

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE CHIHUAHUA TRADE MONOPOLY

IN NEW MEXICO 1800-1821

A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

THE CHIHUAHUA TRADE MONOPOLY

IN NEW MEXICO 1800-1821

A THESIS

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By

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Norman, Oklahoma

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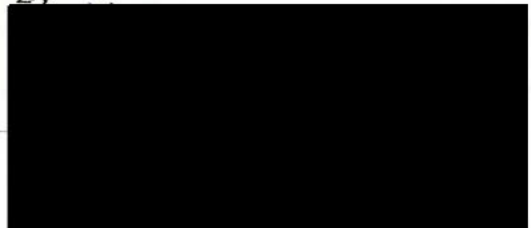
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A THESIS

I was APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY people and I appreciate all of those who contributed. My thanks to my advisor, Professor Arrell Morgan Gibson, who willingly gave of his time and expertise to this work. My deep gratitude to the number of librarians who helped this project succeed. The entire staff of the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma went out of their way to help make this masters thesis possible. Their assistance can never be repaid in full. The University of Oklahoma and the Department of History deserves a great deal of credit for allowing a part time graduate student fulfill one of his dreams.

Above all others, a special thanks to my wife, Donna, who put up with more than I had a right to ask of her. Her support greatly eased the difficulties of my trip into the past. I'm not sure I could have done it without her.

By



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
INTRODUCTION	1

PART I. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

Chapter	
I. EVENTS EXTERNAL TO MEXICO	5
II. EVENTS IN MEXICO	32

PART II. NEW MEXICAN TRADE

III. TRADE WITH CHIHUAHUA	53
IV. TRADE WITH THE INDIANS	94

PART III. RESULTANT CONDITIONS IN NEW MEXICO

V. POLITICAL CALM	118
VI. MONEY	130
VII. GOODS	158
VIII. ISOLATION	193
CONCLUSIONS	199
BIBLIOGRAPHY	206

New Mexican markets because they yielded profit.

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THE CHIHUAHUA TRADE MONOPOLY

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IN NEW MEXICO 1800-1821

INTRODUCTION

During the first twenty years of the nineteenth century Mexico's already poor economy was further weakened by the Spanish ruled Mexico and a trading monopoly based at Chihuahua retained control of the New Mexican economy. While the world went through major changes, the monopoly remained intact. This monopoly kept the New Mexican economy dependent and contributed to economic gain once competition was allowed. This study's thesis is: the Chihuahuan trade monopoly contributed to the conditions that led to the Anglo economic dominance of New Mexico.

While the Anglos had several advantages, this study will concentrate upon the economic conditions inside New Mexico that later helped the Anglos. While many authors of Santa Fe Trail commerce allude to these internal conditions, few discuss them at any length. Conditions in New Mexico contributed as much or more to the Anglos' success than the isolation due to the surrounding mountains, deserts, plains, and hostile Indian tribes, Navajos, and Utes. Following the fortunes and cheaper goods of the British Industrial Revolution. However, they were interested in the the New Mexicans were continually under Indian attack.

New Mexican markets because they yielded profit.

This study is divided into three areas: events external that influenced the Chihuahua-New Mexican trade; the New Mexican trade with Chihuahua and the Indians; and the resultant conditions in New Mexico. The first topic is divided into events external to Mexico and events inside of Mexico. The events external to Mexico were the Spanish wars, Napoleon's takeover of Spain, high taxes, and Spanish monopolistic policies. These external events added to New Mexico's already poor conditions by disrupting trade and extracting hard currency. Inside Mexico, were the Revolution, the internal monopolies, taxes, and geography.

Due to internal influences, New Mexicans traded with Chihuahuans by using annual and later semi-annual caravans. These caravans had to clear through the customs house in Chihuahua, and were subject to the control of the Chihuahuan merchants after 1750. This monopolistic control was not broken until after the Anglos were allowed entrance in 1821. With a growing debt and the New Mexicans' lack of hard currency, they bartered their goods. The price difference at Chihuahua between imports and New Mexican made or grown goods was the cause of most of the northern province's annual debt. In addition to this was its geographic isolation due to the surrounding mountains, deserts, plains, and hostile Indians--Apaches, Navajos, and Utes.

Until peace treaties were concluded in the late 1700s, the New Mexicans were continually under Indian attack.

Thereafter, New Mexicans derived some advantage in their commerce with the tribesmen; Indians bartered their goods and thus helped the New Mexican economy because the buffalo, elk, and deer hides they traded became a sort of currency. Likewise, many Indian goods were used by the New Mexicans in their daily lives. The treaties also enabled New Mexicans to travel and trade farther north and east. However, some Apache bands to the west and south continued to be hostile even after they signed peace treaties.

The final area is the resultant conditions in New Mexico. The province remained politically calm during the bloody revolutions (1810-1821) to the south, and local business interests continued to try to break the grip of the Chihuahuan monopoly with alternate routes. While a currency shortage forced the province to use barter extensively, the corresponding value of local goods remained extremely low compared to imported goods. Given the importance of both local and imported goods, the different trader groups were influential in the province. The rico families dominated the import trade, while the Comancheros mainly traded with the plains Indians. Added to the handicaps of high prices and few authorized traders, were the illegal traders. While the illegal trade's extent is impossible to determine, there is little doubt that it existed in New Mexico. The high prices and taxes that encouraged illegal trade also caused New Mexican leaders to attempt to break out from their isolation.

CHAPTER I

EVENTS EXTERNAL TO MEXICO

While many authors have discussed the weak Spanish kings during the final years of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth, few have noted the ramifications of their vacillating political and economic policies. This study starts with 1800; King Carlos IV (1788-1808) was important because his imperial policies were in force prior to the turn of the century.

PART I

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

Spain's war with Britain (1796-1801), impacted upon Spain and her colonies. It depleted its treasury and manpower and encouraged illegal commerce. Smuggling into the Spanish colonies became widespread during the war, and commerce became practically free of all control. During this war, the Spanish suffered several naval defeats, particularly the one inflicted by the British navy off the coast of Portugal in 1797. With this defeat, Spain lost

¹ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vols. 7-14: *History of Mexico 1500-1893* (San Francisco, CA: A.L. Bancroft and Co., Publishers, 1883-1888), 12:4.

² Lillian E. Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico at the End of the Colonial Period," *New Mexico Historical Review* 7 (April, 1932):136-157.

control of the Mediterranean and Caribbean seas. To continue the war, Spain demanded heavy contributions from the colonies, and a large amount came from the northern provinces.

The war prevented maintaining the required commercial effort required to keep the New World in its economic field. In one attempt to deal with the problem

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control of the Mediterranean and Caribbean seas.³ To continue the war, Spain demanded heavy contributions from the colonies, and a large amount came from the northern provinces.⁴

The war prevented Spain from maintaining the required commercial effort required to keep the New World in its economic fold. In one attempt to deal with the problem Spain allowed neutral vessels to trade directly between the Spanish ports and the colonies. Some merchants received concessions allowing them to trade directly from foreign ports to the colonies. This was permitted again when Spain and Great Britain resumed their war in 1805. This time the practice continued until Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Spain.⁵

Since France and Great Britain were already at war, Napoleon tried to make allies of all the continental countries not already conquered. To create a Spanish-French alliance, Napoleon pressured the monarchy to rebuild Spain's navy. With a combined navy he thought the alliance could challenge the British navy. This demand resulted in the crown sequestering all real estate belonging to benevolent institutions as of December 26, 1804. Since most landowners in Mexico were in debt to the church, they were pressed. As the colonial economy tightened and mortgage payments were

3

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:6.

4

Ibid., 11:490-491.

5

Ibid., 11:642-643, 643footnotes.

demanded, many families lost their land. To add insult to injury, the Viceroy of New Spain was authorized to keep a portion of all sequestered lands. Therefore, he had little incentive to show any compassion for the landowner. In the long run, this land seizure program hurt the government. The sequestered lands sold at a low price because of the lack of money. Unfortunately, landowners no longer contributed to the economy, or to the government, because they were no longer paying taxes. And large sums from the sale of the sequestered lands were kept by royal officials.⁶

There was peace for two years until Lord Nelson captured four Spanish treasure ships in 1805. Spain and Great Britain went to war again. On October 21, 1805, the British navy, under Lord Nelson, defeated the combined Spanish-French navy at Trafalgar. After Trafalgar, the war took a more serious turn for Spain. British raids on Spain's merchant shipping caused Spanish officials to declare "war" upon all British commercial shipping and British goods. Furthermore, Spain declared war on all neutral ships carrying British goods and all ships sailing to or from any British port.⁷

Since Spain was definitely the weaker naval power after

6

Ibid., 12:28-30.

7

Although this order was originally published on February 19, 1806, the Prince of Peace repeated it in a decree dated March 4, 1807. First run London Times, 31 March 1807, p. 3; Later printed in New York on 5 November 1807 and subsequently printed in the London Times, 16 December 1807; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:34-35.

coups of 1807. When it failed, Napoleon turned his French
 Trafalgar, her captains acted accordingly. Upon resumption
 Troops from Portugal to Spain sealing King Charles's fate.
 of hostilities all Spanish goods sailed under neutral flags,
 Although he survived the coup attempt and kept his crown for
 thus eluding the British continental blockade. While large
 three more years, he finally abdicated in March 1808.
 quantities of goods were probably traded in this manner, the
 Charles was named as Ferdinand VII and his son, Napoleon
 merchants raised prices to compensate for the risks
 forced Charles's son Ferdinand VII to sign the
 involved. Prices remained high at the expense of the
 treaties recognizing Napoleon's rule.
 customer. The continued high prices and heavy duties put a
 With the Iberian Peninsula under French control, the
 strain on all of the colonies. In addition, Spain's
 French.
 inability to protect her colonies was proven by the British
 attack upon Buenos Aires.⁸

By late 1807, Spain had lost most of the navy at
 Trafalgar and commerce with the colonies was greatly
 1808. With the French occupation of Spain, the
 disrupted. The nation was short of specie, the army was
 Spain.
 weak and unprepared for more war. And the monarchy had to
 deal with political intrigue from the heir apparent.

Encouraged by several generals and courtiers Ferdinand,
 son of King Charles IV, took part in a plot to overthrow his
 father. Prior to the plan maturing, the plot was
 discovered. On October 30, 1807, King Charles submitted a
 decree announcing his son's involvement in the plot to
 overthrow him. A week later, Ferdinand publicly repented
 and was forgiven only after obtaining Ferdinand's promise to
 remain loyal and his son's public proclamation of sorrow.⁹

According to Brooks, Napoleon was behind the Spanish

8

London Times, 24 October 1805, p. 3.

9

Ibid., 26 November 1807, p. 2, and 9 December 1807, p.

coup of 1807. When it failed, Napoleon turned his French troops from Portugal to Spain sealing King Charles' fate. Although he survived the coup attempt and kept his crown for three more years, he finally abdicated on March 19, 1808. Charles' son reigned as Ferdinand VII only until Napoleon forced Charles, King Ferdinand VII and the princes to sign treaties relinquishing all rights to the Spanish crown. With the Spanish crown now firmly in the hands of the French, Napoleon gave it to his brother Joseph Bonaparte. Joseph issued a proclamation urging peace throughout the peninsula and announced himself King of Spain on June 11, 1808. With this proclamation, Joseph Bonaparte became Spain's monarch.

The American colonies remained loyal to Napoleon's enemies. In an effort to win the colonies over, he decided to promise them what they desired. Therefore, three days prior to the crowning of Joseph, Napoleon had Madrid newspapers state:

At Mexico, Lima, and Buenos Aires, nothing more is desired than to be united to Spain; but at the same time the Colonies require to be governed with more justice and wisdom than at present. It is required that the career of military glory and mercantile industry be opened to the Spaniards of America.¹¹

While the colonies remained ill-treated, loyal to the former

10 Philip Coolidge Brooks, Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1939), p.10; London Times, 2 July 1808 pp. 2-3.

11 London Times, 5 July 1808, p. 3. Times, 3 September 1808, p. 3 and 4 September 1810, p. 3.

King, and more conservative than the population of Spain,¹²
Joseph remained the King of Spain until 1814.

In opposition to Napoleon was the loyal Council of Leon. On the day of Joseph's proclamation, the Council of Leon put forth an address calling for all Spaniards to resist the French in every manner possible. Many Spaniards and colonists rose against French rule.¹³ Both the Governor and the Commandant-General of Marine in Havana declared their loyalty to the "true King" and Spain; and urged all Spaniards to remain loyal to the King. Unable to fight the Napoleonic armies from Cuba, they asked that money be sent to aid those in Spain. Even as late as 1810, Joseph Bonaparte was still making overtures to the Archbishop and Viceroy of Mexico for their support, both publically rejected him.¹⁴

The Spanish empire continued to resist Bonaparte in many ways. Besides the exile government that King Ferdinand VII set up in Seville, local Juntas continued to fight against the French, and continued resistance until the end of the Napoleonic war in Spain. The London Times printed a copy of the 1808 Spanish decree demanding each village form a company of soldiers, raise funds to support these troops

¹² Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:4; London Times, 13 September 1820, p. 3.

¹³ London Times, 2 July 1808, pp. 2-3; Brooks, Diplomacy, p. 10.

¹⁴ Dated 24 July 1808 in London Times, 3 September 1808, p. 3 and 4 September 1810, p. 3.

and the king, and requesting "patriotic" loans. The
 15
 disruptions these acts inspired depleted the capital and
 manpower needed for the Spanish, Mexican, and New Mexican
 economies.

The war effort took a major step forward when leaders
 of the Spanish-British alliance signed the London Treaty
 against the French on January 14, 1809. To further solidify
 the alliance, the British King promised the Spanish King
 that the British would keep all of the Spanish territories
 16
 together until after the war.

In the dark days of 1809 and 1810, events turned
 against the alliance. With Wellington retreating into
 Portugal, and the Spanish defeat at Almonacid, the junta
 central retired from Seville to the island of Leon. As they
 prepared to disband they created a regency of five men to
 rule Spanish territory. Once notified, officials in New
 17
 Spain swore allegiance to this regency.

With each political turn or military defeat, the cry
 for funds was repeated. After draining the colonial
 treasuries of wealth, the opposition Spanish government
 continued to ask for money. Mexican colonials continued to
 contribute until late in 1809. When the junta central's
 demand for a twenty million peso loan was published in

15

Ibid., 9 July 1808, p. 2.

16

Brooks, Diplomacy, pp.11-12; London Times, 13
 September 1810, p. 3 and 8 July 1809, p. 2.

17

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:84-85.

Mexico, Mexican citizens refused to help. One reason was the news that the French controlled Spain. Even without aid, the local peninsular juntas kept up the fight against the invaders.¹⁸

Soon after Napoleon sequestered King Ferdinand VII, Spain's Regency government formed a empire-wide congress known as the Cortes. On September 24, 1810, the Cortes convened without waiting for the arrival of the invited American representatives. To the colonial representatives this treatment demonstrated the contempt Spain's citizens and officials felt toward the Colonials.¹⁹ The Cortes carried the torch of resistance in the gloomy days of Napoleonic control. On April 30, 1811, the Spanish Cortes declared invalid all Ferdinand VII's decrees and proclamations made while a captive of the French.²⁰ Furthermore, the Cortes decreed that starting in June, 1811, Britain could mediate between Spain and her rebellious colonies. During the negotiations that were limited to

18

Several sources use dollars and pesos interchangeably, therefore I assume that they mean Spanish or Mexican dollars, known as pesos de la plata, or duros. Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:88-89; Brooks, Diplomacy, pp. 11-12;

19

Christine Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers: Art and Life in Spanish New Mexico, the Fred Harvey Collection (Santa Fe, NM: Ancient City Press, Inc., 1983), p. 7; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:87-88.

20

Lathrop C. Harper, Americana Iberica: Books, Pamphlets and Broad-sides Printed in Mexico, Cuba, Central and South America, 1556-1866 (New York, NY: Lathrop C. Harper, 1962), p. 207 (April 30, 1811, #797).

Ibid., pp. 11-12; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:4.

governments and their arbitrary decisions gave the fifteen months, Great Britain could trade with the rebels. But, when negotiations ended or at fifteen months, Great Britain must stop all trade with the rebels. Even so, they would be allowed to trade with all of Spain's loyal colonies both during and after the settlement. With these moves Spain was slowly relinquishing control of her colonies.

While Ferdinand VII was still Napoleon's captive, he negotiated a treaty at Valencay stating that if both the French and English troops would leave Spain, Ferdinand would be restored as King. The Cortes voted against the treaty, so Ferdinand had the Duke of San Carlos arrest all of the leaders of the Cortes and declared its enactments null and void on May 4, 1814. Ferdinand then rejected the Constitution of 1812, and began his re-ascent to the throne.

Ferdinand VII was restored to his throne when the French were ejected from Spain and Joseph Bonaparte relinquished the crown. King Ferdinand VII continued to reign the Spanish Empire until 1833, long after Mexico had gained independence. During his reign he saw the empire become a shell of its former self. Although the seeds of revolution were previously planted in the colonies, his

21

London Times, 12 September 1811, p. 2.

22

Also spelled Valencey, but can't determine where this town was.

23

Brooks, Diplomacy, pp. 57-58.

24

Ibid., pp. 11-12; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:4.

governments and their arbitrary decisions gave the insurgents the momentum to finally break away.

In trying to rebuild his empire Ferdinand courted the British for support, but the revolutionary movement was unstoppable. Even the inquisition could not extinguish the flame of liberty in the colonies. Starting with the 1810 revolt in Venezuela, independence movements and revolts rocked Spanish America. Both Argentina and Mexico soon followed. Even with the establishment of the Constitution of 1812, colonials were convinced that the Spanish empire labored "under the crushing weight of absolute monarchy."²⁵

During the summer and fall of 1819, Spanish officials collected a military force to restore the American colonies. The expedition gathered with great promise at Cádiz, but soon collapsed revealing to the world the internal dissension in the Spanish military forces. With revolutionary spirit growing in the colonies as well as Spain, Ferdinand accepted the constitution written by the Cortes on March 7, 1820.²⁶

Ferdinand had little chance to recover his empire. Florida was ceded to the United States by the Adams-Onís Treaty, signed on February 22, 1819. The Cortes ratified it a year and a half later; the United States Senate approved it on February 19, 1821. It was only nine months later that

25

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:6.

26

Brooks, Diplomacy, pp. 185, 188.

the signing of the Treaty of Córdoba formally separated Mexico from Spain.²⁷

While Spain was losing political control over her colonies, her economic policies remained pretty much intact until 1810. These policies allowed the monopolies to control New Spain and were basic causes of New Mexico's economic backwardness. Economic monopoly was the goal of many European nations into the twentieth century. For example, the race for control of the Pacific Northwest was to monopolize the fur trade. Great Britain used monopolies throughout her empire as did Spain. In fact the whole colonial movement by the European governments was based on trading monopolies.

These external monopolies as well as local ones drained the New Mexican economy of needed capital by keeping goods scarce and prices high. While there were many problems in New Spain, it was the "commercial monopolies which caused the most wide-spread discontent."²⁸ Hubert H. Bancroft argued that the sole aim of Spanish monarchs was to drain the Indies of their wealth. To accomplish this, all Spanish possessions were subjected to monopolies and restrictions.²⁹

27

Marc Simmons, Yesterday in Santa Fe: Episodes in a Turbulent History (Cerrillos, NM: San Marcos Press, 1969), p. 46; Brooks, Diplomacy, pp. 164-165, 189.

28

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:16.

29

John Macgregor, Commercial Statistics, 2nd ed., 5 vols. (London, UK: Whittaker and Co., 1847-1850), 3:1058; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:627-628, and 12:16

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:628.

A strict trade monopoly was established and run by business interests sending predetermined quantities of goods through given ports. Additionally, the government required a special permit. This permit was costly, and only merchants from the mother country could trade. All other merchants were restrained, including those in the Canary Islands.³⁰

By using a forced closed door policy a few Spanish merchants completely controlled the trade and charged exorbitant prices for goods. All European articles were imported through Spain. To trade with foreigners was punishable by death. Fisher contends that, "Spain carried this monopolistic exclusiveness to the extreme."³¹

Restrictions upon manufacturing, the limited amount of production in Spain, and resulting high prices, contributed to the colonial revolts.

To carry out their plan of domination, Spanish officials originally allowed only two legal ports between Spain and New Spain, Seville and Vera Cruz. Only registered ships were allowed to carry merchandise between them. To further tighten their control, foreigners were prohibited from entry into New Spain without special permission.³²

The Consulado maintained control over the Indies trade

30

Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 143-144.

31

Ibid., p. 143; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 11:627-628, and 12:16; Macgregor, *Statistics*, 3:1058.

32

Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 11:628.

with its own judicial tribunal. This court presided over almost all civil cases concerning the trade. With its large funds, the Consulado began to finance many public works in the New World. In addition, it worked for its own economic interests and quickly became a closed organization controlled by a few of the large businesses in Seville. The Consulado enjoyed a trade monopoly on all goods moving between Spain and the Americas.

33

The only times the Consulado loosened its control was to those who could pay and the politically powerful. One example occurred in 1803, when Viceroy Iturrigaray obtained a royal decree allowing him to import unfinished family apparel duty free. The clothing was to be finished in Mexico prior to sale, but since no one else could import apparel, finished or unfinished without paying high duties, the new Viceroy created a lucrative legal monopoly. As proof of his success, he netted 119,125 pesos from the first cargo of goods he sold in Vera Cruz. Although one could argue that this example was simply an exemption from paying duties, the fact that the duties ranged from 15 to 50 percent automatically gave Iturrigaray an advantage. Since he was the only one allowed to ignore the payment of duties

34

this act did constitute a monopoly.

33

Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 148-149.

34

Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, Chihuahua: Storehouse of Storms (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1966), p.93; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:23.

The situation was worse after 1800 than before because the Consulados were no longer able to adequately supply the colonial population with most of the necessities of life. There is uncertainty whether this lack of goods was due to maladministration, the inability of Spain to obtain goods, or a deliberate restriction of goods to keep prices and profits high. While the lack of goods forced free inter-colonial trade upon occasion, it always failed due to the scarcity and irregularity of food crops, colonial exports and imports.³⁵ This resulted in an overall lack of goods through legal channels, thus the colonials turned to illegal channels for the necessities of life. To combat smugglers, the crown slowly shifted to a policy of free trade.

Besides the hardships the monopolies imposed, two other matters greatly affected trade with the colonies. First, Spain's vacillating policy toward Great Britain made planned, rational commerce impossible. Second, the entire question of free trade caused problems for the Spanish empire. Although the crown's attitude leaned toward profit, the fact that Spain could not supply the colonies with enough nonluxury items raised the subject of free trade, or at least a favored nation status to competitor nations.

Part of Spain's trade problem was due to large profits from the New World going to the French and English. This was a result of Spain's inability to supply more than one-tenth

³⁵

Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 148-149.

of the commodities consumed by its colonists in America. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, England was reaping profits from the Spanish colonial trade that equalled those of Spain. England could also produce manufactured goods more cheaply than Spain. The Spanish found it easier to buy foreign goods than to produce them. Thus, Spanish manufacture was bound and later destroyed by the wealth of the Americas due to the huge gold supply pouring into the mother country. America's wealth caused prices in Spain to rise and aided in ruining the markets due to the cheaper foreign goods which subsequently flooded Spain.³⁶

With ruined markets, Spain failed to enact even limited reforms until 1775, and none of the reforms directly touched the people of New Spain. Indirectly, New Spain noticed a reduction in a few of the repressive duties with the opening of nine ports in Spain and seven ports in the New World. Even with her monopolistic control, Spain was having severe economic problems. In an attempt to fix these problems, several reforms known as the liberal reforms were enacted. One was a bando, published on April 14, 1801, which announced that the port under construction at Tarragona, in Catalonia, could trade with the colonies. This was an unusual move, because the privilege of trading with the New World was restricted. It was a significant concession for Tarragona to be allowed to send ships from Spain to the

36

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 143-145.

Spanish possessions. In fact, by 1778 free inter-colonial commercial trade was permitted once the Spanish ships cleared their goods at Vera Cruz. More importantly, the convoy system was dead. For the first time Spanish ships could sail individually to and from the New World.

Goods initially had to go between the Spanish ports and Vera Cruz. On October 12, 1778, the Council of the Indies authorized free commerce. But, this free trade was not totally free. First, the vessels had to be completely Spanish owned. Second, all officers and two-thirds of the crew had to be Spanish. Thus, the widely heralded free trade was still an elusive dream, but these acts did open the door for more merchants of wealth to trade with the New World.

Unlike England and France who had always allowed free colonial trade to their merchants, over time Spain was damaged by its contrary course and grudgingly allowed free trade. By 1789, a limited free trade was finally allowed in all of the Spanish colonies. As John MacGregor stated, Spain's ". . . open trade must not be considered either a free trade, or a trade with a foreign country. It meant, in fact, an open trade with Spain. The trade with foreign countries was really open only after 1808. . . ." Even

37

Harper, Americana, p. 186 (14 April 1801 Bando #719).

38

Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 149-151; Poinsett, Notes, pp. 137-138.

39

Macgregor, Statistics, 3:1182.

this limited free trade finally broke the monopoly of the Consulado and the great Spanish merchants. Along with free trade, the crown also allowed up to one third of each cargo to be foreign goods.⁴⁰

The Spanish hoped limited free trade and the abolition of the fleets would help Spain become prosperous and benefit the colonies. Fisher believes the frontier provinces benefited from these liberal measures but only used the French in Louisiana to prove her point. Since Louisiana possessed a waterway to the sea, it would benefit more directly from any liberal shipping reform than land locked New Mexico. The reforms were less effective due to the distance merchandise was hauled.⁴¹ Beyond the large fleets and the reforms that ended the Consulado's control, trade into New Mexico was continually interrupted by rebels and war.

The Mexican independence movement was disruptive to New Mexico's supply line. From its birth in 1810, the Mexican Revolution interrupted trade for extended periods over the next eleven years. As late as 1819, the London Times reported the majority of Mexico was, "in a state of tranquil loyalty" with the only exception being 1,500 insurgents. The Times also reported that trade between the mines and Vera Cruz was going on as usual. Furthermore, the one late

40

Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 151-152, 155, 162-164.

41

Ibid., pp. 151-152.

development was that English ships could carry Spanish gold and silver from Vera Cruz to Europe in British men-of-war.⁴² Spain's commercial contact with the colonies was disrupted during the war with Great Britain--1796 to 1801. Given the scarcity of merchandise in the New World due to the war, the Spanish King permitted circulation of European goods between Spanish American ports. As a result, by 1815 several Mexican ports were open to direct trade with each other. The Chihuahua monopoly prevented access to this liberation.⁴³

Once peace returned to Europe in 1814, Spain attempted to recover some of the commerce she had lost. To do so, Spain imposed heavy duties and restrictions upon English goods. Even with free Spanish trade and high duties on foreign goods, Spanish commerce failed. One reason was that foreign commerce out-sold Spanish traders. For example, Americans could sell flour at a lower price in Havana than Spanish merchants from Puebla, Mexico. This was in spite of the fact that American labor was more expensive, the Americans had to transport their flour a greater distance,⁴⁴ and pay high tariffs.⁴⁵ But Spain's troubles did not end there.

Spain suffered many trading difficulties besides wars

42

London Times, 29 June 1819, p. 3.

43

Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 155-157.

44

Ibid., pp. 159-161; London Times, 12 February 1820, p. 3.

and a competitive market place. For example, to rebuild her industry Spain needed capital. Officials borrowed from foreigners at four and five percent. Unfortunately, only about one twentieth of the capital was in the form of currency. As a result of Spain's debts and its poor industrial base, Spain and Great Britain signed a treaty on July 5, 1814, in which Britain was clearly the winner. Not only was free trade between Spain and Britain agreed to, but Britain was also given a most favored nation status in Spanish American trade.⁴⁵ This in turn caused what David J. Weber referred to as "modified laissez-faire economics [which] replaced the closed mercantile system that had existed under Spain."⁴⁶

The battle for free trade continued. Late in the summer of 1817 the British suggested that Spain authorize free trade between the Spanish colonies. After much debate the Cortes rejected this proposal. Less than a year later, Spain reconsidered. "To court and cultivate a solid friendship and union with England, Spain opened direct trade with Havannah, and granted licenses for commercial communication between Vera Cruz and other ports."⁴⁷ This

45

Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 159-161; Macgregor, Statistics, 3:984, 1152.

46

David J. Weber, The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), p. 18.

47

London Times, 7 August 1817 p. 2; and 1 September 1818, p. 3.

symbolized a great commercial victory for Great Britain and pointed out Spain's economic weakness.

Added to the monopoly and the external political chaos, New Spain was troubled with high taxes under the monopoly which did not significantly decrease with free trade. Under both monopoly and free trade taxes remained high, but many of the funds were never placed in the Spanish treasury. While colonists paid the same price for an item, tax money was siphoned off long before the funds reached the treasury. Altogether, the high cost of shipment, smuggling, bribery and corruption will never be known. One may assume that a significant portion of these funds remained in the hands of colonial officials and merchants throughout the empire.

Bancroft stated that during the monopoly, prices for imports and exports were under the control of the merchants of Seville and later Cádiz. The cost of foreign goods passing through Cádiz to the New World was 100 percent higher than if the goods had been shipped direct. As Joel Poinsett said, the "import and export duties were exorbitant." The higher cost went for duties and the Spanish merchant's profit. The resultant effect was a widespread contraband trade and the corruption of New World officials. The mark-up on goods by the monopolists at Cádiz was 170 percent on items bought in the colonies and 250 percent on goods sold in the colonies.

48

Poinsett, Notes, p. 136; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:628-629.

One of the reasons for this excessive mark-up was that the Spanish government depended upon duties of fifteen to fifty percent on all trade and monopolies.⁴⁹ One intriguing way the Royal treasury gathered funds was through papal bulls. People were traditionally able to buy papal bulls from the King absolving their sins. The King was authorized to sell them by the Pope. Known as *Bulas de la Santa Cruzada*, one could buy away his sins or purchase special privileges. Basically there were two kinds of bulls. The first was *bulas de vivos*, which conferred dispensations and indulgences upon the living. The other was *bulas de difuntos*, which saved the deceased's soul from hell. In 1798 the crown gained \$340,897 from selling papal bulls.⁵⁰

Even with the monopoly, the system did not bring Spain the required income. While limited reforms were enacted starting in 1775, none touched the people of New Spain directly. Indirectly New Spain noticed a reduction from some repressive dues, the opening of nine ports in Spain, and seven ports in the New World. Another reform reduced or removed the main import/export duties on Spanish commerce. Both the admiralty duty and the tonnage duty were abolished and the *averia* forced to one half percent on silver and gold. Dues were dropped altogether on some colonial goods.⁵¹

49 Slight reprieve from Spain's economic woes appeared
Lister, *Chihuahua*, p. 93.

50 Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 11:664-665.

