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Heather B. Trigg

The Ties That Bind: Economic and Social Interactions in Early-Colonial New Mexico, A.D. 1598–1680

ABSTRACT

Regional economic transactions in early-colonial New Mexico (1598–1680) have frequently been overlooked as archaeologists and historians focused on large scale, long-distance trade in the imperial economy or smaller scale household production. The few discussions of the regional economy, transactions within the colony, have generally described it as "primitive" and "crude." There was, however, an active regional economy during this period that resulted in movement of goods between colonists' and native peoples' households. The nature of these interactions depended largely on the social identity of the household. In addition, the movement of goods bound households socially as well as economically. Analyzing economic interactions on the regional scale provides a better understanding the colonization process in general because economic restructuring is one way in which empires integrate newly conquered territories. In early-colonial New Mexico, more specifically, economic interactions formed one bridge between the individual household economies and the imperial economy.

Introduction

Early-colonial New Mexico (1598–1680) provides an opportunity for archaeologists to examine contact between cultures. Much of the anthropological research on interactions between the colonized and colonizers has focused on the reactions of the colonized—in the case of New Mexico, the impact of colonization on Pueblo peoples' demography, economies, and social structures. Colonization, nonetheless, is an interaction among different cultures, and investigations of Pueblo cultures reveal only part of a complex system. Examining the culture of Spanish colonists, particularly during the early-colonial period, is, therefore, critical to understanding New Mexico's colonization. Investigations of 17th-century New Mexico have had the benefit of coming from two different disciplines: history and archaeology. Research on this period has been diverse.

Archaeological investigations of the Spanish presence during the early-colonial period have historically emphasized the preservation of Franciscan *conventos* (Bloom 1923; Kidder 1932; Montgomery et al. 1949; Toulouse 1949; Vivian 1964; Smith et al. 1966; Hayes 1974; Hurt 1990), although recent research at the *convento* compound at Pueblo San Marcos has begun to examine more complex issues of social interactions (Thomas 2000). Research into the reaction of native peoples to contact with Europeans has perhaps received the greatest attention in anthropological investigations of the borderlands in general (papers in Thomas 1989, 1991). Nonetheless, there was a substantial population of secular colonists in New Mexico during the early-colonial period.

More recently, the households of these colonists have received attention. Several 17th-century *estancia* (ranch) sites have been excavated (Alexander 1971; D. Snow 1976, 1992b; C. Snow 1977; Scheick 1979; Levine et al. 1985; Pratt and Snow 1988). Frances Levine (1992, 1995) presents a more detailed discussion of excavated early-colonial sites. Since an estimated two-thirds of the 17th-century population of New Mexico lived in rural areas, the character of the rural economy is important, and it has implications for a wide variety of social phenomena, including economic production, social relations, and social organization. Several investigators have developed models of rural household production and relations between colonists' homesteads and Pueblo villages (Simmons 1968; D. Snow 1979, 1983, 1992a; Tainter and Levine 1987; Pratt and Snow 1988; Levine 1992).

During the early-colonial period, Santa Fe was the only *villa* (a settlement with a complete civil government) in the colony. Seventeenth-century deposits from several areas in the *villa* have been identified (C. Snow 1974; Post and Snow 1982; Pratt and Snow 1988; D. Snow 1989, 1990; Tigges 1990, 1992; Willmer 1990; Wiseman 1992; Martinez 1994; Snow and Bowen 1995). These deposits exist primarily under and around the Palace of the Governors (the former *casas reales*), the site of the 17th-century *cienega* to the north and east of the Palace of the Governors,

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and near the present cathedral. Other locations in Santa Fe have been examined, but these areas revealed scanty evidence of the 17th-century occupation or presented 17th-century deposits that were thoroughly mixed with later 18th- and 19th-century materials (Pratt and Snow 1988). Other research has focused on identifying the location and architecture of various landmarks—the Plaza, Palace of the Governors, and the 17th-century parish church (C. Snow 1974; Ellis 1976). Many of the excavations of early colonial sites have been conducted under limitations imposed by contracts (Levine 1992).

Historians who work specifically on early-colonial New Mexico have almost exclusively dealt with the colonists' activities. Largely due to the scope of information presented in surviving 17th-century documents, many have focused on the political history and the activities of New Mexico's elites, the governors and Franciscan friars, and on long-distance trade (Scholes 1928, 1929, 1930, 1935a, 1935b, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1975; Hackett 1937; Hodge et al. 1945; Hammond and Rey 1953; Cutter 1986; Weber 1992; Ivey 1993). Both historians and anthropologists working on much longer-term trends have also examined other issues such as the relations between native peoples and colonists and the impact of colonization on native peoples (John 1975; Kessell 1979; Spicer 1981; Hall 1989; Gutiérrez 1991; Levine 1999).

Archaeologists and historians have begun to bridge the gap between disciplines, and recent investigations, such as those of the Camino Real (Palmer 1993; Palmer and Fosberg 1999), are providing detailed information about long-distance movement of goods into and out of New Mexico. These data hint at the types of goods, ceramics, textiles, furniture, foods, and luxuries that may have been circulating in the colony's regional economy (Bakker 1999; Fournier 1999; Pierce and Snow 1999; Winter 1999). In the absence of contracts, inventories, and wills, such data may provide our best information on goods such as textiles and chocolate that do not survive in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, the disparity in interests and research agendas has led to gaps in our understanding of the social processes involved in the colonization of New Mexico. With archaeologists looking at Spanish households and Pueblos and historians at elite activities, middle-level economic transactions consisting of the movement of commodities among people *within* the colony, particularly among the Spanish colonists, have largely been overlooked. Although the term "regional" in the colonial period can be applied to a variety of geographic scales from smaller areas within the colony to the whole of New Spain, "regional economy" is used to denote economic transactions within the colony.

Beginning in the 1920s, France Scholes, known in historical circles as *the* authority for this era, laid the foundation for future historical and archaeological research (Broughton 1993). Scholes wrote that New Mexico during the early-colonial period was "characterized by a roughness, a lack of luxury and refinement, a crudeness, and a striking degree of ignorance" (Scholes 1935a:99; C. Snow [1993] presents an alternative picture). Of the economy, Scholes stated, "economic life of the province was based on agriculture, stock raising, and a primitive commerce," and "was mere barter." "Intra-provincial commerce was necessarily limited to the exchange of a few products" (Scholes 1935a:105, 109). Although the archaeological and documentary evidence do indicate that colonists were not using coins to conduct business and, thus, did exchange only commodities, Scholes's portrayal minimizes the complexity of the social interactions that shaped and were shaped by economic activity during this period. He wrote this in the 1930s, but the characterization continues to influence research today (Simmons 1968; D. Snow 1993). Boyd Pratt and David Snow (1988) have offered one of the few discussions of regional exchange suggesting that Santa Fe was not a marketplace for the colony except for goods imported by the governors, and James Ivey (1994) discusses the exchange of goods between *conventos* and Pueblo villages and between colonists and *conventos* during the famines of the late 1660s and 1670s. It is clear, however, that economic transactions involving the transfer of commodities among households in 17th-century New Mexico went beyond mere barter.

One only has to look at the enormous quantity of Pueblo sherds at any Spanish site to get a feel for the importance of native peoples to the colonists' lives and their contribution to the colonial economy. Economic factors within Pueblo villages affecting pottery production also, no doubt, played a role in the interactions between Pueblo

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people and colonists. The internal economies of New Mexico's native communities played an important part in the relations between native peoples and Spanish colonists. This paper, however, focuses attention on the economic transactions among New Mexico's colonists, particularly those transactions guided by social obligations. The activities of native peoples are discussed only in relation to their direct participation in the economy of Spanish colonists.

