchange among Spaniards, Indians, Mexicans, other Europeans, and Anglo-Americans. It made possible the exploration, conquest, colonization, settlement, and military occupation of a large segment of the borderlands. The Camino Real facilitated the immigration of Hispanic colonists to New Mexico and other areas of what would become the United States. It fostered the spread of Catholicism, the growth of mining, ranching, and the development of networks of commerce.

Historic, ethnic, and cultural traditions that were transmitted along the Camino Real included music, folk tales, medicine, architecture, geographic place names, language, irrigation systems, and the laws of Spain's New World possessions. Among the concepts currently employed in the American legal system that made their way north via the Camino Real are community property laws, the concept of first use-first priority in water rights, mining claims, and the idea of sovereignty, especially as applied to American Indian land claims.

A variety of foodstuffs, including chile peppers, was introduced into New Mexico and exported down the Camino Real to the rest of the world via this trade route. Eventually, the Camino Real became part of an international network of commerce that culminated in the transportation and exchange of merchandise among Europe, the United States, New Mexico, other provinces of the Mexican republic, and throughout what is now known as the American Southwest.

Trail activities had a major effect on the landscape along the corridor, affecting biotic communities and promoting horticultural diffusion. The introduction of the horse and of cattle and European agriculture, the introduction of exotic flora, and the transportation of large herds of sheep along the trail all contributed to a dramatic alteration of the regional landscapes and ecosystems.

In short, the physical landscape, economic structures, cultural landscapes, legal systems, cultural characteristics, and arts of the American Southwest were largely determined by the effects of trade, colonization, and commerce made possible by the Camino Real. In order to understand the cultural characteristics of much of the western United States, it is necessary to understand the central role that the Camino Real played in shaping the human values and cultural systems of this region.

The contexts discussed below are designed to encompass the long and complex history and significance of the Camino Real: a pattern of conquest, colonization and settlement, supply, exchange and distribution of goods and materials, dissemination of religious and secular ideas and information, and encounters among different ethnic groups, languages, and world views. The history of the Camino Real is a history of transportation, agriculture, war, religion, custom, commerce, art, and culture. This history and these associations are so long and complex that they present extraordinary problems of definition [see Fosberg 1999:307].

Roney and Marshall have carried out a reconnaissance of the Camino Real in Chihuahua (from Ciudad Juarez to Ciudad Chihuahua and continuing further south, to the San Bartolomé area) and have identified physical traces of the route [Roney 1993:99; Marshall 1999:15–39]. They are manifest variously as lenticular strata; long, straight arroyos that may be at variance with prevailing drainage patterns; deep swales; and linear areas of dense vegetation.

Context 1: Geography and Natural Character; Physical Character and Setting of the Road

Concept or theme: geography, topography, and natural character, including flora and fauna, climate and weather, and soils and other factors, are the environment of the road and dictate its physical characteristics.

Geographical area: Rio Grande corridor from international boundary (including sections of the Camino in west Texas in and near El Paso) to Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo).

Chronological period: AD 1598–1881

Narrative

The region between Ciudad Chihuahua and Socorro, New Mexico, was known in the early colonial period as *tierra incognita* [Moorehead 1957:107–108, 1958: 8–9, cited by Scurlock 1993:1]. It is now known as the Chihuahuan Desert, the second largest of the four great North American deserts. It is a high desert with sparse vegetation, occasional springs, and a few perennial streams. Temperatures vary widely. Precipitation is low and erratic, winds are high and humidity low. Rates of evapotranspiration are high and sunlight is strong [Vivó Escoto 1964:198–209].

Most of this region lies within the Mexican Highlands section of the Basin and Range province, with north-northwest trending mountain ranges and coalescing basins, or *bolsones.* Some of these bolsones or basins contain pluvial lakes (*lagunas*) [Hunt 1967:320–323; Schmidt 1973:12].

Between Albuquerque and Santa Fe, the Camino lies within the Southern Rocky Mountain province. The Camino follows the Rio Grande Rift, which is flanked by mountain ranges that are the results of anticlinal uplifts and intrusive stocks. Major ranges include the Jemez, Ortiz, and Sangre de Cristo mountains [Hunt 1967:246–249].

Elevation of the Camino drops from 4709 feet at Ciudad Chihuahua to 3719 feet at Ciudad Juarez [Schmidt 1973:20], then rises to just above 7000 feet at Santa Fe and drops again to about 6,000 feet at the lowest elevations (the farmlands) of Ohkay Owingeh. (Ohkay Owingeh is the original [Tewa] name of the pueblo and is its name today. The Hispanics, as they did in most places, gave the pueblo a saint’s name: San Juan.)

The mountain ranges, formed in the late Tertiary period, have eroded to create the *bajadas*, gradually sloping surfaces that extend from the base of the mountains to the edge of the basins. Most of these basins or bolsones are internally drained. Some of them have filled with aeolian or alluvial deposits and have turned into flat, dry plains composed of limestone or gray gravels, or have formed sand dunes, such as the extensive dunes at White Sands in New Mexico and Samalayuca in Chihuahua [Brown 1982:176].

The diverse physiographic features in the region and its other geographic characteristics affect the annual precipitation. This varies within New Mexico from 14.2 inches at Santa Fe to 6.7 inches at Las Cruces [Gabin and Lesperance 1977]. Most of the rainfall takes the form of thunderstorms in summer. The only significant snowfall is in the higher mountain regions and along the Rio Grande Valley from Socorro north to Ohkay Owingeh.

Summers are typically hot and winters are cold. The shortest frost-free season, at 140 days, is in the northern reach, and the longest is in Chihuahua, at 250 days [Brown 1982:170; Tuan et al. 1973:87]. Average temperature in Santa Fe in January is 32° F, and in July, 70° F. Average annual temperature at the international boundary is 62.6° F, with a low in January of 41.9° F and a high in July of 81.7° F [Schmidt 1973:20; Tuan et al. 1973:76]. The available moisture and temperature range are the main determinants of amount and type of vegetation [Scurlock 1993:4].

Most of the lowlands south of Socorro are a desert scrub in which the main types of vegetation are creosote bush (*Larrea tridentata*), tarbush (*Fluorensia cernua*), and whitethorn acacia (*Acacia neovernicosa*). On finer-grained soils, saltbush (*Atriplex* spp.) predominates. Mesquite (*Prosopis gladulosa* var. *torreyana*) is usually found on sandy, wind-eroded hummocks. Above the plains, on outcrops, arroyos, bajadas, and foothills, plants and shrubs include *Yucca* and *Agave*, sotol (*Dasilyrion leophyllum* and *wheerleri*), sacahuiste (*Nolina* spp.), ocotillo (*Fouquieria splendens*), and catclaw acacia (*Acacia greggi*) [Brown 1982:173–174].

Between the uplands and the lowland plains are semi-desert grasslands dominated by perennial bunch grasses, including grama (*Bouteloua* spp.) and tobosa (*Hilaria mutica*). Historically these lands have supported cattle. Shrubs, which used to be scattered sparsely over this region, have increased substantially in the past hundred and twenty years or so because of cattle grazing and the suppression of range fires [Brown 1982:127].

The bolson depressions contain semidesert grasslands dominated by tobosa or alkali sacatons (*Sporobolus wrightii* or *airoides*), mesquite, Mormon tea (*Ephedra trifurca*), or soapweed yucca (*Yucca elata*). On the downwind side of these bolsons are dune fields populated by sand sagebrush (*Artemisia filifolia*), *Yucca elata*, mesquite, Mormon tea, and dropseeds (*Sporobolus* spp.) and Indian ricegrass (*Oryzopsis hymenoides*) [Brown 1982:176–177].

Until recent times there were extensive canopy forests of valley cottonwood (*Populus fremonti* var. *wislizenii*) with an understory of willows (*Salix* pp.) and saltgrass (*Distichis spicata*) along the few perennial streams.

Periodic floods destroyed portions of these riparian woodlands. On large streams, such as the Rio Grande, floodwaters cut new channels and deposited sediments across the floodplain. Before parts of the Rio Grande were channelized and dammed in the twentieth century, periodic flooding and avulsions of the river caused shifts in the channel which made it necessary for travelers to create other routes. Thus the Camino Real was not a single road, but a braided system of roads.

After the abandonment of the Camino Real at the close of the nineteenth century, the introduced salt cedar (*Tamarix chinensis*) and Russian olive (*Elaegnus angustifolia*) invaded the *bosques* (riparian woodlands) and became the dominant vegetation in some areas [Brown 1982:242; Scurlock 1988a].

Travelers on the Camino hunted various game animals. On the semidesert grasslands they found black-tailed jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus*) and pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*). In the desert scrub they hunted mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), desert cottontail (*Sylvilagus auduboni*), desert bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), and scaled and Gamble's quail (*Callipepela squamata, C. gambelii*) [Brown 1982129–130, 178; Schmidt 1973:34–38]. Along the main valleys and on the lagunas were sandhill cranes (*Grus canadensis*), various kinds of ducks and geese, wild turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*), grizzly bears (*Ursus horribilis*), and black bears (*Ursus americana*). Bear grease was used to lubricate the axles and wheels of travelers' carts (*carretas*) and wagons (*carros*), and bear hides were used as robes. During the late historic period, most of these animal populations were drastically reduced by hunting and habitat loss; rabbits and mule deer are the exceptions.

Physical Character and Setting of the Road

The development of roads is a necessary part of the development of nation states (Beal 1999:27). The Camino Real, furthermore, is based on a system of regional trails that were created long before the arrival of Europeans and that sustained trade from major manufacturing centers—for example, from the Valley of Mexico to outlying areas, including northern New Mexico.

The environment dictated the route of the Camino, the location of campsites (*parajes*), and the means of transportation. The road usually stayed on flat, passable terrain and ran from one dependable water source to another [Scurlock 1988b:3].

The northern part of the Camino extended up the Rio Grande Valley from El Paso to Santa Fe. It departed from the river for a ninety-mile-long cutoff through the Jornada del Muerto. The terrain was mostly flat. Most of the Camino had dependable water sources, wood for fuel, and sheltered camping places. The neighboring uplands provided grass and forage for the draft animals of the travelers, although in the nineteenth century, as traffic on the trail increased and more of the grasslands came to be used for grazing by villages along the Camino, the grasslands and bosques offered less and less grazing.

To avoid seasonal floods and deep sands, the Camino was split into various alternate routes at several points. One route below Albuquerque followed the east bank of the Rio Grande to just north of Socorro, but its sandy areas sometimes forced wheeled vehicles to take the alternate along the river's west bank, where the ground was firmer. During periods of flooding, travelers might have to take the road through the sandhills bordering the eastern edge of the floodplain [Simmons 1982:167]. It would be incorrect, however, to conclude that one route was more important than another. All alternates experienced periodic use depending on conditions.

Throughout most of the colonial period, El Paso del Norte (The Pass of [or to] the North) was the outpost between the distant settlements of Parral to the south and the southern frontier of the Piro pueblos far to the north. El Paso del Norte, also called El Puerto del Norte, was a narrow canyon where the Rio Grande passes between the Franklin Mountains and Cerro Cristo Rey. This was the site of Oñate's Rio Grande crossing, the El Paso river ford, and of the first colonial bridges constructed across the Rio Grande. El Paso del Norte and the Valle Bajo del Norte are a cultural-historic landscape unique to the trail system.

The Camino Real at El Paso del Norte followed the west river bank below the high hills of the Sierra de Muleros (of which the Cerro Cristo Rey is a feature) and crossed over to the east side of the river below the Franklin Mountains. The crossing was made on the hard cobblestone floor of the canyon, rather than in the quicksands of the river above and below the canyon. From this ford the caravans headed north to Paraje de Salinera, a small alkaline lagoon where travelers camped.

The long road up the Mesilla Valley followed the river's east bank. The plains descending from the desert mountains on the east were barren and dry, and marked by dunes, alluvial sands, and mesquite hummocks. Here, the trail followed the river's edge and passed parajes at Punto de Estero Largo, El Bracito, and others. There were no Hispanic settlements in the Mesilla Valley until the establishment of Doña Ana in 1839 and Las Cruces and Mesilla in the late 1840s. The Sierra de Los Organos, east of the valley, was named by the early colonists for their resemblance to organ pipes. The bare and rugged desert mountains of the Sierra Doña Ana, further to the north, rise like an island from the mesquite-covered plains. Sierra Robledo, a towering limestone wall, is on the opposite (west) bank. Robledo was the northern edge of the desert lowland and Mesilla Valley.

North of Robledo, the river is closed in by steep embankments and incised by deep arroyos, low cliffs, dunes, thickets, and other obstacles to travel. This was the beginning of the Bosque de Santa Bárbara, which extended far to the north and made travel along the river difficult or impossible for loaded wagons. Here, the Camino climbed out of the valley and onto the level desert plain east of the river. From the earliest days of Oñate, the trail struck out to the north from Robledo across the plains and low dunes. During the first day's travel from the river, a tall, rotund butte loomed on the edge of the plain. San Diego (Tonuco) Mountain, an important landmark on the Camino Real, is a large basaltic plug located on the edge of the Rio Grande valley, and it can be seen for a considerable distance along the Camino. This was the first camp or paraje entrance to the Jornada del Muerto, a long desert bypass east of the river. Travelers made camp on the desert rim of the valley below the shadow of the black butte, where they lit fires with small twigs of mesquite and creosote. They set the

wagons on the rim of the plain, like a small traveling village, and drove the livestock two miles down the slopes to water at the river.

The name "Jornada del Muerto" means literally "the stage or day's journey of the dead man," perhaps a reference to Bernardo Grüber, who was also known as the German ("el Alemán)." Grüber, a hawker of charms who had come up from Sonora, had been imprisoned by the Inquisition, escaped from jail, and headed down the Camino Real. He probably died of illness and thirst. It appears, then, that the subsequent discovery of the remains of "the German" became part of the history and lore of the trail and he was often referred to in lieu of a landmark. [See individual Yost Draw nomination]

Water could sometimes be found at Alemán. When the Jornada del Muerto was devoid of water, travelers frequently journeyed at night to avoid the heat of the day. The travelers looked back to the black knob of San Diego and turned away from it to traverse the vast plain. The Jornada del Muerto, in the basin range of the northern Mexican Highlands, it is a long corridor and gateway into the upper province of New Mexico. It is separated from the river by the uplifts of Las Peñuelas (Caballo Mountains) and the Fra Cristobal Mountains. Some travelers described the Jornada del Muerto as a vast sea with the distant mountains looming above like islands (Moorehead 1958:112–113).

The caravans and small groups of travelers went out into this sea of creosote and came to the *charcos* (waterholes) at Ojo de Perrillo. They passed the low outcrops at Point of Rocks, continued north past La Cruz de Alemán, and came down to the desert lakebeds at Laguna del Muerto. Travelers often made camp in the mesquite thickets of this usually dry lake. They unhitched the wagons and sometimes drove the livestock seven miles west across the plain, into a narrow canyon and gorge to the cottonwood-covered Ojo del Muerto.

The road continued north and passed another dry lakebed. Travelers would scan the dune-lined horizon, looking for two tall cottonwoods that marked a hole of muddy water (Ojo de Anaya) that was dug into a low embankment. From the bank above this spring they could see the northern reach of the Jornada del Muerto. Beyond it were the blue mountains of the Sierra San Mateo. These snow-streaked mountains were a heartening prospect for the weary traveler in the dust of the hot desert lowlands, but before them was the black edge of El Contadero lava flow, yet another obstacle to the crossing.

The northern run of the Camino Real in the Jornada del Muerto passed between the lava flow and limestone uplift of the Fra Cristobal Range at a place later called Lava Gate, where the traveler could once again see the green line of the Rio Grande. Caravans soon reached the north riverside camp and resting place at Paraje de Fra Cristobal. The paraje was a campground on the river's edge in the cottonwood bosque. A small village, now abandoned, was established there in the 1850s. It was a famous resting place for travelers going north and south across the Jornada, and it is delineated on the earliest Spanish maps of the region. The Rio Abajo refugees from the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 waited here for news of refugees coming down from Rio Arriba. The captive Texan

Santa Fe expedition slept here in their thin, ragged attire under a blanket of snow on the morning of November 1, 1841, before beginning their long and deadly march south into the Jornada.

For most travelers, the green canopy and riverside road leading north were a blessing. This was the beginning of New Mexico, known in colonial times as La Cabeza de la Provincia (the head of the province). In the colonial period, before the great abandonment of the lower valley in the 1670s–1680s, it was the home of the Piro Pueblos (Southern Tiwa speakers) and the site of a series of Pueblo villages extending from the southernmost mission site at San Antonio de Senecú to the north mission establishment of San Luis Obispo at Sevilleta. The Rio Grande valley leading north of Fra Cristobal was a verdant and welcome sight to the travelers of the Camino Real. They named it Valverde (Green Valley). But the road was still barred by deep sand, broken rocks, and long dry hauls.

North of Fra Cristobal, Mesa Contadero forms a high wall on the east edge of the river. This singular landmark is a black basaltic slab that extends down to the river at San Marcial. The pueblo of San Antonio de Senecú was located across the river from the mesa. To the north was the hacienda and later settlement of Valverde.

The main branch of the Camino Real passed across the eastern side of Contadero Mesa and then followed along the river's edge through the dunes north to the base of the low limestone mountain of San Pascual. This section of the trail entered the Bosque del Apache and made its way either through heavy dunes or along the clay flats on the valley floor. The caravans continued north to the base of the red-black butte at the place now known as San Pascualito. San Pascual, the largest Piro pueblo, was located here [see individual nomination]. It was a great multistoried adobe apartment with four plazas and perhaps a thousand rooms. In the seventeenth century, San Pascual was ravaged by smallpox and measles and was so weakened that it was overcome by Apaches and abandoned during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Many of the Piros at San Pascual and other pueblos went south to join the Spanish refugees in El Paso during the Revolt. Travelers along the Camino Real noted the broken walls and ruins of the great pueblo. In 1760 Bishop Tamarón, riding north on his episcopal visit to New Mexico, saw the walls of a small chapel. Many travelers camped in the ruins, finding shelter in the fallen walls.

Further north are the ruins of another Piro village, Qualacú [see individual nomination]. The Oñate party camped near Qualacú for a month in 1598. Archeological excavations in the pueblo have identified three major periods of construction and twelve occupational horizons spanning the period ca. 1150 to 1680. For many years following the Pueblo Revolt, Qualacú consisted only of low adobe walls.

In the north, more desert mountains descend to the edge of the river. Settlements (inhabited from 1598 to 1680 and 1800–present) were located on both banks. Some travelers crossed over at Valverde to take the west bank road. A series of deep arroyos backed by high gravel benches on the river's eastern bank cut off the road between the benches and the edge of the valley floor. These gravel benches and sandy arroyos were known as the Vueltas de Luis Lopez or Vueltas de Socorro and were seen by some as marking the worst section of road and the most difficult passage between El Paso and Santa Fe. Here the *volante* (carriage) of Bishop Tamarón

overturned because the road had eroded out—a fairly common accident, as noted by Nicolas de Lafora a few years later [Lafora 1939:95].

Across the river was the Piro pueblo of Teypama, where the inhabitants had made a gift of food to the Oñate caravan: hence its name, Socorro (*succor*). Later the name was transferred to the village of Pilabó and the mission site of San Miguel de Socorro. The Vueltas de Socorro continued north to where a tall volcanic butte, El Acomilla (little Acoma), stood above an *angostura* or narrows, where the river flows between two outcrops of basalt. The Peñol de Acomilla is yet another famous landmark and historical setting along the long trail to the north. It was the site of a Piro pueblo, a watchtower, and the Estancia de Acomilla, occupied by Gerónimo Marquez from 1631 to the 1670s. The Rio Abajo refugees of the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 stationed a sentinel on the summit of Acomilla to watch for the arrival of refugees from the north.

The pass along the river above Acomilla to the ancient Piro pueblo of Sevilleta (ca. 1300–1680), and the later frontier town of La Joya (1800 to present), is also a section of difficult passage, with high hills and gravel benches extending to the river's edge. This section of the Camino landscape was known as the Vueltas de Acomilla and was occasionally avoided via a branch road onto the open plains east of the river across El Valle de La Joya and El Valle del Ojo de Parida. The village of La Joya de Sevilleta, named for the nearby Piro pueblo, is situated at the base of some high gravel bluffs. The colonial pueblo, like its namesake (Seville, Spain), is located on a high section of land—at La Joya, the summit of the bluff. La Joya was the southernmost village in New Mexico during the early nineteenth century, and the site where caravans gathered in the plaza in the fall before entering the long *despoblado* (uninhabited lands) that extended all the way to El Paso. La Joya was for a time the edge of the northern frontier. Here, the traveler going north was welcomed back into the towns, settlements, pueblos, and cultivated fields of the province of New Mexico.

The Camino Real climbed from the valley edge to the summit of the high bluffs and passed the Mission of San Luis Obispo at Sevilleta. The adobe nave, capped with a bell tower, was burned to the ground by enemy Apaches in 1672. For two centuries after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, travelers passed near the mission ruins and followed the road into the lowlands and mesquite plains to the north. It was a long march across sandy flats with low gravel-filled arroyos. This area had been occupied by Southern Tiwa Pueblos during the early colonial period and was abandoned for nearly a century following the Pueblo Revolt. It was reoccupied with small Hispanic villages in the 1700s. In 1778, 30 families were living in a tent settlement at La Vega de Las Nutrias. The road went north and crossed the lower reach of Abo Arroyo and the red clay silt of the arroyo floor. The adobe from this red silt was used to build the plaza at Casa Colorado (Red House) in the 1820s.

North of Casa Colorado is a high gravel bluff overlooking the river near Belen. This highest point along this section of the river was known as Las Barrancas. It was the site of the colonial period Estancia Las Barrancas. The ruins of an old Tiwa pueblo (El Alto del Pueblo) were situated on the bluff, and from here the travelers looked further north into the settled valley of the Rio Grande and over cornfields fed by irrigation canals. The road went down the bluff, continued along the desert flats fringing the river, and approached a rotund volcanic

plug at Cerro Tomé. One of the roads passed east of the hill and the other went down to Tomé Plaza and into the scattered farms and ranches of this community.

The road left Tomé and followed the low bluffs and flats along the valley edge, coming to the villages of Valencia, Peralta, and the hacienda at Bosque de Los Pinos. The Camino then continued along the base of some sandy bluffs and passed the ancestral pueblo of Yellow Earth Village across the river from the pueblo of Isleta. Isleta pueblo was the Tiwan capital of the province and site of the mission establishment of San Augustín. Isleta ("little island"), on a low lava outcrop above the river, was the largest village that travelers had seen on the Camino Real since leaving the villages at El Paso. Across the river, a black mesa stands like a volcanic island overlooking the Albuquerque Valley and the ranchos of Los Padillas and Pajarito. On the summit of the isolated mesa was an early colonial period pueblo, said by some to be the original Isleta or rock island above the valley.

A sandy stretch along the edge of the eastern valley led down to the Villa de Albuquerque. Many travelers preferred to cross the river at Isleta and come up the firm valley floor north to Atrisco. They recrossed the river at El Vado de Barelas and followed Barelas Road to the plaza of Albuquerque, established in 1706. From the church tower at San Felipe de Neri, one could see the outlying ranchos and settlements of Los Barelas, Los Duranes, Los Candelarias, and perhaps further north to Los Poblanos, Los Ranchos, and others. Two main roads and a braided network of subsidiary roads linked these settlements, all a part of the greater Camino Real system. Travelers headed north to Rio Arriba and followed the hard and dry road (Camino del Lado) on the eastern edge of the valley. They soon passed the ruins of Puaray Pueblo, where the first Spanish priests in New Mexico were martyred. Others with time to spare and visits to make followed the valley floor roads, perhaps along the Camino de Guadalupe under the cottonwood trees to Alameda.

From Puaray the Camino continued north, following the base of the high gravel benches descending from the great uplift of Sierra Sandia. Here, the southernmost extension of the Rocky Mountains came close to the river, and its rocky crags towered above the ancient Tiwa pueblo of Sandia and the mission site of San Francisco de Sandia, built in 1610. In 1680, Governor Otermín and a band of refugees left the burning pueblo and abandoned the province. Sandia Pueblo remained in ruins until 1748, when it was reestablished by colonial authorities with a new population, mainly Pueblos who had moved to the Hopi towns in Arizona in the late 1600s.

The village of Bernalillo was not far to the north of Sandia Pueblo, with settlements scattered over the valley floor along the tree-lined acequias. Further to the north, a large, flat mesa with cliffs to the west of the river and high gravel bluffs to the east formed La Angostura, the famous narrows of the river. La Angostura was the gateway to the north and the frontier between the Tiwa and Keres pueblos. This was also the entrance to the Rio Jemez and the doorway to the pueblos and settlements of the Puname and Jemez provinces on the west and the mountain villages of Las Huertas de San José and Las Placitas to the east.

North of La Angostura, at the base of a high volcanic bluff and on the western bank of the river, is the Keres pueblo of San Felipe. The Camino led up to the edge of the river on the opposite bank. A bridge, which had

been built sometime before 1791 and was washed away by 1846 [Moorehead 1957:122; see "Fords Bridges, and Campsites," p. 17] crossed to the village. The old colonial pueblo with its black rock roomblocks and mission church stood on the edge of the mesa top, but the community moved to the foot of the mesa following the reconquest of New Mexico by Diego de Vargas in 1692–1696. North of La Angostura the river raced over a rocky bottom, and the traveler sensed that he was leaving the desert plains and the chocolate-colored waters of the lower river and was beginning to climb into the foothills of the Rockies.

