

APPENDIX A

Teachers' Background Information

TEACHERS' BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Travel along the Camino Real: Chronology

by Scott O'Mack

When the Mexican-American War ended in 1848, a vast tract of land was ceded by Mexico to the United States under the conditions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The ceded land encompassed the region now known as the U.S. Southwest and included what later became the state of New Mexico. For 27 years prior to 1848, New Mexico was a distant northern province of the Republic of Mexico, and for more than two centuries before that, a remote colonial outpost of the Spanish empire administered from Mexico City, the capital of New Spain. From the moment it was officially declared Spanish territory in 1598 until the building of railroads across the region in the 1880s, New Mexico was linked to Mexico City and the world economy by El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, "The Royal Road of the Interior Lands," or simply the Camino Real.

The Camino Real was a rugged, often dangerous route running 1,600 miles from Mexico City to the small Spanish town of Santa Fe, founded in 1610 and serving ever since as the capital of New Mexico. During its first two centuries, the Camino Real brought settlers, goods, and information to the province and carried its crops, livestock, and crafts to the markets of greater Mexico. When Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, its northern frontier was opened to foreign trade, and New Mexico soon became the destination of a steady stream of Anglo-American traders carrying goods along the newly blazed Santa Fe Trail from Missouri. The Camino Real, which connected with the Santa Fe Trail at Santa Fe, became the essential link between the growing U.S. economy and the long-established Mexican economy, serving for the next 60 years as the principal route for both Mexican and Anglo-American traders traveling into the interior of Mexico.

Spanish Colonial Period (1600–1821)

When it was first blazed in 1598, the route of the Camino Real incorporated a variety of Native American trails connecting water sources, river crossings, camp sites, and Native American villages. Most of these trails are difficult to reconstruct, but presumably a Native American trail followed most or all of the Río Grande along its route through modern New Mexico, and established Native American trails crisscrossed the inhabited portions of the territory eventually served by the Camino Real. There is little to suggest that, prior to the arrival of Spaniards, Native Americans traveled regularly across the largely uninhabited desert of northern Mexico. In this respect, the Camino Real was a novelty prompted by the circumstances of Spanish exploration and colonization, a way for the Spanish crown to expand its holdings by enabling establishment of a permanent colony at the outer limit of explored territory.

Northern New Mexico was first visited by Spaniards in 1540, when Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led a large expedition to the vicinity of Zuni pueblo, then spent the next two years exploring New Mexico and adjacent regions. Coronado's primary purpose was exploration, not settlement, and although he determined that parts of New Mexico were suitable for settlement, the first substantial attempt at colonization was not made until almost 60 years later. In 1598, Juan de Oñate led 130 men and their families, 83 wagon loads of arms and supplies, and more than 7,000 head of livestock north from Santa Bárbara, in what is now southern Chihuahua, to the Tewa pueblo of San Juan on the upper Río Grande. Shortly thereafter, Oñate founded the Spanish town of San Gabriel on the opposite side of the Río Grande, which was the first successful Spanish settlement in New Mexico. By 1610, San Gabriel had

been replaced by Santa Fe as the capital of the newly christened province of New Mexico.

Other Spanish expeditions had preceded Oñate's to the upper Río Grande, but it was his expedition that effectively extended the colonial frontier northward by some 700 miles. Oñate's route became the Camino Real, the royal road, so named because it served as the official road between the colonial capital in Mexico City and the administrative center of the new province. There were other royal roads in New Spain—for example, the road linking Mexico City and the port of Veracruz—but the royal road to New Mexico was the longest, and it would remain virtually the only route to the far northern provinces for more than 200 years.

Among the settlers accompanying Oñate's original expedition was a group of Franciscan friars, authorized by the Spanish crown to begin a task considered equal in importance to the colonization of the province, namely, the conversion of the native Pueblo peoples of the region to Christianity. For the first 80 years after Oñate's expedition, the Franciscans were in fact the primary reason for the success of the colony. Oñate abandoned the province shortly after opening it, and the settlers he left behind found life on the distant frontier to be difficult in the extreme, with none of the easy wealth from mining, farming, and ranching that they had envisioned. It was only because the Franciscans were successful in convincing the colonial government in Mexico City that their enterprise was worthy of subsidy that the colony in New Mexico survived.

The most important aspect of the royal subsidy of the Franciscan missions was the supply caravan established on the Camino Real in 1609. As it was originally conceived, the caravan was supposed to take shape once every three years to carry essential supplies to the missions. The trip from Mexico City to Santa Fe typically took six months, followed by another six months to distribute the contents of the caravan to the scattered missions, and another six months for the return trip. Going three years between arrivals of food and news was arduous enough for the people living in New Mexico, but the caravan actually had an unreliable schedule: periods of six or seven years between arrivals were common. To make matters worse, the exclusive control of the caravan that the Franciscans were intended to have was often compromised by the illegal commercial ventures of various people associated with the caravan, such as the governor of the province, local merchants, and the private contractors hired to operate the caravan. The supplies that were meant for the missions and their dependents were sometimes delivered only in part, or to the wrong places, or the caravan was delayed, sidetracked, or improperly packed to accommodate the goods of a private party. The caravan also became a form of public transportation, carrying friars, colonial officials, and private individuals along the Camino Real, despite regulations forbidding such use.

The missionary efforts of the Franciscans, and the New Mexico colony as a whole, suffered a calamitous setback in 1680 when the Pueblos rose in rebellion, killing 400 Spaniards and driving the remaining 2,200 out of northern New Mexico. The survivors traveled down the Camino Real to El Paso del Norte, the predecessor of modern El Paso, Texas, where they joined a small Spanish settlement already established there. As a consequence of the rebellion, El Paso del Norte thrived, but the northern colony was completely abandoned for thirteen years before it was finally reoccupied by new contingents of settlers, including many of the families that had fled the rebellion. Once the "reconquest" was assured, the caravan from Mexico City was reestablished on the Camino Real, again as the official means of supplying the Franciscan missions, but also in its extra-official status as a supply and communication line for the colony as a whole. Gradually, the frequency of the supply caravan increased, along with the population of the colony, and by the second half of the eighteenth century the caravan operated on an annual basis. Control of the caravan also shifted from Franciscan to direct royal control, as the influence of the local colonial administration increased.

The early seventeenth century also saw the emergence of Chihuahua as an important silver-mining center on the northern frontier. As a stop on the Camino Real and an important market for goods traveling north and south, Chihuahua came to play a pivotal role in trade along the road. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the trade from Mexico City to Santa Fe was dominated by merchants

based in Chihuahua, who used their position as middlemen to control prices, deliveries, credit rates, and even the value of currency, and to whom the merchants of New Mexico quickly became hopelessly in debt.

Mexican Period (1821–1848)

Under the Spanish colonial system, prohibitions on trade with foreign interests had long prevented the merchants of Santa Fe from dealing with anyone other than their officially sanctioned counterparts in Chihuahua. The occasional French or Anglo-American trader who ventured into New Mexico in the late colonial period was expelled or jailed by the colonial government. When Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, these barriers disappeared. At the same time, the expansion of Anglo-American settlement from the east had reached Missouri, which became a state that same year. The immediate result was the opening of the Santa Fe Trail from Independence, Missouri, and the sudden emergence of a whole new source of goods for the people of New Mexico. Anglo-American traders were soon leading heavily laden caravans to Santa Fe, carrying a wide range of goods previously unavailable in New Mexico, including many products newly manufactured in the eastern United States as well as imports from Europe.

