

SANTE FE

Special History Study



**COMERCIANTES,
ARRIEROS, Y PEONES:
THE HISPANOS AND THE SANTA
FE TRADE**

(Merchants, Muleteers, and Peons)

**Special History Study
Santa Fe National Historic Trail**

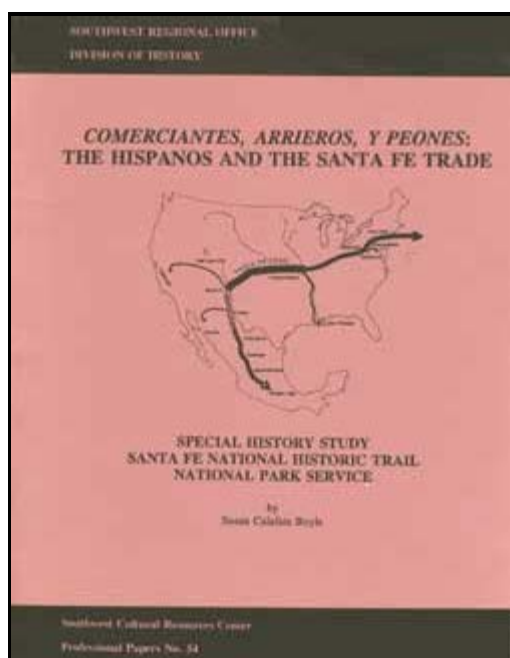
**by
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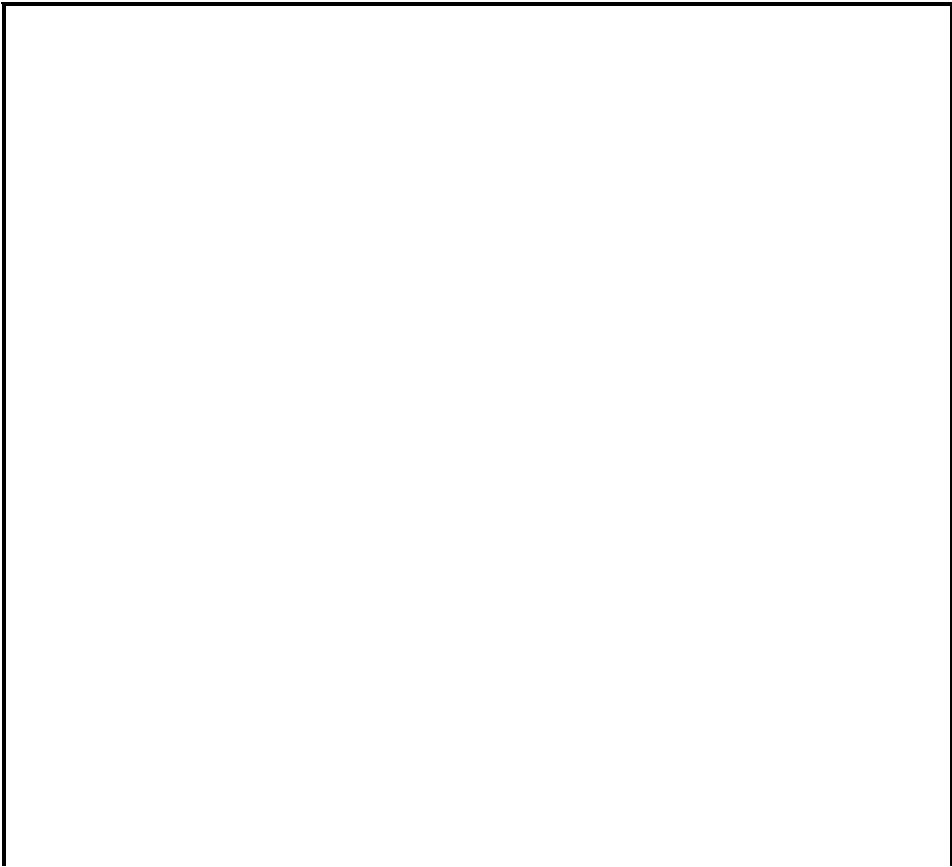
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INTRODUCTION

The Santa Fe Trail has attracted the attention of scholars and lovers of adventure for over a century. [1] Nearly all of the studies published, however, focus exclusively on the route between Missouri and Santa Fe, the activities of American traders and freighters, and the period prior to the Mexican War. This account broadens the approach and addresses some important, neglected themes.

First, the geographical boundaries of the Santa Fe Trail extend far beyond the more familiar stretch connecting Missouri and Santa Fe. This was but one segment of a complex network of commercial operations, which this study identifies as the Santa Fe trade (see Figures 1 and 2). This extensive pattern of economic relations involved two continents—Europe and North America—and several countries—Mexico, the United States, England, and France. Activities associated with the Santa Fe trade extended west to the California coast; south from the Arkansas River into Mexico; southeast to New Orleans; east beyond Missouri to New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and other eastern cities; and across the Atlantic Ocean, particularly to England's Liverpool and London. By the 1850s the Santa Fe trade was characterized by commercial hubs in Mexico, the United States, and Europe, where commission merchants, wholesalers, and agents completed intricate transactions that required advance planning and information on prices and demand, a complicated credit system, coordination between various types of transportation, and considerable risk-taking and entrepreneurial skills. [2]



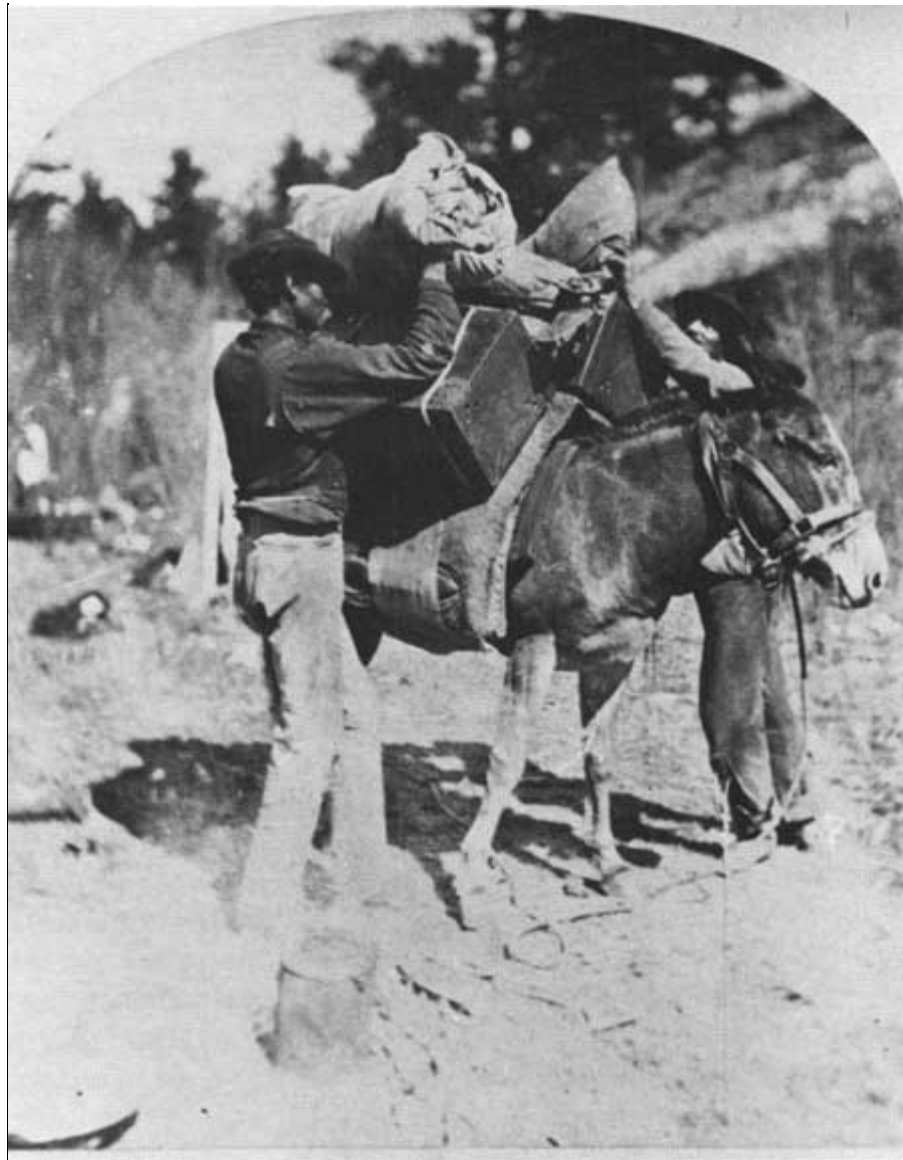


Figure 1. "Loading Up." J. Gregg marveled at the dexterity and skill with which hisapnos harnessed and adjusted packs of merchandise.
Photo: William H. Jackson, ca. 1875, courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.

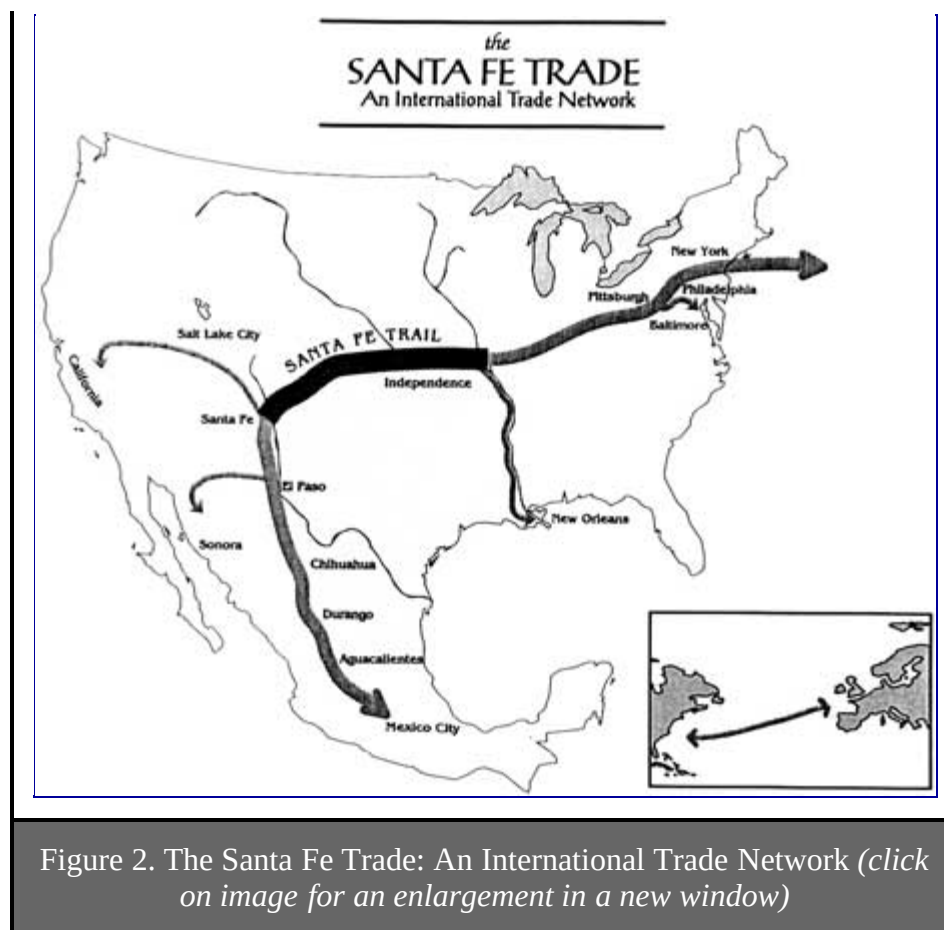


Figure 2. The Santa Fe Trade: An International Trade Network (*click on image for an enlargement in a new window*)

Second, this study examines how cultural and socioeconomic conditions in New Mexico contributed to the development and success of the Santa Fe trade. Isolated from Mexican markets by both distance and stifling commercial constraints, New Mexicans turned to the Santa Fe trade for survival and success. Fortunes were both founded and augmented by this trade. Additionally supplying products for transport on the Trail provided some income for hispanos. Their celebrated skill at both packing and managing the cargo-carrying mules was widely sought by freighters. The *ricos* (wealthy) were the prime beneficiaries of the profits which resulted from a dramatic increase in merchandise entering the territory, but the working hispano population also enjoyed some improvement in their standard of living. [3]

Third, this study principally focuses on the commercial activities of New Mexican merchants. The literature on the Santa Fe Trail tends to celebrate Americans (and some western Europeans) and often portrays them as the daring explorers and visionaries who opened commercial relations between the United States and Mexico. Sometimes overlooked is the equally significant role played by hispanos. [4] After the Santa Fe Trail officially opened they contributed to its growth and geographical expansion, developing their own commercial networks or joining foreigners in the crossing of the plains and in business transactions. [5] By 1835 they were the majority of those traveling into the Mexican territory, owned a substantial portion of all the merchandise freighted south, and specialized in hauling *efectos del pais* (local manufactures). At the end of the 1830s wealthy Mexican and New Mexican merchants expanded their operations, and traveled to the eastern United States where they established direct relations with wholesalers and commission merchants. They took advantage of their resources, skills, and knowledge of the territory to develop a form of commercial capitalism well-suited to the special circumstances of the New Mexican economy.