Spanish Colonists' Household Economies

Archaeological and documentary evidence indicate that colonists' households during the early-colonial period produced and consumed many of the same items. Corrals have been located on a majority of 17th-century ranch sites, indicating that most households were involved in the production of livestock. Since spindle whorls have been recovered from all Spanish sites, it can also be concluded that at least yarn production, if not textile production, was widespread. Paleoethnobotanical remains from two 17th-century *estancias* and from 17th-century deposits in Santa Fe indicate that colonists were eating wheat and other European crops such as peas, lentils, watermelon, muskmelons, peaches, and apricots (Ford n.d.; Trigg 1999). Although colonists also consumed native foods such as maize and goosefoot seeds (*Chenopodium* sp.), the faunal and botanical remains and documents indicate a strong preference for domestic animal meat and Old World crops (Alexander 1971; Harris 1973; Snow and Bowen 1995).

All households cooked with Pueblo style *comales* (griddles or cooking stones), used predominantly Pueblo pottery, and acquired small amounts of imported goods such as majolica ceramics, metal, and glass (Moore et al. n.d.; Tichy 1939; Alexander 1971; D. Snow 1971, 1973; C. Snow 1977). Documents tell us that colonists acted as guards, blacksmiths, and syndics (Scholes 1935b, 1975; Chávez 1992) and were compensated for their services, although none of these constituted full-time specialization. The broad spectrum of production and lack of occupational specialization suggests that colonists produced many of the subsistence goods they needed. This conclusion has contributed to a false sense of economic isolation evident in many portrayals of early-colonial New Mexico and ultimately, perhaps, the apparent lack of scholarly interest in regional economic activities.

Regional Economic Interactions

Households in early-colonial New Mexico probably bartered freely among each other, perhaps with the nearest neighbor or for the best price or product. Other transactions occurred outside the barter economy but, nevertheless, ensured the movement of commodities among colonists and between colonists and native peoples. Socially mandated exchanges took place, usually among specific social groups. For example, the obligation of tithing required the transfer of commodities from colonists to clergy, but obviously not from clergy to colonists, among colonists, or between colonists and governors. Since the nature of many interactions depended on the social identity of the individuals involved, different rules can be expected to be found acting upon different groups. Social identity is often fluid, particularly so in colonial contexts, but distinct groups, Pueblo or Plains peoples, the clergy, governors, *encomenderos*, and average citizens were identified by 17th-century writers and serve to structure the discussion of the social mechanisms of exchange.

Colonists' Interactions with Native Peoples

Encomenderos' Interactions

Encomenderos were a small group of colonists who were allowed to collect tribute, *encomienda*, from conquered native peoples in exchange for past service, future military support, or protection and conversion of the native peoples "entrusted" to them. It is perhaps the best-studied economic institution in colonial Spanish America and has its roots in the earlier Spanish *Reconquista* when the Moors were driven from Spain. During the early years of New World colonization, abuses of this system occurred—levels of tribute exacted were onerous, and the tribute obligation was at times converted to forced labor (Gibson 1966; Bakewell 1997). Problems in Mexico led to the regulation of this institution, and its implementation in New Mexico concerned the Spanish Crown (D. Snow 1983). In his contract to colonize New Mexico, Governor Juan de

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Oñate was specifically instructed to ensure that *encomienda* payments would not be converted to labor service, as they had been earlier (Hammond and Rey 1953:511). Treatment of native peoples continued to worry Spanish government officials, for the viceroy reiterated these warnings to New Mexico's second governor, Peralta, and requested reports from subsequent officials and the clergy (Hackett 1937:119).

As it was implemented in New Mexico, *encomenderos* were appointed at the discretion of the governor, and the *encomienda* was inherited from father to son for "three lives" or three generations (D. Snow 1983). Only villages that had been converted to Christianity could be assigned. In New Mexico, this meant Pueblo peoples but not Apaches or Navajos. The contract between Governor Oñate and the viceroy for the colonization of New Mexico indicated that tribute would be paid in "products of the land" (Hammond and Rey 1953:593), but other documents are more specific. In 1639, former governor Martínez de Baeza in his official report to the viceroy stated, "Each Indian repairs once a year to his *encomendero* with a *fanega* [55.5 liters] of maize, which is worth four *reales* [eight *reales* equal one silver peso], one cotton blanket a *vara* [0.8359 m] and a half square which is valued at one peso, or, in lieu thereof, a raw buffalo hide or deer skin, either of which has the same value" (Hackett 1937:120). Fray Juan de Prada indicated that *encomienda* payments were given as one *fanega* of maize and cotton cloth "six palms square" (Hackett 1937:110). Although in 1639 Governor Baeza indicated that payments were made once a year, by the mid-1600s it may have been collected twice each year (D. Snow 1983).

In return for the tribute payments, the Pueblos were to receive intangible "benefits" from being held in encomienda. For example, encomenderos were obligated to protect the native peoples and to ensure that they were Christianized (Gibson 1966:49; Bakewell 1997:80). The flow of commodities between encomenderos and native peoples, however, was not reciprocal, and, in reality, encomenderos generally received unilateral benefit from this relationship.

It is possible that at first the tribute demands were not onerous, but the encomenderos' demands on individual families become critically burdensome when famines and diseases reduced the Pueblo population and, as a consequence, the production of maize and cotton cloth (D. Snow 1983). The maize and cloth received from the Pueblos, however, were invaluable to the support of the colony. Encomenderos, by virtue of having a steady supply of commodities, probably attained additional prestige by redistributing subsistence goods to others (D. Snow 1983).

Encomienda was a formal economic institution and was strictly regulated, but it was also modified, both legally and illegally, to adjust to local conditions. In 1639, Fray Juan de Prada indicated that tribute was collected from each household in each village (Hackett 1937:110). In the early 1640s, however, Governor Pacheco attempted to increase the amount of tribute by modifying the tradition and collecting encomienda from each individual rather than each household (Scholes 1937:91). The clergy, who argued that the payments were already onerous, thwarted the governor's efforts.

Throughout the early-colonial period in New Spain, the Spanish government modified earlier laws in an attempt to stem encomenderos' abuses of the system. The government specifically forbade the conversion of encomienda debts to labor obligations, but even in 17th-century New Mexico, such violations did occur. Laws also governed the location of encomenderos' ranches in relation to Pueblo villages to prevent encroachment on Pueblo lands and damage to their fields by colonists' livestock (Ivey 1992). One law forbade encomenderos from building their *estancias* too close to Pueblo villages (Scholes 1935a) or pasturing their herds within three leagues (Bloom 1928; Ivey 1992). While little quantitative data exists, documents indicate that, like other laws regulating encomienda, these laws were also ignored. In some instances these transgressions were addressed. The activities of encomendero Antonio de Salas provide a case in point. Salas was brought to trial both for converting tribute payments to forced labor and for locating his *estancia* too near the Pueblo village of Pojoaque (Scholes 1937). He stated that he "allowed" the people of Pojoaque to provide labor to his household in lieu of their tribute payments, suggesting that such proximity facilitated the interaction between the native peoples who worked for him and his household (Scholes 1937:388). He also argued that the royal laws governing the placement of *estancias* were justifiable in Mexico, but the realities of life in

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New Mexico required more flexibility in this regard. The encomendero's behavior, however, generated such complaints that Governor López denied Salas's claim and ordered his *estancia* to be destroyed.