The amount of merchandise flowing from Missouri to Santa Fe grew so quickly that by 1825 there was a saturation of goods in New Mexico. Santa Fe was still a small town of 5,000, and in all of New Mexico there were only around 40,000 inhabitants, which meant that the trading caravans from Missouri soon ran out of customers. In response, the merchants of Santa Fe began buying U.S. goods in excess of their local needs and carrying them down the Camino Real to Chihuahua, where they found a ready market. Anglo-American traders followed suit, taking advantage of the liberal (or underenforced) trade policies of newly independent Mexico and carrying their loads of goods to eager buyers in Chihuahua and other mining centers farther down the Camino Real. Not only was the monopoly of the Chihuahua merchants on the Santa Fe trade broken, but the longstanding inequitable relationship between Santa Fe and Chihuahua was suddenly reversed. The new imbalance of trade would remain in place for the rest of the Mexican period.

The rise of the Santa Fe trade marked the beginning of sustained interaction between the people and governments of Mexico and the United States, an interaction that led eventually to the Mexican-American War. In the years prior to the war, relations between Anglo-American traders and Mexican officials in New Mexico had become strained following attempts by the Mexican government to regulate and profit from the influx of goods into its territory. The Anglo-Americans resented the duties they were forced to pay, and Mexicans in general resented Anglo-Americans because of U.S. support of Texas, which had declared its independence from Mexico in 1836. When the United States formally annexed Texas in 1845, it effectively declared a portion of New Mexico to be U.S. territory, an act that led to the outbreak of war in 1846. Colonel Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West occupied Santa Fe in August, 1846, entirely unopposed: New Mexico's governor Manuel Armijo chose to avoid an armed conflict, apparently out of prudence. An American force led by Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan marched down the Camino Real in late 1846, engaging a retreating Mexican force first near Rancho del Bracito, just north of El Paso del Norte, and later at Hacienda de Sacramento, just north of Chihuahua. The Mexican force was soundly defeated at both locations, and Chihuahua was captured by Doniphan on March 1, 1847. Interestingly, Anglo-American trading caravans that had embarked from Missouri just prior to the outbreak of the war traveled down the Camino Real either just ahead of Doniphan or immediately behind him, intent on selling their goods in Mexico regardless of the circumstances. Many managed a profit despite the conflict.

U.S. Period (1848–present)

It was the opening of the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri immediately after Mexico won its independence from Spain that made the Camino Real a genuine thoroughfare for commerce. When the Mexican-American War broke out in 1846, traffic along the Camino Real was at its peak and the volume of goods traveling in either direction was many times what it had been in the colonial period. When the war ended in 1848, the portion of the Camino Real north of El Paso del Norte suddenly fell in U.S. territory, but instead of becoming an even busier route for Anglo-American trade, it quickly declined in importance as new, shorter routes to the Mexican interior were opened. The most important of these was the road leading from Galveston Bay through San Antonio to El Paso del Norte, which had replaced Santa Fe as the port of entry into Mexico.

The Camino Real played a limited but significant role in the Civil War. In 1861, Texas seceded from the Union and became a part of the Confederacy. Fort Bliss, an Army post near El Paso, was abandoned by the Union and occupied by a force of Texans the same year. From Fort Bliss, Confederate troops were sent north along the Camino Real to attempt to capture Union positions and gain control of the western supply route. Fort Fillmore, near Las Cruces, was captured easily, and the victory prompted the commanding officer to declare all of New Mexico Territory south of the thirty-fourth parallel the Confederate Territory of Arizona. This new status for the region was short-lived. The Confederacy hoped to gain control of New Mexico Territory in its entirety and did advance along the Camino Real as far as Albuquerque, but by May 1862, the Union had forced it to retreat to Fort Bliss. Fort Bliss was itself reoccupied by the Union later that year. The Camino Real was the scene of several skirmishes between Union and Confederate troops, as well as a pitched battle at Valverde, one of the stops along the road in use since the sixteenth century.

The final blow to the role of the Camino Real as an important trade and travel route came with the arrival of the railroad to New Mexico. In 1880, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was completed from Chicago to the Río Grande (actually ending somewhat south of Santa Fe), and two years later, the same line was extended south to El Paso. Crossing the Río Grande at El Paso, it connected with the Mexican Central Railroad, recently completed from Mexico City and closely following the route of the Camino Real. The route of the railroad from Santa Fe to El Paso was also basically the same as the Camino Real, with a number of relatively minor changes. The speed and efficiency of rail transport quickly made the wagon caravans of the Camino Real obsolete. More recently, major highways have also followed much the same route of the Camino Real, in both New Mexico and Mexico. The railroads are still important routes for carrying goods, but their role has been reduced in turn by the rise in importance of truck transport.

Travel along the Camino Real: The Places

As its full name in Spanish indicates, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro was an inland route, connecting two cities, Mexico City and Santa Fe, situated in the highland interior of the Spanish colony. Both cities are located at an elevation of around 7,000 feet above sea level, both are surrounded by mountainous terrain, and both are a considerable distance from the sea routes that connected New Spain to its mother country. Mexico City, the capital of New Spain, was linked by another royal road to the coastal city of Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico. Veracruz was the principal port for all ships arriving from Spain or from the Spanish colonies of the Caribbean. Santa Fe, a small provincial capital, was more than 1,000 miles from the sea by any route, and it was linked to Spain only by the Camino Real leading to Mexico City.

Between the similar highland locations of Mexico City and Santa Fe lay a vast, sparsely inhabited region. Most of it can be described as arid or semiarid, but the Camino Real actually crossed a variety of environmental zones along its 1,600-mile length, all of which presented challenges to travel. The most imposing challenge was the Chihuahuan Desert, especially the portion of it lying between Chihuahua and El Paso del Norte, a journey of just under 200 miles. This was the section of the Camino Real first blazed by Juan de Oñate in 1598. The Chihuahuan Desert consists of a series of basins and valleys separated by low, rugged mountains and running between Mexico's two principal mountain chains, the Sierra Madre Occidental and Sierra Madre Oriental. Annual rainfall is very low, although summer storms occasionally bring heavy rains. The vegetation is sparse and dominated by mesquite, creosote bush, acacia, agave, yucca, and ocotillo. Game animals, an important source of food for travelers, include jackrabbit, cottontail, pronghorn, mule deer, bighorn sheep, and quail. The elevation of the desert floor ranges from 3,700 to 4,700 feet above sea level, making for a wide range of temperatures, including scorching summer days and cold winter nights. Permanent sources of water between Chihuahua and El Paso are limited to a few, widely spaced springs.

The Chihuahua Desert continues north of El Paso for another 200 miles, but for most of this stretch the Camino Real followed the Río Grande, a reliable source of water. The Río Grande Valley supported a riverine vegetation, including cottonwood and willow trees, and grasses for livestock. It was also a generally level and unobstructed route. Near Socorro, about 75 miles south of modern Albuquerque, the route of the Camino Real left the desert and entered a higher-elevation, more mountainous region, following the increasingly entrenched Río Grande Valley northward. About 40 miles north of Albuquerque, the road headed northeastward out of the valley and onto the high plateau of Santa Fe. At Santa Fe, its northern terminus, the Camino Real returned to the upland pine forest it had left behind near Mexico City.