Further along the east bank of the river from San Felipe to the large pueblo of Santo Domingo (now officially known by its traditional name, Kewa), the Camino Real led to another road (the Juana Lopez Road), which went east to bypass the steep slopes ahead and linked the Rio Grande to the settlements of the Galisteo Basin. Following the main road, the caravans rested under the tall adobe walls of Santo Domingo Pueblo and the bell tower of the mission church.

Still to the north, beyond the Pueblo of Cochiti, the Rio Grande pours out from a deep canyon incised in the basaltic mesa of the Caja del Rio (River Box). At Santo Domingo the Camino Real left the river to bypass the Caja del Rio. Still looming to the north was the tall black escarpment of the mesa known as La Bajada. La Bajada was the landmark that divided the Rio Abajo and Rio Arriba provinces of New Mexico. The branch trail at San Felipe headed east and around this barrier, while the main trail ran across a long yellow grassland plain to the entrance of Santa Fe Canyon. The canyon opens like a great mouth, the only corridor through the tall volcanic wall of La Bajada to Santa Fe; hence the name Cañon de Las Bocas. [see individual nomination]

Travelers then reached a stream that issued from the walls of the cañon. By around 1700 the large Tano pueblo at La Bajada had been reduced to an abandoned shell of melted adobe walls and was probably a paraje on the Camino. There was also a paraje at the entrance to Cañon de Las Bocas, located below the high fluted rocks known as Peñasco Blanco. The Camino Real ran up into the canyon and followed along its narrow floor between gigantic boulders, crossing the stream repeatedly. After passing through the canyon, the trail led to the outskirts of La Cienega.

Another trail (La Bajada Mesa Road), used by pack mules and travelers on horseback, ascended the steep slopes of La Bajada and crossed the open flats of the mesa top. This pack trail was in use during the colonial period and was improved for wagon traffic by the U.S. military in the 1860s. Much later it became the old automobile highway at La Bajada (NM Highway 1, El Camino Real, National Old Trails Highway, and US Route 66).

Ranchos and haciendas were scattered in La Cienega in the 1700s, many built around the springs known as Ojo del Alamo and the site of Hacienda El Alamo. From here, the road followed the stream to Rancho de las Golondrinas, where one branch crossed a low divide to rejoin the stream at Quemado (Agua Fria). The other branch continued north and followed the long descent of Ancho Arroyo to the river near present-day Buckman and then north to Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo).

The Santa Fe branch followed close to the Rito Santa Fe into the streets of the capital city, which lay below the forested and snow-capped mountains of the Sangre de Cristo range. The trail ran down to the plaza and the Palace of the Governors, the provincial capitol begun ca. 1610. The road leading into Santa Fe was identified as the Camino del Alamo on colonial maps and was appropriately called the Great South Road on early U.S. military maps.

The northern branch of the Camino continued along the Rio Grande past the high volcanic mesas on the west until it came to the pueblo of San Ildefonso and entered the Tewa Pueblo province. North of San Ildefonso the road passed below the high black butte of Tunyo (site of a great battle during the reconquest) and continued north to Santa Clara and Ohkay Owingeh. On this northern reach of the old road, the Rio Grande spilled out from yet another deep black rock canyon and the waters of the Rio Chama joined the Rio Grande. It was here that the Spanish colonists of the Oñate caravan established the first capital of New Mexico, San Gabriel del Yunque (in Tewa, *yungé*) on the west bank of the river opposite Ohkay Owingeh. This was the end of the Camino as first established by Oñate and his colonists.

Fords, Bridges, and Campsites

The Camino Real crossed the Rio Grande at various fords (*vados*), which made it possible to access settlements, reach alternate branches of the road (*ramales;* see Kessell 2008:82), avoid floodwaters, and find grass or fuelwood. During late April and May, when snowpack was melting, or from July to late September, the period of summer storms, the fords could be dangerous. The Barelas ford just south of Albuquerque, for example, gave access to the west bank road, which provided easier going for heavy carts than the sandier east bank did [Simmons 1982:167].

Oñate used the lower of two fords at El Paso, where the Rio Grande has cut a narrow gorge called “Las Puertas.” On May 4, 1598, about forty Manso Indians helped the caravan, including sheep, to cross the river [Moorehead 1958:18–19]. There was another ford near Brazito, an important paraje about twenty-five miles north of El Paso, named for the “little arm” or tributary of the Rio Grande [Horgan 1954(II):822]. About twenty-three miles north of Brazito was the San Diego ford, which may date to the nineteenth century or earlier [Horgan 1954(II):787]. Boundary Commissioner John Bartlett [1965(I):167] crossed at this ford on April 7, 1851, and called it “the old fording place.” Further north, the Valverde ford was used by Oñate and many later travelers [Moorehead 1958:23, 107]. The Socorro ford, about 25 miles above Valverde, was also used by Oñate, who crossed to the Piro pueblo on the west bank of the Rio Grande [Simmons 1991a:106]. The ford at Isleta Pueblo (“the little island,” so named because the flooding Rio Grande flowed through channels east and west of the pueblo) was used by travelers and military expeditions up until the late nineteenth century. At the Barelas crossing, three miles south of Albuquerque, southbound caravans and military expeditions crossed from the Camino Real east of the river to avoid the deep sands from here to Isleta Pueblo. Wagons traveling upriver could avoid the sands by crossing at Isleta Pueblo or further south, then returning to the west bank at the Barelas

ford. Upriver there were smaller fords at Bernalillo, Santa Ana Pueblo (after the early 1800s), Kewa (Santo Domingo), San Felipe, and Cochiti.

Rafts were used to cross the river at San Felipe in the late 1600s [Strong 1979:392]. Footbridges existed at San Felipe and Cochiti in the mid to late 1800s, and possibly earlier [Jones 1999 143–144; Lange 1959:57–60].

At least three bridges were built across the Rio Grande in historic times. The bridge built at El Paso in the early 1800s was about 500 feet long and 17 feet wide, and was constructed of pine logs or lumber and supported on eight caissons. It was probably built in an attempt to avoid a treacherous ford. This bridge washed away in the late 1800s.

Another bridge for foot and animal traffic spanned the Rio Grande at San Felipe Pueblo. It was constructed of pine logs and supported on eight caissons. It was built before 1791 but washed away by 1846 [Moorehead 1957:122]. A bridge also existed at Cochiti Pueblo in the late 1800s [Lange 1959:57–60]. The U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers also built a bridge (LA 80003) across a lateral arroyo of the Galisteo Wash in 1859 [see Los Alamitos nomination].

Campsites or parajes were established where travelers had access to water, fuelwood, and grass. They received names and sometimes became settlements. La Joya de Sevilleta became a settlement where southbound caravans or *conductas* and livestock herds could meet and regroup before continuing south [Baxter 1987:63; Torrez 1999:112]. El Contadero, between the lava flows of Contadero Mesa and the wetlands or *cienegas* (marshes) east of the Rio Grande, was the last point where caravans could rest and find grass and forage at the north end of the Jornada del Muerto [Wilson 1976].

The road itself, fords, ferries, bridges, parajes, and other resource types are discussed below under “Section F: Associated Property Types.”

Important Landmarks along the Camino Real

Major landmarks along the Camino (see discussion of this property type on pp. 71–72).

El Paso del Norte (Canyon and River Crossing)
Sierra de los Muleros (Cerro Cristo Rey)
Sierra de los Organos
Sierra Robledo–Sierra Doña Ana
San Diego Butte
Sierra Las Petacas
Perrillo Hills and the Point of Rocks

Black Hill
Laguna del Muerto
Ojo del Muerto Canyon
Lava Gate
Sierra Fra Cristobal
Contadero Lava Flow
Mesa Contadero (Mesa Senecú)
Bosque del Apache Dunes–San Pascualito Mesa
Vueltas de Luis Lopez and Socorro
Acomilla and Angostura de San Acacia
Vueltas de Acomilla
La Joya Sevilleta Bluffs
Abo Arroyo and Confluence
Las Barrancas
Cerro Tomé (Listed on the State [HPD 1637] and National [424889] Registers)
Black Mesa at Isleta
La Angostura (Gateway to the North)
San Felipe Mesa and Mesita
La Bajada (Landfall Boundary, Rio Abajo/Rio Arriba)
Cañon de las Bocas
Ancho Draw–White Rock Canyon
Black Mesa and Revolt Period Site at San Ildefonso (Tunyo, HPD 346 State Register)
Rio Chama Confluence

Except for the mountain ranges (Sierra De Los Organos, Sierra Robledo–Sierra Doña Ana, Sierra Petaca, and Sierra Fra Cristobal) and Black Mesa at Isleta, all of these landmarks were located on or immediately adjacent to the Camino.

The Camino Real in New Mexico (from the Texas state line to Ohkay Owingeh) is approximately 300 miles long in its shortest alignment, which includes the Jornada del Muerto route as opposed to the Rio Grande route. The alternate and braided roads that we have noted add at least 100 miles.

Context 2: Exploration, Settlement, Invasion, and War

Concept or theme: the Camino Real was created by explorers and colonizers. It was the route and the means of exploration and settlement of New Mexico, as well as the route of invasions and wars over a period of about three hundred years.

Geographical area: Rio Grande corridor from international boundary to Ohkay Owingeh

Chronological period: AD 1598–1881

Narrative

Pre-Spanish routes and trails

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 Chalchihuites culture of Durango and Zacatecas [Riley 1993:13]. In Durango this route was joined by a trail that brought goods from the west coast of Mexico across the Sierra Madre to the Chalchihuites region. This interior trail eventually continued north. Sometime after AD 1000 it linked to the major trading center of Casas Grandes in Chihuahua [ibid.].

An extensive series of trails radiated from Casas Grandes to various destinations across the Southwest. One segment ran from around El Paso to the upper Rio Grande. This segment, which Riley [1993:15] refers to as the Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail, eventually became the northern part of the Camino Real.

Somewhere in the area of El Paso and Las Cruces, another trail ran from southeastern Arizona to the lower Conchos Valley [ibid.].

By about AD 1500 the great trading center of Casas Grandes had fallen into ruin, but the Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail became incorporated into a second trail system linking trading communities in northern Sonora to the Pacific coast, southeastern Arizona, southwestern New Mexico, and the town of Cibola (modern Zuni) in present-day New Mexico.

This branch to Zuni was noted by early Spanish expeditions, which began to use it for slaving raids as early as 1530. In 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado used it as the route of a major expedition into New Mexico.

One trail from Zuni ran to the Pueblo of Acoma and then to Taos Pueblo. Hernando de Alavarado and Fray Juan de Padilla, on orders from Coronado, went east on this trail in the fall of 1540, reaching Acoma and exploring north to Pecos Pueblo before retracing their trail to Zuni. Another trail cut across the northern side of the Plains of San Agustin to the vicinity of modern-day Socorro. The Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail also ran south to the country of the Manso and Suma Indians around modern El Paso.

The Jornada del Muerto was well known to Indian traders. They either used it or went by the Rio Grande route [Riley 1993:16–17]. When Spanish expeditions began moving up the Rio Grande, they obtained Indian guides to take them through the Jornada since pack trains and wagons could not cross the arroyos west of the Rio Grande or the mountainous terrain east of it.

North of the Jornada the main trading route probably followed the Rio Grande through the Keres, Tewa, and northern Tiwa pueblos. Spur routes also extended to the Piro Indian towns east and north of Socorro, to the Galisteo country, and over Glorieta Pass to Pecos Pueblo. From Pecos, roadways radiated out to the Plains (predecessors of the Santa Fe Trail, linking the Plains and the Pueblos).

Early Spanish Exploration

The route that would become the Camino Real within Mexico came into use in the early 1500s. It ran from the City of Mexico to Zacatecas (est. 1546) and was commonly known as the Camino de Plata. As its name indicates, this route was used to transport silver from the mines at Zacatecas to central Mexico. The first developer of these mines was Cristobal de Oñate.

In 1527 Pánfilo de Narvaez, who had succeeded Ponce de Leon as governor of the region known to the Spanish colonizers as La Florida, led an expedition into northern Florida in search of a region that the Indians had spoken of, a certain Apalachen. The natives were hostile. Narvaez and his men retreated to the coast, built five horsehide boats, and started down the Gulf Coast toward Mexico. They were wrecked by a hurricane near present-day Galveston. One of the survivors was Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. Traveling on foot, he hoped to reach the nearest Spanish settlement in Mexico. He was captured by Texas Indians but escaped into the interior and became a trader and medicine man. Five years later he encountered three other survivors of the Narvaez expedition. These were Castillo, Dorantes, and Estévan or Estevanico, a Moor who had been Dorantes' slave. The four headed southwest in an attempt to reach Nuñez' original destination of Panuco on the Mexican Gulf coast. To avoid natives who might not be friendly, they turned inland. They went up the Rio Grande to near El Paso, then turned west and crossed the Sierra Madre. On the way, they met Indian farmers (Opatas). They reached Sonora, and then turned south to Sinaloa. They finally arrived in Mexico City in 1536, bringing reports of the Indian farmers to the north [Bolton 1949:8–9].

The first viceroy of New Spain, Diego de Mendoza, appointed in 1535, authorized expeditions to discover the northern reaches of New Spain, still unknown to Europeans. Among these were explorations into New Mexico, Texas, and California. In 1539 the viceroy sent Fray Marcos de Niza, a French priest, to investigate Cabeza de Vaca's story about Indian farmers. Fray Marcos went by way of the west coast of Mexico. Estévan went with him, traveling ahead and sending back reports. Estévan reached the Zuni pueblos, where he was killed, probably because he was posing as a divinity and demanding tribute, possibly in the form of Pueblo women. Fray Marcos and the rest of the expedition turned back to Mexico City, where they recounted stories of another group of farmers, the Zunis.

The viceroy considered Fray Marcos' report and another from an expedition authorized by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the governor of Sinaloa. The viceroy ordered Coronado to explore further. Coronado left northern Mexico in 1540 and reached Zuni. He used Zuni guides to follow the Indian trade route across the northern edge

of the San Agustin Plains to the Rio Grande Trail near modern Socorro. All subsequent Spanish expeditions, however, followed new routes east of the Sierra Madre Occidental.

Marching north along the Rio Grande, Coronado was on a stretch of the future Camino Real [Schroeder 1999:23]. He reached the northern New Mexico pueblos and turned east, exploring as far as the Big Bend of the Arkansas River in Kansas. He then returned to the Rio Grande and to Mexico.

Since Coronado had not found great wealth in the far north, this distant and seemingly unprofitable area was ignored by the Spaniards for about forty years. In this period the frontier advanced north to rich mines in the Santa Bárbara vicinity of southern Chihuahua. Here a local priest, Fray Agustín Rodriguez, heard stories from slave traders about settled Indians to the north. He obtained the viceroy's permission to investigate. In 1581 he and Captain Francisco Chamuscado, with a small party of soldiers, went north by way of the Conchos River and the Rio Grande. When they reached the junction of the rivers, Indians told them about Cabeza de Vaca and about settled Indians who could be reached by going up the Rio Grande. Traveling up the river from the El Paso area to Kewa (Santo Domingo Pueblo), they were the first Europeans to traverse what became this segment of the Camino Real. They then went east into the Plains, west to Zuni, and then back to the Rio Grande, down to the Conchos River, and back to Santa Bárbara. Their reports contained significant information about the various Indian communities, or pueblos, that they had seen. The Rodriguez-Chamuscado expedition left two friars with the Pueblos of the Albuquerque-Bernalillo area.

In 1582 Antonio de Espejo led a small party north from southern Chihuahua to find out what had happened to the two friars. Eventually he discovered that they had been killed by the Pueblos. He went west to Zuni and Hopi, south into the Verde Valley, back to Acoma Pueblo, then to Pecos Pueblo, where he captured an Indian to take with him back to Mexico to serve as a teacher of the language (the Spanish had learned that the Pueblos spoke various languages). He then returned to Mexico down the Pecos River, the lower Rio Grande, and the Rio Conchos [Schroeder 1999:26].

By about AD 1590 the Spanish were becoming sufficiently familiar with these far northern areas to realize that going down the Conchos and up the Rio Grande meant swinging in a wide arc to the west, and that it would be possible to head straight north from the vicinity of modern Chihuahua City to the El Paso vicinity. In 1590 Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, in the mining town of Almadén in Chihuahua, also heard stories of the settled Indians to the north. He led an unauthorized expedition (using carts—the first expedition into New Mexico to do so) north along Espejo's return route, the Pecos River, rather than by way of the Conchos. His party reached Pecos Pueblo, where the people rose up in arms to drive them away. Castaño's expedition visited the northern Tiwa area, going as far as Picuris, and the Tewa pueblos in the Rio Grande Valley. The Tewa towns he saw may have included Tesuque, Nambe, Pojoaque, Jacona, Cuyamungue, San Ildefonso, Ohkay Owingeh (subsequently the northern terminus of the Camino Real) and the southern Tewa or Tano pueblos in the Galisteo Basin. Castaño noted that the Tewa towns had extensive acequia agriculture. His party returned to Kewa, where they set up a main camp.

None of these expeditions entered New Mexico by the route that would become known as the Camino Real. Juan de Morlete was sent from Saltillo to arrest Castaño for illegal entry into New Mexico. He returned by a route described as 200 leagues shorter than the way he came—probably along the Rio Grande to what later became known as El Paso del Norte—indicating that he likely took a route approximating the Camino Real [Hammond and Rey 1966:46–47; Roney 1993:86; Schroeder and Matson 1965:175–176].

Antonio Gutierrez de Humaña and Francisco de Leyba y Bonilla entered New Mexico in 1595 without viceregal sanction. Although their route is unknown, they probably went by way of the Conchos and the Rio Grande [Schroeder 1999:26]. They went to San Ildefonso, to Pecos, and into the Plains, possibly as far east as the Missouri River. Here Leyba killed Gutierrez in a quarrel over who was in charge. One Indian from this expedition finally managed to get back to New Mexico, where he reported to Juan de Oñate at Ohkay Owingeh in 1599.

Juan de Oñate, a son of Cristobal de Oñate, had led a colonizing expedition in 1598 from near modern Chihuahua to the El Paso vicinity, and then north on the Rio Grande Pueblo Trail. Oñate's expedition was the first, for which we have firm evidence, to use the entire Camino Real.

Traditional Native American use of the Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail diminished in the early 1600s. Most of the trade goods that had come over this trail in prehistoric times were ceremonial, and the Spanish suppressed Pueblo religion at the same time as the Pueblo population shrank rapidly from hunger, dislocation, and disease. After Vargas' reconquest of the province at the end of the century, the Camino became primarily a Spanish trade route used by all segments of the regional population.

Colonization

Cristóbal de Oñate had been lieutenant governor of Nueva Galicia in the Coronado administration and had discovered the silver mines of Zacatecas. His son, Juan de Oñate, had participated in campaigns against Chichimec Indians and had administered silver mines for his father, and thus had both military and administrative experience. In September 1595, after two years of contract negotiation and numerous bureaucratic delays, the viceroy granted him the title of governor and a contract to establish a permanent colony in New Mexico [Hammond and Rey 1953:6]. Oñate assembled an expedition of 129 soldiers, their families and servants, a cart train of supplies, and a huge herd of livestock. In early 1598 he finally began the trip north.

He proceeded directly north from the silver district of Santa Bárbara, established in 1567 in Nueva Vizcaya, now the state of Chihuahua. Santa Bárbara was a mining town in the foothills of the Sierra Madre. It was about 900 miles from Mexico City and 700 from the small valley where Santa Fe would be established ca. 1607. The Santa Bárbara of 1598 was a small settlement, with a population of perhaps 35 heads of families [Roney 1993:87]. It would become an important stopping place on the road north.

Oñate continued to the crossing of the Rio Grande at El Paso (modern Ciudad Juarez). On April 30, 1598, near the pass to the north, at the site known as San Juan de la Toma (St. John "of the taking"—that is, the taking of the lands to be colonized), Oñate performed a ritual act of possession, asserting Spanish ownership of and dominion over New Mexico in the name of the king [Hammond and Rey 1953(5):314].

On May 5, 1598, the expedition passed the seven-year-old ruts of the ten carts that Castaño de Sosa and Morlete "took out from New Mexico" [Simmons 1991a:101].

When one of Oñate's officers, Pedro Robledo, sixty years old, died at the upper end of the Mesilla Valley—perhaps overcome by the rigors of the trip—Oñate named the campsite where Robledo was buried the Paraje de Robledo. The chronicle of this first expedition does not name most of Oñate's camps, but over time, the parajes were given names by travelers.

Robledo was buried on May 21. Oñate then left the main party and rode due north with a small party for ninety miles to scout the desert and select campsites. The main expedition followed until they came back to the river at Fray Cristóbal, which was named for Oñate's cousin, Cristóbal de Salazar, a missionary with the expedition.

A chronology of Oñate's colonizing expedition is as follows:

May 23 – the expedition found waterholes when "a dog appeared with muddy paws and hind feet" [Hammond and Rey 1953(5):317]. This would become the camp known as El Perrillo. In his 1630 *Memorial*, Fray Alonso Benavides, Father Custos of New Mexico, would refer to "La Provincia de los Apaches del Perrillo" [Ayer 1965:165], indicating that the place name of this paraje had been applied to the local Apache populations and the Jornada del Muerto district in general.

Governor Otermín, following the Pueblo Revolt and during his attempted reconquest of New Mexico in 1681, also describes the paraje of Perrillo: "In only one place (in the Jornada del Muerto) which they call El Perrillo, was there found a little water fit for the people to drink and with which to water some of the beasts, all the rest being dry and without water" [Hackett and Shelby 1942(11):202, 365]. Eleven years later, Governor Diego de Vargas and his military caravan, traveling north on the Camino Real after a forced march from Robledo, reached El Perrillo on August 27, 1692. Vargas' journal says that "through the divine providence of our Lord there were heavy showers from dusk until about mid-night, and even though all of the members of the expedition grew weary of the drenching, they obtained water" at the Perrillo paraje [Espinosa 1940:62].

May 27 – the expedition came to the marsh of Mesilla de Guinea, so named "because it was of black rock" (near San Marcial).

May 28 – the expedition camped across the river from Qualacú (also near San Marcial).

June 14 – the expedition reached the pueblo of Teypama, which the Spanish called Socorro "because it furnished us with much maize."

June 15 – the expedition camped at Sevilleta; "this was the first pueblo in which we camped, as we considered it safer to take refuge in the houses for protection in case the Indians of the country should decide to attack" [Hammond and Rey 1953:318]. Sevilleta was a Piro pueblo about twenty miles north of Socorro.

June 24 – the expedition reached the pueblo of San Juan Bautista, so named because that was John the Baptist's feast day. The pueblo was "deserted because of our coming" [Hammond and Rey 1953:319]. This small pueblo was about 16 miles north of Sevilleta.

June 26 – "we spent the night on the bank of the river" (ibid.).

June 30 – the expedition reached San Felipe Pueblo, then Santo Domingo Pueblo [Hammond and Rey 1953(5):317–321].

After this, the main body of the expedition detoured east to avoid the 900-foot-high volcanic escarpment of La Bajada. About July 11 Oñate reached the pueblo of Ohke Ouinge (Ohkay Owingeh), which he renamed San Juan. On August 18 the main body of the expedition reached the pueblo.

By blazing the trail in Mexico and following the Rio Grande in New Mexico, the expedition created the Camino Real (as noted above, however, Coronado's men had marched up the Rio Grande from the vicinity of Socorro, New Mexico, to the northern pueblos, on or close to the same route, and Morlete may also have approximated the route).

"They had travelled, with few oxen and very weary, 161 leagues, the distance by the cart road, from the valley of San Bartolomé to this pueblo [San Juan]. Of the eighty-three carts and wagons which began the expedition, sixty-one arrived. The other twenty-two, as each was unburdened of provisions, had been left on the road in order to relieve the oxen and to spare us trouble as they were so little needed" [Hammond and Rey 1953:320].

Oñate held councils with local Indians at Kewa (Santo Domingo) and Ohkay Owingeh (and eventually at five other pueblos, including Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi), where he asked the Indians to make acts of obedience and vassalage. He believed that the Indians had made such acts and understood them.

Oñate decided to establish his capital at Ohkay Owingeh as he thought it would be central to what he called the Kingdom of New Mexico and because the Indians seemed friendly and were good subjects for exploitation. Not long after this, Oñate moved his settlers across the Rio Grande to the pueblo of Yungé, which he renamed San Gabriel. The Indians moved out, joining their relatives in Ohkay Owingeh. The Spanish apparently believed that the Indians abandoned their pueblo voluntarily [Riley 1995:247–248; Simmons 1991a:49, 100, 111, 195, and

map pp. 94–95; Hammond and Rey 1953:16–17]. This may have been in part because colonial laws forbade Spaniards to frequent (much less occupy) Indian pueblos.