The encomienda system was only one mechanism that facilitated the exchange between colonists and Pueblo peoples. It is unique in that the payments involved only a certain segment of the Spanish population, limited by law to 35 individuals, and a certain segment of native peoples, the Pueblos. Encomienda is different from other economic transactions in that Pueblo peoples had no legal expectation of reciprocity and that the items expected by the Spanish were supposed to be limited to maize, cloth, or hides. Interactions between encomenderos and native peoples, however, were not limited to encomienda but would potentially have included other types of interactions.

Native Peoples' Interactions with Colonists

Since the colonists needed more labor than they controlled within their own households, Pueblo peoples were compelled by law to work for the Spanish. This contributed to the colonists' household production, but it also resulted in the movement of commodities from colonists to native peoples because the colonists were obligated to pay for the labor. Compensation for Pueblo peoples' work and the types of activities that they could be compelled to do were also governed by Spanish laws, but documents suggest that colonists were not scrupulous in paying their native laborers. (Of course, the texts provide only part of the picture, and this problem is particularly acute with documents from this period in New Mexico's history. Since there is generally a lack of diaries, letters, or other personal documents, those items that remain often deal with disagreements between individuals, for example, instances in which agreements were not honored. Primarily, there is evidence of the colonists' unscrupulous behavior toward native peoples, but not examples of those cases in which wages were indeed paid.) Pueblo peoples had recourse to several legal avenues, and some, for example, argued their cases before the governor or *alcaldes mayores* in an attempt to force payment (Scholes 1935a; Cutter 1986). Texts do not specify the commodities colonists paid as wages, but they probably consisted of the colonists' household productions, such as livestock, textiles, or crops, or, during the early years of the colony, of goods specifically brought to New Mexico for trade (Hammond and Rey 1953; C. Snow 1993; Pierce and Snow 1999).

It is known that colonists depended upon native peoples for household labor, but they also procured commodities produced by native peoples outside the context of colonists' households. These included maize, cotton *mantas* (blankets or cloth), ceramics, piñon nuts, salt, as well as bison, antelope, and deer hides (and, perhaps, the meat from these animals).

The precise extent to which colonists depended upon native peoples for labor or commodities is not clear because current archaeological and textual data are insufficient to allow determination of the quantity of most goods exchanged. Wage labor, however, must have been lucrative to some, for one colonist testified that don Pedro Durán y Chávez was "planting and baking for sale ... always having many conveniences and living in ease, being one of those who employed many Indians in his service" (Hackett and Shelby 1942[2]:173).

Currently, ceramics provide the only readily quantifiable indicator of the colonists' dependence on the Pueblos. It is interesting, and perhaps telling, that there is no discussion of ceramic production and exchange in 17th-century New Mexico's documentary record, but archaeological evidence indicates that colonists relied almost exclusively on Pueblo people for domestic pottery. Sherds usually constitute the most numerous class of artifacts recovered from early-colonial sites. From 96% to more than 99% of ceramics recovered from 17th-century Spanish estancias were produced by the Pueblo peoples (Table 1). Likewise, indigenous ceramics were by far (greater than 95%) the most numerous types of pottery recovered from LA 54,000, a 17th-century deposit in historic downtown Santa Fe (Wiseman 1992).

It was probably through barter (or outright theft) that colonists acquired these ceramics, for texts do not specify them as part of encomienda payments. Nor are they items typically used as units of exchange, such as wheat, maize, livestock, and cotton *mantas*. The earliest record of colonists obtaining ceramics from Pueblo peoples is a post-reconquest document stating that native

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TABLE 1
CERAMICS FROM RURAL *ESTANCIAS*

	Indigenous		Imported		
Site	Rio Grande % (n)	Hopi/Zuni % (n)	Majolica % (n)	Porcelain % (n)	Native Mexican % (n)
LA 591	99% (8,909)	0.7% (63)	>1%	0	0.4% (39)
LA 34	96% (575)	n.d.	3.4% (20)	0	0.001% (1)
LA 20,000	<99% (3,521)	0.08% (3)	0.3% (9)	0	0
LA 326	n.d.	n.d.	present	n.d.	n.d.
LA 4955	n.d.	present	present	n.d.	n.d.
LA 9142	97% (691)	2.8% (20)	0.3% (2)	.1% (1)	0

Note. Data on LA 591 from D. Snow 1992a; data on LA 34 and LA 9142 from Moore et al. n.d.; data on LA 326 and LA 4955 from D. Snow n.d.; data from LA 20,000 from Trigg 1999.

peoples came to Santa Fe to sell their pottery (D. Snow 1983). In a letter to the viceroy, Fray Pedro Serrano wrote, "These *alcaldes* [probably an *alcalde* mayor, a district judge who also collected encomienda payments] do not visit their pueblos except ... to barter with the Indians, or to gather pots, plates, jars, jugs" (Hackett 1937:486; D. Snow 1983). Although there is not written evidence from the pre-rebellion era, there are indications of exchange of other commodities between colonists and Pueblo peoples for Fray Miguel de Sacristán asserted that Pueblo peoples came to the villa (Hackett 1937: 149). Since Santa Fe was not a strong economic center of the colony (Pratt and Snow 1988) and colonists' estancias were frequently located near Pueblo villages, it is likely that exchange may also have taken place at colonists' households or in the Pueblo villages.

Colonists interacted not only with Pueblo villagers but also with Navajos and especially Plains people. Documents describe some of the colonists' travels to the Plains specifically for trade. In one case before the Holy Inquisition, colonist Nicholas de Aguilar stated that he had, "gone among the heathen Indians to trade" (Hackett 1937:140). In a second document, Captain Diego Romero and other colonists "went to buy antelope skins and buckskins for the governor" (Hackett 1937:156).

The items that colonists used for barter with native peoples are uncertain but may have included Spanish foodstuffs such as livestock, grains, fruits, seed stock, or metal tools. The Ulloa and Salazar inspections of the first colonizing expeditions indicated that certain items such as combs, knives, sewing equipment, clothing, beads, jewelry, flutes, and mirrors were brought specifically for trade with native peoples (Hammond and Rey 1953:135–136; C. Snow 1993; Pierce and Snow 1999). Foods or the seeds to grow Old World crops may also have been exchanged, and some documents describe instances in which Pueblo people incorporated some introduced foods into their practices. By 1660, Fray García de San Francisco testified, "And the Indians of the neighboring pueblos gathered in the *villa*, and they dressed themselves in their abominable masks in a hall of the palace, and performed the dances, offering to the devil watermelons and other things" (Hackett 1937:156). The speed with which certain Spanish foods such as watermelons and wheat entered the Pueblo peoples' diets also suggests that the fruits or seeds were also desired commodities (Lopinot 1988). It seems clear from both the documents and archaeological data that a substantial amount of commerce occurred between the colonists and the native peoples, and that one mechanism through which the colonists obtained goods was barter or purchase. This mechanism contrasts sharply with encomienda because it is likely that barter or purchase took place as often as desired and with whatever commodities were needed, and, presumably, the exchange was perceived as mutually profitable.

Yet another mechanism allowed the movement of goods between colonists and native peoples. Legal judgments often resulted in the transfer of commodities from colonists to Pueblo peoples

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because fines were paid in commodities. For example, Nicolás de Aguilar was accused of raping a Pueblo woman, and in compensation, the governor ordered him to pay her a cow (Hackett 1937:185). In a similar ruling, Governor Peralta fined colonist Asencio de Archuleta 50 *mantas* and 50 *fanegas* of maize for his offenses against native peoples (Scholes 1936:48).