This study emphasizes the need to make a distinction between traders or traveling merchants,

who were transient and exposed to the hazards of acquiring and marketing eastern merchandise, and sedentary merchants, who attempted to establish a permanent business based on a well-calculated balancing of risks. The majority of studies have focused exclusively on traders and those who accompanied the loads. Freighters were highly visible along the Trail and probably owned some of the merchandise they carried. Yet they merely conveyed the outcome of the investment decisions of others and played a secondary role in acquiring credit, arranging purchases in various commercial hubs, and coordinating shipments.

Finally, the Santa Fe trade did not decline after the Mexican War. The volume and value of the merchandise that crossed the plains increased steadily after the 1840s, and climaxed during the 1870s when it exceeded that of the previous five decades combined. [6] Wealthy New Mexican merchants contributed to this expansion. Between 1846 and 1880 they solidified their economic situation as they developed and refined a system that permitted them to take advantage of their geographical location and available resources to enhance their socioeconomic status and influence. The nature of their operations changed with time, as they became aware of the need to diversify their activities and investments in an effort to minimize the risks that characterized the economy of the western frontier.

This study calls for a more systematic approach to the study of the commercial system that characterized the Santa Fe trade and its evolution through time. It extends beyond the physical stretch between Missouri and Santa Fe and freighting operations. And it details to the extent possible the involvement of major hispano families in establishing and maintaining trade along the Trail. Historical literature abounds with Anglo tales of the trip across the prairie, but there is little information on the owners (particularly after the 1840s); the source, nature, amount and value of the merchandise; the commission merchants who facilitated the purchase and delivery of the goods, and the credit system that allowed commerce to develop and thrive for almost 60 years.

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CHAPTER I: ISOLATION AND DEPENDENCY

De esta adhesión y fidelidad acaso se hallan más penetrados los habitantes de los Estados Unidos que los de la antigua España. Inteligenciados del abandono con que ha sido mirada aquella provincia, han procurado atraerla a sí por varios medios. . . han procurado ya con los halagos de un comercio ventajoso, ya convidándonos con unas leyes suaves y protectoras, unir esta preciosa porción de territorio al comprado de la Luisiana. . . [1]

Pedro Bautista Pino, 1812

Throughout the colonial period New Mexicans knew that the province's poverty and peripheral geographical situation condemned it to be neglected or forgotten. Pedro Bautista Pino, New Mexico's first deputy to the Spanish *Cortes* (legislative body), was among the first who dared to make public what others would later voice, that unless Spain addressed some of the problems facing the territory, it would be difficult to disregard for long the attention of the United States.

New Spain's northern frontier was far and isolated, and struggled to become an integral part of the Spanish empire. Almost 1,700 miles separated Santa Fe from Mexico City. And this distance was even more formidable than it appears. Absence of a transportation system and obstacles to travel, such as the rugged terrain of northern and central Mexico, discouraged communication and understanding. New Mexicans searched for means to relieve their profound isolation and their dependency on an economic system designed to benefit the Mother Country and totally ill-suited to the conditions that prevailed in this remote territory. Some discovered that trade could alleviate their problems and with time resorted to a variety of licit and illicit strategies to circumvent the governmental provisions that stifled their development.

Mission supply trains were officially sanctioned and became the standard link between Mexico City and its northernmost province. Starting in 1609, more than two centuries before William Becknell embarked on his famous journey to Santa Fe, New Mexico had been the destination of an overland freight service. Every three years caravans traveled from Mexico City to Santa Fe to supply the missions of the remote province. They followed the Rio Grande Pueblo Trail, one of three pre-Columbian routes that allowed for exchanges of merchandise among the Pueblos and their numerous Mexican counterparts. The mission supply trains were quite sizable, normally including 32 wagons, more than 500 mules, herds of livestock, and even military escorts. By the 18th century the trips followed a less predictable schedule, although a caravan often left Santa Fe for the interior of Mexico in November of each year. [2]

The main goal of the supply teams was to sustain the missions, but they played a significant role in other facets of provincial life. Settlers going out to New Mexico for the first time, traders, and local citizens returning home accompanied the trains. Officials used the service for the dispatch of mail and royal and viceregal decrees. On the return journey those going to

Mexico on business, ex-governors and other officials, priests, and sometimes even prisoners joined the caravan. [3]

The mission supply service also affected the economic life of New Spain's far northern frontier. Lack of adequate transportation was one of the major impediments to economic development, and the mission supply wagons helped to transport the few profitable local products to the mining centers of Nueva Vizcaya. The caravans did not provide an adequate outlet for the bulky products of the region, but they were the only sanctioned means of maintaining economic interaction with other communities of New Spain. [4]

Contact with French traders was not licit, but it became an important means of relieving the isolation of the province. Commercial exchanges between the Spanish settlements along the Rio Grande and French communities in the Illinois country started even before the 18th century. By the 1720s interaction was becoming more frequent. Spanish officials in Mexico City feared the presence of French traders, but local need for manufactured goods was such that authorities in New Mexico often looked the other way. The French traded with impunity, only occasionally suffering arrest or expulsion. At times their activities were temporarily curtailed, as in 1795, when the governor of New Mexico ordered the arrest of all French merchants and the confiscation of their goods. [5]

Restrictive policies, however, did not last long and did not discourage Frenchmen determined to gain access to the New Mexico market. Late in the 18th century Jean Baptiste Lalande, Pierre Chouteau, Laurent Durocher, and Jules De Mun, among others, realized that economic opportunity awaited those who supplied the region with reasonably-priced merchandise. [6]

Contact with Americans was sporadic until the 1780s, but became more frequent as the ex-British colonists moved west looking for new hunting grounds, land, and opportunity. First they came from the areas that would become Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee and later on from Natchez, Mississippi, and New Orleans and Natchitoches, Louisiana. After Zebulon Pike's adventures (1806-1807) were made public, Americans' interest in New Mexico increased and so did the number of adventurers who were willing to risk imprisonment in order to gain access to the local market. [7]

The Spanish themselves, intent in consolidating their outposts in Texas and New Mexico, and also aware of the need to widen the range of their commercial activities, encouraged a series of exploratory trips to investigate possible trade routes. In November 1786 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza requested permission to open a way from the province of Sonora to New California at his own expense. In 1792 officials in New Spain promoted the search for a direct trade route between the province of Sonora and Santa Fe. The objective was to facilitate the exchange of goods between the two territories for their mutual benefit, since it appeared such a route would be shorter than the road through El Paso. This was an important project which received the attention of the viceroy, the commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, Pedro de Nava, and other officials. [8]

Expeditions of this kind became common. Pedro Vial, a French gunsmith and Indian trader, led the most famous ones. He traveled from San Antonio to Santa Fe in 1786, and from Santa Fe to Natchitoches and San Antonio, and back to Santa Fe in 1788. Probably his most important trip took place in 1792 when he pioneered a route to St. Louis that closely resembled the one Santa Fe traders would follow during the next century (see Figure 3). This journey demonstrated that the distance between the Louisiana Territory and New Mexico was far from insurmountable. Vial claimed that he could have made the trip from St. Louis to Santa Fe in 25 days if the Indians had not captured him. Although he furnished officials detailed maps of the areas he reconnoitered, the government never developed the new routes. [9]

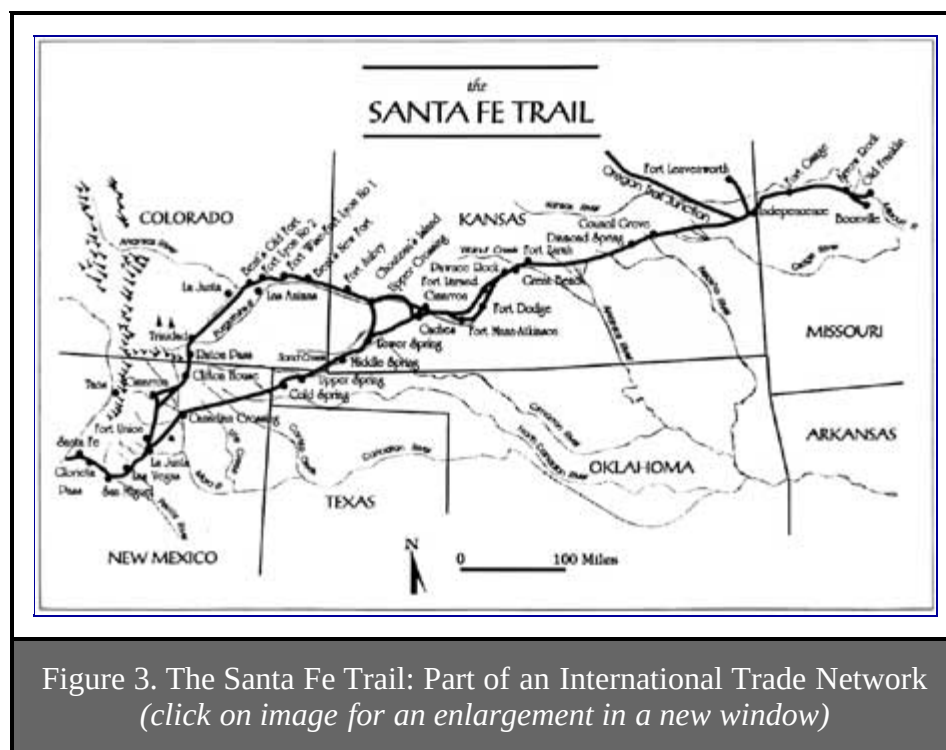


Figure 3. The Santa Fe Trail: Part of an International Trade Network
([click on image for an enlargement in a new window](#))

Conflict characterized relations between the surrounding Indian tribes and New Mexicans, but trading was equally customary and widespread. In general Spanish policy toward the Indians evolved from confrontation to pacification, but local ordinances regarding commercial relations with the *naciones bárbaras* (barbarian nations) changed periodically as officials adopted new strategies, enemies became friends, and former allies became dreaded foes.