The most important factors determining the route of the Camino Real were the presence of terrain suitable for wagons and livestock (not too steep, not too soft), and the availability of water. Steep ground was simply avoided, but soft ground, such as mud or deep sand, could be a seasonal problem brought on by rain and wind. A substantial section of the Río Grande Valley north of El Paso del Norte was regularly bypassed by travelers on the Camino Real in part because the firmness of the ground was unpredictable. Travelers generally chose to take the Jornada del Muerto, a 90-mile route across a barren stretch of desert with only marginal water sources, rather than risk being stuck in muddy or sandy soil in the corresponding stretch of the valley.

The locations of water sources on the Camino Real determined the length of a typical day's travel, to the extent that travelers generally had no choice but to stop at the same sources used by everyone else. Most water sources outside the Río Grande Valley were springs, all of which had probably been discovered and used by Native Americans long before the Spanish arrived. The typical day's travel, from one water source to the next, was called in Spanish a *jornada*, and the places where travelers stopped and camped were called *parajes*. Many *parajes* were used repeatedly throughout the history of

the Camino Real, and some later became the locations of permanent settlements.

The overall route of the Camino Real was fairly consistent through time, but minor variations in the route were common along certain stretches of the road, prompted by either changing environmental circumstances or the rise of permanent settlements near the established road. The route along the Río Grande was especially subject to change because of natural alterations in the course of the river. Prior to the building of modern dams and reservoirs in the twentieth century, the Río Grande frequently flooded, especially during the spring when snowmelt in the upper reaches of the watershed swelled the river. Flooding often caused the river to shift its course, wiping out adjacent sections of the road or requiring new crossings to be established.

The locations of crossings or fords (*vados* in Spanish) had to be chosen carefully because the current of the river, even when the water was shallow, was often enough to send wagons or mule loads careening downstream. Also, the river bottom at a crossing might be too soft to support wagons or livestock. Simple log-and-caisson bridges were built at various places on the Río Grande, but few stood for more than a year or two before being washed away by seasonal flooding. At the major ford just upstream from El Paso del Norte, a bridge measuring 500 feet long by 17 feet wide was built in 1797–1798 from large cottonwood timbers floated downstream from the Sabinal area. It washed away the same year that it opened, and replacement bridges built at the same location suffered similar fates. By 1815, the effort to maintain a bridge there was abandoned. Crossing the river with wagons, livestock, and cargo, and without the convenience of a bridge, was an unavoidable part of travel on the Camino Real throughout its history.

South of Chihuahua, the development of mining settlements was the impetus for the original route taken by the Camino Real, as well as the principal cause of later variations in its route. From Mexico City to Chihuahua, the Camino Real ran from one mining center to the next, reflecting the expansion of the silver mining frontier during the early colonial period. Among the larger settlements, in order of their development, were Querétaro, Celaya, León, Aguas Calientes, Zacatecas, Durango, and finally Chihuahua itself. The emergence of other settlements between these locations but removed from the existing route of the Camino Real would prompt a detour to service the new settlement and sometimes a realignment of the main route.

North of El Paso del Norte, the pueblos of the Río Grande Valley were the first settlements connected by the Camino Real, but soon there were Spanish settlements (or mixed Spanish/Native American settlements) in the valley as well, most of which have modern counterparts. On the east bank of the river, where the Camino Real originally ran, the settlements included San Antonio, San Pedro, La Joya, Tomé, Albuquerque, Bernalillo, San Felipe, Cochiti, and San Juan. Settlements later sprang up on the west bank of the river, which led to the establishment of a parallel branch of the road running along that bank. The settlements on the west bank included Socorro, Alamillo, Sabinal, Belén, and Atrisco. There was also, of course, Santa Fe, the northern terminus of the road, located 25 miles northeast of Santo Domingo, the northernmost paraje on the Río Grande.

Throughout most of the history of the Camino Real, four locations played especially important roles in determining how the road was used. Mexico City, the pivot of economic and cultural life in New Spain and later in independent Mexico, was the source—or at least the necessary way station—for all goods and ideas flowing northward along the Camino Real. It was also the largest market for goods flowing southward from New Mexico. Santa Fe was the distribution point for goods entering New Mexico, and the gathering point for trade goods produced within the province. It was also the administrative and cultural center of the province. Chihuahua, because of the control its middlemen exercised over the trade to Santa Fe, became a center of economic power in the eighteenth century. When the Santa Fe Trail opened and the flow of goods along the Camino Real was largely reversed, the importance of Chihuahua changed but did not decline, as the city became the main destination of Anglo-American traders traveling south from Santa Fe. El Paso del Norte, the predecessor of the modern cities of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, was always important for two geographical reasons. First, it was the

riverine oasis at the end of the barren stretch of desert separating it from Chihuahua. And second, it was the site of the most important crossing of the Río Grande. El Paso del Norte was also important as the refuge of the Spanish colonists driven from New Mexico by the Pueblo rebellion of 1680, the place where they regrouped and from which they eventually reoccupied the province.

The Camino Real was effectively abandoned by 1880, its role as a trade and travel route usurped first by the railroads and later by modern highways. Today, much of the Camino Real in both Mexico and the United States has been destroyed by development of various kinds, including agriculture, urban expansion, and construction of the rail and highway corridors that replaced the road. Nonetheless, portions of the road remain intact, especially in the areas between Chihuahua and Santa Fe that have remained sparsely populated. Many of the surviving segments of the road have been traced using a combination of documentary research, aerial photography, on-the-ground survey, and archaeology. In Mexico, between Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua, approximately 150 km (93 miles) of the road have been traced, including a few continuous segments ranging from 20 to 30 km (12 to 16 miles) in length. Several parajes have also been identified in the state of Chihuahua and linked to place names that appear in historical accounts.

In New Mexico, the route of the Camino Real has recently been the focus of preservation planning by both state and federal agencies, and efforts have been made to identify intact segments of the road and associated parajes. Archaeological survey of 67 miles of the known route of the Camino Real identified 127 intact segments of the road, as well as 39 associated sites. This work focused primarily on three areas: La Jornada del Muerto, the 90-mile bypass of the Río Grande that began not far north of modern Las Cruces; El Bosque del Apache, now a National Wildlife Refuge, centered on a stretch of the Río Grande just south of Socorro; and the area at the northern end of the Camino Real near La Bajada and Santa Fe. This work has been part of an effort to designate the U.S. portion of the Camino Real a National Historic Trail, which would help facilitate efforts to preserve and interpret the former route of the road. A related effort by both U.S. and Mexican agencies has led to a proposal for El Camino Real International Heritage Center, to be located at a site about 35 miles south of Socorro, overlooking the Río Grande Valley and the former route of the Camino Real.

Trade along the Camino Real: Equipment and Preparations

Throughout the history of the Camino Real, the bulk of the traffic along the road was dedicated not to the movement of people but to the movement of goods, whether supplies for eventual use by the people carrying them or things to be traded once the people reached their destinations. It was the effective transport of goods rather than people that largely determined the modes of travel on the Camino Real.

Three different ways of transporting goods characterized the traffic on the Camino Real in three different periods. In the early Spanish colonial period, from 1609 until the Pueblo rebellion of 1680, the principal traffic along the Camino Real was the supply caravan that delivered goods by heavy wagon to the Franciscan missions of northern New Mexico. During the later colonial period, from the “reconquest” of the Pueblos in 1693 until Mexican independence in 1821, the wagons of the mission caravan were gradually replaced by pack mules, which proved more efficient and economical than wagons. Then, with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail following Mexican independence, wagon trains again became the dominant mode, but this time formed by private trade expeditions and employing a distinctive American-made wagon. Each mode of transport was well-adapted to its period and purpose, and the differences in equipment and preparations required by each mode help illustrate a diversity of transportation in the days before automobiles and trucks remade the world.