Governors' Interactions with Native Peoples

Just as colonists relied upon native labor, New Mexico's governors also hired them to produce and haul commodities. Such activity is suggested in the records of Governor López's *residencia*, the official review of an outgoing governor's tenure. The *protector de indios*, the official charged with handling native peoples' legal affairs, represented hundreds of aggrieved Native Americans who charged that the governor had not paid them for their work or commodities (Cutter 1986). Several native women, both Pueblo and Apache, charged that he owed them for making clothing and needlework. Others alleged that they had not been paid for transporting commodities (piñon nuts, salt, and firewood) or constructing wagons, and the Native Americans, in some cases, demanded compensation, often in the hundreds of pesos. Caution should be used with accepting these allegations wholesale because they were leveled in the course of the governor's *residencia* when many people took the opportunity to avenge perceived insults (Cutter 1986). Nevertheless, clergymen, although not impartial in these proceedings, echoed charges that the governor used native peoples to collect salt and piñon nuts and transport them and other commodities to Parral (Hackett 1937:188).

Other activities had economic consequences for native peoples. As agents of the Spanish Crown, the governors had the power to determine policies, some of which directly regulated economic interactions between native peoples and Spaniards. It was the governor who set the rates that colonists and clergy paid for wages. For example, in 1620, Pueblo laborers were to be paid half a *real* per day and provided with food or one *real* if not provided with food. During his tenure in the 1660s, Governor López raised the wage to one *real* per day and food because Pueblo people were not willing to work. Although wages may not always have been paid, wage labor as a social mechanism was potentially beneficial to both native people and colonists.

Other activities were merely exploitative. Governors López, Eulate, Mora, and Rosas were accused of making expeditions to the Plains solely for the purpose of taking captives for the slave trade (Scholes 1936; Hackett 1937). Slaves were commonly exported to mining towns in northern Mexico (Brugge 1999), but it is known that some captive Apache men and women were sold to New Mexico's colonists in Santa Fe because Apache servants were among those listed as household members in the roll call of survivors of the Pueblo Rebellion (Hackett and Shelby 1942). The magnitude of the slave trade within New Mexico is not known for certain, but it was sufficiently common to cause concern among the leaders of the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680. Among their demands during the siege of Santa Fe was the release of "all Apache men and women whom the Spaniards had captured in war ... as some Apaches who were among them were asking for them" (Hackett and Shelby 1942[1]:99).

As agents of the Crown, governors and *alcaldes mayores* adjudicated complaints among the Pueblo peoples and between the colonists and Pueblo peoples. As some of the examples discussed above illustrate, legal judgments resulted in fines or imprisonment. Although fines were given a monetary value, they were paid in commodities, facilitating the transfer of goods among native peoples and colonists, governors, and clergy. Some judgments did not require the exchange of goods nor were they necessarily beneficial to the native peoples, but they, nonetheless, had economic consequences. In one of the colony's earliest legal judgments, Governor Oñate ordered that the men and women of Acoma serve in colonists' households for 25 years as punishment for their revolt in 1599. The tradition of forced servitude as punishment continued throughout the early-colonial period. In 1659, Juan Zuñi and a compatriot stole goods from the *casas reales*, the government offices and home of the governor, and Governor Manso sentenced Zuñi to 10 years of forced labor for the crime (Cutter 1986).

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Clergy's Interactions with Native Peoples

Like the secular colonists, New Mexico's clergy relied heavily on Pueblo peoples for household production, but Pueblo peoples' labor at the *conventos* presents a complex web of interactions that involved the governors, encomenderos, priests, and Pueblo people. Pueblo people who worked for the clergy were exempt from tribute demands and, thus, were not required to make encomienda payments to the encomenderos, which made working for the clergy attractive. The governors not only had the authority to assign encomiendas but also the power to regulate the number of Pueblo people working for the priests. Documents indicate that the number of people serving in *convento* households ranged from 10 to 40 until the mid-1600s when Governor López enacted legislation limiting such labor to 2 individuals. All other Pueblo peoples serving at the mission were subject to tribute demands, and Pueblo people working for the clergy, above the two allotted, were to be paid as wage laborers.

Governor López suggested that prior to 1659 the clergy compensated a day's labor with at most an iron awl, but after his law was enacted, the clergy were required to pay for labor with food, maize, or wool. Just as colonists and governors did not pay wages, documents suggest that the clergy were also less than conscientious about paying their laborers. For example, much to the displeasure of the Franciscans, Governor López ordered Fray Guevara and Fray Moreno to pay the native peoples of Galisteo and Isleta Pueblos the livestock that the villagers claimed were owed them for wages. In testimony before the Inquisition, colonist Miguel de Noriega stated that the governor "ordered Father Fray Miguel de Guevara to pay to certain Indians not only the sheep which they demanded before him, but others as well which he still owed" (Hackett 1937:180).

Texts also recount barter between the friars and native peoples. In their testimony to the Inquisition, the friars stated, "the religious receive a few antelope skins in exchange for sustenance or for the crop" (Hackett 1937: 192). Archaeological evidence also indicates a good deal of commerce between the priests and inhabitants of the Pueblos. Like other early-colonial Spanish sites in New Mexico, Pueblo ceramics dominate the assemblage at all *convento* sites, and like other Spaniards, the clergy probably obtained them directly by barter or indirectly as containers for bartered goods. Other archaeological data suggest that native peoples provided the clergy with a range of items. Faunal remains from the *conventos* indicate that the friars obtained meat from bison, antelope, deer, and other nondomesticated animals (Toulouse 1949; Snow and Bowen 1995). Documents tell of Plains peoples coming to Pueblo villages such as Pecos and Humanas to trade hides and, in some cases, their children for food. In 1659, the friars proudly stated:

> Some of them [Plains peoples] came with their own children ... and offered them to the religious for a little meat or flour. The evangelical ministers, who saw a great opportunity in the temporal and spiritual unhappiness of those souls, did not hesitate to give all they had for the opportunity to catechise them and make them Christians ... giving them broken chalices and even richer treasure ... . In this manner ... the religious rescued some boys and girls from the empire of the devil, and they now have them as gentle, peaceable Christians (Hackett 1937:192).

Pueblo people also gathered piñon nuts for the priests (Hackett 1937:192). Documentary evidence and archaeological data from the Pueblo villages associated with *conventos* suggest some commodities that Pueblo peoples received in exchange. These included majolica and metal (Bloom 1923; Kidder 1932; Hackett 1937:192; Tichy 1939; Wait and McKenna 1990), but perishable goods for which there is no direct evidence, such as textiles and foods, may also have been traded.

The clergy provided subsistence goods, such as food and textiles to native peoples, in particular the poor of the villages (Ivey 1994). Fray Benavides (Hodge et al. 1945:101) stated, "At mealtime, the poor people in the pueblo who are not ill come to the porter's lodge, where the cooks of the convent have sufficient food ready ... food for the sick is sent to their homes." In a statement to the Holy Inquisition in 1659, the clergy declared that they supplied large quantities of maize and wheat (Hackett 1937:191). In the late 1660s and 1670s, New Mexico was hit by a series of famines, and during this period the friars provided additional aid to the Pueblo peoples (Ivey 1994). Benavides's statement suggests that the redistribution of goods was commonplace,

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and Ivey (1994:83) states that during the famines, "the average amounts distributed in each pueblo were approximately 72 bushels of all grains and beans, 3 cows, 10 sheep, and 20 fleeces of wool per month." In addition to donations of food and textiles, the friars also gave Pueblo families who worked on *convento* lands a portion of the harvest they produced (Ivey 1994:83). Although the friars controlled the distribution of food and textiles, the interactions between clergy and Pueblo people involved the colonists because the sources of these goods were tithes that the clergy collected from colonists as well as the *conventos'* own domestic production (Hackett 1937:102).