51 Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 149-151. 475, 476-477, and
12:6.

Similar reforms required Spain to divide her exports into three classes, while retaining duties on them. First were the goods of Spanish growth and manufacture, known as free articles. These paid a nine and a half percent duty. Second were goods of Spanish manufacture but not of her growth, at a twelve and a half percent duty. The remaining class encompassed all foreign goods which were taxed several times. First they were taxed seven percent upon entry into Spain, eight percent upon entry into America, with the maritime alcabala, and other charges, resulting in an overall duty of about 33 1/3 percent.

The constant drain of wealth through taxes, duties and loans hurt Mexico and failed to improve Spain's economy. In 1790 the Mexican population paid a total of \$19,400,213. Unfortunately, the crown increased its demands for higher taxes, duties, and loans in an attempt to pay for the recent war and to support Mexico's sister colonies. By 1794, the Mexican treasury was exhausted. In turn, Spain only increased the demands for more donations, as her needs continued to increase. Four years later, the minting of silver and gold coin alone brought the crown a net profit of \$1,280,746. By 1799, Spain had over 1,980,000,000 reales of paper money in circulation at a forty percent discount.

A slight reprieve from Spain's economic woes appeared

52

Poinsett, Notes, p. 138.

53

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:674-675, 676-677, and 12:6.

when peace was negotiated with Portugal in 1801, and with England a year later. Peace lifted the blockade allowing New Spain to quickly ship \$6 million to Havana and \$18 million to Spain. However, Spain's economic problems continued and so Spain demanded more money. One reason for Spain's financial difficulties was that while the Mexican people were being bled financially, Spain received only a fraction of these funds.

Excessive imposts, restrictions upon commerce and industry, as well as dishonest officials caused the Mexicans great economic hardship. The war levy added to the list of taxes, and ranged from two percent to half of one year's income. By 1805, King Carlos IV increased church annual income tax, which from 1805-1809 brought the crown \$12,080,291. During the same period, the King sent the Viceroy orders to collect all funds belonging to corporations, communities, Indian tribute deposits, treasuries of sacred shrines, and ransom money for prisoners. Even with these drastic measures, only ten million pesos were collected before the order was rescinded four years later. The aforementioned tax upon silver and gold brought the Spanish government considerable revenue during the early nineteenth century. With a sixteen percent tax on silver and a nineteen percent tax on gold, the government received \$27,165,888 from this source in 1805; three years later \$21,886,500.

54

Ibid., 12:30, and 11:503-504, 598-599, 677.

Unfortunately during this same period Spain and England went to war again. With the resumption of war Spanish-Mexican commerce waned. Due to military disasters in Spain, the King demanded more Mexican gold and silver. Viceroy Iturrigaray reacted by taking all currency he could obtain including forced loans from individuals at low interest. He quickly sent thirteen million dollars to Spain and held back another five million dollars for future shipments.⁵⁵

Within a year the Spanish were allied with Napoleon and the call for funds went out again. Over \$10 million was collected in 1806, but only 24 million francs were received by Napoleon. According to Bustamante, over half a million dollars from Mexico was taken by the official collection agents in addition to their substantial salaries. For example \$124,000 went to the diputado principal Arrangoiz; \$72,000 to Viceroy Iturrigaray; \$22,000 to the archbishop Lizana; \$50,000 to the ministers of the treasury; and \$40,000 to the Secretary; etc..⁵⁶ Actions of these officials, as well as those of their predecessors and successors, robbed the crown of needed income. While one may argue that the King would have wasted the money anyway, it only resulted in more calls for funds from the New World, thus draining Mexico and New Mexico of badly needed capital.

Some relief took place in 1810, but it was too little

55

Ibid., 12:31-32.

56

Ibid., 12:30-31&footnotes.

too late. In January of that year, the alcabala (sales tax) was lifted on all copper and tin products throughout the Spanish colonies. While this act and a few others brought some relief to the colonies, it did little to alleviate economic distress in Mexico and New Mexico. Within eight years, The London Times reported that in Spain,

and it is certain that the half of the taxes imposed have not been levied. . . . All the public coffers are empty. The army has not received its pay for three years, and the officers of the civil administration have not touched the 8th part of their salaries.⁵⁸

This quote indicated that not only was Spain destitute, but she had also drained her colonies of much of their wealth. Additionally, several of the wars for independence had been in progress for eight years. Whatever wealth remained in each colony went to support the loyal colonial armies who were then fighting the rebels. Spain's troubles did not end there. With the king's loss of control during the years of international and colonial wars, smuggling and corruption became widespread.

According to Bancroft, Spain's enemies, aided by the crown's lack of funds, fostered smuggling and graft so extensive that Spain was never able to destroy them. Smuggling not only gave the colonists a supply of goods, but also kept prices high since their prices were tied to both

57

Harper, Americana, p. 200 (January 19, 1810, #781) and p. 209 (November 15, 1813, #804).

58

London Times, June 9, 1818, p. 3.

the risks involved in smuggling and to the profits of "legal
 59
 commerce." Even with the late eighteenth century reforms,
 smuggling continued so that during the war with Britain
 (1796-1801) commerce was practically free. In fact, when
 Napoleon controlled Spain, he put forth a decree prohibiting
 trade, illegal to begin with, between the ports of
 New Spain and the provinces near to it and the
 United States and the island of Jamaica. . . . This
 contraband trade had assumed enormous proportions
 and was a great thorn in the flesh of the rulers of
 Spain.⁶⁰

His decree seemed to have little effect.

European nations were not alone in permitting smugglers
 to work the contraband trade. As early as 1804 Humboldt
 foresaw the expansion of the United States up to the borders
 of New Mexico and cautioned that this contact would increase
 contraband traffic into Mexico. Since the United States led
 the world in contraband trade with Mexico in 1804,
 Humboldt's prediction was logical. However, the smuggling
 efforts of all nations ceased when trade with Mexico was
 thrown open due to the war in 1809. War, paralyzed both
 61
 Spanish trade and industry until 1814.

Smuggling in the Spanish colonies grew out of a

 59

Poinsett, Notes, p. 136; Bancroft, History of Mexico,
 11:628-631.

60

Harper, Americana, pp. 186-188 (11 September 1801,
 #720); Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 156-157.

61

Alexander Freiherr von Humboldt, Political Essay on
 the Kingdom of New Spain, trans. John Black, ed. Mary Maples
 Dunn, (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. 178;
 Macgregor, Statistics, 3:1152-1153.

desperate need for goods by the colonists, and occurred in response to the exorbitant prices charged by the monopolists. Smuggling continued, during the last years of the eighteenth century and its pace quickened. To combat the problem, Spain had tried liberal reforms, and continued to wrestle with the problem until 1809. At that time she became caught up in wars for her own survival, and thus let free trade in the colonies develop by default. Too weak to counter, Spain watched as enemies and friends descended upon her New World jewels, and carried them away. Spain's weakness made events in Mexico all the more important to the New Mexican population and their trade.

officials and the military were... Each disruption added to the... the war against Britain... colony. Proof of this was... an army of 16,000 men upon the... then placed this force in... British invasion.

With the loss of Spain's navy... month, the loyal will in Mexico began to... Mexico's population was greatly alarmed by... more by the English attack on Buenos Aires. This attack caused several of the Mexican military leaders to turn against the Viceroy. The most notable of these was Miguel

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Bancroft, *History of Mexico*. 12/14r London: 1805. 25 October 1805, p. 3.

Dominguez, the ex-corregidor of Querétaro.

Initially, several popular movements in support of Ferdinand VII surfaced in Mexico. For instance, the Vera Cruz town council wrote to the Viceroy asking him to lead them to their show of Spain on July 22, 1808.

CHAPTER II

EVENTS IN MEXICO

Although revolution spread before Napoleon came to power, Spain's military defeats and Napoleon's takeover of the Spanish monarchy cultivated its growth. During the early years of the nineteenth century, Mexico was loyal to the monarch. However, due to the corruption of the colonial officials and the military weakness of Spain, revolt spread. Each disruption added to New Mexico's difficulties. When the war against Britain began in 1805, Mexico was a loyal colony. Proof of this was that the Viceroy quickly raised an army of 18,000 men upon the king's order. The Viceroy then placed this force in and around Vera Cruz in case of a British invasion.¹

With the loss of Spain's navy at Trafalgar later that month, the loyal wall in Mexico began to crumble. Mexico's population was greatly alarmed by news of Trafalgar but even more by the English attack on Buenos Aires. This attack caused several of the Mexican military leaders to turn against the Viceroy. The most notable of these was Miguel

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Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:34; London Times, 25 October 1805, p. 3.

Dominguez, the ex-corregidor of Querétaro.

Initially, several popular movements in support of Ferdinand VII surfaced in Mexico. For instance, the Vera Cruz town council wrote to the Viceroy asking him to lead them in their show of loyalty for Spain on July 22, 1808. The Viceroy replied within a month stating that he would gladly lead all the peoples of Mexico during this crisis.

The Mexicans' loyalty soon became just lip service to the King. One example of Mexico's slipping loyalty occurred in August 1809 when the junta central demanded a loan of 20 million pesos from Mexico. This impost quickly followed on the heels of a couple other loans and the citizens refused. One reason for failure to comply was that recent bad news from Spain convinced many Mexicans that the mother country could not defeat Napoleon. The situation degenerated to the point that in 1810 Viceroy Garibay was forced to ask for funds from the populace for arming battalions and casting cannon since the treasury was empty.

Further complicating the situation was the widespread corruption of many colonial officials, which led to Mexico's independence. For example, Viceroy Iturrigaray engaged in the practice of selling offices in the government. Additionally, he charged an impost on all quicksilver sent

2

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:34-35.

3

London Times, 17 December 1808, p. 2.

4

Brooks, Diplomacy, p. 13; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:84, 88-89.

between Vera Cruz and Mexico City. Iturrigaray personally received an ounce of gold for each quintal of quicksilver delivered. During his tour of Mexico, Humboldt repeatedly observed the corruption of colonial officials and the widespread nature of the contraband trade. In that same year all of the governors serving in Mexico, including New Mexico's, were publicly accused of corruption or lack of integrity.⁵

Never a colony of total calm, Mexico experienced an increasing number of disruptions. One was the crown-ordered expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Pope Pius VII reinstated the society by papal bull in August 1814, and within a year this order was re-established throughout Mexico. Five years later the Spanish Cortes expelled them again, but this expulsion was not carried out until 1821.⁶

The first revolutionary act, was actually a move by the conservative element in Mexico. On September 15, 1808, Gabriel Joaquin de Yermo led the royalist faction in Mexico City to arrest Viceroy Iturrigaray. They then shipped him to Spain to face charges of treason against the King. Within a year, revolutionary plots began to surface. One plot was foiled in Valladolid before the conspirators could act. Although the Viceroy finally released the conspirators

⁵ A quintal equals a hundred weight. Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:23-24; Humboldt, Political Essay, pp. 64, 172-173.

⁶ Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:438-447.

they remained under surveillance. A year later, the conservative commercial class of Mexico took a more traditional approach when they became disenchanted with Viceroy Lizana's conciliatory actions towards Napoleon. By putting pressure on the junta in Cádiz, who in turn put pressure on the regency, Viceroy Lizana was soon relieved of his position.⁷ Economic considerations for revolution were soon combined with political ones.

The political divisions in Mexico during the first two decades of the nineteenth century centered around the economic battle between Mexico City and Vera Cruz. As the issues of reform in free trade and the destruction of the Consulados gathered supporters and antagonists the lines of revolution were being drawn. According to Fisher, these reforms were supported by the merchants of Vera Cruz since the reforms would greatly help them. The Mexico City merchants feared the loss of their control over the interior trade and opposed the reforms. This internal economic rivalry grew until it broke into open hostility during the revolution. While Mexico City represented the conservative pro-royal view, Vera Cruz took the liberal side. Political and economic instability made trade with New Mexico⁸ difficult due to its long and threatened supply lines.

With all of the revolutionary activity Father Miguel

7

Ibid., 12:54, 80-83, 89-90.

8

Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 152-153, 158.

Hidalgo y Costilla's northern uprising of 1810 was short lived. By year's end, Hidalgo's army was defeated and the remnants scattered, but the revolution continued. The insurgent army reformed only to lose again at Calderón to Don Felix Calleja on January 17, 1811.⁹ Despite loyalist victories, the independence movement continued to grow. Early in 1812, the London Times reported that in Mexico,

all the strong passes and places in the country; and, which is still more important, of all the valuable mines of Mexico. No convoys with merchandize can pass from Mexico to Vera Cruz, or to other principal towns, without being intercepted by them. [Viceroy] Venegas finds it his policy to remain in Mexico with the chief of his army. If he sends out detached parties, they are mostly destroyed by the guerillas, against whom the army cannot act in a body with any effect.¹⁰

The revolution appeared as strong two years later. In a letter dated June 16, 1814, Felix Calleja wrote an Extraordinary Gazette stating,

There is nothing new in the other provinces of this viceroyalty, where the chiefs labour with ardour to dissipate the remains of the rent assemblages which wander about on every side, intercepting the roads, and preventing every kind of commerce.¹¹

Even though Calleja couched his words in terms that appeared favorable to loyalists, the fact that the revolutionaries were still able to disrupt commerce proved that they were not as dead as Calleja wished they were. In fact, the

9

Brooks, Diplomacy, p. 43; London Times, 6 February 1811, p. 2 and dated 23 January 1811, in the American papers. Reprinted in the Times on 15 April 1811, p. 2.

10

London Times, 22 January 1812, p. 3.

11

Ibid., 9 January 1815, p. 2.

revolutionaries were so successful that the King of Spain sent troops to put down the revolt in Mexico a year later.

With the arrival of Spanish troops, the Royalists began to have some success. The London Times reported in September, 1816, that the Royalists possessed the Vera Cruz-Mexico road, and a year later that the rebel General Mina was captured alive.

A week prior to Mina's capture, an English Officer at Vera Cruz wrote to an American paper, the Aurora,

And the whole country is in the possession of the independents. . . . and the communication between this place and Mexico [City] is in danger of being cut off. . . . In a word, the whole of Mexico is in an unequivocal state of revolution. . . .¹⁴

Approximately a month later the Insurgents were defeated on the Vera Cruz--Mexico City road and regular trade resumed with the north.

On the surface, Mexico seemed quiet for the next three years, but on March 3, 1821 Don Agustín de Iturbide, General of the Army of the Three Guarantees, declared Mexico independent of Spain and the fighting soon resumed. That summer, with the growing possibility of the insurgents taking Vera Cruz,

12

Ibid., 20 January 1816, p. 2.

13

Ibid., 30 September 1816, p. 2 and 13 January 1818, p. 3.

14

Ibid., 4 February 1818, p. 3.

15

Ibid., 13 February 1818.

16

Ibid., 18 June 1821, p. 2.

The merchants and rich families at Vera Cruz were in the greatest alarm and confusion. Their whole property, in goods and money, to an immense amount, was packed up ready to be shipped off for Havanna and other ports, on the approach of the insurgents.¹⁷

The population did not have long to wait, for the rebels attacked on July seventh.

The Mexico City road was probably blocked both before and during the battle. On August 6, 1821, letters from Havanna supported this assumption stating that communications with Mexico City were again established, inferring that the road was blocked earlier. This was the summer that Mexico was formally separated from Spain by the Treaty of Córdova.¹⁹

Thus independence came to Mexico. On August 27, 1821, Alejo Garcia Conde, Commandant General at Chihuahua, sent a bando to New Mexico announcing Mexican independence. Although Conde may have been premature, exactly one month later Augustin de Iturbide declared Mexico a free nation. This was the same day that the Viceroy of Mexico, Juan de O'Donojú, turned over the reigns of power to Iturbide. Within three months, Captain William Becknell of Missouri led the first successful American trade mission into New Mexico, ending the colonial monopoly of New Mexico.²⁰

17

Ibid., 11 August 1821, p. 2.

18

Ibid., 6 October 1821, p. 2.

19

Ibid., 27 September 1821, p. 2; Simmons, *Yesterday*,

20

Richard N. Ellis, ed., New Mexico Historic Documents, document 1 trans. Myra Ellen Jenkins and J.

mines, New Mexico had no Economics silver or gold mines.

Spain's monopolistic policies did not end with free trade. Instead, the cities that controlled the monopolies continued to control commerce under free trade. By 1800, Vera Cruz was the trading center of Mexico, where almost all goods were processed and annually worth 30 million pesos. With the restrictions on manufacturing, and the limited amount of manufactured goods produced by Spain, supplies remained low and prices high. Unfortunately, the Consulados of Spain were unable to adequately supply the American population with the necessities of life. No one knows if this lack was due to maladministration, the inability of Spain to obtain goods, or a deliberate restriction of goods in order to keep prices and profits high.

21

As a result of Spain's restrictions, Mexico's chief manufactures were limited to woolens, cotton, gold and silver lace, hats, leather, soap, and earthenware. In total, Humboldt stated this trade was worth no more than eight million dollars annually. Mexico's one hope against the monopolies was the mines. While the mines aided the situation, they were controlled. While Chihuahua possessed

22

Richard Salazar (Albuquerque, NM: Univ of New Mexico Press, 1975), pp. 1-2; Max L. Moorhead, New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1958), pp. 59-60; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 88; London Times, 20 December 1821.

21

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:209-210, 628-629, and 12:16; Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 148, 149.

22

Macgregor, Statistics, 3:1179.

mines, New Mexico had no active silver or gold mines.

Due to Spain's monopolistic policies, New Mexico was forced to buy all of its manufactured goods from Chihuahua and her neighboring provinces. Even items that New Mexico could easily produce like tobacco, gunpowder, and playing cards, were imported at great freighting expense. Transportation costs from the coast through Chihuahua made prices high. The southern merchants frequently raised prices whenever dealing with the New Mexicans.²³

With excessive transportation costs and high duties, the hated monopolies were allowed on necessities. These included salt, fish, tobacco, quicksilver, playing cards, stamped paper, leather, gunpowder, snow brought from the mountains for refrigeration, alum, copper, lead, tin, alcohol, cockpit licenses, along with almost all imports and exports. The government often leased these monopolies to the highest bidder who in turn charged all the market would bear. Of all the monopolies, those on salt, gunpowder, tobacco and quicksilver were the most important, in that they generated the most revenue for the crown.²⁴ As the

²³ Richard E. Ahlborn, "Frontier Possessions: The Evidence From Colonial Documents," in Colonial Frontiers: Art and Life in Spanish New Mexico, the Fred Harvey Collection, ed. Christine Mather (Santa Fe, NM: Ancient City Press, Inc., 1983), p. 84; Pino, Chronicles, p. 63.

²⁴ Edward Thorton Tayloe, Mexico, 1825-1828: The Journal and Correspondence of Edward Thorton Tayloe, ed. Clinton Harvey Gardiner (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), p. 31; Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 147-148; Ward, Mexico, 1:395-399; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:662.

most important, these monopolies deserve a closer look.

Of the many salt works in Mexico during the colonial period, those at Jalisco were the most active during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1792-1795 their gross proceeds averaged over \$12,000 per year. Between 1823-1828, the works still averaged \$7,000 per year.

Gunpowder was another problem. Large numbers of Americans made their own gunpowder, as did the French during their revolution. However, making gunpowder except by license was illegal in Mexico. One of the gunpowder factories, located at Chapaltepec, Mexico, netted the government 490,226 pesos in 1798 alone.

Tobacco, the third large monopoly, yielded \$123,808,685 for the crown between 1765-1810, and the mean annual revenue was \$3,018,251. The government's net profits in 1801-1802 averaged just over four million dollars per year. Such large profits were possible because the government bought at a stipulated price and then sold at a 233 percent profit.

Quicksilver was very important to the mining industry. Viceroy Iturrigaray's part in the quicksilver monopoly, annually gained him \$36,816. Since processing silver ore

25

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:662-663.

26

Ibid., 11:662.

27

Ibid., 11:613-614, 662-663.

28

Ibid., 12:61 and 61footnote.

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:398-399.

became much more difficult without quicksilver, the monopoly was very lucrative. One interesting subject dealing with mining and monopolies was the amount of tax gathered on gold, silver, and copper mined and minted in Mexico:

	GOLD	SILVER	COPPER	TOTAL
1800	\$---	\$---	\$---	\$18,685,674
1801	\$---	\$---	\$---	16,568,000
1802	839,000	17,959,000	---	18,798,000
1803	646,000	22,520,000	---	23,166,000
1804	959,000	26,131,000	---	27,090,000
1805	1,359,000	25,806,000	---	27,166,000
1806	1,352,000	23,384,000	---	24,736,000
1807	1,512,000	20,502,000	---	22,015,000
1808	1,183,000	20,704,000	---	21,887,000
1809	1,465,000	24,708,000	---	26,173,000
1810	1,096,000	17,951,000	---	19,046,000
1811	1,085,000	8,956,000	---	10,046,000
1812	382,000	4,028,000	---	4,409,000
1813	---	6,134,000	---	6,134,000
1814	618,000	6,902,000	103,000	7,624,000
1815	486,000	6,455,000	101,000	7,043,000
1816	960,000	8,316,000	125,000	9,401,000
1817	855,000	7,995,000	---	8,849,000
1818	534,000	10,852,000	---	11,386,000
1819	539,000	11,491,000	---	12,031,000
1820	509,000	9,879,000	---	10,406,000
1821	304,000	5,600,000	---	5,916,000

Taxes were high on metals. For silver, the levy was sixteen percent; nineteen percent for gold.

These figures disclose an interesting pattern. While the two highest production years were during rare years of peace, production remained high throughout the years of war between Spain and Britain. Next, the third highest production year was the first full year of Napoleonic rule

29

All the figures are rounded to 1,000. Poinsett, Notes, pp. 620-631.

30

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:598-599.

in Spain (1808), so one may assume this production remained heavy to enable the Spanish King to resist the French. The next year (1810) Mexico's revolution started and production fell to an eight year low. Production continued to fall until it bottomed out in 1812. While it did increase for several years after 1812, Mexico never produced comparable quantities until after independence. Even so, production did show a marked increase for three of the last four years of colonial rule.

Given the revenue these four monopolies generated, one might forget that other monopolies existed and were just as troublesome. For instance, no transaction in Mexico was legal unless written upon stamped paper with the royal watermark. There were four types of stamped paper, each with its own value running from 3 dollars to 1/6 of a dollar, depending on the importance of the document. Another practice was the selling of the monopoly to the highest bidder. The playing card monopoly was one of these. The highest bidder bought the cards from the crown for just over one real per pack and then made a profit by setting the price for resale. In 1798 alone the proceeds from playing cards reached \$160,781. That same year the cock fighting monopoly made \$109,255 for the government.

While the Spanish government used several different methods to extract funds from New Spain, the most intriguing

was the Royal treasury's use of papal bulls. By continuing an old tradition, the Pope authorized the King to sell bulls to absolve sins. The bulas de vivos and bulas de difuntos brought substantial income for the crown. In one year the crown gained \$340,897 by their sale.

32

With the reforms, trade became relatively free along the coast, but the positive effects became more limited the farther inland the goods were transported. While slowed by the merchants' resistance, free trade slowly brought aid to interior commerce of New Spain. This was especially noticeable in the mining areas like Chihuahua which weekly sent thousands of mules to Mexico City carrying silver, leather, etc. returning with woolens from Puebla, goods from Europe and the Philippines, as well as iron and mercury. Unfortunately roads were in a terrible state and considerable expense was applied to transportation.

33

Mexican exports exceeded imports by millions of pesos during the first twenty years of free trade despite numerous obstacles to trade. Consequently, large amounts of specie were shipped to Spain from Mexico. Mexico remained specie poor except in the mining and large business centers like Vera Cruz and Mexico City. This was probably why the miners of Chihuahua took a loss when exchanging metal for specie.

34

32

Ibid., 11:664-665.

33

Fisher, "Conditions," p. 157.

34

Ibid., pp. 161.

Without specie to use as capital, the mine owner faced untold difficulties in keeping the mine open and had little choice but to agree to the exchange. Using an exchange system, the mines remained open and the flow of precious metals continued under free trade as did other goods until the revolution interrupted the country's commerce.

Initially, vast amounts of merchandise came through Vera Cruz under free trade, but rebel action cut off Vera Cruz from the rest of Mexico for months at a time. In 1812, the eastern ports of Tampico and Tuspan and the western port of San Blas were opened to Spanish trade because Vera Cruz was cut off. This change made European goods difficult to legally supply to the rest of the country. Storrs added that the vast majority of goods reached New Mexico by mule trains through Vera Cruz. Most sources agreed that the vast majority of goods, and all European merchandise, reached New Mexico in this way. Thus the closing of Vera Cruz for any length of time disrupted the supply of goods bound for New

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Mexico. The traveler Ward stated the distances from Vera Cruz

rendered it nearly inaccessible to the Northern States, there being few residents in Durango, Sonora, New Mexico . . . rich enough to afford a

 35

Archer Butler Hulbert, ed., Overland to the Pacific, vol. 2: Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: The First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fe (Denver, CO: Stewart Commission of Colorado College and Denver Public Library, 1933), pp. 86-87; L. Bradford Prince, Historical Sketches of New Mexico From the Earliest Records to the American Occupation (Kansas City, MO: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1883), p. 227; Ward, Mexico, 1:428-429.

supply of articles, the value of which, in addition to the high duties, and the two hundred per cent profits of the importer, was enhanced by a land carriage of from three, to five, hundred leagues.³⁶ He went on to say that on top of everything else, all European goods changed hands at least six times on their way to customers in the eastern provinces, with a three to four percent tax added for each change.³⁷ Bancroft added color to the situation when he wrote, "Almost every person above the artisan class who migrated to the Indies came to engage in commerce or to obtain office."³⁸

The Spanish milked Mexico for all she was worth while they were in power. They not only filled Spain's state coffers, but also their own pockets; with all forms of taxes and duties. They gathered revenues to run the country, charged high taxes, and only gave exemptions to their friends or where the market could not function under the high duties. The Spanish government depended on duties ranging from fifteen to fifty percent on all trade and monopolies. These actions gave the Spanish government an annual revenue from Mexico of \$20,200,000 for 1802, alone. Twenty-three years later, the Mexican government's revenues only equalled \$10,690,602.³⁹

36

Ward, Mexico, 1:421.

37

Ibid., 1:423.

38

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:526.

39

Macgregor, Statistics, 3:1166; Lister, Chihuahua, p.

93.

Many duties raised prices and made trade difficult. These taxes included imposts, duties, fees, charges, commissions, royalties, licenses, and tributes. The almojarifazgos were import and export duties charged on all merchandise. They were usually two and a half percent on exports and five percent on imports. The value of these duties varied with each administration and at one point reached a high of seventeen and one-half percent on imports. In addition, the averia duty was charged to cover all of the transportation costs which at times ran up to fourteen percent. Another duty was the almirantazgo levied against all merchandise imported into the colonies. Furthermore, a tonnage duty was imposed on vessels working the colonial trade to defray the costs of the Consulado. By 1800, the tonnage duty ran at least two and one-half reales in silver for each ton. The duty was not levied uniformly and changed depending upon which port the ship was bound for.

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One of the most abused taxes was the alcabala or sales tax, which was a perpetual tax collected upon all goods sold or traded. The tax ran ten percent on all merchandise imported into Spain, and an additional six percent in the colonies. During the early 1800s the alcabala levy was fourteen percent. The tax on foreign goods always reached thirty-six percent by their arrival in Vera Cruz and were often as high as seventy-five percent by the time they

reached the consumers. The same thing happened to inter-
colonial goods by the time they were consumed.⁴¹

Besides being expensive, the alcabala taxes were complex. There were three kinds of alcabala that affected goods bound for New Mexico: alcabala fija, alcabala del viento, and alcabala de alta mar. The alcabala fija was paid by the townspeople upon the transactions conducted in their township. The alcabala del viento was paid by merchants trading in any other town than the one in which they resided. The alcabala de alta mar was paid at the ports upon sale or exchange of foreign goods. Unless changed by individual contract, the seller paid the alcabala on all sales out of his profits. On the other hand, with trade or barter, which New Mexicans used mostly, both the seller and the buyer paid the tax.⁴²

The resulting high costs of the heavy tax burden and the lack of goods due to the monopoly caused the population to turn to smuggling. As previously discussed, smuggling was a rampant activity both inside and outside of Mexico. Bancroft wrote that Spain's enemies, aided by the restrictions, fostered a smuggling and graft system so widespread that Spain never was able to destroy them.⁴³ In 1842, smuggling was ". . . regular business in portions of

41

Ibid., pp. 146-147.

42

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 182-183, 183footnote, 207.

43

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:630-631.

the country. . . ."⁴⁴ Even as early as 1804, Humboldt estimated the contraband trade to be worth four to five million piastres per year.⁴⁵

Unfortunately corruption started at the top of New Spain's government, with the Viceroy. Iturrigaray, engaged in the practice of charging extremely high prices for paper used in the government cigar factories. The excess money was paid to Iturrigaray's wife, Doña Inès. Between 1806 and 1807, she received 6,633 ounces of gold in this manner. Corruption was spread through the government. The best example was the government monopoly on gunpowder and blasting powder. Humboldt estimated that only one out of every four quintals manufactured in Mexico was reported to the King. Taxes not paid to the crown on this unreported powder were kept by colonial officials.⁴⁶

A final example occurred in 1810 when the Spanish reservation system collapsed. This closely coincided with the outbreak of the Mexican revolution. Colonial officials pulled the outlying troops in to protect the interior and the frontier was not as well guarded. Their thinned ranks and reduced pay caused the troops to take advantage of the Indians. When the commanding officer cut rations, some Apaches fled. Since the army was too weak to follow them,

44

Macgregor, Statistics, 3:1168.

45

Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 211.

46

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 12:23-24; Humboldt, Political Essay, pp. 191-192.

most of the Indians soon left. The end result was a weaker, and more dangerous, frontier.

Only ninety years after Cortés landed in Mexico, Santa Fe was founded as the northern terminus of the Chihuahua Trail. Although sources varied on the distance between Vera Cruz and Santa Fe, all agreed that the vast majority of foreign goods came through Vera Cruz, Mexico City, Durango, Chihuahua, and El Paso del Norte. The minimum distance up the Chihuahua Trail from Vera Cruz was over 1600 miles.

As early as the seventeenth century, the New Mexican supply service freighted up the trail with up to thirty-two wagons and over five hundred mules. This was two hundred years prior to the opening of the Santa Fe Trail, but unlike the Santa Fe trail this service was to supply the churches of New Mexico and was non-profit. Even so, the governors did ship salt, hides, and cotton cloth out on the return trip. Unfortunately, the Viceroy was too far away to stop any abuses.