Wagon Travel in the Early Colonial Period

The mission supply caravan to New Mexico was not officially instituted until 1609, or a decade after Juan de Oñate’s original expedition of discovery to the upper Río Grande Valley. During the years between Oñate’s expedition and the start of the mission supply caravan, a number of other expeditions also brought supplies and settlers to the upper Río Grande, all of them basically following Oñate’s lead in their preparations. A look at the equipment and supplies taken along on the original Oñate expedition shows how practiced the Spanish were by the late sixteenth century in the exploration and settlement of distant frontiers. It also provides an interesting contrast with the mission supply caravan that took shape soon after, which was dedicated to supplying established settlements.

The Oñate Expedition, 1598

The most striking thing about the Oñate expedition was sheer size. One hundred and thirty men, plus the wives and children of many of them, filled 83 wagons, carts, and carriages. They carried with them a wide array of provisions, tools, and weapons, well aware that they could not rely on local supplies of food or equipment along the way. The expedition was accompanied by more than 7,000 head of livestock, which would serve as the principal food source along the way and as the breeding stock of the new settlement. Underway, the train of vehicles and livestock stretched for almost three miles. In addition to the considerable private belongings of each traveler, the list of livestock, tools, arms, and supplies gathered for the use of the expedition as a whole included the following:

Vehicles and Related Equipment

24 carts, fully equipped	2 state coaches	8 heavy saddles
2 carts with iron-rimmed wheels	25 harness sets for mule teams	6 light saddles

Arms and Armor

3 bronze field cannon	6 harquebuses	12 halberds
3 bronze field cannon	18 barrels of gunpowder	6 swords
2 smaller bronze cannon	6 leather shields	6 corselets
1 small-caliber iron cannon	6 lances	12 sets of armor (plus 2 horses each with armor) for 12 men

Foods

105 <i>fanegas</i> of maize (a <i>fanega</i> is equal to about 1.6 bushels)	689 <i>quintales</i> of flour (a <i>quintal</i> is equal to about 102 pounds)	56 pounds of sugar
152 <i>fanegas</i> of wheat	15 jugs of oil	

Livestock

799 cattle	2,900 sheep	101 mares
500 calves	53 hogs	119 other horses
198 oxen (for pulling carts)	96 colts	41 mules and asses
846 goats		

Iron and Tools

4,890 horseshoes (for horses, mules, and asses)	45 axes	unspecified numbers of sledge hammers, other hammers, tongs, files, hoof parers, bars, picks, mallets
79,000 horseshoe nails	3 padlocks with keys	extra iron for making sheets, rods, barrel hoops, and other items
35 plowshares	5 blacksmith hammers	78 <i>quintales</i> of lead sheeting
3 hoes	2 anvils	10 <i>quintales</i> of quicksilver
10 adzes	1 vise	6 pairs of bellows
8 small saws	3 knives	26 goad sticks (pointed rods used to prod animals)
12 chisels	2 sickles	
17 augers	13,500 short nails (for uses other than with horseshoes)	

Clothing and Cloth

5 buckskin jackets	3 pairs woven petticoats	1 roll of yellow Chinese taffeta
2 chamois jackets	3 pairs embroidered petticoats	1 roll of green Chinese taffeta
825 pairs of leather shoes and boots	10 trimmings for <i>huipiles</i>	5 yards of iridescent Chinese taffeta
5 chamois doublets (these and the following eight clothing entries were for Oñate's servants)	4½ rolls of cotton fabric (12 yards in each roll)	10 yards of native cloth (mixed materials)
7 gray Holland cloth doublets	441 yards of sackcloth	5 yards of coarse gray native cloth
9 coarse Anjou cloth doublets	3 rolls of Campeche cloth	7 yards of coarse white woolen cloth
12 pairs white woolen stockings	1 roll of Holland cloth	10 yards of coarse native blue cloth
4 white <i>huipiles</i> (the <i>huipil</i> was a sleeveless shirt for women traditionally worn in central Mexico)	1 roll of black taffeta	21 yards of native black baize
5 coarse woolen <i>huipiles</i>	1 roll of Chinese black damask	

Medical Supplies

6 syringes	8¼ pounds of <i>basilicon</i> ointment	½ pint of rose water
6 lancet cases (2 lancets in each case)	3 pounds of white ointment	1 pint of rose vinegar
10 pounds of cinnamon bark	2 pounds 6 ounces of laxative	12 ounces of sulphur
14½ pounds of sarsaparilla	1 pound 2 ounces of rose extract	15½ ounces of alum
5 pounds of green ointment	1 pound 2 ounces of treacle	5 ounces of <i>polvos reales</i>
3½ pounds of incarnative ointment	4 pounds of balsam	3 ounces of mastic
2½ pounds of <i>jeziaco</i> ointment	2½ pounds of diachylon	4½ ounces of verdigris

Other Supplies: 41 reams of paper

The Oñate expedition also carried a variety of goods for bartering with the Native Americans they expected to encounter; these items are discussed in the next section (Trade Goods). All of the men on the expedition also brought many of their own supplies, including livestock, carts, wagons, arms, and armor. A full list of the items carried on the Oñate expedition would be much longer than space here allows.

The Mission Supply Caravan, 1609–1680

The principal vehicle for cargo on the Oñate expedition was the traditional two-wheeled Spanish oxcart, with its solid wooden wheels and open-stave sides, but the expedition apparently also included a few large, heavy, four-wheeled wagons pulled by teams of mules. The oxcart continued to serve for local transport in New Mexico throughout colonial and later times, but the heavy wagon became the standard vehicle of the mission supply caravan during the early colonial period.

The supply caravan generally consisted of 32 heavy wagons, each having four iron-tired wheels and an arched cloth canopy of a coarse woolen fabric called *jerga de Michoacán*. Each wagon was capable of carrying 4,000 pounds and, when fully loaded, required a team of eight mules to pull it. The caravan was organized into two sections of 16 wagons, each section having its own *mayordomo*, or wagonmaster. Each section was further divided into two detachments of eight wagons, with the lead wagon of each detachment flying the royal banner. The caravan as a whole was escorted by a company of 12 to 14 soldiers under the supervision of a captain.

A surprising quantity of supplies and tools was carried by the caravan, a reflection of the length and difficulty of the trip. Each wagon carried the following:

40 yards of <i>jerga de Michoacán</i> , for the wagon cover	6 small <i>petates</i> for packing	8 cowhides for packing, and for making whips, halters, and thongs for the wagon tongues
8 blankets of <i>jerga de Michoacán</i> , one for each mule in the team	36 ropes for cinches and harnesses	3 pounds of heavy thread for sewing wagon cover, sacks, blankets, and <i>petates</i>
2 sacks of <i>jerga de Michoacán</i> (4 yards for each sack) for packing	24 headstalls (bridle parts)	4 needles for sewing
1 large <i>petate</i> (reed mat) for packing	8 sheepskins for mule collars	

Each wagon also carried the following spare parts:

26 2-pound tire nails	4 2-pound harping irons	4 1½-pound linch pins
3 27-pound tires	6 2-pound cleats	2 7-pound <i>costillas</i> (ribs to support wagon cover)
2 20-pound <i>hujas</i>	4 2-pound washers	
2 15-pound <i>hujas</i>	2 5-pound bolts	

Each detachment of 8 wagons was provided with the following items:

2 37½-pound bronze kettles	16 axles	6 carpenter's axes
2 25-pound copper kettles for cooking <i>atole</i> (corn gruel)	150 spokes	4 wood cutting axes
2 20-pound kettles for cooking meat	32 <i>camas</i> (bedding for animals)	9 augers

4 20-pound iron pans	144 horseshoes	4 chisels
12 large strainers	2 tool chests	1 large saw
6 small strainers	500 pounds of tallow for lubricating parts	1 small saw
12 bowls	1 30-pound sledge	2 large calipers
12 jars	1 25-pound crowbar	2 25-pound bars
12 metates with 2 manos each	6 adzes	6 pick axes
8 water barrels		

For every wagon there was an extra team of eight mules, as well as 32 extra mules for the caravan as a whole. In addition to the *mayordomo*, the drivers of the wagons, a variety of laborers, and the military escort, the caravan also included four native men who served as guides and 16 native women who served as cooks.