Economic Interactions among Colonists

Commerce within New Mexico's 17th-century Spanish community has received little attention (Pratt and Snow 1988), but archaeological evidence and textual data provide indications that regional exchange among colonists was important for meeting subsistence needs and as a social necessity. The patchy distribution of natural resources such as arable land, water for irrigation, salt, piñon nuts, and selenite (a mineral used for whitewash, window panes, and to whiten wool) may have made these items unavailable to some colonists. Moreover, the documentary record indicates that some individuals engaged specialized occupations such as the military armorer, blacksmith (or silversmith) working in Santa Fe, the governor's barber, and the baker in Bernalillo (Scholes 1935a, 1975; Hackett 1937: 72; Hackett and Shelby 1942[2]:173; D. Snow 1993). Subsistence goods and services that were controlled by a limited number of people may have made it necessary for households to exchange needed or desired commodities. Goods such as wheat or majolica ceramics specifically were not a physical necessity but were important to the social identity of the Spanish colonists (D. Snow 1993; Trigg 1999) and, thus, would also have been the objects of exchange.

Although the need for critical or desired goods would have encouraged barter, social demands made the circulation of commodities among colonists mandatory. Inheritance allowed for the movement of commodities within extended families. According to the ideal, legitimate children shared equally in the family's wealth (Gutiérrez 1991:230), but the degree to which actual practice fit the ideal depended on the family's standing in the community. In an attempt to keep the wealth concentrated, higher status families with large land holdings allowed the eldest son to inherit the land (Gutiérrez 1991), although lower status families may have more closely followed the law.

Evidence from 18th-century New Mexico indicates that complex social and financial arrangements surrounded betrothals and marriages. These rituals linked households socially but were also economic contracts that provided an opportunity for movement of goods. More specifically, rituals associated with marriage required the bride and groom's families to exchange presents and contribute to the new household.

Although no written information has been found about betrothal ceremonies from 17th-century New Mexico, early 20th-century New Mexican practices are similar to those in Spain, which suggests to folklorist Aurelio Espinosa (1985) that New Mexico's ceremonies are old, dating to the early-colonial period. In some instances, textual sources from 18th-century New Mexico confirm the details (Gutiérrez 1991). Marriage rites consisted of obtaining consent of the parents, making formal agreements before the parish priest, feasting, dancing, and exchanging presents (Espinosa 1985). Although the names are different (betrothals in Spain are called *toma de los dichos* and in New Mexico *prendorios*), they both consist of the *pedir de la novia* (or *pedir de la mano* according to Gutiérrez 1991), a ritualized request for the bride during a meeting between the families. Among elites a formal letter, which outlined the property that the groom would bring to the marriage (Gutiérrez 1991:260), accompanied this visit. If the bride and her family agreed to the marriage, the groom presented the bride with a *donas*, a wooden chest containing the trousseau. Eighteenth-century New Mexican trousseaus consisted of clothing, jewelry, household goods, occasionally money and cloth for the wedding dress. Men of wealthier families traveled to Chihuahua, Mexico, to purchase these goods (Gutiérrez 1991). The value of the trousseau, in theory, mirrored the wealth and status of the bride. As historian Ramon Gutiérrez (1991: 262) wrote, "To contemplate marriage without being able to present the bride with an appropriate trousseau was considered inappropriate

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and shameless." The transfer of goods was of such importance that, in some cases, the wealth needed created a hardship that delayed some marriages.

After receiving the trousseau, the bride's family reciprocated, presenting the groom with a dowry (Espinosa 1985; Gutiérrez 1991). Although there are no such records for the early-colonial period, dowries in Mexico and post-revolt New Mexico consisted of household products such as linens and tableware or livestock (Gutiérrez 1991). Finally, 18th-century documents also indicate that affluent men would present up to an additional 10% of their wealth (called *arras*) to their wives (Gutiérrez 1991: 263). In less wealthy families, this economic exchange occurred but only in ritualized form. In this case, "the fee an individual paid the local priest for a marriage often included the rental of a small pouch containing thirteen gold or silver coins which were used during the rite to symbolize the bride's endowment with *arras*" (Gutiérrez 1991:263).

Marrying well was of great importance to the colonists for it contributed to a household's standing within the community, particularly among higher status families. Moreover, a woman's dowry was part and parcel of her prospects for marriage. In his exploration of colonial New Mexico's perceptions and mores surrounding sexual activity, Gutiérrez (1991) argued that a woman's chastity was important for finding a suitable husband. A woman who was not a virgin was not highly sought after, but a suitor could be lured by a large dowry. Since providing for such a dowry produced a strain on the family's resources, the male members of Hispanic families closely guarded women's behavior (Gutiérrez 1991).

Baptisms provided another opportunity to link families economically and socially and resulted in the transfer of goods from one household to another. Again, rituals surrounding this rite had economic components.

> The *padrino* and *madrina* (godfather and godmother) take the *ahijado* (god-child-to-be) to church for the religious ceremony. As they leave the church, the children of the village wait outside to receive gifts of small coins. Both in Spain and New Mexico the *padrino* usually is most generous with his money. A *padrino* who does not give anything would disgrace the occasion (Espinosa 1985:73).

Whether these ceremonies accompanied baptisms in 17th-century New Mexico is not known, and it is clear from the archaeological and documentary record that coins were not distributed during this period. Yet there are similarities between peninsular Spanish and New Mexican Spanish ceremonies. In both Spain and New Mexico, the *madrina* sings to the child's mother, "Here I return to you your child. He (or she) was a Moor (meaning pagan) when I took him with me, and now he (or she) is a Christian" (Espinosa 1985:73). The reference to the unbaptized child as a Moor argues for an ancient root for parts of this ritual, and 17th-century New Mexican documents indicate that priests performed baptisms and *padrinos* did participate. Governor Peñalosa wrote to the custodian, "I come for the purpose of having my goddaughter confirmed, and am awaiting the god-parents ...." (Hackett 1937:239), and in a separate case, Governor Juan Manso acted as a godfather (Hackett 1937:195).

Compadrazgo formed a bond between households that included a social and economic relationship between both the *compadres* and the child and between the *compadres* and the child's parents. Through the baptismal ceremony, the parents and godparents are "spiritually related, just like near relatives, and ... bear one another's burdens" (Espinosa 1985:73), and the *padrino* is expected to treat the *ahijado* as his own child. Such obligations may have included economic support and the exchange of commodities.