Once the supply service was opened to more trade than

47

Max L. Moorhead, The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769-1791 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 289-290.

48

Poinsett, Notes, p. 95; Weber, Mexican Frontier, p. 5; Prince, Sketches, pp. 271-272; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 29.

49

France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century Part II: 1631-1664," New Mexico Historical Review 5 (April 1930):114-115, 189.

just mission supplies, the fabric of the system changed. Wagons went completely out of use and were replaced by thousands of mules. By 1800, twenty-one percent of Vera Cruz's 35,000 people were muleteers. In fact, Mexico's whole transportation network was made up of a constant flow of mule trains moving over indifferent trails.

50

Charles Hanson Jr., "Aparejos and Arrieros," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly 9 (Winter 1973):1; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:209-210; Fisher, "Conditions," p. 157.

PART II

NEW MEXICAN TRADE

CHAPTER III

TRADE WITH CHIHUAHUA

At the outbreak of the nineteenth century European wars, the Mexican population was loyal to the King. The northern provinces remained loyal longer than most of the Mexican provinces. Of their own free will, their loyalty, isolation was not less

PART II

NEW MEXICAN TRADE

Additional lifestyle made them more resistant to change. With the first request for donations, Chihuahua and New Mexico eagerly gladly gave money to support the King. Funds from the northern provinces helped equip and maintain the 18,000 man army the Viceroy sent to guard Vera Cruz.

As the King's station in the Old world crumbled, so did his support in the New World. Napoleon gained more and more control in Spain and the colonies slowly began to drift toward independence. The wealth of New Spain no longer went to Spain; in 1809 the northern provinces joined the rest of Mexico in refusing to fund Spain's activities.

Even so, the northern provinces remained loyal longer than most, as signified by the fact that Chihuahua was chosen as the site for the execution of Father Hidalgo and his followers. This was an act that would greatly disrupt

any but the most loyal provinces. When independence was declared Chihuahua's and New Mexico's support for independence was not as important as the fact that the people there did not resist independence. In almost every account, the northern provinces appear to be reluctant partners in the drive for independence.

CHAPTER III TRADE WITH CHIHUAHUA

Exchange of Money

At the outbreak of the nineteenth century European wars, the Mexican population was loyal to the King. The northern provinces remained loyal longer than most of the Mexican provinces. Of their many reasons for loyalty, isolation was most important. Their traditional lifestyle made them more resistant to change. With the first request for donations, Chihuahua and New Mexico subjects gladly gave money to support the King. Funds from the northern provinces helped equip and maintain the 18,000 man army the Viceroy sent to guard Vera Cruz.

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Exchange of Money

In an era of state economic control and later merchant control, a trade system developed to make goods available to the population, although for New Mexico these goods were scarce. Due to a lack of capital in northern New Spain, a system using four pesos having four different apparent values was devised. This four peso system was used to give value to items as they were bartered. Rarely did coinage change hands. In addition, the merchants of Chihuahua set the prices on all goods consigned to New Mexico. This, combined with the regional restrictions upon using copper coins and the overall lack of currency in the north, resulted in New Mexico's use of the barter system. Thus, the four peso system was used by New Mexico to trade with the outside world.

While the four peso system worked, it was corrupt. This was because an individual could buy at the lower rate and sell at the high rate to the unknowing New Mexicans. Under the system, the peso de plata was made of silver or plate, weighed approximately an ounce, and was worth eight

entered the market.

reales. The peso de proyecto, while difficult to define, was worth about six reales. The third was the peso de antiguos, meaning of the ancients, and worth four reales. The last and most commonly used value was the peso de la tierra, worth only two reales and used for products of the earth or soil. The peso de tierra included all agricultural goods and livestock. Apparently all four pesos were made of silver of differing weights.¹

Traders often bought using the peso de la tierra and sold for peso de plata. Chihuahuan, New Mexican, and later American traders were guilty of changing the rates to their benefit. In fact, at Chihuahua during the early 1800s, rural goods sold for so little compared to manufactured goods that the rural areas lost money. With no money, the New Mexicans were basically at the mercy of the Chihuahua store owners until offered an alternative.²

By 1750, the merchants of Chihuahua had total control of the New Mexico commerce. In other words, they bought the monopoly. This trade monopoly was held by a few merchants who paid dearly for the privilege. Due to the cost the crown charged them for the privilege, they felt free from outside competition so they regulated prices. They continued to control the New Mexican trade until the Yankee traders

1

Louis H. Warner, "Conveyance of Property, the Spanish and Mexican Way," New Mexico Historical Review, 6 (October 1931):336-337; Pino, Chronicles, p. 175, 175 footnote #123.

2

Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 50-54; Pino, Chronicles, p. 175, 175 footnote #123.

3

entered the market.

The merchants of Chihuahua became the money lenders to New Mexico as well as the sellers of goods. One prime example of this was reported in Dominguez' 1776 report. Some people owed money to a local syndic in New Mexico, Don Clemente Gutiérrez, who in turn owed money to the syndic general, Don Francisco Duro, who was a member of the merchant guild in Chihuahua. It is unknown how many other New Mexicans owed money directly to the members of the merchant guild.⁴ Along with the merchants' grasp of the cash flow, they controlled merchandise and prices. Even though there was widespread smuggling and corruption along the coast, by the time the goods arrived at Chihuahua the merchants were again firmly in control again.⁵

The above mentioned circle of families was the affluent ruling class, known as ricos. With the control that the ricos exerted and Spain's monopolistic policies, New Mexico was forced to buy all of its manufactured goods through Chihuahua. High transportation costs caused Father Juan Agustín de Morfi to state, "there is scarcely any margin

3

Warren A. Beck, New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 99; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 29, 41; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 85.

4

Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, The Missions of New Mexico, 1776, trans. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), p. 322.

5

Fisher, "Conditions," p. 145.

with which the New Mexicans can pay freight and still support themselves even at a poverty level. Since they have no alternative, they are forced to accept the rules laid down in Chihuahua."⁶

Since merchants all over Mexico were imposing non-legal monopolies on various goods, the merchants of Chihuahua were probably no different. Unfortunately it is difficult to determine where these illegal monopolies originated, but one may assume that the Chihuahuan merchants were as guilty of using illegal monopolies as their brethren to the south. Since the Viceroy was too far away to control the system,⁷ merchants apparently took advantage of the situation.

Even so, not all historians agree that the monopoly furthered New Mexico's isolation. Marc Simmons holds that New Mexico's isolation, "was more apparent than actual, since a continuing stream of new settlers, government officials, missionaries, merchants, and soldiers provided contact, however tenuous, with the mainstream of Hispanic culture." In the late 1700s the New Mexicans increased their trade of local goods toward the south. Agreeing with him is Lillian Fisher, who believed the frontier provinces benefited from the liberal measures of free trade.⁸

⁶ Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 84.

⁷ Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Max L. Moore, Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 147-148; Scholes, "Supply," p. 189.

⁸ Larry Mahon Beach, *William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trail*, Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 77; Fisher, "Conditions," pp. 151-152.

As stated earlier, New Mexico did not fit Fisher's argument. Not only was New Mexico more geographically isolated than Louisiana, but she also had the commercial monopoly to contend with. While it is true that free trade slowly brought aid to interior commerce, it was mostly limited to the mining areas like Chihuahua where merchants used the riches of mining to buy their way out of isolation.

In contrast to Simmons and Fisher, many eye witnesses and later scholars claim all trade was restricted. Richard E. Ahlborn believed the early 1800s trading patterns were the same as the late 1700s in New Mexico. Beachum agreed and quoted Becknell's observation that the Chihuahua was, "the only authorized trade route" into New Mexico, which kept New Mexico "in constant debt and short of manufactured goods."⁹ Augustus Storrs backed him up when he stated that prior to the American entry, goods were "very scarce" in the province of New Mexico, and priced extremely high.¹⁰ Josiah Gregg also commented that until 1821, all supplies came up the trail. This caused ". . . such exorbitant rates that common calicoes, and even bleached and brown domestic goods,¹¹ sold as high as two and three dollars per vara. . . ."

⁹ Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 51; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 88.

¹⁰ Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, ed. Max L. Moorhead (Norman, OK: Univ of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 13.

¹¹ Larry Mahon Beachum, "William Becknell, Father of the Santa Fe Trade," Southwestern Studies, vol. 1, No. 68 (1982):21. vara varied between 32 inches and 34 inches, thus roughly equal to a yard. Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

The price differential between imports and exports was probably the biggest reason for New Mexico's poverty. Since New Mexico's exported merchandise consisted of produce of the soil and a few crude manufactures, the New Mexicans received payment in peso de la tierra. Meanwhile, imports were valued with pesos de la plata and sometimes pesos de la antiguos. The New Mexicans had difficulty just breaking even with this kind of exchange. Even before the merchants of Chihuahua bought the monopoly, imports were worth much more than local goods. The Chihuahua merchants' monopoly compounded the problem and kept the New Mexican traders in debt. For instance in 1708, near the present site of Albuquerque a sale took place where land was sold for:

400 pesos in ewes at 2 pesos each
 10 pesos in sheep at 2 pesos each
 1 mule at 30 pesos
 6 buck sheep at 4 pesos each; 24 pesos
 60 fleece of wool for 15 pesos
 4 cows with calves at 25 pesos each or 100 pesos
 1 piece of linen at 12 reales per vara
 1 fine scarlet skirt at 60 pesos
 1 silk garment for 50 pesos.¹³

This list shows that agricultural goods, and even a fleece of wool, were of little value when compared to the manufactured goods. Undoubtedly the variance in price was due to the cost of transportation of the manufactured goods. Besides the the sea voyage costs, the most expensive part of the trip to New Mexico was the land freighting charges from

12

Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49.

13

A vara varied between 32 inches and 34 inches, thus roughly equal to a yard. Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

Vera Cruz through Mexico City and Chihuahua.

When Lieutenant Zubulon M. Pike submitted his report approximately one hundred years later, the situation was even worse. With the monopoly in place, manufactured goods cost more and New Mexican goods brought less. Pike reported that prices of New Mexican goods at Chihuahua ran two dollars for a hundred pounds of flour, five dollars for a load of salt, fifteen dollars for a barrel of El Paso wine, thirty dollars per head on mules, horses brought eleven dollars per head, a dollar per head for sheep, and five dollars per head for cattle. Prices of Spanish goods to New Mexico at Chihuahua remained high at twenty dollars for a yard of extrafine cloth, and four dollars for a yard of linen.¹⁵ By using the monopoly, the Chihuahua merchants were successful in keeping the New Mexican traders in debt.

According to Pino, one reason for New Mexico's lack of prosperity was the annual extraction of all its hard currency. Pino went on to say that New Mexico annually consumed 112,000 pesos worth of goods, but only exported 60,000 pesos worth, thereby leaving an annual deficit of 52,000 pesos. New Mexico's only other income was for the salaries of the governor and the 123-man military company.¹⁶ This constant drain on the resources of the province, caused

14

Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

15

Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59.

16

Pino, Chronicles, p. 36; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 64; Beck, New Mexico, p. 100.

Ward to say that due to a lack of specie,

payments in kind, which was done at such a loss, that the whole produce of an estate was sometimes insufficient to enable the proprietor to furnish his family with proper supplies. In this case, credit was given upon a mortgage of a part of the property; and the debt was allowed to increase, from year to year, until the whole estate was swallowed up.¹⁷

This condition continued through 1821. Upon arriving in Santa Fe on November 16, 1821, Becknell found a province of subsistence farmers. This supported the complaints of a specie drain. Becknell stayed almost a month. He found gunpowder extremely scarce. "Corn, rice and wheat" were widely used, but few garden vegetables. He stated that the New Mexicans grew sheep, goats, mules and asses, but few horses or hogs. In return for his merchandise, Becknell received silver coin.¹⁸

One may wonder how a province so currency poor could pay for Becknell's goods with silver coin. First, the rich families would have had some specie, considering they ate their meals off silver plate. Second, when currency is in short supply, people would tend to hoard specie. Finally, given that the people knew the value of the goods Becknell was offering, they were willing to give up their specie for the cheaper goods the American brought in. Although it is not probable that the New Mexicans took Becknell's first goods down the trail to Chihuahua, his prices were

¹⁷ _____
 17 _____
 Ward, Mexico, 1:424-425.

¹⁸ _____
 18 _____
 Beachum, "Becknell," p. 29-32.

obviously bargains in the eyes of the New Mexicans. ¹⁹ Even as late as 1832, Barreiro stated that currency was not easily found in New Mexico, because although the internal trade was regular, sheep were valued highly enough to be considered almost as good as money. While foreign goods were cheap, interior goods like chocolate, rice, and sugar, remained very expensive. Unfortunately, most of these goods were of the lowest quality. ¹⁹ These statements reflect that even by 1832 Mexico was not able to rid herself of the expensive internal duties, fees and bribes. Not even independence could loosen the expensive internal controls inside Mexico.

One may also wonder why the New Mexicans were always currency poor considering the vast amounts of wealth the mines of New Mexico produced after the United States took over in 1846. The Spanish knew that precious metals existed in New Mexico long before independence. In 1812, Pino stated that New Mexico contained silver, gold, lead, and copper, but these metals were not mined due to the hostile Indians. The few coins found in the New Mexican economy were made of copper. Copper coins were used throughout Mexico for limited retail trade. Although retail trade required copper money, this money caused as many problems as it solved since certain copper coins were not negotiable in all sections of the country. ²² For example, in Mexico the Paissanos Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain ¹⁹ (Norman, Oklahoma University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), pp. 141-14. Pino, Chronicles, pp. 109-110.

copper coins of one state were not legal tender in another and were seldom worth ten percent of the face value. Thus, retail trade between states, or provinces was difficult at best.²⁰

In fact, most metals were scarce in the colony. Prior to independence New Mexico imported most of its metal. Iron came from Spain and silver from Mexico. While the Chihuahua mint coined 3,603,660 dollars worth of silver over a three-year period, little seemed to find its way north.²¹ Only copper was locally mined in New Mexico from one mine, the Santa Rita del Cobre. The mine was opened by Lt. Col. Manuel Carraseo in 1800, and was operated more or less continuously until after Mexican independence when it was closed by Apache hostilities.²² Unfortunately this one copper mine could not keep pace with the more valuable mines to the south, and in fact could not produce enough copper to keep New Mexico out of debt. Due to a large annual debt, and the only coined income being the salaries of the

20

University of California, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (Berkeley, CA: University of California Published Manuscripts on Microform, n.d.), Roll #15, Frame #656, Twitchell #1844, (Hereafter referred to as SANM); Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 83; Pino, Chronicles, p. 98; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 109.

21

Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, pp. 26-67; Macgregor, Statistics, 3:1172-1173, pertaining to year 1811-1814.

22

Prince, Sketches, p. 241; Oakah L. Jones, Jr., Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), pp. 141-142; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 106.

governor and the military company, most of the people in the province had never seen hard currency.²³

To make the economy function, the New Mexicans turned to barter. Since subsistence farming and stockraising were the mainstays of the provincial economy, barter was a necessity. Due to a lack of money, everything had a "legal" value including the use of clothing as payment for land. According to Storrs, specie was not used for trade before the arrival of the Americans. Instead all commerce was carried on by barter.²⁴

Goods

With Chihuahua's monopoly, the continuing rise in prices, multiple interior duties, and the high cost of freighting great distances, goods were difficult to obtain, and external trade continued with New Mexico largely through barter.²⁵ Annually, supplies were brought up the Chihuahua Trail into New Mexico using mules and carts which pushed transportation costs higher. The caravan came north during the summer for the big Taos trade fair. The one-way journey from Chihuahua to Santa Fe took forty days. With the northern moving caravans controlled, the prices in New Mexico ranged from two to five times the cost of the same

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Pino, Chronicles, p. 36.

²⁴

Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 334-336; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 88; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 74-75.

²⁵

Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 65-66; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 93.

items in Chihuahua.

While growing and smoking tobacco and punche were part of pre-Columbian Indian culture, the conquerors quickly picked up these habits. By the early 1800s the New Mexicans were addicted to smoking to a large extent. To feed their habit, the common people of New Mexico used corn husks and a local tobacco, or weed, referred to as punche. Higher quality tobacco came from farther south in Mexico, up the Chihuahua Trail.

The other major addiction was chocolate. In fact, chocolate was the number one drink of the New Mexico population. It was imported from the lower provinces of Mexico, and was normally transported in bean form to be ground just prior to use. Imported vanilla was often mixed with chocolate.

In spite of these obstacles, trade never ceased between Chihuahua and New Mexico. Although possibly subdued at times, an exchange of goods took place through the annual caravans and trade fairs. Three types of goods were shipped north into New Mexico. First, were agricultural goods that either the New Mexicans could not grow, or could not keep

26

Howard G. Applegate and C. Wayne Hanselka, "La Junta de los Rios Del Norte y Conchos," No. 41 (n.d.), pp. 16-31; Pino, Chronicles, p. 106; Beck, New Mexico, pp. 99-100.

27

Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Cigarettes in the West," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly 18 (Fall 1982):2-6.

28

"Engages," "Chocolate in the Fur Trade," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 12 (Fall 1976):3-5.

the Indians from stealing. Second, were manufactured goods, including metal items, that represented civilization to the isolated New Mexicans. Finally, was cloth, which was a manufactured product but its importance and cost warrants separate treatment.

Many other agricultural products besides chocolate were imported into the province. Tobacco was probably the second largest agricultural import. Although many of the people smoked punche, most preferred the higher quality grades of tobacco from the south. Both cane and maple sugar were important items in the New Mexican trade. The main reason for this was that other than wild honey there was no natural sweetener in New Mexico. Along with the sugars, confections were also imported. These items were important enough to the New Mexican trade to appear in a 1714 claim by a merchant, Juan N. Vallejo. The only agricultural items on the document were tobacco, chocolate, and sugar.

In addition, a variety of European wines and liquors were included in a number of reports about New Mexico in the early 1800s. Of these, wine, brandy, and whiskey were the

29

Robert William Hale Hardy, Travels in the interior of Mexico, in 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1828: Baja California and around the Sea of Cortes (N.p. 1829; reprint ed., Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1977), pp. 95-96; Paul Horgan, The Centuries of Santa Fe (New York, NY: E.P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 113-114; Sytha Motto, Old Houses of New Mexico and the People Who Built Them 2nd ed. (Albuquerque, NM: Calvin Horn Publisher, Inc., 1973), p. 6-7; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 41-42, 49; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; "Engages," "Chocolate," pp. 3-5; C. Hanson, "Cigarettes," pp. 2-6.

most popular. Although the local aguardiente from El Paso del Norte was available, the possession of imported wines and liquors brought a touch of civilization to a harsh frontier. Much like a cup of tea and a copy of the London Times were to British colonists later in the century, these imports were a link to civilization for New Mexicans. Added to the above agricultural imports, New Mexico received cheese, rice, herbs, raisins, and other delicacies from the outside world.

Another agricultural product was livestock which was repeatedly herded into New Mexico. Horses and mules were imported in large numbers due to theft by Indian raiders. New Mexico was almost always horse-poor because Indians would steal livestock for transportation and food. The Apaches considered horse meat a delicacy. Mules, on the other hand, were the major mode of transporting goods to and in New Mexico. One example of importation occurred in 1804 when both horses and mules were imported for the military secretary but charged to the settlers for a total of 10,000

duros. Just as important were weapons the colonists carried.

Almost all of these were imported from Spain. As late as

Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 220; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Horgan, Santa Fe, pp. 113-114; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Motto, Old Houses, p. 6-7; "Engages," "Chocolate," pp. 3-5.

Pino, Chronicles, p. 107; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263.

the 1820s James O. Pattie noticed in Taos that most of the men had knives and short swords, but few guns. Even these few guns depended upon the importation of gunpowder due to the gunpowder monopoly. Added to the fact that the colony depended upon imports for its defense, the colony's economic life relied upon the importation of goods. For instance, all ironware, tools, and silverware came from Spain. All valuable specie, gold and silver, also came from the south. Thus, imported metals were necessary to keep New Mexico's economy working.

All kinds of fabric were imported as necessities. Even with the New Mexican manufacturing of coarse cloth, the demand remained high for common and fine cloth until 1824 when the Americans flooded the New Mexican market. Of the 102,000 duros worth of cloth imported into New Mexico during 1804, 61,000 duros worth came from Europe, 7,000 from Asia, and 34,000 duros worth from America. Considering that New Mexico only exported 60,000 duros worth of goods, they imported more cloth than they could possibly pay for. In addition to the fine cloth and linen mentioned by Pike, both domestic and imported fabrics were also imported into New Mexico. Lace, velvet, silk, and the finer articles of clothing were offered to the colonists. For example,

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James Ohio Pattie, The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky, ed. Timothy Flint. (N.p. 1831; reprint ed., Philadelphia, PA: and New York, NY: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1962), pp. 38-39; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 92; Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, pp. 26-67; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49.

imported fabrics were part of Juan N. Vallejo's claim. Even as late as 1828, importation of cloth was a leading enterprise. As detailed in Alphonso Wetmore's diary, in a copy of a letter to Secretary of War Lewis Cass, New Mexico's chief imported items were French calico and cotton shawls, English calicos, brown and bleached cotton shirtings, cotton hose, India black silk handkerchiefs, and German linens. Since most of these goods were of foreign manufacture, New Mexicans continued to send large amounts of capital out of the province after independence. The only difference being that after independence the goods were flowing south through New Mexico versus north through Chihuahua. This meant that New Mexico could buy these goods at a relatively lower price than before.

Other than necessities, traders also imported luxuries. Some luxuries were ordinary paper, ink, a few books, boots, and shoes. While glass and porcelain, like china cups and saucers, may be considered necessities by some, in colonial New Mexico they were not required. Some of the other frills imported into New Mexico were recorded by Pike during his visit in 1807, including a bass drum, french horns, violins, and cymbals.

33 Pino, Chronicles, p. 107; Motto, Old Houses, p. 6-7; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 41-42, 49.

34 Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 178, 180. Ibid., p. 220; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Horgan, Santa Fe, pp. 113-114; Hardy, Travels, pp. 95-96.

New Mexico's economic life centered upon raising crops and stock with little left for export. Since New Mexico's merchandise was limited to the produce of the soil and a few crude manufactures, they could profitably export very few staples. Their chief problem was a lack of transportation. To meet the transportation problem merchants turned to caravans. On his way to Chihuahua from New Mexico in March 1807, Pike observed one of the trade caravans. According to Pike, two expeditions left New Mexico each year. Five years later, Pino enlarged upon Pike's description of the caravans.

Pino's list of items for the caravan gives an excellent opportunity to examine the agriculture of New Mexico, especially vegetables and livestock. This study will examine the production of New Mexico by dividing it into three major categories: agriculture (minus livestock), livestock, and manufactures (including mining). Since agriculture was the foundation of the province, it will be dealt with first.

One cash crop was tobacco. Although tobacco took more labor than some crops, it helped the New Mexican economy. With the monopoly on tobacco, no one in the province could make cigars. However, they could grow tobacco for sale to cigar factories. Since Chihuahua was allowed to manufacture

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Scholes, "Supply," p. 188; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Pino, Chronicles, p. 106; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 231.

cigars, but could not grow tobacco locally, tobacco was imported, some of which came from New Mexico. Even though New Mexican tobacco was a poorer grade than that of the southern provinces, the income was important.³⁷

More basic than tobacco were the vegetables and grains that New Mexicans grew. The vast majority of New Mexicans ate a very basic diet. Pino's list of food for the trip from Santa Fe to Chihuahua included wheat flour for biscuits, corn, beans, and chickpeas. Without consulting any other sources, one could pretty well be sure that these were the main staples of the province. If one excluded perishables, he would not be far off. Since New Mexico's economic life centered on crops and stock with little for export, any item that would not spoil during transportation could be used to help the economy. From Pike's trip through New Mexico, he recorded that wheat flour and cotton were sent to Chihuahua. As late as 1828, Dr. Williard commented that onions were traded in great abundance. Over time, many agricultural items were sent south. Other vegetables like, peppers, melons, and bottle gourds, as well as fruit, also were sent south.³⁸ In fact, the province became famous for

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 Lister, Chihuahua, p. 93; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 92; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141.

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David J. Weber, ed., New Spain's Far Northern Frontier, (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), pp. 186-187; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464; Pino, Chronicles, p. 106; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Pattie, Personal Narrative, p. 249.

its fine fruit. Along with its excellent grapes, New Mexican fruit included grapes, apples, pears and apricots. Both dried and fresh apples and apricots were exported as well as whole grapes and raisins. Thus, New Mexico shipped a wide variety of agricultural products south.

One of the cash crops that grew wild was piñon or pine nuts. While of limited importance to the New Mexican economy, piñon nuts took little or no care and only required harvesting. Therefore, for relatively little labor piñon nuts yielded a sizable return.

Besides subsistence farming, stockraising was the other agricultural mainstay of the provincial economy. As such, ranch animals included sheep, beef cattle, horses, and mules. The New Mexicans also relied heavily upon wild animals like the buffalo for meat, skins, and furs.

For the specie-poor province of New Mexico, every export was important, sheep were ". . . the chief staple of its commerce." In fact, sheep were so plentiful and specie so short that at times sheep were used in place of money. A caravan in 1807 contained 15,000 sheep, exported

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Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Aguardiente From the Rio Grande," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 19 (Summer 1983):9-14; Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464, 530; Pattie, Personal Narrative, p. 249; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 39.

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Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Scholes, "Supply," p.188.

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Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464.

from New Mexico in exchange for merchandise. Since a similar caravan went out twice a year, one may assume that 30,000 sheep were exported annually. Unfortunately, since the merchants of Chihuahua set the prices, sheep only sold for one dollar a head, compared to European linen which cost four dollars per yard. But, of the ranch animals, sheep were still the most important.

Although beef paid five times as much as sheep in Chihuahua, not many made it to market. The reasons for this may be that sheep were heartier than cattle. For instance, the sheep may have been better able to survive the desert trip through the Jornada del Muerto with its lack of water. Obviously, most of cattle in New Mexico were consumed locally, and the leather was used for clothing. Most sources agree that the province exported some live cattle, leather, and tallow.

The other important animals to New Mexico were mules and horses. Since mules were the backbone of Mexico's transportation system, their value remained high as did demand. New Mexican horses were of a high quality and brought a good price. However, due to constant Indian

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Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 74-75; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 92, 231; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Hardy, Travels, p. 530; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 87-90, 186-187; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 49, 58-59, 191.

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Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 87-90, 186-187; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59.

depredations, horses and mules remained scarce in New Mexico and few were traded. In 1807, Pike noticed New Mexican horses selling for eleven dollars in Chihuahua, and mules going for thirty dollars. The use of mules continued to be high over the next twenty years, when Wetmore mentioned them as one of New Mexico's exports as well as horses and asses. Humboldt believed that New Mexican horses rivaled the quality of those from Chile, which were rated superior. This demand remained high for both New Mexican horses and mules.

In addition to the demand for broken horses, wild horses (mustangs) were numerous and in demand. But, they were not the only wild game in demand. Wild ewes and rams were hunted for their pelts as well as for food. Buffalo were hunted and were probably the most important wild animal in the New Mexican economy. Bison meat was salted or dried, and used locally or exported. There was also quite a trade in horns, hair and hide. While big game hunting was important, hunting and trapping small game was not.

Throughout the first two decades of the nineteenth century, several sources discussed the abundance and value of the fur-bearing animals in New Mexico. Historically, buffalo hides, or robes, were one of New Mexico's more

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Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 87-90, 186-187; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 178, 180; Hardy, Travels, p. 459; Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 130.

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Pino, Chronicles, pp. 99-100.

profitable trading staple. Pike, Pino, Storrs, and Wetmore commented on the fur trade in the province at different times. What became evident was that buffalo robes were the most important furs in New Mexico's economy. Several of these sources add deer skins, beaver pelts, antelope hides, cabrie skins and dressed skins in general to the list. Furthermore, the jerked meat made from the buffalo was an important part of the New Mexican diet as well as an export. While the buffalo's hides helped clothe the population, they were also used as rugs, bedding, and surfaces for paintings.⁴⁶

Added to subsistence farming and stockraising were some minor but important manufactures. One of these was woolens. Wool was plentiful and over time led to a small independent weaving industry. Wool and woven goods were used both locally and exported. Of the few crude manufactures that the province profitably exported, Indian blankets were an important part.⁴⁷ As late as the 1830s, Joseph Gregg observed

The New Mexicans are celebrated for the manufacture of coarse blankets, which is an article of considerable traffic between them and the southern provinces, as also with the neighboring Indians. . . . The finer articles are curiously woven in handsome figures of various colors. These are of different

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Ibid., pp. 23, 25; Scholes, "Supply," p.188; Hardy, *Travels*, p. 530; Hulbert, ed., *Turquoise Trail*, pp. 92, 178, 180; Moorhead, *Royal Road*, p. 49; Lister, *Chihuahua*, p. 78; Prince, *Sketches*, pp. 262-263; Motto, *Old Houses*, p. 7.

47

Moorhead, *Royal Road*, p. 49; Scholes, "Supply," p.

188; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 74-75. qualities, the most ordinary being valued at about two dollars apiece, while those of the finest texture, especially their imitations of the Sarape Navajo, will sell for twenty dollars or more. There have also been made in New Mexico a few imitations of Sarape Saltillo -- The blanket of Saltillo, a city of the south celebrated for the manufacture of the most splendid fancy blankets, singularly figured with all the colors of the rainbow. These are often sold for more than fifty dollars each. An additional value is set upon the fine sarape on account of its being a fashionable substitute for a cloak. Indeed, the inferior sarape is the only overdress used by the peasantry in the winter.

Besides blankets, the New Mexicans manufacture a kind of coarse twilled woolen stuff, called gerga, which is checkered with black and white, and is used for carpets, and also by the peasantry for clothing, which, in fact, with some other similar domestic stuff, together with buckskin, constituted almost the only article of wear they were possessed of, till the trade from Missouri furnished them with foreign fabrics at more reasonable prices than they had been in the habit of paying to the traders of the southern provinces. Their domestic textures are nearly all of wool, there being no flax or hemp and but little cotton spun.⁴⁸

Gregg was not alone in his comments or praises of the Indian manufactured fabrics. According to Pike, New Mexico exported both rough cotton and wool cloth, as well as superior blankets. In the early days, the province was known for its woven mantas. Later it became known for Chimayo and Navajo blankets and rugs. By 1812 it was exporting both cotton and woolen blankets, quilts, serapes, coarse hose, tablecloths, and sackcloth.⁴⁹

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Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "The Mexican Traders," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 6 (Fall 1970):3.

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Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Motto, Old Houses, p. 7; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Scholes, "Supply," p. 188.

