

Chronicles of the Trail



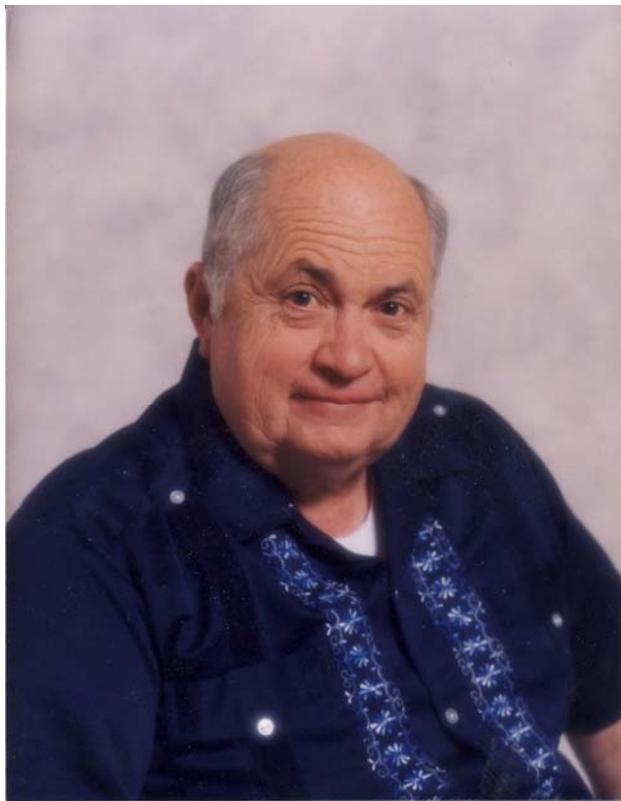
*Quarterly Journal of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro
Trail Association*

Volume 4, No. 4

Fall 2008



La Plaza de Juárez
Detail of painting by Leon Trousset



CARTA held its annual meeting in Los Lunas, New Mexico, on Saturday, September 27, 2008. The meeting was in conjunction with the statewide New Mexico Archaeological Fair where we had a CARTA table manned by Anna Appleby-Harper and Becky Beckett. CARTA sold T-shirts and handed out membership flyers, National Trail System brochures, and copies of *Chronicles*.

The evening before, we sponsored a public program at the historic Capilla San Antonio de Los Lentos on the north side of Los Lunas. (A picture of it was on the cover of the last issue of *Chronicles*.) It was my pleasure to preside, introducing first CARTA's own Secretary, Jean Fulton, a staff member of *Cornerstones*. She talked briefly about the historic chapel, apparently dating to about 1790. *Cornerstones*'s appraisal of its physical condition will lead, it is hoped, to reconditioning it for many more years of service. Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez, well known for much authoritative research and writing on colonial Spanish New Mexico, was not able to

(Continued on page 2)

El sábado 27 de septiembre de 2008, CARTA celebró su junta anual en Los Lunas, Nuevo Mexico. La junta se llevó a cabo conjuntamente con la Feria Estatal Arqueológica en donde nuestra mesa de CARTA estuvo atendida por Anna Appleby Harper y Becky Beckett. CARTA vendió camisetas y repartió volantes informativos, folletos del Sistema Nacional de Senderos y ejemplares de *Chronicles*.

La tarde anterior, nosotros patrocinamos un programa público en la histórica Capilla San Antonio de Los Lentos en el norte de Los Lunas. (En el último ejemplar de *Chronicles* aparece una fotografía de esta Capilla.) Fue un placer para mí presidir este evento en donde tuve oportunidad de presentar al secretario de CARTA, Jean Fulton, miembro del personal de *Cornerstones*. Ella habló brevemente acerca de la histórica capilla que aparentemente data de alrededor de 1790. Se espera que la evaluación de *Cornerstones* respecto a la condición física de la capilla dé lugar a una restauración que le permita muchos años de servicio. El Dr. Joseph P. Sánchez, bien conocido por su vasta investigación y escritos autorizados acerca del Nuevo Mexico colonial español, no pudo asistir personalmente debido a un problema de último momento. Sin embargo, su colega, Anjelica Sanchez Clark, leyó su ponencia, misma que aparece en este número de *CHRONICLES*: "Bajo el águila mexicana: Un resumen histórico del Camino Real de Tierra Adentro en Nuevo Mexico, 1821-1848." Enseguida, con una plática muy bien ilustrada, nos dirigió la palabra el Profesor Francisco Ochoa Rodríguez de la Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez: "El Paso del Norte, un lugar en el Camino Real a donde

(Continued on page 2)

CHRONICLES OF THE TRAIL

PRICE: \$5.00

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

<i>President's Message</i> —	ii
<i>Inside front cover</i>	
<i>El Camino Real: Route of Power</i>	3
<i>Road of History: El Camino Real</i>	12
NEWS and NOTES	15
<i>Executive Director Announcement</i>	17
<i>Under the Mexican Eagle: A Historical Overview of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in New Mexico, 1821- 1848</i>	18
<i>American Soldier Ob- servations along El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in New Mexi- co and Chihuahua, 1846-1848</i>	24
<i>Membership Form</i>	32
<i>Association Business News</i>	33

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CHRONICLES OF THE TRAIL is a quarterly publication of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association (CARTA)
P. O. Box 15162
Las Cruces NM 88004-5162
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From the Editors

For this issue we have four long articles about the road itself – all told from different perspectives.

HELP STILL WANTED

CARTA continues its search for part-time Executive Director. The job description is on page 17. Please pass this on to anyone who might be interested. Talk to Pat Beckett or John Bloom for more details.

Both *Chronicles* editors are retiring as of publication of this issue. We are looking for one or two talented CARTA members to take over. This is far and above the most enjoyable role to play in supporting CARTA and we encourage you to take a turn at the oars. *Chronicles* enjoys a wide reputation within the area and it will be a privilege to carry on. The association has sufficient resources to fund commercial layout and formatting services, so the major task will be finding and editing suitable material. We even have articles on the shelf for the next issue. Talk to one of us about what is needed.

William M Little
John Porter Bloom

CARTA looks forward to receiving contributions to *Chronicles of the Trail*. The purpose of our publication is to stimulate interest in the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, encouraging readers to join in the adventure of memorializing and exploring one of the great historic trails of North America. Our target audience is the intellectually alive and curious reader who might also be interested in magazines such as the *American Heritage*, *Smithsonian*, or *Archaeology*. We can accept articles that range from 1,000 or 1,500 words up to 8,000 or 10,000 words in length. We can accept line drawings and black and white photographs, preferably in digital form, in a proportion that will fit in one or two columns.

Membership in CARTA is open to all. A membership application form is on page 24 and always on our Website.

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President's Message*(Continued from page ii)*

attend in person due to an insuperable late conflict. His paper was read by a colleague, Anjelica Sanchez-Clark, however, and is presented in this issue of CHRONICLES: "Under the Mexican Eagle: A Historical Overview of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in New Mexico, 1821-1848." Speaking next, with a heavily illustrated lecture, was Professor Francisco Ochoa-Rodríguez of the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez: "El Paso del Norte, a place on the Camino Real where the Moors and railroad came." His focus in the very interesting presentation was on varied influences as shown primarily in historical architecture of present-day Ciudad Juárez.

At the start of our Board of Directors meeting, Mayor Louis Huning was introduced by Patty Guggino as the power behind the formation of the Los Lunas Museum and a pillar of the community. During our stay we were treated royally by Mayor and other representatives of the Los Lunas community. The various members of the Executive Committee gave their reports.

Sarah Schlanger announced that the Bureau of Land Management acquired a thirty-foot-wide and six-mile-long easement across the state lands that are situated in the Spaceport America area. The easement is a north-south alignment north of Yost Draw. Mike Taylor of the National Park Service said that plans are underway to mitigate adverse effects posed by the Railrunner as it crosses the Camino Real in several places.

During the Annual Business Meeting, the membership approved a change of

*(Continued on page 10)***Mensaje del Presidente***(Continued from page ii)*

llegaron los moros y el tren." En su interesantísima presentación se enfocó en diversas influencias que se observan principalmente en la arquitectura histórica de la actual Ciudad Juárez.

Al inicio de nuestra Asamblea Ordinaria del Consejo de Administración, Patty Guggino presentó al Alcalde Louis Huning como el motor atrás de la creación del Museo de Los Lunas y un pilar de la comunidad. Durante nuestra estancia, el Alcalde y otros representantes de la comunidad de Los Lunas nos trataron como reyes. Varios miembros del Comité Ejecutivo presentaron sus informes.

Sarah Schlanger anunció que la Oficina de Administración de Tierras adquirió un derecho de paso (una servidumbre) de 30 pies de ancho por 6 millas de largo a través de terrenos estatales que se localizan en el área de Spaceport America. Este derecho de paso va norte a sur y se encuentra al norte de Yost Draw. Mike Taylor del Servicio del Parque Nacional dijo que actualmente existen planes para mitigar los efectos adversos presentados por el Railrunner, ya que éste cruza el Camino Real en varios lugares.

Durante la Junta Anual de Negocios, los socios aprobaron un cambio en nuestros estatutos para que reflejen mejor nuestra organización actual. Había palabrería antigua que controló nuestro arranque de operaciones pero que ya no pertenecía a nuestras funciones presentes. Aún más importante, se quitó el límite de dos períodos para los miembros del Consejo (pero no para los funcionarios). Se eligieron cuatro personas nuevas para el Consejo de CARTA: Tom Harper, Richard Loose, Joy

(Continued on page 10)

El Camino Real: The Route of Power

R. B. Brown *

Introduction

The path that the Spanish used to take the Mexico City Basin was an axis of penetration and colonization. Just as the paths, trails and roads that they used to expand their colony and dominate Anahuac, and then all of Mesoamerica, many of what were seen as new routes were, royal roads or otherwise, built on preexisting trails. Trails that had long been used by Native Americans. Trails that had long supported the flow of ideas, knowledge and commerce. Trails that had long integrated Mesoamerica. They were quickly converted from trails of integration to trails of destruction. As the invaders marched along them they were transformed into routes of colonization and pacification – trails of destruction. And then they became trails of reintegration that sustained the flow of power, the power of the Spanish throne, and above all, its subaltern, the Viceroy of New Spain. They were used to transmit instructions and reports, material and personnel, all the trimmings of a colonial administration that when added together represented the power of the throne. These routes radiated from the metropolitan capital: from the principal ports, to the principal ports, to the provincial capitals and from the principal capitals. The paths of subjugation. The paths of power.

The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro is qualitatively different. It extended the metropolitan power outside of Mesoamerica. It gave the Viceroy control, if only a tenuous control, over the northern settlements and the northern frontier. It extended the vice-regal power beyond the lands inhabited by sedentary agriculturalists who had long lived in hierarchical societies. It extended what power the Viceroy could muster to the nomadic hunters and gatherers of the arid steppes that became the *Septentrion mexicano*. It extended this power to the sedentary pueblos of the American Southwest.

This route, the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, has gone thru many iterations and reiterations. Today it is represented by a highway, a series of toll roads, a railroad, and some would like to think, airplane routes. But its principal function has stayed the same. Linking the Mexican north, in its broadest sense, with Mexico City.

While many adventurers and explorers trekked north and penetrated the *Septentrion mexicano*, their presence was temporary, their impact immeasurable. It fell to Juan de Oñate, the scion of a monied and powerful Zacatecan family, to lead the first contingent of settlers and colonists to establish and create New Mexico, to initiate the imposition of Spanish rule and exploitation of the indigenous Native Americans and the natural resources.

Juan de Oñate and the Creation of the Camino Real

On the 5th of June, 1581, Father Augustin Rodríguez and Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado left Santa Bárbara and headed north along the Río Conchos and the Río Bravo heading into what is New Mexico today. On the 21st of August, 1581, they took possession of San Felipe de Nuevo México. They got as far as the Galisteo Basin before turning back.

* This essay was presented at the CARTA Annual Meeting in El Paso, Texas, September 2007. While not a transcription, it is included here substantially as Dr. Brown delivered it orally.



(Continued on page 4)

El Camino Real: The Route of Power

(Continued from page 3)

In 1582, Father Bernardino Beltrán and Antonio de Espejo headed another expedition which again headed north from Santa Barbara and travelled thru the modern states of Chihuahua, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.

Together, these expeditions rekindled the Spanish monarch's interest in Northern Mexico and led to the promulgation of a Cédula Real on 19th of April of 1583 that instructed the Viceroy of Nueva España to locate the appropriate person to lead the colonization and settlement of New Mexico.