Clergy's Interactions with Colonists

There was considerable economic interaction between the Franciscan clergy and colonists in early-colonial New Mexico. Colonists (including governors and encomenderos) were expected to tithe, giving the Franciscans a portion of products they produced. In 1638, Fray Juan de Prada indicated that tithes were only paid in grain because the colonists did not have sufficient numbers of cattle (Hackett 1937:112), although New Mexico's Governor Baeza recorded that the clergy were also paid in wheat, maize, livestock, animal hides (deer or bison), or cotton blankets (Hackett 1937:120). Although all colonists were expected to contribute tithes, the Franciscan prelate alone used his discretion in disposing of the goods. According to Fray Prada, tithes were

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distributed among the *conventos* and to the poor colonists of Santa Fe (Ivey 1994). He stated, "By his order [the prelate's] it is distributed to some convents that are situated in sterile places and lack water—for which reason wheat cannot be sown in their districts" (Hackett 1937:112). In a letter to the Holy Inquisition, other friars asserted that they "succored the Spaniards ... dividing among them over five hundred *fanegas* of wheat and corn which had been received in the tithe" (Hackett 1937:191). During times of famine, colonists gave additional supplies to the priests (Ivey 1994:85). While some goods received in tithe were redistributed among the colonists, it appears that a considerable portion went to support the *conventos*. For example, the priests controlled sufficient quantities of foods—at the same time they distributed the 500 *fanegas* of grain to the Spanish colonists, they had "in the more remote conversions ... of Xongopavi and Oraibi [Hopi villages in Arizona] distributed as many more *fanegas*, the entire pueblos being thus supported in time of famine" (Hackett 1937:191).

There were other mechanisms that allowed the Catholic Church to obtain commodities from the colonists. The church sold indulgences, and bulls issued by the Santa Cruzada, a religious tribunal, ordered colonists to pay alms for the support of the conversion efforts (Hackett 1937: 6-8). The proceeds from these alms were to be collected and returned to Mexico, but in 1639 in its report to the viceroy, the *cabildo* (the town council) of Santa Fe expressed doubts that all of the commodities gathered by the clergy were necessary or were sent to Mexico as ordered (Hackett 1937:68). Nevertheless, if the alms were not paid, the religious exercised powers granted by the Church. Fray Juan de Góngora warned that all colonists who owed the Santa Cruzada had less than a month to pay or they would be excommunicated (Hackett 1937:48–49). While the documents do not indicate whether Fray Góngora made good on his threats of excommunication, the *cabildo* also claimed that the friars confiscated the property, namely the livestock, of several colonists who were in arrears.

There is little mention in the documents to indicate that the clergy were paid for religious services such as officiating at baptisms, marriages, and funerals, although one case suggests that this did happen. In this instance, an adulterous affair led to the birth of a child, and Fray Miguel Sacristán was accused of presiding at the burial of a rag doll to hide the existence of the child from the cuckolded husband. Colonists alleged that the child was smuggled into Mexico to be reared there, but the husband believed that a child had indeed been buried. When the case was brought to trial before religious authorities, the friar's superior spoke in the defense of Fray Sacristán and stated, "Why should he have asked for pay, if what he buried was nothing but a lot of rags?" (Hackett 1937:228). This statement suggests that the friars did ask for payment for religious services.

In addition to being paid for officiating at baptisms, marriages, and funerals, the Franciscan Order received goods from colonists for religious services through a *cofradía*. Nuestra Senora del Rosaria La Conquistadora was an association made up of both secular and religious people of the colony, and its sole purpose was the glorification of the Virgin Mary. Dues paid and items donated to the confraternity were not given directly to the Church (Chávez 1950), but the Church did benefit economically because the confraternity paid dues to adorn the figure of the Virgin Mary, to have mass and prayers said for its members, and to support feasts, festivals, and processions in her honor. While there is little reference to the existence of the confraternity before the Pueblo Rebellion, one document from the Holy Inquisition indicates that the *cofradía* was active in the early-colonial period (Chávez 1950). Although this document only indicates that a silk scarf was donated, the *cofradía's* financial ledgers from the late-17th and early-18th centuries indicate that colonists contributed soap, clothing, livestock, wheat, ribbons, exotic cloth, tobacco, and in one instance an Apache child (Chávez 1950). Some of these commodities were used to adorn a statue of the Virgin Mary; others were sold to colonists to raise funds to pay the friars for services.

Texts indicate that Spanish colonists provided the friars with commodities and services and were compensated. For example, because the friars took a vow of poverty, they employed syndics to conduct their economic affairs, and from available documents scholars have identified at least eight individuals acting in this capacity during the early-colonial period (Scholes 1937: 51; Chávez 1950). Although the number of

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identified individuals is small, the role of syndics contributed to the movement of commodities from the clergy to colonists.

In addition to the formal institutions of tithing and the Santa Cruzada, there were less-regulated economic interactions between the colonists and the friars. Colonists also entertained the friars, cleaned the church in Santa Fe, and engaged in trade. Documents recounting the Inquisition of Governor López provide indirect evidence of such activities. In a letter to the vice-custodian of New Mexico, Fray Sacristán accused the governor of forbidding the colonists to weave cloth for the clergy (Hackett 1937:149). Similarly, in the testimony against the governor's assistant, Nicolás de Aguilar, an unidentified deponent claimed that Aguilar threatened one woman with 200 lashes if she cooked for the clergy (Hackett 1937:145). While the threats may be inaccurate or overstated, these statements indicate that the opportunity existed for informal commerce and, thus, the exchange of goods and services between colonists and the Franciscans.

In 17th-century New Mexico, religion played a critical role in society, and thus colonists probably expected spiritual rewards—salvation—for their support of the Franciscan clergy. Nevertheless, some colonists did accrue material benefits from this relationship. The Franciscans distributed supplies to colonists serving at garrisons, on military campaigns, and as escorts (Ivey 1994). Archaeological evidence suggests other commodities colonists may have obtained. Some scholars have suggested that the average colonist could not afford majolica and that virtually all of it was imported through the mission supply caravans (Lister and Lister 1976), yet majolica is found at virtually every 17th-century Spanish colonial site for which there is data (D. Snow 1993; Trigg 1999). Colonists may have obtained it through exchange for their commodities or payment for services. Indeed, in times of famine, priests did sell goods from the caravan. Ivey (1994:85) indicates that Fray Antonio de Sierra used such items to purchase 34 ewes and 445 bushels of wheat and maize. Many other items were brought into the colony on the mission supply caravans or directly imported by the priests—fine cloth, musical instruments, wine, chocolate, vanilla, medicines, metal tools, and bowls (Ivey 1993). These imported items may also have been the objects of the colonists' desires and used by the priests as payment for goods or services. Another possibility is that the colonists were paid in commodities produced by the *conventos' estancias* and in their workshops, which would have included livestock, grains, fruits and vegetables, cloth, wooden items, painted hides, piñon nuts and other items.

Finally, the well-documented factional competition between New Mexico's governors and clergy may have influenced commerce between colonists and clergy (Scholes 1937, 1938; Weber 1992:133; Broughton 1993). Faction leaders use a variety of methods to attract supporters, but economic incentives, such as giving gifts, are among the most common (Siegel and Beals 1960; Nicholas 1965; Salisbury and Silverman 1977). In exchange for the colonists' political support in the conflict against the governors, the clergy may have given goods they owned. Imported items, available primarily through elites, may have been greatly desired, and offering such items may have been an effective means of luring supporters.

Some interactions between colonists and clergy, such as tithing and the Santa Cruzada, were highly structured by formal rules regulated by the Catholic Church. These carried the weight of both social and legal sanctions because the church at this time played a significant role in the colonists' social identity. Moreover, through the Holy Inquisition, the church had the power to fine, excommunicate, and imprison individuals who violated religious rules. Other interactions such as barter, faction building, providing hospitality or services were less formal and, therefore, less regulated. All interactions, nevertheless, served to link the colonists and clergy socially and economically.