Maese de campo Juan de Záldivar was killed at Acoma Pueblo on December 4, 1598, while trying to obtain blankets and provisions from the Acomas. Oñate mounted a punitive expedition. After two days of fighting, Vicente de Záldivar, Juan's brother, and his men captured the pueblo. Oñate conducted a trial of 70 or 80 Acoma men and 500 women and children. He enslaved most of them and placed the girls younger than twelve under the supervision of a priest and the boys under the supervision of Záldivar [Hammond 1953:19-21; see discussion of slavery below]. The girls were sent down the Camino Real and placed in nunneries across Mexico as novices. We have no further account of them. In all probability, none ever came home to Acoma

In 1608 Oñate may have been planning to move the capital from San Gabriel to a more convenient location somewhat to the south (he always calls San Gabriel "my headquarters"—*mi campo*—not "my capital" and may not have intended it to be permanent). Some of his settlers had already moved to a narrow valley at a place they called Santa Fe [Simmons 1991a:182]. Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, Marques de Salinas had doubts about the New Mexico enterprise. He was not sure it could survive, and he considered shutting it down. The Franciscan Order "belatedly awoke to the realization that it might actually lose its rich missionary province in New Mexico" [Simmons 1991a:183]. The friars in New Mexico may have received an order from their superiors in Mexico City to get busy baptizing converts. In the summer of 1608 they performed mass baptisms among the Pueblos—about 7,000, they said. Fray Lázaro Ximénez went down the Camino Real to Mexico City to report to his superiors. He told the viceroy that many thousands more were asking to be baptized, and Velasco, delighted, reported this to the king. King Philip, impressed, decreed that New Mexico should be taken under crown patronage and converted to a royal colony, which meant that its expenses would be paid by the royal treasury rather than by the governor. Early in 1609 the viceroy named Pedro de Peralta governor and recalled Oñate [Hammond and Rey 1953 (I):6, 42-57, (II): 1042–1045; Simmons 1991a:182–185].

One of Peralta's first tasks was to relocate the capital from San Gabriel to a location that was closer to the largest Indian populations but was not itself occupied by Indians. As noted above, settlers were instructed by the Laws of the Indies to avoid contact and communication with the Indians—a prohibition that Oñate had ignored. His treatment of the Indians was one reason for his being recalled. In the winter of 1609–1610, Peralta either chose the site of Santa Fe or accepted the new location and the new community as an accomplished fact. Santa Fe became the Camino Real's effective northern terminus, although several branch roads communicated with the northern, eastern, and western limits of the province.

1600s

The continuous development along the Camino Real in the 1600s included mining, ranching, farming, and the building of animal-driven or water-powered mills.

The New Mexico of the seventeenth century was understood by its Hispanic settlers to be a part of Mexico, rather different from the "somewhat more rural backwater it became in the eighteenth century" [Ivey 1999:177]. This strong integration with interior Mexico was maintained by the Camino Real.

The colonizers distinguished between the Rio Arriba, the entire settled area from the 900-foot-high escarpment of La Bajada Mesa north to the Tiwa pueblos of Taos and Picuris, and the Rio Abajo, south of La Bajada and embracing the settled area down to the Piro pueblos.

As the new colony was being established and new missions were being set up at many of the Rio Grande pueblos, the Franciscan order created a mission supply program that came up the Camino Real from Mexico City to the Santa Bárbara area and from Santa Bárbara to Santa Fe. The Spanish crown assumed support for the missions in 1609 [Snow 1999:73; see "Mission Trade" in Context 4].

A Portuguese Franciscan, Fray Alonso de Benavides, was the third custodian of missions in New Mexico and the first commissary or agent of the Inquisition in the province [Morrow 1996:xi]. In 1630 the royal printshop in Madrid published his Memorial, in which Benavides described the missions, the Pueblos, the nomadic tribes, the Hispanic settlements, and life in New Mexico.

Revolt and Reconquest

In 1680 the Pueblos revolted against Spanish rule. Spanish missionary zeal and the quest of the Spanish colonizers for fortune had led Oñate to believe that the Pueblos had accepted King and church, that the people of Yungé had given up their pueblo voluntarily, and that the Pueblos had acquiesced in their status as Spanish vassals. The characteristic reticence of the Pueblos probably fostered this impression. By 1680, however, Spanish hegemony and the conditions that accompanied it, including forced labor, hunger, and disease, had reduced the Pueblo population to one-fourth, perhaps less, of its precontact numbers. Moreover, the Franciscans were asking the Pueblos to give up their religion.

The Pueblos revolted on August 10, 1680, in fire and blood, led by an Ohkay Owingeh religious leader usually known as Popé. They killed the priests who lived in the pueblos, then spread out to neighboring farms and ranches, killing whole families of whites. Within five days they overran the Spanish settlements in northern New Mexico. They systematically burned and destroyed churches and the *santos* (statuary or paintings of saints), vestments, and religious paraphernalia in them. They took a few captives, mostly women, who are listed and whose children are referred to in a report of 1692 [Kessell and Hendricks 1992:525–531]. It is likely that some of these children had Pueblo fathers. And the Pueblos did not or could not reject the things the Camino Real had brought them and that they could no longer do without: wheat and garden vegetables; horses, sheep, and goats; and metal tools.

About 500 survivors from the Rio Arriba got to Santa Fe, while those in the Rio Abajo, about 1,500 people, gathered at Isleta Pueblo, which remained loyal to the Spanish. On August 14 they began a retreat down the Camino Real under Lieutenant Governor Alonso García. The people in Santa Fe, led by Governor Antonio Otermín, retreated by a cart road into the Galisteo Basin. Otermín may have avoided the Camino Real because the Keres people south of Santa Fe were part of the revolt; he may have thought that La Bajada was too difficult and dangerous to descend during the uprising [Hendricks 1993:78]. From San Marcos in the Galisteo Basin the people from Santa Fe went down Galisteo Creek to Santo Domingo, then down the Camino Real. At Fra Cristobal they caught up with the larger body of refugees.

After the retreat of the survivors down the Camino, traffic through the area came to a virtual end. The Pueblos of Isleta fled with the Hispanics. A capital in exile was created at El Paso, and three new settlements for the exiles were also created along the river to the south.

In November 1681, Governor Otermín attempted the reconquest of the north with an expedition of 150 men. He went north from El Paso to Robledo, left the river and crossed the Jornada del Muerto. He sent a smaller force from Isleta up to the Keres and Tiwa pueblos, but the Pueblos met them with armed resistance. By February 1682 the invading Spanish had retreated to El Paso [Hendricks 1993:79].

In 1688 a new governor, Pedro Reneros de Posada, led another expedition north. He burned Santa Ana Pueblo (on top of Black Mesa). In 1689 the succeeding governor, Domingo Petrís de Cruzate, raided Zia and killed a large number of its inhabitants and took the governor of the pueblo, Bartolomé de Ojeda, captive.

The Otermín and Reneros expeditions were not much more than brief incursions or raids. Then on August 10, 1692, a new governor, Diego de Vargas, led 60 troops and 100 Indian auxiliaries on yet another expedition of reconquest.

Juan de Oñate had established the Camino Real as the road to the colony that he founded; Diego de Vargas returned on the Camino Real to restore the colony to New Spain.

Vargas was a son of the middling Spanish nobility. He was born in Madrid in 1643. He was orphaned young and may have dropped out of college—he claimed to have attended classes at the University of Valladolid, but he did not get a degree. He had come to New Spain in 1672, at the age of twenty-eight, as royal courier to the viceroy. Witnesses who testified before his departure described him as of average height, with straight hair and wide face. He lisped—not a Castilian lisp, but a speech impediment. He had been the capable and energetic administrator of two different mining districts, first at Teutila in Oaxaca in southern Mexico, then at Tlalpujahua 160 kilometers northwest of Mexico City. He hoped for a post in Guatemala or Peru, but in 1688 he settled for the governorship of New Mexico, a colony in exile. He assumed the governorship in El Paso—as with Oñate before him, after bureaucratic delays lasting more than two years. He was dauntless, ambitious, formal, and stubborn. His correspondence does not suggest any sense of humor. He negotiated forthrightly with

the Pueblos in 1692 and seems to have gained a measure of their respect [Kessell and Hendricks 1992:27–30; Kessell, personal communication, 2010]. Oñate founded New Mexico but was recalled and died in Spain. Vargas restored New Mexico, which he called "remote beyond compare" (*remoto sin igual*) [Kessell and Hendricks 1989]. He longed for Spain and his family there, but never succeeded in being posted back home, dying in New Mexico in 1704.

Vargas traveled up the Camino Real to the south end of the Jornada del Muerto. Here he divided his force to make better use of the scarce water available at El Perrillo, Las Peñuelas, and the Paraje del Muerto. The forces reunited at Fra Cristobal and proceeded north on the west bank of the Rio Grande. The expedition reached Kewa (Santo Domingo) and continued up the Cañon de Las Bocas road. Vargas describes the poor road conditions and refers to a camp site at the mouth of the canyon called "Las Bocas" [see Las Bocas nomination].

> The entire force was gathered in readiness at about five o'clock in the afternoon, at which time I sallied forth from the pueblo [Santo Domingo] with the said camp. After traveling less than a league, we found the road and slope so rough and washed away, due to continuous rains and a long period of disuse, that it was necessary to reopen the way, and by hand and the strength of strong arms we pulled through the two wagons and the gun carriages with the piece of ordnance and the large bronze stone mortar. For this reason I encamped at a place called Las Bocas. The entire camp arrived after dusk. And since the road was so rough and difficult, we were obliged to spend the night on the plain which surrounds the ridge or mountain there [Espinosa 1940:77].

Vargas went as far north as Taos Pueblo, then turned west and went as far as the Hopi pueblos. He returned to the Rio Grande, went south to Robledo, crossed the river, and went down the Camino to El Paso. All this was a reconnaissance, and there does not appear to have been any fighting.

Vargas submitted a plan of resettlement to the Viceroy, proposing the relocation of many Spanish and Indian communities closer to the Camino Real. This plan was approved but was never carried out [Hendricks 1993:80]. Vargas enlisted soldiers and gathered former residents of New Mexico. He headed north again in October 1693 with 70 families, 100 soldiers, and a group of Franciscans—more than 800 people.

Because shrubs and brush had grown up in the ruts of the Camino, Vargas sent sheep, cattle, and horses ahead to trample the roadway, making it smoother for riders and wagons. He also had men ready to repair the road where it had been damaged by runoff [Hendricks 1993:81].

Vargas and some of his men left the main body of the expedition at San Diego, near the south end of the Jornada, crossing the river. At Fra Cristobal Vargas crossed again and rejoined the wagons.

The Franciscan *procurador general* gathered another group of settlers that did not assemble in El Paso until after Vargas had left. This group of about 230 people joined Vargas in Santa Fe in the spring of 1694. In 1695 a third body of settlers—44 families from the Zacatecas area—also went up the Camino Real to Santa Fe.

Thus, in the late 1600s the Camino Real served as a line of retreat, a route for military incursions to reconnoiter and reconquer the province, and then a road for recolonization.

The Pueblos rose in arms against Vargas in 1693. They revolted again in 1696. Vargas and his settlers and soldiers defeated both of these uprisings.

In 1697 Lázaro de Mizquia, a member of the *cabildo* of Santa Fe, made another proposal for reorganization of the province. As Vargas had done earlier, he proposed the resettlement of the towns and pueblos of New Mexico on the east bank of the Rio Grande along the Camino Real. This plan was never implemented. Evidently, however, the importance of the Camino Real as a line of communication, as well as a possible route of retreat, was recognized by both Vargas and Mizquia.

1700s

Over the next few years the Hispanics recolonized parts of the Rio Arriba and the Rio Abajo. They were forced to recognize the limits of Pueblo tolerance. A somewhat symbiotic relationship and a measure of social integration replaced the brutal exploitation of the previous century.

The Camino Real became if anything even more important to the province of New Mexico. Trade caravans, originating in Santa Fe, began to descend the Camino. However, the purpose of the province of New Mexico changed after the reconquest. The colony was no longer a government-subsidized mission to the Pueblos, but a defensive outpost intended to protect the frontier against incursions by the enemies of Spain. The caravans were now more secular and more oriented to commerce [Torrez 1999:11]. These caravans, no longer organized by the Franciscans, were irregular. There was one, for example, in May 1712 [Moorehead 1958:42]. By 1750, however, regular caravans had been reestablished. They left Santa Fe every December for Chihuahua [Moorehead 1958:42].

Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral went up and down the Camino in 1759–1760 during an episcopal visit. This caravan was made up of 22 regular soldiers, 55 Spanish and Indian militia, 17 other persons, 429 horses and mules, 28 bulls, and 450 sheep [Adams 1953:299–300].

Going north, Tamarón watched water barrels being filled at the Paraje of San Diego preparatory to crossing the Jornada del Muerto. At Luis Lopez, across the river from the deserted pueblo of Socorro, the *volante* (a light open carriage with two tall wheels, a top, and two long shafts for a single horse or mule) in which the bishop was riding capsized where a ravine had sheared off the side of the road. The Father Custos who was riding with

the bishop was injured. The bishop escaped injury, he says, because he fell on top of the Father. The bishop continued the journey on horseback [Adams 1954:42].

The goods that came up the Camino included imported fabrics, boots, hats, shoes, shirts, medicines, soap, rice, chocolate, sugar, tobacco, liquors (especially El Paso brandy), paper, ink, horses, and mules. The *efectos del pais* (products of the country) that went south with these caravans included sheep, raw wool, wild animal hides, wool blankets, salt, and piñon nuts [Minge 1979:21–22; Moorehead 1958:49].

In 1722 Felipe V ordered an inspection of the presidios in the northern provinces [Naylor and Polzer 1988:1]. Brigadier Pedro de Rivera Villalón consequently made a military inspection of northern New Spain in 1726. He passed along the Camino Real [Lafora 1939] and examined the defenses, including the garrisons of New Mexico. He describes the Presidio of the Exaltation of the Cross in Santa Fe [Naylor and Polzer 1988:110]. He seems to have been a rather crusty and exacting senior civil servant: "I dismissed twenty men who with the title of *reformados*, [former prisoners] were a waste of money" [Naylor and Polzer 1988:111]. The governor objected, and Rivera noted that he was protesting the loss of his income—the difference between the governor's allowance for the soldiers and what it actually cost to feed and maintain them. "All the commerce of New Mexico consists of goods brought in by the Governor for his soldiers . . . which amount to a significant part of their trade" [Naylor and Polzer 1988:151]. Rivera added that "credence should not be lent to the solicitations of the inhabitants, because it is customary for them to sign any document, regardless of its content" [ibid.]. He mentions the Camino Real near Mapimi in Chihuahua [Naylor and Polzer 1988:75] and says that the soldiers of Mapimi "did not provide any escort, because they were not on the Camino Real," and again, "the soldiers are there only to protect that place, without having to escort travelers, because the camino real is quite distant" [Naylor and Polzer 1988:148] He traveled up the Camino to Santa Fe and down again to El Paso [Naylor and Polzer 1988:79]. The trip north took sixteen days; Rivera arrived on June 4, 1726. He says that "convoys and persons going to Santa Fe at New Mexico do not go whenever they please but only twice a year" [Naylor and Polzer 1988:170]. He ordered that any bishop who traveled to New Mexico or any other northern province be provided an escort "corresponding to his dignity and safety" [ibid.]. He describes "the kingdom and province of New Mexico [Naylor and Polzer 1988:215–216], referring to the map "Provincia de el Nuevo Mexico" by Alvarez Barreiro [1727; reproduced in Wheat 1957:82–83]. Rivera was not interested in the Camino itself and refers to it only in passing (see reference to Rivera in the San Diego North-South nomination).

About 1754, Governor Tomás Velez Cachupín or one of his aides wrote a sixteen-page description of New Mexico. It included three tables dated 1752 and contained some of the earliest census materials for the province. It also describes the Camino Real:

> The territory of New Mexico has annual trade with that of Nueva Viscaya through the mining towns of San Felipe de Chihuahua. To do so, in the month of November after completing their harvest, [representatives from] the settlements rendezvous and depart together, convoyed by soldiers from the presidios of Santa Fe, to El Paso del Norte, one hundred leagues [south]. There the convoy returns and is

> replaced by another from El Paso that serves as escort until they reach San Felipe de Chihuahua itself, another ninety-five or one hundred leagues [south]. They proceed in close order, camping at the water holes and areas that offer sufficient pasture for the horses and livestock being transported, and that are defensible against the ambushes and attacks made throughout this long journey by nomads in rough and rugged places in the intervening area. Sometimes coming and going to New Mexico they lose many lives and are ruined commercially by the loss of their chief items of trade. These consist of buffalo and deer skins, and fruits of the country which they distribute in the mining camp of San Felipe and haciendas of that area and with whose products they return, supplying their families with needed clothing, according to their means, and supplied with arms and ammunition. By the middle of April they are home to start planting. [Representatives of] the settlements must make these annual trips, because in their province there is no way to obtain the necessary garments since merchants do not go there, being only attracted to places where there is mining of silver, which New Mexico lacks. [Trade] is made extremely difficult by the barbaric tribes as well as the limited facilities of the inhabitants, whose only commerce is that which they must carry out with so much effort and over so much distance.
>
> For the security, conservation and well-being of the province it would be desirable if the route to the presidio of El Paso were settled; the land would permit it, being of good quality and located all along the banks of the famous Rio [Grande]. . . . With those settlements we would succeed in keeping the enemies away from the indispensable highway, and it would not be as easy for them to assault and interrupt the trade. Even though it is a project involving great expense for the royal treasury, if the plan is not carried out one fears the depopulation and ruin of New Mexico since the forces of this province are so limited that they do not exceed eight hundred arms-bearing men, including those from fifteen to sixty years of age [Miller 1975:170–171].

Nicolas de Lafora was a military engineer who accompanied his superior officer on an inspection of military installations on the northern frontier in 1766. He came up the Camino from San Bartolomé in four days. On the fifth he crossed the Rio Grande [Lafora 1939:90]. With the specificity and detail befitting an engineer, he notes each day's travel and each camp, as follows:

> Day five: "pasado en balsas el Rio Grande del Norte, en el paraje llamado el Vado de Balisan" [having crossed the Rio Grande on rafts, at the paraje known as the Ford of Balisan—here they are in Texas].
>
> Day six: "Anduvimos seis leguas al N . . . llevando a la izquierda el rio . . . y a de tres a cuatro [leguas], sobre la derecha, la sierra de los Mansos, llamado vulgarments de los Organos" [we went six leagues north . . . with the river on our left . . . and at a distance of three or four leagues, on our right were the Manso Mountains, commonly called the Organs].
>
> Day seven: "Anduvimos ocho leagues al N.O. . . entre el rio . . . y la sierra de los Organos que dista una legua. . . . Fuimos a campar a la orilla del rio en le paraje de los Bracitos" [we went eight leagues to the

northeast . . . between the river . . . and the Organ Mountains that are a league away. . . . We camped on the bank of the river in the paraje of Los Bracitos], "tres leguas al E., de él, demora el Puerto de los Organos . . . hay una cañada . . . donde habitan continuamente unas Rancherias de apaches" [three leagues to the east is the Pass of the Organs . . . there is a cañada . . . where there are some permanent Apache camps].

Day eight: "Anduvimos nueve leguas al mismo rumbo . . . por terreno . . . con bosque tan espeso de mesquites, huisaches etc, que con dificultad permitían paso a los carruajes" [we went nine leagues in the same direction, through terrain with growth so thick with mesquite, acacia etc., that it was difficult to get the wheeled vehicles through]; "dejamos a la derecha la sierra de Doña Ana. . . . Corre la de Da. Ana sur a norte como quarto leguas, y demora al E. del Ancon de Roblerito" [on our right we passed the Dona Ana mountain . . . which runs south to north some four leagues, and stops east of the river bend of Roblerito [Lafora 1939:91] "donde campamos a orillas del rio" [where we camped on the banks of the river].

Day nine: "paraje de Fray Cristobal" [Lafora 1939:92] "donde se vuelve a encontrar el rio" [where one comes back to the river], "caminada la distancia de treinta leguas; nosotros dejamos San Diego a la izquierda, y dirigiéndonos al Perrillo, campamos a orillas de una zanja en que habia alguna agua llovediza" [having covered a distance of thirty leagues, we left San Diego on the left, and proceeding to El Perrillo, we camped on the banks of a gully in which there was some rainwater] [ibid.].

Day ten: "paraje del Alemán . . . donde en lloviendo suele recogerse alguna agua en varios charcos que hallamos secos, y a ocho leguas adelante está la Laguna del Muerto, donde campamos aunque estaba seca" [where some water collects in several pools when it rains, but which we found dry, and eight leagues further is the Laguna del Muerto, where we camped although it was dry] [Lafora 1939:92–93].

Day eleven: "anduvimos diez leguas al N.E., las cinco primeras hasta la punta de la Sierra de San Cristóbal . . . [y] sigue el camino el espacio de cuarto leguas . . . hasta el paraje de Fray Cristobal, donde campamos en la orilla del rio" [we went ten leagues, the first five to the point of the San Cristobal Mountains . . . and the road continues four leagues to the paraje of Fray Cristobal, where we camped on the bank of the river].

Day twelve: "anduvimos doce leguas . . . a una legua se halla el peligroso paso llamado el Contadero, que se extiende tres leguas por lomas y hondonadas, formando un mal desfiladero, hasta la mesa de Senecú . . . dos leguas mas adelante está el paraje de San Pascual, en la orillla del rio, y las seis leguas restantes, hasta el bosque del Apache, donde campamos" [we went on twelve leagues . . . and at another league is found the dangerous pass called el Contadero, that extends for three leagues over hills and depressions, making a difficult passage, to the mesa of Senecú . . . two leagues further on is the paraje of

San Pascual, on the bank of the river, and then six remaining leagues, to the bosque del Apache, where we camped] [Lafora 1939:94].

Day thirteen: "entra el camino un buen trecho por una cañada donde empiezan las vueltas de Acumilla, o de Luis López que son varias lomas bastante altas, con muchas cuestas muy agrias, con algunos pedazos del camino en las laderas, en que van muy expuestos a despeñarse los carruajes; se extienden estas vueltas por el espacio de tres leguas" [the road enters a gap through a cañada where the bends of Acomilla begin, or Luis Lopez, where there are several rather high hills, with many sharp ridges, and where some sections of the road are up on the sides, and the carts are very likely to tip over, and these hills continue for the space of three leagues] . . . [and further on the] "ruinas del pueblo del Alamillo, sitado a la orilla izquierda del rio, donde campamos" [ruins of the pueblo of Alamillo, on the left bank of the river, where we camped] [Lafora 1939:95].

Day fourteen: "las ruinas del pueblo de Sevilleta, que está sobre la orilla izquierda del rio" [ruins of the pueblo of Sevilleta, which is on the left bank of the river]. There is no specific reference to a camp. Since he then describes the road as far as the settlement of Belen, they probably stopped there and stayed an extra day] .

Day fifteen: "no marchamos" [we did not travel].

Day sixteen: "Fuimos a parar a la villa de Albuquerque" [we went on and stopped at the villa of Albuquerque].

Day seventeen: "yendo a parar a Sandia, habitado por indios tiguas y moquinos" [we went on and stopped at the pueblo of Sandia, inhabited by Tiwa and Hopi Indians].

Day eighteen: [here he describes the road as far as Santo Domingo Pueblo, suggesting that they stopped there].

Day nineteen: they reached Santa Fe.

It appears from these notes that they made the entire trip on the east side of the Rio Grande. A map of the "derrotero seguido por D. Nicolás de Lafora, en su viaje a las provincias septentrionales de la Nueva España" [Lafora 1939:8] indicates this, and shows as well that on their return south they stayed on the east bank.

In the eighteenth century, military installations were established along the Camino Real as part of a system of frontier defense.

Mail was carried in the caravans to Chihuahua and exchanged there for incoming mail. Regular mail delivery from El Paso to Santa Fe began in 1783. At first, mail bags from Santa Fe were sent out four times a year—on the first day of April, July, September, and November, escorted by several officers and a small party of soldiers [Simmons 1978:17–18]. In 1810 a monthly mail service was inaugurated, with mail from the north exchanged for mail from the south at the Fra Cristobal camp [Moorehead 1958:46].

In 1776, Father Visitor Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, a Franciscan and a native of Mexico City, was sent to New Mexico by church authorities to report on the state of the missions. He came up the Camino Real from El Paso to Santa Fe (March 1 to 22, 1776).

He approached Santa Fe on La Bajada Mesa road (Adams and Chavez 1975:127 [1956]), an alternate route of the Camino Real discussed in detail in the individual nomination.

His is the first description of this segment of the Camino:

> Taking the highway down from there (Santa Fe), I find it necessary to refer to the description of its outlying district down river, because through them the road forks into two like the consonant V.
>
> One road leads up through Cieneguilla, and in this vicinity a mesa rises, which, flattening out on top, continues for about two leagues to a very steep slope that leads down to the plain where the Rio de las Bocas which I mentioned under Cieneguilla flows out and continues until it joins the Rio del Norte. The other road leads from Quemado (present-day Agua Fria) down Ciénega Grande, and from there it enters the canyon between mesas mentioned in that place, crossing the Rio de las Bocas many times until it joins the road down from the mesa that I have just described. Now that the roads have joined, they run over a high plain for more than a league until they go down a gradual slope which descends toward the meadows of the Rio del Norte about a league farther on [ibid.] [See La Bajada Mesa nomination]

With the founding of the California missions in the 1760s, officials in Mexico City and in California saw the need to establish a route of communication and trade between California and New Mexico. New Mexico Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta asked Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, stationed at the Zuñi mission, for a report on communication between New Mexico and Sonora; a possible route from New Mexico to the recently established provincial capital at Monterey, California; and a report on means to pacify the Hopis, who were outside the range of colonial authority and were a barrier to communication between California and New Mexico. Escalante and a small party explored from Zuñi north to Hopi, reaching Walpi on June 25, 1775. He tried to convert the Hopis, but they weren't interested. Escalante went back to Zuñi, then to Santa Fe to report to the governor.