New Mexicans were often willing to risk prosecution to trade with the Indians. Father Eusebio Kino, who died in 1711, asserted that even before his time New Mexicans had bartered with the Sobaipuris, near the present site of Nogales, Arizona. Numerous proceedings throughout the colonial period reveal widespread and "embarrassing" trading with the "savage Indians." [10] As early as 1735 Spanish officials complained about the *alcalde* (mayor) of Taos for bartering with the Comanches before the time set for the regular trade. Various ordinances in the 1740s and 1750s specifically banned the sale of horses, animals, and arms to the Indians. By the 1780s large parties of New Mexicans were being arraigned for trading with the Utes. [11]

As the 18th century ended, Spanish policy toward the Indians moved toward pacification and emphasis shifted to the distribution of liberal annual gifts in the name of the king. Expeditions, frequently sent out for this purpose, were also to provide enough trade goods to keep the Indians satisfied, and to supply them with an outlet for their furs and surplus crops. The 1786 peace talks with the Comanches included the promise of fairs and free trade. By the 1790s "extraordinary expenses incurred in the maintenance of friendly relations with the Indians" were substantial and provided ample opportunity for commercial interaction between Indians and hispanos, the norm in New Mexico well into the nineteenth century. [12]

After the 1750s Taos and Pecos became the leading trading centers where both Indians and traders congregated. Taos and Pecos were important because they were accessible both from the Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains. Annual fairs took place in July and August and attracted many merchants. Comanches, Arapahos, Pawnees, Utes, Navajos, and others brought buffalo hides, deer skins, blankets, and sometimes even captives to be sold or

exchanged for slaves. They bartered for horses, knives, guns, ammunition, blankets, strong drink, and small trinkets. In 1786 Pedro Garrido y Durán reported that the Comanches exchanged more than 600 hides, many loads of meat and tallow, 15 riding beasts, and three guns. [13] French, Spanish, and American trappers carried pelts and trinkets while Chihuahua merchants came laden with imported goods. All gained in the exchange, but the latter made most of the profit.

As winter approached large New Mexican caravans turned south to attend fairs at Chihuahua, one of the greatest events of the year. By the middle of the 18th century Chihuahua had become the leading trading center of Nueva Vizcaya, the northern Mexican territory. Villa San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua had been established around 1707 when the exploitation of profitable mines in the Chuscar Valley began on a large scale. The area grew rapidly and by 1742 almost 18,000 people resided there. [14]

The economic success of Chihuahua merchants was not surprising. They followed the example of *comerciantes* (merchants) elsewhere in New Spain. Throughout Mexico *gachupines* (Spanish-born merchants) made large profits and virtually dominated the economy. The lack of an effective monetary commercial exchange fostered this control. Large producers sent surplus agricultural products like sugar, cotton, cacao, livestock, and cereals in consignment to merchants in the capital. In exchange these merchants returned local and imported manufactures, resold the agricultural products at monopoly prices in the controlled markets of Mexico City and the mining centers, and gained from exchanging staples and primary products for manufactures and imported goods. [15]

The wealthy landowners who produced surpluses of basic agricultural products were at the mercy of the merchants, yet they earned substantial profits. Two factors contributed to their success. First, the merchants in the capital provided a sure outlet for the surplus production every year and were able to pay immediately for the merchandise, or more commonly, give the producer merchandise or credit of equal value. Second, the large producers resold the clothing, textiles, shoes and other manufactured goods to their own workers at a higher price. Often the *hacendados* (large landholders) opened a store and dealt with smaller producers on the same terms as Mexico City merchants did taking agricultural products in exchange for manufactured articles, a practice that New Mexican merchants would successfully adopt in the 1830s and 1840s. [16]

Chihuahua merchants quickly gained regional economic preeminence and by the middle of the century they monopolized the trade from their province to New Mexico. This monopoly continued until Americans began to supply New Mexico with abundant merchandise in the 1820s, but hispanos still complained about the "excessive monopoly" in 1829. Chihuahua merchants enjoyed the advantageous geographical situation of their town, on the "*Camino Real de la tierra adentro*," which dominated the silver trade to the south, and monopolized the presidial supply system. [17]

Three major factors contributed to New Mexicans' dependence—the complex monetary system in use, the shortage of currency in the territory, and the unscrupulous practices of Mexican merchants. Four different monetary units existed—the official *peso de plata* (silver peso) which was worth eight *reales* but was practically non-existent, and three "imaginary" coins employed in bookkeeping—*peso a precio de proyecto* (peso at project price) worth six *reales*, *peso a precios antiguos* (peso at old prices) worth four *reales*, and *peso de la tierra* (peso of the land) valued only at two *reales*. New Mexicans were victimized in a "vicious circle of swindles." [18] Max Moorhead described how these factors interacted to exploit traders:

. . . a merchant of Chihuahua could buy 32 yards of coarse woolen goods in the

south for 6 *pesos de plata* and sell it in New Mexico at a *peso de la tierra* per yard, or a real value of eight *pesos de plata* in all. Since he was paid in local produce, he could accept remuneration in El Paso brandy, which was worth only one *peso de la tierra* per bottle when exchanged for manufactured goods, and thus acquire 32 bottles for the bolt of cloth. However, in reselling the brandy to other New Mexicans the merchants could charge a *peso de plata* a bottle and then eventually receive 32 *pesos de plata* for goods which had cost him only six. But again, since silver money did not circulate in the province, he must be paid in goods, and should the purchaser of the brandy wish to pay in corn from a future harvest, he was charged the prevailing *peso de precios antiguos* rate, four *reales* for each short bushel (*costal*) of grain, or 51 short bushels for the 32 bottles. After the harvest, when this was collected, he could sell it to the troops in the southern presidios for ten *reales* per short bushel, almost 84 *pesos de plata* in all, or more than ten times the original cost of his goods and freightage. [19]

This monopoly deeply affected New Mexicans. Chihuahua was the closest and most affluent market where they could exchange livestock and *efectos del país* (local merchandise) for the manufactured goods they needed. New Mexicans had almost no access to hard currency and paid exorbitant prices making their purchases on credit and pledging future crops, livestock, or merchandise. Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi, a Franciscan who visited New Mexico around 1778, noted that many sold their crops as much as six years in advance. [20] New Mexicans were in desperate need of metal tools, awls, shovels, and scissors. These items were so expensive and scarce that they remained out of the reach of the majority of the population for many decades.

The goods New Mexicans carried to Chihuahua were quite limited, a few crude manufactures, but mostly the "produce of the soil," sheep, raw wool, buffalo and deer hides, *colcha* quilts, homemade *sarapes* (sp. *serapes*), and stockings, pine nuts, salt, brandy from El Paso, and Indian blankets. In exchange they received expensive manufactured goods, particularly iron tools and weapons, domestic and imported fabrics, boots, shoes, chocolate, sugar, tobacco, liquor, ink, and paper. [21]

Chihuahua merchants took advantage of the dependent New Mexicans, but Spain's colonial economic policy, heavily influenced by mercantilist doctrine, was greatly responsible for the shortage of currency and the scarcity and high prices of manufactured goods throughout colonial Mexico. [22] Spain's policies attempted to regulate, restrict and prohibit rather than to encourage. The Spanish crown in its search for revenue aimed to control all possible economic activities. Most manufactured goods were not made locally and were often of British, Dutch, or French origin. Articles that came through legitimate channels were expensive because of high freight rates, difficulties and delays in transportation, and the greed of merchants who often tried to make a fortune on the first cargo sent to Veracruz. [23]

Commercial transactions in Mexico also were extremely cumbersome because of the multitude of duties, fees, charges, commissions, royalties, licenses, and tributes. Furthermore, all trade to and from New Spain legally entered and exited through just one port—Veracruz. Taxes were easily levied in Spanish ports because of the power of local *consulados*, or merchants' guilds. The treasury also imposed fees on internal trade by placing customs houses on the royal highways and by ordering that certain trades travel along one permitted route. [24]

The government did not have the bureaucrats, accounting system, or technology to tax systematically, so it attempted to impose general and simple taxes, hoping to obtain all that was possible rather than the optimum from any given tax. Much of the revenue came from the *almojarifazgo*, a customs fee, required on all merchandise. The rates varied. Exports paid

two and a half percent while imports were charged from five to 17.5 percent. The *alcabala*, sales tax, was originally set at two percent of the sale price of goods, but rose to double that amount by the 17th century. In times of emergency higher rates were used, and often lasted long beyond the emergency. By the 18th century the tax reached six percent. Smaller towns often managed to delay its imposition and some areas or towns were able to obtain temporary exemptions. [25]

Other taxes included the *sisa* (an excise on food), the *quinto* (the 20 percent royalty on bullion), the *derecho de fundidor* (originally it was a smelting charge but it evolved into the *quinto*), the *palmeo* (a trade tax based on the bulk of the goods), the *bula de santa cruzada* (a tax on indulgences), the *mesada* (a tax on appointive offices that evolved into the *media anata*, half of the first year's salary of persons occupying official positions), the *avería* which aimed to cover all transportation costs and which rose up to 14 percent, and the *almirantazgo*, an import duty established as an endowment for the Admiral of the Indies, Columbus and his descendants, and several others. [26]

Reforms enacted during the reign of Carlos IV (1788-1808) modified some of these impositions, but they were later reestablished and prices in Mexico remained as high as ever. Foreign products were burdened 36 percent of their value upon their arrival at Veracruz, and because of colonial imposts the duties rose to 75 percent by the time they reached the consumers. [27]

In addition the Spanish government monopolized articles of common necessity like salt, fish, tobacco, mercury, playing cards, stamped paper, leather, gunpowder, snow brought from the mountains for refrigeration, alum, copper, lead, tin, alcohol, and cock fighting. All individuals were prohibited to trade in these products, since the profit from them belonged exclusively to the government. The evils of monopolies were increased by leasing them; usually the most powerful persons in the community became the contractors and worked for their own selfish interests to the disadvantage of consumers. [28]

New Mexicans suffered economically as a result of Spanish mercantile policies, but not everybody in the province was equally affected. A few large landowners, particularly those from the Río Abajo (the portion of the Río Grande Valley south of La Bajada), were able to thrive by shipping south large quantities of sheep. Their prosperity, however, had a negative impact on the long-term development of the province. Heavy emphasis on sheep raising led to overgrazing and the destruction of the fragile ecosystems of the arid west and also effected a disregard for agriculture. Furthermore, massive sheep exports produced local shortages that left weavers unemployed and sharply limited the production of domestic textiles. [29]

At the beginning of the 19th century, New Mexicans were still isolated and dependent on Chihuahua merchants. Becoming increasingly aware of the need to foster the development of the area, a *junta* (council) met to discuss manufactures and mining in June of 1805. [30] Within a decade, however, they were able to gain a considerable measure of political autonomy as they took advantage of the turmoil that accompanied the Napoleonic overthrow of Spain's Ferdinand VII. The *Cortes* (legislative body) not only resisted the French, but it restructured the government at all levels. These liberal reforms, included in the Spanish Constitution of 1812, provided, among others, guidelines for establishing *ayuntamientos*, or town councils, which became popularly elected bodies. At the provincial level reforms created a new institution, the *diputación*, a legislature of elected representatives. [31]

These changes affected even the most remote corners of the Spanish empire and in New Mexico produced a heightened awareness of the need to address some of the province's economic woes. [32] Pedro Bautista Pino was elected to represent New Mexico in the Spanish Cortes meeting at Cádiz in 1812. Pino compiled his concerns in a book which was

published that same year. He eloquently presented the case for his province briefing the Cortes on problems and making suggestions to remedy the situation. Pino expressed a common sentiment—New Mexico was threatened by Americans who were pressing upon her borders, seeking an excuse for invasion. According to him Americans were aware of the neglect and impoverished circumstances affecting his province and hoped that promises of liberal laws and open trade would encourage New Mexicans to join the province of Louisiana. [33]

Pino was highly critical of Spain's economic policies, particularly the monopoly on tobacco which prevented local production. He also stressed how distance, neglect, and the constant threat of Indian attacks made it difficult to earn a living from agriculture. Pino bemoaned the lack of manufactures. Coarse wool and cotton items, bridles, and spurs were the only goods produced. Although Pino acknowledged that the government had sent agents to instruct New Mexicans on techniques of finer weaving, he conceded that the products were still very coarse in comparison to those produced elsewhere. [34]

Pino stressed the physical and emotional cost that the province had borne in trying to fend off the 33 Indian nations. Since the central government did not provide enough funds for their protection, New Mexicans had been forced to bear the brunt of their defense serving in the militia as well as furnishing the weapons, ammunition, and provisions necessary for the outfitting of the troops. Pino complained that serving in one campaign often meant economic ruin because volunteers had to sell their clothes and those of their families in order to be ready for the frequent operations against the *salvajes* (savages). Pino believed that channeling of resources toward the control of the Indians caused the economic backwardness of the province. He emphasized the difficulty of raising revenues because there was no customs house except for the one at Chihuahua. The only sources of income were the *estanco* (monopoly) on tobacco, gunpowder and playing cards, but since these items were brought from Mexico City the revenues obtained were insignificant, and, as Pino noted, the province could profit greatly if it were allowed to produce its own tobacco. [35]

Pino's economic summary showed New Mexicans purchasing 112,000 pesos worth of goods a year from the south, but selling only 60,000 pesos in return. Even the government payroll, which brought in about 38,000 pesos, did not offset the imbalance, and the annual deficit of about 14,000 pesos not only drained the province of hard money, but kept its inhabitants indebted. [36] Pino lamented as well the almost total absence of educational facilities. Only those who could afford a private tutor were able to instruct their children. It was impossible even in the capital city of Santa Fe to retain one elementary school teacher. [37]

New Mexico was isolated geographically from Mexican markets and by administrative restriction from the advantages of trading with the Americans and French. The government mercantilist policy with its trade monopolies overlooked New Mexicans need for ready currency to purchase essential tools and supplies. Mexican merchants, particularly those from Chihuahua, amassed profits because they had ready cash and controlled the markets. New Mexican dependence on Spain was guaranteed by the complex monetary system that handicapped the settlers. Many New Mexicans were forced to pledge crops years ahead to purchase goods because of the extreme shortage of cash. Pino warned the Spanish government of the problems it was creating. His presentation to the Cortes produced no immediate benefits, but it is unlikely that the liberal Spanish government would have been interested or able to address problems in so peripheral a region. At any rate the restoration of the Bourbon king in 1814 temporarily set aside liberal reforms and it would be seven more years before the Mexican territory would become free of Spain.