Governors' Interactions with Colonists

New Mexico's governors interacted with colonists on two levels—as private individuals and as officials of the Spanish government. As individuals, governors owned livestock, imported some goods, exported others to Mexico, and operated stores and textile-producing *obrajes* (workshops). On a second level, governors, as officials of the Spanish Crown, developed and enforced policies that had economic effects on colonists. Much of the information about economic relationships is known only through texts because currently

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there is little archaeological indication of either of these levels.

Documents suggest that some governors participated in a considerable amount of commerce for personal gain. Governor López brought luxury items from Mexico when he came to New Mexico and imported others later on, all of which he sold to the colonists at reportedly exorbitant prices (Scholes 1937). Among the imports were sugar, chocolate, shoes, hats, ornate saddles, harnesses, silver plate, fine writing desks, beds, bed linens, silver plate, and tobacco boxes adorned with silver and gold. Similarly, Governor Rosas sold wine, chocolate, sugar, spices, and shoes. Both governors sold their goods from a store in the *casas reales,* a situation that distressed some colonists, among them Captain Salazar who asserted that Governor Rosas had turned the *casas reales* into a *taberna pública* (public tavern) and a *zapatería* (shoe store) (Scholes 1937:329). In addition to the highly desired imported goods, colonists also traded with governors for slaves, which the governors or their associates had captured on the Plains (Scholes 1937:75).

It is not known what the colonists used to pay for the imports or slaves, but they probably consisted of the standard goods used for exchange (maize, wheat, cloth, and livestock) and perhaps specialized commodities such as selenite stockpiled at the Sanchez site (D. Snow 1992b). Commodities, such as food, woolen textiles, and livestock, produced in the colonists' homes could have been used to support the governor's household and added to the commodities he exported from the colony. At times, colonists were unable to pay their debts, such as Elena Gómez who died owing Governor López a 100-odd pesos (Hackett 1937:260). Other debtors did not escape, for governors took steps to collect, apparently confiscating encomiendas for what they were owed. One aggrieved colonist testified,

> Don Diego [Governor Peñalosa], without giving any notice or information to the declarant, sent to have the revenues of the encomiendas collected in his own name, and had the proceeds carried away to his own house . . .. Peñalosa told him that he had there the collections for October from the said encomiendas, and that the brother of the declarant, Captain Cristóbal de Anaya ... had owed him, the governor, a few pesos; that his father also had owed him three or four pesos, and the declarant still another two pesos; and that he had ordered the revenues from the encomiendas to be collected in order that he might repay himself (Hackett 1937:248).

Colonists' desires for imported goods drove some of the economic interactions with the governors, but the governors themselves initiated others. For example, one weaver from San Gabriel testified that Governor López commissioned a large carpet from him (Hackett 1937:254).

As agents of the Spanish Crown, the governors were granted broad powers over economic activities in the colony. In their official capacities, governors created and enforced legislation, which, although not necessarily moving commodities between themselves and the colonists, nonetheless affected the colonists' economic activities. Governors were responsible for setting the wages for Pueblo peoples' labor, adjudicating legal proceedings, and levying fines. They also had the power to punish and imprison colonists, which had tremendous economic consequences on prisoners and their households.

One very important economic function served by the governor was the assignment of encomiendas. Beginning with Governor Oñate, the privilege of collecting tribute was conferred on certain men who aided in the colonization of New Mexico. Although the encomiendas were inherited for three generations and, thus, the governors could not reappoint encomenderos at will, trustees were selected to oversee encomiendas that could not be administered by the encomendero. During the Inquisition trial of Governor Peñalosa, Fray Salvador Guerra declared, "When it happens that there is a need to nominate a trustee in case the wife of an encomendero is left a widow, to whom the encomienda legally descends, or where there are children who inherit but are not of sufficient age to hold it, and a trustee is required, the third part of the revenue is assigned to such trustees, or a certain number of houses, as may seem equitable to the owners and to the trustees; so that it is always a moderate compensation which is given them" (Hackett 1937:250).

In other cases, trustees were appointed for encomenderos who were imprisoned. For example, Governor Peñalosa indicated that he had assigned a trustee half of the proceeds of an encomienda held by a prisoner, but the other half was to be used "for the maintenance of [Romero] during his imprisonment" (Hackett 1937:252).

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The privilege of collecting encomienda from Pueblo peoples was an important one. As David Snow (1983) has argued, at least during the early years of the colony, the maize and cloth provided by Pueblo people were critical to the colonists' survival and may have served to enhance the prestige of encomienda holders. The ability to control the disbursement of this important source of subsistence goods allowed several unscrupulous governors the opportunity to manipulate them for personal gain. Some colonists and clergy testified that governors illegally appropriated the proceeds from encomiendas or controlled the trusteeships of encomiendas. For example, Governor Pacheco revoked several encomiendas and seized the proceeds before he reassigned them. Governor Peñalosa was particularly notorious. According to Captain Cristóbal Durán y Chávez, the governor collected Diego Romero's encomienda from Zia and Cochiti while the encomendero was imprisoned (Hackett 1937:238, 242). Colonist Anaya Almazán testified that he was assigned the trusteeship of his deceased father's encomienda, but Governor Peñalosa collected it himself (Hackett 1937:248). A third colonist claimed that the governor also collected another encomienda by assigning trusteeship of Francisco Gómez's holdings to one of the governor's dependents (Hackett 1937:249).

Other economic transactions that were probably not sanctioned also facilitated the movement of commodities between colonists and governors. The *audiencia* judging Governor López's *residencia* found the governor guilty of accepting a bribe from a colonist who wanted to avoid punishment (Scholes 1938:74). The *audiencia* also found López guilty of accepting a bribe from the previous governor in return for a favorable *residencia* (Scholes 1938:74). In another incident, Ruiz de Cepeda, the attorney for the Holy Inquisition, indicated that the governor allowed an encomendero to enslave people from Sevilleta Pueblo. The attorney stated, "But for the sake of his own interests, the accused [Governor López] took them to their old pueblo at risk of their continuing their hateful and infamous idolatries .... And all this harm came from the self-interestedness of the accused, he being led to act so unwisely by a gift of some mules which the encomendero of that pueblo had promised him" (Hackett 1937:206). In some cases, the texts specify the items used for bribes, as in the last case where the bribe took the form of livestock. In other instances, it is not known, but bribes may have consisted of items usually used for exchange—textiles, livestock, and grains.

Some governors used their position to thwart the clergy's economic activities, and in doing so, according to reports to the Holy Inquisition, also affected the colonists. Governor López issued orders that restricted colonists from aiding or conducting commerce with the Franciscans. The clergy testified that the governor forbade colonists from baking or cooking, selling them woolen sackcloth, or from entertaining them. Colonist Miguel Noriega stated, "He [the governor] also ordered Luis Martín Serrano ... not to give hospitality to any religious, under penalty of I do not know how many lashes" (Hackett 1937:185).

The Franciscans also complained that governors regularly used their political powers for financial gains. Governor López, in particular, was a frequent target of these accusations. The clergy argued that he limited the export of livestock and silver merely to increase the value of his own products. The governor admitted that he placed some limits but insisted that he did so not for his own financial interests but because he did not want the number of livestock in New Mexico reduced during times of famine (Hackett 1937:211). Although documents describing this affair recount the clergy's concerns and their losses from the restrictions, any individual who wanted to export livestock to Mexico would have been affected.