In 1776 Fray Francisco Garcés was stationed at San Xavier del Bac in present-day southern Arizona. He set out to explore west and north from Tubac to the Mojave country, west into the San Joaquin Valley in California,

then east and north through Hualapai country in Arizona, further east and north to Havasupai Canyon, and to the west side of the Grand Canyon, where he turned back south to cross the Little Colorado River and went on to Oraibi (July 2, 1776). The next day he wrote a letter to the friar at Zuñi—Escalante—about opening a route to California, and paid an Acoma boy who was at Hopi to deliver it. He noted that Hopis were not friendly (Adams and Chavez 1975 [1956:282]). Escalante went back to his post at San Xavier. He was killed by Yumas in 1781.

On April 15, 1776, Escalante was requested by his ecclesiastical superior, Father Visitor Dominguez, to join Dominguez in another expedition, to work out a route to Monterey. Dominguez had planned to leave on July 4, but preparations took longer than he had expected. While they were organizing the expedition, Escalante received the letter from Garcés.

The expedition left Santa Fe on July 29, 1776. Dominguéz and Escalante got as far as central Utah, where they ran into severe winter weather and realized that it could take eight months to get back to Santa Fe. They turned back on October 9, 1776.

Juan Bautista de Anza, governor of New Mexico for ten years (1777–1787), is best known for his Indian policies, including campaigns against the Comanches, Apaches, and Navajos. Anza succeeded in making a long-term peace with the Comanches (at Pecos Pueblo in 1786; Thomas 1932:76) after a battle near Greenhorn, Colorado, that severely punished allied Comanche bands and led them to negotiate the peace. Anza's journals reference the Camino Real as the main stem of travel in the province and the connection between New Mexico and Sonora, where Anza had served for twenty-five years before becoming governor of New Mexico.

After the establishment of peace with the Comanches, the traditional barter system in New Mexico grew into a cash economy. Two caravans went down the Camino Real to Chihuahua in 1787, carrying livestock, fruit, cotton, and woolen textiles. Within a decade, sheep and wool had become important trade items [Cunningham and Miller 1999:99].

1800s

La Joya de Sevilleta was founded in 1800. Merchants and sheep ranchers from the Río Abajo began to rendezvous with the *conducta* (caravan) coming down from the Rio Arriba. They established August as the regular time for travel, to take advantage of the grazing and water that resulted from the summer rains [Scurlock 1990:16].

In 1806 the government-regulated annual train left Santa Fe in late October so as to arrive in time for the annual fair at the Valle de San Bartolomé in Chihuahua. In March 1807 about 300 New Mexicans, mostly ranchers, escorted by 35 to 40 soldiers and driving about 15,000 sheep, went down the Camino [Moorehead 1958:43, 45]. Lt. Zebulon Pike, U.S. Army, and his men were being escorted down the Camino when they passed the encampment of this caravan near Socorro (Pike was told he was not under arrest, but he was not free to leave

his escort, either). Pike was taken down the Camino Real through Chihuahua, then up the Rio Conchos and Rio Florido to Guajoquilla (Ciudad Camargo) [Roney 1993:92].

In November 1816, Governor Pedro Maria de Allende issued instructions to Jose Maria de Arze for the conduct and return of a caravan to Chihuahua. The governor told de Arze to take a squad of troops, pick up at Sevilleta any *vecinos* (citizens of the province) who wanted to go south, and while at Sevilleta make an inventory of "all its contents, flocks, livestock, weapons for defense, equipment, and horse herds that each person is taking." On the Camino they were to be vigilant about any enemies—the Apaches were particularly mentioned, although they were understood to be at peace at this time. The caravan was to proceed to El Paso, stay only as long as needed "for everyone to conduct their specific business," and proceed to Chihuahua, conduct all necessary business, and "depart, reporting the same to the commanding general by the weekly mail from said villa" [Torrez 1999:113–114].

Mexican Period

In 1821, with Mexican independence from Spain, the Camino Real became a *camino nacional* and was linked in the same year with the trade route from Missouri to Santa Fe (the Santa Fe Trail). Merchants from Missouri who first reached Santa Fe in 1821 quickly saturated the local market and used the Camino Real to push further south, to Chihuahua. They brought cotton cloth, linen, thread, buttons, pins, needles, stockings, handkerchiefs, shoes, gloves, suspenders, parasols, combs, mirrors, metal tools, locks, knives, razors, candlesticks, vermilion dye, and spices to Santa Fe and down the Camino. Both Anglo and Hispanic traders took hides of elk, pronghorn, and beaver down the Camino for sale or exchange [Minge 1979:29; Weber 1971:57, 120].

An Anglo observer described the Camino as "a good coach road from Santa Fe through El Paso" [Bowen 1979:7], indicating that it was in generally good repair.

In 1832 Pablo Salasar of Tomé drove two flocks of wethers to northern Mexico, delivering 3,000 to Chihuahua or Durango and 1,800 more to Puebla [Baxter 1987:103].

In 1841 the Texan Santa Fe Expedition was formed by the President of Texas, Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar, who was persuaded that "nine tenths of the inhabitants [of New Mexico] were discontented under the Mexican yoke, and anxious to come under the protection of that flag to which they really owed fealty" [Kendall 1935(1):15]. The expedition, nominally a trading venture, was taken into custody by New Mexican troops near San Miguel del Vado [Kendall 1935(1):281] and subsequently escorted down the entire length of the Camino Real to Mexico City, and then to Vera Cruz, where they were allowed to board an American cutter and leave Mexico. They had been on the road for a year [Kendall 1935 (2):406], and some had died of exposure and mistreatment by their guards [see section on Thomas Falconer under "Literature," below].

From 1852 to 1856, territorial trade fairs were held at several locations along the road [Bancroft 1889:644].

American Period

In 1846, with the outbreak of the Mexican War, the Camino Real became an invasion route for American troops. U.S. forces led by Col. Alexander Doniphan went down the Camino through the Jornada del Muerto. A large merchant caravan of about 300 wagons accompanied them. Doniphan's officers had ordered the merchants to wait at Valverde until Doniphan returned from an expedition against the Navajos [Gardner 1999:232]. Doniphan's forces fought Mexican troops at Brazito. Doniphan then occupied El Paso and (two months later) the City of Chihuahua [Gardner 1999:247; Connelly 1907:372–384].

While Doniphan was in El Paso, Pvt. Odon Guitar went down from Santa Fe to join him, leading a provision and ammunition train. Because Doniphan's army and animals had used most of the forage near the Camino, the oxen pulling the relief train were starving. When the train came out of the Jornada del Muerto at Robledo the oxen were staggering from exhaustion. Eight miles north of Doña Ana they quit. Guitar and two others set out for El Paso and reached Doniphan, who sent out a party with fresh teams to bring Guitar's wagons the rest of the way [Connelley 1907:381].

Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny led a column from Albuquerque to Tomé on September 5, 1846, down the east bank of the Rio Grande. His men found a religious festival in progress, with about 1,500 people in the plaza, walking and riding in coaches, carts, and other conveyances. That night there was a Spanish folk comedy, with luminarias on housetops and roofs to illuminate the scene, plus skyrockets and ringing of bells. At sunrise there was a service in the church, and muskets were fired in celebration [Simmons 1982:140–141].

John Mix Stanley was a topographic engineer serving under Lt. W. H. Emory in Kearny's command. He sketched travelers on the Camino at Valencia. This sketch appears as a lithograph in Emory's 1848 report to Congress [Weber 1985:9-11, Plate XX].

After the occupation of New Mexico, Arizona, and California by U.S. troops in 1846, international commerce continued on the Camino Real between Santa Fe and the city of Chihuahua. Forts and garrisons to protect and control the route were established between Mesilla and Socorro. These included Fort Fillmore, six miles south of Las Cruces and one mile east of Brazito (1851); Fort Selden, fifteen miles north of Las Cruces on the east bank of the Rio Grande (1865); Fort Thorne, at the upper end of the Mesilla Valley on the west bank of the Rio Grande (1853); and Fort Craig, on the west side of the Rio Grande thirty-five miles south of Socorro (1851).

James Augustus Bennett was eighteen in 1849 when he enlisted in the U.S. Army under an assumed name. He was ordered to Jefferson Barracks in Missouri, and then down the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico. Here he served for the next six years. Military discipline may not have agreed with him; he was promoted to sergeant but later reduced in rank to private, for reasons we do not know. He reenlisted in 1854 but deserted into Mexico two years later. On February 14, 1855, Bennett was a soldier in Company I of the Third Infantry. During a campaign against Apaches, the company crossed the Jornada del Muerto on the Camino Real. Bennett notes in

his diary that "this is a sandy place where no water is to be had. It is 90 miles in length and is noted for murders and massacres by the Indians" [Bennett 1996:63]. On February 15 the company passed through Socorro and Valverde and reached Doña Ana, "which is quite a little town of some 2000 inhabitants. Soldiers had quite a dance" [ibid.]. The company arrived at Fort Fillmore, where they had to tell the wife of Capt. Henry Stanton that her husband had been killed by Apaches in a fight on January 19.

In the company's pursuit of Indians it went up and down various lengths of the Camino Real. Bennett notes towns and natural features: "Lamitar [sic] a very pretty town [Bennett 1996:64]; "Fort Craig, the best and prettiest fort in New Mexico" [ibid.]; "El Paso . . . a city of 10,000 inhabitants. It is a rendezvous for rascals, cut-throats, and knaves. Murders are committed almost nightly in the streets" [ibid.].

Bennett also describes natural features:

> Mar. 13 [1855] – Last night at a spring called San Augustine in the Organ Mountains. These are an abrupt narrow chain of mountains with sharp peaks covered with tall pines. Crossed a plain with a salt lake 40 miles in length and from 3 to 5 miles in width at the center. Salt is in such abundance here that it lies from 3 to 8 feet deep as far from the shore as 3 miles. Wagons are driven to the shores and loaded with shovels. No other process is necessary to procure salt [Bennett 1996:65].

In an unusual military experiment, camels were used on the Camino in 1857. In 1853 Secretary of War Jefferson Davis had proposed the creation of a camel military corps for "military purposes, and for reconnoissances [*sic*]" in the far West [Lesley 1929:5]. When this proposal was approved by Congress in 1855, with an appropriation of $30,000 to buy and import camels and dromedaries, a government expedition to the Near East bought camels in Egypt and Turkey and shipped them back to Indianola on the Texas coast and overland to Camp Verde, outside San Antonio. Lt. Edward Fitzgerald Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California and Nevada, was a supporter of this idea of using camels for military purposes in the American West. Beale commanded an expedition that brought the camels from San Antonio to El Paso. Beale then surveyed a wagon road from Fort Defiance, New Mexico, to the Colorado River. The citizens of Las Cruces and Doña Ana were greeted with the sight of the camel corps assembled on the central plaza on July 30, 1857. Beale and his men went up the Camino and the Jornada. "Nothing," Beale noted, "could exceed the beauty of the country we have traveled over this morning. The whole extent, as far as vision reached, was a level plain, covered thickly with the most luxurious grass, and filled with beautiful wild flowers, while on each side the mountains in the distance, covered with clouds, loomed up grandly. Hundreds and hundreds and thousands of acres, containing the greatest abundance of the finest grass in the world, and the richest soil are here lying vacant, and looked upon by the traveler with dread, because of its want of water" [Lesley 1929:173]. This description, very different from most, suggests a good monsoon season. Beale notes that "we have had abundant rains; all the more remarkable, as the people here say that these are the first rains that have fallen on them for more than a year" [Lesley 1929:174]. [See individual Yost Draw nomination]

The caravan continued on the east side of the river, seeing Fort Craig on the west side but not crossing to it. They camped about sixteen miles north of the fort. "The scenery of the river," Beale notes, "especially the green meadow and the trees is very pleasant, and to us, who have been so long without the sight of running water, and kept constantly anxious on the subject of a good square drink, the abundant river is a very grateful object of view" [Lesley 1929:176]. Beale exchanged pleasantries with the people of the South Valley, who were amazed by the camels, and reached Albuquerque on August 10, eleven days after leaving Las Cruces. From Albuquerque the troop turned west, through Cubero and Zuni, finally reaching the Colorado River in January 1858.

This was the only military experiment with camels in the United States. Escaped camels were sighted in New Mexico as late as 1902.

The Civil War

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Fort Craig remained a Union Army post manned by regular army troops. In 1862, Confederate troops under the command of General H. H. Sibley invaded New Mexico. They marched up the Camino Real on the west bank after capturing military installations in the El Paso and Las Cruces areas. On February 21, 1862, thousands of Sibley's Confederate troops engaged Union forces led by Colonel R. S. Canby. The Battle of Valverde near Fort Craig was the largest land battle of the Civil War fought in the West. Some historians describe the battle as a Confederate victory because the Confederates then advanced further north. However, Union forces succeeded in holding the fort, and half the critically needed Confederate supply wagons were destroyed. The Confederates marched up the Rio Grande and captured Albuquerque and then Santa Fe. The loss of their remaining supplies at the Battle of Glorieta, east of Santa Fe, on March 28, 1862, forced the Confederates to retreat to Texas. They retired down the Camino Real on both banks of the river. Those on the east bank were attacked by Union troops after camping at Pinos, near Peralta, and driven back after a day-long battle. They crossed the river to Los Lunas, where they joined the other body of troops. The Confederate retreat continued down the west bank road through Los Lunas and Belen; the pursuing Union troops went down the east bank through Valencia and Tomé [Alberts 1993:200–202]. This ended southern aspirations for military conquest in the West.

Fort McRae was a Civil War post established on April 3, 1863, near the Ojo del Muerto, about five miles west of the Jornada. The post was named for Capt. Alexander McRae, who died at the Battle of Valverde. It was intended to protect travelers and supplies on the Jornada and to curtail Apache raids along the Rio Grande [Thompson 2008:135]. On June 16, 1863, the post adjutant, Lt. Ludlam A. Bargie, was killed by Apaches near the Perrillo paraje. When Bargie's body was found, he had been decapitated and his head taken as a trophy [Thompson 2008:136]. Speculation had it that the killing was revenge for the death of Mangas Coloradas, murdered by soldiers of the California Column earlier in the year at Fort McLane, south of Pinos Altos (Mangas Coloradas had been decapitated, apparently to make a trophy of his extraordinarily large skull).

Fort McRae was maintained through the Civil War and for twelve years afterward. It was abandoned on October 30, 1876. The military reservation was transferred to the Department of the Interior. The site was inundated by the Elephant Butte Reservoir, but in July 2002 the lake receded and the outlines of adobe and rock foundations emerged [Thompson 2008:136].

Post-Civil War

James G. Bourke was a second lieutenant stationed at Fort Craig in 1880. His company marched down the Camino Real to Fort Craig. Of the wagon road down La Bajada he says:

> They came to La Bajada a very severe grade, having an overhanging vertical wall of some hundred of feet on one side and a sheer precipice of five hundred on the other. The descent was so risky that stage passengers always alighted and made their way on foot, while the driver found abundant occupation in taking care of his train and slowly creeping down with a heavy brake on the wheels locked and shod and the conductors at the head of the leaders. That was the only orthodox way of going down La Bajada in those days [Bloom 1934:50–51]. [See La Bajada Mesa nomination]

Bourke describes Fort Craig as:

> …a four company post (occupied by two companies) surrounded by an earthen rampant, with ditch, and five bastions. . . . There wasn't much to do; the post was a lonesome sort of a hole maintained at the northern end of the "Jornada del Muerto" for the protection of travelers against prowling Apaches. . . . The villages of Paraje, San Marcial, and Contadera, none of them of any size or consequence, gave us an excuse for horse-back rides; the inhabitants were very poor and the houses, of adobe, ill-furnished, the peculiar feature being that the main room was well-supplied with settees and matrasses [*sic*] upon which the men of the house could take their "siesta" [Bloom 1934:41].

Bourke goes on to say:

> On marching down from Fort Craig, we took the right or west bank of the river, to avoid the "jornada del muerto" ("the day's journey of the dead man") so called because a wanderer could just about reach the end of it before dying of exhaustion and thirst. This desert of ninety miles in length was formerly greatly dreaded, there being no water upon it. Now there are two places, the "tanks" at Aleman and Jack Martin's artesian well, so situated that marches need not be more than 30 miles without water. At the north end of the Jornada is the Peak of San Cristóbal, with an upper contour rudely resembling the face of a man asleep [Bloom 1934:43].

Bourke's company marched west to the San Mateo Mountains in search of hostile Apaches.

The Railroad

Railroad surveyors used the Camino in 1867 [Bell 1965:241]. In 1872 or 1873, county workers began repairs on the Camino near Tomé [Scurlock 1999:237], and in 1876, the territorial legislature passed an act declaring the route a public road [Scurlock 1990:30–31].

The Santa Fe Trail was replaced as a trade route by the railroad, which reached Santa Fe in 1880. The railroad was extended south from Albuquerque down the west side of the Rio Grande in 1880 [Myrick 1970:18–20], taking much of the commercial traffic away from the Camino. In 1881, when rail lines reached El Paso, the traditional use of the Camino Real as the main line of transportation and trade ended.

In 1901 the territorial legislature passed a "tax" law that required all male residents of New Mexico between the ages of 21 and 60 to work on public roads in their respective counties from 2 to 5 days a year, furnishing their own tools and horse teams. This work was supervised by county employees [Rose 1992:38–39].

Between 1903 and 1907 the Eastern Railway Company built the Belen Cutoff through Abo Pass, west to the Rio Grande and across the river to Belen [Myrick 1970:35–37], taking even more traffic from the road. Parts of the Camino, notably the segment in the Jornada, were entirely abandoned. Others became local roads.

As the Camino fell into disuse, more and more all along its length was destroyed by natural processes. On May 20–23, 1905, torrential rains poured water down the Camino in Tomé and vicinity, making it "an arroyo impossible for travel" [Ellis and Baca 1957:19].

Around the same time, parts of the road were graded to serve as modern routes. In 1905, the territorial assembly designated the east road, which it referred to as "El Camino Real," State Road 1. The road was rebuilt in 1905–1917 with convict labor [Rae et al: 1987; Rose 1992:2].

U.S. Highway 85, now N.M. 314, was designated in 1926 [Scurlock 1999:238]. The road on the east side, known then as U.S. Highway 47 and now N.M. 304, was rebuilt in 1917 and first paved in 1946 [ibid.]. [see Context 4: Economic and Commercial Significance]

Context 3: Social, Political, and Cultural Significance

This context and Context 4 (economic and commercial significance) are not easy to separate, but they are useful in organizing a large body of material. In this MPDF, *cultural significance* relates to ideas and their expression in forms of art, whereas *economic significance* is expressed in terms of goods and money.

Concept or theme: the Camino Real was the means of transmission and dissemination of social structures, political ideas and events, and cultural phenomena in New Mexico. It carried these structures, ideas, and phenomena into New Mexico and into the Mexican interior.

Geographical area: Rio Grande corridor from the international boundary to Ohkay Owingeh

Chronological period: AD 1598–1881

Narrative

Social and Cultural Environment

The *caravana* or *conducta* that passed up and down the Camino Real from Santa Fe to central Mexico was a vehicle for the transmission of elements of culture—food, clothing, religious objects, and religious ideas [Taylor y Romero 1999:293]. Its importance in the diffusion of objects and forms of art, furniture, church furnishings, and musical instruments has been studied by Bargellini, Gavin, Pierce, and Snow, among others [see Bibliography].

The cultural significance of the Camino Real transcends national boundaries. The Camino was the means of cultural exchange between indigenous people and Europeans, including transmission of language, religion, science, medicine, literature, and architecture.

Ethnicity

In documents dating between 1693 and 1823, more than twenty terms were used in New Mexico to denote race [Bustamante 1991:142–163]. Ethnic identification was determined by various factors, including the community where a child was raised, his or her paternity, if it was known or acknowledged, and further, the ethnic identity that an adult might ascribe to himself or herself [ibid.]. The *casta* or caste system employed throughout Spanish America identified Spaniards, Indians, Orientals, blacks, and every combination thereof. Representatives of all races and ethnic mixtures entered New Mexico on the Camino Real and contributed to all aspects of its society and economy.

In a letter to the Tribunal of the Inquisition dated January 19, 1667, Fray Juan Bernal mentions two children at or near Quarai whom he designates *zambiagos*—that is, an admixture of Indian and Chinese [Hill and Peterson 1999:149; Hackett 1937:272]. These were the children of José Nieto and his wife, Luc Lopez de Garcia. Her first name suggests that she may have been Chinese. The most likely way for an Oriental to come to the Americas would be on the Manila galleon [see above: Manila was considered part of New Spain].

Indians

When Antonio de Espejo arrived at Pecos Pueblo in 1582 and took a Pecos native back to Mexico to serve as a language teacher [Schroeder 1999:96], his evident purpose was to enable future missionaries to communicate with their flock. The people of Pecos spoke Towa, which survives today only at Jemez Pueblo. However, we have no record of a friar who arrived at Pecos speaking Towa.

As noted below, the conductas sometimes employed Indians as guides. Usually these were Plains people, such as the Comanches. The conductas also included women who served as cooks—these were more probably Pueblos.

Engineer Nicolás Lafora takes note of Manso Indians—that is, peaceful Indians—leading sheep ahead of the caravan at Perrillo where they were attacked by the Apaches [Lafora 1939:92].

Nomadic Indians, the Apaches in particular, appear throughout the history of the Camino Real, usually as enemies preying on the passing caravans or attacking military expeditions. Note the frequent references to these encounters throughout the nomination.

Although their use is not recorded as fully as that of whites, it is likely that Indians—both Pueblo people and nomadic groups—used the Camino much as whites did, for trading and visiting other communities [see Riley 1993:16-17].

Religion

The Camino Real brought the religions of the Pueblos and of the Spanish into direct contact.

> La caravana in a collective sense was a vehicle, a real moving vehicle, which linked Santa Fe, the northern outpost in the kingdom, with New Mexico's more southern neighbors. . . . In their lives on the frontier . . . the greatest sustainer of all was the faith [Taylor y Romero 1999:293].

The religion of the Pueblos embraced and explained their world. It resided in the landscape, and it guided every aspect of life. The new religion brought up the Camino Real by the Spanish was similarly all-embracing and constituted the traditional explanation of life and nature. The Pueblos adopted Catholicism and accommodated their calendar to its feasts and saint's days while maintaining their aboriginal beliefs and practices as well. No society in North America has been more deeply and pervasively religious than that of New Mexico. The Camino Real was the path for the importation of Christian belief, bringing its practitioners, rituals, art, and artifacts northward and tying the multicultural society of New Mexico to the larger society of interior Mexico and the world at large.

The Franciscans who used the Camino Real predominantly in the 1600s taught the Pueblos Christian doctrine. They also had more far-reaching goals: to teach the Indians to live like Europeans—albeit of a subject class—and to embrace European ideas [Levine 1999:3].

Until the mid-1700s, most religious images were brought up the Camino Real from interior Mexico [Boyd 1998:23]. Probably the best known is a statue carved from willow in Spain sometime in the early 1600s and originally named "Our Lady of the Assumption." This figure, or *bulto*, was brought to New Spain and came up the Camino Real in 1625 in the care of Fray Alonso de Benavides, the Portuguese Franciscan and agent of the Inquisition mentioned above. Benavides installed the statue in the parish church, or *parroquia*, in Santa Fe. The statue was variously known as Our Lady of the Assumption, Our Lady of the Conception, and Our Lady of the Rosary, but it was commonly referred to by New Mexicans as La Conquistadora, or Our Lady of the Conquest. When the Pueblos revolted in 1680, they burned the church. The colonists rescued the statue and took it down the Camino Real with them to El Paso.

The reconquest brought the image back to New Mexico. In a letter to the Viceroy of New Spain written in El Paso on January 12, 1693, Governor Diego de Vargas states that he will return the little image to its place in Santa Fe [Kessell, Hendricks, and Dodge 1995:112].

> The glory and pride are mine in that I am the one who brings her back. . . . She will govern my actions so that they will foster, not only the propagation of our holy faith, but also the royal service [Kessell et al. 1995:384].

He brought the image back up the Camino Real to Santa Fe and placed it in the Chapel of San Miguel [Kessell et al. 1995:477]. In 1717 the parish church was rebuilt on its original adobe foundations, and the image was housed there. Archbishop Jean Baptiste Lamy built the present Romanesque cathedral (constructed between 1869 and 1886) around the parroquia, which was then demolished, except for the side chapel where the image of La Conquistadora is still venerated. She is the patroness of Santa Fe's annual fiesta, which celebrates the reconquest led by Vargas.

By the mid-eighteenth century it became more common for New Mexican carvers (*santeros*) to create religious figures (*santos*) for themselves and their churches and other places of worship (this art continues to flourish in the work of well-known practitioners). Nevertheless, religious figures and paraphernalia continued to be brought up the Camino and to provide models for images made in New Mexico. Doña Rosa Bustamante of Santa Fe mentions in her 1814 will the statues of Saint Francis and Saint Anthony that had been freighted from the Mexican interior at the considerable cost of 140 pesos [Taylor y Romero 1999:301]. The importation of such icons was a practice of the better-off, while figures made in New Mexico served the purposes of poor people [see "Graphic Arts," below].

Until 1851 the northern province was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durango. However, the long distances and the danger of travel made episcopal visits infrequent. Bishop Benito Crespo visited New Mexico in 1730. The visit of Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral took from October 22, 1759 to January 15, 1761, and represents the time to travel from Durango to Santa Fe and back [see p. 29]. An episcopal visit was an occasion for confirmations. Tamarón confirmed 1,742 inhabitants in El Paso, 732 in Albuquerque, and 1,532 in Santa Fe [Taylor y Romero 1999:294].