On the eve of the revolution (1821), after more than two centuries of colonial rule, conditions had not changed, and New Mexico remained distant and destitute. The arrival of political

independence raised expectations and led its citizens to be more adamant in their frequent requests for government assistance. But nearly a decade later, major problems were still unsolved and aid had not materialized. New Mexicans searched for economic freedom elsewhere.

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CHAPTER II: POVERTY AND NEGLECT

Sin dinero no hay tropas y faltando éstas esta fuera de duda que pelagra mi provincia. . . No han faltado disidentes malvados que en mi provincia andan diseminando la especie de que le estaría mejor agregarse a los Estados Unidos del Norte. [1]

José Rafael Alarid, 1821

If New Mexicans in 1821 anticipated that the new Mexican government would address the concerns voiced by Pedro Bautista Pino during the previous decade they were disappointed. Political freedom produced greater political autonomy, and autonomy was welcome, but it did not solve the major socioeconomic problems affecting the territory. [2] Local officials and leading citizens, like José Rafael Alarid, repeatedly requested authorities in Mexico City to furnish the territory adequate resources to halt its deterioration. Discontent was common during the first two decades after independence and was not limited to New Mexico. Editorials in Chihuahuan newspapers lamented the government's lack of concern with the frontier provinces. [3]

Unfortunately the turmoil and instability common during the early decades of the republic did not allow the central administration to respond. Settlers along Mexico's northern frontier came to expect little from their government, except ill-suited laws, excessive regulations, and constant demands for additional revenue. Neglect was not limited to New Mexico, but the great distance between the capital and Santa Fe contributed to poor communications and growing apprehension and mistrust.

New Mexico's disappointment with Mexican officials is understandable, but so is the behavior of the central government as Mexico experienced a very violent and traumatic period. The presidency changed hands 49 times between 1824 and 1857. Equally important, by 1821 the country's economy was in ruins. Prosperity had always depended upon the mining industry, but during the long struggle for independence (1810-1821) the production of silver had declined dramatically—according to some accounts more than 90 percent. Machinery had been wrecked and thrown down the mine shafts. The shorings had been pulled out when wood was needed. The abandoned mines soon filled with water that rotted away timbers and collapsed tunnels, making mining impossible without extensive rehabilitation. [4] Capital, needed to resume production, was scarce. [5]

In 1821 the textile industry, Mexico's most important manufacture, was on the verge of collapse, and the adoption of free trade threatened its extinction. Lack of modern transportation also contributed to the crisis. The cost of hauling cotton-mill machinery from Veracruz to Mexico City equaled the original price of the equipment in England. The expense of sending raw cotton from the coastal regions to Guadalajara was so high that the textile industry there faltered. Transportation costs also made it unprofitable to send the finished products to distant markets. [6]

The leaders of the independence movement enthusiastically supported economic liberalism, but the "free trade" policies they adopted produced few changes. In most cases they continued "quasi-mercantilist" practices established by Spanish colonial administrations. Most of the new statutes imposed high customs duties, and a profusion of internal taxes discouraged the movement of goods. State officials, hungering for additional revenues, invented "new tax horrors of their own." [7] Furthermore, economic policies fluctuated widely reflecting an ambiguous attitude toward protectionism. The 1821 tariff, which went into effect in 1822, was hailed as a prime example of liberalism, but it placed heavy taxes on numerous products and excluded altogether tobacco, hams, bacon, salt, tallow, cotton yarn, ready-made clothing, blankets, lace, skins, worked leather, wood, and bricks. At the same time the Mexican Congress appealed to the local populations for additional funds. [8]

Total import charges were quite high—25 percent import duty, 1.5 percent *consulado*, 3.125 *avería*, and 15 percent *derecho de internación* (international duty), the tax on imports which replaced the *alcabala*. [9] Many states were dissatisfied with these rates, so the central government enacted new regulations in December 1824. It added foods, liquors, hides, worked metal, many fabric cloths, and clay crockery to the list as well as the *derecho de consumo*, a 3 percent charge states levied on goods consumed within their boundaries. Exports could go out free, except for gold and silver objects, taxed from 2 to 3.5 percent. [10] A new tariff schedule, ratified on November 16, 1827, imposed *ad valorem* duties of 40 percent on all articles, except some 56 which were prohibited, but did not appreciably alter the general picture. By 1829 the government restored restrictions once again with a congressional decree prohibiting the importation of foreign goods that competed with artisan industries. In 1832 new calls were made for the reinstitution of prohibitions, but this did not happen until 1838. The constitutional law of 1843 included another rigid prohibitionist clause—no articles harmful to the national industry could be imported without the prior approval of two-thirds of the departmental assemblies. [11]

Americans were largely unaware of these regulations when they began trading with New Mexicans. Captain William Becknell of Missouri "opened" the Santa Fe Trail late in 1821, but he had little knowledge of the Mexican economic system. Becknell, accompanied by five associates, set out to trade with the Indians and go to Santa Fe. Although Becknell's party carried only a small amount of merchandise, the Americans were able to realize handsome profits. [12]

Becknell's account of his trip encouraged others to venture west. This decision made economic sense as Americans were as eager to sell as New Mexicans were eager to buy. From that moment Americans introduced items previously unavailable in New Mexico and undersold the merchants from Chihuahua and Durango by perhaps two-thirds. American goods were not only comparatively inexpensive, but as one New Mexican described them, "better merchandise than we had known." [13]

According to Max Moorhead, before the opening of the Santa Fe Trail the majority of New Mexicans went without any kind of clothing, except leather and homespun, and without iron or steel tools of any kind. This was undoubtedly an exaggeration, yet there was not a single printing press in the province, and books and paper were extremely scarce. The trade changed conditions, and a few years after 1821 these items were available in large quantities as the market was flooded with textiles of almost every kind and implements for carpentry, housekeeping, farming, and hunting. [14]

The province of New Mexico, however, offered limited long-term opportunities. Cash was scarce and the population was small. Americans shortly began to follow the advice of United States Indian agent, R. Graham, who in 1824 recommended expanded trade to the south, particularly with "the more wealthy city of Mexico." [15] The following year Missouri

newspapers noted saturation of the market, "that country [New Mexico] cannot support the trade to the extent it is now carried on. Missouri alone can supply that country with twice the amount of goods it has the means to purchase." [16]

Soon foreigners were carrying large shipments to Chihuahua, Sonora, and Durango. Some, like Frenchman Charles Beaubien, sent the traditional assortment composed of a variety of items with a strong emphasis on textiles. In 1826 he hauled 2,000 yards of various fabrics, but also five dozen mirrors, umbrellas, 100 pairs of shoes, ribbons, buttons, leather combs, beads, and others—38 different types of merchandise. That same year William Wilson carried a type of shipment that would become the norm among big traders—1,900 yards of *manta* (coarse, cotton fabric) and *indiana* (calico) and 12 hats—only three types of goods. In the 1830s the variety of merchandise remained relatively low, but the size of the shipments increased dramatically. [17]

The trip to the interior provinces opened richer markets, yet it required additional encounters with customs officials. Most American traders, like Josiah Gregg and James Webb, eager to make quick and large profits, bitterly complained about the unfairness of the high import duties. The rates, however, appear to have been within the limits established by the current Mexican laws. Through the 1820s they were quite consistent—15 percent *derecho de internación* and 3 percent *derecho de consumo*. What Americans were unable or unwilling to understand were the periodic changes in the assessments and in the number and types of excluded merchandise. [18]

There were reasons for the rates and the policies. The entire financial structure of the Mexican republic was dependent on income from foreign trade. Between 1821 and 1834, no new tax was added to the revenue system. Historians believe that this policy meant to diffuse discontent with the central government and promote political stability. Import duties were high enough to produce sufficient revenues, but low enough to discourage contraband. [19] In New Mexico they did neither. The province never made substantial contributions to the national treasury and smuggling became widespread among all social groups. Foreign businessmen complained about duties that reached 100 percent of invoice prices, but the local population and even public officials often assisted them to circumvent the encumbrances Mexican law established. [20]

Mexican authorities continued to enact trade regulations that were difficult to enforce and required considerable administrative skills. Even if compliance had been feasible, the government at Santa Fe did not have the resources and the educated personnel necessary to enforce complex and ever-changing laws and regulations. [21]

In addition, the great distance and poor communications between Santa Fe and the rest of the country made compliance burdensome. For example, Mexican law placed strict requirements on all the merchandise brought into any part of the country's territory and designated certain locations, such as Santa Fe, as customs houses or ports of entry. After 1825 when any foreign merchant decided to take goods from Santa Fe to the interior of Mexico he had to obtain a *guía* from the customs officials. [22] This was not a human guide, but a sort of mercantile passport bearing the signature, place and date where it was issued, name of the merchant, number of packages in the cargo, specification of which items were of foreign and which were of domestic origin, value of the merchandise, its destination, name of the person to whom it was consigned, and number of days allowed for remitting the certification of its final arrival. The *guía* was required not only on leaving the port of entry, but also when taking goods from one state to another and from one town to another within a state. Merchants had to carry the *guías* with them at all times, were not allowed to go anywhere but the locations specified in the *guía*, and could not deviate from major roads. If a trader were found outside the major roads, his merchandise could be confiscated as contraband. He could be thrown in

jail and fined up to one-fourth of the value of the goods. The *tornaguía*, a certification that the merchandise had reached its proper destination, had to be endorsed by another official at the point where the merchandise was sold and returned within a specified time to the port of entry. Failure to meet this requirement subjected the endorser to a forfeiture equal to the full amount of the duties on the consignment. [23]

Beginning in 1831 the customs house at Santa Fe began to record the foreign goods introduced into the New Mexican territory. These documents, called manifests, appear less regularly than *guías*, but are good indicators of the merchandise that came over the Santa Fe Trail. In a few instances it is possible to compare manifests with *guías*. For example, in July 1831 Samuel Parkman, an agent of Jedediah Smith, hauled 49 *cajones* (big boxes), *tercios* (bales, bundles), and *baúles* (trunks). Two months later he obtained a *guía* for 31 *fardos* (bundles), *cajas* (boxes), and *baúles* for sale in Sonora and Chihuahua. [24]