Over the next ten years a number of candidates came and went – remember it is always bureaucratically better to do nothing, than do something that is better than nothing – until 1595 when the mantle was set on Juan de Oñates' shoulders. Juan de Oñate was the scion of a wealthy Zacatecan family, with the right connections, experience and deep pockets.

Oñate struggled for the better part of three years to pull things together: Although he was ordered to settle New Mexico in the summer of 1596, when he left Zacatecas, he hadn't even reached Santa Barbara when he was ordered to heave to. Stalled in the middle of the desert near the modern town of Torreón, unable to proceed and unable to retreat, he had to struggle thru bureaucratic flip-flops, character assassinations, desertions, mutinies and a myriad of potential stumbling blocks that would have exasperated a less determined man, before receiving the final go-ahead, issued on the 2nd of April, 1597 and received well into the summer, some three or four months later. Who said being a leader meant you were your own boss?

So at last, Juan de Oñate set off from Santa Barbara at the head of a caravan composed of some 129 Spanish soldiers plus their families; an unspecified number of arrieros, muleros, and mestizos for a total of about 500 people plus thousands of domestic animals that made up a larder on the hoof.

By 19th of April, 1598 the caravan had reached the edge of the Los Medanos, or the Samalayuca Sand Dunes, some 25 miles to the south of Ciudad Juárez. The wagons were double hitched and two days later the colonists were on the western or southern bank of the Río Bravo. They were ecstatic. They had reached the Elysian Fields. After their trials across the arid bush and grasslands of Chihuahua, the verdant river was an oasis for the spirit and mind. A short respite was in order.

After less than a week the caravan was on the move in search of a way to cross the river. A potential ford was located and Oñate prepared for the required formalities. On the morning of 30th of April, 1598 a bower was made to be used as a chapel and mass was celebrated by the Franciscans and Father Alonso Martínez preached his sermon. At midday, the troops were all drawn up in spit and polish to witness the formal act of possession which was read by Juan de Oñate and certified by Juan Pérez de Donís, the royal notary. This act has become known as the Toma, short for the Toma de Posesión, an important ritual that, for the legalistic colonial mind, established the legitimacy to the territory, resources and subjects that they claimed. In the evening Capitan Farfán de los Godos put on a patriotic play he had written that depicted what the gathered company expected – hoped – to be was to be their arrival and acceptance by the people of New Mexico's Pueblos.



The ford was, and still is, just up river from present day downtown Ciudad Juárez, close to the spot variously known as Harts Mill or the First Fort Bliss, and to the southwest of the UTEP campus. On the 4th of May, assisted by some forty friendly Mansos, the caravan crossed the

(Continued on page 5)

El Camino Real: The Route of Power

(Continued from page 4)

river and arrived on the eastern or northern bank, where much to their dismay; the colonists could see the tracks left by Gaspar Castaño de Sosas' entourage: the footprints and the lines left by the 10 carretas were inescapable.

From present day El Paso, his path took him north along, or close to, the banks of the Río Grande where he established a number of camp sites – many of which are still identifiable and some have become small towns or places for the specific role they played in the making of New Mexico. They include Bracitos, Doña Ana, Robles, and San Diego to mention but a few.

It is impossible to say how many of the 129 colonos and 80 carretas actually made it to northern New Mexico, but it was on 11th of July, 1598 that the caravan made it to the confluence of the Chama and Río Grande rivers – please excuse the redundancy. Here they were warmly welcomed by the Tewa speaking people that lived in two pueblos Yunque and Okhe, the pueblos that sat on either side of the river, which the Spaniards renamed San Gabriel and San Juan de los Caballeros. The Tewa provided them with food and shelter in San Juan de los Caballeros. In early August they provided the manpower to dig new acequias and initiate the construction of a chapel to be dedicated to San Juan Bautista.

All too soon, in a portent of what was to come, the Spaniards, daily more conscious of the cultural differences between them and their hosts and, in all probability, in search of privacy, fixed up an area away from the center of activities and moved their capital from San Juan across the river to San Gabriel de Yunque.

For the next eight years the colony's future was continually in doubt. Morale was generally low and fluctuated depending upon the news. This was not a short cut to riches. The lack of mineral potential and Oñate's restrictions on slaving limited the colony's economic future. There was nothing to export and nothing has no future. In 1600 the colonists petitioned to abandon San Gabriel so that they could relocate somewhere with economic potential. Not surprisingly, the authorities would hear nothing of these petitions. The Franciscans argued that it was the Crown's responsibility to evangelize and protect the souls of the neophytes and potential converts, and everybody's duty and responsibility to work toward this end. This schism was finally resolved by the removal of Juan de Oñate, who was ordered to Mexico City and the creation of a totally new settlement that is today's City of Santa Fé. As a result, San Gabriel de Yunque slipped into oblivion and there was no one to tell the pivotal role it played in the founding of New Mexico. Only the Tewa knew where it lay camouflaged by orchards and alfalfa.

All this changed in the 1940s. A small excavation was dug to confirm oral history. Locally manufactured sherds were recovered along with black on white wares known as Biscuit Tewa and Sankawi along with glass articles made down-river. Subsequently a piece of chain mail, part of a brass bell or mortar, and part of an archer's helmet were uncovered. It was almost twenty years later that a formal excavation was undertaken by Florence Hawley Ellis, a professor and archaeologist at the University of New Mexico (UNM). Her goal was to find archaeological data that could be used to not only establish the presence of Juan de Oñate and the Spanish colonists, but illuminate their lives at San Gabriel.

During the summers of 1959, 1960 and 1962, Dr. Ellis and her students dug trenches, drew profiles, located walls, and registered artifacts, all with the goal of identifying the rooms occupied by the Spaniards some 350 years earlier. They began working on the Western Mound and then moved to the Eastern Mound. They noted that while the walls were all made of earth, two different techniques had been employed. But then in the Eastern Mound they discovered that some rooms had been heavily modified all at once using non-traditional techniques, and that these rooms contained different artifacts. The nature and distribution of artifacts suggested something different. Some artifacts were clearly Spanish in origin. It was even possible to identify the room that the Spaniards used as a kitchen – fireplaces, a Mesoamerican metate, and stone tables. There was even a mealing bin. Just outside these rooms they located five Spanish-style ovens.

Although it seems as if the evidence for the chapel at Okhe has been obliterated by the passage of time, on the edge of San Gabriel the archaeological team discovered walls partially built from tuff, a light volcanic stone brought in from the nearby Pajaritos Plateau. The tuff blocks were set in adobe to form a silhouette that

(Continued on page 6)

El Camino Real: The Route of Power

(Continued from page 5)

may well have resembled half of the cruciform that would have been the chapel's outline. Not surprisingly, only Spanish artifacts were recovered within this building.

However, the majority of artifacts fit the regional sequence and the sherds provided a relative date that suggested that the principal occupation began after 1475 AD and ended before 1550 AD. Biscuit wares A and B are assigned dates from 1375 to 1550 AD; Glazed wares E and F, imported from the Galisteo Basin, were manufactured between 1475 and 1700 AD. The few majolica sherds, probably the remnants of the plates, bowls and services used by the officers and priests, were assigned to the XVI century. Taken together, these dates suggest that the Tewa resettled the Spaniards in a part of their pueblo that had been abandoned for a generation or more.

However, other types of artifacts more clearly revealed the Spanish presence. For example, the archaeologists recovered a great deal of copper, iron and bronze slag that suggests the active pursuit of mining as well as the day to day maintenance of swords, armor, reins, horseshoes, wheels, etc. – all those artifacts that made the Spanish so different. They also recovered nails, horseshoes, an iron cauldron, a copper comal (griddle), and even a pair of bronze candlestick holders.

The Spanish settlements at San Gabriel and San Juan de los Caballeros did not last long. Their occupation was as brief as their presence unwelcome. On the 30th of March, 1610 Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain, signed a cédula real ordering the relief of Juan de Oñate. Don Pedro de Peralta was to be his replacement and the capital was to be moved south to the Galisteo Basin and named Santa Fé.

Santa Fé has the advantage of being less contentious and closer to the mining district of Cerrillos. Subsequently a mission was established at San Marcos pueblo, some twelve miles south of Santa Fé. Archaeologically, San Marcos is important because it provides a slightly younger time slice and more information about the integration of Spanish and indigenous metallurgical techniques. (Ramenofsky 2001 and 2003)

San Marcos: A Pueblo in Transition

Ya'atze is a prehispanic settlement or pueblo in the Galisteo Basin. It sits on the bank of the Arroyo San Marcos and not too far from the turquoise mines of Cerrillos. It was founded by the beginnings of the XIV century. As the settlement grew throughout the XV and part of the XVI centuries to reach a maximum extension of 25 hectares, it is expected that populations grew correspondingly. However, during the second half of the XVI century, parts of the settlement were uninhabited and it is thought that the population remained constant or declined as parts of the settlement were abandoned until only the northern third was occupied. It was completely abandoned in 1680.

Documentary evidence suggests that in 1581 the members of the small expedition led by Fray Agustin Rodriguez and Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado were the first Europeans to visit San Marcos when they passed through the Galisteo Basin. Although the members of the expedition led by Antonio Espejo traveled thru the Galisteo Basin, it is not known if they visited San Marcos. In 1590 Capitan Gaspar Castaño de Sosa left part of his caravan at San Marcos while he scouted the region. Some of those that stayed in San Marcos tried to discover the purity of the silver ore they had found.

Seven years later, in 1598 Juan de Oñate and his caravan made it to San Marcos and picked up some ore at Cerrillos which they tested at San Marcos. After establishing his headquarters in San Juan Pueblo, Oñate assigned Fray de Rosas to proselytize at San Marcos. It is thought that at first Father de Rosas modified an already existing room to serve as a chapel. When a separate chapel was built is not clear. However, it is thought that the naming of Father Agustin Cuellar as the guardian of the Misión y Convento de San Marcos in 1638 provides an initial date.

The archaeological data suggest that San Marcos was a pueblo in transition. The great majority of sherds recovered by Ramenofsky and her students were made locally; they recovered a few exotic and im-

(Continued on page 7)

El Camino Real: The Route of Power*(Continued from page 6)*

ported sherds such as majolica from Spain and central Mexico and porcelain from China. They also recovered a sufficient number of distinctive sherds to assert that the local artisans were beginning to apply their knowledge to satisfy the needs and wants of the Spanish invaders. They were making such Spanish forms as *soperas* (soup bowls), *candelabras* (candle sticks), and *basinicas* (¿chamber pots?) while still using their traditional materials and techniques.

A magnetometer survey revealed a number of hot spots that Ramenofsky identified as ovens used in a nascent metallurgical industry. There were two specific hot spots that warranted excavation. Ramenofsky excavated one area where she found the remains of an oven and some slag. While it may be fun to speculate whether this was the spot that Juan de Oñate used to test his metal, there is little to substantiate such a specific assertion. The absence of metal artifacts is striking when compared to quantity found at San Gabriel.

The presence of these exotics indicates that San Marcos had been integrated or incorporated into the commercial network or exchange sphere propagated and propitiated by the Camino Real from the start. The presence of the occasional exotic is consistent with the presence of one or two Friars.

The Paraje de San Diego: Entrance to the Jornada del Muerto

All along the Camino Real, *parajes*, or camp grounds, were established about a day's march apart. Usually, their exact location depended on the ever changing availability of water and forage. Over time ranches, villages and towns grew up around those with sufficient land and water (i.e. Carrizal, Guadalupe, Ciudad Juárez and Samalayuca), while those with fewer resources have disappeared from sight. One crucial, but now almost invisible *paraje* is the Paraje de San Diego, some thirty miles north of Las Cruces.

At Paraje San Diego, Oñate and his caravan set the trend as they prepared to leave the Rio Grande and march across the Jornada del Muerto. The animals were taken down to the river to be watered while the necessary general maintenance was performed on the equipment: bridles were checked, *carretas* repacked, and water barrels filled to the brim. Over time the nature of this *paraje* changed – by the nineteen thirties it included a gas station and water tank – but it still maintained its importance for three hundred and fifty years until it lost out to the Federal Interstate System. (Anonymous 2002: Staski 1997 and 1998)

In 1598 Juan de Oñate and his caravan stopped at Paraje de San Diego but it fell to Governor Otermín to establish its name in his notes on the failed attempt to retake New Mexico. Thereafter San Diego was frequently mentioned by travelers as they prepared to cross the Jornada del Muerto and by those happy for a successful crossing. A partial list would include: Diego de Vargas (26/07/1692); Pedro Rivera (24/05/1724); Obispo Pedro Tamarón y Romeral (12/05/1760); Capitan Nicolás Lafora (09/07/1776) and Josiah Gregg (1844).