The Inquisition

As noted in Context 2, a Portuguese Franciscan, Fray Alonso de Benavides, was the third custodian of missions in New Mexico and the first commissary or agent of the Inquisition in the province [Morrow 1996:xi].

The Holy Office of the Inquisition had judicial authority throughout New Spain in matters of faith and morals [Simmons 1991b:20]. Its powers in outlying provinces like New Mexico were restricted by the officials of the Holy Tribunal in Mexico City after they became aware of the case of Grüber [see Context 1: Geography and Natural Character, above].This case, tried in 1668–1670, related directly to the Camino Real and is probably the source of two important place names: Alemán and the Jornada del Muerto.

Bernardo Grüber, a German who had come to New Mexico from Sonora, was selling magic charms—pieces of paper with talismanic writing on them, which he said had the power to make anyone who swallowed them invulnerable—at Quarai Pueblo on Christmas Day, 1668. He was arrested by local agents of the Inquisition and imprisoned in a room on a ranch near Sandia Pueblo for almost two years without trial or any action being taken in his case. He escaped with the help of one of his servants, an Apache boy named Anastasio. The two rode south on the Camino Real. Fray Bernal, an agent of the Inquisition, sent messages to other agents of the Inquisition in Chihuahua and Sonora to be on the lookout for him and to apprehend him if he entered their jurisdictions. Grüber and Anastasio camped at Fray Cristobal. They got separated when Grüber collapsed and sent Anastasio for water. Grüber's remains were later found by searchers near the place that acquired the name Alemán ("German"), on the segment of the Camino Real that became known as the Jornada del Muerto, which may mean the stage or day's journey where the dead man was found (although it could also be of one several uses of the term "muerto" in this area and have no particular association with an individual).

A review of Grüber's case by the Holy Tribunal in Mexico City found criminal negligence and abuse of authority by the local officials of the Inquisition in New Mexico and decreed that local commissaries of the Inquisition in outlying areas, including New Mexico, would have no authority to make arrests without express authorization from the Holy Office. Only one other case was prosecuted before 1680 [Sanchez 1993:121–131].

The judicial authority of the Inquisition was not reconfirmed after the Reconquest of 1692–1696.

Music

As early as 1600 one of the friars who came to New Mexico, Fray Bernardo de Marta, was renowned as an organist [Chavez 1965:310]. A few years later the first organ in New Mexico was brought up the Camino Real in the Franciscan conducta and installed at San Felipe Pueblo [Spell 1927:27–30]. By 1641 no fewer than sixteen missions had organs [Scholes 1929]. An inventory in 1672 of some of the missions, including Tajique and Chilili, listed "sets of trumpets, flageolets and all musical instruments, with which the feasts are celebrated with the greatest harmony of voices and instruments" [Scholes and Adams 1952:27–38]. Plainchant or plainsong was also a component of the liturgy in the 1600s [Spiess 1965:5].

Music continued to be a part of domestic life throughout the Camino Real period.

Describing New Mexico in the mid-1800s, a historian refers to the importation of musical forms from Spain and Mexico:

> There were no polished poets in New Mexico, but *cantadores* (troubadours) existed and were held in high esteem among the people of all classes. . . . These popular poets were in constant demand to compose, recite or sing their *versos* (octasyllabic quatrauns) or *romances tradicionales* (popular ballads) at baptisms, weddings, and other social events. Some of these ballads and versos were introduced from Spain and remained almost as they were sung in the time of Cervantes, but many of them were composed in New Mexico [Rodriguez 1949:267].

Lt. John Bourke (U.S. Army), coming up the Camino in November 1881, attended mass at Isleta Pueblo:

> There is something peculiar about the church-music of the Rio Grande valley: the solos are stridulous and strained, but the choruses have in them something weird, soft and tender, not to be described. The hymn finished, the Rosary was recited, the hum of voices filling the church with the echoes of prayers which these old walls had given back for so many generations. The priest began the service of the mass; his assistants, two male Indians in shirt-sleeves, leggings, mocassins [*sic*], red Pueblo girdles and hair in a queue at the back [Bourke 1938:197].

Graphic Arts

The retablos that were the centerpieces over church altars in the seventeenth century were brought up the Camino Real [Ivey 1999:177]. Because they were custom-fit, they could not be designed until the church was fully planned or under construction. Then they would be ordered from Mexico City, and since they were expensive, the fields, herds, and industries of the mission had to be developed first in order to pay for them. The most common alternative to installing the retablos on the altar was to hang the painting(s) on the wall, and *nichos* (niches) inset in the wall or fastened to the wall to hold the sacred images [Ivey 1999:178].

The retablos and other carved and painted objects, such as saints' figures, were made mainly in Mexico City, as noted in the 1672 inventory, which includes the three altars at Acoma Pueblo, and also reflected in shipping records (Scholes and Adams 1952:34–35). The retablos created in the workshops of Mexico City were made in the general style called Late or Herreran Renaissance. Baroque retablos probably came into use about 1650.

The missionary would send his proposed design, dimensions, the saints to be represented, and the desired theme of the retablos to Mexico City for production, along with the details about how they were to be paid for. In areas closer to Mexico City, the commissioned artists would send a proposed design to the missionary before starting work. For New Mexico this was impossible [Ivey 1999:180].

As early as 1820, official American exploring parties in the Plains, the Rocky Mountains, and west to the Pacific included artists such as George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, and Alfred Jacob Miller [Weber 1985:4]. George Wilkins Kendall's *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* includes five engravings. The one of two women smoking cigarillos in a doorway has been reproduced frequently in books about the Southwest but is actually a scene in the city of Puebla in central Mexico [Weber 1985:7].

Official exploring parties in the Southwest included artists brought along to record landscapes, communities, and individuals. One of the best known is Richard Hovendon Kern, who was hired by Lt. James H. Simpson of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers to accompany Simpson's military exploration of the Navajo country in 1849. After this job, Kern lived in northern New Mexico for about a year and a half. Between December 29, 1849, and January 6, 1850, he went down the Camino Real from Santa Fe to El Paso with a merchant friend, William Skinner, who probably had business in Chihuahua [Weber 1985:115–118]. Sixty of Kern's sketches from this trip have survived, including one of Parida, on the east bank of the Rio Grande north of Socorro (he subsequently made a watercolor based on this sketch [see Weber 1985:56].

John Mix Stanley, the official artist with Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny's Army of the West, contributed the illustrations to the report of the expedition, giving people in the United States a first view of the captured territory [White 1993:169].

Balduin Möllhausen, a German artist and novelist, served as "topographer or draughtsman" on the Whipple expedition that crossed New Mexico on the 35th parallel in 1853. The report of this expedition notes that "the drawings made on the spot by Mr. H. B. Möllhausen, the artist of the expedition, greatly aided the work and were made use of, and even partly copied, especially in the plates exhibiting cylindric Opuntiae" (cholla cactus) [Whipple 1856:58].

Architecture

The seventeenth-century missions built by the Pueblos under the direction of the Franciscan Fathers include those at Acoma, Jemez, Quarai, Abo, Pecos, Tajique, Chilili, Socorro, Zuni, and Las Humanas. The mission

churches of the province spanned an area from the Hopi jurisdiction on the west (Halona, Hawikuh, Kechipauan) to the Salinas jurisdiction on the east (Pecos being furthest east), and from Santa Fe and Jemez in the north to El Paso in the south.

These missions followed the Great Church model—imposing structures that reflected the primary reason for Spanish occupation of New Mexico, the missionization of the Indians. Despite their location on a distant frontier, the great mission churches of seventeenth-century New Mexico rivaled some of those in central Mexico in everything except carved stone decoration on the walls and facades (Ivey 1999:193). The priest's chapel next to the sacristy was an element shared with the mission churches of the Mexican interior.

These "great churches"—the nave of the one at Pecos was 133 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 40 feet from floor to ceiling—reflect the connection between central Mexico and the far frontier; that is, the connection provided by the Camino Real. They also reflect the enormous labor exacted from the Pueblos: a particular cause of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and one reason why Popé, the Ohkay Owingeh religious leader who was the chief director of the Revolt, ordered that all the churches and their furnishings be destroyed, leaving most of these churches as ruins. One that survived the Pueblo Revolt, San Esteban de Acoma, is still in use.

The Hispanic idea of what a church should look like, established in the seventeenth century, is the basis of New Mexico's ecclesiastical architecture in the 1700s, the 1800s, and up to the present.

When the Pueblo Revolt broke out in 1680 and the colonists retreated down the Camino Real, they stopped at Isleta Pueblo [see Context 2 above]. Here eight or nine Pueblos and two Hispanics who had witnessed episodes of the Revolt were interviewed in December 1681 by order of Governor Otermín. They talked about the Revolt's causes and events and listed things that had been destroyed. Popé had commanded that anything relating to a church—the churches themselves, the bells, saints' figures, rosaries, and all paraphernalia—be demolished or destroyed. Some of the churches, including the great church at Pecos Pueblo, were burned and pulled down. The bells were heated over fires, then smashed. The era of great church architecture in New Mexico ended with the Revolt, the religion represented by the churches having been one of the Revolt's principal causes.

Law

When Juan de Oñate reached Yungé in 1598, he brought with him the laws of the Indies. The Council of the Indies had begun to write laws for the viceroyalties of the New World, including New Spain, for the king's approval and signature in the 1520s. The laws were compiled in 1681 as the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* [Solorzano Peyreira 1681]. This body of laws continued to grow through the eighteenth century.

Although Oñate's arrival preceding this compilation of laws by almost a century, the individual laws were well known. As we have said, Oñate's decision to ignore the law prohibiting Spaniards from frequenting the pueblos was decisive in the founding of the new colony, and also in his being recalled. His successor, Pedro de Peralta, moved the capital to Santa Fe.

The practice of religion fell under its own separate body of church law. It was a *fuero*, or exception—a concept well known in the Spanish world. This body of law came up the Camino Real not with Oñate, but with the friars who walked beside him.

When Governor Diego de Vargas and his troops came back up the Camino Real in 1692, they brought back the Laws of the Indies, which directed civil administration, the granting of lands and waters, relations with the Indians—virtually every aspect of civil life in New Mexico.

In 1985 New Mexico's federal district court made the decision known as *Aamodt* [State of New Mexico ex rel. S. E. Reynolds, State Engineer, Plaintiff, v. R. Lee Aamodt, et al., Defendants. No. 6639 – Civil. 618 F. Supp. 993 (D.C.N.M. 1985). United States District Court, D. New Mexico. Sept. 18, 1985]. In this and several subsequent decisions, the United States District Court found that the land and water rights of the Pueblos were transmitted by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) to the new government, and thus became part of the law of the United States. Accordingly, these decisions are central to the lives and fortunes of non-Indians as well (R. Lee Aamodt, an Anglo, was the first named defendant in the case). The laws that came up the Camino Real in the sixteenth century are active principles in the life of New Mexico in the twenty-first.

Literature

The history and literature of the Camino are parts of the same phenomena—e.g., discovery, exploration, trade, war. However, some records of the Camino have literary merit as well as historic value and have become known to generations of readers principally as works of literature. They are part of the historic record but should also be considered a class by themselves.

Zebulon Pike

Zebulon Montgomery Pike was a U.S. Army lieutenant who was the subordinate and protégé of James Wilkinson, the commanding general of the Army and governor of the Louisiana Territory. Wilkinson was closely associated with Senator Aaron Burr. The two had a scheme to mount a filibustering expedition that may have been intended to separate the West from the United States, or to capture part of New Spain for the United States; it was not clear what they intended. At the same time, Wilkinson was a salaried double agent for Spain (and sent word to Spanish friends in Louisiana that Pike was coming toward Santa Fe). Pike may not have known very much about Wilkinson's intrigues, but he did know that he was leading a spying expedition and that he and his men might be the advance guard of an American army. Pike was already a seasoned explorer of

the American West when he set off on this venture with a small band of soldiers. They were taken into custody by New Mexican troops on the Rio Grande in southern Colorado on February 26, 1807. Pike told the New Mexicans that he mistook the Colorado for the Red River, and that he did not know he was in Spanish territory. The New Mexican troops escorted them to Santa Fe. Acting Governor Real Alencaster met the foreigners in their worn and ragged blue uniforms at the front door of the Palace of the Governors. Alencaster guessed their purpose and kept them under close watch, while assuring them that they were not prisoners. As we have noted, Pike and his men were taken down the Camino Real through Chihuahua, then up the Rio Conchos and Rio Florido to Guajoquilla (Ciudad Camargo) [Roney 1993:92]. They were eventually released.

On March 5, 1807, Pike saw Santo Domingo: "a large village, the population being about 1000 natives . . . the Rio del Norte on our west; the mountains of St. Dies [Sandias] to the south, and the valley round the town, on which were numerous herds of goats, sheep and asses; and upon the whole, this was one of the handsomest views of New Mexico" [Terrell 1968:194]. His escort took him into the church, and Pike "was much astonished to find enclosed in mud-brick walls, many rich paintings, and the Saint – Domingo – as large as life, elegantly ornamented with gold and silver" [ibid.]. At Algodones, Bernalillo, and Sandia Pueblo, Pike said "the citizens were beginning to open the canals, to let in the water of the river to fertilize the plains and fields which border its banks on both sides; where [I] saw men, women and children of all ages and sexes at the joyful labor which was to crown with rich abundance their future harvest and ensure them plenty for the ensuing year . . . everything appeared to give life and gaiety to the surrounding scenery" [Terrell 1968:195].

Josiah Gregg

Josiah Gregg was born in 1806 in Tennessee and moved west with his family, to Illinois when he was three and then to Missouri when he was six. He tried studying law, but he was sickly and gave it up. Doctors said he should go to the high prairies. In 1831 he joined a merchant caravan to Santa Fe. He had a talent for figures and a facility with languages—he learned serviceable Spanish on the way to New Mexico. During the period of 1831 to 1940, Gregg traveled up and down the Santa Fe Trail four times, and in 1834 continued down the Camino Real into interior Mexico.

> The road we travelled passes down through the settlements of New Mexico for the first hundred and thirty miles, on the east side of the Rio del Norte. . . . In about ten days' drive we passed the southernmost settlements of New Mexico, and twenty or thirty miles down the river we came to the ruins of Valverde… This village was founded about twenty years ago, in one of the most fertile valleys of the Rio del Norte. . . . Our next camping place deserving of mention was Fray Cristóbal, which, like many others on the route, is neither town nor village, but a simple isolated point on the river-bank, a mere *parage* [*sic*] or camping-ground. We had already passed San Pascual, El Contadero, and many others, and we could hear Aleman, Robledo, and a dozen such spoken of on the way, leading the stranger to imagine that the route was lined with flourishing villages. The *arriero* will tell one to hasten – "We must reach San Diego before sleeping." We spur on perhaps with redoubled vigor, in hopes to

rest at a town, but lo! upon arriving, we find only a mere watering-place without open ground enough to graze the *caballada.* Thus every point along these wilderness highways used as a camping-site has received a distinctive name, well known to every muleteer who travels them. . . . We arrived at Fray Cristóbal in the evening . . . this being the threshold of the famous Jornada del Muerto. . . . The road over which we had hitherto been travelling, though it sometimes traverses upland ridges and undulating sections, runs generally near the border of the river, and for the most part in its immediate valley; but here it leaves the river and passes for nearly eighty miles over a table-plain to east of a small ledge of mountains, whose western base is hugged by the circuitous channel of the Rio del Norte. The craggy cliffs which project from these mountains render the eastern bank of the river altogether impassable. As the direct route over the plain is entirely destitute of water, we took the precaution to fill our kegs at Fray Cristóbal, and late in the evening we finally set out. . . . Early the next morning we found ourselves at the *Laguna del Muerto*, or "Dead Man's Lake," where there was not even a vestige of water. . . . We were still sixty miles above Paso del Norte, but the balance of the road now led down the river valley or over the low bordering hills. During our journey between this and El Paso we passed the ruins of several settlements, which had formerly been the seats of opulence and prosperity, but which have since been abandoned in consequence of the marauding incursions of the Apaches.

On the twelfth of September we reached the usual ford of the Rio del Norte, six miles above El Paso, but the river being somewhat flushed we found it impossible to cross over with our wagons. . . . The reader will doubtless be surprised to learn that there is not a single ferry on this "Great River of the North" till we approach the mouth. . . . we succeeded in finding a place shallow enough to haul our empty wagons across; but for this good fortune we would have been under the necessity of taking them to pieces (as I had before done). . . . This river, even when fordable, occasions a great deal of trouble, being, like the Arkansas, embarrassed with many quicksand mires. In some places, if a wagon is permitted to stop in the river but for a moment, it sinks to the very body. . . .

On the fourteenth we made our entrance into the town of *El Paso del Norte* [Gregg 1954:268–273].

Thomas Falconer

Falconer was a British lawyer who came to the United States in 1841 with the intention of settling in the Republic of Texas [Falconer 1930:9]. In Texas he heard about a proposed expedition to Santa Fe and decided to join it. This Texan Santa Fe Expedition was nominally a trading venture; actually it was a reconnaissance to scope out New Mexico and if possible to capture it and join it to Texas, just as Texas had been separated from Mexico a few years earlier. Falconer was among the members of the expedition captured by New Mexican troops near San Miguel in the Rio Arriba and sent south to Chihuahua. The prisoners starved and froze; some of them were summarily shot on the way.

Falconer recounts the harrowing passage south. The vecinos of Algodones and the Pueblo of Sandia came out to give the men watermelons, eggs, tortillas and bread, "but it was not all who obtained even a part of this charity" [Falconer 1930:57].

> Upon the 30th of October we reached Fray Cristobal. There is no house or settlement near it. A strong "norther" blew during the day, and at night there was a severe snow storm. None of us had more than one blanket, in addition to our light clothing, and we suffered much. In the morning there was more than two inches of snow upon us. We commenced, in the morning, the march of the Grand Jornada; it is so called, on account of its distance, and the difficulty with which it is performed. There is no water to be obtained on the road. We moved off at noon of the 31st, and our march continued throughout the night. In the morning, we halted for about an hour and a half, when the march recommenced, and was continued throughout the day, until sunset. We rested for about three hours, and then went on during a second night, and until about ten o'clock the next morning. During the whole of this time, no provisions, or water, were given to the men [1930:55–56].

When the prisoners reached Chihuahua they were held in the courtyard where Father Hidalgo, who had proclaimed the Mexican Revolution in 1810, had been executed.

Frederick Wislizenus

Frederick Adolf Wislizenus was a German medical doctor who practiced in Zurich, Paris, and New York. He was also an acknowledged geologist and naturalist. He came down the Santa Fe Trail in May 1846 with the caravan of Santa Fe trader Albert Speyer. Wislizenus intended to examine the geography, natural history, and resources of the Southwest. When he reached Santa Fe he learned that war had begun between the United States and Mexico. Nevertheless, both he and Speyer obtained passports and continued into Chihuahua. He was taken prisoner and held in the Sierra Madre Occidental, where he was paroled and allowed to collect plant and other specimens in the vicinity of Cusihuiriachic. He was eventually freed and returned to the United States with Alexander Doniphan's troops. Five thousand copies of his journal were printed by the U.S. Senate at the request of Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton.

Wislizenus describes the Camino Real as he saw it on his way south to Chihuahua:

> In the evening we travelled six miles further; passed the "ruins of Valverde," (in prosaic translation, the mud walls of a deserted Mexican village,) and camped at the foot of some sand hills, in a beautiful grove of cotton trees. By the accession of several traders and travelers our caravan was increased to 50 wagons, and made quite a respectable appearance. When the whole caravan was encamped here under the many broad cotton trees, and the camp fires illuminated the different groups of wagons, horses, and men, belonging to most different nations, it made quite a romantic picture, worthy of being sketched [1969:37].

> August 1. Travelled this morning about five miles and camped between one and two miles off the river. The camping place is known as *Fray Cristobal*, but there is neither house nor settlement here, and one may fix his camp close on or at some distance from the river, the limits of Fray Cristobal are not so distinctly defined as those of a city, and generally the last camping place on or near the Rio del Norte before entering the *Jornada del Muerto* is understood by it. This awful Jornada, a distance of about ninety miles, with very little or without any water at all, has to be resorted to because the Rio del Norte below Fray Cristobal takes not only a very circuitous bend, but rough mountains, too, along side of it, make it most difficult to follow the water-course. In the rainy season there is generally plenty of water in the Jornada, as everywhere else, but in the dry season often not a drop is found [1969:38].

[See also individual nomination of Jornada Lakes segment]

James William Abert

In 1846 Col. John James Abert, chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, gave his son, who had graduated from West Point, the assignment of accompanying Stephen Watts Kearny on his expedition to capture New Mexico for the United States. James W. Abert was instructed to write a scientific report on New Mexico. Abert's report shows his detailed knowledge of the flora, fauna, and minerals of the Southwest; it also has distinct literary merit. Abert went down the Rio Grande, and some adjacent areas, with wagons, mule teams, and a group of assistants. He interviewed well-known New Mexicans, including Ceran St. Vrain and Charles Bent, the governor installed by Kearny. Two editions of his report were published, one as a Senate executive document, the other as a House of Representatives document.

Abert has several descriptions of river crossings on the Camino:

> November 11. – "This morning we started off in hopes of being able to cross the river and go down the opposite side. At two of the fords we could not have crossed without getting our provisions and bedding wet. At last we found a good crossing a short distance above the town, but as the prospect of obtaining wood and grass on the other side was not very favorable, we concluded to camp directly in front of Socorro." [Abert 1962:120–121]

> December 19. – "We found the west side of the river to be much the best for loaded wagons; one thus avoids those terrible sand hills at Joyeta, at Socorro, and at Bosquecito; however, one must be cautious in crossing the Rio del Norte with wagons containing such immense loads as the trader's wagons, for some of the traders told me that the bottom of the river is not sufficiently firm to bear great weights." [Abert 1962:137]

> December 22. – "When we reached Galisteo creek we found plenty of water, which, although covered with ice, yet that could easily be broken." [Abert 1962:138].

[see Galisteo—Los Alamitos individual nomination]

George Ruxton

George Frederick Ruxton was a British adventurer who had been traveling in Mexico and came into New Mexico from Chihuahua in December 1846. He joined Abert's expedition at Fra Cristobal.

> Crossing the Del Norte, we proceeded on its right bank ten or twelve miles, encamping in the bottom near the new settlement of San Antonio, a little hamlet of ten or twelve log huts, inhabited by *pastores* and *vaqueros* – shepherds and cattle-herders. The river is but thinly timbered here, the soil being arid and sterile; on the bluffs, however, the grass is very good, being the *gramma* or feather-grass, and numerous flocks of sheep are sent hither to pasture from the settlements higher up the stream [Ruxton 1916:51].

Ruxton went up to Santa Fe with the Abert party. He took an immediate dislike to New Mexico: Socorro was "a small, wretched place" where "every countenance seemed marked by vice and debauchery" [Ruxton 1916:52]; Bernalillo was "a more miserable place than usual." The women were beggars, the men were thieves and murderers, the wealthy families—the Armijos, Chaveses, Pereas, Ortizes—were "a grasping set of people" and "hard hearted oppressors of the poor" [ibid]. The only people Ruxton had less regard for were the approximately three thousand Americans who had just arrived in Santa Fe: "the dirtiest, rowdiest crew I have ever seen collected together" [Ruxton 1916:61].

Ruxton went up the Santa Fe Trail to Missouri with a wagon train in May 1847. He subsequently returned to England, where he published his books, *Adventures in Mexico* and *Wild Life in the Rocky Mountains.* He returned to the United States, intending to go back to the life of a mountain man in the Rockies, but died of yellow fever in St. Louis and was buried there. He was twenty-eight years old.

Susan Shelby Magoffin

Magoffin, wife of trader Samuel Magoffin, was eighteen in 1846–1847. She described in her diary the couple's travels from Independence, Missouri, to Bent's Fort in Colorado, then down the Camino Real to El Paso and then to Monterrey. This trip took place during the Mexican War; the Magoffins reached Santa Fe only two weeks after the arrival of the U.S. Army under Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny, and Magoffin's brother, James, was instrumental in obtaining Governor Manuel Armijo's agreement to surrender New Mexico without a fight. Susan Magoffin's diary records the aftermath of the Battle of Brazito [Drumm 1962:180–181].

Magoffin describes people and customs; she says very little about the Camino itself. One entry in her diary reads:

> Moved camp today three miles – the road is entirely of sand and exceedingly hard pulling and as we are in but very little hurry only, we are moving very slowly. Mr. Harmony [another merchant going to Chihuahua] has crossed the river with his wagons and we are alone now, at least for a few days" [Drumm 1962:160].

[see also individual nomination: Jornada Lakes section]

John R. Bartlett

Bartlett, born in Connecticut, was a historian and ethnologist who decided to go into federal service to support a large family. In 1850 he was offered the job of Commissioner of the United States Boundary Survey Commission (a job created by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo). He served from 1850 to 1853. His counterpart was Mexican commissioner Pedro Garcia Condé. The treaty provided that the American and Mexican commissioners would determine the boundary line, and that this would then become legally part of the treaty. Parts of the boundary were easy to figure out—the Gila, the Colorado—but the southern boundary of New Mexico was more difficult to decide. El Paso was named in the Treaty as being south of the boundary, but the map reference was off by a half degree of latitude. So Bartlett and the Mexican commissioner compromised on a line, but other officials disagreed. Beyond that, it became apparent that the line put some Apache territory in the United States, which gave the United States the responsibility under the treaty for suppressing Indian raids into Mexico, which the U.S. Army had not been able to do. In addition, the line the commissioners had agreed on gave Mexico the Mesilla Valley, which could be a route for a railroad to the Pacific. Official wrangling ensued, and while it was going on, a new Democratic administration took office (replacing the Whig administration that had appointed Bartlett), and members of the U.S. Senate denounced Bartlett for giving up the Mesilla Valley (most of whose people were Mexicans who had moved down from Doña Ana in order to be in Mexico – a move the treaty provided for). The Senate stalled the Boundary Commission's appropriation and the administration sent James Gadsden to buy the disputed area. Bartlett was replaced as Commissioner and went back to his home in Providence.