Trade regulations were complex enough, but authorities in Mexico City continued to issue additional directives increasing the responsibilities of customs officials. A statute enacted in August 1822 ordered the maritime customs houses to communicate regularly with their terrestrial counterparts, providing them with lists of the *guías* issued toward their destination. Customs houses had to keep one another informed of the fate of the merchandise and equal attention had to be paid to the *tornaguías*. Customs officials were to maintain regular correspondence with each other, to read and constantly update the *cuaderno de guías*, and to note any discrepancies or failures to report the fate of every shipment of merchandise. Even if communications had been much better it would have been difficult for New Mexican authorities to follow the dictates of such laws. [25]

The central government not only imposed an increase in the bureaucratic burden, but also solicited additional revenues, periodically at first, but almost on a regular basis as the century progressed. Identified by a variety of names, *subscripción voluntaria* (voluntary subscription), *préstamo forzoso* (forced loan), and *arbitrio extraordinario* (extraordinary excise tax), these unexpected levies became habitual. The local population, which in most cases was unable or unwilling to pay them, greatly resented them. [26]

New Mexican authorities repeatedly attempted to apprise officials in Mexico City of the gravity of the economic situation in the province and their inability to meet demands for additional funds. In 1821 Felipe Gonzalez, the *alcalde* from Taos, explained to Governor Facundo Melgares that he had been unable to collect the required revenues for the *subscripción voluntaria*. After apologizing for having raised only four pesos, he noted that, "the misery of these people reaches such a degree that I know that they have started to feed themselves with cow hides." [27]

Most New Mexicans were unable to pay, but some of their reluctance stemmed from their failure to understand the reasons for the levies and questioned the purpose of the unscheduled assessments. An 1825 letter addressed to *Alcalde Interno* (provisional mayor) Pablo García excused the people for not raising a stipulated sum because they were so poor they were having a hard time even paying the tithe. The letter added that the citizens "wondered what the purpose of these frequent contributions was." [28]

Subsidios extrodinarios became the norm. In 1829 acting governor José Antonio Chávez ordered all those likely to have personal assets worth 1,000 pesos or more to submit a sworn statement listing what they owned and the income produced by their holdings. [29] The declarations that survive indicate that nobody possessed enough property to pay the subsidy, although it is impossible to know if the *ricos* (wealthy persons) provided the governor with accurate lists of all their property.

In November 1835 the government established another *subsidio extraordinario* on those who owned real estate. The amount was based on the assessment of the land, but the documents show neither the size of the payments nor the extent of the compliance. [30] As additional requests for revenue became more common, resentment grew and probably contributed to the revolt of 1837 that led to the assassination of the governor of New Mexico, Albino Pérez. In May 1837 Pérez had insisted that New Mexico meet the 5,000 peso quota which he felt the province could easily raise. Unfortunately only 3,600 pesos had been collected up to that time and the governor admonished the *alcaldes* to ensure that all persons who did not pay, fulfill their obligation in cash within 24 hours. No document records the reaction of the local population to this order, but even the wealthiest men in the province claimed to have trouble meeting the quotas set by the government. It is doubtful that Pérez's decision increased his popularity, and two months after this letter the governor was killed. [31]

In spite of the increasing number of levies chronic shortages of funds persisted. Authorities in New Mexico were uneasy since they could not make even the payments disposed by the laws, such as salaries to the public employees, pensions to widows and orphans and, more importantly to the troops. [32] In August 31, 1836, *escribiente* (scribe) Francisco Troncoso received 99 pesos in back pay. His salary was 15 pesos per month, but like many other officials, he had been forced to wait to collect his meager wages. [33] Others suffered even greater neglect. In January 1836 José Miguel Tenorio wrote to Governor Albino Pérez complaining that he had not been paid for three years. [34] To satisfy such legitimate requests and the basic needs of the troops stationed at Santa Fe, officials were forced to resort to their own private resources or those of their supporters or associates. By 1836 leading New Mexicans were regularly lending money to the treasury, but requests for additional funds continued. In 1838 prominent Spanish merchant Manuel Alvarez requested a certification that the late Governor Pérez and other members of his administration had regularly borrowed money from foreign merchants in Santa Fe to cover the expenses of the government and their own. [35] To make matters worse New Mexico seldom collected the revenues to which it was entitled. For example, in 1836 the territory was scheduled to receive 6,000 pesos from the Mexican government for military expenses, but somehow only 1,000 pesos were received. [36]

Lack of adequate resources had a profound impact on education and defense. Mexican authorities recognized the importance of educational reform and the need to stress elementary education. Governor Albino Pérez blamed lack of concern for education as the principal ill affecting the territory and proposed a plan to improve public education in Santa Fe. [37] But poor economic conditions made it impossible to retain teachers. The problem was widespread throughout the territory, and surviving census data for El Paso, Cochití, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and Albuquerque show an inadequate number of educators. Almost 27 percent (3,619) of the reported population (13,434) was between the ages of 7 and 16. Only three teachers were listed for Albuquerque which had 632 children in this category. One teacher took care of educating the 288 children at Cochití. Santa Cruz de la Cañada was more fortunate. It had six teachers to serve 966 students. In El Paso the ratio was similar: eight educators for 1753 youngsters. The 1823 census of Santa Fe listed only three teachers. [38]

In 1826 strict school regulations were imposed and the provincial deputies asked that funds be collected from the citizens to cover the expenses of establishing elementary educational facilities. Sparse documentation indicates that the population was to be divided into three groups—the first was to pay four pesos; the second, two pesos; and the third, one peso. Since nobody seemed to have any cash, payment was to be accepted in sheep or corn, if collected during harvest time. [39] Local leaders were aware of the need to improve education, yet few changes took place and the regulations described above were not enforced.

Inadequate funds to help the settlers in their struggle against the Indians also caused

apprehension. The number of soldiers stationed at the capital city steadily declined and those who remained lacked weapons, ammunition, and adequate clothing. They policed the streets, protected the governor, escorted the traders' caravans into Santa Fe to prevent smuggling, and searched wagons for contraband. Yet they were unable to assist the settlers in the expanding war against hostile tribes. [40] The militia, made up mostly of poor farmers and Pueblo Indians who served under their own officers at their own expense, had always borne the burden of defense. They provided for their own weapons, horses, and mules. Participating in campaigns against the *salvajes* often resulted in physical injuries and major economic losses, since crops and flocks were not properly tended and were often damaged during their absence. [41]

Growing conflict characterized relations between settlers in northern Mexico and the surrounding tribes. Indian raids were frequent and often resulted in considerable property damage and, less often, in injuries or death. These attacks had a major impact on New Mexican sheep growers. In 1837 Juan Esteban Pino claimed that sheep exports at the beginning of the decade had amounted to more than 100,000 animals but, due to the bitter struggle with surrounding Indians, had declined to 40,000 in 1836 and to less than 20,000 the following year. There was some truth in Pino's statement. The large flocks needed fresh pastures and were often kept at a distance from the more heavily populated settlements. The Indians ransacked the areas where the herders tended the sheep and stole large numbers of animals with relative impunity. Such depredations led to a push eastward from the traditional Río Grande ranges onto the plains beyond the Sandía and Manzano mountains. But the Indians were not deterred. In 1842 Charles Bent reported that the Utes had driven off about 8,000 head of sheep and some 400 head of cattle from an area near Cerro de la Gallina. [42]

David J. Weber believes that the Indians were successful in their raids against hispano communities because the rapid influx of Americans had upset the balance of power and weakened old alliances based on trade. [43] Until 1821 *las naciones bárbaras* had been dependent upon the Spanish population for trade, but with the coming of foreigners they were able to obtain good guns and powder which they used to plunder settlements and steal livestock, principally sheep. They traded these back to the Americans for more arms and munitions as well as whiskey and other items. Mexico's failure to mend these broken alliances and to strengthen its military posture emboldened the Indians who created havoc for several decades. Tension between New Mexicans and foreigners escalated with the former accusing the latter of urging the Indians to steal cattle and supplying them with weapons to carry out their forays. Violence erupted over contraband cases, mostly the result of discontent among the troops who were not receiving their salaries regularly. [44]

Upheaval resulting from Indian raids became frequent. In 1822 the Comanches entered the plaza at Taos and terrified the citizens. Assured of their strength, they acted cockily taking three boys as hostages and finally returning them unharmed. They left after taking a few chickens and hens. [45] *Alcalde* Manuel Martínez described a similar incident that took place in Taos on September 1827. [46] The Navajos continually stole from every community. Sometimes the thefts turned into more violent raids which led to reprisals. [47] During certain periods hostilities escalated and brutal encounters became common. In 1829 the Navajos stole and killed cows and sheep, and in general kept the population of Jemez, San Isidro, and Villa de la Cañada in constant terror. [48] At the same time the Utes were harassing settlers around Taos. [49] Documents show that 1829 was a particularly bad year, and a long letter exists criticizing the authorities for doing very little about Indian atrocities. [50] In 1831 complaints abounded about the Navajos, Kiowas, Comanches, and Pawnees. Jemez, Abiquiú, and San José del Vado were the prime targets of these attacks. [51] During the following year the Navajos, Apaches and Comanches committed atrocities. [52] In the spring of 1833, the rural militia of Río Arriba was called out to fight the Navajos. That same year, the *jefe político* (political leader) encouraged wealthy New Mexicans to join the

campaign against the Indians. He reminded them that it would be beneficial for them, and it would also encourage the participation of the less fortunate. [53] In 1836 major incidents disrupted relations between the settlers and the Navajos, but many New Mexicans still proved unwilling to contribute the animals necessary for the campaigns against the Indians. Almost a decade later the same problem persisted and lack of support made it impossible for the local troops to strike at the tribes who were menacing the local populations. [54]

And there were no resources to strengthen the troops at Santa Fe or to help the local militia, who often reported for duty with arrows as their weapons. Periodically, Mexican authorities tried to alleviate tension by granting limited concessions, as they did in 1832 when they allowed New Mexico to use treasury funds, not already designated for a special purpose, to cover the expenses of the troops. But it is not clear how much money, if any, was freed for the purpose. [55]

In spite of the escalating violence and conflict, the desire or the need to trade with the Indians continued. Central authorities discouraged such activities, but the records show that hispanos were willing to risk legal action to barter with the *salvajes*. New Mexicans obtained furs from the Utes, illegally sold them to the Americans, and in return received merchandise which they sold back to the Indians for more furs. [56] In May 1840 citizens of Río Arriba requested permission to exchange goods with the Comanches, "as has always been the style." Settlers at Socorro traded with the Apaches and those at Abiquiú did the same with individual Utes through the 1840s, a decade characterized by hostility and violent confrontations. [57]

Local leaders were quite aware of the problems affecting their province and demanded action from the central government. In 1824 José Rafael Alarid, New Mexico deputy to the Mexican Congress, wrote a bitter letter to authorities in the capital city. He complained about the poverty affecting the province and requested funds from the tithe to pay for the Presidial Company and the public schools. Alarid believed that it was essential to cover the 200 pesos deficit of the troops stationed at Santa Fe because, "Without money there are no troops, and without them there is no doubt that my province is in danger." [58]

His letter also included a veiled threat, an indication that New Mexicans were becoming impatient and expected the government to address their concerns, "There have been some wicked dissidents who in my province are spreading rumors that it would be better for it [my province] to join the United States." [59] Mexico City officials appear to have acknowledged the threat because less than three weeks later they authorized the use of revenues from state monopolies to pay for the troops and public education if the funds derived from the tithe were insufficient. [60]

Unfortunately the situation did not improve, and leading New Mexicans wrote again in January 1825 complaining about the lack of an efficient judicial system, the need for a jail, and the deplorable condition of the educational system. [61] Nothing was done and the complaints continued. In 1829 Juan Esteban Pino drafted a letter describing the problems and needs of the province. He requested establishing *cátedras* (college-level classes) in Spanish, Latin grammar, and philosophy to allow citizens to attend major universities and become better able to discharge political, civil, ecclesiastic, and military jobs. [62] There is no record of any reply.