Next to cloth, aguardiente was probably New Mexico's most important manufacture. With fine vineyards and orchards, El Paso de Norte became famous for its production of aguardiente. Aguardiente differed from place to place and changed over time, but in colonial New Mexico it was a grape brandy. Although sometimes referred to as whiskey, New Mexico aguardiente was brandy distilled from the local wines which were mostly grape. Not only was aguardiente traded to the Indians and the neighboring provinces, but so were El Paso del Norte's wines, and other brandies. This production helped the province's economy because, according to Pike, a barrel of El Paso wine sold for fifteen dollars, which was three times the value of a head of beef and fifteen times that of a sheep.

Another of the profitable staples that the New Mexicans manufactured was salt. Several villages along the Rio Grande made their living by harvesting salt from nearby lakes. By sending loads of salt to Chihuahua, New Mexico's economic position improved. According to Pike, a 300 pound load of salt sold for five dollars in Chihuahua. Compared to the cost of imports this was a small income.

Other than these, Pike stated that the civilized Indians accomplished the vast majority of manufacturing in

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C. Hanson, "Aguardiente," pp. 9-14; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 92; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 39, 49, 58-59; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Hardy, Travels, p. 530.

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Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 49, 58-59; Scholes, "Supply," p. 188; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263.

New Mexico. While the Spanish contented themselves with agriculture, the civilized Indians filled the trades, and made items for export like copper vessels and pottersware. They also worked leather into such saleable goods as shoes, bridles, harnesses, and spurs. Some of them made candles⁵² for export from the tallow of slaughtered livestock.

The last manufacture to examine is mining. There were several reasons why mining remained small compared to the southern provinces. The main reason was simply survival. Due to continual Indian attacks and the practice of shipping Indian slaves south, few people were left to work the mines or the smelters. Therefore, the province's one copper mine barely produced enough to feed New Mexico's limited manufacturing needs, much less to export. Alongside New Mexico's small copper output was an even smaller turquoise trade, but it was so minor that it had no impact on the province's economy.⁵³

While listing goods traded north and south is important, it does not explain why the New Mexicans were continually in debt or the impact of the monopoly. To address these, the associated differences in price must be examined. Due to New Mexico's dependence on agriculture, it is discussed first. Then manufactures will be examined.

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Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 87-90; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263.

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Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 92; Pattie, Personal Narrative, p. 249; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 74-75; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78.

Agriculture is further divided into crops and livestock.

The two largest crops in New Mexico were grains. Wheat and corn were not only important, but they basically equal in price for the forty years surrounding this study. At least as early as 1776, both wheat and corn held the same value. A fanega of wheat or corn was worth four pesos.⁵⁴ Although this price does not appear low for these two grains, in 1807 Pike reported that 100 pounds of New Mexican flour sold for two dollars in Chihuahua. Five years later Pino reported that both wheat and corn cost one peso per fanega during an average year.⁵⁵ This meant that within approximately forty years the Chihuahuan merchants were able to drive the price of wheat and corn down to one-fourth the 1776 price. Although there are probably other reasons why the price of grains was lower in 1812, New Mexican farmers received less for the same output. This in turn made it difficult to deal with a growing debt.

Unfortunately, New Mexico's other agricultural goods

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Discussing prices of goods is difficult due to the use of the four values of the peso. Lacking specific references to the contrary, the prices discussed here are assumed to be in pesos de la plata, also known as duros. While this may misrepresent the actual value of the New Mexicans' agricultural goods, any inaccuracies in the figures will show the New Mexicans in a better light than if they were pesos de la tierra. This is due to the fact that pesos de la plata were worth six times the value of pesos de la tierra. If the values of the pesos used are in fact too high, then the New Mexicans received less actual return for their goods than this study assumes. Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 336-337; Dominguez, *Missions*, pp. 31, 76, 245-246.

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Moorhead, *Royal Road*, pp. 58-59; Pino, *Chronicles*, p. 97.

could not help fight this problem due to their low prices. For instance, in 1776 a load of pine pitch or firewood weighing 300 pounds was worth two pesos. About the same time a string of chiles sold for two pesos in upper New Mexico and one peso in lower New Mexico. Similarly a fanega of chick peas sold for twelve pesos, a fanega of any other legume ran eight pesos, and twenty eggs cost one peso.⁵⁶

Although the prices for agricultural goods remained low, the monopolies did help the prices of some farm goods. As early as 1708 the price was set for sheep and ewes at two pesos per head. This price was significant in that it remained as the standard for at least seventy years. By 1807, the price was one dollar per head. This drop damaged an economy trying to deal with a hefty annual debt.⁵⁷

Similarly, sixty fleeces of wool were sold in 1708 for fifteen pesos, or one peso for every four fleeces. Seventy years later the price was still the same in the Rio Abajo (southern) section of New Mexico, but double the price in the Rio Arriba (northern) area.⁵⁸ This shows that for many years the prices on fleeces remained the same. Although prices for fleeces were not found during the last twenty

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Dominguez, Missions, pp. 31, 75, 245-246; Ward, Mexico, 1:49.

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Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Pino, Chronicles, p. 97; Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 31, 245-246.

58

Dominguez, Missions, pp. 245; Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

years of Spanish rule, one may logically assume that the price followed the decline of sheep in general. Next to wool fleece, buffalo robes and deerskins were the most important skins to the province. Interestingly enough, as important as buffalo robes were to the New Mexicans, no quoted prices were found. On the other hand, deerskins remained a constant two pesos per skin throughout the period.

Compared to sheep, there was little information on cattle prices. During most of the eighteenth century, the sale price of cattle remained constant with the cost of a cow with calf set at twenty-five pesos. In relation to the above price, Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez added the following breakdown in 1777. A cow without calf or a tame yoked bull brought twenty pesos, a wild bull fifteen pesos, a tame ox sold for twenty-five pesos, and a yearling calf just six pesos. Pike's only comment about cattle was they were worth five dollars a head in Chihuahua.⁵⁹ However, this was at least a peso drop upon yearling calves and a fifteen peso drop for a cow or tame yoked bull.

Due to the ravages of hostile Indian raids horse prices were high prior to the signing of peace treaties. Even as late as 1777 the trading price for horses was one hundred pesos or more. In 1807 Pike reported that New Mexican horses were only worth eleven dollars in Chihuahua. Fourteen years

⁵⁹ Dominguez, Missions, pp. 245-246; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

later, William Becknell stated that, "None but the wealthy
 have horses. . . ." ⁶⁰ More than likely, the reasons for
 this difference in price were; peace with several of the
 hostile Indian tribes, the varying qualities of the horses
 in Chihuahua, it being closer to the sources of horses, the
 larger number of rich noblemen living in Chihuahua, the
 later drain of horses due to the revolution, and the
 constraints of the monopoly.

For mules the prices remained more constant throughout
 the period. Since everything in the country was shipped by
 mule, demand for them was always high, which kept prices
 high. An ordinary he-mule was worth thirty pesos for over
 one hundred years. Pike stated thirty dollars as the price.
 The price on fine jacks varied significantly depending upon
 the quality of the individual animal. On the other hand,
 jennies brought a higher price than their male counterparts.
 In fact, a fine jenny normally brought between one and two
 hundred pesos and sometimes more. While these were
 excellent prices for prime animals, they remained high only
 because there was a continuous market for fine jennies. ⁶¹

Other animals were valuable and were traded both in and
 out of New Mexico. For instance, a goat was worth two
 pesos, and a fat pig was valued at 12 pesos, which explains

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Beachum, "Becknell," p. 29-32; Moorhead, Royal Road,
 pp. 58-59; Dominguez, Missions, p. 245.

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Dominguez, Missions, pp. 245-246; Moorhead, Royal
 Road, pp. 58-59; Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

C. Hanson, "Traders," p. 5.

Becknell's other comment about only the rich being able to afford hogs. Plainly, most agricultural goods were of little value in New Mexico and especially in Chihuahua.⁶²

While the New Mexican economy relied upon agriculture more heavily than manufacturing, locally made items were exported. Of these, weaving was the most important. Unfortunately, of the sources that discussed New Mexican weaving none discuss their associated prices. The only source that mentioned the prices of New Mexican woven goods was Josiah Gregg, who observed them firsthand in the 1830s. By that decade, the province had traded with the United States for almost ten years and the associated prices mean little to this study. Even so, Gregg's discussion of the goods and their prices does give the reader a feel for the manufacture of cloth in New Mexico in the early 1800s. Gregg stated that the New Mexicans made differing qualities and styles of blankets from coarse to fine grades with corresponding prices ranging from two dollars apiece up to more than fifty dollars respectively.⁶³

Prices for El Paso del Norte wine and brandies were also difficult to calculate. The reason was that at different times New Mexicans packaged their liquors differently. For instance, in 1776 a jug of wine cost fifteen pesos. Pike reported that the "Wine del Passo" sold

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Dominguez, Missions, pp. 245-246; Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

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C. Hanson, "Traders," p. 3.

for fifteen dollars per barrel. Five years later, Pino stated that El Paso del Norte's wine sold for one real per pint two hundred miles from that place.⁶⁴ This price of course includes transportation, but assuming the barrels were still worth fifteen pesos, then the barrels held at least twenty-two and a half gallons. To take it a step further, if one assumes the liquor barrel was actually twenty-five gallons, he can calculate the cost of transportation. Assuming a twenty-five gallon barrel, and a cost of fifteen pesos per barrel two hundred miles away, the resulting transportation cost was at least one peso and eight reales for each barrel.

For other New Mexican manufactures, one can only grasp glimpses of their prices. For example, the only price found on salt was in Pike's report that a mule load (300 pounds) of New Mexican salt cost five dollars at Chihuahua. Additionally, a pair of shoes in 1777 was worth two pesos, and an arroba (twenty-five pounds) of tallow was worth six pesos.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, part of the difficulty in finding prices for these goods in Chihuahua and especially New Mexico is that barter was the major form of exchange between people and merchants.

Of the imports, cloth was the largest. By 1804, New

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Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Dominguez, Missions, p. 76; Pino, Chronicles, p. 97.

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Dominguez, Missions, pp. 75, 245-246; Ward, Mexico, 1:49; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59.

Mexico annually imported 102,000 duros of cloth from abroad. One hundred years earlier, linen was worth twelve reales per vara. For comparison, a silk garment sold for fifty pesos, and a fine scarlet skirt went for sixty pesos. By 1777, a vara of Brittany cloth, ordinary linen and most other cloth was selling for two pesos per vara. Although cloth was comparatively inexpensive in the 1770s, Pike's report of 1807 discussed that a vara of ordinary linen was double the earlier price to four dollars. Pike also reported that one vara of extrafine cloth cost twenty dollars at Chihuahua.⁶⁶

In the 1770s, many imports were quite expensive when compared with the goods that New Mexico produced. For instance, a pair of shoes cost two pesos and a pound of gunpowder cost four pesos. Even imported agricultural goods were not cheap. A pound of sugar from Cuba was worth one peso and a pound of chocolate sold for two pesos. Except for shoes, all of these items continued to be very expensive, hard to get, and of low quality. Even as late as 1832 foreign goods were cheap, but interior goods were still very expensive.⁶⁷

Thus, agricultural goods were of little value when compared to manufactured goods. Undoubtedly the variance in price was due to the importation costs of manufactured

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Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Pino, Chronicles, p. 107; Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 31, 245-246.

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Dominguez, Missions, pp. 31, 75, 245-246; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 109-110.

goods. Added to the original price, the cost of shipping, and the dangers of the sea voyage, was the added expense of transit from Vera Cruz.

Geography

Over the years many authors have pointed to New Mexico's isolation as a cause of its economic backwardness. The one exception to this widely held view has been that of Marc Simmons. Instead, he holds that New Mexico's isolation "was more apparent than actual, since a continuing stream of new settlers, government officials, missionaries, merchants, and soldiers provided contact, however tenuous, with the mainstream of Hispanic culture."

While there was a continuing stream of people into New Mexico from the Hispanic world, the words, "however tenuous" are bothersome. What they literally mean is that one visitor into the province per year from Chihuahua, which is definitely tenuous, would equate to keeping pace with the mainstream of the mother culture. One can easily see that this statement can not be true as stated. The key word in this quote is, "tenuous." Too little contact with the mainstream of Hispanic culture would of course isolate New Mexico. More than likely, Simmons was reacting to the number of authors that think New Mexico's minimal contact with the outside world caused it to lose touch with the

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Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

69

Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 77.

thought and movements of the day. Both views are partly correct. Although New Mexico's isolation was more apparent than actual, was it so in the early 1800s, or did it become the expected standard over time? The normal perception of colonial New Mexico assumes a totally isolated province. With two caravans making a round trip every year, there was still contact between New Mexico and Chihuahua. There was contact with the outside world through Chihuahua, but semi-annual caravans are a far cry from having the daily Madrid newspapers delivered weekly or even once a month to the governor of the province. The point is that even though there was continuing contact with Hispanic culture, New Mexico was at best far removed from the mainstream.

In turn, New Mexico's commerce was even further removed from the mainstream than her culture. The reason for this is New Mexican culture tended to change slowly, even after the revolution began. While commerce can change rapidly, it can not change when a monopoly holds a tight grip on a province's economy. Even though Spain's economy went through radical changes, which greatly impacted Mexico's economy, New Mexico's economy tended to remain unchanged. For example, free trade was a radical departure for Spanish commerce. Over time, free trade helped divide Mexico and spread revolution. It also allowed cheaper goods to be sold in Mexico. During this period the Chihuahuan monopoly kept New Mexico economically isolated and dependent. Added to this economic isolation, New Mexico's geographic isolation

kept the province from breaking out of the Chihuahua's monopolistic grip.

This was because of the Chihuahua Trail was the only authorized route for travel into and out of New Mexico and commerce was legally limited to trading with the Chihuahua merchants. To keep the controls upon commerce as well as travel, all travelers were required to possess travel permits. With appropriate papers, the annual caravan headed south at the conclusion of the Taos fair. Even as early as 1750, the annual service caravan left New Mexico in December, although gradually officials moved the departure date back to autumn causing the New Mexican traders to hold the Taos fair in July or August. There they bought goods from the Comanches and the other tribes attending the fair.

By 1776 the Royal government directly operated the mule train into New Mexico. Besides this annual "autumn" train, special trains also ran from time to time, but New Mexico traded with Chihuahua through the annual caravans. Exactly when New Mexico started receiving semi-annual trains is not known, but as late as 1780 annual caravans were still being used. By 1807 semi-annual caravans were the rule. Proof lies within Pike's statements about New Mexico. He observed that a large caravan left New Mexico in February and returned in March. Similarly, an expedition went out in

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Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 442-443; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 85.

the autumn, but not during the remainder of the year. Since these caravans normally took forty days, faster ways of delivering goods were searched out. Even though pack trains were faster than ox carts, a round trip between Mexico City and Albuquerque still took five to six months.⁷¹

Throughout New Mexico's colonial history, lack of transportation was her biggest problem. Losing mules to hostile Indians, and the high freighting demand, New Mexico was always short of transportation. By 1776, the royal government used few wagons but large numbers of pack mules in the annual train. The major reasons for the large number of mules needed in Mexico's caravans was the fair system of trade, and the rough Chihuahua trail that connected Santa Fe with the world. As late as 1812, exporting from New Mexico was difficult due to the province's isolation and neglect. In fact, Pino blamed New Mexico's lack of prosperity partly upon its geographic isolation. Its geographic isolation had a definite impact upon New Mexico's economy. The Chihuahua trail contained several obstacles. Just north of El Paso del Norte was the Jornada del Muerto, two hundred miles of desert with only scattered watering holes.⁷²

71 Elizabeth Ann Harper John, Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795 (College Station, TX: Texas A & M Univ Press, 1975), p. 602; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 75; Jones, Paisanos, p. 142; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 231.

72 Pino, Chronicles, pp. 35-36, 106; C. Hanson, "Aparejos," p. 1; Scholes, "Supply," p. 188; Jones, Paisanos, p. 142.

To negotiate the Jornada del Muerto, all caravans going north or south in New Mexico carried a large number of water barrels. This desert contained some spans that were thirty leagues long with no water, requiring the party to carry additional barrels. About a hundred miles east of El Paso was a group of saline desert lakes from which the population on both sides of the river procured salt. This shows how barren the terrain was in the deserts around New Mexico. In fact, all agriculture in New Mexico would have failed except for the extensive use of irrigation. With irrigation, the barren desert became New Mexico's fruitful fields.⁷³

In the 1830s, Gregg described New Mexico's surrounding terrain as chains of mountains and prairies, over 500 miles in every direction except toward Chihuahua. Between New Mexico and Chihuahua lay ". . . an unpeopled desert of nearly two hundred miles . . ." Since the prairies were considered little better than deserts to many people and due the Spanish restrictions upon travel, the prairies served as a buffer around New Mexico as did the deserts.

To the west of New Mexico was California and the Pacific coast, but California was in about the same condition as New Mexico. Not until after Mexican independence were the two provinces connected with a direct

⁷³ Weldon F. Heald, "Rio Grande Missions: Byway Into New Mexico History," New Mexico Magazine (March 1961): 4-8, 38; Pino, Chronicles, p. 106. ⁷⁴ Gregg, Commerce, pp. 98-99.

route. As far as the New Mexicans were concerned, there was no advantage in going to the coast, especially when one considers the fact that hostile Apaches resided directly west of the province.

One might wonder why the Rio Grande was never used for transportation to and from the Gulf of Mexico, since it was the only large river in the area. But, according to Gregg, the Rio Grande was unnavigable for hundreds of miles of its course, making it useless to commerce except as a source of water for the animals. The rough trail along the Rio Grande made travel difficult. Additionally, because of frequent floods, it was impossible to keep a bridge across the river. In 1800, New Mexico's Governor Chacón personally supervised the building of a bridge across at El Paso del Norte. It did not last a year and no new bridge was attempted during the rest of Spanish rule.

Along with the hostile deserts, unnavigable Rio Grande, and poor trails, the northern side of New Mexico was against the southern Rocky Mountains. The Rockies were as much a hindrance to travel then as they are today, especially during the winter. While very few settlements were due north of New Mexico, all were controlled by Hudson Bay Company operatives at extended distances. Therefore, trade with them was not advantageous for the New Mexicans.

75

Marc Simmons, Taos to Tome: True Tales of Spanish New Mexico (Albuquerque, NM: n.p., 1978), p. 47; Gregg, Commerce, pp. 98-99.

Beyond the geographical isolation was the isolation caused by the hostile Indians. From 1598, when Don Juan de Oñate led his expedition to the Pueblos, hostile Indians played an important role in the livelihood of New Mexico. While numerous outbreaks, attacks, and massacres dot New Mexican history, the importance of these hostilities, aside from the immediate death and destruction, was the disruption they caused to commerce. Hostile tribes like the Comanches and Apaches kept northern New Spain in constant turmoil.⁷⁶ While New Mexico's indian policy was fairly successful from 1776 until approximately 1810, individual battles and raids were conducted even by the "peaceful" Indians.

Prior to the treaties tying the Comanches, Navajos, Utes, and Wichitas to peace, New Mexico's commerce was a shambles. Horse theft alone was so bad that New Mexico was almost destitute of mounts in the 1770s. Indians came from several hundred miles away to steal horses from Spanish and Indian stock growers.⁷⁷

New Mexico's treaty victories definitely made a difference in the trading patterns, in that the merchants could move more freely about the province. One victory which helped was the Spanish reservation system that kept

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Paul Chrisler Phillips and J.W. Smurr, The Fur Trade, 2 vols. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 2:472-473; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 7.

77

Bernardo de Galvez, Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786. trans. and ed. Donald E. Worcester (Albuquerque, NM: Quivira Society, New Mexico Univ Press, 1951), p. 5.

some of the Apache bands at peace from 1790-1810. However, this was a shaky peace at best, because in 1791 some Apache bands were attacking in growing numbers and even invading the interior parts of Sonora. Nine years later the Apaches were again reported to be at a questionable peace.⁷⁸

To deal with the Apache problem, large escorts accompanied caravans both north and south even during peaceful times with a nucleus of regular military. The 1807 caravan possessed a large escort. Besides the 35 to 40 troops and the 13-man postal convoy, 300 civilians and 20 residences accompanied the caravan. In 1812 over 500 men accompanied the caravan south. Hostile Indians were the main reason the trip from Santa Fe to Chihuahua still took forty days in 1812. Safety procedures required that the caravans stop early enough in the day to become secure by dark. This procedure greatly reduced the distance traveled each day, but was very important as proven in 1809 when, due to failure to take proper precautions, several people were killed and over 300 horses were taken by Indians.⁷⁹

78

George P. Hammond, "The Zuñiga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fe: The Opening of a Spanish Trade Route, 1788-1795," New Mexico Historical Review, 6 (January 1931):48; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 73; Moorhead, Apache Frontier, p. 289.

79

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 98, 106; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 45-46.

The Comanche, Apache (Mescalero, Lipan, Mescalero, Mimbreno, Gileño, Mearilla), Ute, Navajo, Wichita, Seri, Tiburone, Tarahumara, Pima, Sobaipuri, Yaqui, and Pango. The most important tribes around New Mexico in 1800 were the Comanche, Apache, Ute, and Navajo. The others were small in population, distant, or allied with the one of the four major tribes. Galvez, Instructions, pp. 2-4.

was almost impossible to keep them all at peace at one time. One reason was the Indians traded with the English and French. In fact, due to English incursions into Spain's Indian trade in the 1770s, the Spanish began trading weapons to the Indians, trying to hold

CHAPTER IV

TRADE WITH THE INDIANS

Politics and Treaties

The Spanish Indian policy successful with large groups of Indians in southern and central Mexico, was not successful with the small scattered bands and tribes of mobile Indians in and around New Mexico. Success came only after Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez took some of his experiences from French Louisiana, and applied them to the northern Indians. His efforts started a movement where the government traded with all Indians in the north to make them dependent upon the Spanish. Using trade as a weapon combined with warfare upon the unruly tribes, the Spanish were somewhat successful, although hostiles continually made life difficult for New Mexico's population.

Peace, with New Mexico's tribes, was difficult and it

1 In the northern country were several Indian tribes including the Comanche, Apache (Mescalero, Lipan, Natagé, Mimbrefío, Gilefío, Jicarilla), Ute, Navajo, Wichita, Seri, Tiburone, Tarahumare, Pima, Sobaipuri, Yaqui, and Papago. The most important tribes around New Mexico in 1800 were the Comanche, Apache, Ute, and Navajo. The others were small in population, distant, or allied with the one of the four major tribes. Galvez, Instructions, pp. 2-4.

was almost impossible to keep them all at peace at one time. One reason was the Indians traded with the English and French. In fact, due to English inroads into Spain's Indian trade in the 1770s, the Spanish began trading weapons to the Indians trying to hold their friendship.² While many Viceroy's struggled to gain peace with the Indians in New Mexico, they met with little success until Bernardo de Gálvez became Viceroy.

Gálvez was the first Viceroy to bring relative peace to New Mexico. In several Instructions Gálvez went to great lengths proposing the Spanish use friendship and commerce to subdue the tribes. If this did not work, he stated that fierce, unrelenting warfare against the errant tribes must be waged. In the long run he believed that the Spanish would be able to control the Indians by using gifts instead of fighting them.³

Major hostilities continued through at least 1785. In 1779, the Comanches attacked a fortified house within a league of Taos. They succeeded in killing many of the defenders and carrying off sixty-four people. Three years later military commandant Brigadier General Don Enrique de Grimarest reported that Apaches were attacking in growing numbers, even invading the interior parts of Sonora. Using

² 28 May 1804 Letter Loisel to Delassus, St. Louis. Abrah. Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:487-490.

³ Galvez, Instructions, pp. 41(Art. 42), 79(Art. 195).

⁴ Dominguez, Missions, p.4; Hammond, "Journal," pp. 48.

Viceroy Gálvez's plan for peace, this terrible destruction slowed, but never ceased. First, the Spanish started trading with the friendly tribes. Next, they turned the hostile tribes against one another. By 1790 New Mexicans annually (and sometimes semi-annually) held trade fairs for individual tribes. At Taos the Comanches traded with the Spaniards. The Jicarilla Apaches, and at other times Comanches, traded at Pecos. At El Paso del Norte the Mescalero Apaches traded for goods. The Navajos traded at Jemez and Acoma, and the Utes traded at Santa Clara and Santa Fe. Of all of the trade fairs, Taos was by far the largest and most popular.⁵

Spanish policy and the trade fairs worked enough for one source to remark,

The Spanish Government has kept them [Indians] from such raids for many years by winning and captivating their good will by making enormous expenditures so that today they venerate His Majesty's banner, and the name of their great Spanish father.⁶

Even with large expenditures, peace often broke down.

"After independence in 1821, this bitter frontier warfare" resumed.⁷

Besides tying the Indians to the Spanish, the trade

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Galvez, Instructions, p. 23; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 77; John, Storms, p. 663.

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28 May 1804 Letter Loisel to Delaassus, St. Louis. Abraham Phineas Nasatir, Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804, 2 vols. (St. Louis, MO: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), 2:739.

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Simmons, Taos to Tome, p. 3.

fairs also tied the province to the Indian trade. Even as early as 1748, the Taos fair prompted the New Mexican junta to decree that the Comanche trade was vital to the province's economy even though the tribe presented many problems. In fact the Comanches became the most important tribe in the northern New Spain fur trade. The Spanish battled with them and then traded with them at the fair at Taos.

Late in the period, the Taos trade fair was supposed to be held only when the Comanches were on good behavior. In turn, the governor or the lieutenant governor went to the annual fair at Taos to help keep order and prevent Spanish traders from cheating the Indians. Through these efforts, trade continued and peaceful relations with the Comanches grew. One example of the Comanches' intentions occurred late in 1818 when Sergeant Invalid Juan Lucero brought a thousand Comanches with General Soguara to trade with the settlers of New Mexico.

An important aspect of the Comanche trade was the Comancheros. The Comanches were an important link in the Spanish-Indian alliance and the Comancheros greatly strengthened this link. Spanish law required that

⁸ Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:473; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 83.

⁹ According to the diary of Second Lieutenant Don Jose Maria de Arce, "Documents Bearing Upon the Northern Frontier of New Mexico, 1818-1819," New Mexico Historical Review, ed. Alfred B. Thomas, 4 (April 1929):pp. 146-164; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 78-80; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 251-252.

Comancheros be registered. More importantly, they had to be accepted by the Comanches. Given these two conditions the Comancheros were allowed to trade out on the plains with the Comanche nation at all times of the year without further regulation.

All these actions closely tied the Comanches to the New Mexicans. The Comanches also proved themselves to be allies of the Spanish cause. Probably the greatest proof of their worth occurred in 1804 when the Governor Nemesio Salcedo sent Comanche Indians to intercept and stop the American expedition led by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark from ascending the Missouri River. Although the Comanches failed to intercept the Americans, the fact that the governor possessed enough faith in the Comanches to allow them to attempt a mission of this magnitude confirms the Spaniard's faith in them.

Spanish officials also recognized the various divisions within the Comanche nation. The best example of this understanding was included in the 1819 instructions from the commandant general of the Western Interior Provinces, Alexo Garcia Conde, to Facundo Melgares, Governor of New Mexico, regarding the punishment of the hostile tribes in the East. Conde made the differentiation between the Eastern Comanches, to be punished, and the Western

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Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:490.

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Dated 8 May 1804 at Chihuahua. Nasatir, Documents, 2:730-735.

Comanches, to be kept as friends. The tribe's loyalty to the Spanish proved the Comanches respect for their white allies, and that Gálvez's policies were working.

While the Spanish traded with friendly tribes, they also attempted to turn hostile tribes against one another. One way Viceroy Gálvez brought this about was by initiating trade with hostile Indians in order to make them more dependent upon the Spanish and therefore more peaceful. In his Instructions, Gálvez directed that Comanches be given favored trading at Taos. In response to the efforts of Gálvez, 400 Comanches asked for friendship with New Mexico for the first time at Taos in 1785. Within a year the historic New Mexican-Comanche peace was negotiated at Santa Fe. Similarly, a Comanche-Ute peace treaty was also agreed

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to. These pacts were important to the New Mexican population. For once, peace with the hostile tribes seemed possible.

By 1805 the Comanche-New Mexican peace was greatly strengthened. The Governor of New Mexico, Joaquin Real Alencaster, was approached by the Comanche leaders with several requests: a new Comanche general, clothing and gifts, that the New Mexicans build them wooden houses along

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From SANM #2819, 11 May 1819 in Marc Simmons, Border Comanches, Seven Spanish Colonial Documents, 1785-1819. (Santa Fe, NM: Stagecoach Press, 1967), pp. 35-36.

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John Jarrell, "The Comancheros," New Mexico Magazine, 50 (November/December 1973):21; Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:151-152; John, Storms, pp. 662, 669-676; Galvez, Instructions, p. 72(Art. 169).

the Canadian River, and for the governor to free certain prisoners. Alencaster reported to the commandant general of the Interior Provinces that he agreed to the first three requests and that the builders would leave in the spring. ¹⁴

These requests were important, especially the first and third. Gálvez picked the first Comanche general, who was killed in battle against hostile Indians in 1805. The Comanches then proved their loyalty by asking the New Mexican Governor to appoint a new Comanche general. The desire for wooden houses along the Canadian River represented an attempt at semi-permanent settlement. Although no permanent settlement of the Comanches materialized during the colonial period, this request indicated positive Comanche interest.

Comanche trade and loyalty remained important features in New Mexico's attempts for peace. The loyalty of the Comanches was proclaimed by Pino in 1812, furthering the claim that the tribe held their treaty with the Spanish in high regard. Another example of the Comanche peace was the trail east of Santa Fe seen by Anglos between 1820 and 1823. As it proceeded to a branch of the Canadian River, it signified there was trade and travel between the Spanish and the Plains Indians, specifically the Comanches. ¹⁵ Even

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From SANM #1925, 20 November 1805 in Simmons, Border Comanches, pp. 33-34,

15

Edwin James, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains Performed in the Years 1819 and '20, by order of the Hon. J.C. Calhoun, Sec'y of War: under the

with the great success experienced with the Comanche, not all tribes reacted that well to Gálvez's overtures.

In contrast to the fairly centralized Comanches were the small bands of Apaches. Each band was little more than an extended family unit, highly mobile, and very warlike. No Spanish opponent was more fierce than the Apache. Although the New Mexicans had some successes with them around 1800, by the time of the 1810 revolution, the Apache peace process fell apart.