While on the survey, Bartlett kept a journal which was published in 1854 as a *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua*. It was published commercially (as the word "personal" indicates), not as a government document, because the administration could not forgive Bartlett for agreeing to leave the Mesilla Valley to Mexico.

Bartlett describes the Mesilla Valley and Doña Ana. His caravan of twelve wagons went north on the Camino to the Jornada and turned off to the San Diego ford:

> April 27. Left Doña Ana at nine 9 [*sic*] a.m., accompanied by all the assistants, and others attached to the Commission. . . . My train consisted of twelve wagons, drawn by five or six mules each, and my travelling carriage with four mules. . . . We continued on our course towards the north, and soon struck

> the great *Jornada del Muerto* (Deadman's Journey), on the Santa Fe road, which we followed for nine miles, when we turned off to San Diego, the old fording place. There is no village nor even a rancho here, although marked on the map as a town. A great reddish bluff, composed of a conglomerate of jasper, quite detached from the adjacent hills, lay on our left. As we descended into the valley our eyes were gratified with the sight of trees and shrubbery, and more grass than we had seen since leaving El Paso. In fording the river, one of the wagons, in consequence of diverging a little from the proper course, got into a quicksand, and was near being lost. Continued our course eight miles up the stream, and camped at half-past 6 p.m., in a beautiful grove of cottonwoods, having made twenty six miles. There was excellent grass here, and in great abundance. . . . A train of wagons belonging to the Commission, in attempting to cross a few weeks after, when the water was somewhat higher, got into the quicksand. The mules in struggling to free themselves sank deeper, and before they could be extricated, all six were drowned [Bartlett 1965: 215–216].

Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen

Möllhausen was a German from the Rhineland who came to America in 1849. He had no special skills and had not entered any profession; in the United States he did odd jobs on the frontier of southwestern Illinois. But when he heard about a scientific expedition being formed by Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg, he joined it and traveled through the west for a year or more. By the beginning of 1853 he was back in Germany with a collection of specimens for the Berlin zoological garden. The director introduced him to the geographer Alexander von Humboldt, and King Friedrich Wilhelm IV read his sketches of American subjects. Möllhausen now had friends in high places, and he went back to the United States with dispatches for the Prussian ambassador and a letter of introduction from von Humboldt. He was appointed topographer and naturalist for an expedition headed by Lt. Amiel L. Whipple. On October 3, 1853, after a long trip across the country, they were in Albuquerque. The expedition then went west to Los Angeles.

Möllhausen returned to Germany, but came back to the United States as a member of an expedition to explore the basin of the Colorado River. He returned to Germany again, published reports on the expeditions, and then turned to fiction. For twenty years he was Germany's most popular novelist [Möllhausen 1969:v–vii].

Both Whipple and Möllhausen described going down the Cañon de Las Bocas [see Las Bocas individual nomination].

Susan E. Wallace

Susan Wallace was the wife of Lew Wallace, who had risen to the rank of major general in the U.S. Army during the Civil War and was appointed governor of New Mexico in 1878. Susan Wallace came with him to New Mexico and subsequently wrote a reminiscence, parts of which appeared in national magazines, which was published as *The Land of the Pueblos* in 1888. In 1879 she went down the Camino Real with a military escort.

She describes Martin's Well at Alemán:

> The centre of the ninety-mile desert is now broken by a watering-place, the cheering oasis which relieves the long strain on body and soul. In 1871 [she is wrong as to the date – see individual nomination] Major John Martin dug one hundred and sixty feet, and struck a sweet, abundant fountain, deliciously cool, soft, with a slight taste of sulphur. Its depth is forty feet, and the heaviest draughts have never lessened the supply. It is pumped by a windmill, which the wind sometime makes his own; and the gurgle and splash as the stream falls into the huge tanks, is a sound in the ear of the traveler sweet as his first hearing of the nightingale. Before the well was made water was hauled in barrels to the station from the Rio Grande, fifteen miles away. The nearest fuel at this point is eighteen miles distant [Wallace1888:146].

She also describes crossing the Jornada at night in an Army ambulance:

> The sun-glare is so hard to bear that night is often the accepted time for the mournful crossing. As the sun declines, the lonesome dark falls like a drop-curtain. The stars flash out; the sky above, intensely clear, is a steel-blue shield, set thick with diamonds. A tragic brilliance fills it with a glow like the mild twilight of other latitudes, and the moon's splendor makes beautiful even the seared and jagged cliffs of the Sierra de los Organos. Three thousand feet above the level of the river are their shafts, pale grey in the silvery light; masses of granite up-heaved in some mighty convulsion, long stilled, standing against the rainless blue like tombstones over a buried world.
>
> If there is talk in the ambulance, it is in subdued tones. The assumption of cheerfulness by humming snatches of old songs is a dreary impertinence. Hour after hour we travel in silence, unbroken but by the grind of the wheels plowing through the sandy soil. In answer to your utmost listening, you may catch the yelp of the red fox, or from the far-off mountain the coyote's shrill cry. Sometimes the driver drops to sleep, and the wagon stops. Lift the canvas curtain, and look out. The soft wind blows in even cadence and swell, but meets only the hushed night and its burning lights. The Milky Way is a solid white gleam, where the invisible gods are walking. The missing stars are here. How low they swing in their serene and silent spaces. Beneath the solemn grandeur of the heavens, the work of Him in whom is no haste, no rest, no weariness, no failure, we bow in awe. What a little speck is our wagon-train; what an atom is self, the object round which our weak thoughts revolve [Wallace 1888:147].

And she sees graves in the Jornada, where Apaches (usually referred to as Gilas, probably eastern Chiricahua) are still preying on caravans:

> Ominous crosses by the wayside mark the graves of travelers, scalped, tortured, and mangled. The weight of the tragedy is on us. We feel a near kinship to the sleepers below, and we would not tremble to see them rise and shake their gory locks at us. The vacant space lies stark and unmoved, as it lay

centuries ago, when the first gold-hunters, in fear and yet in triumph, braved its unknown depths. The prostrate plain, the rigid outlines of the naked landscape, the intolerable dumb lifelessness are indeed del Muerto [Wallace 1888:148].

Disease

The Camino Real was a corridor for the passage of disease, including smallpox, measles, cholera, and other respiratory diseases [Reff 1993]. These followed the road northward. They contributed to the steep decline in population of the Pueblos in the seventeenth century, which was a factor in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. At least twenty epidemics are documented in New Mexico's sacramental records between 1636 and 1916 [Levine 1999:9]. Epidemics in 1623–1625 may have spread to New Mexico via the annual caravan from Zacatecas [Reff 1993:167]. Children inoculated with live cowpox were transported up the Camino Real to Valverde, Sevilleta, and Sabinal in New Mexico in 1804 to be used as the sources of vaccine that was distributed throughout the province [Bloom 1924:5].

It is not likely that a person obviously sick with a transmissible disease would have been allowed to accompany the caravan, but typhoid, malaria, typhus, and other diseases might have come up the Camino without being detected [Levine 1991:9].

Women on the Camino Real

There are few documents relating specifically to the women who came up the Camino Real in the colonial and Mexican periods. Reference to them usually has to do with their relationship to the men of the caravans, the names of their children and servants [Cook 1993:147].

Artifacts from archaeological investigations at San Gabriel and the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe that may indicate the presence of women include jewelry, buttons, and Chinese porcelain [Museum of New Mexico, Palace of the Governors Collections].

In 1599 when an Indian attack at Ohkay Owingeh seemed imminent, Doña Eufemia de Sosa Peñalosa gathered twenty-two women on the rooftops to fight beside the men [Cook 1993:152].

In 1600, Captain Antonio Conde de Herrera came up the Camino Real with his wife, children, and brothers and sisters-in-law. He listed the wardrobe that his wife, Doñ Francisca Galindo, brought with her to the capital at San Gabriel (Yungé), which had been occupied by Juan de Oñate two years earlier. The family's baggage required two large carts (carretas) [Cook 1993:149].

Also in 1600, when the expedition was about to leave Santa Bárbara in Nueva Vizcaya, Captain Bernabé de las Casas, the commander of reinforcements bound for the new colony at San Gabriel, ordered that all the women

in the expedition appear and be listed. Indian women from various communities in Mexico, including Pachuca, Tecama, Puebla de los Angeles, Peaca, Toluca, and Tepeaca, were noted [ibid.].

Among the women was Isabel de Olvera, whose ethnicity is given as "mulatta." She was a native of Pachuca, Mexico. She had appeared before a magistrate in Querétaro earlier in the year. She provided an affidavit declaring that she was free, not a slave, unmarried, and a legitimate daughter of a black father and an Indian mother. She did this in order to protect herself from harassment by "some individuals" who might fail to recognize her status as a free woman. The alcalde gave her the certified and signed affidavit [ibid.].

Inventories of items taken up the trail in the seventeenth century list tablecloths, napkins, sheets, pillowcases, mattresses, and tents [Cook 1993:150], indicating that the presence of women and children in the caravans led to an usual level of attention to comfort.

After the Pueblo Revolt, Spanish and Indian families were recruited from Zacatecas by Juan Páez Hurtado for resettlement in New Mexico. Páez Hurtado was captain of the presidio of El Paso, now Ciudád Juarez, Mexico. He paid bonuses of 320 pesos for a family of four, and a stipend for living expenses while the expedition was being organized [Cook 1993:151]. Of the forty-six families recruited for this trip, ten were headed by widows with children who ranged in age from one to twenty-five.

Francisca Gigosa, seventeen, was among these colonists. She was married, but when her husband died in New Mexico, she petitioned for and received a land grant which she used to raise sheep and goats.

Antonia Moraga fled from New Mexico in the retreat of 1680. She came back with the Páez Hurtado expedition and was among the "Españoles Mexicanos" who returned to the Santa Cruz valley, settling at the site called Chimayó [Cook 1993:151–152].

Doña Ana Robledo, the wife of Juan Robledo, may have given her name to the settlement north of Las Cruces on the Camino Real.

The will of Juana Luján (1762) lists items imported from Brittany, Cambrai, and Rouen (France) and from China through Mexican ports [Ahlborn 1990].

Josefa Bustamante became a widow when her husband, Nicolás Ortiz, died in 1769. She came up the Camino from Chihuahua to Santa Fe. She is best known for establishing the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario and the annual fiesta in honor of the statue of the Virgin known as La Conquistadora. The fiesta is celebrated in Santa Fe every year (see above).

In 1821, with Mexican independence and the beginning of trade with the United States, the Camino Real linked to the Santa Fe Trail (see Context 1, above). The merchants and traders who came from Missouri to Santa Fe

and went on into interior Mexico sometimes traveled with wives and families. About 1816, a couple named Barceló, of Catalonian descent, came from Bavispe in northeastern Sonora to Valencia, a village south of Albuquerque. In the 1830s, Gertrudis (Doña Tules or La Tules) Barceló became a professional gambler in Santa Fe. She also went down the Camino Real into Mexico to gamble at fairs. Her favorite game was monte. The traders were Mexicans, New Mexicans, and Anglos; gambling was their passion. They sometimes won big but just as frequently lost everything. La Tules bought properties in Santa Fe, including her gambling sala in Burro Alley. As one of very few people in the community who had large amounts of cash, she was also a banker and a benefactress to the poor of the city. She loaned money and sued to collect debts, hiring Anglo lawyers who were beginning to arrive in Santa Fe. When another woman accused her of adultery, she went to the alcalde's court, where she and the accuser signed an act of conciliation [Cook 1999:241–245].

One of Santa Fe's early Anglo lawyers, James M. Giddings, who came from Fayetteville, Missouri, in the 1830s, married one of Tules' daughters [ibid.].

When the invading U.S. Army entered Santa Fe in 1846, Doña Tules became part of a new social circle, in which gambling was a favorite pastime. U.S. Army officers frequented the sala in Burro Alley; Tules rented part of her house to some of them. She loaned one thousand dollars to Lt. Col. David Dawson Mitchell, which he used to fund an expedition of American troops to fight in central Mexico [ibid.].

Doña Tules became one of Santa Fe's most prominent citizens, certainly its best known. In 1839 she was written up in the New Orleans *Picayune,* and in 1854, after her death, she was pictured in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* published in New York City [ibid.].

There is no record of Tules going east on the Santa Fe Trail (although her son-in-law, a trader from Chihuahua named Santiago Flores, did so at least once, in May 1843 [Barry 1972:475]). Doña Tules did travel on the Camino, speculating in various merchandise, including, in 1843, a large herd of mules that was driven north from the Mexican interior [Cook 1999].

Her adopted daughter, María del Refugio, married Santiago Flores in Santa Fe. Flores traded in Mexico and in New Mexico, sometimes accompanied by his wife. María del Refugio bore several children in Santa Fe and at least one in Chihuahua [Cook 1993:155].

Doña Tules died in 1852. She is the central figure in Ruth Laughlin's Southwestern classic *The Wind Leaves No Shadow*.

Santos and Santeros

The *santos* or religious figures made in New Mexico in the colonial period differ somewhat in the two districts of the Rio Arriba and the Rio Abajo [Gavin 1999:221]. Gavin attributes these basic differences in construction,

style, and aesthetic to the fact that the communities of the Rio Abajo had earlier access to materials brought up the Camino Real and were more often visited by artisans from Nueva Vizcaya (Chihuahua) than were the more remote communities of the north.

The period 1790 to 1860 was a golden age of New Mexican colonial art. The Camino Real was instrumental in the introduction and dissemination of forms of worship and objects of veneration in New Mexico. Esquibel and Carrillo note that:

> A constant ebb and flow of commerce ensured contact with the urban centers of the south. Sheep and wool, along with other locally produced items, were traded in cities such as Parral, Chihuahua, Durango, Queretaro, and Mexico City. Bartered and purchased items were in turn brought back to New Mexico. In addition, imported influences found fertile ground in New Mexico, as illustrated by the establishment of the devotions to *Nuestra Señora de Esquipulas* (with roots in Chihuahua and Durango), to *Nuestra Señora de San Juan de Los Lagos*, to the *Santo Niño de Atocha* (Fresnillo), and to *Nuestro Padre Jesús* (los Penitentes), which spread in the early 1800s to Santa Fe and also to the jurisdictions of Santa Fe, Abiquiú, Taos, and Tomé [Esquibel and Carrillo 2004:10].

Context 4: Economic and Commercial Significance

Concept or theme; the Camino Real was the means of exchange of goods and other items of value, everything from slaves to ceramics to foods, between New Mexico and the Mexican interior.

Geographical area: Rio Grande corridor from the international boundary to Ohkay Owingeh

Chronological period: AD 1598–1881

Trade

Trade was a way of life in the Southwest in prehistoric times. With the establishment of the Camino Real at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the road became the artery of trade between New Mexico and the Mexican interior.

After the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821, the focus of trade in New Mexico gradually shifted from the Mexican interior to the United States [Pierce and Snow 1999:82].

Mission Trade

The missions of New Mexico were among the Spanish Franciscan establishments that covered much of the Western Hemisphere, from South America to the American Southeast and Southwest [Ivey 1993:41].

The Franciscans introduced religious items such as crosses, paintings, vestments, statues, and vessels to New Mexico over the Camino in the seventeenth century [Cunningham and Miller 1999:91].

When sergeant major Juan de Ulibarri went to El Cuartelejo, a Plains settlement occupied by Picuris Pueblo people after the reconquest, he observed that the Apaches in various communities wore crosses, rosaries, and Catholic medals, attributing magical powers and success in battle to these items [Kenner 1965:29].

A Franciscan mission supply expedition usually consisted of 32 wagons with a military escort and was generally accompanied by priests, merchants, and government personnel [Scurlock 1999:231]. A supply caravan reached New Mexico approximately every three years during the seventeenth century [Ivey 1999:41]. In 1631, the Franciscan order and the government of New Spain entered into a contract standardizing these caravans or conductas [ibid.]. Under this agreement the viceregal treasury advanced the money for an expedition, and the Franciscan procurador-general for the province of New Mexico bought all the goods and stored them in a warehouse in Mexico City until they were loaded for departure. He organized the conducta, including all purchase of supplies, outfitting, and personnel, such as drivers, guards, guides, and cooks. The procurador-general made each round trip personally.

Supply wagons carried at least two tons, sometimes as much as three, and averaged about 10 miles a day on the Camino Real. The trip to Santa Fe, around 1,600 miles from Mexico City, took about six months. The wagons were four-wheeled vehicles similar to the Conestogas built two centuries later in Pennsylvania. They had iron-tired, spoked wheels and a canvas cover mounted on ribs. Each wagon carried a supply of extra tires and axle parts.

The supply train was divided into two *cuadrillas* or sections of sixteen wagons. Each wagon had a driver (*chirrionero*). The train usually employed four Plains Indians as guides and sixteen Indian women as cooks. The wagon crew, then, consisted of fifty-two people. There was also a military escort of unspecified size [Ivey 1999:43].

Each wagon had two teams of eight mules that alternated in harness. An additional thirty-two animals were brought to replace any that died. A herd of cattle was brought for food. Each friar going to New Mexico for the first time also got ten heifers, ten sheep, and forty-eight hens with which to start an agricultural enterprise at his mission in New Mexico.

Items brought up the Camino to the missions usually included retablos, gold and silver items for the churches, priestly vestments, clothing for priests and servants, tools for the workshops, musical instruments, chocolate, and horses [Scurlock 1999].

When the train reached Kewa (Santo Domingo), the Franciscan capital, it split up into smaller trains for other parts of the province. One section went to Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi. Another went to Santa Fe and the Rio Arriba

missions. From these destinations, the wagons returned to Santo Domingo. They remained there for four to six months, and then returned to Mexico City loaded with local and regional produce. The conducta that went south from Santa Fe in 1660 included 10 new carts, at least 160 oxen, and more than 60 pack mules. Its cargo consisted of 1,350 deerskins, an unspecified number of buffalo hides, 600 pairs of woolen stockings, 300 fanegas of piñon nuts, salt, and various items of clothing [Minge 1979:11].

Captives and Slaves

As noted above, during the Oñate administration, sixty or seventy girls under the age of twelve were captured at the battle of Acoma Pueblo and were apportioned to various convents in Mexico. They were sent south on the Camino Real [Brugge 1999:104].

Captives and slaves were an important trade item on the Camino. Governors in the seventeenth century enslaved and sold Plains people captured in raids. The use of captives within New Mexico society became pervasive in the eighteenth century [Brugge 1999:106]. A new policy established in 1772 required Indian captives to be shipped to Mexico City so the viceroy could decide what was to be done with them [ibid.]; the captives were sent down the Camino Real. Trade in captives continued in the Mexican period, although there is no evidence that captives continued to be shipped over the Camino Real in the Mexican and territorial periods [ibid.].

It would be difficult to estimate the monetary value of slaves and captives since prices are rarely stated in the historical record, and captives were often traded or put into service rather than sold for cash. Their labor, however, had long-term and irreplaceable value in New Mexico, and *genizaros* (acculturated Indians) formed a socioeconomic class that became a significant element in New Mexican society [Brugge 1985:41–125; Horvath 1979].

Goods

The Oñate colony brought trade goods into New Mexico, including beads, rings, bells, amulets, buttons, and hats; musical instruments; religious items; and tools and materials, such as butcher knives, thimbles, scissors, needles, and awls [from the 1597 Salazar Inspection Report; Hammond and Rey 1953:220–222]. Archaeological excavations at New Mexico pueblos and mission sites have unearthed awls, knives, thimbles, hawks' bells, glass beads, crosses, and religious medals [Kidder 1932:306–308; Toulouse 1949; Vivian 1964].

As noted above, early exports (*productos de la tierra* and *efectos del pais*) carried south in the Franciscan caravans on the Camino Real included hides, piñon nuts, salt, furs and textiles.

The economic significance of the Camino Real in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been studied by José de la Cruz Pacheco Rojas and Susan Boyle, respectively [see References].

The trade in hides in the eighteenth century made the Plains peoples, including the Comanches and Apaches, participants in a world trade network [Levine 1991]. This trade sustained Plains–New Mexican relations for two hundred years [ibid.].

Luxury Goods

Snow states that luxury items brought up the Camino Real to New Mexico in the seventeenth century included items of everyday use, announced the status of the individuals who owned them, and represented a "resistance to change when faced with life on the frontier" [Snow 1999:69]. In this period, New Mexico, via the Camino, was more closely related to central Mexico than would be the case after the reconquest. Snow lists items from central Mexico, such as clothes, silver, and jewels, and items from other parts of the world, such as Chinese porcelain. The Franciscan Fathers enjoyed many luxury items—special foods such as chocolate, as well as vestments and furnishings for the missions.

Furniture

Colonial New Mexicans used furniture made locally but also imported more sophisticated items from guild-trained carpenters working in the major craft centers of New Spain [Bakker 1999:118]. The Oñate colonizing expedition brought woodworking tools as required by Oñate's contract. Fourteen individual settlers also brought tools [ibid.]. The importation of furniture over the Camino Real continued throughout its history. Michoacán clothing chests, for example, were popular throughout the eighteenth century [ibid.]. Paints for decorating locally made furniture also came over the Camino [Bakker 1999:124–125]. The technology of furniture-making also came up the Camino. Pecos Pueblo became famous for its carpenters, making architectural woodwork for churches as well as chairs, tables, beds, kneading troughs, and other items. "These Indians apply themselves to the trade of carpentry," Fray Alonso de Benavides writes in 1630, "and they are good craftsmen since their minister brought them masters of the craft to teach them" [Hodge et al. 1945:67, 102].

Textiles

Traders on the Camino Real brought dyes and materials into New Mexico for the creation of woven items such as serapes [Winter 1999:141]. Forms and styles came up the Camino as well (ibid.). This trade was significant mainly in the period ca. 1750–1800s.

Ceramics

Ceramics used in New Mexico were either locally made (including Pueblo pottery, which had already been produced in New Mexico for at least 1,000 years before the Spaniards arrived) or brought in on the Camino Real. The imported pottery was of two main types: *loza de Puebla*, or majolica, and Chinese porcelain [Hill and

Peterson 1999:148]. All porcelain was made in the factory at Jingdezhen, China [ibid.]. Chinese porcelain has been found in the original Spanish settlement in New Mexico, Yungé or San Gabriel [ibid.].

Probate inventories from Santa Fe, mainly in the 1700s, list majolica from Puebla, Chinese porcelains, and Michoacán earthenwares, all brought up the Camino Real [Snow 1986].

Agriculture and Livestock

Coronado's expedition of 1540–1542 took along oxen, cows, sheep, and possibly pigs, to feed the army [Winter 1999:379]. There were more than a thousand horses and mules. Some of this livestock went along on the march into central Kansas and back to the Spanish winter quarters on the Rio Grande in 1541. It is not likely, however, that any of the livestock left offspring. Baxter [1987:101] states categorically that there was no permanent establishment of Old World livestock species in New Mexico before the Oñate expedition.

The Rodriguez and Chamuscado expedition of 1581 relied on horses for transportation and small droves of cattle and sheep for food [Baxter 1993:101].

An inspector who reviewed Juan de Oñate's stock, supplies, and equipment in December 1597 declared 846 “goats and bucks”; 198 oxen for the carts; 2,517 sheep; 96 colts, 101 mares, and 41 mules and jackasses; 53 hogs; 799 cows, steers, and bulls; 500 calves; and 119 horses. The point of the inspection was to determine whether Oñate had supplied what he had agreed to in his contract, so any shortages are carefully noted. These are Oñate's supplies only; those of his soldiers were separately declared. All of the soldiers had horses; some also owned pack horses, pack mules, oxen, and carts. Pedro Sanchez Monroy, soldier, declared “some irons for branding horses.” A few owned their own cattle or mares. Some of the officers were men of considerable property. Captain Alonso de Sosa took eighty milk cows, thirty steers, sixty-five oxen, thirty-five horses, twenty-three colts, five hundred sheep, and eighty goats to New Mexico.

The horses were probably *caballos criollos*, a breed of Arab and Moorish ancestry that displayed great stamina and intelligence [Baxter1993:103].

The cattle were probably Andalusian range longhorns of varying coloration: the reddish *retintos*, the piebald *berrendas*, and the spotted and speckled semiferal animals. Oñate distinguished 108 head of “black cattle,” which may have been a separate breed, originating in Avila and Andalucia, bred to be turned into oxen.

The sheep were “churros” with thick, shaggy underfur which yields a long-staple, easily matting wool, suitable for hand processing, although they produced as little as a pound of wool per fleece. Churros were hardy, could endure long drives, and were capable of substituting dew and succulent plants for water and of subsisting on either fresh or dry grass. They were the basis for the modern Navajo churro breed.

When Oñate arrived in New Mexico he found the Pueblos cultivating watermelons, an Old World fruit that got to the north faster than did Oñate himself.