The goods carried by the mission supply caravan and intended for distribution among the Franciscan missions in New Mexico are discussed in the following section. The goods carried for use during the journey are not entirely known, but they included the following items given to each friar who was setting out for the first time for missionary work:

1 mule with saddle and bridle	1 frying pan	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fanega</i> of lentils
10 heifers	1 <i>comal</i> (griddle for cooking tortillas)	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>fanega</i> of salt
10 sheep	1 grinding bowl	600 pounds of flour
2 pairs of shoes	6 pewter plates	300 pounds of biscuits
2 pairs of stockings	2 pewter bowls	2 gallons of oil
2 pairs of leggings	15 yards of <i>jerga de Michoacán</i>	5 pints of vinegar
2 blankets	12 agave-fiber ropes	8 <i>fanegas</i> of maize
34 yards of <i>jerga de Michoacán</i> for sacking	1 bronze olla (to be shared with two other friars)	4 <i>almudes</i> of chiles
6 yards of Rouen cloth	1 bronze sauce pan (to be shared with two other friars)	6 pounds of oysters
1 set of saddlebags	52 pounds of bacon	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of lard or butter
9 yards of canvas for mattress	41 pounds of cheese	$\frac{1}{2}$ box of garlic and onions
1 canvas or leather bag for mattress	25 pounds of shrimp (all fish and meat was dried and salted)	8 pounds of sugar
1 hat and box	54 pounds of haddock	6 pounds of raisins

1 wine bottle	12½ pounds of <i>tollo</i> (a kind of fish)	4 pounds of almonds
1 breviary (book of prayers and hymns)	½ <i>fanega</i> of fava beans	4 pounds of conserves
1 drinking jug	½ <i>fanega</i> of native beans	2 gallons of wine
1 box and key	2 <i>almudes</i> of garbanzo beans (an <i>almud</i> is equal to about one-twelfth of a bushel)	

In 1631, the year this list was prepared, 20 friars traveled with the supply caravan to New Mexico, where they joined 46 friars already in residence. For every two friars making the trip, one wagon was provided to carry their supplies, meaning that of the 32 wagons in the caravan, 10 were filled with supplies to be used by the new friars. The other 22 wagons carried supplies for the friars already in New Mexico, and whatever else the contractor for the trip was able to include unofficially.

Pack Mules of the Late Colonial Period, 1693–1821

The mission supply caravan to New Mexico resumed operations on the Camino Real following the “reconquest” of 1693, but over the course of the next century, the heavy wagons of the caravan were gradually replaced by pack mules. The rugged terrain of the Camino Real, and the cost of maintaining the wagons encouraged attempts to use the simpler, less expensive method of strapping cargo to the backs of pack animals. The eminent suitability of mules for carrying cargo on the Camino Real was quickly recognized. By the final years of the colonial period, pack mules were the principal means of transport for the mission supply caravan, as well as for the increasing number of other trade caravans moving north and south on the Camino Real.

A mule is the infertile offspring of a horse and a donkey, usually of a mare and a jack (a male donkey) but sometimes of a stallion and a jenny (a female donkey). A mule combines the virtues of its two parent species: it is similar to a horse in size and strength, but as sure-footed and tolerant of deprivation as a donkey. Mules have their quirks—they are famously stubborn and sometimes difficult to manage—but neither horses nor donkeys could have carried the loads that mules carried over the rugged, often steep terrain of the Camino Real. An individual mule could carry up to 400 pounds and travel 12 to 15 miles a day, under the most difficult of conditions. Mules were highly valued for their abilities as pack animals, and they were more expensive than either donkeys or ordinary horses. The care they were given was commensurate with their value: whereas donkeys and horses were often neglected or abused, mules were almost always fed and treated well, although the rigors of their job nevertheless had a heavy impact on their health.

Composition of a Mule Train

A drove of mules for hauling cargo was known in Spanish as an *atajo* and consisted of from 50 to 200 mules. For every 50 mules there were five or six *arrieros*, or muleteers, who loaded, drove, and cared for the animals. These men worked for very low wages, but they were highly skilled and indispensable to the efficient operation of the mule train. The *arrieros* generally rode horses when performing their duties, and they were outstanding riders and ropers. Most *arrieros* were the sons of *arrieros*, or at least had grown up on ranches where they learned to handle mules. The role of the *arriero* in Spanish colonial

society was similar to the later role of the *vaquero* or cowboy in Mexico and the U.S. Southwest: he was a colorful character with distinctive clothing and traditions, and the subject of both scorn and romantic imaginings.

In addition to the *arrieros*, the mule train had a *mayordomo*, or supervisor, who might be an owner of some of the mules in the train or simply the agent of an owner. The *mayordomo* was responsible for the delivery of the cargo and for all major decisions, such as when and where to make stops and for what purpose. There was also the *atajador*, or driver, an *arriero* who rode at the head of the train, scouting the way and taking notice of suitable pasture. The *atajador* oversaw the work of the *sabaneros*, or the *arrieros* who served turns as pasturemen. The *sabaneros* were responsible for taking the mules to graze at the end of a day's travel, and for watching them through the night. Finally, there was the cook, facetiously called *la madre* (the mother) of the mule train.

One of the most remarkable components of a mule train was the bell mare, variously called *la mulera*, *la atajadora*, and *la yegua caponera* in Spanish. The bell mare was a female horse that served as the lead animal for the mule train, carrying nothing but a bell tied around her neck. For reasons unclear even to the *arrieros*, the mules in an *atajo* were in a kind of psychological thrall to the bell mare, following her unfailingly down the trail and always eager to be near her when grazing or passing the night. Josiah Gregg, an American who made many trips along the Camino Real in the years after Mexican independence, wrote that "What the queen bee is to a hive, so is the *mulera* to an *atajo*." The devotion of the mules to the bell mare made the *atajador's* job of leading the mule train far easier than it would have been without such assistance.

How Mules Were Packed

The most important job of the *arrieros* on a mule train was the correct and efficient packing of cargo on the mules. Incorrectly packed, the cargo on a mule's back would injure the animal, or shift and fall off on the trail, or waste the *arriero's* time through the constant need for adjustments. The use of pack mules by many generations of Mexican *arrieros* resulted in an art and science of packing, described in detail by several fascinated foreign observers. When Anglo-Americans first came into contact with Mexican mule trains in the early nineteenth century, they quickly recognized the effectiveness of the methods used by the *arrieros*. In fact, the U.S. Army eventually adopted the Mexican system for its own pack mule trains, including the terminology used by the *arrieros*.