Due to their decentralized nature, the Apaches were difficult to deal with. "After more than a century of long wars and short truces with the Apaches, the Spaniards managed to gather a rudimentary knowledge of these people." It was with this knowledge that Gálvez said of the Apaches, ". . . it is my intention to establish with the Indians a commerce which will attract them to us, which will interest them, and which in time will put them under our dependency."¹⁶

Gálvez' reasoning seemed sound since the Lipans were already active in the fur trade and likely to barter. Although these efforts with the Apache worked slowly, the Spanish did meet with some success, due to the olive branch/warclub philosophy of Gálvez, as well as, the practice of Indian slavery. As late as 1804, Indian slavery

command of Major Stephen H. Long, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: H.C. Carey and I. Lea, 1822-1823), 2:316; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 131-137; Jarrell, "Comancheros," p.22.

¹⁶ Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 85; Moorhead, Apache Frontier, p. 4; Galvez, Instructions, p. 36.

was widespread, especially against the Apaches. The Apache nation was being depopulated by slavery as long as the various bands remained at war. Once captured, the Apache was sent deep into Mexico and sold into servitude. Few of these captured Apaches ever returned, thus the tribe's numbers slowly dwindled. These actions finally brought the Apaches to sue for peace.¹⁷ While it took the Spanish four to five years to bring the Apaches to terms, leaders of several bands finally sued for peace in 1790. With the Apache treaty, the Spanish set up a reservation system for them. While the reservations kept the Apaches at peace from 1790 until 1810, the system was expensive to the crown, fatiguing to the troops, and an imposition upon the civilian population. Added to these problems was the fact that the Apaches remained difficult to deal with. For example, in 1800 they were reported to be threatening.¹⁸

Ten years later, the Spanish reservation system collapsed, coinciding with the outbreak of the Mexican revolution. As the outlying Spanish troops were pulled in to quell interior disruptions, the frontier became less guarded. As a result of thinned ranks and reduced pay, the frontier troops began taking advantage of the Indians. When the commanding officers cut the rations, some of the Apaches

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Galvez, Instructions, p. 36; Moorhead, Apache Frontier, p. 4; Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 85.

18

Lister, Chihuahua, p. 73; Galvez, Instructions, p. 45(Art. 57, 58, 59); John, Storms, pp. 751-752; Moorhead, Apache Frontier, p. 289.

fled. As the army units were thinned, most Indians left the reservations. When Pino went to Spain, he claimed that the Apaches were treacherous and were almost always at war. In fact while in Spain, Pino received a dispatch stating that the Apaches had reopened hostilities.¹⁹

The Navajo and Ute tribes were only second in importance when compared to the Comanche and Apache nations, but both caused disruptions to the colony at various times. Therefore, Gálvez included these tribes in his plan for peace. To accomplish this, the New Mexicans kept up trade with the Navajos. They exchanged suitable gifts for the tribe's coarsely woven blankets. Gálvez believed the same would work with the Utes, and basically it did. Unfortunately they did not always keep the peace. Late in 1803 and early in 1804, the Navajo nation went to war with the Spanish. A year later, the Indians sued for peace and remained loyal, through 1812.²⁰

To strengthen their hand outside New Mexico, and build a buffer to the incursions of the French, British, Russians, and especially the Americans, the Spanish sent traders to the Indian nations of the north. While government agents normally traded with the Indians, Gálvez proposed using private traders when ". . . there is no other expedient."

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Pino, Chronicles, pp. 131-137; Moorhead, Apache Frontier, pp. 289-290.

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 Pino, Chronicles, pp. 131-137; Galvez, Instructions, p. 72(Art. 167, 168).

Starting around 1776, the New Mexicans sent private traders and government expeditions to these tribes to tie them closer to the Spanish King and impress them with New Mexico's military strength. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, private Spanish traders annually visited various tribes. Individual trading expeditions were recorded visiting the Kiowa nation in 1804, the Pawnee nation three years later, and the Kansas nation in 1816.

Besides trade, Viceroy Gálvez authorized gifts for the Indians to make the hostiles more dependent upon the Spanish. Petty chiefs were to get 15 to 20 pesos worth of goods, tobacco, provisions, etc.. Each warrior was to get one to two pesos in goods and if they remained at peace the Spanish periodically gave out food. Another rule was that Spanish merchants could trade only with Indians when the commandant of the post was present. Although these rules were not always followed, they demonstrated the Viceroy's desire to deal fairly with the Indians. Unfortunately, the cost of peace did not stop with a few individual gifts to the chiefs and warriors. For gifts assigned the San Carlos Indian settlement in 1788 the governor paid nine pesos for ten bushels of flour, three more pesos to have it milled, and seventy pesos to deliver it to the settlement. Over

21

Alfred B. Thomas, "The Yellowstone River, James Long and Spanish Reaction to American Intrusion into Spanish Dominions, 1818-1819," New Mexico Historical Review, 4 (April 1929):164-177; Galvez, Instructions, p. 45 (Art. 57, 58, 59); Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:492-493.

time the price of peace increased. During 1800 and 1801 Governor Chacón ordered various items as gifts for Indians. This included clothing from local tailors at 18 pesos, 6 reales, 12 hoes at 32 pesos, 4 reales, and 980 sugar cones at 18 pesos per hundred cones for 53 pesos.²² Thus, the colony continued to buy peace at a rather high price.

Barter

Since none the Indians in the American southwest used a recognized form of money, they bartered to exchange items. Even so, they did have items that were used like money. In New Mexico, deer, sheep, and buffalo skins were used as media of exchange. Both at the Taos fair, which was held more or less regularly, and at Santa Fe, the Plains Indians, especially Comanches exchanged skins and peltries for Spanish goods. On buffalo hunts, Spaniards took along barter goods in case they met Indians. The Comancheros also used barter in dealing with the Indians.²³

Apaches sometimes left deer meat in a leather bag on a cross with buffalo hides at the foot on the Chihuahua trail, meaning they wished to trade hides for meat. The Spaniards would leave salted meat at the cross and take the hides, completing the barter without contact during the exchange.

22

SANM, Roll #15, Frames #633-636, Twitchell #1513, 31 October 1800; John, Storms, p. 734; Galvez, Instructions, pp. 50-51 (Art. 81, 82, 84); Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:151-152; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 51-52.

23

Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:490; Warner, "Conveyance," p. 345.

Over time, the Apaches were drawn into the Spanish trading network. One of the mainstays of Apache commerce was captives who often brought high prices. When Gálvez proposed using private traders, he was correct in assuming the Lipan Apaches would trade their furs for ". . . horses, mares, mules, cattle, dried meat, sugar loaves, maize, tobacco, brandy, guns, ammunition, knives, clothing, or coarse cloth, vermilion, mirrors, glass beads and other trifles."²⁴

The other tribes bartered with the Spaniards through trade fairs and private traders. The Utes traded at Abiquiu in late October or early November each year. They bartered deerskins for horses at a ratio of twenty to one. Spanish goods were also bartered to the various Plains tribesmen. For example, Spanish fire steels were traded to the Plains Indians and Spaniards traded horses with Indians as well as horse gear. Lewis and Clark even found the Shoshoni had traded with the Spanish. A year later, Pike noticed the Pawnees had Spanish horses and goods. Finally, Manuel Lisa's trappers found that the New Mexicans bartered with the Arapahoes every year near the South Platte.²⁵

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Galvez, Instructions, pp. 45-46 (Art. 57, 58, 59, 62, 64, 65); Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:641; Warner, "Conveyance," p. 358.

²⁵

"Engages," "Trade Fire Steels," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 7 (Winter 1971):3-4; James Austin Hanson, "New Light on the Origin of Indian Silver Headstalls," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 12 (Winter 1976):3-10; C. Hanson, "Traders," p. 2; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 252-253.

Goods

In the early 1800s New Mexican trading patterns were basically the same as in the late 1700s. Indian trade goods continued to be mostly textiles, and imports continued manufactured goods from Europe.²⁶ The types of goods are important in determining what was traded between the whites and the Indians. The three groups of goods are: the goods the Indians traded; the goods the New Mexicans made; and the Spanish goods that were imported for trade with the Indians.

Spanish trade began in the 1500s when the colonials traded with the Pueblos for corn, cotton blankets, pottery and turquoise and exchanged these items with the Plains tribes for buffalo meat and hides. Some Hispanic settlers soon added horses. As the trade grew, more items were added, one of the most important being slaves. Captives, both Indians from other tribes and whites taken in Northern New Spain, were traded by the Comanches through the Comancheros to the whites.²⁷

The main reason the trade in slaves was preferred by the Plains Indians was that exchanging captive Spaniards was more profitable than trading any other item they possessed. Indian captives, known as Genizaros or Indios criados, were traded by Comanches, Apaches, and Utes to the Spanish in New Mexico for various items. Most were traded for horses.

26

Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 51.

27

Jarrell, "Comancheros," pp. 21-23.

Steven M. Horvath, Jr. stated that the peaceful trade fairs at Taos and Abiquiu fulfilled the Plains Indians' desire for horses and encouraged inter-tribal slave raiding with the existence of a New Mexican market for cheap labor. By 1804 Indian slavery, especially Apache slaves was in full swing in Mexico. Besides slaves, the Indians preferred to trade skins, meat, and firearms.

Skins and meat were the most important items next to slaves. In fact, the Taos fair was held so that the Plains Indians could exchange their peltries for goods. According to Storrs, New Mexico's exports included buffalo robes and dressed skins. He went on to state that all of the skins were purchased from the Indians.

The Plains Indians traded at Taos and Abiquiu. Among the items the Indians sold were deerskins, buffalo hides, and dried buffalo meat. In fact, at Santa Fe and Taos, Indians traded deer and antelope skins for Spanish goods. All over New Mexico buffalo skins and robes were widely traded. Some deerskins were tanned into buckskin and used as prime trade goods. Even as late as 1832, valuable furs

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Steven M. Horvath, Jr., "Indian Slaves for Spanish Horses," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 14 (Winter 1978):4-5; Jones, Paisanos, pp. 142-143; Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:475; Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 85.

29

Herbert Eugene Bolton, New Light on Manuel Lisa and the Spanish Fur Trade (Texas State Historical Association, N.p.; reprint ed., from The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association. vol. 17, No. 1. N.D.):62; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 92; Jarrell, "Comancheros," pp. 21-23.

were purchased with trifles. In fact, Indians
 One trade good the Indians bartered was a bit
 surprising, and definitely bothersome to the Spanish. Due
 to the Indians' trading with foreigners, especially the
 French, the Comancheros were able to trade for firearms,
 lead, and powder through the Comanches who obtained them
 from the Osages to the north. At times, the Indians also
 traded tobacco and hatchets that they obtained from the
 French for New Mexican and Spanish goods. In turn, the New
 Mexicans traded goods of their own, as well as goods from
 Spain, with the Indians. The whites continued trade with
 the peaceful Indians in the Pueblos, until the Pueblos were
 practically an integral part of the provincial economy.
 Hostiles were a different story. Although limited trade
 with the hostiles was carried on throughout the history of
 New Mexico, Viceroy Gálvez initiated large scale trade with
 them. To carry out his plan, the New Mexicans traded
 livestock, agricultural goods, and manufactured goods.

A large part of this trade was in livestock. The New
 Mexicans traded horses, mules, cattle, and dried meat with
 hostiles. Horses were important in the southwest trade, but
 stealing livestock was easier than trading for it. By the
 1700s, horse theft by Indians became so common that New

30 Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:461-462; Phillips
 and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:151-152.
 Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:473-475; Pino,
Chronicles, pp. 110-111; Jones, Paisanos, pp. 141-143.
 31 Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:151-152; Jarrell,
 "Comancheros," pp. 21-23; Jones, Paisanos, pp. 142-143.

Mexico became almost destitute for mounts. In fact, Indians came from several hundred miles away to steal horses from Spanish and Indian stockgrowers.³² The Lipan Apaches were mentioned in particular by Gálvez in that the New Mexicans could trade livestock with them, specifically horses.³³ This was significant considering that among the Apaches, horse meat was a favorite food. Horses were an important part of the New Mexican trade with the Plains Indians.³³

With the spread of the horse trade, Spanish influence increased. By 1806, Pawnees had Spanish horses. On the 1820 Stephan H. Long expedition, Major Long found evidence that the Spanish of New Mexico and the Indians along the Canadian River had traded horses recently. Lewis and Clark encountered Spanish horses and mules among the Snake Indians on their expedition.³⁴ All of this meant that through theft and trade, New Mexico had a profound impact upon the livelihood of the tribes in what was later the western United States. These tribes became highly mobile societies, with increased ability to face rigors of wilderness life.

Along with livestock, New Mexican agricultural goods were traded to Indians. New Mexican agricultural goods included sugar loaves, tobacco (punche), grapes, raisins,

32

Galvez, Instructions, pp. 5, 46(Art. 62); Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:151-152. Instructions, p. 46(Art. 64, 65); 33 Hanson, "Aguardiente," pp. 9-14; Jarrell, "Comer Jones, Paisanos, pp. 141-143; Galvez, Instructions, pp. 40, 46(Art. 62).

34

Galvez, Instructions, p. 46(Art. 62); Phillips and Smurr, James, Expedition, 2:87; C. Hanson, "Traders," p. 2. 9-14; Jones, Paisanos, pp. 142-143.

fruits, maize, flour, dried pumpkins, onions, and dark corn bread. While great quantities were not traded, the fact that the Plains Indians were willing to trade for agricultural goods is important.³⁵ On the other hand, New Mexico's agricultural goods were not half as important in the trade as its few manufactures.

Along with livestock and agricultural goods, the New Mexicans traded some crude manufactured goods with the Indians. The New Mexicans traded locally manufactured goods with the Indians, but not until Viceroy Gálvez initiated trade with hostile Indians did it become official policy. These locally manufactured goods included wines, grape brandy, fruit brandies, knives, bridles, hardware, rough clothing, coarse cloth, and trinkets.³⁶

Since the Spanish used this trade to spread their influence among the Indians, their locally manufactured goods were widely dispersed. As early as 1790, Jacques D'Eglise, a Frenchman, trading up the Missouri found Spanish saddles, bridles and other Spanish "utensils" among the Mandans. Sixteen years later, Pike discovered Mexican blankets among the Pawnee. Spanish influence spread as far as the Shoshoni/Snake nations where Lewis and Clark found

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Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:151-152; Jones, Paisanos, pp. 141-143; Galvez, Instructions, p. 46 (Art. 64, 65); C. Hanson, "Aguardiente," pp. 9-14; Jarrell, "Comancheros," pp. 21-23; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 81.

36

Galvez, Instructions, p. 46 (Art. 62); Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:151-152; C. Hanson, "Aguardiente," pp. 9-14; Jones, Paisanos, pp. 142-143.

Spanish bridles, bits, saddles, stirrups, and several other Spanish items, including kitchen utensils, and ornaments. Even though the Shoshonis claimed that the Spanish were not their favorite traders, the amount of equipment of Spanish origin in their camps would indicate at least some influence.³⁷

While New Mexican blacksmiths produced many items for home use, they also manufactured goods for the Indian trade. The above mentioned bridles, bits, ornaments, and kitchen utensils all fit this category. Additionally, crude Spanish axes used by the whites were also traded to the Indians. The New Mexicans traded both iron cross and wooden stirrups with the Indians. While the local blacksmiths made the iron cross stirrups, the wooden ones were more popular with the Indians. Both were favored trade items, locally manufactured in New Mexico.³⁸ While local New Mexican manufactures were important in the trade, imported Spanish goods were more so.

The vast majority of Spanish goods traded to the Indians were guns, ammunition, knives, fire steels, mescal, brandy, fine clothing, fine cloth, vermilion, mirrors, wide

³⁷ Nicholas Biddle, ed., History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clarke. 3 vols. (N.p., 1814; reprint ed., New York, NY: Allerton Book Co., 1904-1906), 2:120-121, 126, 132; J. Hanson, "Headstalls," pp. 3-10; C. Hanson, "Traders," p. 2.

³⁸ Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "The Spanish Cross Stirrup," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 15 (Spring 1979):1-6; Charles Hanson, Jr., "The Spanish Axe," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 10 (Fall 1974):6-10.

crescent trade earrings with pierced decorations, glass beads and other trifles. While some of these items could be produced in New Mexico, and probably were, most seemed to come from merchants in Spain. One reason for this was the monopoly on manufacturing items like gunpowder. Another was the monopoly on trading items like clothing. The biggest reason these items were not manufactured in New Mexico was the province's inability to produce in any quantity or quality. While the Spanish did trade horses and mules directly to the Indians, most trade was done by the New Mexicans.³⁹

In trying to determine if Gálvez's plan worked one should look at the price incurred. Although the cost was high, relative peace allowed the province to profit more than otherwise possible. But first, the prices for goods bartered with the Indians should be considered. Since the vast amount of trade at Taos was done by barter, it is difficult to calculate the prices paid for items by the Indians or Spaniards. The best that can be done is a comparison of relative value of goods. While exact value changed from year to year, and sale to sale, the price largely depended upon the abilities of the traders involved. Even so, some comparisons can be made.

³⁹ Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Trade Earrings--An Overview," Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 19 (Spring 1983):5; Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:151-152; Galvez, Instructions, p. 46 (Art. 62, 64, 65); "Engages," "Steels," pp. 3-4. Conveyance, pp. 358; Dominguez, Diary, pp. 252-253.

Since both deerskins and buffalo robes were used like money during this period, their relative value was important. Various sources mentioned that two deerskins were worth one buffalo robe, which in turn was equivalent to a trade knife. Horses were another important trade item, each being worth fifteen to twenty deerskins (or seven to ten buffalo robes). In turn, a horse was worth a pistol and a good bridle, each being of an equivalent value of approximately four to five buffalo robes. The only items found to have a higher unit value than horses were mules and captives. While prices for mules were difficult to find, slave sales were better recorded. Male slaves were generally worth more than a horse, and sometimes as much as a mule. On the other hand, female slaves normally brought a higher price than males with a twelve to twenty year old selling for more than two horses.

While Indian raids diminished due to Gálvez's policies, they did not cease. Sporadic attacks continued until the end of the Spanish period. The Viceroy's gift policy was an important ingredient in stemming the tide. Unfortunately, it tended to be poorly funded by the crown and the viceroys, and these gifts tended to be too expensive for the governors or the provinces to handle alone. For instance, New Mexican Governor Chacón ordered local clothing during 1800 and 1801. The services of the tailor and seamstresses alone cost 39

and Spain's Indian allies.⁴¹
 pesos, 6 reales.

However, the cost of the tailor was minimal compared to the cost of imported cloth and hardware. For instance, two hundred varas of cloth for Indian gifts cost the Governor 579 pesos, 6 reales. By contrast, four mule loads of burlap only cost two pesos, four reales. Of the various hardware given to the Indians twelve hoes of "mid mark" cost twenty-seven pesos, six reales. On the list covering this two year period, the Governor spent at least 971 pesos, 3 reales, in an attempt to keep the Indians at peace. Considering the Governor's annual salary was only 4,000 pesos, the cost of these gifts was substantial.⁴² While buying peace was expensive, the warring tribes could be overcome in this way. Unfortunately, New Mexico's surrounding geography could not be dealt with so easily.

For the New Mexicans and many tribes who traded with them, New Mexico's geography was more than simply the physical layout of the terrain. The terrain, vast distances, sparse population, and hostile tribes all influenced trade. Various tribes inhabited New Mexico's chains of mountains, plains, and deserts. Except for the Pueblo tribes, New Mexico's Indians were nomadic, highly mobile people.⁴³ Many were hostile to both the Spanish

41

Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 51-52.

42

SANM, Roll #15, Frames #633-636, Twitchell #1513, 31 October 1800; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 51-52.

43

Gregg, Commerce, pp. 98-99.

and Spain's Indian allies.

Even without the handicap of uneven terrain, distance was a deterrent. With determination most Spanish and Indian traders overcame these great distances. One example of their mobility occurred in 1790, when Jacques D'Eglise, a Frenchman, found the Mandans in possession of Spanish goods on the Missouri near present day Bismarck, North Dakota. Fifteen years later, the Shoshonis had Spanish goods in the approximate location of present day Butte, Montana. Both examples show how far some of the trade goods traveled.

44

C. Hanson, "Traders," p. 2; Jarrell, "Comancheros," p. 22; James, Expedition, 2:87, 316; Biddle, ed., Lewis and Clarke, 2:120-121, 126, 132.

PART III

RESULTANT CONDITIONS IN NEW MEXICO

New Mexico was a conservative and calm during the Revolution, primarily because the people there were not directly involved and indifferent to the events. Along with its geographic isolation, the state was a backwash, while the provinces to the north were fighting, it did not raise armies or contribute to the revolution. New Mexicans took the news of the revolution quietly.

One reason for this was due to New Mexico's geographic location. It was physically separated, hostile Indians added to the social isolation. Given the hostility of the Indians, the militia was occupied just assuring the safety of the state, not less taking part in the revolutionary movement.

Along with the distance between provinces and capitals, the population of New Mexico was also widely scattered. For instance, Santa Fe consisted of at least seven small settlements spread along the river. Although

1. Rino, *Chronicles*, pp. 35-36, 106; Phillips and Burr, *Eur. Trade*, 2:472-473.

some large estates were clustered together, small, isolated, privately owned ranchos predominated. Of course this isolated lifestyle made total defense impossible, but it also colored the economic and political focus.

CHAPTER V
POLITICAL CALM

New Mexico remained politically conservative and calm during the disruptive years of war primarily because the people there had nothing to gain by becoming involved and little to offer the revolutionaries. Along with its geographic isolation, New Mexico was a political backwash. While the province remained loyal to the king, it did not raise armies to fight directly in the revolution. New Mexicans took the news of independence quietly.

One reason for this nonchalance was due to New Mexico's geographic isolation. Besides being physically separated, hostile Indians added to New Mexico's social isolation. Given the hostility of the various tribes, the militia was occupied just assuring the colony's safety much less taking part in the revolutionary movement.

Along with the distances between provinces and capitals, the population of New Mexico was also widely scattered. For instance, Santa Fe consisted of at least seven small settlements spread along the river. Although

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some large estates were clustered together, small, isolated, privately owned ranchos predominated.² Of course this isolated lifestyle made total defense impossible, but it also colored the economic and political focus.

Since subsistence farming and stock raising were the foundations of the provincial economy, New Mexico didn't require vast amounts of merchandise from the wartorn sections of Mexico. With the ability to feed and cloth itself, New Mexico was self-reliant for many necessities. During the revolution New Mexican's used their self-sufficiency and independence to stay quietly neutral.

In an attempt to correct some of the problems the monopoly caused, Pedro Pino advocated to the Cortes that at least one port closer to New Mexico be opened on each coast for direct access to the New Mexican trade, thereby cutting costs and making all goods more affordable. He believed that with New Mexico's large numbers of furs, and vast quantities of jerked beef, abundance of wool and buffalo hair, these ports could help both the New Mexican economy and the crown's treasury. It would also be a giant step to linking New Mexico politically with the outside world. The Cortes did nothing to correct the situation.³

Due to this neglect by Spain, the Anglos were very successful when they were finally allowed into New Mexico.

2

Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 74.

3

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 37-38.

Marc Simmons holds that during the late 1700s the New Mexicans increased their trade of local goods toward the south.⁴ Most sources agree that trade increased during the period, but so did the population which negated all the advantages increased trade would have brought to New Mexico.

New Mexico's isolation not only played a part in forming its conservative politics, but also in the conservatism of its people. The latter showed itself in many ways, from the type of agriculture used, to its quiet support for the King. For example, in agriculture there were encomiendas in New Mexico prior to the uprising in 1680 but none after the reconquest in 1693. This meant that small independent ranchos predominated, with subsistence farming employing 55.8 percent of the population. Stock raising employed 6.8 percent, with another 13.2 percent as day laborers. Weaving occupied another 13 percent of the work force. The trades involved 11.2 percent of the work force.⁵

These figures reveal the traditional conditions in New Mexico. Traditional agricultural occupations made up well over 60 percent of the work force and with day laborers added over 75 percent of the working population. Since New Mexico was a traditional agricultural province, chances were they would remain that way. Probably the biggest reason New

⁴ Brown, *Las Alamos*, p. 107; Jones, *Paisanos*, pp. 133-134; Beck, *New Mexico*, pp. 99-100; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 74-75.

⁵ Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 77.
 Jones, *Paisanos*, pp. 136-137, 11:430-431, 435, 437.

Mexico was not caught up in the revolution, besides its isolation, was its lack of an encomienda system. Whether every man had his own plot of land can be argued, but without the encomienda it was easier to convince the common man that he was better than his brethren to the south. In fact, the New Mexicans' agriculture remained so traditional and conservative that as late as 1844 New Mexican farmers were for the most part still using very crude ploughs, made from tree trunks with no metal to extend their usefulness, durability, or efficiency.⁶ There is little doubt that a conservative manner of life lead to a conservative political outlook.

New Mexico's form of government reinforced the conservatism that its agriculture started. At the turn of the century New Mexico was still part of the Kingdom of Spain through the Comandancia of the Provincias de Internas and thus fairly independent of the Viceroy. In 1804, New Mexico was made a province, but still retained some of its independence. At that time, Consulados, or commercial courts, were set up for the provinces. The Consulados were like the council of the Indies and regulated trade and enforced rules.⁷

On the local level, a corporation called a Ayuntamiento

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Gregg, Commerce, p. 107; Jones, Paisanos, pp. 133-134; Beck, New Mexico, pp. 99-100; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 74-75.

7

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:450-451, 455, 629.

was set up. The Ayuntamiento was a representative assembly which had exclusive powers of government and administration within a municipality. Composed of the alcalde, lieutenant alcalde, and the regidores, the Ayuntamiento controlled each town, or towns within a region. If a resident did not like the outcome of one of the Ayuntamiento's decisions, say in Santa Fe, the nearest appeal was in Chihuahua. Since few New Mexican's possessed the funds to appeal a decision,⁸ almost all of the ayuntamiento's decisions stood as law.

New Mexico's agricultural tradition coupled with its traditional form of government, and the people's allegiance to "The Two Majesties" helped keep their politics on the conservative side. With the New Mexican tendency for individual independence and its distance from Mexico City the province was somewhat insulated from the bloodshed of the revolution. Even as late as October 1811, the New Mexicans were still supportive of the king. Proof of their support was carried by Don Pedro Bautista Pino when he left New Mexico for the Spanish Cortes with approximately nine thousand duros for King Ferdinand's cause from New Mexicans.⁹

New Mexico's conservatism continued long after Pino's departure. Even with the influx of Anglos after

⁸ Pino, Chronicles, p. 176, 176footnote #141; Tayloe, Mexico, p. 148.

⁹ Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, p. 7; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 76-77.

independence, little dissension or change occurred, as pointed out by Marmaduke's statement in July 1824,

The inhabitants appear to be friendly, and some of them are very wealthy; but by far the greater part are the most miserable, wretched, poor creatures that I have ever seen; yet they appear to be quite happy and contented. . . .¹⁰

This quote goes a long way to upholding Pino's claim that there were no beggars or desperately poor in New Mexico because all people were allotted a piece of land to cultivate.¹¹ Whether Pino's claim was totally true or not, it signified a feeling of communal responsibility by the rich toward the poor. This would also explain why the poorer people were willing to continue their traditional roles of supporting the status quo versus disrupting it like in the south. Could it be that in their struggle to make a living and fend off Indian attacks, they didn't want any more bloodshed? The answer was probably a bit of both communal support and the day-to-day struggle for survival.

Similar to the New Mexican's unwillingness to join in the revolutionary movement, the resulting political calm in the province was also a combination of things. First, was its geographic isolation. Second was its agricultural background and lack of great wealth. As the province became traditionally conservative, this conservatism influenced social, governmental, and political areas. Except for a few

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Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 75.

11

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 27-28.

Spanish disruptions, New Mexican politics basically remained untouched by the revolution.

Spanish colonial policy did change over time, but with little substantial change. Since many of Spain's policies were disruptive to the colonies as a whole, they were probably disruptive to New Mexico too. Spain wanted to keep America dependent upon her trade, so it greatly limited all colonial commerce. This attitude appeared in a broadside issued January 31, 1816, in Mexico, reaffirming that only nobles and high officials had the right to ride on horseback.¹² Since the broadside reaffirmed the right, it was obvious that this act was not new, but instead a time honored practice. This action tied the feet of the normal peasant, in that it legally restricted his mobility.

A more disruptive proclamation came in 1801, where,

According to a Royal Edict published at Madrid, dated May 20, all Ex-Jesuits in Spain are to repair to Barcelona, Carthagena, or Alicant, whence they will be embarked for Italy. . . . The order extends to Jesuits in Spanish America. The Edict states that they are banished as a punishment, and to ensure the public tranquillity.¹³

Unfortunately this act did little to ensure the public tranquillity in New Mexico, since the Franciscans were spread thin to cover some of the parishes the Jesuits gave up. While this edict was disruptive, it could not compare with the continuing requests from the crown for funds.

12

Harper, Americana, p. 212(#816).

13

London Times, 5 June 1801 p. 3.

London Times, 14 November 1806, p. 2.

By 1806, Spain had been at war off and on for ten years. The treasury was depleted and expenditures were rising, so the crown issued a proclamation requesting money.

According to the London Times, this proclamation stated,

'In circumstances less dangerous than those in which we find ourselves at present, good and loyal subjects have hastened to aid their sovereigns by voluntary gifts and succors proportioned to the wants of the State. It is urgent, in the present situation, to show ourselves generous towards the country.'

The Times continued that,

A Circular Letter has been addressed by the Prince of the Peace to the Intendants of Provinces, and the Corregidores, to recommend and enforce the objects of the Proclamation. The Clergy are especially recommended to exhort the people to repair to the Standards of the King, and the rich to make the necessary sacrifices, 'to support a conflict which they should, perhaps, be forced to sustain for the good of all!'¹⁴

The withdrawal of these kinds of funds made life in the colonies, and especially in a specie-poor province like New Mexico, difficult at best.

Within a year, Spain and Britain were at war again, which immediately disrupted shipping and the supply of goods to the colonies. Within a short period of time, this "war" added another disruption when the Spanish called for more funds. The disruption these acts inspired, damaged the capital needed for the New Mexican economy to function properly. Never the less, New Mexico answered the call by

14

The instrument was dated at the palace of St. Lawrence, October. 5, 1806, and signed by the Prince of the Peace issued on 5 November 1806 at Madrid according to the London Times, 14 November 1806, p. 2.

sending money with Pino on his trip to Spain. Curiously, Pino took this opportunity to state the New Mexico's lack of prosperity was partially due to the extraction of all its hard currency on an annual basis.¹⁵

Unfortunately, Spain's interference did not end here. Starting with the conquistadors, the Spanish crown had introduced corruption into the colonial system. This evil was endemic and the modern nations of Latin America have yet to rid themselves of it. One act that further ingrained corruption into the colonial system occurred when the Spanish Constitution of 1812 allowed the positions of Alcalde and Regidor to be auctioned off. Since they went to the highest bidders, the new official was encouraged to recover his money through graft. Luckily in the Provincias Internas, the captain of the local militia became the perpetual Alcalde. While this action decreased the chances of corruption, it did strengthen the political hand of the militia captain, and he may not have been an honest man. Throughout the 1700s the public treasury paid the expenses for troops in the provincias internas. Unfortunately, the soldiers were often "defrauded" of their pay.¹⁶

While there was little evidence of any change toward

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London Times, 31 March 1807, p. 3; Originally ordered 19 February 1806, translated and printed in New York November 5, 1807, and subsequently printed in the London Times on 16 December 1807, and 9 July 1808, p. 2; Pino, Chronicles, p. 36; Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, p. 7.