In 1829 Jesus María Alarid vehemently responded to the ban on foreign goods that competed with artisan industries. He admonished authorities in Mexico City for their failure to understand that such a law would produce much hardship on the New Mexican population that would have to travel to Chihuahua or Durango to obtain the necessary merchandise. He stressed that such trips would be harmful, for not only would they affect the local families, but they would also result in a reduced number of agricultural workers and available

militiamen. Alarid continued that the excessive monopoly of the merchants from Chihuahua and Durango impeded the development of the area. He also noted that the American merchants left in the territory at least a third of the merchandise they introduced and that they employed many of the local citizens and paid them much more than what they could normally earn. He finally requested that the central government help to establish textile industries in New Mexico, particularly for the manufacture of cotton and woolen fabrics. He concluded pleading that New Mexico be granted the exclusive right of trading with the Americans. [63]

Grievances continued throughout the 1830s. [64] In 1831 several *ayuntamientos* supported a plan proposed by Juan Esteban Pino, Juan Felipe Ortiz, and Francisco Baca to make a new state out of New Mexico. [65] After describing the economic and personal sacrifices made by New Mexicans for many years, the authors proposed that the territory be transformed into a free and sovereign state to be called Hidalgo. They asked that for 15 years the state keep all the import duties paid by foreign traders and that a garrison of at least 500 men be established near the Río Colorado. Finally they requested that the new military command be independent from Chihuahua. [66]

In 1837 Juan Esteban Pino once again addressed the authorities. Speaking in his behalf and for the "other capitalists in the territory," he officially petitioned for the extension of the exemption from paying the *alcabala* on "*efectos y frutos de producción natural e industria de este país*" (local effects and fruits from the natural production and industry of this country). Most of the missive, however, focused on the damage the Indian raids had produced and the need for the territory to receive some material assistance from the central government. [67]

New Mexico was not alone in seeking help from authorities in Mexico City. Editors of the Chihuahua newspaper *El Fanal* shared similar concerns. They bitterly resented the lack of support from the central government in their struggle against the Apaches. *El Fanal* expressed feelings analogous to those of José Rafael Alarid, "For Chihuahua to survive it would be necessary to sever their ties to the Mexican nation and join the United States. That would be the only way to escape the deplorable conditions produced by the war with the gentiles and the neglect of the federal government." [68]

Mexico was too embroiled in its own problems to attend to those of New Mexicans. By 1821 its silver mining economy was in ruins and textile manufacturing on the verge of collapse. Capital disappeared as many took their fortunes back to Spain. Trade-hindering taxes increased. American traders realized generous profits from selling a great variety of higher-quality goods at prices up to two-thirds less than those charged by Mexican merchants. The financial structure of Mexico depended on income from foreign trade, and duties often equaled the invoice price of goods. Not surprisingly, smuggling became the means of survival for many settlers, further weakening the Mexican government.

Officials in Mexico City were unable to address the mounting discontent among the people in the northern provinces, and failed to dispel the conviction expressed by the editors of *El Fanal*, that "the government does not pay as much attention to the edges of the Republic as to its center." [69]

Between 1821 and 1846 most New Mexicans remained destitute and continued to search for ways to improve their circumstances. Although they took advantage of the economic opportunities the Santa Fe trade offered, they preserved the patterns of trade of their ancestors. At the same time wealthy local merchants developed strong economic relations with United States exporters, wholesalers and bankers, establishing mercantile capitalism in the territory. New Mexico was politically still a part of Mexico, but it was slowly becoming

dependent on the United States. [[70](#)]

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SANTA FE

Special History Study



CHAPTER III:

GOING DOWN THE ROYAL ROAD ^[1]

The trade to the South constitutes a very important branch of the commerce of the country, in which foreigners, as well as natives are constantly embarking.

Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 279

Economic dependence on the United States did not come about quickly. The opening of the Santa Fe Trail did not immediately revolutionize conditions in New Mexico. The appearance of fine and inexpensive merchandise did not result in a stampede of hispanos traveling east to purchase goods in the United States. ^[2] On the contrary, for more than a decade the majority of New Mexico's merchants maintained their traditional patterns of trade.

Such a strategy made sense in view of the local economic conditions. New Mexico had neither the population nor enough resources to absorb the large amount of merchandise that Americans were freighting across the plains. Hard currency was extremely scarce. By 1825 Missouri traders were aware of saturation in the Santa Fe market. On January 25 the *Franklin Intelligencer* noted that, sales being "effected very slowly,"... the goods "now on the way to that country [New Mexico] together with what are already there, will be more than adequate to the demand." ^[3]

Within the next year Americans began to venture into the heart of the Mexican territory looking for more profitable outlets for their goods. ^[4] The closest were in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, where Durango and Chihuahua were located. With a population of 232,000, almost six times the 40,000 reported for New Mexico, with only 60,000 of the people listed as Indians (almost 50 percent of the New Mexicans were classified in that category), and with rich mining operations that supported approximately 30 smelters and a mint that stamped out more than 500,000 pesos worth of coins a year, Nueva Viscaya became a strong magnet for foreign merchants and continued to attract growing numbers of New Mexican traders. ^[5]

The excess of American goods in Santa Fe relieved New Mexicans from their dependence on Mexican merchants. They now had access to merchandise of higher quality and cheaper than that available in Chihuahua and other northern Mexican cities; they were no longer forced to accept the expensive and crude products they had been buying for decades, could demand better prices for their local goods and even obtain payment in cash. Although a few New Mexicans occasionally hauled foreign effects, the majority continued to use the Royal Road to Mexico City to carry sheep and local manufactures. ^[6]

Almost 1,700 miles separated Santa Fe from Mexico City. But distance was not as formidable an obstacle as the hardships of the trip. The terrain was rugged, the Indian threat was always present, and water was scarce, found most often in "fetid springs or pools...only rendered tolerable by necessity." Historian Albert Bork remarked that the character of the territory between Missouri and New Mexico was ideal compared to the extremely difficult nature of the roads leading to the interior of Mexico. ^[7]

New Mexican traders seldom traveled alone, but formed caravans to fend off robbers, marauders, and Indians. Local officials announced in advance the departure of the convoys with the intent of gathering a group respectable enough in size to discourage possible attacks. George Rutledge Gibson noted that Mexicans traveled in large parties and were armed, "as well as Mexicans usually are." [8] Gregg believed that being armed to the teeth was a necessary precaution on the road to Chihuahua. New Mexican caravans along the Old Spanish Trail, however, carried relatively few firearms, most of which were in bad condition, the bulk of their weapons being bows and arrows. [9]

Most merchants began their trip south during August or in September. More than 75 percent of all *guías* (359) were issued during these months. In certain years (1836, 1837, 1839, and 1840) large groups also left in October (15 percent). A few ventured south during the winter (3.26 percent), but almost nobody journeyed in the spring. [10]

Large caravans were the rule. Although they did not rival in size those that came from the United States in the 1860s and 1870s, they were exceedingly long and took at least a day or two to pass through any specific location. [11] It is not clear if they moved in a single file, but they probably extended for a considerable distance. In August 1835 23 merchants traveled south, 21 two years later. During 1838 19 left in August, 12 in September and 11 in October. 1839 also saw considerable activity with 21 trips in August, 31 in September, 15 in October, and four in November. The same was true of 1843 with 33 merchants leaving in August, 24 in September, 12 in October, and two in November. The following year also witnessed significant movement with 31 merchants leaving between September 3 and 9, and carrying 271 bundles. During two weeks in August 1840 38 New Mexican merchants sent 26,156 sheep, three carts with foreign merchandise, 70 pounds of wool, 24 *fanegas* (grain measure of about 1.6 bushels) of pinyon, and 833 bundles of domestic merchandise toward the interior of Mexico. [12]

Hundreds of mules were used to carry these goods, and a fairly substantial number of animals (either mules or horses) was necessary for the *arrieros* (muleteers), *conductores* (conductors), and *peones*, who accompanied the loads. New Mexicans also relied on ox carts to haul merchandise, but they appear to have been less popular than mules. [13]

A journey from Santa Fe to Chihuahua normally lasted close to 40 days as it was seldom possible to average more than 15 miles per day. Even under ideal circumstances it took 26 days for a letter mailed in Santa Fe to reach Chihuahua and 40 more days for it to arrive at Mexico City. [14] Not only was the trip long and dangerous, it offered few amenities. Taverns with general accommodations were uncommon, but the majority of traders had no need for such luxuries. Most of the *conductores* and the *arrieros* camped out with their *atajos* (teams) of pack mules. They often traveled with their cooks and *cantinas* (large wallets or leather boxes) filled with provisions, and on top of these they lashed a mattress and all the other "fixings" for bed furniture. [15] Travelers were astonished to see how little they managed to live upon. Gibson noted that they used every part of a hog or beef, including heads, feet, and entrails. Their only meal, a small piece of meat, chile colorado, beans, and tortillas, lasted for 24 hours except for a cup of chocolate and a piece of bread. [16]

Hispanos had an excellent reputation as horsemen and muleteers. After watching two Mexicans lance two buffalos to death, Philip St. George Cooke reluctantly admitted that they were fine riders and "would be formidable as lancers." [17] Gregg marveled at the dexterity and skill with which they harnessed and adjusted packs of merchandise, "Half a dozen [men] usually suffice for 40 or 50 mules. Two men are always engaged at a time in the dispatch of each animal, and rarely occupy five minutes in the complete adjustment of his *aparejo* (pack saddle) and *carga* (load)." [18] Experienced travelers suggested that Mexicans be used as

teamsters for they "can catch up and roll up in half the time the average person does." [19] Traders relied on a mule pack system which by the 19th century had become highly sophisticated, efficient, and remarkably well-suited to conditions in the Mexican territory. The United States Army eventually adopted their techniques for loading, the name of the equipment, and the use of the mule (see Figure 4). [20]

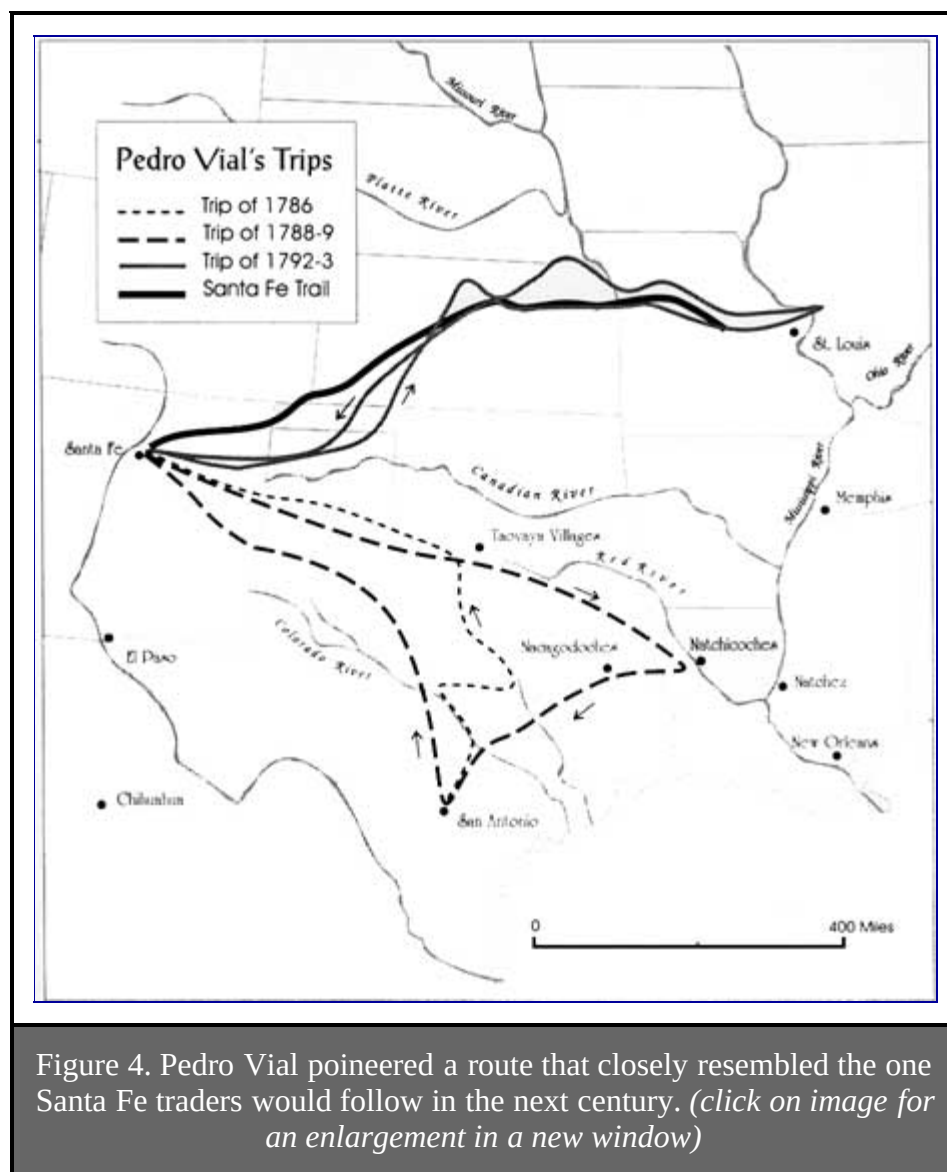


Figure 4. Pedro Vial pioneered a route that closely resembled the one Santa Fe traders would follow in the next century. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