In 1598 Oñate established the first permanent Hispanic settlement in New Mexico at Yúngé, which he renamed San Gabriel, and proclaimed it the capital of the province. Oñate ordered the digging of a ditch to irrigate wheat. Construction began on August 11, 1598 [Hammond and Rey 1953:322–323], using about 1,500 Indians as labor ("Some fifteen hundred barbarian Indians gathered on this day and helped us with our work" [Hammond and Rey 1953:323]).

In the 1600s, crops introduced among the Pueblos included lettuce, cabbage, peas, chickpeas, cumin, carrots, turnips, garlic, onions, artichokes, radishes, and cucumbers (Ford 1987:76). Along with new foods, introduced metal tools caused a change in land and resource use, permitting larger areas to be farmed and the harvesting of greater amounts of wood, which would immediately affect the ecology of the upper Rio Grande [Ford 1987:77].

Trade in the Mexican Period

After Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821, the Camino became the link between United States markets via the Santa Fe Trail and the Camino de Chihuahua, extending south to Mexico City. In 1821, William Becknell led a pack train to Santa Fe from Franklin, Missouri, a frontier community platted only five years earlier [Simmons 1984:19]. In 1829, the line of communication that Garcés and Escalante had tried to establish fifty-three years earlier became a trade route between New Mexico and California and came to be called the Old Spanish Trail.

The Santa Fe Trail and the Old Spanish Trail became extensions of the Camino Real, making the Camino the central link in a new international trade system extending from California (and the sea routes leading to it) and from Missouri (and the United States) to Santa Fe, then down the Camino Real to Mexico City (and from Mexico City to Acapulco and Manila, and to Vera Cruz and Cuba and the Caribbean).

In the 1830s James Magoffin became a prominent merchant in the city of Chihuahua. He was an important figure in the Santa Fe–Chihuahua trade, and in 1841 he led a caravan with forty wagons of merchandise from Chihuahua to El Paso, then to Santa Fe.

This trade continued after the Mexican War and the transfer of more than half of Mexican national territory, including New Mexico, to the United States. The inventory of the estate of Manuel Salustiano Delgado, a Santa Fe merchant who died in 1854, shows religious goods shipped north from Chihuahua, as well as other goods such as articles of men's and women's clothing. By 1854, Miguel Romero y Baca, Delgado's son-in-law, had developed a freight line from Santa Fe to St. Louis and Kansas City [Taylor y Romero 1999:301–302], continuing the movement of merchandise from the United States to the Mexican interior and from Mexico to New Mexico and the United States.

James Josiah Webb, an American trader who was in New Mexico just before the arrival of Kearny's invasion, went down the Camino Real in July 1846, at the beginning of monsoon season.

> The rainy season came upon us about this time, and we travelled under great difficulties from bad roads and the number of wagons in the train. The way down the river to Fray Cristóbal was so bad that we could not travel more than two to ten miles a day with all-day travel and very hard work. . . . Parida hill we had heard a good deal about as the worst piece of road between Santa Fé and Chihuahua, except a few miles of road of the same character through the sand hills below El Paso del Norte. . . . At Fray Cristóbal we lay by a day to rest and put everything in order to pass through the Jornada del Muerto, ninety miles without water. Sometimes water is found at the *laguna*, (being a depression in the prairie where surface water gathers and remains for some time), but as yet there had not been sufficient rain to fill it, and we found none and drove on, and on arriving opposite the Gallego spring [Webb means the Ojo del Muerto], concluded to drive off and water. The spring is at the right of the road, and the road is so bad and the water so poor and so limited in quantity that we were almost sorry we had stopped, as it was almost as fatiguing to the animals as it would have been to have gone through without water.
>
> Fray Cristóbal takes its name from a peak at the end of a mountain on the east bank of the del Norte where the river enters a gorge and passes for a long distance through a narrow valley; and the valley being much wider above this point and suddenly contracting, makes the end of the mountain quite prominent for a long distance up the valley. And it is claimed by the Mexicans that [because of] the resemblance to the hand and face of an old friar living among them in early times, they named the mountain for him. . . .
>
> Socorro was the last settlement on the river on the west side and Parida on the east, until we came to Doña Ana. We made the *jornada* through without any loss of animals, but both men and animals appeared greatly relieved when we got to the river and had plenty of water and a day's rest.
>
> After a day's rest we proceeded on our journey down the river without passing any house or settlement (except Doña Ana) on either side of the river until we arrived at El Paso. . . . And a good many people from the town came to our camp to sell provisions, fruits etc., to gratify curiosity and others to show their hatred of the Texans and heretics, and still others to do a little legal work in the mule line.
>
> This was a great trade in El Paso. The Apache Indians would steal mules in the state of Chihuahua and sell them in New Mexico . . . [Webb 1931:189–190].

"Argonauts" (as they were frequently called) en route to the gold fields of California traveled parts of the Camino Real in 1849. After New Mexico became a territory of the United States in 1850, international commerce continued along the route from Santa Fe to Chihuahua. The route continued to be a conduit for trade and immigration to the United States, linking with the Santa Fe Trail to St. Louis or Franklin, Missouri. The

continuing importance of the route was documented by Josiah Gregg in 1835 and Adolf Wislizenus in 1847 (see above).

The economic significance of the Camino Real in New Mexico in the period 1821–1845 has been discussed by Susan Boyle [see References]. The value of merchandise carried into Mexico by New Mexican merchants in this period exceeded 400,000 pesos. The value of goods taken into Mexico in a given year gradually increased over this period. As noted above, goods sent south included flocks of sheep, local manufactures, blankets, hides, and skins [Boyle 1994:41]

David Weber, in *Mexican Frontier 1821–1846,* discusses this period of trade, mentioning Mexican traders going to Missouri [Weber 1982:122–130]. Some must have come up the Camino, but in 1839 others made a cutoff across Texas. The Mexican silver peso was in common use in Missouri in the 1830s [Weber 1982:129].

After 1850, trade and cultural exchange continued on the Camino Real. New Mexico Governor Henry Connelly and New Mexico delegate to Congress Miguel Antonio Otero, among others, were traders on the Camino Real in the territorial period.

Trade in the American Period

After 1848, more people from the United States started to appear in the territory: soldiers, traders, explorers for commercial opportunity, and Anglo residents.

John C. Cremony was an interpreter with the U.S. Boundary Commission when the new international boundary was surveyed in 1849–1851. He had been a major in the California volunteer cavalry during the Mexican War. He traversed the Jornada del Muerto on his way to Socorro to buy sheep.

> At that time Fort Craig had no existence, and the space between Doña Ana and Socorro – a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles. – is a large desert, well supplied with fine grama grass in some portions, but absolutely destitute of water or shade for ninety-six miles. This intervening strip of territory is known by the unattractive appellation of the *Jornada del Muerto,* or the Dead Man's Journey. Why it ever received this title I never distinctly learned, but suppose it was on account of the very numerous massacres committed on it by the Apache Indians. . . .
>
> At Socorro was a small American garrison, consisting of about half a company of the Second Dragoons. . . . I left Doña Ana about three o'clock A.M., and traveled leisurely until four in the afternoon, when I unsaddled my horse, staked him to a strong picket pin planted in a field of fine grass, and laid down under the lee side of a cactus to catch a modicum of shade. At twelve, midnight, I resumed my journey, and reached Socorro next day about eleven o'clock A.M., having traveled during the cool of the night at a much more rapid pace (Cremony 1868:73–74).

Cremony describes being chased by Apaches through the Jornada and escaping, covering one hundred and twenty-five miles in twenty-one hours on a favorite horse.

William Bell made a survey for a railroad line to the West Coast in 1867–1868. He searched in the vicinity of Santa Fe for deposits of coal, and then went down the Camino to El Paso. He describes the Rio Grande Valley from Albuquerque to Fort Craig:

> From Albuquerque we traveled in the valley of the Rio Grande, 115 miles, to Fort Craig. For the whole of this distance the valley was studded on both sides with numerous villages, some belonging to Pueblo Indians, the greater number to Mexicans. The largest of the former was Isleta, where [we] enjoyed the produce of a very fine vineyard. The houses were built, like those of the Mexicans, of adobe, but were much larger; many were of two stories; all seemed to contain more than one family. . . . The greater part of the valley is here almost entirely destitute of trees. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that the banks of the river are of a sandy, friable nature, and that the bed of the stream is always changing its position, sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other; thus destroying fields of corn, irrigating canals, and villages. . . . About latitude 32° 15' are two flourishing towns, La Mesilla and Las Cruces. Not long ago the river passed between them, but now they both lie on the left bank, the stream having completely changed its channel without disturbing either [Bell 1965:241–242].

The Coming of the Railroad

In 1822, the year after William Becknell opened the trail from Missouri to Santa Fe, the value of goods going over the Santa Fe Trail was about $22,000 [Bryant 1974:4]. By 1860, 9,000 men, 3,000 wagons, and 27,000 oxen were carrying 16 million pounds of goods to Santa Fe every year. The expense of transporting goods by wagon was high, and Santa Fe Trail merchants recognized that a railroad would make the trade more profitable.

The Atchison and Topeka Railroad Company incorporated in Kansas in September 1860 [Bryant 1974:8] with thirteen directors, men active in Kansas's territorial politics and trade. In October they planned the construction of a route over the Cimarron Cutoff of the Santa Fe Trail into New Mexico. Plans for railroads continued despite the Civil War, a salient reason being that railway construction was viewed as one means of turning Western territories into states that would support the U.S. government in the war. The Pacific Railroad Act of 1862, signed by President Lincoln on March 3, 1863, gave railroad construction federal support with the provision that railroads in the state of Kansas would receive alternate sections on each side of the line, to be sold to pay for the construction. In November the directors of the Atchison and Topeka voted to change the name to Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad—and it soon became known regionally as "the Santa Fe" [Bryant 1974:10]. In 1864 the directors planned the line from Atchison to Topeka southwest to the Fort Dodge vicinity, and then down the Cimarron Cutoff to Santa Fe, to Albuquerque, and then along the 35th parallel to Los Angeles and Santa Barbara. However, construction proceeded slowly, first because of the Civil War and then the postwar depression and competition for routes among the various railroad companies that had been

incorporated in the 1860s. By the end of 1872, the AT&SF had pushed out through Kansas to the Colorado line [Bryant 1974:30]. The town of Granada just west of the Colorado line remained the end of the track until June 1875.

In 1876–1877 the AT&SF extended lines into Colorado, and it took most of 1878 (February–December) to build over Raton Pass. On December 7, 1878, the first train crossed into New Mexico [Bryant 1974:46]. The track reached Las Vegas, New Mexico, in July 1879 [Bryant 1974:61]. Construction crews pushed the track through Glorieta Pass to Galisteo Creek and reached Albuquerque on April 15, 1880. The line moved down the Rio Grande through the summer, reaching San Marcial on September 16 [Bryant 1974:62], then to Rincon in the spring of 1881 [1974:82] and to El Paso, over the section that became known as the "Horned Toad Line" to El Paso in July 1881.

Santa Fe had been bypassed by the AT&SF, but a branch line was built from the railroad station at Lamy to the capital in February 1880.

For 283 years, since Juan de Oñate's colonists created the trail to Ohkay Owingeh in 1598, the Camino Real had been the link between New Mexico and the *tierra afuera*—Mexico, New Spain, and the sea roads to Cuba and Manila, and after 1821, to independent Mexico and Europe. The coming of the railroad ended both the Camino Real's existence as New Mexico's connection to the outside world and New Mexico's centuries-old isolation.

F. Associated Property Types

The list of significant property types is based on functional classifications described in historical literature (e.g., paraje, fort), as well as archaeological phenomena identified during field reconnaissance (e.g., artifact scatter, trail). In order to be considered for inclusion in this listing, a property had to evidence association with the Camino Real during the period of significance, 1598 to 1881. Integrity was evaluated based on strength of historical and archaeological evidence linking the property to the Camino Real during this period. Physical condition and setting were also important considerations in assessing integrity. This nomination includes some of the least-disturbed and most-evocative remaining segments of the trail.

F.1 Name of property type: Landmarks and Land Forms

1a. Description

The cultural geography of the Camino Real includes a variety of place names associated with various landmarks and landforms. These place names are in effect the cultural-geographic atlas of the Camino Real., beginning in 1598. Additions to this inventory of place names continued into the territorial period. Some of the place names along the trail, as well as those of the mountain ranges, hills, and other landforms, were first assigned in the early colonial period (Ojo de Perrillo, Paso del Norte, La Cruz de Robledo) and continued to be used over the life of trail. Others first appear during the Pueblo Revolt and Reconquest period (La Cruz de Aleman, La Bajada, Contadero Mesa, Acomilla, Cerro Tome, Las Penuelas, San Diego, Canon de Las Bocas), while still others were added during the Mexican and territorial periods (Los Alamitos, Point of Rocks). All of these place names are identified in the historic records. Many appear on early maps showing the route of the Camino Real. These place names indicate the landscape that gave form and meaning to the Camino Real.

Some of these locations are on or in close proximity to the trail and can be recognized as properties contributing to the nomination (Point of Rocks, Laguna del Muerto, Contadero Mesa, Cerro Tomé, La Bajada, Canon de Las Bocas). Others, while important to understanding the geography and history of the trail, are regional geographic features (Sierra de Los Organos, San Diego Butte, Cerros de Perrillo, Sierra Fra Cristobal) and are not considered cultural properties in this MPDF.

1b. Significance

Named landmarks and landforms, including rock outcrops, hills, mesas, springs and water holes, ephemeral lakebeds, bluffs and steep slopes, canyon corridors, passes, and difficult crossings along the Camino Real, constitute a cultural-historical geographic atlas of the Camino Real. These place names are identified in the historic records and on historic maps and as such are part of the complex of physical characteristics of the Camino Real. Some of these landmarks and named landforms are located along and in close proximity to the trail, and as such are significant properties which are included in the multiple property nomination. The

preservation and interpretation of these landmarks and landforms as a property type is essential to the preservation and interpretation of the trail.

1c. Registration Criteria

Registration criteria provided below are derived from instructions contained in National Park Service Bulletin 16B (1991, see References).

In order to contribute to the Camino Real multiple property listing, landmarks, landforms, and other physical features must be identified in the historic records of the Camino Real, whether as place names in various diaries and accounts of travel along the trail or in historic maps and diagrams of the trail system. Landforms that do not occur in the historic records are not included, despite their proximity to the trail, because no historic context relates them to the Camino Real.

Landscape features that qualify as contributing properties must also be contiguous with or in close proximity to the trail in order to be included within the boundaries of the National Register nomination. This qualification may include rock outcrops, mesas, canyons, springs, lakes, or other features adjacent to the trail. Named mountains (i.e., Sierra Moreno, Sierra Las Petacas) and districts (Jornada del Muerto, Bosque Santa Barbara, Bosque del Apache) that are not in close proximity to or contiguous with the trail or that extend over a large area do not qualify for nomination.

F2. Name of Property Type: Trail/Wagon Road Section

2a. Description: Road sections usually consist of the physical remains of the trail or wagon road. However, a few urban sections qualify for nomination when modern roads are superimposed on the trail, yet the trail retains integrity of setting and historic context. Except for those few segments in urban areas, a road section usually consists of linear swales, depressions, or traces on the landscape. Archaeological investigations have identified a variety of presentations of the trail as a result of variable environmental and physiographic conditions and differences in the way the trail was used. Road sections may occur as single pathways that may be narrow or relatively wide, as closely spaced parallel roadways, or as multiple and braided paths. Parallel and multiple paths were sometimes the result of wagons moving abreast across the landscape, as noted by Santa Fe Trader Josiah Gregg in 1844, usually to avoid the dust clouds produced by the passing of wagon trains and caravans. In certain cases, multiple paths were created as a result of erosion that could cause the disuse—perhaps temporary—of one road and use of an adjacent but parallel avenue.

Road sections vary in length but usually consist of discontinuous segments crossing a particular landform or geographic area. Segments are often separated by areas where trail preservation is poor, but each section is a clearly delineated unit of the trail system. Sections are identified as individual properties, since it is impossible to define long reaches of the Camino Real as individual property types and inadvisable to include very short

parcels of the trail. Camino Real sections that have been defined archaeologically (Marshall 1991a, 1991b) vary from 0.5 to 10 km long. Road sections are usually identified on the basis of association with a particular physiographic or environmental subarea, a historically recognized area, or a discrete area of trail preservation. Road segments, on the other hand, are shorter lengths within an identified section. Some road sections in New Mexico have been assigned site numbers by the Archeological Resources Management Section, Historic Preservation Division, New Mexico Office of Cultural Affairs; road segments are recognized as components of these sections.

Road sections can be defined by variable types of expression, environmental zones, or structure. For example, a Camino Real roadway section may extend from an identified paraje to a disturbed area where the road no longer exists. In this section the trail may cross a dune area where it presents an intermittent swale (Segment 1), a lowland where it is defined by a linear path of grass (Segment 2), a ridge top where it is defined by a deep swale cut (Segment 3), a ridge slope where it has been captured by an arroyo which promotes the growth of mesquite or other brush (Segment 4), and a gravel-paved creosote flat which is defined by a void in the vegetation (Segment 5). Each road section must be defined with reference to specific landforms, historic area, area of preservation, or archaeological context.

The evidence of the Camino Real is usually a linear road trace, swale, or depression crossing the landscape. These linear expressions are frequently well-defined in the aerial imagery and visible on the ground. In some areas where trail expression is subtle, they may only be visible in the aerial imagery or so difficult to see that aerial imagery is indispensable to identifying them on the ground.

Swales often capture water and promote the growth of brush and grasses, which can be seen as a linear path of vegetation. Drainage along these linear swales often results in erosion and arroyo cutting. These arroyos are characteristically linear, unlike the more typical dendritic or branching arroyo systems. In other examples, the roadway swale is filled but can still be defined by linear growths of vegetation. In a few examples, the roadway has a positive or elevated expression—that is, we see an inverted topography. This is caused when a linear growth of vegetation in a swale stabilizes an area that is subsequently eroded by wind or water, deflating the ground surface and leaving the road as a linear mound. In other cases, the roadway is defined by a linear void or space in the vegetation which has not been able to reestablish itself in the scar of the road since the road's abandonment. This is most often seen where the Camino Real crosses creosote flats on gravel surfaces.

Most of the roadway was created simply by the passage of wagons, livestock, and pedestrians that removed vegetation and created a road or track. Wind and water erosion enhanced the roadway, sometimes forming low earth or gravel mounds or berms along the edges of the roadway.

Limestone cobbles that occur in some areas along the road are scarred or stippled from the impact of livestock and wagons. In a few locations where the trail crosses bedrock, the stone is worn and shows evidence of traffic. Occasional evidence of construction has been identified along the Camino Real. Road construction may include

ramps entering arroyos or other depressions, areas filled with cobblestones to provide a firm roadbed, and removal of stones and boulders from the roadway. Bridges were sometimes built across rivers or major arroyos, but these are recognized as a separate property type.

Road sections are also defined by a light scatter of artifacts within and along the edge of the road. These artifacts are the occasional debris of three centuries of use and discards along the trail. Artifacts that occur within the trail, such as tin cans associated with the territorial period, are usually battered and flattened by the passage of vehicles and livestock. Archaeological investigations of the Camino Real indicate that most of the artifacts associated with the road are within 25 meters of the road. These artifact scatters should be considered part of the road segments; they have been mapped within the road boundaries and are included in the nomination.

In some urban areas, automobile roads and highways follow the established route of the Camino Real. These roads have evolved from the period of continuous use of the Camino into the modern era. To qualify the route for nomination, it must be established by historic maps and records, retain integrity of setting, and must follow the exact route of the historic Camino Real. Some examples of this include Doniphan Avenue in North El Paso, Edith Boulevard in Albuquerque, Barelas Road in Albuquerque, Isleta Boulevard in Albuquerque, and Agua Fria Road in Santa Fe. Urban sections of the Camino Real must also reflect a clear association with historic districts and landscapes that are clearly associated with the Camino Real (e.g., Old Town Historic District in Albuquerque, Paso del Norte Canyon, El Paso Missions Trail, Santa Fe Historic District, Mesilla Plaza Historic District).

2b. Significance

In many areas the road sections of the Camino Real were used for nearly three centuries, from 1598 to 1881. The use of the Camino Real continued from the colonization of New Mexico by Oñate in 1598 until the railroad reached El Paso in 1881. This trail is the oldest and longest continuously utilized mule train/wagon road in the United States. The Camino Real was designated as a National Historic Trail in 2000 (Public Law 106-307) in recognition of the outstanding significance of the trail in the history of exploration, colonization, trade and commerce, emigration, and development of the Southwest borderlands.

Road sections are the physical Camino Real and are the primary cultural property in the trail system. These historic properties, most of which have been abandoned for 120 years, were part of a vast road system that was instrumental in the historic development of the American Southwest. The Camino Real provides the link and the context for a variety of contributing cultural properties associated with use of the road. Individual sections further reflect the significance of certain geographic localities or historic events along the trail system. Crossroads (other roads from the period of significance intersecting the Camino) can also add to the significance of road segments.

2c. Registration Criteria

To qualify for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, individual road sections must be physically identified as roadway swales, linear tracks visible in the landscape, or urban sections where existing roads are superimposed on the trail but follow its exact route and have a clear association with historic districts and areas linked to the Camino Real. The inclusion of trail sections in the National Register must be justified by archaeological examination and historical information that clearly identifies the road section as part of the Camino Real system. Well-preserved sections of the Camino Real and those sections with clear historic context and integrity are best qualified for nomination.

Registration of trail sections should focus on the actual roadway but may also include scattered artifacts and materials along the margins of the road. These are mapped within the sections and are considered part of them.

Other contributing properties such as parajes, camps, graves, activity areas, landmarks and landscape features, and other properties may be included as “bump outs”—directly associated with and contiguous to the trail. Certain features along the roadways, such as bridge abutments and fords, can also be registered as property types. Contributing properties associated with the Camino Real must exhibit close proximity or contiguity to the roadway. They cannot be distant or discontiguous. For example, if a landscape is to be included in the nomination of the individual property, it has to be contiguous to or in close proximity to the trail. A distant hill or mountain that may have been a landscape marker is not eligible to the National Register under this MPDF. In contrast, a waterhole, lakebed, rock outcrop, or other feature noted in conjunction with the trail may be included as a contributing feature and registered as part of a road section if it has integrity of association with the road.

Road sections that evoke past use, or sections clearly associated with a landmark, historic site, or historic use area clearly linked to the use of the trail, are eligible for inclusion in the National Register. Historic segments of high potential, as defined by the National Trails System Act of 1968, are “those segments of a trail that would afford high quality recreation experience in a portion of the route having greater than average scenic values or affording an opportunity to vicariously share the experience of the original users of a historic route” [National Trails System Act, 16 USC 1241–1251]. Road sections that have the potential to yield information important to understanding the use and nature of the Camino Real systems are also eligible for registration.

F3. Name of Property Type: Paraje

3a. Description

Parajes were established and recognized camping locations along the Camino Real. The term *paraje*, from the Spanish *parar* (to stop or halt), refers to a stopping place, site, or station frequented by travelers (*caminantes*) along the trail. Parajes are identified in historic records and maps. Parajes were frequently located near water sources, which were essential to travelers and their livestock. Parajes were encampments that were ordinarily

used for a single night by a given group of travelers, but some parajes with permanent water were used to rest livestock and travelers for a few days after they had passed over arduous sections of the Camino Real. Parajes were simple camping areas devoid of any permanent facilities or structures. Parajes, as identified in the archaeological record, consist of hearth areas and artifact concentrations, often multicomponent (representing multiple periods).

3b. Significance

Parajes were essential to travel on the Camino Real. The chain of parajes represented a kind of road map or place-name geography of the trail. The significance of parajes was associated with their being located at springs or waterholes, often the only water sources for a day's travel or more. The route of the Camino Real was originally traced from water source to water source.

All parajes had names. References to these camps recur throughout the historic literature (diaries, letters, itineraries, campaign journals, and others) of the Camino Real. In many cases parajes provide a geographic context for the historical record. Paraje names often refer to the water source (e.g., La Salinera, Ojo de Perrillo, Laguna del Muerto, Ojo Lucero, Ojo Salmalayuca, Laguna de Pato) or associated landmarks (e.g., Brazcito, Las Barrancas, El Paso del Norte, Peñuelas, Valverde, Bosque del Apache, Contadero, Acomilla, Point of Rocks). In some cases parajes were named after gravesites of travelers who died along the trail (e.g., La Cruz de Alemán, La Cruz de Robledo, La Cruz de Anaya, Las Cruces, Ancón de la Cruz Juan Tellez) or for individuals associated with major expeditions (Fra Cristóbal). Some parajes carried the names of former settlements or pueblos in the vicinity of the trail (e.g., Rancheria, San Pascual, Qualacú).

A paraje includes the archaeological remains of the encampment and the watering places in the immediate vicinity. Archaeological investigations of selected parajes indicate that they are defined by artifact concentrations, hearth areas, possible tent bases, occasional forge areas, and other features located in proximity to the trail. These sites have considerable archaeological value and potential to yield information important to understanding the nature and use of the trail. Many of these camps are mentioned in the historic records of important expeditions, such as that of Oñate in 1598, Otermín's retreat from New Mexico and his attempted reconquest (1680–1682), Diego de Vargas' reconquest of New Mexico (1692–1696), and many others. The association of parajes with these historic events and persons meets National Register criteria of significance.