16

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:409; Ward, Mexico, 1:97-98.

corruption by officials, there was evidence proving its continuance. For instance, Humboldt repeatedly mentioned the corruption of the colonial officials and the widespread contraband trade. Tayloe also commented on the great amount of vice.¹⁷ Along with vice, a great amount of lawlessness occurs with any war. As Hardy's editor said, "Mexican highwaymen loom large in the travel accounts of the period." He went on to say that, "Every traveler seemed to share Hardy's thought: 'In Mexico, a traveller must go well armed.'¹⁸" Given the drain of specie, the corruption of officials, the large amount of contraband and the widespread lawlessness due to the Revolution, New Mexico was effected by the disruptions of the Spanish governments.

With the Spanish disruptions were Indian attacks. The situation remained serious enough that controlling the Indians was considered one of the main issues all New Mexican governors' faced.¹⁹ As the different tribes signed treaties of peace with Spain, hostilities decreased, but never totally ceased. Even as late as 1812, Pino reported that export from New Mexico was impossible due to the danger from Indian attacks as well as its isolation and neglect.²⁰

¹⁷ Humboldt, Political Essay, pp. 172-173; Tayloe, Mexico, p. 53.

¹⁸ Tayloe, Mexico, p. 36 footnote.

¹⁹ Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:472-473; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 83-84.

²⁰ Pino, Chronicles, pp. 35-36.

To combat the hostiles, the militia was used with Indian allies. Each soldier was required to wear leather armor (up to eight layers thick), carry a lance and shield, and later a lance or muzzle-loading carbine. Although the militia was an important part of the province's defense, the Indian allies made large contributions in almost all of the major battles. Of all of New Mexico's Indian allies, the Comanches were the most important. For years, the Comanches battled and traded with the Spanish, but not until the historic peace treaty of 1786 was this cycle broken. The significance of Spanish-Comanche treaty was that its terms were faithfully kept by both sides.²¹ Part of what kept this treaty alive were gifts annually distributed to the various peaceful tribes. Unfortunately not all of the tribes the Spanish dealt with were as loyal as the Comanches.²²

With the Apaches, the Spanish finally struck a uneasy peace in 1790. Their treaty included a reservation system that kept the Apaches more or less at peace for twenty years. Unfortunately, the Spanish reservation system was difficult to maintain. With the removal of troops to the south at the beginning of the revolution the Apaches broke

21

Glen Dines, Sun, Sand, and Steel: Costumes and Equipment of the Spanish-Mexican Southwest (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1972), pp. 28-31; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 131-137; Jarrell, "Comancheros," p.21; Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:473.

22

Warner, "Conveyance," p. 345.

23

away.

The Navajos and Utes also caused trouble in the early years of the century. Although they had a peace treaty, the Navajos broke the peace in late 1803. Governor Don Fernando Chacón waged a tough war and the Navajos sued for peace two years later. The tribe remained peaceful enough for Pino to state that they too were very loyal. The Ute nation was the last large group the Spanish dealt with. Their history of peace with the Spanish was similar to the Navajos, as were many of the smaller and more distant tribes.

23

Moorhead, Apache Frontier, p. 289.

24

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 131-137.

Although there were regional pesos in New Mexico, Fray Dominguez pointed out that pesos are pesos in name only, for the actual coins do not exist. "Of these regional pesos 50 of them may be worth 5 or 6 real ones, and this value is estimated from the effects in which payment is made." In other words, although everything was given a value so one could barter for the item, no one could

¹ Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 334-336; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:231; Ashborn, "Possessions," p. 36.

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Dominguez, Mission, p. 19.

give an exact price on the worth of a similar article.

While supply and demand were significant factors, natural disasters played an important role. As Barreiro pointed out, the great fluctuation in grain prices was due to the

CHAPTER VI

MONEY

Early in the history of New Mexico, all internal trade was reduced to barter due a lack of specie. Between 1700 and 1846 this lack of money in free circulation resulted in everything having a "legal" value. These legal values went so far as to include the use of clothing as payment for land. Without currency, the leaders of New Mexico as well as officials depended upon goods to signify their importance, responsibilities, and status. Additionally, all the people depended on trade items to ease their daily existence.¹

Although there were regional pesos in New Mexico, Fray Dominguez pointed out that pesos ". . . are pesos in name only, for the actual coins do not exist. . . ." Of these regional pesos "50 of them may be worth 6 or 8 real ones, and this value is estimated from the effects in which payment is made."² In other words, although everything was given a value so one could barter for the item, no one could

¹ Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 334-336; Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:231; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 36.

² Dominguez, Missions, pp. 318-319; Warner, "Conve" Dominguez, Missions, p. 19.

give an exact price on the worth of a similar article. While supply and demand were significant factors, natural disasters played an important role. As Barreiro pointed out the great fluctuation in grain prices was due to the farmers only planting enough to get them through part of the year, with no surplus. This action, caused great hardship even in good years. If floods came, which they often did, or a late freeze, and that year's crop was destroyed, the population faced starvation.

Over time barter became a necessary part of the New Mexico trade system. For instance, land was bartered for goods in lieu of money, as happened in 1708. A piece of land sold for over 690 pesos in animals and cloth. Seven decades later another piece of land was sold for 125 regional pesos, but when its value was reduced to silver, it only amounted to 61 pesos, 7 [reales], 6 [granos]. Unfortunately, regional pesos were the common "currency" and these values could not compete with hard currencies like silver. As in this example, when one tried to convert bartered goods into the silver equivalent they lost on the exchange.

Still, barter was the lifeblood of the New Mexican economy. By 1800 little had changed in New Mexico's economy. Although the province was trading more goods to

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Pino, Chronicles, pp. 38-39.

4

Dominguez, Missions, pp. 318-319; Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339.

the south, the disruptions of the Spanish crown and the revolution did not help New Mexico escape its barter economy. In 1804 one piece of land sold for 300 pesos in five dry cows, four milch cows, and fifty sheep. In another sale, an Indian corn field sold for a dry cow, a red bull, and six sheep. In a third sale that year, a field sold for a horse which the buyer stated cost him two dry cows worth forty pesos.⁵

In 1818, the old Tewa Indian pueblo at Jacona sold part of the pueblo of approximately 12,600 square varas. This piece of the land sold for one mule valued at 100 pesos, two serapes, one heavy and one black, valued at sixteen dollars, eight square varas of land, and a three-room house. Two years later, the pueblo of San Ildefonso found itself in bad financial shape. To improve their position, the people sold a piece of land containing 1,416 square varas for 428 pesos⁶ in milch cows, oxen, burros, hoes, deer skin, and a bull.

Next to recorded land sales, the trade values of white slaves were probably best recorded. One reason was that white captives were very profitable. One example occurred when a captured ten year old boy was sold for one mare, one rifle, one shirt, one pair of drawers, thirty small packages of powder, some bullets, and one buffalo.⁷ All trade

5

Warner, "Conveyance," p. 342.

6

Ibid., pp. 348, 355.

7

Ibid., p. 358; Phillips and Smurr, *Fur Trade*, 2:475.

records found in this study showed that barter was always used when trading with the Indians. This makes sense because there was not enough hard currency for the Spanish to operate a cash economy, much less allow the Indians to deal in it. Besides, given their way of life the Indians had little use for hard currency.

As time went on, the hard currency issue remained the same. All hard currency in New Mexico was pulled out annually. When the Yankees arrived, the province was still conducting all commerce using barter. Along with barter, Storrs claimed that prior to American entry, goods were "very scarce" in the province of New Mexico, and priced extremely high. When the Indian Agent to the Osage and Delaware tribes, Richard Graham, answered Senator Thomas Hart Benton's questionnaire about New Mexico in 1825, he stated that the New Mexicans were "miserably poor." He went on to say that they traded mules, which they got from San Antonio, along with a little silver and some furs for both British and domestic goods. Thus, barter continued to be the prime manner of trade within New Mexico even after the "rich" Americans were well entrenched.

As previously discussed, a trade imbalance existed between New Mexico and Chihuahua to New Mexico's disadvantage. The constant drain on the province's economy kept the majority of the New Mexicans at the poverty level.

8

Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 88, 98-99.

Unfortunately, since the merchants of Chihuahua held the trade monopoly, the New Mexicans had little recourse. With no other outlet, they had to trade through Chihuahua.

With an annual debt of 52,000 pesos, the province was doomed to an increasing debt. The annual withdrawal of cash caused a major lack of specie in the province. The trade imbalance and the resulting lack of hard currency explained New Mexico's lack of prosperity, according to Pino. What is interesting is that Richard Ahlborn found New Mexico's lack of hard currency atypical to many other parts of New Spain.⁹

Various Americans also commented upon the lack of hard currency and the trade imbalance. Pike believed the New Mexicans' lack of gold and silver greatly added to the population's hardihood. Becknell found few manufactured goods and stated that most of the people did not have horses. Although Becknell did receive silver coins for his goods, it did not mean that silver was plentiful. More than likely, he accomplished most of his trading with the rico class of merchants who would keep some hard cash. One must also remember that Becknell brought only a small amount of goods to trade, especially when compared to the large trains that would follow his path within the next three years.¹⁰

⁹ Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 64; Pino, Chronicles, p. 36; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 35-36; Beck, New Mexico, pp. 99-100.

¹⁰ Sister Mary Loyola, "The American Occupation of New Mexico 1821-1852," New Mexico Historical Review, 14 (January 1939):40-41; Beck, New Mexico, pp. 99-100; Beachum, "Becknell," p. 29-32; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 195-196.

Due to the almost total use of barter in the province, Pino stated that it was impossible to collect local taxes. The reason for this was that all produce collected in lieu of taxes would rot before it could be sold. Besides, the cost of storage would eat up any possible profits. Since most of the residents of the province were involved in agriculture, one could definitely expect payment with produce. And yet, the province paid two to three thousand pesos in alcabala in 1804-1805.

What little coinage New Mexico had was largely in the form of copper money for retail sales. Unfortunately, any copper money minted for use in the province might not be negotiable in all sections of the country. Since the Chihuahuan merchants used an imaginary exchange for real money when dealing with the New Mexicans, one can assume that if the New Mexicans did possess copper specie it was not accepted as payment in Chihuahua. By using their monopoly and the four peso rates, the merchants of Chihuahua manipulated prices when dealing with the New Mexicans. First, all rural goods were bought at low prices using the weakest peso. Next, all manufactured goods sold for high prices using the most expensive peso. Since New Mexico was mostly rural with very little manufacture, they received less for their goods but still paid high prices for imported manufactured goods. With no ready cash the New Mexicans

were at the mercy of the Chihuahuan store owners until the
 end of colonial rule.¹²

Even without specie, the New Mexicans developed an exchange system that did work in a rough manner. Over time, deer, antelope and buffalo skins were traded by the Indians for Spanish goods in New Mexico in such volume that the skins came to be regarded as currency. Although they were somewhat awkward to handle, they did serve an important role in the rustic retail economy of the province.¹³ However, using skins as currency was the result not the cause of a lack of hard currency.

The reason for a lack of hard currency in New Mexico was a lack of mines, especially gold and silver. Throughout the Spanish colonial period, "Metal of any kind was a scarce commodity." In fact, prior to 1821 all silver, iron and iron products found in New Mexico were imported. The same went for gold, but very little gold was imported. Of the important metals, only copper was mined locally.¹⁴

New Mexico's Santa Rita del Cobre copper mine was hampered by hostile Apaches over the years, and its production remained less than the southern mines placed deeper into Mexico. While its production was outstanding

¹² Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 50-54; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 109.

¹³ Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:473-475.

¹⁴ Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, pp. 26-67; Motto, Old Houses, p. 3.

for a copper mine, it still could not compete with the rich silver mines surrounding Chihuahua. Even so, the Santa Rita was important enough in its time for Pike to mention its existence.¹⁵

Along with the trade imbalance and the poor rate of exchange, the New Mexicans faced many high fees, especially from the church. Since the church was one of the pillars of New Mexican society, the church was supported by the people. Unfortunately, between tithes, first fruits, and fees, this support also became a burden. The people paid for religious acts with little strips of hide, punche, chile, onions, and sometimes a fanega of maize. For instance, at Sandia the people normally paid tithes using grain, sackcloth, and blankets. In 1776 on his tour of the missions, Fray Dominguez stated that many of the clerics were forced to barter for necessities due to a lack of hard currency. One priest received some sheep as gifts, but they were in such poor condition that he was forced to trade three of them to get one large, healthy one. New Mexico annually gave between nine and ten thousand duros in tithes to the church. Considering the lack of coinage, this was a large amount. Most of these tithes were then withdrawn from the province.¹⁶ In addition to the fifty-two thousand pesos lost every year in trading with the Chihuahuans,

¹⁵ Prince, Sketches, p. 241.

¹⁶ Dominguez, Missions, pp. 20, 81, 142, 174, 179; Pino, Chronicles, p. 35.

approximately another ten thousand pesos was squeezed from the people of New Mexico by ecclesiastics.

Added to the amount taken through tithing was the amount taken as first fruits. While the giving of first fruits seemed to be voluntary, Fray Dominguez inferred that all able were strongly encouraged to give first fruits. First fruits meant that when any part of a grain harvest equalled six fanegas or more, a half of a fanega was contributed to the Church. As for chile, onions, and garlic, when the number of strings reached six, one of each was contributed. With livestock, one out of every six head born was given to the Church, as was the wool of one sheep at shearing time. Surprisingly, adult cattle were not included in first fruits. New Mexico did not possess a large number of cattle.

While the church did take a large quantity of the province's resources, it supported part of the population with work. For instance, the Carmel Chapel in Santa Cruz de la Cañada paid both the singer and sacristan up to forty pesos per year. While the cook was paid twelve pesos per month, the bell ringer, tortilla maker, and the stableboy all received half as much. Added to this was the cost of goods required to carry on masses. The price of wine ran between six and eight pesos per bottle. One pound of wax to make four candles cost four pesos, and wheat ran four pesos

18

per fanega. But the cost of these items did not rest upon the church alone because the clerics charged the people for all religious rights.

Some the fees were so high that charges were brought against some of the priests over what was called religious banditry. For at least forty years the church charged large sums to a poor people for the religious necessities of life. For instance, the marriage of a Spaniard cost sixteen pesos, four reales. To conduct the service anywhere but in the church was double the price. The marriage of free mulattoes cost sixteen pesos, and for mulattoes, negro slaves, or service Indians the price was five pesos. Although these prices seem high enough, burials were more intricate.

For a Spaniard to have a sung mass cost sixteen pesos, four reales, with an offering of bread, wine or wax. Again, outside the church was double the fee. A sung mass for free mulattoes and negroes ran eight pesos, with unsung masses costing two pesos less. A low mass for a mulatto slave or service Indian cost five pesos, or two pesos more if sung. While the burial of a Spanish child cost six to eight pesos, the cost to mulatto slaves and service Indians was three to five pesos. Additionally, all burials cost the family two pesos for use of the cope and two half-pound candles.

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Ibid., pp. 20, 31, 77, 81.

19

Ibid., pp. 244-245.

20

Ibid., pp. 244-245. 88, 147; Ashborn, "Possessions,"

p. 46.

At Albuquerque, a wrinkle was added. To be buried in the cemetery cost two pesos. If the body was to be buried between the door of the church and the center of the church, it cost four pesos. The price was doubled to be buried in the center of the church. And to be buried between the center of the church and the steps of the sanctuary cost sixteen pesos. Unfortunately, even the more moderate prices were impossible for most of the people to meet with hard currency. Therefore, barter goods were used.²¹

Although anything a person owned could be bartered to pay for these masses, the poorer people paid the best they could. At Albuquerque in 1776, one burial mass was paid for with blankets. During the same year, some Indian burials at San Juan were paid for with a cow, one or more buckskins, or a horse. Considering the lack of prosperity in New Mexico, even the most inexpensive lower class wedding costing ten to twelve pesos was difficult to afford. Father Diego Muñoz Jurado at Santa Cruz charged as much as eighteen pesos for this service. Burials cost as much as 33 pesos and baptisms three pesos. In a poor community these were high fees indeed.²²

The other major cost for New Mexico was the militia. Besides the 121-man veteran company who were full-time professionals paid for by the king, New Mexico's military

²¹ Ibid., p. 148.

²² Ibid., pp. 30, 76, 88, 147; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 46.

was made up of a militia of 1500 men. As militiamen they were expected to supply all their arms, horses, and supplies. They were normally called to active service forty-five days a year. Even though the individual militiaman was responsible for his arms and supplies, some communities supported the provincial military. One example of community support occurred in June of 1801 when a manned New Mexican expedition to the Missouri River cost one community 102 pesos.²³

In fact, every time the militia was called up, New Mexico's capital, commerce, and manpower were disrupted. Due to Spain's wars a decree was printed calling for each village to form a company of soldiers, and that they raise funds. New Mexico answered that request by calling up three militia companies to serve like regulars, without pay. These three companies were basically still on full-time duty four years later. According to Pino, the 121 men of the veteran company cost the crown 240 pesos per man per year. This equated to less than 30,000 pesos per year coming into the province in hard currency. Calling up the militia cost the province considerably more if one takes the 240 peso average per man and applies it only to the militia man during his normal forty five day tour of duty. For this period of time each militia man saved the King at least 30.34 pesos every year. Thus, annually the militia as a

 Each company consisted of 41 enlisted soldiers, 1 Capt. 23 1 Lieutenant, 2 alféreces, 2 Sergeants, 4 first corporals.
 Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 53; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 67-69. 9 July 1800, p. 2; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 60-71.

whole saved the king 4,551,000 pesos and drained the citizens of the province an equal amount since these men, while serving as soldiers, could not be productively employed in improving New Mexico's financial position.²⁴ Following this line of reasoning, the years between 1808 and 1812 cost the province at least 46,000,000 pesos in savings to the king and lost economic production for New Mexico. This damaged the economy, and reduced the capital and manpower needed for the New Mexican economy to function properly.

The New Mexican economy was damaged further by Spain's restrictions on manufactures. Due to Spanish control of manufactured goods, Mexico as a whole, and New Mexico in particular, was not allowed to manufacture many items. The majority of manufactured goods were imported, but some local manufactures did exist in New Mexico. Of the local manufacturers (trades), the main ones were the weavers, tailors, distillers, blacksmiths and carpenters. This group was probably the most profitable section of the New Mexican population next to the merchants.

While the 1790 census listed over 30 trades in New Mexico, only a few were actual manufacturers. These included weavers, carders, blacksmiths, silversmiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, tanners, cobblers, and hatters.

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Each company consisted of 61 enlisted soldiers, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 2 alfêreces, 2 Sergeants, 4 first corporals, 4 second corporals, a drummer, etc.; London Times, 9 July 1808, p. 2; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 68-71.

Even with these, the professional craft businesses remained underdeveloped during the last years of colonial rule. Governor Chacón's stated in his economic report of 1803: "With regard to craft organizations, it can properly be said that none exist in this province since there is no instruction nor examination for the office of master, or formal guilds, nor all the rest which is customary elsewhere." To fill the gap, some master craftsmen did come
 25
 to New Mexico.

Of the masters who migrated to New Mexico many took in apprentices. In this way, Chihuahua, Mexico City, and the United States contributed to New Mexico's economy through the migration of trained craftsmen. One example was the Santa Fe presidio's master armorer and smith between 1806 and 1808. In this role Martín Irigoyen from Chihuahua helped maintain the post's readiness. Often the masters passed their skills onto their sons. The Sena family of Santa Fe passed on the blacksmithing trade for over 200
 26
 years.

Of all of the manufactures, weaving was the most important to the New Mexican economy. While in New Mexico during the 1830s, Josiah Gregg observed that there was "considerable traffic between them [the New Mexicans] and the southern provinces, as also with the

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Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 53-54, 75-76.

26

Ibid., pp. 53-54, 75-76.

neighboring Indians" in coarse blankets. While the most common blankets were worth about two dollars apiece, those of the finest texture, sold for over fifty dollars. Along with the blankets, New Mexicans produced a coarse twilled woolen, called gerga, with black and white checks. Gergas were used for carpets, and the peasantry often used them for clothing. Along with some other similar domestic cloth and buckskin, gerga constituted almost the only article of clothing the peasants possessed. Their domestic textures were nearly all of wool because there was no flax or hemp and little spun cotton.²⁷ Aside from the locally manufactured sarapes and some leather goods, the majority of clothing used in New Mexico was imported. Given this, clothing prices remained high but fairly constant throughout the colonial period.²⁸ Similar to the weavers were the tailors.

While most of the fabrics used were imports, local tailors had an impact. Many clothes needed adjustment to fit new owners, and the cloth brought into the province needed to be made into garments, as well as linings, cushions, and carpets. During 1800 and 1801, the governor ordered clothing from a local tailor for gifts to the Indians. Through these transactions the tailor Manuel Rendón earned 18 pesos, 6 reales in November. Two

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C. Hanson, "Traders," p. 3. 51-52, 54-55.

28

Dines, Sun, Sand, and Steel, pp. 34-43; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 55.

seamstresses, Maria Ortiz and Maria Luisa Alare, earned 13 and a half pesos, and 7 and a half pesos, respectively. However, the tailors were not limited simply to making clothing. In June of 1814, the Albuquerque town council ordered garments for mace bearers, a cushion, and linings for the hats all for a total of four pesos. The council added to this list a carpet and a woolen blanket to place the maces upon for two pesos, four reales. The two hats cost the council four pesos. In fact, being a hatter in New Mexico seemed to be fairly profitable. In 1812, one New Mexican master hatter, Dionicio, earned 156 pesos during the year.

Other important manufacturers of New Mexico were distillers at El Paso del Norte. While they mostly produced grape wine, they also made several types of brandy. Much of their manufacture was consumed in the province, but enough was exported that Paso wine became widely known in northern Mexico. Over time prices changed, but wine continued to be an export. In 1776, wine prices varied from six pesos per bottle to fifteen pesos per jug. Thirty years later, Pike reported that 'Wine del Passo' sold in New Mexico for fifteen dollars. Pino reported that El Paso del Norte wine sold for one real a pint approximately two hundred miles away.

29

Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 51-52, 54-55.

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Dominguez, Missions, pp. 20, 76; Pino, Chronicles, p. 97; C. Hanson, "Aguardiente," pp. 9-10.

Of all the New Mexican craftsmen, blacksmiths were the most important. Unfortunately, their abilities to make and fix items depended upon imported materials, but they did make frontier life a little easier. In the tradition of handing down a trade from father to son, Diego Sena was one in a long line of blacksmiths descended from Bernardino de Sena. In 1800 Diego Sena billed Governor Chacón for labor and various tools including hoes, a new ax, reinforcing axes, making new adzes, plowshares with thirty-two nails, mason's trowels, crowbars, reinforcing a chisel, and making some new chisels. Five years later, the Santa Fe presidio armorer was paid for eight large knives for three pesos a branding iron, two diggers, set two ax heads, and used a crowbar all for six pesos, and made two door staples (for hinge, pull or crossbar) and a smith's mark for twenty-three pesos. He sold a branding iron, an iron carriage ornament and a set of Magellan-type spurs for six pesos, two reales, and he constructed a half fanega-size grain measure worth two pesos. A couple of years later a blacksmith in Santa Fe was paid one peso, two reales for several sheep shears.

31

About this time, Martín Irigoyen from Chihuahua was the presidio's master armorer and smith. He helped maintain the post's readiness by fixing or making items with these resultant charges: a gun cleaning set with ramrod, corkscrew, and scraper for five pesos; four lathe shelves

for the sentry box for four pesos; twelve shovels and six adobe brick molds for three pesos; ten diggers and four axes for fifty-five pesos; a mason's trowel for one peso; and a barrel for six pesos. Thus, the armorers and blacksmiths could make a living at their trade. One successful armorer was Lorenzo Mates, who earned 209 pesos in 1812. Part of his income was from cleaning and polishing two silver-fitted batons for one peso, four reales, as well as cleaning and sharpening 159 Castilian knives at a half a real each. Two years later the Albuquerque town council ordered the following from a local smith: two maces plated with beaten tin costing seven pesos, four reales; and the work of a plater for two pesos, four reales.³²

Unfortunately, the smiths did not always meet the needs of the population. For instance, in 1808 while the blacksmith Irigoyen was present, the post at Santa Fe imported a branding iron from Chihuahua for eight pesos.³³ The needs of this frontier province helped the armorers and blacksmiths do well. While high prices did not always equal a higher standard of living, an enterprising blacksmith could make a comfortable living, even with the high prices charged for raw materials. Since some of the Anglos who entered New Mexico early became blacksmiths, one may assume that this trade was lucrative enough to draw competitors.

32

Ibid., pp. 52-55.

33

Ibid., p. 54.

Another trade that was somewhat lucrative was carpentry. Although normally part-time work, there was money to be made in carpentry. In 1805, Jesús Lucero was paid 226 pesos for building two stables with cribs, doors, windows, and two sills across a wall to support drains. He then built two additional seven by fifteen vara stables with doors, windows and some ironwork for 100 pesos. Lucero was also paid 100 pesos that year to cut and haul timbers for work that was approved on the granary, armory, and gunpowder room at the presidio. Two years later Antonio Vargas was paid 118 pesos for various carpentry jobs around the post. While many of the carpenters worked on large projects, many of their jobs were small and for little money. For instance, in 1812 a wooden door lock only brought six reales. Two years later the Albuquerque town council ordered some seats, stools, stands and a small bench costing seventeen pesos. Even as late as 1823, prices varied. One carpenter was paid two pesos for four beams and four boards, and another two and a half pesos for a trough. But he only received seven reales for several packs and pothooks. While local manufactures and crafts were an important part of the provincial economy of New Mexico, they could not compete with imports. The main reason was that besides lacking trained craftsmen, all colonials were forbidden to work upon many manufactures. These prohibitions combined

with the high transportation costs and the strength of the trade monopoly, tied the New Mexicans' hands. goods which

Since the value of textiles remained fairly constant throughout the colonial period, one can study prices from imported textiles as a representative sample of imported goods. As Simmons stated, most of the goods imported into New Mexico were textiles. Therefore, the differences in value of manufactured goods and agricultural goods should easily be seen. Over time cloth and clothing brought continued high prices, especially when compared to local agricultural goods. Fray Dominguez reported in 1776 that a vara of Brittany or other cloth, was worth two pesos. Of the Indian gifts that Governor Chacón ordered twenty-five years later, 121 varas of blue Querétaro cloth in three pieces sold for fifteen reales per vara for a total of 222 pesos. At the same time he gave them a 69 1/4 vara piece of mother-of-pearl Tlascala baize costing fifteen reales per vara worth 129 pesos, six reales, and nineteen pieces of shawl material each running twelve pesos for another 228 pesos. Among the gifts were four dozen black silk serge caps worth 22 pesos per dozen or 88 pesos, and four loads of burlap at five reales each, for two pesos, four reales. 35

In 1807, Pike reported prices on imported fabrics as still being high at Chihuahua, with extra fine cloth selling for twenty dollars per yard, and ordinary linen at four

35

Ibid., pp. 51-52, 55; Dominguez, *Missions*, pp. 31, 75, 245-246.

dollars a yard. Five years later, Sergeant José Alare and Captain Valenín Moreno supplied Indian trade goods which included textiles and clothing. Their goods cost: unlined, cloth waistcoats for four pesos each; a dress coat of Castilian baize, with braid for six pesos; baize jackets for one peso, six reales each; colored handkerchiefs at two pesos each; glazed linen shirts using three varas for one peso, four reales each; Querétaro "fine gold" braid at one peso per vara; tricorn hats cost one peso, six reales each; and a tricorn hat with imitation gold braid and ribbon for two pesos, five reales.

36

An order of the Albuquerque town council in June 1814 was also expensive. They paid nineteen pesos, four reales for twenty-six varas of fine cotton cloth. A spindle full of thread cost them a peso, as did a spindle of metal plated thread. A half vara of ribbon to tie to the mace bearers' necks ran three pesos, and twenty-four varas of black and white frieze cost the town council nine pesos.

37

Many of the cloth producing countries were far ahead of Mexico. The exclusion of British goods during the War of 1812 helped the United States. With no competition the Americans began manufacturing cotton goods.

Of course, so long as they had no competition the new speculators succeeded' but, unhappily for them, a peace took place. British manufactures,

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Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 52; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59.

37

Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 54-55.

infinitely cheaper and infinitely better than any they could make, flowed in upon them like a tide, and were bought up with such avidity that, beside the produce remitted in payment, the American are not less than 17 millions of dollars in our [British] dept.³⁸

Considering the United States was a much stronger cloth manufacturer than Mexico, the Mexican population must have been extremely dependent upon British manufacture. Unfortunately, by the time British goods travelled the great distance from Vera Cruz to New Mexico, the monopoly took over control of the price.

During this time other imported items brought high prices. For instance, Governor Chacón's gifts for the Indians included: a dozen hoes for 32 pesos, four reales; a dozen hoes "of mid mark" worth 27 pesos, six reales; and ten pounds of agave fiber for candlewicks at 25 pesos. The Indian trade goods that Sargeant José Alare and Captain Valenín Moreno sold included carbon axes and hoes at two pesos, six reales each, a six peso rise per dozen over what Chacón paid twelve years earlier. Other goods were: a cane baton with a silver head for eight pesos; pasteboard mirrors and pairs of scissors for three reales each; and ten strings of glass beads for one real.³⁹

Among the items the Albuquerque town council ordered were paper goods. Ahlborn stated that paper goods fell into the same category as office equipment in that the

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³⁸ London Times, 20 April 1816, p. 3.

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³⁹ Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 51-52.

officeholder was required to furnish his own upon taking office. Since paper was expensive and hard to get, only a little was ordered at a time. For instance, ten sheets with the seal of office on it for acts cost one peso, two reales. Paper for the General Committee was more expensive at one peso, one real per sheet. Even three sheets of third-class sealed paper for the first and last folio leaves of the three Books of Office cost one peso, five and a half reales. Since sealed paper cost more, the fourth-class sealed paper used for office dispatches and the books ran one real per sheet. Even a half ream of plain white paper that one office required cost ten pesos.