The Mexican mule, although short in stature, had been bred exclusively for pack service. The average animal weighed between 700 and 800 pounds and could carry half its own weight. This incredible strength, much greater than that of a horse or ox, allowed mules to travel over long distances and in areas where forage and water were scarce. Their physical ability and small hooves were well-suited to the region's rugged terrain. The Mexican mules became famous for a remarkable blend of physical characteristics, stamina, and intelligence, and were a highly prized asset in many areas of the western United States. [21]

In addition to the mule pack system, New Mexican traders used equipment that was well-suited for carrying heavy loads. The *aparejo* (pack saddle), the central piece of gear, was described by an expert packer from the Hudson's Bay Company as "nearer to what I consider to perfection in a pack saddle, than any other form of pack saddle yet invented." [22] The superiority of the *aparejo* stemmed from its capacity to carry heavy, odd-sized items safely over long distances without injuring the animal. It consisted of two leather bags stuffed with dried grass and joined at the top to form an arch or gable. It was designed to resist

condensation and distribute the weight over the mule's rib cage and away from its back. New Mexicans have been known to carefully custom-fit each mule with its own *aparejo*. Once done, pack saddles were not switched between animals for fear of injuring a loaded mule's back or front or rear quarters. To identify each *aparejo* packers embroidered a telltale sign on the *corona* (a blanket used with the saddle). Often the *grupera*, a leather band attached to the rear of the *aparejo* that prevented the load from shifting forward, was also distinctively sewn or inlaid with cut Mexican silver coins. [23]

The mules and the equipment were important, but they would have had little impact without men skilled in the trade. By the 1850s "Mexicans" were the majority of packers in most of the west and were always in demand, as packing required a variety of skills. They had to secure loads with intricate knots, splices, and hitches; they acted as veterinarians and blacksmiths, and Gregg marveled at their speed and efficiency in shoeing mules. They had to estimate the safe carrying capacity of a mule, identify and treat an animal suffering from an improperly balanced load without detaining others, and govern the length of the day's trip so as to stop at some meadow or creek bottom that would provide good grass for the animals. Packers also had to be able to lift heavy loads, had to be good farriers, and "accomplish marvels with the axe, a screw key and a young sapling for a lever." [24]

Guías reveal that packers used a series of terms to identify the type and size of the shipments and possibly their shape. The most commonly used to describe loads of foreign merchandise was *tercio*. Domestic goods were most often carried in *bultos*, although sometimes they were hauled in *tercios*. Other loads were *cajones*, *baúles*, and *piezas* (pieces). [25]

Surviving *guías*, *tornaguías*, and *pases* (passes) provide the best and most complete documentation to identify those involved in the trade with the interior of Mexico and the United States until the Mexican War. The information is very valuable, but it is marred by omissions and errors, and the officials themselves admitted that scribes often made mistakes. [26]

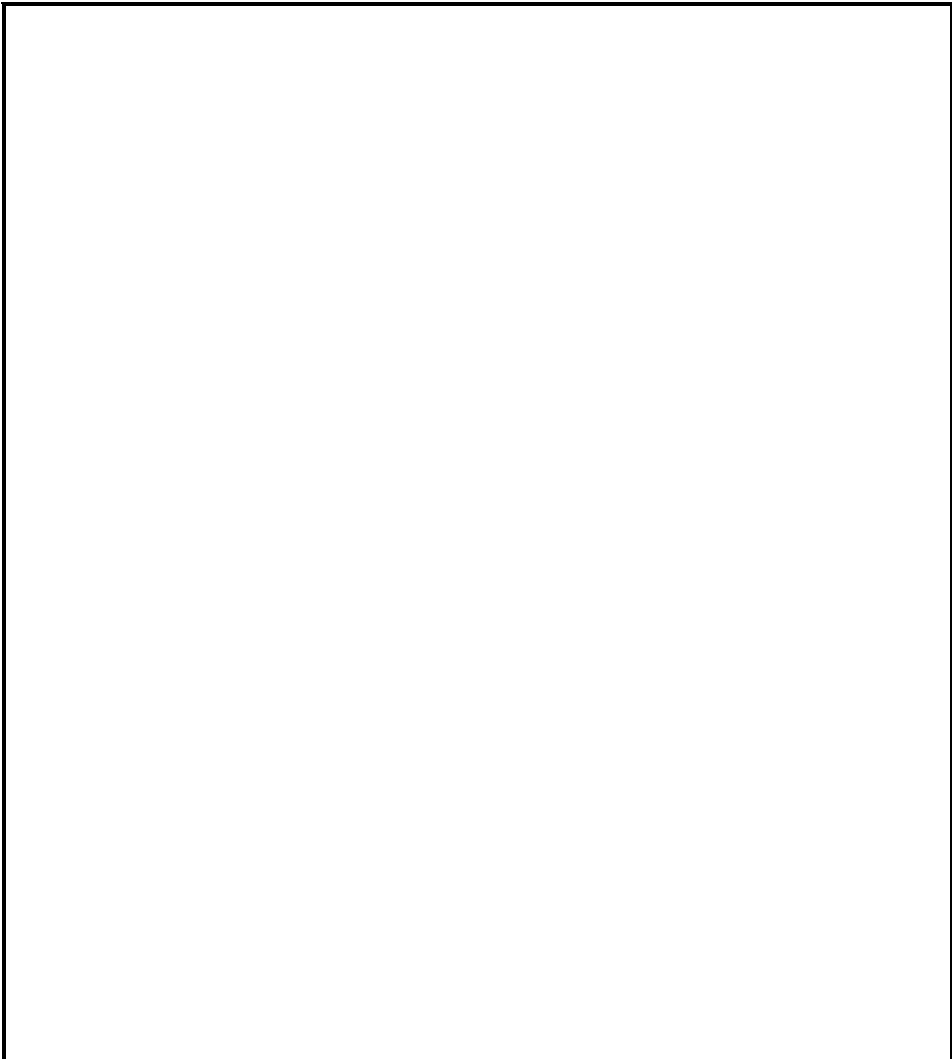
Ownership is not always clear. The *guías* were supposed to make a distinction between the proprietor and the conductor of the load, but in several cases the information was incorrect or missing. Frequent errors prevent the accurate identification of owners. For example, a *guía* issued in 1838 lists Antonio Ballejo as the owner and Juan Otero as the conductor. An examination of the rest of the *guías* for that and following years reveals that Juan Otero probably owned the merchandise and that Ballejos was the conductor of the load. This was not the only case with inaccurate information. In November 1843 the *cuaderno de guías* indicated that Mariano Lucero took seven *piezas* of domestic goods to Chihuahua and Sonora; however, the surviving *guía* showed Manuel Cisneros as the owner. There is not enough evidence to identify the true owner of that load. [27] On August 26, 1843 José Armijo received *guías* 18 and 19. They both indicate the same amount and value of merchandise (14 *bultos* valued at 133 pesos 2 *reales*); while a coincidence is possible it is more likely that they reflect an error on the part of the scribe in charge of the *cuaderno de guías*. [28]

Additional confusion stems from the inability to differentiate between individuals. In 1843 Ambrosio Armijo is listed as the owner of three loads that left Santa Fe on August 31, November 1, and November 10. The documents do not indicate whether a conductor accompanied any of these. It would have been impossible for Armijo to have completed a trip to Chihuahua and Sonora between August and November; it is likely that if he went to Mexico at all, he accompanied the later shipments, which included close to 9,000 pesos worth of foreign merchandise. There may have been more than one Ambrosio Armijo operating at the same time. The records indicate that Ambrosio Armijo in 1843 hauled a substantial amount of foreign goods (valued at more than 8,200 pesos); it is highly unlikely that the same

individual would have bothered to carry two shipments of domestic goods valued at 155 and 403 pesos 4 *reales* respectively in 1845. [29] The identities of other traders are also unclear. Is Tomás Baca the same as Francisco Tomás Baca? Is the Vicente Baca who traveled in 1829 and 1830 the same individual who journeyed south in 1841? Did Francisco García go down both in 1835 and 1844? Is José Manuel Montaña the same as José Montaña? [30]

Since New Mexicans were exempt from obtaining *guías* for local products until 1830, it is impossible to identify the amount, type, and value of the merchandise taken to Mexico before that year. But the surviving documents clearly indicate that the number of hispano shipments increased steadily after 1830, and between 1835 and 1845 almost 500 hispano traders sent merchandise south (see Table 1). [31]

New Mexicans' favorite destination was Chihuahua with 349 traders listing the capital of Nueva Vizcaya as one endpoint of their trip. Durango and Sonora also attracted many merchants, with 221 and 175 mentions respectively. Other popular targets were Aguas Calientes, El Paso, Mexico City, Sinaloa, Guanajuato, Guadalajara, Allende, San Juan de los Lagos, Puebla, California, Jesús María, Puebla, Michoacán, and Zacatecas (see Figure 5). In certain cases specific destinations were not indicated. Instead the *guías* included comments such as *ferias* (fairs), *donde me convenga* (where it suits me), *otros puntos en el camino* (other points along the road), *provincias internas* (internal provinces), and others. Hispanos also did business in places like Hermosillo and Guaymas (see Table 2). While New Mexican *guías* never identified these communities as the destination of any shipment, documents issued in these communities indicate that New Mexicans bought loads of much-needed iron and steel there. [32]