In the XVII century the Franciscan Fathers of the Custodius of San Pablo de Nuevo México were supplied by major caravans sent out from Mexico City every three years or so. These caravans provided a major link with the religious authorities in Mexico City. The Friars could order both personal and religious items that would be supplied by the next caravan. At the beginning, ecclesiastical items dominated but over time a few luxury goods were slipped in. After the founding of Chihuahua at the beginning of the XVIII century, control of the caravan passed into the hands of Chihuahuan merchants in search of a captive market and the range of products increased. (Carrillo 1997)

The majority of these travelers were government and religious officials who wrote reports to justify their actions and supply information to their superiors. But they were a minority of the travelers. Much, if not most, of the traffic along the Camino Real was never recorded. The farmer herding his sheep to market. The miner taking his ore to the smelter. The tired relative returning from a wedding. The anxious *haciendado* traveling to the provincial capital to make sure his petition is heard. These are the people, absent from the documentary record, we can hope to see in the archaeological record.

(Continued on page 8)

*El Camino Real: The Route of Power**(Continued from page 7)*

Mexican independence brought about even more dramatic changes. As the Santa Fe Trail developed, the Chihuahua merchants lost their monopoly and lost control of their markets. The direction of flow of goods changed. Goods no longer flowed from central Mexico to the north. A new range of industrial goods were imported across the plains to Santa Fe where they were sold or transshipped south to be sold in mining centers such as Chihuahua, Parral, and Durango. Many merchants took some of their goods even further south to be sold in the yearly fairs in Aguascalientes and San Juan de los Lagos.

The ceramic material recovered from Paraje de San Diego (Fournier Garcia 1990 and 1996) provides a couple of surprises. Firstly, Dr. Fournier identified between 10 and 15% of the recovered sherds as prehispanic, suggesting that the paraje has a much longer history than first apparent. Secondly, she assigned the vast majority of sherds to the period between the eighty years that preceded the Pueblo Revolt.

Casa de Huesos: An Early Cattle Ranch

About forty five years ago, Rex Gerald, Archaeology Professor at UTEP, with the help of Tom Harlan, a graduate student, excavated a site about 40 miles down-river from the Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Gerald (personal communication) portrayed the Casa de Huesos as a cattle station that supplied beef to the nascent town of El Paso del Norte prior to the Pueblo Revolt. At the beginning of the XXI century, much of the archaeological material was repatriated thru the good offices of a number of local archaeologists.

The Museo Histórico ex - Aduana Fronteriza de Ciudad Juárez invited Dr. Fournier García to study the collection. Although the collection was not in the best of conditions, Dr. Fournier came to the following conclusions.

Brown wares dominated the collection. Brown wares have a long history that extends from the Prehispanic period through to the beginning of the XX century. They were built with coils that were then rubbed to provide a smooth surface. The quality of the manufacture and firing were quite varied. The most common form is the olla, commonly used for storing and cooking liquids and grains. Other common forms include cazuelas y cajetas (open bowls of different sizes), platos (plates), jarros (jugs) and vasos (cups). Comals (griddles) and miniatures were also present. The stability of this ware is one of its defining characteristics.

The small quantity of imported ceramics includes a Tewa ware clearly identifiable by paste and decoration. It is a plato that was made from fine clay with a volcanic temper. According to Dr. Fournier, this ware is almost coterminous with the XVIII century. While to many, a plate is a plate is a plate, this plate is important since it represents a union between an indigenous esthetic and a European form; the incorporation of a European form in the indigenous repertoire. As such, it is the archaeological face of acculturation.

Sherds that could be assigned to Tonalá polished ware appeared in reduced numbers. Tonalá polished ware was greatly appreciated throughout colonial Mexico.

Wares common to Carrizal, Paraje de San Diego and Casa de Huesos included Presidios verde ware, Green Glaze ware, Amber Glaze ware. They date to the XVIII and XIX centuries.

The majolica included examples of pseudo – majolica Romita Sgratitto which dates to the XVII century; Puebla polychrome, Puebla blue-on-white and Huejotzigo blue-on-white cover the XVII and XVIII centuries, while Puebla white dates to the XVIII century.

A single porcelain sherd was assigned to the T'ing dynasty (XVIII) and a single sherd of Fine white ware (post 1836) of European manufacture was identified.

The cattle station at Casa de Huesos began in the first half of the XVII century and it continued operating at least until the middle of the XVIII century, if not the first half of the XIX century on an occasional basis.

(Continued on page 9)

El Camino Real: The Route of Power*(Continued from page 8)*

Although the small quantities of luxury and exotic wares might indicate the presence of wealthy people, the absence of Spanish style service wares, a wider range of luxury items, or a minimum of religious artifacts, leads us to conclude that members of the elite may have been occasionally present, the daily operation of the station was left to indigenous or mestizo employees.

Although Gerald dated the Casa de Huesos to the XVII century and believed that it was abandoned after the Pueblo Revolt, Dr. Fourniers' analysis suggests that operations at the cattle station at Casa de Huesos continued until the second half of the XVIII century, if not the beginning of the XIX century.

The Establishment of the Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe

In the XVII century, there were at least three attempts to establish a mission in the area. The first attempt was by Father Alonso de Benavides who visited the area in 1630 and received only a lukewarm reception. In 1656, Fathers García de San Francisco y Zúñiga, Juan Carbajal and Pérez de Arteaga met with limited success when the local people, known as Mansos, rebelled against foreign meddling and imposition. As a result of the second attempt, the Franciscan Fathers decided that they had to plan things a little better and stayed in communication with both the civil authorities in the form of Don Juan Manso, Governor of New Mexico, and the ecclesiastical authorities in the form of their superior, Tomás Manso, the Custodian de la Santa Custodia de la Conversion de San Pablo de Nuevo México.

In 1659 at the insistence of Father Garcia de San Francisco, the decision was made to establish a mission close to the ford known as Passo del Norte. Father San Francisco chose to locate the mission close to the river on a low rise that had excellent visibility in all directions. It began with a nucleus of ten families that were already at least partially familiar with Spanish customs and expected to help acculturate the local Mansos. On the 8th of December, 1659, they began building a wattle and daub chapel that was dedicated to the Sainly Virgin of Guadalupe.

Convinced that the mission had a future with the Mansos and Sumanos, on the 2nd of April of 1662, Father Garcia de San Francisco laid and blessed the first stone of a more substantial structure which was finished six years later in 1668. The completion of the mission was a festive occasion. There must have been food and drink along with the fireworks. Fray Garcia de San Francisco celebrated a mass dedicated to the salvation of the Native Americans' souls. Father Francisco Mutanama translated for him. They baptized together. They said mass together. One suspects that everybody had a good time.

By this time the Mission's population may have reached 1000 people including Spaniards, Mestizos, Mansos, Sumanos, and Native peoples from the Southwest and as far away as Central Mexico. But this was to change all too soon.

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 brought a large influx of more than two thousand refugees, Spaniards and Christianized Native Americans, led by Don Antonio de Otermín, Governor of New Mexico. The refugees built separate villages and towns for the Spaniards and the Native Americans. San Antonio de Senecú was built for Piros and Tompiro; Corpus Christi de Ysleta for Tiguas, and Nuestra Señora de Socorro for Piros, Jemez and Thanos. Towns and villages such as San Lorenzo and San Elizario sprang up and barely survived, while others, such as San Francisco de los Zumas and San Pedro de Alcántara appeared only to disappear.

This influx led to a number of administrative changes: for example, the settlement was officially classified as a fort known as the Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar del Río del Passo del Norte. Otermín also defined the layout of the system of streets trying to make it fit to the appropriate ideal as defined by the Leyes de las Indias of 1573. But with some buildings and acequias already in place, the result was not perfect but is the layout that you see today. The civil and military au-



Photos in this article by the editor. They are of this installation at the Albuquerque Museum.

(Continued on page 14)

*President's Message**(Continued from page 2)*

our bylaws the better to reflect our current organization. There was old verbiage that controlled our start-up but no longer pertained to present functions. More importantly, the two-term limit for Board members (but not officers) was removed. Four new persons were elected to the CARTA board: Tom Harper; Richard Loose; Joy Poole; and Claire Odenheim: WELCOME ABOARD! A deep debt of gratitude is expressed to four of our outgoing board members: Susan Barger; Mary Davis; Mary Jane García and Cameron Saffell. We APPRECIATE your loyal service which has grown and improved our organization.

Your President Pat Beckett has volunteered to host next year's Annual Meeting in Las Cruces. The date (tentatively set for 18 – 20 September) and meeting place will be reported after the first of the coming year. We are planning a two-day conference with several sessions on the Camino Real during the Spanish and Mexican periods, and other papers relating to the Mexican and Spanish colonial history in dependent areas of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

In October the Western History Association held its annual conference in Salt Lake City and CARTA Vice-President John Bloom, working with Westerners International, organized a session on historic trails in the American Southwest. He gave CARTA lots of exposure in presiding before a capacity audience, with several noted presenters. First was Dr. Reba Grandrud, immediate Past President of the Old Spanish Trail Association,

*(Continued on page 11)**Mensaje del Presidente**(Continued from page 2)*

Poole y Claire Odenheim. ¡BIENVENIDOS A BORDO! Expresamos nuestro profundo agradecimiento a cuatro de nuestros socios muy comprometidos: Susan Barger, Mary Davis, Mary Jane García y Cameron Saffell. Les AGRADECEMOS su servicio siempre leal que ha hecho crecer y mejorar nuestra organización.

Su Presidente, Pat Beckett, ofreció celebrar la Asamblea Anual del año entrante en Las Cruces. La fecha (tentativamente del 18 al 20 de septiembre) y el lugar de reunión se notificarán después del primero del próximo año. Estamos planeando una convención de dos días con varias sesiones sobre El Camino Real durante los períodos español y mexicano y otras ponencias relacionadas con la historia colonial mexicana y española en áreas independientes del Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

La Asociación de Historia del Oeste celebró su convención anual en Salt Lake City y el Vicepresidente de CARTA, John Bloom, trabajando con Westerners International, organizó una sesión sobre los senderos históricos en el sudoeste americano. Le hizo mucha publicidad a CARTA al presidir ante un gran público con varios presentadores famosos. La primera de ellos fue la Dr. Reba Grandrud, Presidente inmediato anterior de la Asociación del Antiguo Sendero Español, recordándonos el histórico sendero, tercero en importancia, localizado en Santa Fe. Luego, Patricia Etter, emérita de la Universidad del Estado de Arizona, especialista en senderos del sur hacia los campos de oro de California, habló respecto al tipo de investigación que se puede y que se debe hacer acerca de nuestros senderos históricos. Jere Krakow, recientemente jubilado de la Ofici-

(Continued on page 11)

President's Message*(Continued from page 10)*

reminding us of the third important, historic trail anchored in Santa Fe. Patricia Etter, emerita from Arizona State University, a specialist on southern trails to the California gold fields, then spoke to the sort of research that can be and needs to be done on our historic trails. Jere Krakow, recently retired from the National Park Service Historic Trails Office, gave an overview of the federal system of historic (and scenic) trails, in place of Ross Marshall, who had to cancel after the program was in press. He also expressed appreciation for the work done by the Partnership for the National Trail System.

I want to thank the CARTA Executive Committee, the many other Board members who gave so much of their time and energy for their participation in the many conferences on the Camino Real and other CARTA activities such as *Chronicles*, the nominating committee, contract reviews, and membership service, and especially the membership for their continued support which has made all of this possible. May we all travel the Camino Real in our future endeavors.

Mil Gracias.

Patrick Lucero Beckett
President

Mensaje del Presidente*(Continued from page 10)*

na de Senderos Históricos del Servicio del Parque Nacional, hizo un resumen del sistema federal de senderos históricos (y escénicos), en lugar de Ross Marshall, quien tuvo que cancelar después de que ya se había enviado el programa a imprenta. También expresó su agradecimiento por el trabajo realizado por los socios para el Sistema de Senderos Nacionales.

Quiero agradecer al Comité Ejecutivo de CARTA y a los demás miembros del Consejo que dedicaron tanto de su tiempo y energía participando en las diversas conferencias sobre el Camino Real y otras actividades de CARTA tales como *Chronicles*, el comité nominador, las revisiones de contratos y el servicio a socios. Agradezco de manera especial a los socios por su constante apoyo que ha hecho posible todo esto. Ojalá todos logremos viajar por El Camino Real en nuestras actividades futuras.

¡Mil Gracias!