Trade between the colony and the rest of the empire was dominated by the governors and Franciscans who, largely because of their wealth, controlled the means to participate in an export economy. Wagons and draft animals for shipping goods to Mexico were in short supply and were consequently in great demand. Exporting was thus fertile ground for both actual and imagined abuses of authority. Governor Baeza and others appropriated the livestock and wagons that the Spanish Crown used in the triennial mission caravans, claiming that since they were the property of the Crown, they belonged to the civil authorities. The clergy insisted that these items belonged to the religious authorities, that they had the right to use them, and that the governors abused their position for their own financial gain.

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This political wrangling continued in other venues because just as the clergy were concerned with building factions, governors were also interested in obtaining political support from colonists. Since the governors were not permanent members of the colony, nor did they have the administrative network that the clergy had, building factions may have been particularly important to the governors. Like the clergy, the governors may have offered desired imported commodities, chocolate, wine, or cloth, to colonists in exchange for their support.

The Regional Economy in a Larger Context

In examining some of the social mechanisms that influenced economic activity, it is important to note that the choices that individuals made probably had both physical and social aspects and that colonists participated unequally in the economy. A household may have chosen to trade primarily with its nearest neighbor, whereas interactions with more distant households may have been less intense. Economic relations may also have been strongest among households that had social ties, such as those that were related by birth or marriage. Finally, just as people today participate in the economy at different intensities—penny-pinchers as opposed to those who "shop 'til they drop," it can be assumed that some 17th-century Spanish households had more economic connections than others.

Currently, there is not sufficient data to quantify the scope of the regional economy. Nonetheless, the large quantity of Pueblo ceramics on Spanish sites and the wide distribution of majolica ceramics, which some have argued were available only through the Franciscan mission caravans (Lister and Lister 1979), point to an active regional exchange. This network linked native peoples, colonists, and elites in a web of economic relationships (Figure 1). Although the figure depicts the interactions between each segment of New Mexican society as linear, relating only one group with another,

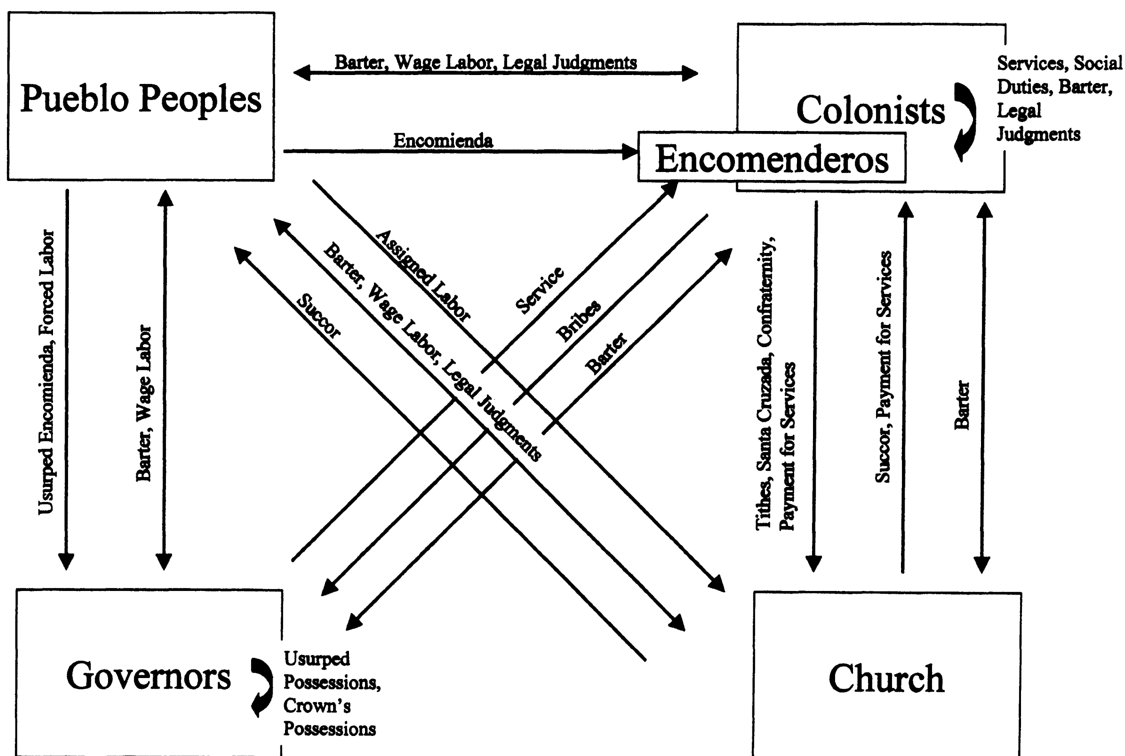

FIGURE 1. Regional economic interactions in early-colonial New Mexico 1598–1680.

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economic activities were highly interrelated. Take for example, the encomienda system. An encomendero's income from encomienda depended on the number of Pueblo households and the number of Pueblo people working for the priests. This, in turn, depended both on the priests' wishes and the governor's policies regarding the assignment of laborers. Moreover, governors assigned individuals the right to collect encomienda and appointed trustees. This economic institution, although nominally relating only encomenderos and Pueblo peoples, also connected individuals from other social groups in an intricate system.

Credit and debt were facts of life in 17th-century New Mexico. During the 17th century, merchant bankers in Mexico City became wealthy through a credit system in which they extended money or merchandise to itinerant peddlers who sold commodities in distant reaches of the region (Hoberman 1991). Although it is not known how widespread this practice was in New Mexico, it is known that some governors and itinerant merchants sold items to the colonists on credit. For example, Mexican trader Bernardo Gruber kept a list detailing the amounts colonists in New Mexico owed him (Sanchez 1993), and Governor Peñalosa confiscated encomienda payments for a debt an encomendero owed (Hackett 1937:284). Some governors operated their businesses with the help of agents in Mexico who conducted financial affairs on their behalfs, and documents suggest that Governor Rosas had a formal business relationship with a merchant in Parral, Mexico, who extended the governor credit and sold his New Mexican products (Bloom 1935). It is also likely that the Franciscans operated within this system, and those colonists within New Mexico extended credit to each other.

Regional interactions were important because exchange among households may have helped mitigate the effects of New Mexico's uneven distribution of resources and buffered the risk of famine. Recent research has given a picture of the types of commodities brought into the colony, which colonists, priests, and governors may have exchanged among themselves (C. Snow 1993; Pierce and Snow 1999). These commodities included items specifically for trade with Pueblo peoples, beads, jewelry, and tools. Others shipped in on the mission supply caravans may not have been intended directly for trade (Ivey 1994) but found their way into the households throughout the colony by means of regional exchange. These studies provide critical information about the items that may have been circulating, but they do not address the types of commodities produced within the colony, textiles, crops, and livestock, which were also exchanged among households. It is the exchange of such basic subsistence items that may have played the largest role in buffering risk.

The regional economy also moved commodities from colonists' households to the elites. This assisted the friars and governors in amassing goods for export because some of the goods that the clergy and governors obtained from colonists, livestock and textiles, were among the same items they exported to the mining communities in northern Mexico. These interactions also moved items in the other direction, from the elites to all colonists' households. As archaeological evidence indicates, some of these goods may have been highly desired as colonists were apparently willing to become indebted to the governors to obtain them. The lure of imported commodities, however, may have gone beyond the desire for luxuries but, instead, were a necessary part of the colonists' ethnic identity (D. Snow 1993). Regional economic transactions not only linked people living in the colony but also provided one bridge between the small-scale household economy and the large-scale colony-empire trade.

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