The basic piece of equipment for packing a mule was the *aparejo*, a simple saddle that was really no more than a square leather pad stuffed with straw and laid like an open book across the mule's back. The sole appendage of the *aparejo* was a *baticola*, or crupper, a leather loop passing under the tail of the mule and fastened to the back of the *aparejo* to keep it from shifting forward when the mule traveled downhill. The *aparejo* lay over a saddle blanket of the coarse cloth called *jerga*, which itself lay over the *salea*, a piece of uncured sheepskin used to prevent chafing. The *aparejo* was fastened to the mule's back with a wide band of woven grass, which was pulled tightly around the animal's belly to minimize movement of the cargo. Any movement at all of the *aparejo* or its load meant an animal would suffer from chafing and eventually infection, and thus be useless to the *atajo*. The mules did their best to hinder the tightening of the cinch—for example, by inflating their bellies—but the *arrieros* had their own tricks for getting uncooperative mules to comply. Both the extreme tightening of the cinches and the tricks used on uncompliant mules would strike anyone as cruel, but the fate of a pack mule wearing an improperly mounted *aparejo* was worse still.

The *carga* (load) carried by a mule could be anything from sacks of grain to large and inconveniently shaped items such as furniture. If the *carga* was a single item, it was strapped lengthwise along the *aparejo*. If it was two items of the same size and weight, one item was strapped to either side of the *aparejo*. The strapping was done with a single pack rope that was threaded ingeniously through the

carga and wrapped tightly around the mule's belly. The *arrieros* were as diligent in the tightness of the pack rope as they were in that of the cinch. To ensure that the mule stood still during packing, an embroidered leather strap called a *tapojos* was placed over the mule's eyes. Once the *carga* was installed, a *petate*, or reed mat, might be draped over it for protection from the elements. *Petates* were also used to cover the *cargas* after the mules were unloaded for the night.

Despite the best efforts of the *arrieros* to securely fasten their *cargas*, further tightening and adjustments were usually needed along the road as items settled and shifted. It was important that the *arrieros*, often working in pairs, readjust a mule's load without forcing the *atajo* to slow down or stop, since any break in the pace could distract the mules from their grueling job. The speed and facility with which the *arrieros* could tighten and adjust a *carga* without falling behind were legendary, as was their remarkable ability to hoist heavy loads onto the mules' backs unassisted.

Anglo-American Wagons on the Camino Real, 1821–1848

Pack mule trains continued to be used along the Camino Real by Mexican traders in the years after Mexican independence, but the opening of the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri in the same period brought an influx of Anglo-American wagon trains to Santa Fe, and soon to the Camino Real itself. By 1830, the bulk of the goods moving along the Camino Real between Santa Fe and Chihuahua were carried by the distinctive American-made wagons known as Conestogas, Pittsburgh wagons, or prairie schooners.

The Conestoga was only one of several brands of wagon made in Pennsylvania and used on the Santa Fe Trail, but it was a favorite with traders. Its name became synonymous with a basic design that it shared with the other brands. Conestoga-style wagons were crafted from a variety of woods carefully chosen for strength and weight, with extensive ironwork for reinforcing stress points. The wagons were lightweight but also sturdy and relatively inexpensive. The heavy Spanish wagons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were eventually found to be less economical than pack mules for transporting goods along the Camino Real, but the Conestogas proved their worth on both the Santa Fe Trail and the Camino Real. Pack mules remained in use on the Camino Real, even by Anglo-American traders who sometimes sold their wagons in Mexico, returning home with a lighter load packed on mules (sometimes just the gold and silver earned from sales).

A Conestoga wagon carried around 4,500 pounds of cargo when fully loaded. Its box had a sagging bottom and outward-sloping sides and tailgate, a design that served to settle the cargo toward the center of the wagon during travel, minimizing the effects of jostling. The wagon was covered by a large white canvas hood stretched over high wooden arches, with the ends of the canvas pulled tight to protect the cargo from the elements. The white canvas hood, the reinforcing hardware painted a shiny black, and the red and blue paint typically applied to the rest of a Conestoga made the wagon trains of the Santa Fe Trail and the Camino Real striking in appearance.

The wagons were drawn by teams of mules or oxen, depending on the preference of the wagon owners; the two animals were used with equal frequency. Mules were faster than oxen and held up better to a lack of grazing and water, but oxen were cheaper, stronger, and less temperamental. A common complaint about mule teams was their tendency to take fright and stampede, most notably during attacks by hostile Native Americans but also at minor disturbances. Teams of oxen rarely stampeded. The risk of attack by Native American groups such as the Apache and Comanche was considerable along some stretches of the road, both on the Santa Fe Trail and the Camino Real. One of the advantages enjoyed by Anglo-American traders traveling in Conestogas was how well the wagons served for defense from these raids. As long as a wagon train was well-armed and not taken completely by surprise, a raid was easily defended against once the wagons were brought into a circle. Mexican traders soon recognized that the Anglo-American wagon trains were relatively immune to Native American attacks, and many chose to drive their pack mules in close company with a wagon train.

Trade along the Camino Real: Goods

The kinds of trade goods carried along the Camino Real changed through time, from the inexpensive jewelry carried by the Oñate expedition, intended for the expedition's first encounters with Native Americans, to the fine fabrics and other products carried from Missouri to Chihuahua by nineteenth-century Anglo-American traders. This section reviews the kinds of trade goods that traveled in both directions along the Camino Real, first during the Spanish Colonial period, when New Mexico was connected to the world economy exclusively through Mexico City, and then during the Mexican period, when the products of the eastern United States and Europe began arriving in New Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail.

Spanish Colonial Period, 1598–1821

The Oñate Expedition

The primary purpose of the Oñate expedition of 1598 was to settle the upper Río Grande Valley and build missions there, not to trade with the local people. Thus, most of the goods carried by the expedition were intended for use either on the road or for establishing a settlement once the trip was over. Nonetheless, the expedition did carry a significant number of items intended for trade with the Native Americans it encountered. The following list of goods is from the official inspection of the Oñate expedition carried out just before it departed. These goods probably served both as things to be traded for necessary supplies and as gifts intended to impress or gain the support of Native Americans. For the most part, it is unknown how such items were perceived by the Native Americans receiving them, but it is certain that at least some of the goods ended up in Native American hands: archaeological excavations at the ruins of several seventeenth-century pueblos have yielded examples of the very items listed in the Oñate inspection.

The trade goods carried on the Oñate expedition were:

30,000 glass beads in blue, black, and other colors	72 jet rings	16 tin medals
900 glass beads called aquamarines	25 alloy rings	680 alloy medals
4,500 glass beads called half aquamarines	22 bone rings	some small tinsel pictures
7 small bunches of little white beads called Indian barley	20 thimbles	10 or 12 small glass buttons
46 bunches (1,000 beads per bunch) of small glass beads	wooden beads for 7 rosaries, painted like coral	6 small flutes for children
25 ordinary combs	31 rosaries of glass beads	6 awls
162 Bohemian knives	23 other rosaries	1 pound 6 ounces of blue and white Castilian thread
180 butcher knives	56 Tlaxcala tassels for rosaries	7 ounces of coarse
89 ordinary scissors	63 necklaces of glass beads	Portuguese thread

19 small Flemish mirrors	44 throatbands of glass beads	5 ounces of fine yarn
7,250 shoemaker's needles	some alloy beads for throatbands	1 lot of Paris trumpets for children
990 glass earrings	54 amulets of badger bone	1 jet headpiece
6 small gourd-shaped earrings of colored glass	8 pairs of whistles of Texcoco clay	9 small hats
234 hawk's bells	31 tin Agnus Dei (Lamb of God) images	

The members of the Oñate expedition knew that once they were settled in New Mexico it might be years before subsequent expeditions gave them the opportunity to trade for things they could not acquire locally. Thus, every member of the expedition brought as many belongings as space and personal finances allowed. During the inspection prior to the start of the expedition, an inventory was made of the belongings of every expedition member, from the poorest soldier to the wealthiest captain. A look at a few examples of these individual inventories gives an idea of the kinds of things that would later be in demand as trade items in New Mexico. These would be carried up the Camino Real by the mission supply caravan, despite an official ban on such practice.