Patrick Lucero Beckett
Presidente



Road of history: El Camino Real

By Julia M. Dendinger

Reprinted by permission from Visitor's Guide 2008: Valencia County
(Valencia County News-Bulletin, pp. 48-39).

Imagine, if you will, a wagon train 10 miles long. Think of a wagon train so long that, as the head of the train comes to rest for the night, the rear is just leaving its starting point. Imagine hundreds of people on foot, on horseback and in wagons wearing a groove in the desert between the southern Spanish capital of Mexico City and the northern capital in Santa Fe. Imagine that back-and-forth journey going on for 300 years. For more than three centuries, Native Americans, Spanish conquistadors, merchants, trappers and families used El Camino Real, or the Royal Highway, to travel between these two capitals of the Spanish territory in the New World. It may very well be the oldest road into the interior of what is now the United States, and at one time it was the longest.

While many in Valencia County can say with authority that El Camino Real ran "somewhere, over there, east of the river," others have only to take a short walk from their front doors to find evidence of the old road. Pointing east out of the cab of his white pickup, Ron Gentry asks, "What do you see over there? Do you see it?" As the truck travels slowly north on N.M. 304 past the modern-day Rio Grande Industrial Park, a gentle swale can be seen just past the fence line. Several cars zip by on the left, obviously perturbed by Gentry's slow pace. He pulls off the highway and up and over the berm. And there it is; almost a foot deep and nearly as wide as a highway lane. Even after nearly 130 years of disuse, you can still see part of the Royal Highway where it cut its swath through the county. This particular segment starts just north of the Solo Cup factory in the industrial park.

The road continues north across the highway, pointing a bit to the west, and then disappears over a rise that leads down into the valley. "Just by looking at it, I mean, what else

could it be?" Gentry queries. What else indeed. Cynics might cry erosion, cattle trail or fake, but Gentry isn't blue-skying it when he asks that question. His property is home to one of the four Camino Real markers found in the county. The marker, which sits in a field that borders the highway just south of his house, welcomes visitors to Las Barrancas, or the high bluffs. Somewhere in that area was the hacienda of Andres Gomes Robledes. The hacienda was a common stopping point for those traveling the road. While historians know it existed, they are hard pressed to find any trace of it today. "There have been archeologists out here twice looking for it," Gentry said. "But they haven't found anything. Of course, if it was adobe, it's long gone." From Gentry's terrace behind his house, the view of the lush green valley is almost overwhelming. Even with the shrunken and changed Rio Grande, the verdant view is still impressive.

Making it all the more real just how welcome that hacienda must have been for foot-weary travelers are some remaining barrancas south of Gentry's domesticated land. The land there is stark and brown. It seems almost folded, riddled with hidden arroyos and steep cliffs. "You can see what it must have been like then," he said, looking at the menacing terrain. "There was no way to go down them to the river, so they had to go around." As Gentry drives his property checking his cattle, he keeps an eye out for the elusive hacienda. But with groves of salt cedar and other vegetation dense enough to swallow half a herd of long horns, it might take a while.

Las Barrancas is the second marker in the county, with one further south in Casa Colorado. Traveling north, there are markers in Tomé and, finally, in Valencia. While all four

(Continued on page 13)

Road of History: El Camino Real*(Continued from page 12)*

mark significant points along the road, the one in Tomé is marked by nature.

Tomé Hill (or Cerro Tomé, if you prefer the original Spanish) stands guard over the upper Camino Real branch that skirts the 178-acre natural behemoth. Standing at the Tomé Hill Park one stormy, windy afternoon, Tomé native Georgia Otero-Kirkham looks up at the hill with respect and wonder. "You just have to wonder what they thought when they first saw this," she says quietly. "I'd have to imagine it was something like, 'How do we get over that?'"

As she walks the paved path around La Puerta del Sol, the massive steel outdoor art display that is the centerpiece of the 10-acre park south of the hill, Otero-Kirkham talks about being born and raised in an area so steeped in history and culture. "It is so wonderful to be here, in this," she says. "It is such a part of our lives."

As a girl, Otero-Kirkham would make the Good Friday pilgrimage to the top of the hill with her grandmother. "We would go to church first and walk from there," she said. "As a kid, it was great fun; we'd play along the road and kick cans."

Often times, people will claim a heritage that seems obvious. Not so with Otero-Kirkham. When asked if any of her ancestors



Georgia Otero-Kirkham

came up the trail, she shrugs and says with a laugh, "It's here. We're here. We must have come from it." Sitting on a stone bench dedicated to the Tomé Hill slate millipede, Otero-Kirkham gazes fondly at the rugged hill. She smiles without artifice. "You know, I get up in the morning, and I watch the news shows. It's all doom and gloom, and the world is horrible," she says. "But then I get to the end of the driveway, and there it is. And I think, if Tomé Hill is still here, everything is fine. If it's still here, how bad can it be?"

While some have history in their backyards, others can experience it by visiting the library at the University of New Mexico-Valencia Campus. Judy Marquez, library information specialist, said anyone is welcome to visit the library and look at the research housed there on the Tomé Hill project and the Camino Real. "They can come in and look, but they can't check out the material," she said. Included in the materials are maps of the area, photos as well as written reports on the archaeological finds made.

Marquez said there is also a video of one of the expeditions up the hill. "All we had at the time was one of those huge, heavy video cameras," she said. "I did the filming; I had a pinched nerve in my shoulder, and I wasn't real sure what I was doing, so the picture quality isn't that great. But you can hear the voices clearly." The UNM-VC library is open 8 a.m. to 8:30 p.m. Monday through Thursday and 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Friday. If you go seeking the research material, be sure to ask one of the staff for assistance, Marquez said. "We keep all that in a locked cabinet," she said.

With all this history and culture floating around, someone has to protect it. That is where the Valley Improvement Agency comes in. The association acquired the hill in 1993 from a trade with Horizon Corporation. The hill was originally purchased by Horizon, along with the original Spanish Tomé Land Grant from the heirs in 1966. Since that acquisition, the VIA has

(Continued on page 14)

Road of History: El Camino Real*(Continued from page 13)*

nominated El Camino Real Trail in Valencia County as a Scenic and Historic Byway. It was accepted as such in May of 1995. With that designation, the association will not only be able to protect and preserve the road and hill, it will be able to promote the rich historic and cultural resources of those two significant parts of history.

Shadows play catch on the steel sculptures at the Tomé Hill Park. The wind wraps itself in and out of the artfully oxidized figures. A soft thrum is created as it flutters across the metal conquistadors, priests and corn plants. The sun is covered briefly by a cloud, and thunder booms in the distance. For a moment, things stop as the 25-foot-high steel arch looms under the gray sky, seeming to challenge the hill it faces. Then the winds shift, the sun comes out and the world ticks on. The hill is still there. The steel interloper is put in its place. And the road sits quietly, remembering the feet of the past.

**El Camino Real: The Route of Power***(Continued from page 9)*

thorities were established behind the Mission across a small plaza. Commercial establishments were established to the south along what is today Calle Vicente Guerrero. Later, the Post Office, the Law Courts and the Jail were built on the north side along what was then Calle Comercio and today is known as 16 de Septiembre.

As a result of the Reconquista, the population dropped and El Paso stagnated. Under the Friars' tutelage, the Mansos added European domesticates to their farming practices. To the corn, beans and squash, they added vegetables such as onions and potatoes, and fruits such as peaches and grapes and so El Paso del Norte became famous for the wines and brandies it produced and exported.

El Paso del Norte became a resupply station on the Camino Real. Not only did the river bed produce enough to feed its population, but enough to supply the occasional caravan and traveler who headed north or south and still export to Santa Fe and Albuquerque, Chihuahua and Durango.

In 1798 the Mission passed from the Custodia de San Pablo to the Diocese of Durango. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the mission was updated and modernized, restored and renovated. The last major restoration project was undertaken to coincide with the 300th anniversary. Today the mission is both the symbol and heart of Ciudad Juárez.

In the Form of a Conclusion

The creation of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro was the product of many peoples' efforts. Few were conscious that they were making history. They were too busy with their daily lives and trying to make a living. Many of these people never made it to New Mexico. Many never wanted New Mexico to change. Many never wanted to leave New Mexico. Most have gone unnoticed and unrecorded. History records what the writer wants to write whether it is a letter home, the log of a journey or an account book. Archaeology looks at history thru the eyes of the discards so that we can learn about the people that never made it into the history books. We can learn about how the Spanish invasion affected those that lived and worked in San Gabriel, San Marcos, San Diego and Casa de Huesos not by what they wrote, but from what they accidentally and unconsciously left behind.

(Continued on page 23)

NEWS AND NOTES

UPCOMING CARTA MEETINGS

The next CARTA Board meeting is scheduled for January 17, 2009. It will be held at the El Camino Real International Heritage Center. Any and all members may attend. Contact Pat Beckett, 575-644-0868, or pat@coasbooks.com.

The CARTA Annual Business Meeting and Symposium is scheduled for 18 – 20 September 2009. It will be held in Las Cruces, most likely at the New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum. These symposia have always been exciting events, with knowledgeable speakers and plenty of time to visit with colleagues. *Save the Date!* See Pat's President's Letter for details.

ALL TRAILS LEAD TO YUMA

This is the theme of a special three-day conference, beginning January 15, 2009, at Yuma, Arizona. Speakers will discuss several historic trails that converged on this area, beginning with Juan Bautista de Anza, including gold-rush travelers and stagecoach routes. Speakers include Don Garate on Padre Kino, Joe Myers on Juan Bautista de Anza, Mark Santiago on Father Garcés, Patricia Etter on "Roads to Yuma," Tom Jonas on "Mexican War Trails through Baja California," and David Miller on how emigrants confronted the "American Nile." Banquet speaker is Paul Hutton (UNM), who was "content advisor" and will narrate the major OCTA film production, "In Pursuit of a Dream." There will be exhibits, various tours and other features. This important event is sponsored by the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA). CARTA members are specially invited, with reminder that Anza was important in New Mexican history, and many gold rushers and stage travelers traveled through New Mexico and even used stretches of El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Phone OCTA toll-free at (888)811-6282 or go online to www.octa-trails.org for program details and registration forms.

TRAILS TIME IN ARKANSAS

Historic trails are flourishing in America, not only federally recognized trails such as ours but also many "wannabe's." This was abundantly clear at the mid-November PNTS (Partnership for the National Trails System) workshop, meetings, exhibits and symposium in Little Rock, Arkansas. Representing CARTA, I traveled to participate in these events. I just wish we could inoculate every CARTA member with the enthusiasm I found there, being in the company of hundreds of "trail nuts" from all over the country! How does one start?

TRAIL FACTS: abundant, and many of these facts are fascinating. Few know, for instance, that the National Park System did a professional study years ago of Spain's vestigial camino real in Florida in the early 1500s. This camino did not make the grade for federal recognition, obviously, so CARTA can continue to claim precedence from 1598 for "our" trail.

TRAIL VARIETY: Think hiking, recreation, geology, waterways, etc. -- not just history. In fact, in the National Trails System, historic trails are in a minority of seventeen (authorized by Congress) compared to eight scenic trails (so authorized) and more than a thousand "recreation trails" designated by the US Departments of Interior and Agriculture.

TRAIL SUPPORT: CARTA and other trail associations receive absolutely vital professional and fiscal support from the federal government -- in our case, National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management. In our fanciful dreams, CARTA may one day have membership in the thousands (Appalachian Trail Conservancy: 38,000) so that dues and an endowment would suffice and federal help not be needed. In present reality, however, we very much welcome it when Sarah Schlanger or Mike Taylor or others may say, "I'm from the federal government, and I'm here to help you!"

(Continued on page 16)

News and Notes*(Continued from page 15)*

TRAIL VOLUNTEERISM: This was the topic for the PNTS workshop, November 13-14: "Expanding Our Constituencies." Several experts held forth very interestingly on the special characteristics of the "generations" from which we need to draw volunteers, without whom none of the PNTS member organizations can survive. Prof. Phillip Smartt (Univ. of Tenn.), for instance, focused on "Generation Y" -- roughly, persons born between 1980 and 2000. "Gen X" preceded them, born 1965-80. We need to make special efforts to reach and include these folks in trail activities, with present volunteers coming chiefly from the "Boomers" of 1946-64 and, shall we say, such as I, the *ancianos*.

There is more, much more, which I shall try to share with other interested members. Suffice it to conclude with an emphasis that CARTA's membership in PNTS (only ten years old) and alliance with the American Hiking Society are worthwhile and I hope that more CARTA members can share in future related activities.