Thus, imported manufactures were expensive, as were imported agricultural goods. Tobacco and chocolate were used more than vanilla and sugar, but all were fairly expensive. As previously mentioned the New Mexican population was addicted to tobacco and one may assume that the demand for the weed and the resulting price remained high. According to Pino, tobacco cost four reales per pound in 1812. The New Mexicans were similarly addicted to chocolate. To import it from the lower provinces of Mexico, it was normally transported in bean form and cost two pesos per pound.

Other sweets were imported. In 1776 a pound of sugar

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Ibid., pp. 54-55.

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"Engages," "Chocolate," pp. 3-5; Dominguez, *Missions*, pp. 245-246; Pino, *Chronicles*, p. 97.

cost one peso. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Governor Chacón paid eighteen pesos for one hundred sugar cones of an undisclosed weight.⁴²

Of all imported agriculture, horses and mules require further examination. Since New Mexico was known for its fine horses, it is hard to determine how horse trading fared after the peace treaties of the late 1700s. Mules are even more difficult to account for due to the biannual caravan made up solely of mules entering and leaving the province. One may assume that since Indian raids had declined, the need to import horses and mules had diminished.

Most sources, except Pike's, refer to the high price that horses brought. His price was the selling price at Chihuahua of New Mexican goods. While most sources discussed prices of over 100 pesos per head, Pike's quote was eleven dollars. The monopoly may be the reason. Mules, however, were a different case. Throughout the colonial period, the minimum price for a jack was thirty pesos. But similarities ended there, with the quality of the individual animal determining the price. A fine jenny brought at least 100 pesos and some times over 200 pesos each. This price was a reflection of the actual value of these animals that carried all supplies used in Northern Mexico.⁴³

⁴² Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 51-52; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 245-246.

⁴³ Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 245-246; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59.

Given that, these two animal types continued to be traded and prices slowly declined. Most likely, this lowering of the price was due to the increasing numbers of horses and mules in the province, which placed the New Mexicans less at the mercy of the Chihuahuan merchants. In the long run New Mexicans became exporters of horses instead of importers, but sheep were always more important to the provincial economy than horses.

Without question, New Mexico's biggest money maker was sheep. For over seventy years during the eighteenth century the price of sheep in Chihuahua remained at two pesos per head. But sometime between 1777 and Pike's visit, the price dropped to one dollar a head, while the price of fleece remained constant. For most of the eighteenth century all fleece sold for one peso in New Mexico, particularly around Albuquerque. Another important animal was cattle.

Inside New Mexico, the price of beef remained constant throughout most of the eighteenth century, in that a cow with calf was worth 25 pesos. A cow without a calf or a tamed yoked bull cost about twenty pesos. A tame ox was worth as much as a cow with a calf, but a wild bull was only worth fifteen pesos and a yearly calf ran six pesos. Unfortunately, outside the province the price for New Mexican beef varied. Pike, for one, reported that New Mexican beef sold for only five dollars in Chihuahua. The

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Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 31, 245-246.

question this raises is, did the real value of New Mexican beef decline, or is this an example of the monopoly at work? Due to the vast differences in price for imported versus local products, as well as the Chihuahuan merchants' efforts at monopoly, the price drop for beef was probably a result of the monopoly.⁴⁵

Of the other livestock in the province, a goat was worth two pesos. Pigs cost twelve pesos. Twenty eggs were worth a peso, and fowls only brought four reales. Tallow cost six pesos per arrobas was used for candles. In the spring and late summer, the New Mexicans fished in the rivers when the water was muddy. By using gourds on top to float the seine and weighting the bottom, the men could drag it against the current, netting several species of fish.⁴⁶

While local manufactures and livestock brought the most revenue, crops brought needed funds to the province. Of these, grains were most important.

The main grains grown in New Mexico were wheat and corn. In 1776, both grains were worth four pesos for each fanega. Of these, corn was plentiful enough for people to pay the priests in fanegas. By the time Pike arrived, a hundred pounds of New Mexican flour was only worth two dollars in Chihuahua. While the monopoly was probably

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Warner, "Conveyance," pp. 338-339; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 245-246; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59.

46

My sources did not specify what type of fish these were; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 7-8, 75, 245-246.

involved, Pino reported five years later that a fanega of corn or wheat was worth only one peso during an average year. By 1826, in the northern trading town of Salamanca, wheat sold for \$1.60 per bushel and corn for \$.65 to \$.85 per bushel.⁴⁷

Of the other vegetables and plant life, prices seemed to remain fairly constant. In upper New Mexico, a string of chile was worth two pesos, in the lower portion of the province one. A fanega of chick peas was expensive at twelve pesos each, but all other legumes cost eight pesos. What little cotton New Mexico grew sold for three duro pesos per fanega, while a load (300 pounds) of pitch and firewood was only worth two pesos.⁴⁸

The results of monopoly upon the New Mexican economy were that in northern Mexico all manufactured goods sold at high prices, and most agricultural goods sold at low prices. Since most manufactured goods were imported, and most agricultural goods were locally produced, a trade imbalance resulted. Although imports into New Mexico were necessary, the comparative value of imports to local goods caused an imbalance in the flow of New Mexico's capital, creating a constantly increasing debt.⁴⁹

 Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 43; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 109.

⁴⁷ Dominguez, Missions, pp. 31, 76, 245-246; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Pino, Chronicles, p. 97; Tayloe, Mexico, p. 143.

⁴⁸ Dominguez, Missions, pp. 20, 31, 75, 245-246; Pino, Chronicles, p. 97.

⁴⁹ Pino, Chronicles, p. 36.

The currency drain, and the monopoly as a whole, set the stage for the economic takeover of New Mexico by the Anglos because they introduced better quality goods at lower prices. Becknell netted \$15,000 on his first trip to Santa Fe. Although he was the first trader into the province after Mexican independence, his experience was not unique. In fact, by 1824 New Mexicans were buying more goods from the Yankees than from Chihuahua due to better quality and lower prices. Soon thereafter, New Mexico, and specifically Santa Fe, became the trading hub of northern Mexico.

Few taxes, low transportation costs, and no monopoly gave the Yankees an enormous advantage, in spite of the fact that both European and American goods were shipped by water from the factory to St. Louis. However, water shipment greatly lowered freighting costs, and there were no governmental tariffs, taxes, or monopoly to contend with on the prairies. Therefore, the Americans were at a great economic advantage even without the added Mexican problems of corruption, few ports, and a lack of manufactures. These were the final nails that sealed New Mexico's fate once trade was opened to an outside government.

 trad. 50
 Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 65; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 109.

 existed in New Mexico.

As early as the missionary period in New Mexico, the population produced an abundance of corn and wheat. Although contingent upon good weather, New Mexican farmers

used irrigation. El Paso grew wheat but little corn, while Santa Fe grew both. Both grains were a basic part of the New Mexican diet, and were eaten at every meal. Pineda stated, "New Mexico abounds in wheat, [and] corn. . . ." Both grains were a part of the average diet.

CHAPTER VII

GOODS

To understand New Mexican colonial economics one must examine its society. Since New Mexicans could be mostly self-sufficient with food, this subject will be examined first. Beyond crops and livestock, wild animals were an important part of New Mexico's livelihood. On the other hand, local manufactures remained underdeveloped due to a small number of trained craftsmen. So, New Mexico depended upon importation of goods to fulfill its daily needs. While most of these were manufactures, tobacco and chocolate played an important role. Both imports and exports depended upon traders to carry goods north and south. The trading groups were the ricos, comancheros, and various individuals. Of these the ricos were approximately fifteen of the most powerful families of the province. Hand in hand with the traders ran the illegal traders and corruption. While details are scarce, there is little doubt illegal trade existed in New Mexico.

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used irrigation. El Paso grew wheat but little corn, while Santa Fe grew both. Both grains were a basic part of the New Mexican diet, and were eaten at every meal. Pino stated, "New Mexico abounds in wheat, [and] corn. . . ." Both grains were important parts of the average diet.¹

Nine years later, Becknell wrote that grains were the New Mexicans' principal produce with, "'Corn, rice and wheat'" being widely used. He agreed with Pike's observation that irrigation was extensively used. With an effective irrigation system many other travellers commented on the province's excellent grain fields. New Mexico probably exported grain prior to independence. For easier transportation both grains would have been reduced to flour.²

Of New Mexico's basic crops various types of beans were popular throughout the colonial period. Several varieties were produced including spotted beans, white and black beans, broad beans, lentils, garbanzos, and habas. Some fell under the generic title of frijoles, and were exported to Chihuahua and beyond. Similarly, various types of peppers were grown, and exported. Like the frijoles they were only referred to as peppers or chiles, so the exact

¹ Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 35, 40; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141.

² Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Beachum, "Becknell," pp. 29-32; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 64-65; Pattie, Personal Narrative, pp. 101-102; Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464.

varieties are difficult to determine. According to Pino, New Mexico abounded in all kinds of vegetables and garden produce. Most sources back up his claim, given that the province produced the normal vegetables for its temperate climate. Pino stated that only 1,000 fanegas of vegetables were annually produced, but a later editor named Escudero disagreed. Exactly what vegetables were grown is hard to determine. Various sources revealed that chick peas, white sweet onions, legumes, green vegetables, and cabbages were grown. While sources disagree on some crops, most agree with Becknell that onions were popular and grown in great abundance. Five years later, Dr. Williard commented on the fact that New Mexico traded a large amounts of dried onions with Chihuahua. Although food was important, the most popular crop in New Mexico was smoked, not eaten.

3

Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and approaches thereto, to 1773, collected by Adolph F.A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier: Spanish text and English translation, 3 vols. (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington; Baltimore, MD: Lord Baltimore Press, 1923-1937), 3:507-509; Beck, New Mexico, pp. 91,99-100; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 31,151,164,179,186; Pino, Chronicles, p. 18; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187.

4

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 35, 40, 103-104; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Hackett, ed., Historical Documents, 3:470, 507-509; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 41, 142, 151, 164, 179, 186.

5

Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187; Beachum, "Becknell," pp. 29-32; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 64-65; Pattie, Personal Narrative, p. 249.

While high quality tobacco was imported, local punche was grown and smoked in New Mexico. The best New Mexican tobacco came from El Paso del Norte. "All classes of people, of both sexes and of every age," it was claimed, were "devoted to this offensive habit [smoking]."⁶ By 1807, the New Mexicans were trading their locally grown tobacco with both Spaniards and Indians, specifically Comanches.⁷

Another inedible crop grown in New Mexico was cotton. Starting with the missionaries, cotton was produced in New Mexico where possible. Pino claimed that forty arrobas were produced each year. Later editors claimed this figure was also too low, but enough was produced to be included in at least one list of New Mexican exports.⁸

Along with vegetables, tobacco, and cotton, the province grew large numbers of vine plants, including melons and grapes. While melons were probably not exported, they were important. Melons grew all across New Mexico. Several travellers mentioned that excellent melons, muskmelons, and watermelons abounded in the province. About the time of the reconquest, El Paso del Norte's farmers planted many vineyards. In doing so they planted all types

6

Taylor, Mexico, p. 30; Hanson, "Cigarettes," pp. 2-6; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141.

7

Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141.

8

Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187; Beck, New Mexico, p. 91; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 35, 40; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 205-206.

from wild grapes to muscatel grapes. In fact, Pike and several other travelers were impressed with the cultivation and the number of the vineyards. Pattie for one commented on the province's vineyards. Dr. Williard observed that dried grapes were traded in great quantities. This trade meant that the province exported both grapes and raisins with Chihuahua.

Along with vineyards the Spaniards of El Paso del Norte, as well as the rest of New Mexico, planted vast fruit orchards. Some of the civilized Indians did the same. These orchards included bergamot pears, apricots, apples, peaches, strawberries, wild mulberries, capulins, and plums. These orchards had good production thanks to the irrigation system of the New Mexicans. Most travellers commented upon New Mexico's orchards and agreed that the province produced excellent fruit. New Mexicans traded both fresh and dried fruit in Chihuahua.

In addition to the aforementioned vegetables and

Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Hanson, "Cigarettes," pp. 9-14; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 41, 81; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 103-104; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 39; Hackett, ed., Historical Documents, 3:507-509; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Loyola, "Occupation," pp. 40-41; Pattie, Personal Narrative, pp. 101-102, 249; Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464.

John Rozée Peyton, Three Letters from St. Louis, (Denver, CO: E. McLean for Libros Escogidos, 1958), p. 41; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 103-104; Hackett, ed., Historical Documents, 3:507-509; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 39; Beck, New Mexico, p. 91; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 41, 50-51, 83, 90-91; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Pattie, Personal Narrative, pp. 101-102, 249; Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464, 530.

fruits, New Mexico possessed wild nut trees and seasonings. The province abounded in pine groves containing great numbers of piñons. From these piñon pines, nuts were collected in large quantities to be used within the province as well as exported to the south. Along with the piñons, New Mexico produced anise, a brittle weed that was used for its licorice flavor. The province also possessed gypsum, talc, fine red ochre, and produced excellent bottle gourds. Talc was used for street lighting in Santa Fe, and ochre was used for paints and coloring. The bottle gourds were used to carry water, float fish nets, and store food. Hemp and flax were also grown in New Mexico for local weavers.

11

Although both fruit and vegetables were sent south through Chihuahua, New Mexico's money-making agricultural goods were livestock, specifically sheep. Several sources discuss the fact that sheep as New Mexico's chief export. Pike stated that 30,000 sheep were annually sent south to be sold at one dollar per head. Since the province's total exports were worth less than 60,000 pesos, sheep accounted for over half of their buying power. Along with the sheep they exported raw wool and rough woolens.

12

To export 30,000 head each year, the province must have

11 Pino, Chronicles, p. 18; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464; Hackett, ed., Historical Documents, 3:470.

12

Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59, 191; Hardy, Travels, p. 530.

produced large flocks. While a few sources claim that the New Mexican's life centered around stock raising with little for export, many other sources disagree. Pike was impressed enough to mention this several times. Becknell discussed the large numbers of sheep in the province, as did M.M. Marmaduke. But no one stated the importance of sheep to the province better than Robert Hardy when he said that sheep were, ". . . the chief staple of its commerce." There is little doubt the whole province was at least seasonally engaged in raising sheep. Many New Mexicans were employed with herding chores, shearing, combing, and weaving.

While sheep were New Mexico's chief economic staple, mules were its lifeblood. Almost every item entering the province during the colonial period, was packed on mules. Although mules were initially imported, New Mexicans began breeding them. Through this process, few mules were exported at first. One reason was that the Plains Indians traded and stole mules and horses from the colonists. With the coming of the eighteenth century, the New Mexicans were finally able to start exporting mules and horses.

13

Hackett, ed., Historical Documents, 3:470; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-7; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 87-90; Beck, New Mexico, pp. 99-100; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 35, 40, 100-103; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 64-65, 74, 219; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40; Beachum, "Becknell," pp. 29-32; Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464.

14

Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Peyton, Three Letters, p. 41; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 109, 205-206; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 87-90, 186-187.

While, mules were the lifeblood, horses were both transportation, and a source of pride for the rich. Humboldt discussed the high quality of New Mexican horses. Both Pike and Pino pointed to the large numbers of mules, horses, and asses in the province. Lewis and Clark contacted Shoshoni Indians who possessed Spanish horses and mules. More than likely these animals came from New Mexico.¹⁵ With Becknell's entrance, he commented on the number of mules and asses grown in the province, but said,¹⁶ "None but the wealthy have horses. . . ." Four years later M. M. Marmaduke noted the vast numbers of horses and mules in his journal, as did Wetmore in his diary.¹⁷

During the 1700s, the province raised few cattle. Near the end of that century, the number of cattle began to increase, and continued until independence, with large herds being reported as early as 1812. As early as Pike's visit, cattle were sent south to be sold. The oxen population, on the other hand, remained low throughout the period.¹⁸

15

Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 219; Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 130; Pino, Chronicles, p. 18; J. Hanson, "Headstalls," pp. 3-10.

16

Beachum, "Becknell," pp. 29-32; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 64-65.

17

Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 74, 178, 180.

18

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 35, 40; Hackett, ed., Historical Documents, 3:470, 507-509; Peyton, Three Letters, p. 41; Dominguez, Missions, p. 109; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 74; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-7; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 87-90, 186-187; Beck, New Mexico, p. 91.

Goats and swine seemed to be treated much differently than the other livestock. While few goats were reported in the early eighteenth century, by 1775 goats were fairly numerous. Some sources even state that goats were exported. On the other hand, hogs were similar to horses in that only the rich possessed them, but were grown and exported throughout the colonial period.

Of the wild animals of New Mexico, the buffalo had the largest economic impact. Hunted mostly for their meat and hides, their hair and horns increased their value. Hunted by the Indians prior to the arrival of the Spanish, Europeans soon began to hunt buffalo. Even so, the Spanish traded with the Indians for most of their buffalo meat and hides. While buffalo meat was important, buffalo hides had greater value, especially in the later years of Spanish rule, when large numbers of hides were sent to Chihuahua annually.

Buffalo hides were not the only kind of fur or hides taken. Throughout the period, other fur-bearing animals

19

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 35, 40, 100-103; Peyton, Three Letters, p. 41; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 50-61, 151, 164, 179, 186; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 219; Motto, Old Houses, p. 6-7; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 87-90, 186-187; Beachum, "Becknell," pp. 29-32; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Beck, New Mexico, p. 91.

20

SANM, Roll #15, Frame #371, Twitchell #1782, 20 December 1804; Hardy, Travels, p. 530; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 23, 25, 99-100; Motto, Old Houses, p. 7; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 50-51; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-7.

including deer, antelopes, jack rabbits, cottontails, bears, mountain lions, wolves, beaver, foxes, and wild sheep (probably bighorn) existed in abundance and were hunted in the province. Of these, the last two were both numerous and important. Most of the fur-bearing animals were hunted for their meat as well as their hides during Spanish rule. One reason for the lack of hide hunters was the absence of adequate transportation to the coast. Since the large fur markets were in Europe, hides like beaver would rot on the long journey to Vera Cruz. And many furs reaching Vera Cruz would more than likely be damaged while waiting in that humid city for a ship bound for Spain. The only large animals not hunted for meat or hides were wild horses. Since New Mexico was continually horse poor, wild horses were taken instead to increase domestic herds.

21

New Mexico also possessed a variety of small game. For the most part it was of little importance to the province's overall economy. Eagles and a great variety of other birds ranged the skies of the province. An important source of food was the fish in the Rio Grande and its tributaries. The rivers abounded with trout, eel, garfish, three-spined stickleback, rock fish, and turtles.

22

21 Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 23, 25, 99-105; Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-7; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 50-51; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 178, 180; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40.

22

Pino, Chronicles, pp. 18, 99-100; Hackett, ed., Historical Documents, 3:507-509; Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-7.

Considering Spain's colonial policy, it follows that New Mexico's economic life centered upon subsistence farming and stock raising. Farming consisted mainly of grain, vegetables, and fruits. The most important stock were sheep, followed by mules and horses. Since most of the farmers and stock raisers were of Spanish descent, the European part of the community especially suffered from the monopoly. With little room to maneuver economically, the province was forced to accept the trade monopoly held by the Chihuahuan merchants. Unfortunately, the few manufactures made by the Pueblo Indians and Hispanic artisans in New Mexico could not compete with the cheaper, better made goods of Europe.

With Spain's declared goal against colonial competition, all of the provinces had difficulty producing manufactured goods. Alcohol, hand woven fabrics, leather goods, and copper goods were New Mexico's best manufactures. Other manufactures were produced through the several crafts present in New Mexico after 1800.

One of the most important manufactured items for both local use and export was alcohol. In colonial New Mexico, El Paso del Norte was considered part of the province. This fact greatly helped the province's economy. El Paso del Norte's numerous vineyards and orchards supported the wine

and brandy (known as aguardiente) industry. While aguardiente differed from place to place and changed over time, in colonial New Mexico it was distilled grape brandy. Sometimes referred to as whiskey, aguardiente was not only traded to the neighboring provinces, but also to the Indians as were wines, and other brandies.

24

Almost all travellers mentioned New Mexico alcohol. According to Pike and Pino, both wine and brandy were exported to the south. In 1827, wine was defined as "delicious" by Pattie. By this time wine was an important money maker for the province, worth as much as fifteen pesos per jug compared to one peso for each head of sheep.

25

Woven goods and fabrics were important both locally and for export, especially when one considers the vast number of sheep in the province. Since the crown initially banned local manufacturing, New Mexican weaving started slowly, remained small, and independent. The industry, dominated by Pueblo Indians and Navajos, produced both clothing and blankets for local use. While some sources debated the amount of woven goods exported, everyone agreed that at least blankets were exported, including some Chimayo and Navajo blankets. According to Simmons, the prices for these

24

C. Hanson, "Aguardiente," pp. 9-14; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 39, 49; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78.

25

C. Hanson, "Aguardiente," pp. 9-10; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 35, 40; Pattie, Personal Narrative, pp. 101-102; Hardy, Travels, pp. 463-464, 530.

New Mexico Magazine (August, 1951): 49, 41, 43; Motta, Old

items remained fairly constant throughout the colonial period.²⁶

Besides blankets, colonial New Mexico produced rugs and colchones. Colchones were mattresses of wool that were rolled up against the walls, covered with blankets during the day, and used as benches. At night they were rolled out flat to make beds. The women would often spread a blanket out in the middle of the floor, where they could sit and do light needlework or receive visitors. Pike stated that cotton cloth was exported as well as woolens. According to Pino, New Mexico produced both cotton and woolen goods, in the forms of blankets, quilts, serapes, coarse hose, tablecloths, and sackcloth. He also included: baize, serge, and coarse frieze. Pino believed that with the recent introduction of looms, a finer grade of cloth could be produced but that it still did not compare with the fine grades of cloth being imported from China and Europe. Storrs shed some light upon the reason for this when he pointed out that all spinning was accomplished using a wooden spindle worked by twirling the thumb and finger. Compared to the machine spinning of Great Britain, this was primitive. About the same time, Wetmore reported that the New Mexicans spun a rope yarn from shed buffalo hair.²⁷

²⁶

Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 55, 74-75; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-7; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78.

²⁷

Veda Neville Conner, "The Weavers of Chimayo," New Mexico Magazine (August 1951):19, 41, 43; Motto, Old

Thus, woven goods took many shapes and forms. Various type of
 Later travelers supported the claims of both Pike and
 Pino. In 1824, Pegleg Smith's band traded for some superior
 serapes that he referred to as "wearing blankets" made by
 Navajos in New Mexico. Gregg agreed that the province
 manufactured coarse blankets and serapes. Only Storrs
 disagrees with the above sources, and then only over the
 number of articles produced. He believed that there were
 few woolens considering the large number of sheep in the
 province. He went on to say that these woolens were very
 expensive. Besides the locally produced cloth and large
 amounts of imported cloth, leather was used to clothe the
 28
 New Mexicans.

More specifically, the uniforms for the common
 soldiers, especially the cavalry, were mostly leather. In
 most cases these uniforms were made locally. For the
 cavalryman, regulations required a knee length sleeveless
 leather jacket made of six to eight layers of hide known as
 a cuera. Deerskin botas de compaña were tied slightly
 below the knee forming a bell shaped legging. Furthermore,
 he was required to hang armas from the pommel of the saddle,
 a protective leather skirt to cover the thigh. Supposedly

 Houses, p. 5; Pino, Chronicles, pp. 35-36; Jones, Paisanos,
 p. 141; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Lister, Chihuahua,
 p. 78; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 90-91, 195.

28
 Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "The Mountain Man's Outfit,"
Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly, 11 (Fall 1975):7; Dines,
Sun, Sand, and Steel, pp. 34-43; C. Hanson, "Traders," p.
 3; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 90-91.

this leather armor could stop an arrow. Various type of shading headgear were worn depending largely upon the civilian fashions.²⁹

While leather clothing was important for some people, there were many other leather needs. Almost all of the hides were tanned prior to shipment. For instance, all buffalo, deer, antelope, beaver pelts, and cabrie skins were tanned to some extent. Along with hides, and sometimes in exchange for hides, New Mexicans traded manufactured leather goods with the Indians. Lewis and Clark found the Shoshonis in possession of Spanish bridles, saddles and various ornaments for their horses and mules.³⁰

New Mexico's trading position was slightly improved by making copper vessels. Although the province was known to possess precious metals, only copper was locally mined. Humboldt mentioned the high quality of New Mexican copper, as did Dr. Williard in 1828. According to Pike, the Pueblo Indians turned this high quality ore into various wrought copper vessels for both local use and export.³¹

The Indians also produced clay pottersware, but these

29

Dines, Sun, Sand, and Steel, pp. 28-31.

30

J. Hanson, "Headstalls," pp. 3-10; Jones, Paisanos, p. 141; Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Motto, Old Houses, p. 7; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 78; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263.

31

SANM, Roll #15, Frame 656, Twitchell #1844, 17 June 1805; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40; Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, pp. 26-67; Pattie, Personal Narrative, p. 249; Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 172.

was only used locally. According to Storrs, instead of ironware, "All plates, dishes, bowls, water vessels, and every description of castings, are supplied by a substitute, manufactured from clay, by civilized Indians."³² Thus, the rich ate from silver plates, discussed earlier, the well-off ate from copperware, and the commoners mostly ate from clay pottersware.

The 1790 census defined over thirty trades in New Mexico. Besides the trades listed above, the census included carders, blacksmiths, silversmiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, cobblers, hatters, teachers, musicians, muleteers, and merchants. In his economic report of 1803, the governor stated that no craft organizations existed in New Mexico. Even so, masters who migrated to New Mexico did well. Some took on apprentices. As reported earlier, the Sena family of Santa Fe passed on the blacksmithing trade within the family for over 200 years. Agreeing with Chacón, Pike stated that almost all manufacturing was controlled by Indians.³³ Thus, only limited means existed for the New Mexicans to economically fight Chihuahuan merchants.

Of the remaining trades and crafts, documentation is limited. Several sources state the most important were the carpenters and blacksmiths/armorers. Of the documented

32

Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 90-91; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263.

33

Loyola, "Occupation," pp. 40-41; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 75-76.

trades, skilled carpenters were well paid. In 1805, Jesús Lucero was paid over 325 pesos for building five buildings. Two years later, Antonio Vargas was paid over 100 pesos for jobs at the military post. Carpenters continued to be paid high wages until the end of Spanish rule. Along with this work, carpenters manufactured furniture, and saddletrees for local use. According to Barreiro, many of the carpenters were sedentary Indians.³⁴

The last important craft group to be discussed is the blacksmiths and armorers. These two are combined because their similarities. While there are some differences between them, they at times accomplished the same types of tasks. By dealing with them at one time, repetition can be avoided. The blacksmiths' products were used by the population of the province as well as traded to the surrounding Indian tribes. Two examples of these were Spanish axes and fire steels. Both made by local blacksmiths, and used by locals and Indians.³⁵

Armorers repaired muskets, made axes, knives, branding irons, crowbars, spurs, and grain measures. For their efforts they were well paid, like the two pesos the Santa Fe armorer was paid for the grain measure. About this same time the Chihuahuan master armorer and smith, Martín

34

Pino, *Chronicles*, p. 30; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 53-55.

35

"Engages," "Steels," pp. 3-4; C. Hanson, "Axe," pp. 6-10.

Irigoyen, came to New Mexico. For making ten diggers and four axes he was paid 55 pesos. A mason's trowel brought him a peso, and four lathe shelves for the sentry's box brought four pesos. Of course he received many more jobs, but they prove there was money in New Mexico for a skilled craftsman, as Irigoyen was. Unfortunately, the cost of these items put them out of reach for the common people. And cost, more than any other reason, was why the majority of New Mexicans continued to do without metal on their carts, ploughs, harrows, yokes, and spades. In many cases they completely did without these items while like items were very common upon the frontiers of the United States.

Adding to its difficulties, there was no customs house in New Mexico until after Mexican independence. The nearest customs house was in Chihuahua City where all imported merchandise for New Mexico was taxed. Through this necessary stop, the Chihuahuan merchants were able to control all northward moving trade.

The types of goods shipped into New Mexico through this choke point were agricultural and manufactured. Within each of these were subsections of goods of varying importance. Few agricultural goods were imported into the province between 1800 and 1820. One reason was that the province

36

Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 90-91; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 53-54.

37

Webster, Beck, New Mexico, pp. 99-100; Pino, Chronicles, p. 63.

produced most of the foods it needed, so the market was limited. Second, most agricultural goods could not make the long trip north without spoiling. Finally, the added freighting costs made the sales price prohibitive.

Of imported crops, smoking tobacco was probably the most important. New Mexico grew a poor grade of tobacco, but the higher grades from southern Mexico were imported in great quantities. With the New Mexicans' fondness of tobacco, there was always a market for the better grades. Tobacco was fairly easy to supply since it was preserved for travel while being cured. Many sources noted the New Mexican addiction, including using parish books, marriage and even burial records to paper their cigarettes.

Rivalling tobacco in popularity in New Mexico was chocolate. Chocolate was the favorite drink in New Mexico and was imported from the lower provinces of Mexico. The local Indians traded for chocolate during the pre-Columbian period. Most of the lists of southern imports mentioned the chocolate trade and use, as did various travellers. Another import was vanilla, which New Mexicans mixed into their chocolate. Later, confections were also imported.

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C. Hanson, "Cigarettes," pp. 2-6; Dominguez, Missions, pp. 236, 289-290; Horgan, Santa Fe, pp. 113-114; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 41-42, 49.

39
"Engages," "Chocolate," pp. 3-5; Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-7; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 206, 230; Horgan, Santa Fe, pp. 113-114; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 41-42, 49; Weber, ed., Northern Frontier, pp. 186-187; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40.

The other major imported crop was sugar in various forms. Both cane and maple sugar were used in New Mexico. Although not mentioned as often as tobacco or chocolate, sugar appeared to be important during the period. Used in cooking and trade, it was so common an item that few observers noticed its importance. Other imports were coffee, herbs, raisins, and other delicacies.

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Livestock also came to be an important import. During the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, few animals were imported except mules and horses. Every caravan brought hundreds, at times thousands, of mules into the province, but most of these animals left New Mexico when the caravans headed south again. Horses came into the province in the same manner. While the majority of southern animals departed with the caravans, enough were sold and traded to slowly increase the herds of New Mexico. As a result, fewer and fewer imported animals were required because the New Mexicans were more able to breed their own.

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Unlike the few agricultural goods imported into New Mexico, there were vast amounts of manufactured goods brought into the province. Except for some rough locally produced clothing and blankets, all fabrics, including

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Horgan, Santa Fe, pp. 113-114; Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-7; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 41-42, 49; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 206.