3c. Registration Criteria

To qualify as a property type, a paraje must be mentioned in historic records and/or appear on historic maps of the trail. The paraje must also be identified with sufficient certainty to establish that the specified location is the one named in the historic record. To establish this identity, the property must conform to map locations, descriptions in historic records, and in most cases must exhibit archaeological remains associated with the Camino Real. Some parajes may be identified by association with a specific landmark, such as La Salinera or

Point of Rocks. In some cases, the paraje is known from records but has not been found on the ground. These parajes will require further archaeological survey and historical investigation to be located with certainty and to be eligible for inclusion in the multiple property nomination.

Parajes as contributing properties must have substantial integrity. This should include archaeological remains, undisturbed landmarks or landscape features, water sources, or other archaeological and historical evidence. Some parajes have been disturbed or effaced by urban or rural development and do not qualify for nomination. However, many parajes are undisturbed. Others have evolved into settlements, missions, forts, or other properties, and evidence of the original encampment no longer exists. These sites do not qualify for nomination as parajes but may qualify for registration as other property types associated with the Camino Real.

F4. Name of Property Type: Gravesite

4a. Description

Gravesites located in close proximity to and associated with the Camino Real are considered contributing properties. These sites are uncommon but are usually found in close proximity to the Camino Real or at parajes. A number of parajes identified in the historic record are named for the graves of travelers who died along the way. Graves were often marked by crosses along the trail, which were mentioned by subsequent travelers. Examples include La Cruz de Alemán, La Cruz de Robledo, La Cruz de Anaya, Las Cruces, and Ancón de la Cruz Juan Tellez. In many other cases, a death on the trail is mentioned in the historic record, but the gravesite has not been identified. Gravesites that have been archaeologically identified include oblong piles of cobbles which may cover burials. Further survey of the Camino Real is likely to identify additional examples of this property type.

4b. Significance

Trailside gravesites are significant in that they illustrate the vicissitudes, dangers, and hardships faced by travelers along the Camino Real. Certain graves may be identified with individual deaths mentioned in the historic records. None of the graves is marked, but it is possible that the buried individual could be identified.

4c. Registration Criteria

Graves located along the Camino Real are frequently mentioned in historic records. The name of a gravesite often became the place name of the paraje. In some cases, information related to the death of an individual at a specific location is in the historic record. In other instances, deaths are mentioned in the records but locations are not specified. The oblong rock piles, cairns, or other features that have been found may indicate gravesites and can be recognized as contributing to the multiple property listing.

F.5. Name of Property Type: Battlefields and Engagement Sites

5a. Description

Battlefields and engagement sites are locations where military conflicts and Indian attacks took place along the Camino Real. The Camino was the route of military invasion and conquest during the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) and the Confederate invasion of New Mexico (1861–1862). During the invasion of Chihuahua in the Mexican-American War the Army of the West (U.S.) engaged 500 Mexican troops along the Camino Real near the paraje of Brazito on December 25, 1846. The location of this battlefield near Mesquite, New Mexico, has been tentatively established [Haecker 1997].

During the Civil War, Confederate troops from Texas invaded New Mexico (1861), following the Camino Real to Mesilla and capturing Fort Fillmore. The Confederates followed the trail north to Fra Cristobal and crossed the Rio Grande to engage Union forces from Fort Craig at Valverde on the Camino Real. The battle of Valverde was the largest engagement in New Mexico during the Civil War. After the Confederates retreated to Mesilla, a detachment of Confederate troops returned north in May 1862 along the Camino Real, crossing the Jornada del Muerto to engage the Union garrison at Paraje de Fra Cristobal [Alberts 1993:141].

Numerous accounts exist of Apache, Navajo, and other Indian attacks on travelers and caravans along the Camino Real. Most of the engagements were raids to capture livestock and goods. They usually targeted small parties. Most of these engagements took place in the area of the *despoblado* [that is, south of La Joya – see above], frequently in the Jornada del Muerto.

Battlefield and engagement sites are sometimes difficult to identify because they were typically occupied only for a few hours or days. Some of the battlefields, such as Brazito and Valverde, are well described in historic records, which include maps. Sites of battles with Indians are often mentioned in the historic records, but precise details of their locations are often unknown. Battlefields and engagement sites are usually identified by scattered bullets, cartridges, and other artifacts, but they may include other items, such as burned goods and wagons, arms, and other materials. The archaeological remnants of battlefields and engagement sites are often subtle. They are best defined where historic records and maps corroborate the archaeological findings. Some archaeological surveys have been done at Brazito and Valverde, but much remains to be discovered and recorded.

5b. Significance

Battlefields and engagement sites are important cultural properties in the documentation and interpretation of the Camino Real. The Camino was the corridor for the American invasion of Mexico in 1846 and the Confederate invasion of New Mexico in 1861. Sites of battles between Indians and whites are also an important part of the history of the Camino, illustrating the conflict among the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo inhabitants and colonists with the Indian tribes, and the importance of raiding as part of the economy and lifeways of the

Indians. Battlefields along the Camino Real are important properties with direct links to the Camino. They qualify for nomination as sites directly associated with and contiguous to the Camino. They are also significant properties that qualify for preservation and interpretation under the American Battlefields Protection Program of the National Park Service.

5c. Registration

To qualify for nomination to the National Register as part of the multiple property nomination, battlefield and engagement sites must be linked historically to the Camino Real and must be contiguous with or in close proximity to the roadway. Reference to these battlefields and engagement sites in the historic record in direct relation to the Camino Real is one of the primary criteria for nomination. Certain engagement sites may be defined exclusively on the basis of archaeological data, consisting of bullets, cartridges, associated artifacts, or other evidence of a military engagement. Major battlefields sites associated with important military events are well documented but require archaeological evidence to establish their precise location and boundaries in relation to the Camino Real. Indian engagement sites may be defined entirely on the basis of archaeological evidence or by references in the historic record, but they must also possess archaeological integrity as demonstrated by artifacts such as bullets, cartridges, projectile points, burned goods, or associated gravesites.

F6. Name of Property Type: Fords, Ferries, and Bridges

6a. Description

The Camino Real is a desert road for most of its length, and although the obstacles presented by waterways are infrequent, the Camino and its branches cross the Rio Grande in various locations and other streams or seasonal waterways as well. Usually these crossings were simple fords (*vados*) placed in areas of shallow water or in the few locations with firm cobblestone or bedrock floors. Travelers avoided crossings in areas of deep sand (quicksand). The principal Rio Grande fords were at El Paso del Norte, where the trail crossed from the west side of the river to the east, and at Valverde and Las Barelas, where the west branch of the Camino Real joined the east branch. Other fords were located where major branch trails joined the Camino Real. Rio Grande fords were usually impassable during the spring–early summer runoff, when snowmelt from the mountains of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado caused the river to flood.

The crossing of the Rio Grande could be difficult and dangerous. In 1598 at El Paso del Norte, the Oñate caravan crossed the Rio Grande with the help of local Manso Indians. Sometimes caravans had to use canoes or flatboats and would disassemble carts and wagons to float them across the river.

The ford on the Camino Real at El Paso del Norte was later the site of the first wagon road bridge in the American Southwest. This bridge was over 500 feet long and 17 feet wide and consisted of a bed of pine logs supported by eight caissons. The bridge was built in 1798, destroyed by floods, and rebuilt in 1800. The bridge

was repaired again in 1805 and 1816. At some point it was again destroyed by floods and never rebuilt [Bloom 1925:163–182]. Another early bridge across the Rio Grande linked the Camino Real to the pueblo of San Felipe on the opposite side of the river. This bridge consisted of eight caissons built with logs and wicker filled with stone, and spanned by hewn square logs. It was described by Zebulon Pike in 1807 [Coues 1987:617, Vol. II reprint].

Bridges were sometimes built across lateral waterways or arroyos. In 1850 U.S. Army engineers built a bridge at Los Alamitos across a deep arroyo in the Rio Galisteo on the Juana Lopez Branch of the Camino Real [Macomb 1860].

Some of the fords were later the sites of ferries, flatboats that carried wagons and passengers across the river. These ferries were mostly of the territorial period, and most were built by the U.S. Army. There were ferries at El Paso, Salinera, Mesilla, Valverde, Sabino, and Barelas, and there may have been others.

Fords are the features that are easiest to identify. Roadways leading to the river identify the location of some fords. The ferries have disappeared, although some of them are illustrated in early photographs. Some remnants of bridge abutments remain. An example is the 1850 military bridge at Los Alamitos.

Further survey and study are likely to identify additional remnants or features in this property type.

6b. Significance

Fords, ferries, and bridges along the Camino Real are significant cultural properties illustrating an important aspect of travel over the trail. Since most of these locations were a named part of the cultural geography of the Camino Real, they can be linked to the historic record. These crossings illustrate how the route of the Camino Real was structured in relation to the landscape and specifically to water obstacles. Many of these fords, ferries, and bridges are the earliest examples in the Southwest of waterway crossings used by wagons and carts.

6c. Registration Criteria

To qualify for inclusion in the multiple property listing, a ford, ferry, or bridge, must be documented in the historic record or appear on historic maps of the Camino Real. The property must conform to map locations and descriptions in historic records to establish its identity. It must be identifiable on the ground. Fords may have features, such as cobble floors that are clearly cultural. They may be identified by roadways leading to the crossings. These properties may be identified by archaeological remains clearly associated with the Camino Real. Bridges may have left remnants of abutments or other structures.

A significant problem in identifying these sites is their location along waterways. They have all been affected by flooding and erosion.

F7. Name of Property Type: Estancias and Ranchos

7a. Description

Estancias and ranchos were usually small settlements, outlying the main population centers (plazas and villas). They were occupied by extended families and their associated workers, servants, and occasional slaves. These Spanish and later Euro-American settlements tended to emphasize livestock raising, but many included both agricultural and livestock operations. Settlements of this type in the colonial period were called estancias (literally, "stays" or stopovers) and sometimes haciendas, or *haciendas de labor*. Early colonial estancias were often located on land grants and were occupied by *encomenderos*, who had *encomiendas*, granted by the governor, which licensed them to oversee and tax local Indians. Some of these estancias were rather large, nearly self-sufficient communities. For example, the estancia of Thomé Dominguez de Mendoza had a population of about 93, including the encomendero and his family, various relatives, and their servants and slaves [Hammond and Rey1953:138].

Estancia buildings had large rooms, sometimes built around an atrium. There could be several or as many as twenty rooms, with outlying sheds and other structures. Some examples of colonial period estancias along the Camino Real include Valverde, Felipe Romero, Luis Lopez East [Sanchez and Erickson 2000:26], Estancia Acomilla, Estancia Las Barrancas, Estancia Thomé Dominguez de Mendoza, El Alamo, and La Hacienda de Don Tenorio.

After the Pueblo Revolt and the reconquest of New Mexico (1680–1696), estancias tended to be smaller, with fewer people, and were usually called ranchos. The term *rancho* continued into the territorial period, when some of these outlying settlements were established by Anglo-Americans along the Camino Real. Examples of post-Revolt ranchos associated with the Camino Real in New Mexico include Rancho Sabino (LA 8870), Pinos Ranch, Delgados Ranch, Martin's Ranch at Aleman, Chavez Hacienda at Bosque de Los Pinos (ca. 1830), Las Cañas, Rancho Cañutillo, Rancho Brazito, and Tiffany's Ranch.

Estancias and ranchos along the Camino Real were frequently used as stopping places and informal inns where travelers could rest and sometimes resupply or buy livestock, corn, eggs, and other products. Estancias and ranchos, isolated enclaves of Hispanics or Anglos, were vulnerable to Apache, Comanche, and Navajo attack. Some had circular watchtowers (*torreones*) in association with the compounds. Many did not last long. They are frequently noted in the historic record as abandoned ruins.

7b. Significance

Estancias and ranchos along the Camino Real were often outposts and pioneer settlements. They were important stopping and resting places for caravans and travelers and are frequently mentioned in the historic records of the Camino Real. Estancias and ranchos represent the first attempt to civilize or develop the Camino Real by

creating permanent, occupied settlements along the road. The placement of many of these settlements in the despoblado left them exposed to attack, and many were occupied briefly or sporadically. However, even the ruins of these old estancias and ranchos were a welcome sight to travelers along the trail and were used as campsites similar to the undeveloped parajes.

7c. Registration Criteria

To qualify for nomination, estancia and rancho sites must be located along the Camino Real. They must be directly linked to the use and development of the trail. Many of these properties are listed in the historic records pertaining to travel along the Camino Real and in some cases are the first phase of subsequent settlements. Sometimes the reverse happened: an estancia or rancho might be abandoned but continue in use as a paraje (e.g., Valverde). In some cases, estancias and ranchos are mentioned as ruins without specific names. Archaeological study of estancia and rancho sites shows clear evidence of European architecture and material culture, in contrast to Native American *pueblitos* of the same period. Estancia sites have large rooms, frequently built of adobe blocks, with atriums and portals, and artifacts including ironwork and Spanish-Mexican glazeware ceramics. Ranchos frequently include ranch houses that are all of one type, sometimes built around enclosures or corrals (casa-corral type). In some cases estancia or rancho sites associated with the Camino Real may be identified by archaeological evidence and close proximity to the trail.

F8. Name of Property Type: Pueblo

8a. Description

A number of pueblos or Indian villages were located along the Camino Real. These were important locations in the history of the trail and figure prominently in the historic record. These pueblos were located in the El Paso Valley, and in the Rio Abajo and Rio Arriba of New Mexico. Their people were Piro, Tiwa, Keres, and Tewa. Many of these pueblos had been occupied since the fourteenth century and were seen and described by the first Spanish explorers of New Mexico. These pueblos were the largest established settlements during the early use of the Camino.

The main motive in the early development of the northern reach of the Camino Real was to colonize the Pueblo world and to establish Spanish settlements in a region that already had towns—the pueblos—and extensive irrigated agriculture. The Franciscans built missions at many of these pueblos. In the seventeenth century, before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, New Mexico was primarily a mission field. The missions were linked to the towns of the Mexican interior by the tri-annual mission caravan that traveled the Camino Real.

The Camino Real linked a chain of pueblos along the Rio Grande corridor. It probably followed the general route of earlier Indian trails, as we have noted. The pueblo villages in this region of New Mexico had

architecture built of coursed adobe with terraces and multiple stories and were often centered around plazas. The pueblos mentioned in the records of the Camino Real ranged from moderate buildings of approximately 20 to 40 rooms to massive pueblos with multiple plazas having well over 1,000 rooms and occupied by hundreds of people. The Spanish described the Pueblos in their accounts of the region; they portray an advanced civilization with complex social and religious organization, irrigation works, elaborate architecture, painted wall murals, excellent ceramics and other arts, turkey husbandry, and ornate dress and costume.

Pueblo Indian villages along the Camino Real included Socorro del Sur, Isleta del Sur, Senecu del Sur, Los Tortugas, Senecu, San Pascual, Qualacú, Alamillo, Pilabo-Socorro, Teypama, Sevilleta, Isleta, Alameda, Puaray, Old Sandia, Sandia, San Felipe, Kewa (Santo Domingo), La Bajada, Cuyamunque, Tesuque, Ohkay Owingeh, and Yunque.

8b. Significance

Most of the pueblos identified in the historic records of the Camino Real have been located and documented by archaeological survey. These pueblos are significant both as sources of information about prehistoric and historic Pueblo culture and as components of the Camino Real. The inclusion of these properties in the multiple property nomination recognizes the role of Native Americans in the history and use of the Camino Real.

Although this nomination refers to living pueblos, such as San Felipe and Santo Domingo, it does not nominate them. Living pueblos may be listed individually in the National Register of Historic Places by consent of their own governments. This MPDF includes only the historic (abandoned) pueblos of Qualacú and San Pascual.

8c. Registration Criteria

To qualify as a property associated with the Camino Real, a pueblo must meet the following criteria: (1) it must be located on the Camino Real, so that road segments are near to the pueblo or articulate with it; (2) it must be mentioned in the historic record, or identified on maps of the Camino Real, and must figure in the history of the Camino; and (3) it must be associated with the period of significance (1598–1881). Pueblo villages that postdate the period of significance and those that are inhabited today would more appropriately be part of a thematic group of Pueblo villages of New Mexico and Texas. However, discrete or separate components of these villages that date to the period of significance (1598–1881) may qualify for inclusion in this MPDF. Examples are Old Sandia and the Old Socorro Mission site.

F9. Name of Property Type: Encampment/Activity Area

9a. Description

These properties are locations along the Camino Real that exhibit archaeological evidence of encampments or other activities associated with the Camino. These archaeological sites consist of concentrations of historic artifacts with or without associated hearths and may include other features, such as rock enclosures, corrals, cairns, forges, cargo dumps, and graffiti panels. Encampment sites are sometimes associated with campfires (hearths), but some artifact concentrations without hearths may also have been the location of camps. Encampments and activity areas are not named in the historic records, in contrast to parajes, and may occur at any location along the trail where travelers may have stopped to rest and camp, repair gear and equipment, or visit with other travelers.

Encampments and activity areas are identified only in the archaeological record, not in the historic record. These archaeological sites must be located in proximity to the Camino Real and date to the period of significance (1598–1881). Examples of encampment sites and activity areas identified along the Camino Real include the Thorn Well artifact scatter (LA 80078), Rincon south hearth (LA 80076), Point of Rocks camp and forge (LA 80062), Point of Rocks enclosure (LA 80061), Yost olive jar scatter (LA 80053), San Diego North Fork glaze scatter, and Las Bocas Canyon entrance site (LA 80006) (Marshall 1991a).

9b. Significance

Encampment sites and activity areas represent much of the unnamed and historically unreported use and activity along the Camino Real over 300 years. In order to be identified as an encampment or activity area, these locations must exhibit some archaeological evidence of use associated with the Camino Real. In many cases, activities along the Camino Real are without physical evidence or are defined by a light scatter of artifacts along the trail; archaeologists sometimes call these places “background noise.” This light scatter of trailside artifacts is considered part of the actual roadway and is included in the nominations of the roadway sections and segments. Encampment sites and activity areas are significant when they illustrate the use and history of the Camino Real.

9c. Registration Criteria

In order to qualify as a Camino Real encampment site or activity area, these properties must be located in close proximity to the Camino Real and must exhibit archaeological evidence of use dating to the period of significance (1598 to 1881). These archaeological sites have the potential to yield information important to understanding the development and use of the Camino Real. They also illustrate the day-to-day use of the Camino Real and the experiences of travelers along the road. Archaeological definition of these sites, with site maps and photographs showing their location in relation to the Camino Real, site boundaries, any features within the sites, and an inventory of any artifacts present in the area of the site, are requisites for registration.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The multiple property listing of the Camino Real in New Mexico is based primarily on a study completed by Michael P. Marshall [Marshall 1991a, 1991b], supplemented by additional archival research and field reconnaissance done for this nomination. Identification of the route of the Camino Real began with a comprehensive review of historic documents and maps spanning its entire history, from 1598 to 1881. These materials provided information about construction and use of the route as well as mention of specific parajes, settlements, and landmarks. Based on this research, the approximate location of the Camino Real was plotted on 1:100,000-scale topographic maps and preliminary study corridors were defined.

The second phase of the identification process involved careful inspection of existing aerial photography, including the 1934 to 1936 Soil Conservation Service imagery. This permitted recognition of many physical traces that were potentially segments of the Camino Real. We also searched the Museum of New Mexico's Archaeological Records Management System (ARMS) during this phase to define the locations of all known historic sites along the route. In this way, suspected segments of the Camino Real could be plotted in detail on 7.5-minute topographic maps and aerial photographs.

The third phase of this project involved archaeological survey and recording of individual trail segments. Using annotated topographic maps and aerial photographs, the authors located the physical traces of the route on the ground and walked their entire length several times, covering an area approximately 100 meters on each side of the road. Notes were made about the physical expression of the various segments, as well as artifacts that document periods of use. This was essential to ensure that identified trail segments were authentic traces of the Camino Real. During the most recent field reconnaissance, we revisited previously recorded trail segments to obtain precise locations using geographic positioning system (GPS) instruments, a technology that was not available during the earlier study.

The geographic extent of this multiple property listing was defined primarily on the basis of historic documents and maps and was restricted to the official route linking the seats of government in Mexico City with the provincial capital in New Mexico. The intent was to include portions of the transportation system that were customarily used for regional transportation and communication, as opposed to segments that were of mainly local importance. The period of significance begins with the earliest historical descriptions of long-distance travel along the route and ends with the construction of railroads, which largely supplanted the Camino Real.

The four historic contexts were determined in sequence. The literature of the Camino Real is extensive. The Camino may appear, over the course of some three hundred years, to be an indispensable element of almost every aspect of New Mexico's history. The purpose of the contexts is to organize that history with the greatest efficiency consistent with an adequate explanation of all the related elements of the Camino.

(1) The first context, the geography and natural character (physical character and setting) of the road contains and describes the road as a physical phenomenon. The road for the most part followed a path or paths of least resistance. It was dictated by geography, weather, and other natural phenomena such as the availability, or lack thereof, of water. Accordingly, the physical history and character of the road are the first consideration and afford an explanation of key historic events.

The other contexts define and describe the uses of the road.

(2) The road was created by invaders, explorers, and colonists. These events and initiatives both explain and are explained by the road as a physical phenomenon.

All other aspects of the road appear to be subsumed in the categories of (3) social, political, cultural, and (4) economic and commercial events. We developed the contexts as a means of explaining and defining all these phenomena. Organizing them was a matter of trial and error. When the categories appeared adequate to take in all aspects of the history of the Camino, we concluded that there was no need to develop more; efficiency and clarity were the main considerations. At the same time, we had to determine that nothing significant was left out. The materials that we have placed in the third and fourth categories were so extensive as to present problems of organization. We divided them into two groups: (a) social, political, and cultural, and (b) commercial and economic. This was another process of trial and error, in which the question was how to achieve a full description and analysis in the smallest practical number of contexts. Again, this organization proved adequate. Subdividing it further had the effect of separating related phenomena and thereby preventing a comprehensible explanation while at the same time causing needless repetition. Once we reached this point we did not make any further attempt to subdivide the contexts.

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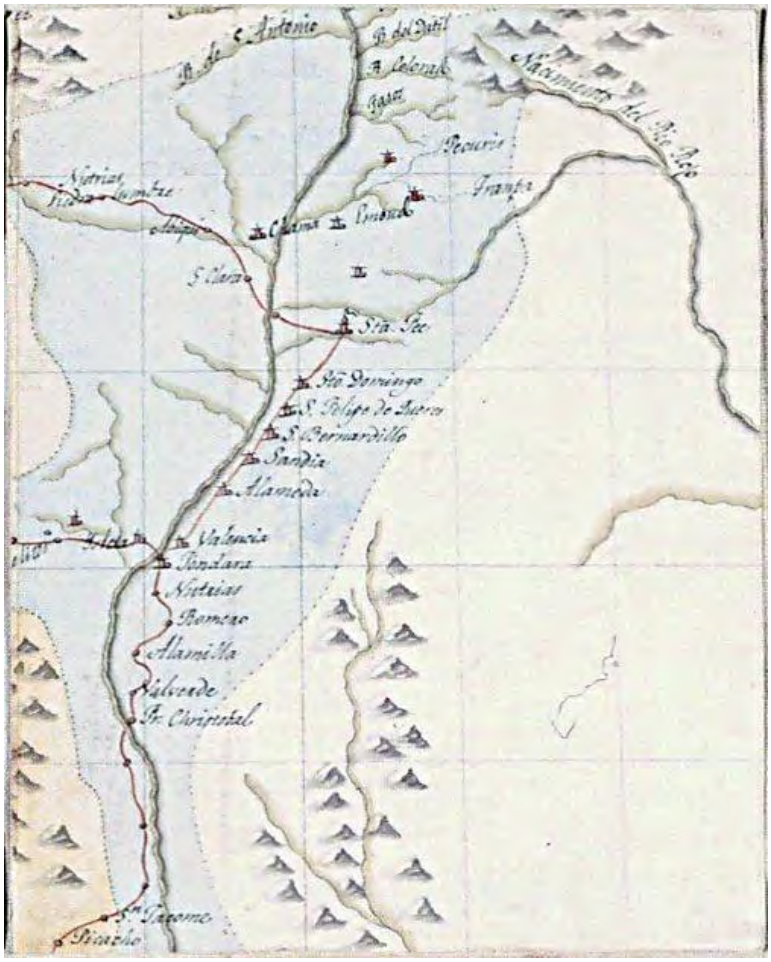
J. Maps

1. Map of the state of New Mexico showing the sections of the Camino Real referenced in the attached National Register nominations.



2. Section of a 1779 map showing the Camino Real between Santa Fe and Fra Cristobal.

Carta o mapa geografico de una gran parte del Reino de Nueva Espana, comprendido entre los 19 y 42 grados de latitud septentrional y entre 249 y 289 grados de longitud del meridiano de Tenerife, formado de orden del Exmo. Sr. Bo. Fr. Dn. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua par indicar la division del Virreinato de Mexico y de las Provincias internas erigidas en Commandancia General en virtud de Reales Ordenes el ano 177[*sic*]. Construyola el Engeniero Dn. Mgl. Costansó y vá aumentado con varias noticias que adquirió en sus viages á dichas Provincias el Ingeniero Ordinario Dn. Manl. Mascaró

Photograph by Thomas Merlan and Frances Levine from an original copy in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

3. Section of Lt. James W. Abert and W. G. Peck's 1846–1847 Map of the Territory of New Mexico showing the Camino Real in the area of La Bajada, Cañon de las Bocas, and Alamitos segments. In *Report of Examination of New Mexico in the Years 1846–1847.* Senate Executive Document 23 (30th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 506). Washington, D.C.