John Porter Bloom
Vice President

**Jamestown – Québec – Santa Fe:
Three North American Beginnings**

The Albuquerque Museum is hosting a traveling exhibit on the founding and impacts of these three cities, all established early in the 17th century. Combining artifacts and interpretive panels, the exhibit explores the first century after the founding of each of the three cities and their civilizations. I found it both exciting and professionally satisfying. The exhibit will be here through 29 March 2009, then goes to the Smithsonian. While you are there, spend some extra time in this world-class facility. www.cabq.gov/museum

William Little

**CARTA welcomes four new members of the
Board of Directors**

Richard Loose, Las Cruces

Richard Loose worked as an archeologist for 11 years in northwestern New Mexico, including excavations and remote sensing projects

at Chaco Canyon. This included working on the NPS/UNM team that did the original mapping of the Chacoan road system. While working as an archeologist for PNM in Albuquerque, Mr. Loose administered a research grant to record large Puebloan communities in northwestern New Mexico. This work resulted in the nomination of 33 major sites to the National Register of Historic Places.

Following a career change in 1982, Mr. Loose has worked with electro-optics and applications for high energy lasers, while continuing as a part-time archeological consultant and volunteer for the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, and the Navajo Nation. Results of this work have been recently published by the University of Utah Press and in *Time and Mind*, a British journal of archeological research.

Mr. Loose makes and flies radio controlled airplanes capable of carrying digital cameras and video cameras. He is currently taking aerial photos and videos of the Camino Real between Las Cruces and Engle, New Mexico.

Claire Odenheim, Las Cruces

Ms. Odenheim has lived in Las Cruces since 1979, previously in Alexandria, VA, Medellin, Colombia, San Juan, PR, and Mexico City. Originally from the Detroit area, she was educated at Mich. State U. (BA in Spanish and History) and the U. of Mich. (MA in Library Science); she also has an MA in Education from NMSU. Retired in 2001 from the public schools, Claire was the librarian at Gadsden High School and later the District Library Coordinator, then librarian at Zia Middle School and Oñate High School in Las Cruces. From 2002 to 2006 she was the librarian at the NM Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum and is currently a volunteer there.

Her interest in southwestern history was stimulated by her move to New Mexico and work with students in the schools. While studying in Mexico as an undergraduate, she developed an interest in Mexican and Latin American history in general and met her husband, Ken, who grew up there. Later, they lived in Colombia and Puerto Rico during part of the 60s and 70s due to Ken's work with development agencies under contract with USAID.

(Continued on page 22)

POSITION ANNOUNCEMENT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR - PART TIME
EL CAMINO REAL DE TIERRA ADENTRO TRAIL ASSOCIATION (CARTA)

El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association (CARTA) is seeking a well-qualified individual to serve, on a part-time basis, as Executive Director of the Association. This person will provide ongoing public representation, administrative support, and organizational continuity.

Working in concert with the Board of Directors, and under the supervision of the Executive Committee, the Executive Director (ED) will carry out the following duties:

- Represent CARTA at various public, committee, board, and other meetings, as prescribed by the Board. Usually, the ED will attend with a CARTA officer or Board member.
- Assist the officers and directors in carrying out their duties.
- Maintain the records of the Association, to include:
 - Record copies of CARTA contracts for services, meeting minutes, insurance policies, and Federal and State reports and filings
 - Other records as specified by the Board.
- Serve as the central contact point for most of CARTA's activities [Establish and maintain routine communications among CARTA officers, Board, and membership].
- Act as a clearing house within CARTA for information that directly pertains to El Camino Real. Provide a quarterly written report to the Board of Directors. When the editor of *Chronicles of the Trail* deems it appropriate, adapt that report for publication in that journal.

Must be able to travel throughout the United States and Mexico. Must have or be able to obtain a passport.

The successful candidate will have many of the following:

- A strong interest in the National Historic Trails System and El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, in particular.
- Strong communication skills (both speaking and writing). Skills in the English language are required; skills in Spanish are desirable.
- Ability to work collaboratively in an environment of varied and, sometimes, competing, interests and with people from diverse backgrounds.
- Proficiency in general computer skills, particularly Microsoft® Office, including email and the Internet [Need not be an expert in web design, programming, or other IT skills].
- Some knowledge of historic preservation laws and regulations.
- Knowledge of the duties and responsibilities of the New Mexico and Texas State Historic Preservation Offices and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH in Mexico) is highly desirable.

CARTA will also consider:

- The candidate's work history and experience in related fields and topics.
- The candidate's location; on or near the Trail is desirable from a logistics standpoint.
- Demonstration of strong organizational skills and the ability to improvise to achieve Association goals.

Compensation will be based qualifications and experience. The nature and content of the employment contract are yet to be determined, but no benefits are planned. A budget for travel and miscellaneous expenses will be established, as well.

Application: Please provide a C.V. to the search committee by letter or email to

(Continued on page 23)

Under the Mexican Eagle: A Historical Overview of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in New Mexico, 1821-1848

Joseph P. Sánchez, PhD

During the Mexican Period, 1821-1846, the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (Royal Road of the Interior) continued to serve New Mexico as the main transportation route in the territory. Running from Mexico City to Santa Fe as it had during the Spanish Colonial Period, the Mexican independence movement did little to change the tempo and rhythm of trade and migration along it. If anything, it ceased to be a "Royal Road" and instead became a national road of Mexico. Still, it continued to be called "El Camino Real" or locally "El Camino de Chihuahua," or, as the people of Chihuahua called it, "El Camino de Nuevo México." The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro in New Mexico during the Mexican period had a history of its own. Along its path events unfolded that ushered New Mexico into a new and unexpected period of change culminating in its annexation to the United States in 1848.

The new history unveiled when, in early winter 1821, New Mexicans learned about Mexican Independence. Earlier in October, the Mexican government had sent a circular throughout the nation instructing its citizens to celebrate "Independence" immediately. Official news of the instruction, however, did not reach New Mexico until late December 1821 because the rugged terrain between Mexico City and Santa Fe made overland mail service along the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro slow and dangerous. For over two centuries, New Mexico, as a remote colony of Spain, had been a distant outpost from the center of power. That aspect changed little under Mexico.

Although they were aware of Mexico's struggle for independence from Spain, New Mexicans did not realize the impact of the revolution till the end of 1821. Until a mounted courier passed along the Camino Real through the Villa de Alburquerque, as he had along other villages of the Río Abajo, on his way to Santa Fe, New Mexicans had only heard rumors about the creation of the new government. On December 26, 1821, at the Palace of the Governors, the courier dismounted and handed a mail pouch to Governor Facundo Melgares. The pouch contained official correspondence demanding that New Mexico's governor and other officials take an oath of allegiance to the recently established Mexican government.

Five days later, New Mexicans celebrated the event despite the cold weather that had blown in over the Sangre de Cristo Mountains.

Two festivities, a week apart, marked the event in the *Plaza de Santa Fe*. Virtually in the dead of winter, New Mexicans braved the freezing temperatures to celebrate into the wee hours of the night. The celebration included parades, orations, patriotic dramas, music, masses, ringing of church bells, firing of muskets, dancing of Pueblo Indians, and a ball in the governor's palace. Thus, the tradition for commemorating Mexican Independence (also known as Diez y Seis de Septiembre) in New Mexico had its origins in Santa Fe during the winter of 1821-1822.

Once news came that independence from Spain had been achieved in 1821, New Mexicans received other official notices concerning political reform throughout Mexico. New Mexicans adjusted to the changing times as a new order unfurled with new laws largely regarding the reorganization of political and economic institutions. For the most part, the structure of the budding Mexican Nation would have more of an effect on the political organization of settlements as participating units in national politics. Anxiously, New Mexicans wondered how New Mexico would fit into the larger picture of Mexican rule which, in perspective, evolved quickly in a brief, but active, twenty-five years or so.

Only two long roads led to Santa Fe in 1821. One, the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro from Mexico City, passed through the central plateau of Mexico with the many scattered Mexican villages situated throughout the extremely rugged terrain. En route, the traveler often passed long periods of time through long, lonely stretches of hostile and empty land with deep canyons before reaching Santa Fe. The other road, still evolving, came from Missouri in the United States. Known as the Santa Fe Trail, it connected in Santa Fe with the Camino Real, and later became known as the Santa Fe-Chihuahua Trail.

Established by William Becknell in 1821, the Santa Fe Trail was not only a commercial route used by Anglo-American and New Mexican merchants, it was also an immigrant trail used by U.S.

(Continued on page 19)

*Under the Mexican Eagle**(Continued from page 18)*

citizens who moved to New Mexico. The Mexican colonization acts of the 1820s and 1830s encouraged migration from the United States via the Santa Fe Trail. Thus, citizens in the United States also took an interest in the changes made by the Mexican national government in areas like Texas, New Mexico and California.

The Santa Fe-Chihuahua Trail became a significant pathway in the history of New Mexico, especially during the War of 1846 when the Army of the West invaded and occupied New Mexico. The life of the Santa Fe-Chihuahua Trail coincided with the short-lived Mexican Period in the present Greater Southwest. Another trail, blazed in 1829 by Antonio Armijo, led from Santa Fe to Los Angeles in California. With a small group of men, Armijo opened a trail now known as the Old Spanish Trail via southern Utah to Los Angeles. It, too, became a commercial and migrant route that connected with the Santa Fe Trail and the Camino Real in Santa Fe.

During the first years of transition from Spanish Colonial to Mexican national power, the Mexican government defined its authority throughout Mexico. The National Congress defined Mexican sovereignty as the "Supreme Power" of the new nation formed by the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The government announced that the territories of Mexico were an integral part of the emerging nation state.

The Constitution of 1836, furthermore, provided that the Congress could create departments or states. With the Decree of December 29, 1836, the Republic was divided into Departments, which, in turn, were sub-divided into districts, and those, in turn, were divided further into precincts. Through the Law of December 30, 1836, New Mexico, among other territories, effectively became a department. Santa Fe would, of course, host the Departmental Junta. The partido governments would have their own capitals: San Ildefonso (Hispanic settlement) and Taos (Hispanic settlement) in the north; and, Albuquerque and Los Padillas in the south which took in settlements around Los Lunas, Tomé, Belén, and other villages to Socorro. They would serve as capitals akin to seats of government with an ayuntamiento and an alcalde constitucional.

By 1843, the Departments underwent one more revision before the end of the Mexican Period. The Decree of June 13, 1843, created *asam-*

bleas or Departmental Assemblies, such as the one in Santa Fe, composed of eleven members with a minimum of seven allowed. To serve in the *asamblea*, members had to be twenty-five years of age.

In the new system, governors reported directly to the central government. They served at the pleasure of the President of the Republic who appointed all the governors who, theoretically, according to the law, were to be nominated by the *asambleas*.

Between 1830 and 1840, the political atmosphere created by a vigorous Mexican authority in a frontier circumstance proved stressful to New Mexicans. Frustrated and angry about changes that appeared abusive to them, New Mexicans openly rebelled against the Centralist Mexican government in 1837. At the time, New Mexicans living along the Camino Real had no idea that they would participate in events surrounding the restoration of New Mexico in the wake of the rebellion against Governor Albino Pérez.

Appointed to the military governorship of New Mexico by Antonio López de Santa Anna in 1835, Pérez, a native of Veracruz, was an outsider to Santa Fe's politics. Consequently New Mexicans opposed him in public. Having arrived in New Mexico in April 1835, Pérez, with hopes of improving the situation which confronted him, succeeded only in encouraging the resentment harbored against him by those who considered him an outsider. Appointed by Mexican Dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna, Pérez's objective was to prepare the people of New Mexico for the change from an outlying provincial frontier territory to a department or state. Instead, he inspired opposition from New Mexican frontiersmen who interpreted the change to mean that they would surrender local power to a distant central government. Consequently, an explosive political issue regarding home rule worked to undermine his mission. The undercurrent of opposition began to move swiftly gathering the discontented and opportunistic elements of New Mexico's political society. Slowly, Pérez's political enemies revealed themselves.

In the backlands of northern New Mexico, meanwhile, trouble brewed for the Pérez faction. On August 3, 1837, a revolutionary junta was formed; it consisted of twelve persons who called their district the Cantón de La Cañada. The Hispanic rebels gathered at an encampment near La Cañada with their counterparts, "the principal warriors of all the northern pueblos."

(Continued on page 20)

*Under the Mexican Eagle**(Continued from page 19)*

As word reached Pérez of impending trouble he hastened to gather a militia but could muster only "a hundred and fifty men including the warriors of the Pueblo of Santo Domingo." With his small force, Pérez left the capital on August 7, 1837, to suppress the rebels. Having spent the night at the Indian Pueblo of Pojoaque, they continued the march to Santa Cruz. En route they were attacked by the rebels, reported Francisco Sarracino, "in a disorderly manner ... giving us a lively fire." With the battle lost, most of Pérez's men either defected to the rebels or were captured. Pérez was chased back to the outskirts of Santa Fe where on August 9 he was caught and brutally killed.