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Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263.

clothing and shoes were imported. All metals and metal goods, except copper, were imported. Even with locally produced wines and brandies, large amounts of European liquors were brought in. Additionally, all paper goods and glassware were imported. Thus, the basic fabric of New Mexican livelihood was interwoven with the use of imported goods. The Chihuahuan merchants used this fact along with the power of the monopoly to keep the New Mexican traders in constant debt. The sad part was that the monopolies made the New Mexicans import goods at great expense that they could have easily made for themselves, like gunpowder, and playing cards.⁴²

Except for some rough cloth and leather, the majority of New Mexico's clothing was imported. The fabrics imported were of various types and qualities, from burlap to silk. Only rico families could afford the more expensive fabrics like silk, lace, velvet, and the finer articles of clothing. One source stated that daily, rico ladies of all ages wore gowns of the finest silks, satins, velvets and laces, silk stockings and fine, soft imported leather shoes, embroidered shawls of silk, and large and small lace shawls worth hundreds of dollars each.⁴³

The rico men wore soft pliable leather clothes for work, but wore velvet or fine cloth short jackets for social

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Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Pino, Chronicles, p. 63.

43

Motto, Old Houses, pp. 6-8; Dines, Sun, Sand, and Steel, pp. 34-43.

occasions. Along with the short jackets they wore trousers to match, all trimmed in braid and silver, with silver buttons. Their trousers were normally slit to above the knee to show off their full fine white linen undergarments. They concluded their outfit with a low crowned, flat brimmed fine felt hat and fine soft leather shoes. Of course, all of these fabrics were imported.

The common individual wore more plain, cheaper fabrics. Many of the clothes were made from locally manufactured roughly woven cloth. With independence, and the opening of the border, the majority of people began to wear more calicos and linen fabrics. This was a change from the homespun goods that were popular prior to independence. The main reason for this shift seemed to be the drop in price of these more common fabrics after competition was opened to the outside world.

Supporting this were lists of fabrics imported into the province. In 1804, Humboldt mentioned that all of Mexico required more fine cloths, larger quantities of muslin, gauze, silk, than prior to 1791. Three years later, Pike found dry goods, super fine cloth, and linen being imported into New Mexico. The need for finer cloth continued through the period and even after independence. William Bullock believed that the cloth manufacturing of Great Britain could do very well in Mexico, especially with muslins and

calicos, whether printed and plain, and that platillas and German linens would sell better than Irish linens. He held that British shawls, cotton stockings, and muslins could do very well in Mexico.⁴⁵

These views were upheld by the goods imported by the Anglos after trade was opened to outside competition. In June of 1824 a caravan from the United States arrived with calicos, and hair ribbons. At approximately the same time, Augustus Storrs's train took cotton goods, including coarse and fine cambrics, domestics, shawls, handkerchiefs, steam loom shirtings, and cotton hose into New Mexico. The stock included some woolen goods, mainly super blues, plisse cloths, crapes, and silk shawls. Alphonso Wetmore's Diary recorded that the chief items they imported into the province included French calicos and cotton shawls, English calicos, brown and bleached cotton shirtings, and cotton hose, India black silk handkerchiefs, and German linens.⁴⁶

Next to fabrics, metal goods were the most important imports for the province. Prior to 1821, all iron in New Mexico came from Spain and all silver from outside the province. Quality metal work was hard to come by as demonstrated in 1776, when a small silver ciborium and

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William Bullock, Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico (London, UK: J. Murray, 1824), pp. 228-230; Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 211; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 58-59.

46

Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 83-84, 178, 180; Lister, Chihuahua, p. 107.

cruets were needed. To accomplish the metal work, silver was collected and sent to Chihuahua for manufacture.⁴⁷

More than silver work was imported. While the military company's weapons could be manufactured locally at the beginning of the century, the soldier's lance and shield slowly gave way to a lance or escopeta, a muzzle-loading carbine. The lances may have been produced locally, but the escopetas were imported from Europe. This upgrade in weapons was brought on by English inroads into Spain's trade with the Indians. Therefore, the Spanish not only carried them, but traded firearms with the Indians for the first time about 1780.⁴⁸

In 1807, New Mexico was still importing all metal goods except copperware. Pike mentioned the importation of arms, iron, steel, ammunition, gold, and silver. Even after independence, metal remained scarce. The inclusion of cooking utensils upon the list of American trade goods signified this lack of metalware. In 1825, Storrs also reported that in New Mexico, iron was still hard to get and very expensive.⁴⁹

Compared to fabrics and metals, alcohol was an item of

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Dominguez, Missions, pp. 105-106; Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, pp. 26-67.

48

Dines, Sun, Sand, and Steel, pp. 28-31; Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:487-490.

49

Lister, Chihuahua, p. 107; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 83-84, 90-91; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263.

minor importance. Various sources refer to the fact that New Mexico received imported wines and liquors. But none discuss the quantities delivered. Given that the province possessed its own liquor industry, most of its needs were probably supplied by the vineyards and orchards of El Paso del Norte.
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Other manufactured imports into New Mexico, were mentioned by various sources. Almost everything considered necessary for comfortable living was included, with some being repeated more often than others. All glassware, porcelain and papergoods were imported. The papergoods ranged from papers with the official seal of office for acts, to plain white paper. These items are taken for granted today, but were expensive and hard to get in New Mexico during the period. Almost all musical instruments were imported, including french horns, violins, cymbals, and guitars.
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Traders

With the reconquest of New Mexico, the Spanish ricos rebuilt the old haciendas and feudal estates as well as the large homes in Santa Fe. Although the encomiendas were not

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Humboldt, Political Essay, p. 211; Prince, Sketches, pp. 262-263; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 220; Loyola, "Occupation," p. 40; Horgan, Santa Fe, pp. 113-114.

51

"Engages," "Guitars for the Mountains," 19 (Winter 1983):14-15; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, p. 83-84, 220; Horgan, Santa Fe, pp. 113-114; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 54-55.

notto, Old Houses, p. 8.

restored the haciendas still controlled tracts. This class became the merchants and local government officials. After the Chihuahuan merchants gained control of the trade monopoly around 1750, the ricos became dependent upon the merchants for the goods that demonstrated their social status.⁵²

This demonstration of status and wealth included the clothing the ricos wore day-to-day. All rico women wore clothing made of super fine fabrics every day. They also wore jewelry made of gold and gems. The men's fashions also demonstrated their wealth. Their work clothing of leather was sometimes embroidered with silver, and they wore silver trimmed sombreros and serapes woven so fine that they repelled the rain. These work clothes were normally worn when the rico men were overseeing workmen or while on buffalo hunts.⁵³ As previously mentioned, the men had fancier clothing for social events.

Along with clothing, the rico's demonstrated their wealth through the quantity and quality of their metalware. All iron and all silver had to be imported into New Mexico prior to 1821. The amount of silver used in the home demonstrated the wealth of the individual rico. Even though New Mexico was a poor area compared to other parts of Mexico, much of the common metalware used in the rico homes

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Rebecca McDowell Craver, "The Impact of Intimacy," South Moorhead, Royal Road, p. 49; Beck, New Mexico, pp. 99-100; Motto, Old Houses, p. 1.

53

Motto, Old Houses, p. 8.

was made of heavy, hand-hammered silver. The rich used only silver on their tables, including plates. Some of these individuals, especially the traders, amassed considerable fortunes and imported large numbers of items for their own enjoyment and for the status those items represented.

This affluent ruling class was composed of fifteen or twenty families who tended to intermarry to retain their base of wealth--land and livestock. By doing so, they tended to remain isolated from the rest of the population. The ricos were heavily engaged in trade and local politics. Notable rico families, especially after independence, included the Armijos, Pereas, Pinos, Chavez, Vigils, Oteros, and Senas.

Intermarriage was almost a tradition by independence. As early as 1776, the leading political and trading families of Santa Fe and El Paso del Norte were related by marriage as well as business. The old New Mexican rico trading families of Bustamente, Ortiz, and Velardes were related through marriage.

Of all the ricos in New Mexico, the most famous during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century was Don Pedro Bautista Pino of Santa Fe. Politically active, Pino

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Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, pp. 26-67; Motto, Old Houses, p. 7.

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Rebecca McDowell Craver, "The Impact of Intimacy," Southwestern Studies, no. 66 (1982), pp. 18-22; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 87.

56

Dominguez, Missions, p. 105.

was chosen as New Mexico's deputy to the Spanish Cortes in August of 1810. Paying his own way and carrying approximately nine thousand dollars for King Ferdinand's cause from the New Mexicans, Pino embarked for Spain in October 1811 and returned in 1814. He married three times, outliving two of his wives, the second being Lugarda Lucero. Both his step-daughter and daughter married into the Ortiz family. "As was frequently the case with affluent Spanish colonial families, many children from one family would marry brothers and sisters from another important family."⁵⁷

After Lugarda died, he married Ana Maria Baca, the daughter of Juan Dominguez Baca and Ana Gertrudis Ortiz. They married in March of 1816. Although Pino was already related to the Baca family through marriage, and to the Ortiz family through the marriage of his daughter and step-daughter, his marriage to Ana Maria further cemented these close relations. During the census of 1823, Pino was sixty-nine years of age, still married to Ana Maria, and was serving as Alcalde for the Barrio of Torreon in Santa Fe. He was also very well off supporting a household of twelve,⁵⁸ plus three servants.

Another notable New Mexican was Antonio José Ortiz, the

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Virginia L. Olmsted, The Ortiz Family of New Mexico: The First Six Generations (Albuquerque, NM: N.P., 1978), pp. 16-17; Mather, ed., Colonial Frontiers, p. 7.

58

Virginia L. Olmsted, trans. and comp., Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses of New Mexico: 1790, 1823, 1845 (Albuquerque, NM: New Mexico Genealogical Society Inc., 1979), pp. 133-134; Olmsted, Ortiz Family, p.48.

oldest son of Nicolàs Ortiz III. He married into the Bustamente family in 1754, and became an important merchant, rancher, and money lender in Santa Fe. During the 1790 census, he held the title of General. At that time his household numbered only three, but he had six servants. One son was a soldier who was wealthy by 1837. One of Ortiz's younger sons became a merchant like his father. His daughter, Ana Gertrudis Ortiz, married a Captain of the Santa Fe Presidio, Juan Domingo Baca. Along with this connection to the Baca family, two of Antonio José Ortiz's sons married women from the prominent Baca family of Belen. Antonio José died during the summer of 1806.⁵⁹

Antonio José Ortiz's daughter, Ana Gertrudis Ortiz, presented her husband, Juan Dominguez Baca a daughter, Ana Maria Baca. It was this Ana Maria Baca who married Don Pedro Bautista Pino in 1816, and joined three of the most prominent families in New Mexico, Pino, Baca, and Ortiz. This marriage and many like it consolidated the land, money and power of the province into a few powerful families. Some were even able to arrange marriages into a few of the Chihuahua merchant families, but Chihuahuan-New Mexican liaisons appear to be few. Through intermarriage, the ricos continued to run New Mexico even after independence.⁶⁰

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Olmsted, Ortiz Family, pp. 6, 19-21; Olmsted, Colonial Censuses, p. 51; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 57.

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Olmsted, Ortiz Family, pp. 15, 20-21, 48; Olmsted, Colonial Censuses, pp. 25, 53, 140-141.

There were other traders in New Mexico besides the ricos. Starting in the 1500s, and continuing after the reconquest, Spaniards traded in corn, cotton blankets, pottery and turquoise with the Pueblos and exchanged these items with the Plains tribes for buffalo meat and hides. Some hispanic settlers entered the Indian trade and began trading horses. As the Comanche and Comanchero trade became more formalized, government registration was required. To be a Comanchero a person had to become accepted by the Comanches. Even though he normally did business with the other Plains tribes his life depended upon Comanche acceptance. Without their acceptance, the government registration meant little.

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As this trade grew, flour, sugar, dried pumpkins, onions, tobacco and dark corn bread were added to the Comanchero trade by the whites. In turn, the Comancheros traded for horses, mules, firearms, lead and powder with the Comanches obtained them from the Osages to the north. Captives, both Indian and white were traded by the Comancheros to the whites. As the Comancheros became more and more active, the trade fairs at Taos and Abiquiá

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Besides the rico merchants and the Comancheros, records show few individual traders. The Indians' hostility, the

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Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:490; Jarrell, "Comancheros," pp. 21-23.

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Jarrell, "Comancheros," pp. 21-23.

necessary money, and the risks required to be a merchant or trader probably kept the number low. In spite of the Spanish caste system and hierarchical society, social climbing was possible by acquiring material wealth or possessions. This in turn, enabled the individual to marry above his class.

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The life of the trader was not easy, in that, on all goods he exported them at his own risk and expense. He then had to find buyers in the other provinces. In Chihuahua, the merchants set prices that reduced the New Mexican traders' profits. To meet the dangers of hostile Indians the traders gathered and formed large caravans for the trip south.

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One reason the traders were willing to make the hazardous journey to Chihuahua was the social, as well as economic, value of imported goods. All New Mexicans depended on trade items to ease their daily existence. But many traders were after the wealth and status the goods represented. This was why so many of the prominent families intermarried. Trade goods and intermarriage were the combinations that held fortunes together, and kept social and political status intact. Few could afford to join in the trading circle, and even fewer could marry into it.

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Ibid., pp. 21-23; Craver, "Intimacy," p. 17.

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Pino, *Chronicles*, p. 36.

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Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 36. Phillips and Scurr, *Exp Trade*, 2:492-493; *Diastad. Colonial Ceceusos*, p. 140.

Given this, there were individuals who traded goods in New Mexico other than the ricos or the Comancheros. Most of these traded with the Indians, and were dependent upon southern merchants and the ricos for their goods. Private traders did visit the Utes in 1776, the Kiowas in 1804, the Pawnees in 1807, the Kansas in 1816, and the Arapaho in 1817. The private traders mostly traded for skins, slaves, and a few furs. The American James Baird, engaged in the fur trade after becoming a Mexican citizen upon his release from prison in 1821. Two years later, the census of the Barrio of San Francisco in Santa Fe, showed a single merchant, Don Atanacio Volivar. Volivar was neither part of one of the great trading families, nor married to one of them. And yet he was successful enough, and rich enough to afford three servants.⁶⁶ Obviously, there was money to be made as an individual trader, but few were able to make it work for them.

Although some people in the government did trade there are few records of their activities. Most of the recorded information about government officials and the traders were of the expeditions sent out. Each caravan to Chihuahua had a core of regular troops. Since goods were important for status and as a mark of office, the local officials appeared to help the traders when possible. The government allowed the private trading expeditions to the Plains Indian tribes

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Loyola, "Occupation," p. 53; Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:492-493; Olmsted, Colonial Censuses, p. 140.

as discussed earlier. The government also set up consulados, or commercial courts, in the provinces similar to the Council of the Indies to regulate trade and enforce the rules.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, some of the individuals in the government were out for themselves.

Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez stated that Don Diego Borica, one of the Governor's lieutenants, was active as a merchant. Furthermore, Antonio de Jesus Ortiz, the son of Antonio José Ortiz, was a common soldier but owned his own home of 18 rooms in Santa Fe, chapel lands, ranch lands, and his father's Pojoaque house at the time he signed his will in 1837. Although he may have inherited all of this property, it is also possible that he traded goods in addition to his military duties. This is possible because his father and at least one brother were prominent merchants.⁶⁸ Paired with the large amount of legal trade was illegal trade.

By its very nature, the amount of illegal trade was difficult to determine. Both bribery and smuggling were rife throughout Mexico. More than likely the same types of activities occurred in New Mexico. The only difference was the province's isolation. The unfriendly deserts and hostile Indians probably kept smuggling down, but bribery

67

Bancroft, History of Mexico, 11:629; Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 442-443; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 36; Phillips and Smurr, Fur Trade, 2:492-493.

68

Olmsted, Ortiz Family, p. 19; Dominguez, Missions, p. 23.

was probably widespread and most likely occurred in Chihuahua prior to the trip north. Even so, the trade fairs of New Mexico offered perfect opportunities for both. More likely, corruption was simply ignored in the province with the rationalization that any commerce was good for the economy. During Dominguez's tour through the area he described many of the priests being forced to barter for necessities due to a lack of hard currency. This was not condoned by the Church. He accused Fray Sebastián of owning property, disobedience, and being a trader. Father Terán was also accused of trading at cost with the Indians.⁶⁹

New Mexico was given certain leeway on some colonial laws. For instance, although the making and selling of mescal or pulque was illegal because it competed with the Spanish brandy industry, both were legal in New Mexico with the payment of a small duty. The alcabala tax was suspended for all of New Mexico throughout the colonial period.⁷⁰ Even so, one cannot determine whether the New Mexican merchants were exempt from the tax on goods when they purchased them in Chihuahua, or only once they were brought into the province.

The one remaining point was the widespread corruption of colonial officials in Mexico. Humboldt and Tayloe repeatedly mentioned corruption, vice, and the widespread

69

Dominguez, Missions, pp. 174, 179, 300, 321-322.

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Humboldt, Political Essay, pp. 114-115.

workings of contraband trade. While there is no direct reference to corruption in New Mexico during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, chances are that corruption existed. First, corruption was a way of life in the rest of Mexico. Second, various officials, including a governor, were publically charged with corruption. Finally, once American traders entered the province, New Mexican corruption and bribery became well known. Therefore, there is little doubt that these practices occurred prior to Mexican independence.

71

Ibid., pp. 172-173; Tayloe, Mexico, p. 53.

Marc Simons holds that New Mexico's isolation "was more apparent than actual, since a continuing stream of new settlers, government officials, missionaries, merchants, and soldiers provided contact, however tenuous, with the

Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 65-66; Ahiborn, "Possessions," pp. 76-77.

CHAPTER VIII

ISOLATION

New Mexico's political isolation helped make the province more conservative than much of Mexico. This was a combination of distance and neglect. The Governor of Chihuahua, José de Urquidi, pointed to both of these facts in a 1825 letter about the success of the Yankee merchants. Monthly mail service greatly helped tie the province politically to the rest of the world. But New Mexican's continued to hold allegiance to "The Two Majesties," the Spanish crown and the Spanish Church. Through their daily struggle for survival, New Mexicans were more independent and courageous than the docile population further south. And their struggle for existence helped unify their allegiance to the crown, because they believed in what they were fighting for.

Marc Simmons holds that New Mexico's isolation "was more apparent than actual, since a continuing stream of new settlers, government officials, missionaries, merchants, and soldiers provided contact, however tenuous, with the

¹ Moorhead, Royal Road, pp. 65-66; Ahlborn, "Possessions," pp. 76-77.

mainstream of Hispanic culture." ² Simmons was correct in that contact was tenuous, but how tenuous must the contact be before isolation occurs? Without a doubt, the New Mexicans received news, including political events, from the outside world approximately every month. But with their conservative outlook, the distances to be covered to take part, and the need to protect their homes and families from hostile Indians, the New Mexicans could do little but give limited monetary support.

Two events that further isolated New Mexico were the expulsion of the Jesuit order and the treatment foreign traders received prior to independence. The first was disruptive and eliminated an outside voice from the province. The second kept foreigners at least at arms length, and shut off a source of information about the outside world. ³ The result was a politically isolated province, that took no large part in the upheaval of the day due to its geographic isolation and its own struggle for existence. This struggle was made difficult due to hostile Indians.

Even with treaties, hostilities continued to flare up. While the Comanches remained fairly loyal, the rest of the major tribes waged war against the New Mexicans at least

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Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 77.

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Jack B. Tykal, "Etienne Provost and the Hawken Rifle," Museum of the Fur Trade, 19 (Summer 1983):1; London Times, 5 June 1801, p. 3.

once during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. As late as 1812, Pino remarked that the province contained silver, gold, lead and copper, but that they were not mined due to the hostile Indians, particularly the Apaches. He went on to say that export from New Mexico was impossible due to the danger from wild Indians as well as the province's isolation and neglect.⁴ Thus, the province not only lost the economic benefit of safe commerce, but it also had to contend with the cost of defending itself.

Other than the loyal Comanches, Indians were constantly causing trouble. The Navajos went to war in 1804. After a year of fighting, the Indians sued for peace with Governor Don Fernando Chacón. As of 1812, the Navajos were still at peace. The Utes fought a little over the years, but were quickly brought back to the peace table.

The Apaches were a different story. "After more than a century of long wars and short truces with the Apaches, the Spaniards managed to gather a rudimentary knowledge of these people." But even with this knowledge, war continued. According to Pino, the Apaches were almost always at war, and very treacherous. In fact while he was in Spain, Pino received a dispatch stating the Apaches had reopened hostilities with the Spanish.⁵ These hostilities continued throughout the nineteenth century, and were not concluded

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Pino, Chronicles, pp. 35, 98.

5

Ibid., pp. 131-137; Moorhead, Apache Frontier, p. 4.

until New Mexico had been part of the United States for over forty years.

The Indian threat greatly influenced the economy of the province. The New Mexicans attempted several breakouts for economic and geographic reasons, but hostile Indians caused ruined most of these attempts. While most of the breakouts were attempted during the last years of the eighteenth century, few were successful.

With the expansion of free trade, aid was slowly brought to the interior commerce of Mexico, especially in the mining areas like Chihuahua. Unfortunately roads were in a terrible state so most of the profits were absorbed by transportation costs.

For New Mexico, the situation was worse, in that although free trade helped Chihuahua, the monopoly hampered New Mexico's economy. "The Chihuahua trail was the only authorized trade route between New Mexico and the interior," which meant the province was continually in need of manufactured items and in debt. Along with free trade, the New Mexicans were allowed to search for other trade routes, but most of those they found were controlled by hostile Indians.

The first known breakout attempt occurred in 1775 and 1776, when Father Francisco Garcés travelled from New Mexico

6 Fisher, "Conditions," p. 157.

7 John Sigra, pp. 204-205; Hammond, "Journal," pp. 40-

47. Beachum, "Becknell," p. 21.

through Arizona to California. At approximately the same time Father Francisco Dominguez and Silvestre de Escalante entered through southern Colorado into Utah and Arizona. Although this latter trail was used by Indians and New Mexicans over the years, it was solely for the Indian trade. It was not until after independence that a successful trail was opened to the California settlements from New Mexico.

Since several important trade goods came from Sonora through Chihuahua, a trail between the two provinces was attempted several times. The first attempt occurred in 1780 and 1781, but ended in failure. Eight years later, Don Manuel de Echeagaray, Captain of the presidio at Santa Cruz, attempted to reopen the ancient trade route. Although Echeagaray fought his way through, the route was closed by the Apaches and remained closed.

New Mexico's most successful trailblazer was a frenchman, Pedro Vial. Between 1786 and 1789 he opened up a trade route between Santa Fe and San Antonio. He was often the Governor's negotiator with the Comanches. Then in 1792, Vial made the first successful sanctioned trip to Louisiana's St. Louis, from Santa Fe. Although Vial went to St. Louis and returned, the trail was not opened for commerce due to the hostile Indians of the North.

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Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 283-284; Brooks, Diplomacy, pp. 48-49.

9

John, Storms, pp. 604-605; Hammond, "Journal," pp. 40-47.

Three years later, Don José de Zúñiga, captain of the presidio of Tucson, explored a new route from Tucson to Santa Fe. While he successfully returned to Tucson, his mission failed because he did not make peace with the Apaches in the area. Hostiles soon sealed his route.¹¹

While the Spanish were unsuccessful in their attempts at breaking out, they continued to influence the Indians over time. For instance, in 1801 the New Mexican's sent out an expedition to the Missouri River to treat with the Indians. During the next five years, the Spanish sent out expeditions under Vial, Lucero, and Melgares. Their purposes and successes require further study. However in 1806, Pike found the Pawnees to be in possession of Spanish horses and blankets. Five years later, Manuel Lisa's trappers reported that the New Mexicans traded with the Arapahos every year near the South Platte.¹²

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Brooks, Diplomacy, p. 45; Hulbert, ed., Turquoise Trail, pp. 44-45, 49.

11

Hammond, "Journal," pp. 49-52.

12

C. Hanson, "Traders," p. 2; Ahlborn, "Possessions," p. 53; Bolton, Manuel Lisa, p. 62.

CONCLUSION

The vacillating political and economic policies of Spain had a dramatic impact upon Mexico. The almost continuous Spanish wars made numerous demands upon the colonials and disrupting trade. Spain's continuing difficulties with and losses to Great Britain took their toll upon Spain's colonial relations. Napoleon's invasion of Spain sealed the empire's fate. The Spanish colonies were repeatedly stripped of their wealth to support the crown and its wars. The Spanish coup attempt did not help the King's political position because it only proved the King's political weakness. Napoleon exploited this to wrestle away the crown. By the time the French were driven from Spain, the Mexican revolution began.

More important than the colonial political situation was the colonial trade monopoly. While colonial monopolies were the goal all European nations, Spain's monopoly was run by the consulado which worked its self-interest first and Spain's best interest second. The consulado kept a tight monopolistic control until the reforms of the late 1700s, but continued to hold some power over colonial trade until the Independence. While the reforms eased some of the

burden, heavy taxation sucked Mexico's lifeblood. The numerous calls for funds to support the various war efforts quickly drained the Mexican treasury and put an enormous burden upon the people of Mexico. The inability of Spain to support her colonies' needs gave rise to smuggling, a problem that Spain was never able to rid.

While Mexico supported the King throughout most of this period, Mexicans slowly turned to independence as the solution to their problems. Fanned by Spanish defeats in Europe, the flames of independence spread throughout the New World. In Mexico, the fight for freedom cut into the economy. Funds were needed to arm the loyal army, the rebel army, and the King still expected economic support. All of this damaged Mexico's economy.

The monopoly also caused the Mexican population to endure several hardships. Since the monopoly did not die at the beginning of free trade, it continued to control the Mexico's imports and exports. By keeping Mexico's imports low, the monopoly forced prices higher. Manufacturing restrictions combined with the heavy taxes caused the Mexican economy to remain sluggish. While free trade opened Mexico, it was far from open trade. In fact, some sources believed free trade caused the Mexican revolution because it eroded the power and control of the merchants of Mexico City, and added to the power of the merchants of Vera Cruz. All of this infighting allowed the smugglers to continue their trade. For New Mexico, almost all trade came through

Vera Cruz, Mexico City, and finally Chihuahua, even after free trade was allowed.

The New Mexican trade was effected by many of the same factors that shook Mexico as a whole. While the northern provinces remained loyal to the crown longer than those in the south, they had less to gain and less to lose by supporting change. With the purchase of the legal trade monopoly over New Mexico by the Chihuahuan merchant's in the 1750s, they used everything in their power to control New Mexico's economy. The development of the four peso system of trade, their readjustment of prices, and the awkward use of barter helped the Chihuahuans retain control of the New Mexicans long after free trade was announced. Part of their success was due to New Mexico's lack of mines and manufactures. Combined with the high cost of imports and the low prices for agricultural goods, the New Mexican economy could not compete. Even the increased number of trade fairs did not solve New Mexico's problems, since the Chihuahuans controlled all northern moving caravans. Added to its economic isolation was New Mexico's geographic isolation. With mountains to the north, desert plains to the east, deserts to the west and south, and surrounded by hostile Indians, New Mexico was an island unto itself. Even after the treaties with many of the tribes, hostilities continued throughout the colonial period. Since the Rio Grande was unnavigable for much of its length, only the rough Chihuahua trail was left for importing goods to and

exporting goods from New Mexico. ~~Isabelle, New Mexico was~~
New Mexicans were able to accomplish peace treaties with the numerous tribes surrounding them. Most of the credit for their success goes to the tribes themselves. Due to the Comanches goodwill, some of the break-out attempts were successful. On the other hand, the Apaches' hostility caused several breakout attempts to fail. The Apaches caused the New Mexicans to continue their old trading practices of using only heavily guarded caravans. Little progress took place until Gálvez became Viceroy. His policies convinced most of the tribes to sign treaties of peace. ~~While the New Mexicans were basically self-sufficient~~

All Indian trade was accomplished using barter. While most Indians traded buffalo meat and hides, they received horses, mules, and various goods in exchange. Through this trade, Spanish goods found their way to the Snake River, to the Mandan villages upon the Missouri River, and to the Comanche villages upon the Canadian River. ~~and fruit~~

As indicated isolation was the dominating influence. New Mexico remained isolated from the major political issues and wars of the day. The militia was called out for long periods for defense, but only against the Indians. New Mexico continued to receive Indian attacks. Trade with Europe was disrupted somewhat due to European wars, but the real choke point for New Mexico was Chihuahua. ~~and~~ With the Chihuahuan merchants setting prices for both New Mexican imports and exports, New Mexico had little choice. ~~charged~~

Due to an annual trade imbalance, New Mexico was reduced to bartering for goods. While deer and buffalo hides were used as a sort of money New Mexico's debt continued to grow due to the monopoly. Populated by a people used to manufactured goods, few were willing to give them up to change the trade imbalance. New Mexico's few manufactures could not hope to keep up with the demands of the province, much less challenge the costs of imports. Simply considering tobacco, chocolate, and textiles, New Mexicans could not produce enough to supply itself with these three imports without going further into debt.

While the New Mexicans were basically self-sufficient in food production, they were addicted to imports like tobacco and chocolate. They did not export great quantities of food, but both plants and animals brought limited income. Local manufactures brought in more capital, but the Spanish left these to the "civilized" Indians. The exception was El Paso del Norte whose farmers produced aguardiente and fruit brandies. Although the manufactures of New Mexico demonstrated great ingenuity, they were so limited they could not combat New Mexico's debt. These manufactures were also so cumbersome that they could not compete later when the Anglos brought in cheaper machine made goods.

Of all New Mexicans, the ricos were in the best position. They were in charge politically, and were the merchants of the province. As such they were constantly in debt to the Chihuahuan merchants, but they in turn charged

even higher prices to the population. Through intermarriage, the ricos were able to keep all of the wealth and power in the hands of approximately twenty families, and were the most important group in the province. Other people traded in New Mexico but on a smaller scale. The Comancheros were one such group, trading with the plains Indians. Along with this legal trade there was also some illegal trade, but the amount is unknown.

Finally, the province's isolation made it impossible for the New Mexicans to better their trading position. Their political isolation kept them loyal to the crown. The hostile Indians and geography kept them from breaking out of the grip of the monopoly. While the breakout attempt to San Antonio was successful, little seemed to be traded between these points except horses and mules. It is probable that San Antonio was near the end of a long supply line similar to New Mexico, and therefore unable to trade with Santa Fe to advantage. This requires further research. New Mexico was dominated by the Chihuahuan monopoly until 1821 when the Anglos were allowed entry with their cheaper, better made goods. Within two years they flooded the New Mexican markets with lower-priced machine-made goods; in turn these goods were exported south to Chihuahua and Mexico City. The American entrance drastically changed the trading patterns of Mexico and New Mexico. Many historians have discussed the change and the impact of it, but few examined the situation prior to Independence. Hopefully this study shed

some light upon the province and the trade monopoly from the turn of the century until Independence. Without a doubt, the Chihuahuan trade monopoly contributed to the conditions that led to the Anglo economic dominance of New Mexico.

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