The following is the list of items carried on the Oñate expedition by Alonso Quesada, one of the captains serving under Oñate and clearly one of the wealthiest men making the trip:

2 male servants	3 towels	10 pairs of cordovan leather shoes
1 female servant (wife of one of the male servants)	4 sheets	3 pairs of cordovan buskins and some white boots
personal armor, including a coat of mail, and a beaver, cuisses, and jacket, all of mail	1 bedding bag of frieze	2 pairs calfskin boots
1 harquebus with all accessories, plus 2 pounds of powder and 4 pounds of shot	4 pillows	6 pairs calfskin shoes
1 short lance	1 mattress	3 pairs of spurs
1 captain's lance	4 assorted suits	12 pairs of horseshoes, with 300 nails
1 sword	4 hats (2 expensive, 2 plain)	1 set of tools for horseshoing
1 dagger	4 doublets (2 of silk, 2 of linen)	2 halters, some girths, and 2 cruppers
buckskin horse armor	2 buff doublets	8 sacks of frieze
3 light saddles	4 pairs of silk stockings	1 iron bar
1 heavy saddle	4 pairs of woolen stockings	2 currycombs
4 cavalry horses	4 pairs of linen breeches	1 ax for firewood

2 harness mules	10 linen shirts	1 large copper boiler
2 harness horses	3 pairs of garters	1 copper olla
12 ordinary horses	3 pairs of sleeves	1 copper <i>comal</i>
15 mares	2 undercoats for the coat of mail	1 grinding stone
1 jackass	needles, thimbles, scissors, white thread, and silk thread	3 pewter plates
1 tent of 54 yards of frieze	144 buttons	1 large brass mortar
1 smaller tent of frieze	72 ribbons	pincers to mend the coat of mail
1 bed	3 boxes of knives	punches and tools for making arms
2 blankets	6 bridles	7 books, religious and nonreligious
1 bedspread	100 cakes of soap	1 soldier, fully armed and equipped, including harquebus, armor, horse armor, clothing, and footgear

This lengthy list contrasts greatly with the belongings of the average man on the expedition. Francisco García, who described himself as a soldier and was accompanied by his wife and small daughter, brought only the following:

1 coat of mail, with beaver and cuisses	some horse armor	1 buckskin jacket
1 harquebus, with powder flasks	3 horses	1 set of tools for shoeing horses
1 light saddle	2 mules	1 set of bellows, with pipes, for smelting silver
1 other saddle		

Some of the men on the expedition owned and carried nothing. They were supplied with food and equipment by Oñate.

The Mission Supply Caravan

When the mission supply caravan was established on the Camino Real in 1609, it was intended exclusively as a way to supply goods to the Franciscan missions of New Mexico. As discussed above, the caravan did serve this purpose throughout most of the colonial period, while also serving unofficially as the only way for privately purchased trade goods to travel in either direction along the Camino Real. The goods officially carried by the mission supply caravan from Mexico City to Santa Fe (or later, from Chihuahua to Santa Fe) were not, strictly speaking, trade goods, since they were destined for distribution among the New Mexico missions, but a look at the items carried by the caravan gives an idea of the kinds of things that could not be obtained or produced in New Mexico. There are no comparable lists of the goods carried unofficially by the caravan, but these undoubtedly included many of the same items, with

the obvious exception of items specific to the occupation of the friars. The most important unofficial trade items were ironwares of all kinds, especially tools and arms; domestic and imported fabrics; boots, shoes, and other clothing; chocolate; sugar; tobacco; and liquor.

The following is a list of items carried by the mission supply caravan of 1631 for distribution among the friars already serving in missions in New Mexico (this list may be compared with the items carried by the same caravan for the use of friars traveling to New Mexico for the first time; see the section on equipment and preparation). Each friar was to receive:

45 gallons of sacramental wine	2 scissors	6 common rosaries
85½ pounds of candle wax	1 pound domestic yarn or thread	2 bundles of plaited cord
26 gallons of oil for illuminating the Holy Sacrament	12 awls with handles	1 white <i>cedazo</i> (apparently a kind of sieve or strainer)
8 additional gallons of oil for the friar	12 angled needles	1 black <i>cedazo</i>
4 gallons of vinegar	12 coarse needles	1 pair of spurs
100 yards of sackcloth	24 ordinary needles	1 Jerez bridle
12 yards of Rouen cloth	12 horseshoes	35 pesos' worth of medicine
12 yards of linen	3 pairs of sandals	1 sheet made of Rouen cloth
1 ream of paper	2 pairs of woolen stockings	1 shirt
2 blankets	1 friar's hat	
20 butcher knives	1 friar's padlock	

Each friar was also to receive the following items for use in the infirmary of the mission where he served:

1 pillow	6½ pounds of sweetmeats	6 ounces of cinnamon
1 blanket	25 pounds of sugar	10½ pounds of raisins
6½ yards of coarse linen	3 ounces of saffron	6 pounds of almonds
5 boxes of conserves	1 pound of pepper	5 pounds of conserves in syrup

Every two friars were to receive the following items for use in the infirmary of the mission where they served:

1 copper cupping instrument	1 razor	1 barber's scissors
1 syringe	1 lancet	

The following items were intended for the general use of a mission's infirmary:

2 jugs of Campeche honey	2 stills for distilling water	1 large brass basin
1 grindstone	4 pairs of razor hones	1 box of Puebla crockery

Among the other goods carried by the mission supply caravan were a variety of things necessary for the establishment of new mission churches. The following list, also prepared for the caravan of 1631, shows everything that was to be supplied to friars setting out to establish a new church in New Mexico (it is not clear how many sets of such supplies were actually carried on the 1631 caravan). The length of the list is remarkable: one might have thought that in such a remote, rugged setting the Franciscans would have been content to hold mass in a rustic chapel lacking most of the accouterments of more established mission locations, but even by 1631 they were importing a surprising array of religious paraphernalia. This is a useful reminder of the central importance of Catholicism in New Mexico during the Spanish colonial period.