The rebel forces, two thousand strong, almost all Pueblo warriors, marched on Santa Fe. Preparing for the worst, the inhabitants fortified themselves in their homes. The rabble entered the city and elected a governor, José Gonzales. Two days after their entry into Santa Fe, they left. With Gonzales and the rebels at large, New Mexico was in the state of rebellion.

News of the rebellion reached the Hispanic villages south of Santa Fe along the Camino Real between Bernalillo and Socorro. On September 8, 1837, concerned citizens held a meeting at Tomé, south of Albuquerque, and called for the suppression of the rebellion which, by then, had been established in Santa Fe. Aware of the danger to the stability of New Mexico and sensing that the tide of sentiment for rebellion had ended, the Albuquerquean Manuel Armijo joined them in announcing his opposition to the uprising. At the meeting at Tomé, the representatives of each town chose Manuel Armijo as the leader of the army. Despite their dislike of the Pérez administration, the people of Peña Blanca, Algodones, Bernalillo, Albuquerque, Alameda, Corrales, Ranchos de Albuquerque, Atrisco, Pajarito, Tomé, and Cubero formed an army.

Armijo reported the situation to Mexico City and asked for reinforcements. Mexican officials sent 300 men under Colonel Justiniani in command of the Escuadrón de Veracruz and presidial troops from Chihuahua by the end of the year. Moving quickly, Armijo attacked the rebels just north of the Santa Cruz Valley and routed them. On January 27, 1838, in the fight at La Cañada, Armijo captured and executed Gonzales, thus crushing the revolt. Next, he reported to the central government that the situation was under con-

trol, and there was no need to send more troops northward. Armijo, already recognized as commander-in-chief, petitioned for the governorship and received it. Granted that concession, New Mexico was restored to its native sons. With Pérez dead and Armijo in power, New Mexicans could ignore directives from the central government in Mexico City.

In the wake of rebellion, a strange event took place that would solidify Armijo's powers with the central government in Mexico City. Tending their sheep and farms, New Mexicans along the Camino Real were unaware that their lives would be touched by a historical event that historians would later call the "Texas Invasion of New Mexico." Far away, in Texas, a group of adventurers decided to invade New Mexico and make it part of Texas. The Río Grande, they claimed, was the boundary, and the entire east bank, from the Gulf of Mexico to the San Luis Valley belonged to the Lone Star Republic. In general, the Texans theorized that New Mexicans awaited an opportunity to declare independence from Mexico. If true, therefore, then it would be their duty to release New Mexicans from Mexican tyranny, especially those living on the east bank of the Río Grande. The Texans also theorized that if the invasion were successful, the Santa Fe-Chihuahua Trail trade could be diverted through Texas channels.

In spring 1841, President Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, without the support of the congress of Texas, approved an expedition of about 300 men in six companies. Under Colonel Hugh McLeod, the expedition advanced toward New Mexico. Three commissioners accompanied the expedition to make proclamations explaining the advantages of freedom from Mexico. Other men on the expedition were traders, adventurers, and travelers who did not understand the main purpose of the expedition.

The anonymous author of the note to *The Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition* by Peter Gallagher, a member of the ill-fated expedition, wrote:

This 'wild goose chase' was sponsored by President Lamar for the express purpose of territorial expansion, of acquiring control of New Mexico — by peaceful means if possible; by military force if necessary. The expedition was assembled within the shadow of the Texas capital and with the advice and aid of

(Continued on page 21)

*Under the Mexican Eagle**(Continued from page 20)*

the Texas President himself.

Pretending to be traders along the Santa Fe-Chihuahua Trail, McLeod led his men across the arid lands of west Texas. On the morning of June 19, 1841, they left Brushy Creek, fifteen miles north of Austin, bound for New Mexico. Poorly supplied and equipped, they planned to live off the land. After a week, the expedition travelled through unfamiliar land. By the first week in September, they had reached the vicinity of present Amarillo. The men, fatigued from the march through a treeless plain, were discontented and wanted to abandon the expedition. One had committed suicide, a few others suffered a fever, some had been killed by Indians, and morale was low. By the time the expedition reached New Mexico, the survivors were near starvation, dehydrated, and their clothes ragged and dirty.

On September 17, the arrival of New Mexicans with messages electrified the camp. The next day, they followed the guides through the waterless Llano Estacado for nearly two weeks. On October 4, a Mexican escort, fully armed, commanded by Coronel Damasio Sálazar met them at Laguna Colorado. Lieutenant Colonel Juan Andrés Archuleta presented the terms of capitulation. They included that the Texans surrender under the following conditions: First, that they lay down their arms; second, that they would be protected of life, liberty, and their personal property; and, third, that they would be escorted to San Miguel, several days hence. Believing that their arms would be returned to them, the Texans capitulated.

Meanwhile, Governor Armijo personally attended to the invasion. Armijo had already informed New Mexicans that it was the intent of the Texans to “burn, slay and destroy” on their march through the Department. At first, Lewis tried to tell Armijo that they were merchants from the United States. Having dealt with merchants along the Santa Fe-Chihuahua Trail, Armijo pointed to the star and the word Texas on Lewis’s uniform. Turning to the Texans, he said, “You cannot deceive me; United States merchants do not wear Texas uniforms.” Armijo’s ire was evident, his patience thin.

Armijo dealt with the invasion for what it was. Some members of the expedition were executed. The majority were sent to Mexico City for trial and imprisonment. Among them was José Antonio Navarro, who had supported the Texas Rebellion against Mexico. He was treated as a traitor by An-

tonio López de Santa Anna and imprisoned for nearly four years.

Damasio Sálazar was the officer in charge of the prisoners. He marched them south from Santa Fe along the old Camino Real to Albuquerque, then southward through Atrisco, Pajarito, and Los Padillas, past Isleta through Los Lunas, Tomé, and Belén to Socorro. Most of the *hispanos* felt sorry for them, gave them food and, making the sign of the cross, wished them well and prayed for them. “*Pobrecitos*” (poor things) was the word most commonly heard by the Texans as they headed south.

George W. Kendall, a Louisiana newspaper reporter and prisoner, recalled that they entered Albuquerque, “famed for the beauty of its women, besides being the largest place in the province of New Mexico, and the residence of Armijo a part of the year,” on October 22 about noon. The people turned out to see the *estrangeros*. Kendall wrote, “As we were marched directly through the principal streets the inhabitants were gathered on either side to gaze at the *estrangeros*, as we were called. The women, with all kindness of heart, gave our men corn, pumpkins, bread, and everything they could spare from their scanty store as we passed.” Kendall wrote that after they departed Albuquerque, they passed near a succession of cultivated fields and pastures, undoubtedly those of Atrisco, Los Padillas, Armijo, and Pajarito. Of the route near Atrisco, Kendall wrote, “After leaving Albuquerque, we continued our march through a succession of cultivated fields and pastures until we reached a small rancho called Los Placeres, and here we camped for the night”—a short distance from Albuquerque. By late evening of October 24, 1841, they had reached Valencia. Everywhere along the Camino Real, settlers approached the prisoners and gave them food, mostly corn and bread, and water for sustenance. After they had left the last settlements, beyond Socorro, the road became a living nightmare.

The Camino Real to Mexico City was filled with death. The Texans had been brutally treated by their captors. Those who could not stand up and march were executed; the ears of dead prisoners were cut off as proof that they had not escaped. Especially after having passed Socorro, lack of water, food, and the desert heat took its toll on the Texans as they were forced to march through the Jornada del Muerto before reaching the Las Cruces area. Thirsty, starving, fatigued, beaten, they arrived in El Paso. There, as in the valley of Albuquerque, and later, Ciudad Chihuahua, compassionate people came out to give them

(Continued on page 22)

Under the Mexican Eagle*(Continued from page 21)*

food and water. In the end, they marched the entire length of the Camino Real to Mexico City, where many of them were released; a few of them would be found guilty of sedition and treachery and sentenced to imprisonment in Mexico City or in San Juan de Ulloa, the island fortress in the harbor of Veracruz.

As for Governor Armijo, he emerged as a patriot for having dealt with the invasion in a heroic manner, limiting the loss of life for Mexican citizens who resided in New Mexico. Santa Fe Trail merchants kept away from the prisoners lest they be identified with the invaders. Within three weeks after the attempted Texan invasion, *Atrisqueños* and other New Mexicans read a circular containing Armijo's Proclamation of November 10, 1841. In it, he declared that it was necessary to confuse the Texans, apprehend them, and manipulate their surrender with minimal risk to New Mexicans and, in so doing, protect Mexico's honor. He emphasized that the nation's integrity had been challenged by Texans who wished to extend their claim to include New Mexico. Then, and in all future relations, Armijo kept a wary watch on all foreigners. In Santa Fe, Armijo was greatly applauded. As a native of Albuquerque, doubtless, the citizens there and in the neighboring settlements between Bernalillo, Alameda, Albuquerque, Atrisco, Los Padillas and Pajarito down to Socorro, looked with pride on their governor. Even though Armijo did rule New Mexico with an iron hand, Kendall's writings, unfairly, began a historiographical legacy that would malign Armijo in stereotypical terms.

Still, Mexican authorities had long anticipated an invading army from Texas. They had issued warnings and reinforcements. When an invasion did occur, they praised Governor Armijo for the way he had handled the situation.

In New Mexico, especially during the 1840s, New Mexican officials used land grants to influence private enterprises and create defensive barriers against marauding Indians, Texans, and Anglo-American intruders. New Mexicans were encouraged to settle lands in river valleys on the northeastern and eastern peripheries bordering the Republic of Texas.

Buoyed by the Mexican government's desire to colonize the northern frontier by anyone who would swear allegiance to the Mexican government, become a Roman Catholic, and promise to

*(Continued on page 23)***News and Notes***(Continued from page 16)***Tom Harper, Socorro, New Mexico**

Tom is a retired Electronics Engineer. He spent most of his career at IBM and National Semiconductor Corp. He counts himself fortunate to have participated in the Apollo program while at IBM. Since retiring he has combined his experience in management and technology with a lifelong interest in History and Natural Science.

Since 2000 Mr. Harper has managed the annual Festival of the Cranes for the Friends of the Bosque del Apache National Wildlife Refuge. In that same time period he used camera-equipped, radio-controlled model airplanes to locate tracks and swales that may be associated with El Camino Real. The results were presented at the 10th International Colloquium in Socorro in 2006.

He is a BLM volunteer and SiteWatch co-coordinator for the Socorro vicinity. This involves monitoring cultural sites and track ways to protect against vandalism and destruction. Recently, Tom was elected to the Board of Directors of the El Camino Real Heritage Center Foundation. As a member of the CARTA Board, he hopes to promote communication between the two organizations.

Joy Poole, Santa Fe

Joy Poole serves as the Deputy State Librarian for the Department of Cultural Affairs at the New Mexico State Library. Her graduate degree in Library Science is from Indiana University and her under-graduate degree in Museum Studies is from University of Colorado – Boulder. Prior to her career as a librarian, she was a Museum Professional for twenty plus years working at various museums in the American Southwest including El Camino Real International Heritage Center, Mesa Verde National Park, Hubbell Trading Post on the Navajo Reservation, City Museums in Fort Collins, CO and Farmington, NM. While serving at the Baca and Bloom Houses, Pioneer Museum in Trinidad Colorado for the Colorado Historical Society she co-founded the Santa Fe Trail Association and today is recognized as the “Mother of the Santa Fe Trail Association.”

Position Announcement*(Continued from page 17)*

CARTA Search Committee
 P.O. Box 15162
 Las Cruces NM 88004
 Email: calis@zianet.com

Please include:

1. Name, address, telephone and email addresses
2. Work history and experience with emphasis on assignments relevant to this position.
3. A cover letter describing your ability to fulfill the requirements listed above.
4. Final candidates will be asked for at least two professional references who are familiar with your background and their contact information.

Applications should be submitted as soon as possible to the addresses above. We anticipate that a maximum of about three candidates will be selected for either a personal or telephone interview by the selection committee. Our objective is to complete the selection process as expeditiously as possible, with work commencing within 30 days thereafter. The position will remain open until filled.

El Camino Real: The Route of Power*(Continued from page 14)*

The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro was an axis of the Spanish invasion: invasion that was military, religious and cultural. The military aspect is reflected in the chain mail, canon ball and helmet found at San Gabriel. The religious aspect is reflected in the dedication of specific spaces and architectural features to new rites.

The cultural aspects are reflected in the introduction of new techniques, new forms, new materials and new animals and plants. But the changes do not stop there. These new forms, techniques, etc. were modified and adapted in ways that reflect cultural change. Many of these cultural changes were not appreciated and led to a great deal of resentment which culminated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

Under the Mexican Eagle*(Continued from page 22)*

bring additional settlers into the area, Armijo's give-away land grant policies attracted new immigrants into New Mexico. In 1821 New Mexico's population was estimated to be approximately 42,000, and by 1845 the number had virtually reached 65,000 inhabitants.

The Mexican Period was a time of change, mainly administrative, that demonstrated the adaptability of New Mexicans to a new political system. In the short interval of twenty-seven years of Mexican rule, New Mexicans participated in the political system imposed by Mexico. Their novitiate in Mexican politics prepared them for the next cycle of change.

Great changes were in the wind by the middle 1840s. Between 1846 and 1848, New Mexicans watched the outcome of the war between Mexico and the United States with disquieted interest. As the Army of the West under General Stephen Watts Kearny occupied New Mexico, a new order was at hand. On September 18, 1846, Kearny addressed the people of New Mexico, but his words were no match to those of acting Governor Juan Baustista Vigil y Alarid. His words of acquiescence echoed with a certain *tristeza* throughout New Mexico.

Standing in the *Plaza de Santa Fe*, the terminus of the Camino Real, Vigil y Alarid looked at Kearny and said, "Do not find it strange if there has been no manifestation of joy and enthusiasm in seeing this city occupied by your military forces. To us the power of the Mexican Republic is dead. No matter what her condition, she was our mother. What child will not shed abundant tears at the tomb of his parents? ... Today we belong to a great and powerful nation.... We know that we belong to the Republic that owes its origin to the immortal Washington, whom all civilized nations admire and respect." With those poignant words, New Mexico slipped into the hands of the United States.



**AMERICAN SOLDIER OBSERVATIONS ALONG EL CAMINO REAL DE TIERRA ADENTRO
IN NEW MEXICO AND CHIHUAHUA, 1846-1848**

John Porter Bloom

[Delivered at a symposium, Universidad Autónoma de Chihuahua, June 2008]

My interest in this topic dates back to when I was in graduate school and worked under a historian who studied the war experiences of soldiers in the American Civil War of 1861-1865. He introduced me to the challenge of understanding the minds, feelings, and reactions of persons in crisis situations of long ago.¹ This is an effort in which one will never succeed fully, but the effort is essential in order to improve our understanding of why events took place as they did, in times past. Furthermore, it is useful as an antidote to the failing observed very often in writers today who describe historic events and condemn persons of old who did not act in accord with 21st-century understanding, scientific and sociological. This failing is often called historical presentism.

There is nothing new in all this except that historians from time immemorial have focused attention upon society's great people, especially men. They filled our library shelves with books on kings, emperors, generals, discoverers, philosophers, inventors, and leaders in many fields. This was doing history from the top down, so to speak. It is fascinating and essential, but it provides readers with only a partial history of society. What my mentor led me into was history from the bottom up.

The American soldiers of 1846-1848 in whom we are interested here are primarily the so-called "common" soldiers, the lower ranks of enlisted men and non-commissioned officers. The generals, of course, and commissioned officers, are well represented by their own books and other writings on library shelves. In the

case of the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, there has been some preoccupation by historians with young officers who became top leaders in the Civil War of just a few years later. The present focus, however, is upon the so-called common soldier, in the hope of contributing a little to broad historical understanding.

Some discussion of the make-up of the American soldiers involved is in order, without concern over the designations of regiments, their commanders, details of their movements, etc. The United States Army in this period consisted of "regulars" and "volunteers." The former were few in number, committed for several years of service, commanded and trained more or less rigorously by professional officers. Many of the regulars in the ranks were recent immigrants, the army being an institution that served to "Americanize" them in considerable numbers.

Most of the soldiers who marched along El Camino Real were volunteers from the states of Missouri and Illinois.² Like all volunteers of this period, they were a very mixed set. They were farmers or small-town residents, mostly with little education and, especially, with little or no military training. Some had militia experience, but this did not prepare them well for long marches in distant deserts and prairies, much less for occupation duty in foreign communities. Their terms of service were usually brief, one year or even less. A sprinkling of volunteers came with significant military training, even a few at the US Military Academy, and naturally they often

(Continued on page 25)

*American Soldier Observations**(Continued from page 24)*

attained top leadership positions. This points to what was perhaps the most striking difference between regulars and volunteers: volunteers elected their officers. Because of this there was great variation between volunteer companies, troops, battalions, and regiments. Some were led very successfully and some were not. Perhaps it is fair to say that most volunteer units muddled along without distinguishing themselves one way or another.³

Phases in the American military occupation of New Mexico may be identified by reference to the top military commanders. First was the distinguished, experienced, regular army Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny, commander of "The Army of the West," which consisted of some regulars and the 1st Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers. Colonel Alexander Doniphan commanded this regiment, and its remarkable career is often referred to using the term "Doniphan's Expedition." Sterling Price was the volunteer colonel of the 2nd Missouri Mounted Volunteers, later brigadier general, who assumed command in New Mexico when Kearny hurried on from Santa Fe to California with most of the regular troops in September 1846. His regiment's one-year service completed, Price marched those troops back to Missouri in 1847, leaving Colonel Edward W. B. Newby of the 1st Regiment of Illinois Volunteers in charge. Price then returned when Newby's time was up, in early winter of 1847. Price led the 3rd Missouri Mounted Volunteers, and some regulars, into northern Mexico early in 1848, violating specific orders and attacking Santa Cruz de Rosales (now Camargo) after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.⁴

Let this be enough of background. What did the American soldiers write about as they entered New Mexico on the Santa Fe Trail and, most of them, marched further on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, or Chihuahua Trail as its northern part was often called? Las Vegas was the first town of any size encountered by

the Army of the West as it entered New Mexico. It was "a small village, the streets of which are swept every morning neatly by the women," according to Private Daniel H. Hastings.⁵ Benjamin L. Wiley, an Illinois volunteer, was not so favorably impressed with the cleanliness of the 300 inhabitants, but remarked on the beautiful, clear stream there, and the pleasant valley in which Las Vegas lay.⁶

Two hard days of marching further on was the fabled Santa Fe. Everyone had heard about it since travel there from the United States had opened in 1821 but, really, little was known of it. There was an aura of mystery and even romance ahead, and expectations were high among the troops. They were generally dashed. Hastings wrote:

Great indeed was the contrast between the beautiful and magnificent city which my imagination had pictured, and the low dirty and inferior place which I then beheld. ... [P]erfect contempt was my predominant impression while beholding Santa Fe for the first time.⁷

Las Vegas was not populous enough to require much attention by the soldiers, but Santa Fe was the largest population center of New Mexico, boasting several thousand inhabitants. We must recall that this was an age before photography.⁸ Households of common folk in America typically had few or no books other than the Bible, nor magazines or newspapers, which might have contained pictures of adobe structures. Thus, familiar only with structures of timber, brick, and stone, the troops from Missouri and other areas hardly knew what to make of Santa Fe. Many wrote that it looked like an extensive "brick-kiln." It had "the appearance of an immense brick yard," wrote a junior officer from Missouri.⁹

How about the inhabitants of such uninviting (to the soldiers) structures? The invaders saw what they expected to see, for the most part — though not without finding positive aspects to the appearance and personalities of

(Continued on page 26)

*American Soldier Observations**(Continued from page 25)*

native New Mexicans. This is reflected in a passage penned by Private Marcellus B. Edwards who arrived with the Army of the West:

Well it is a dirty filthy place built entirely of mud and flat roofed houses[.] [I]t covers a considerable extent of ground but chiefly corn fields[.] [T]he city of course has a filthy appearance from the width of the streets which are very narrow and walled in with mud fences.... [T]he houses within are (some of them) very neat indeed. ... ¹⁰

Hunger assailed the troops in Santa Fe and subsequently in other parts of New Mexico, for the region's near-subsistence economy was strained by the great influx of voracious men and animals in 1846-1848. Private Hastings's critical view of Santa Fe may have been influenced by the first meal he ate there, which consisted only of "some corn meal which I stirred up with water and after a little drying in the sun made my breakfast, dinner and supper ... all at one time." ¹¹

Soldiers with money were able to get along better, but money was hard to come by. Paydays were rare. When a paymaster arrived from the east in November, he had sufficient funds to pay officers and to accept some drafts presented by merchants, but the soldiers in the ranks came up short, very short. The soldiers resorted to barter, but their resources were very limited. Military buttons proved to be popular with New Mexicans, however, and soon it was common to see New Mexicans sporting soldier buttons while soldiers were using twigs and thorns on their clothing.¹²

Reflecting upon the several years of wartime military rule in New Mexico, Santa Fe became notorious as a disorderly place.

Alcohol was readily available, and gambling houses were well attended. More happily, Missouri troops established the first theater in English in New Mexico, presenting plays in a room of the Palacio del Gobierno as early as November and December 1846. Sergeant William C. Kennerly, a participant, remembered later that their first performance was a play, followed by a minstrel show "which brought down the house, especially the Mexican contingent, who could understand it better than the play." ¹³

Fort Marcy was established in Santa Fe immediately, and troops were posted there throughout the war. Grazing for animals was even more of a subsistence problem there than rations for the troops, and an outpost was established immediately, in August 1846, in the Galisteo Basin, some thirty miles to the south. In a "show the flag" demonstration, General Kearny marched a large part of the Army of the West south along El Camino Real into Río Abajo as far as the focal community of Tomé. Hispanic and Pueblo Indian leaders of many settled places had the chance to meet and, presumably, be impressed if not intimidated by the invaders' display of military force. At least three substantial detachments were sent against the Navajo Indians in an effort, as the new guardians of the peace in New Mexico, to dissuade them from continuing their frequent raids on farming and ranching settlements, a curse on the agrarian people of New Mexico for many years. The effort was futile, but well intended and strenuous for the soldiers. An armed revolt centered on Taos Pueblo was put down with some bloodshed. Military outposts were maintained at places including Albuquerque and Tomé along El Camino Real, and at many other settlements such as Taos, Abiquiu and Cebolleta.

Soldiers at such outposts gained insights into the fine qualities of native New Mexicans, and their writings need to be

(Continued on page 27)

*American Soldier Observations**(Continued from page 26)*

noted by way of contrast with the casual, ignorant criticisms of troops new to the area, or merely passing by. New Mexican homes were frequent places of refuge for sick invaders. An Illinois volunteer at Albuquerque, for instance, recorded an experience of a kind by no means unique:

During the night I felt strong symptoms of a fever fastening upon me. [A]nd arose in the morning with my fears fully realized[.] I repaired to the House of a Mexican of whom I had bought "Mais" [corn] for the Mules and Cattle, where I was kindly received and made as comfortable as a soft bed and warm fire could render me. Dr Perry visited me here and by timely prescriptions successfully broke the disease. I remained here all day and night. ... A Brother and Sister could not have shown more solicitude or tenderness than was exhibited by these kind hearted people. Every little delicacy which their stock afforded was kindly pressed upon me. ... When taking leave of them it was with the utmost difficulty that I could prevail upon them to receive a trifle in return for their kindness to me. ¹⁴

Much was written by the soldiers marching along the Santa Fe Trail to Santa Fe, but relatively little regarding later marches. Setting out to New Mexico, the troops were fresh, they knew that there was great interest at home about that trail and the city of Santa Fe, and there was fair likelihood that letters sent to home-folks would reach them successfully. These three considerations were downgraded significantly when applied to travel along El Camino Real. The urge to write was weaker, materials were more difficult to obtain, and communications to home-folks were very uncertain of reaching their destinations. Some letters were written and sent, however, and journals were kept, and recollections inscribed

later. ¹⁵

Within New Mexico, passage along the Jornada del Muerto inspired more attention than was given to any other section of El Camino Real. This almost waterless ninety-mile march was difficult not only by reason of scarcity of water but also because forage for animals was usually very poor and danger of attack by Apache Indians was great. Aside from individuals and small detachments, typically in company with wagon trains of experienced merchants, only two substantial military forces traversed the Jornada in 1846-1848. First was the Doniphan Expedition, mentioned above, December 1846. Later there was General Price's command, also mentioned above, which moved south in stages from Santa Fe and later returned north to have two passages along the Jornada.