1 priest's garment of Chinese damask, including chasuble, stole, maniple, frontal and frontal trimming, and corporal cloths	1 pair of gilded wooden processional candle holders	1 crucifix with gilded brass handle
1 alb of Rouen cloth	1 pair of brass candlesticks snuffing scissors	1 wafer box
1 surplice	1 oil painting of a saint, 2½ yards high, in gilded frame	13 yards of Rouen cloth for amices
1 pair of altar cloths	1 small chest with chrism vials (holding oil for the Sacraments)	2½ pounds of incense
1 embroidered altar cloth	2 papers of pins	2½ pounds of <i>copal</i> (a native tree resin used as incense)
some coarse corporal cloths	1 pair of cassocks	3 ounces of silk wicking
1 missal	1 piece of damask to cover the altar	3 pesos' worth of soap
1 enameled silver chalice	1 cupboard for the chalice	1 white <i>cedazo</i>
1 small bell to sound the Sanctus	1 rug for the altar steps	1 black <i>cedazo</i>
1 200-pound bell	1 copper vessel for the Holy Water	
1 iron framework to mount the bell	1 tin plate with vessels for the water and wine used during Mass	

For every five friars of a new mission, the following items were to be distributed:

2 carved images of Christ	1 brass lamp	1 set of trumpets
1 ciborium (vessel for holding eucharistic wafers)	1 pall for the Holy Sacrament	3 books of chants

1 iron utensil for making eucharistic wafers	1 set of clarions and bassoons	3 shoulder cloths of velvet with gold edging
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For the building of a new mission, the following tools and supplies were provided:

10 <i>Calle de Tacuba</i> axes (named for the street in Mexico City where they were made)	1 large latch for the church doors	800 tacks
3 adzes	2 augers	2 small locks
3 spits	1 plane with box	12 door and window hinges
10 hoes	10 pounds of steel	12 hook-and-eye latches
1 medium-sized saw	600 tinned nails for the church doors	1 pair of door braces
1 chisel with collar and handle	3,620 nails of various sizes	

Once the supply caravan had distributed its load among the missions of New Mexico, and once any unofficial goods had been distributed to their destinations, the wagons of the caravan were available for loads returning to Mexico City. Officially, the returning caravan was supposed to carry only people and goods having a legitimate connection to the business of the missions, but private passengers and loads were often accommodated. Many New Mexican ranchers also took advantage of the protection afforded by the caravan's military escort to drive their livestock to southern markets. This was such a common practice that the caravan would sometimes schedule its departure according to the convenience of ranchers.

As in the case of the privately owned goods carried to Santa Fe by the mission supply caravan, there are no convenient lists of the goods carried on the return trip. Obviously, the kinds of items heading south were determined by what could be produced as surplus in New Mexico, which meant a very limited variety of goods. For most of the colonial period, the goods shipped south were limited to sheep, raw wool, hides (of buffalo, deer, and antelope, and often obtained through trade with Native Americans), pine nuts, salt, brandy (from El Paso), small numbers of Native American blankets, and Native American war captives to be sold as slaves.

Mexican Period, 1821–1848

From the moment the Santa Fe Trail opened, there was a great imbalance in the trade between Missouri and Santa Fe. Anglo-American traders carried load after load of goods to Santa Fe or points south, exchanged most of the goods for gold and silver (especially silver coin), then returned to Missouri with largely empty wagons. Actually, many of the Conestoga wagons driven to New Mexico were in need of repairs when they reached there, and would likely have to be replaced at the end of the trip back to Missouri, so many traders simply sold their fleet in New Mexico, where even a much-used Conestoga could bring a decent price. Then they headed home with a few vehicles or none at all, packing their gold and silver on mules.

The great quantity of silver brought back from New Mexico had a significant impact on the U.S. economy, particularly the economy of Missouri, which, like other frontier states, had long suffered from

a shortage of hard cash. Missouri benefitted also from the influx of mules, the one New Mexican product brought back in any quantity along the Santa Fe Trail. Trading and breeding mules, especially for use on the plantations of the American South, became an important part of the Missouri economy following the opening of the Santa Fe Trail.

The variety of goods carried west along the Santa Fe Trail, then south along the Camino Real, was astounding and included virtually anything not produced in New Mexico. After decades of a monopoly over the Camino Real trade by the middlemen of Chihuahua, the people of New Mexico were eager for access to the diverse and relatively inexpensive goods produced or otherwise available in the United States. As one scholar of the Camino Real has put it, “Buying for the Mexican trade required more imagination than care,” since virtually anything other than raw wool and a few staples like corn could be sold easily. The most important class of goods by far was cloth, which was shipped to Santa Fe and points south in a wide variety of materials, styles, and colors. Sometimes the most unlikely products would inspire great interest in New Mexico. For example, the Native Americans of the Río Grande Valley were especially fond of glass bottles, which they would accept in exchange for their fresh produce, or for which they would even pay cash. A trader could buy liquor in bottles in Missouri, drink the liquor on the way to New Mexico, then sell the empty bottles there for more than he had paid for them full.

Among the goods flowing east to west along the Santa Fe Trail, then south down the Camino Real, were:

Dry Goods

muslin	linen	cashmere
broadcloth	nankeen	alpaca
drills	pongee	merino
prints	taffeta	silk
flannels	velveteen	calico

Other Items

clothing of all kinds	clocks and watches	pencils
rings	thread	slates
necklaces	needles	books
bracelets	thimbles	candlewick
earrings	scissors	matches
crucifixes	knitting pins	percussion caps
beads	curtain hooks	gun flints
buttons	wallpaper	gunpowder
buckles	window glass	rifles
hairpins	white lead (for glazing window glass)	traps

ribbons	pots and pans	knives
handkerchiefs	coffee mills	axes
brushes	dishes	shovels
combs	corks	hoes
razors	bottles	other tools
razor strops	wrapping paper	claret
mirrors	writing paper	sherry
cologne	pen points	champagne

Most Anglo-American traders, when they found the Santa Fe market already saturated with American goods upon their arrival, would immediately head south along the Camino Real to Chihuahua. Some Anglo-American traders opened stores in Chihuahua, others found wholesale buyers for their loads, and still others would travel to the trade fairs held in various towns connected to Chihuahua by the Camino Real or other wagon roads. As an example, one such trade fair was held every year during the first two weeks of December in San Juan de los Lagos, an important early mining settlement along the Camino Real south of Chihuahua. In 1846, at the height of the Santa Fe trade, and after war between Mexico and the United States had already broken out, an Anglo-American wagon caravan reached San Juan de los Lagos ahead of the American army to participate in the annual fair. The trade expedition carried over 100 tons of dry goods, clothing, and other items, including both English- and American-made products. The products are described as follows:

striped, black, blue, and plaid satinet	linen	crepe shawls
brown and blue cloth	balzarine	bracelets
plaid cashmere	printed lawn	scissors
cambric	lace	hooks and eyes
calico	muslin dresses	dress patterns
muslin	cotton hose	buttons
prints		

Anglo-American traders took few Mexican products back to the United States on their return trips, but this did not mean that the involvement of Mexican traders in the Santa Fe trade was only as distributors of the goods brought to them by Anglo-Americans. Soon after the opening of the Santa Fe trade, Mexican merchants in Santa Fe, Chihuahua, and elsewhere became closely involved with the Santa Fe trade, forming partnerships with Anglo-Americans, making their own buying trips to the eastern United States and Europe, and funding their own trade caravans out of Missouri. By 1840, it is estimated that half of the goods originating via the Santa Fe Trail and moving into greater Mexico were owned by Mexican merchants.

Of equal consequence to the internal economy of Mexico were the efforts of traders from New Mexico and Chihuahua to acquire the silver and mules necessary for engaging in the Santa Fe trade. For example, not long after the Santa Fe Trail opened, New Mexican merchants opened a trail from Santa Fe to San Bernardino and Los Angeles to enable them to exchange their raw wool and Native American blankets for horses and mules raised on California ranches. Similarly, a route was opened between Santa Fe and the silver-producing regions of Sonora in northwestern Mexico, where the New Mexicans could sell their wool and textiles for silver. The trade along the Camino Real between Mexicans also increased as a result of the Anglo-American invasion: the merchants of Santa Fe were soon driving large herds of sheep and loads of American goods to important mining centers such as Durango, where they could exchange them for the silver and livestock desired by the Anglo-Americans.