Soldiers on the march in New Mexico, and wherever they went in northern Mexico for that matter, learned what was necessary to survive. As to scarce firewood, for instance, they learned to pick up whatever they might come across, even early in the day, for use in cooking and, in winter weather, warming themselves over the coming night. "Parajes" came to be well established, over previous centuries, along El Camino Real, where amenities were available in greater or lesser abundance. Fray Cristobal, at the northern end of the Jornada, was more than a paraje, it was a staging area for southbound travelers. The scene there, late in 1846, as Doniphan's Missourians converged along with a considerable group of merchant travelers, was described by a number of writers.

George Rutledge Gibson was a man of education, in civilian life an attorney and newspaper editor, who volunteered under Doniphan and was elected 2nd lieutenant. He described a brief stay at Fray Cristobal:

[A]ll is bustle to prepare for the long march through the Jornada del Muerto, the men being ordered to cook three days' provisions, as there

(Continued on page 28)

*American Soldier Observations**(Continued from page 27)*

is neither wood nor water. About four o'clock, just as we reached camp, the [merchant] traders were breaking up and entering this dreary waste, a line of wagons ... extending at least a mile. ... The day has been pleasant, with wood, water, and grass plentiful, and our camp is in a pretty bottom, with mountains in all directions.¹⁶

Among the more dramatic accounts of the soldiers' march along the Jornada is that of John T. Hughes, visited by many writers on this episode. Hughes served as a private in Company C, 1st Missouri Mounted Volunteers, but became known as the unofficial historian of Doniphan's Expedition. College-educated, he attained the rank of brigadier general during the Civil War. He wrote:

In passing this dreadful desert, which is emphatically the "Journey of the Dead," the men suffered much; for the weather was now become extremely cold, and there was neither water to drink, nor wood for fire. ... The soldiers [were] fatigued with marching, faint with hunger, and benumbed by the piercing winds, straggled along the road at night, (for there was not much halting for repose,) setting fire to the dry bunches of grass, and the stalks of the soap-plant, or *palmilla*, which would blaze up like a flash of powder, and as quickly extinguish, leaving the men shivering in the cold. For miles the road was most brilliantly illuminated by sudden flashes of light, which lasted but for a moment, and then again all was dark. At length towards midnight the front of the column would halt for a little repose. The straggling parties would con-

tinue to arrive at all hours of the night. The guards were posted out. The men without their suppers lay down upon the earth and rested. The teamsters were laboring incessantly night and day with their trains to keep pace with the march of the army. ... Such was the march for more than three days over the Jornada del Muerto.¹⁷

Following the skirmish usually called by Americans the Battle of Brazito, below present Las Cruces, New Mexico, on Christmas Day 1846, the invaders occupied the valley below the Pass of the North for several months, and in general it was pleasing to the Americans. El Paso del Norte, present Ciudad Juarez, contained a population of some five to eight thousand souls, and other settlements were strung along the Rio Grande downstream, mostly dating from the late 17th century. Private Hastings wrote of his first impression in February 1847, typical of other American observers of the time:

I was much surprised to find so large and pleasant a city. The extreme neatness and regularity of the streets, which are daily swept by females, the walks, beautifully ornamented by long rows of shape [sic] trees just resuming their green foliage at the foot of which were small streams of pure water, conducted by irrigation, the mildness and serenity of the climate, the sweet and renovating songs of happy birds ... all so far surpassed my expectations ... that in spite of our sorrows, I found myself almost happy. ¹⁸

This discussion has ranged in broad geographic terms over two wartime years in New Mexico. Continuing down El Camino Real to Chihuahua, with reinforcements and also, as usual, a large contingent of mer-

(Continued on page 29)

*American Soldier Observations**(Continued from page 28)*

chants, the travel was largely uneventful except, of course, for the Battle of Sacramento. First impressions of Chihuahua City were invariably favorable: "a beautiful city, it beats any thing I ever saw," wrote Corporal Edgar L. Hinton. Private Edwards noted that the population was some thirty thousand, making it one of the largest cities in Mexico. He praised the "splendid architecture" of the cathedral and naively called the fountain in the main plaza "a curiosity. [T]he water is poured from the mouths of four images into a large basin."¹⁹ The aqueduct, in addition to the cathedral and other monumental structures, attracted great attention and admiration.

What can be said, then, of the mentalities and sentiments of American soldiers, representing the "common folk" of the United States, in this period? Writing these few lines, it was borne in upon me that there is indeed a very substantial volume of pertinent records that we have barely touched upon here. Hundreds of pages would be needed to do justice to the very broad topic. Someone more clever and technologically inclined than I might formulate terms of analysis that, applied to these old writings with computer magic, could expose facets of thought, belief, and sentiment of special interest.

Perhaps enough has been set forth here to suggest, in any event, that there was nothing extraordinary about these Americans. Their strongest motives are seen to be curiosity, a desire for adventure. To the extent that Yankee patriotism shows up, it reflects an inclination to trust national political leaders, to repeat phrases passed down from above in terms of national destiny and the righting of alleged insults to American national pride. Untutored and naive, the "common soldiers" of this period were ready to be repelled by contact with inhabitants of New Mexico and Chihuahua. But they found much to respect and admire in them, if they were at all open-minded in approaching and learning to know these strang-

ers. May it always be thus.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Bell Irwin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb, the Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943), *The Life of Billy Yank, the Common Soldier of the Union* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952), both still in print; and many other titles.
2. Mark L. Gardner, "New Mexico: U.S. Occupation," in Donald S. Frazer, ed., *The United States and Mexico at War, 19th Century Expansionism and Conflict* (New York: Macmillan, c1998, pp. 291-292).
3. More comprehensive on this topic than my own doctoral dissertation (Emory University, 1956) is Richard Bruce Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army, the American Military Experience in the Mexican War* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, c1997), chapters 4-5.
4. Price enjoyed a commanding physical presence, perhaps charisma, and had a loyal following among many Missourians. He later was a governor of that state, and a major general for the Confederate States of America. On his role in New Mexico, one biographer writes: "In this capacity he displayed a laxness in enforcing discipline, a tendency to quarrel with other officials, and a penchant for acting in a highly independent, almost insubordinate fashion...." Albert Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, c 1968, p. 5). Robert E. Shalhope, in *Sterling Price, Portrait of a Southerner* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, c 1971, pp. 71-74), strives to put a good face on his subject in this action. A damning appraisal of Price at Santa Cruz de Rosales is by William Gorenfeld, "The Cowpen Slaughter; Was There a Massacre of Mexican Soldiers at the Battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales?" in *New Mexico Historical Review* (Fall 2006, 81:4, 413-440). Colonel John Ralls commanded the 3rd Missouri, serving under Price who was over-all military commander in New Mexico.

(Continued on page 30)

*American Soldier Observations**(Continued from page 29)*

5. Pvt. Daniel H. Hastings, "Personal Account," Aug. 15-18, 1846, J.H. Smith Papers, Vol. XV, Univ. of Texas Library.
6. Benjamin L. Wiley, "Journal," Sept. 7, 1847, Southern University Library.
7. Hastings, "Personal Account," Aug. 20, 1846.
8. Technically, one might say that photography was just emerging from its cradle. Daguerreotypes were well known, but the necessary long exposures meant that they were made primarily in studios, typically of a face, or head and shoulders. "Action" photographs were actually made of General John Wool and staff on horseback in the streets of Saltillo, 1847, touted as the first depictions of live military personnel in wartime.
9. Lt. Benjamin E. Lackland to Tany Lackland, Nov. 8, 1846, James C. Lackland Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO.
10. Marcellus B. Edwards to his brother, Aug. 23, 1846, "Mexican War Envelope," Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO.
11. Hastings, "Personal Account," Aug. 20, 1846.
12. Pvt. William H. Richardson, *Journal of Doniphan's Expedition* (Baltimore, 1847), reprinted (Columbia, MO, 1928), pp. 41, 45.
13. W.C. Kennerly, "Recollections," typescript, Mexican War Envelope, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO.
14. Wiley, "Journal," Nov. 7, 1847.
15. A comment on sources: Letters, journals and diaries, and recollections or reminiscences all qualify as original sources which are valuable to historians in descending order. Letters are given high priority as sources because of their immediacy, but one must take into account that letter-writers may shade the truth to make an effect upon intended readers, who may be known or unknown to us. Journals and diaries often have the virtue of immediacy, but are subject to being sanitized and "written up" for effect, especially in their being transcribed. Valuable letters can be found in contemporary newspapers but, again, must be evaluated for the possibility of errors in transcription, whether intended "for effect" or not. In such cases, especially, the possible political aspirations of letter writers need to be taken into account. There were, of course, no wartime journalists sent by newspapers into New Mexico or Chihuahua, such as we know from later times.
16. Dec. 18, 1846. Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847*, by George Rutledge Gibson (The Southwest Historical Series, Vol. III. Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1935, pp. 294-295). Fray Cristobal was near Valverde and, more important, the village of Socorro and other settlements where provisions could be obtained. It is notable that the civilian wagon train set out in late afternoon, to travel in the cool of the night, even in winter. This was common military procedure also.
17. John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition; Containing an Account of the Conquest of New Mexico. ...* (Cincinnati: U.P. James, c1847), in reprint by William Elsey Connelley, *War with Mexico, 1846-1847, Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California* (Topeka, KS, n.p., 1907), pp. 368-369.
18. Hastings, "Personal Account," Feb. 2, 1847.
19. E. L. Hinton to his father, Mar. 6, 1847, typescript; M. B. Edwards to his brother, Mar. 13, 1847; both in Mexican War Envelope, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO.



The American West in 1846
(note the western border of Texas)



CARTA was founded to facilitate goodwill, cooperation and understanding among communities and to promote the education, conservation and protection of the multicultural and multiethnic history and traditions associated with the living trail. We invite you to join us as an ongoing member and to help in writing a new chapter in the history of the trail. Please fill out the form below and mail it, along with your check made out to CARTA (address below).

EL CAMINO REAL DE TIERRA ADENTRO TRAIL ASSOCIATION

- Membership Application -

Annual membership fees (see below) are due by January 1 each year. The fee for new members who join after July 1 each year will be discounted by 50% for the remainder of that year. The full annual fee will be due on January 1 for the following year.

Date: ____/____/____

New ____ / Renewing ____ Member

Name(s): _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip/Postal Code: _____

Phone: Work or Home? (optional) _____ E-Mail: (important) _____

Annual membership fee:

_____ Individual \$25

_____ Joint \$30

_____ Student (Include Copy of ID) \$15

_____ Institutional/Corporate \$100

I would be interested in helping CARTA by:

Serving as a Officer/Board Member _____

Writing trail history _____

Organizing tours _____

Organizing conferences _____

Developing tourism ideas _____

Other _____

Serving as committee chair or member _____

For more information, contact Jean Fulton, Secretary, at jeanfulton@earthlink.net or by writing to:

CARTA, P. O. Box 15162, Las Cruces NM 88004 USA

Association Business News

Upcoming Meetings

The CARTA Board of Directors will meet on Saturday, 17 January 2009. The meeting is scheduled for 10:00 a.m. — 3:00 p.m. at the El Camino Real International Heritage Center. This, and all Board meetings, are open and CARTA members are more than welcome.

Our Annual Meeting and Symposium are Scheduled for the weekend of 18 — 20 September. At the present time, we are planning to hold the event in Las Cruces at the Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum. See Pat’s President’s letter for more details.

Looking ahead, CARTA, The Santa Fe Trail association, and the Old Spanish Trail Association are planning a joint meeting in Santa Fe during 2010. That should be a treat!

Elections

Just when you thought election season was over — at least for a little while, CARTA needs you to gear up for our next round of elections. Terms of office for all of the officers and four Board members are up this coming fall. Each of the officers is term-limited, so all five will need to be replaced. There will also be opportunities to serve on the Board of Directors.

Please give serious thought to volunteering. Any of the incumbents will tell you that this is an important and satisfying experience. Members of the nominating committee will be canvassing the membership in the spring.

Dues are Due

Renewal of CARTA memberships for calendar year 2009 are due by the end of this month.* Please fill out the garishly colored insert in this issue or photocopy the membership form on the opposite page and use that. Rates remain the same as in previous years



* BYLAWS of the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Trail Association

Adopted 15 March 2003

Revised 27 September 2008

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ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

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SECTION 2, DUES

Membership dues shall be established and modified by the governing board of officers and directors, hereinafter referred to as the Board, at any regular meeting of the Board. The membership year shall be the calendar year, with annual dues payable each January 1. Members who have not paid for renewal by July 1 will be deemed delinquent and will be dropped from membership. Delinquent members may be reinstated without penalty by paying dues for the current year.



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