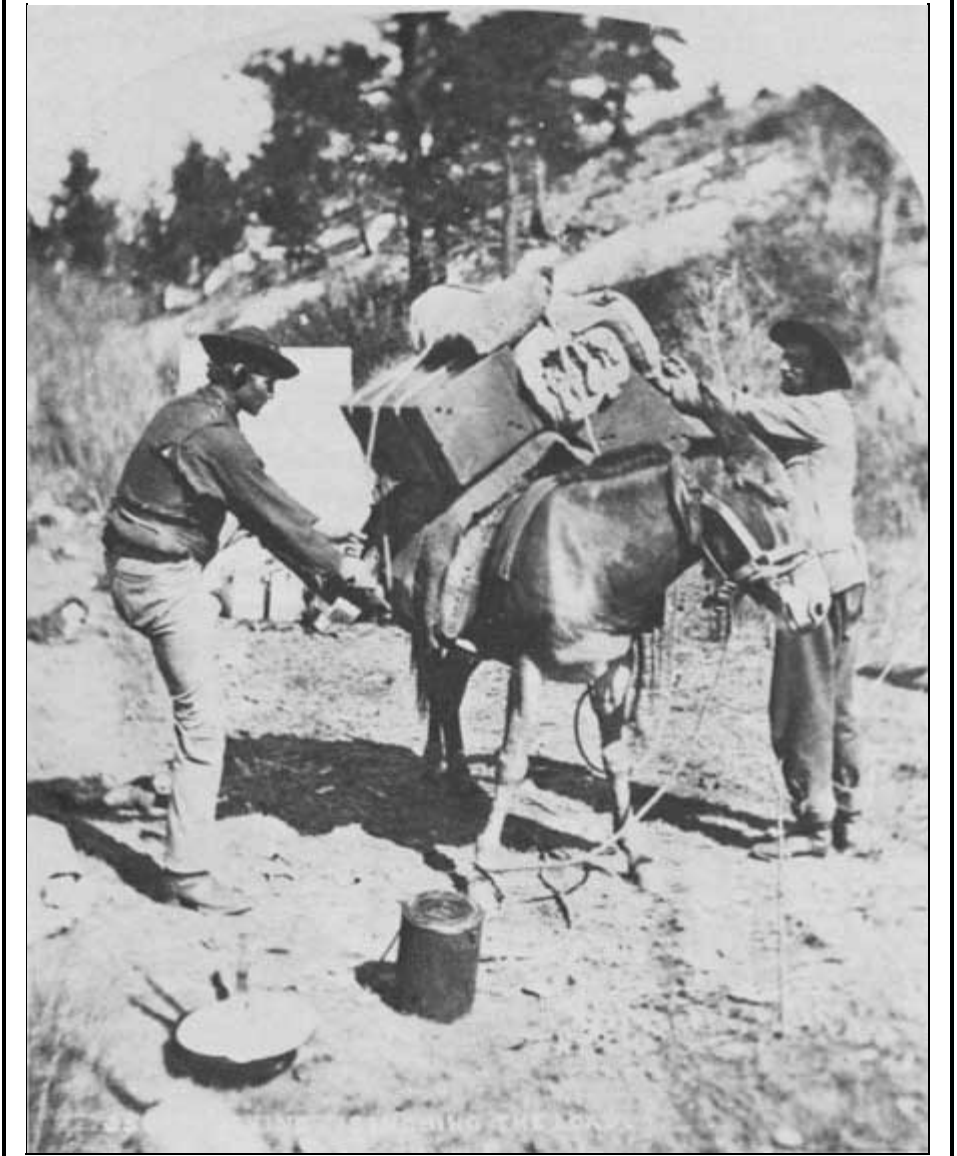


Figure 5. "Sinching" the Load. Photo: William H. Jackson, ca. 1875, courtesy Museum of New Mexico.

Table 1
Trips to the Mexican Territory Undertaken by Hispanic Traders

Year Number of Trips	
1826	2
1827	1
1828	4
1829	0
1830	2
1831	7
1832	6
1833	1
1834	5
1835	31

1836	15
1837	28
1838	63
1839	78
1840	75
1841	14
1842	*1
1843	76
1844	90
1845	25

*The extremely low numbers for 1842 do not indicate a decline in interest, but merely reflect the fact that a large portion of the *cuaderno de guías* for that year was lost.

Table 2
Destinations of Hispano Merchants Traveling to the Mexican Territory

Destination	Number of Trips
Abrafuerte	1
Aguas Calientes	14
Allende	4
California	4
Corralitos	1
Chihuahua	349
Durango	221
El Parral	3
El Paso	58
Galeana	7
Guadalajara	8
Guanajuato	7
Janos	1
Jesus Maria	2
Mexico City	42
Michoacan	1
Puebla	4
San Juan de los Lagos	48
Sinaloa	10
Sonora	175
Tierra Caliente	5
Viscaya	4
Zacatecas	47
Unspecified	10

All social classes participated in the trade down the *Camino Real*. As Licenciado Antonio Barreiro remarked, the *ricos*, the wealthy Río Abajo settlers and political leaders of the province, transported large numbers of often-already-consigned wethers and *efectos del país*; the less well-to-do hauled mostly hides, nuts, and a variety of local manufactures. Barreiro also noted that although a few individuals monopolized the sheep trade, even the middle and lowest classes benefited from the sale of hides and coarse woolen goods in Mexico's interior markets. [33]

His observations were accurate. The *guías* indicate that relatively few merchants sent large flocks of sheep to Mexico—only 28 owners from 16 families participated in this activity. [34] But ownership was even more concentrated because three families (Chávez, Otero, and Sandoval) controlled over 60 percent of the nearly 400,000 sheep valued at 200,000 pesos which were herded south. The largest shipments date from 1835 with close to 100,000 animals. Sizable herds also traveled in 1844 (53,700 sheep), 1843 (47,492), and in 1837 (44,921). There were considerable yearly fluctuations in the number of animals and only one shipment was recorded for 1831, 1833, 1834, and 1836. In spite of sporadic losses, sheep raising continued to be a mainstay of the economic base of the *ricos*. The *Missouri Republican* estimated that 50,000 sheep would leave New Mexico for California in 1853. Yet losses were quite common, and François Aubry reported that a large number of sheep belonging to Ambrosio Armijo failed to reach the market in 1852. [35]

Barreiro's perceptions regarding the middle and lowest classes also appear correct, as even those with relatively limited resources participated in the trade. The value of the majority of the shipments was very small (see Table 3). More than 100 merchants (close to 20 percent) carried less than 133 pesos of merchandise, and more than one-half (251) less than 250 pesos. In 1839 three traders carried less than 50 pesos. The year before, Guadalupe Santillanes hauled domestic goods valued at 23 pesos 4 *reales*. The load was so small that it was not even recorded in the *guía* notebook. [36]

Table 3
Value of the Merchandise Carried by Hispano Merchants into the Mexican Territory

Number of Loads (N = 420)	Range in Value of the Individual Loads	Value of All Loads (in pesos)
Lowest Quartile (N = 105)	20 pesos - 133 pesos 3 <i>reales</i>	9,580.38
Second Quartile (N = 105)	133 pesos 4 <i>reales</i> - 234 pesos	18,610.95
Third Quartile (N = 105)	234 pesos - 1,143 pesos 2 <i>reales</i>	46,811.63
Highest Quartile (N = 105)	1,170 pesos - 26,474 pesos 7 <i>reales</i>	347,904.75
Total Value of All the Merchandise		422,907.71

Purchases of iron and steel in Guaymas and Hermosillo provide a good example of the limited amount of capital required to engage in trade. On November 5, 1842, Antonio Griego left from Guaymas en route to New Mexico carrying seven *quintales* (700 kilograms) of steel valued at seven pesos. [37] A week later (Nov. 12) Romualdo Baca stopped at Hermosillo to buy 18 *piezas* of iron, steel, and domestic merchandise valued at 247 pesos. Antonio Martínez purchased 10 *piezas* of iron, steel, and domestic manufactures assessed at 54 pesos 56 cents also at Hermosillo. Two days later (Nov. 23) Antonio Montaña left Hermosillo having entered with a *guía* issued in Santa Fe on September 14. He had acquired 10 *piezas* of steel, iron, and foreign merchandise for 62 pesos. Diego Romero probably took a small load of domestic merchandise, possibly to Hermosillo, where on November 29 he received a *guía* for 1,200 kilograms of iron. Two weeks later he arrived at Sonora where he purchased four *piezas* of iron, steel, and domestic merchandise valued at 108 pesos 6 *reales*. [38] Even

though the value of iron and steel were ridiculously low, apparently it made sense to spend four months on the road to acquire them. Such goods were so scarce that traders are likely to have made enough profit from their sale to justify the long trips.

New Mexicans were exempted from paying the *alcabala* on *efectos del país*, and this undoubtedly helped them to make these trips more profitable. Although the province had to make a request for this exemption every 10 years, trading down the Royal Road was beneficial even for those who took small shipments south because they were paid in specie. [39] By the late 1820s and 1830s Mexican silver production was on the rise and New Mexicans could demand cash as payment for their products. *Guías* indicate that most of those traveling south from Santa Fe intended to exchange the merchandise for silver or coins. Unfortunately very few documents indicate what they brought back.

The majority of New Mexican merchants who traveled south hauled *efectos del país*—coarse weavings like *saya* (woolen cloth), *gerga* (another type of woolen cloth), *sarapes*, *frazadas* (blankets), *ponchos*, and *medias* (socks, stockings). They also transported a variety of hides—gamuzas (deer skins), *cíbolos* (buffalo robes), *osos* (bear skins), *nutrias* (beaver skins), *antas* (elk hides), and *colchas*, *sombreros* (hats), and *rebozos* (shawls). Some individuals or families appear to have specialized in specific types of merchandise. The Sandovals traded sheep, the Archuletas either domestic goods or sheep, Cristóbal and José Armijo always took *efectos del país*; others hauled mostly blankets. Most traders, however, tended to include a variety of items in their shipments, like the 14 *bultos* Felipe Romero took to Chihuahua and Durango on September 9, 1838. His load assessed at only 161 pesos he carried 71 buffalo hides, 163 blankets, 114 pairs of socks, four elk hides, six *sarapes*, one bed blanket, 13 bedspreads, seven deer hides, and two bear skins (see Table 4). [40]

Table 4
Merchandise Carried by Hispano Traders to the Mexican Territory

Domestic Merchandise	296	56.38 %
Foreign Merchandise	79	15.05 %
Foreign & Domestic Merchandise	8	1.52 %
Sheep	61	11.62 %
Sheep & Domestic Merchandise	20	3.81 %
Other (Metal goods)	2	.38%
No Information	59	11.23 %
Total Number of Loads	525	99.99 %

Hauling domestic goods became more common with time as there was a dramatic increase in both the number and the proportion of individuals involved in the activity. Between 1826 and 1838 82 traders traveled south, but between 1839 and 1845 their number expanded to 236. The size of the shipments also appeared to have increased although there is little information on the value of the majority of them. [41]

Many individuals participated in hauling merchandise to the interior of Mexico. Surviving *guías* identify 531 owners and 80 *conductores*. The documents do not include any information on the *peones* who probably comprised the single largest group of men engaged in the trade. It is also difficult to learn much about the traders who made only one trip (214), and even those who carried multiple loads in a single year (246) (see Table 5). But it is possible to learn some details about those (71) who made more than one trip. Some, like Agapito Albo from El Paso, came to Santa Fe periodically to purchase foreign goods. In 1834

and 1839 he acquired close to 5,000 pesos worth of foreign effects. Another famous New Mexican trader was Manuel Armijo. He obtained 14 guías between 1835 and 1845. In eight cases he sent sheep—a total of 34,916 animals. In all other instances he shipped domestic manufactures under the care of a conductor, who in most cases appeared to be a relative. [42]

Table 5
Number of Trips To the Mexican Territory By Hispanic Merchants

Number of Trips	Number of Merchants in This Category
1 Trip	214
1 Trip with Multiple Loads	246
2 Trips	29
3 Trips	22
4 Trips	12
5 Trips	3
6 Trips	2
7 Trips	1
8 Trips	2
Total Number of Loads	525

Some traders seem to have made a profit from the trade down the *Camino Real*. Francisco Tomás Baca made a number of trips. In 1835 he carried 36 pesos worth of merchandise and 2,200 sheep for a total value of 1,136 pesos. The following year he took 3,000 sheep assessed at 1,500 pesos. In 1838 he hauled both merchandise and sheep for a total of 675 pesos. There is no record for 1839, but by 1840 he was able to take 2,498 pesos of domestic manufactures in 75 *bultos*, the highest amount and value of domestic merchandise carried into the interior of Mexico. [43]

Santiago Flores was another trader involved in at least four trips. It can be safely assumed that he was not the owner but the conductor of a large load of foreign merchandise valued at 5,837 pesos in 1844. But it is likely that he owned the 50 *tercios* appraised at 297 pesos that he carried in 1841 and the 17 *bultos* assessed at 491 pesos 4 *reales* which he took in 1844. His appears to be another success story as records from Moctezuma, Mexico, indicate that in 1845 he received a guía for 55 *bultos* of domestic effects and 900 pesos in cash for a total of 1,390 pesos. [44]

Baca, Flores, and others appeared to have done well, but for several their fortune is less clear. Eugenio Archuleta made four trips down the Royal Road between 1835 and 1843. His shipments included only domestic merchandise and, in one case, sheep, but it is not possible to estimate his profits nor a pattern of size or value of shipments. In 1835 he carried 18 *tercios*, but no value was given. In 1838 he carried 18 *bultos* priced at 183 pesos. The next year he hauled almost twice as much, 33 *tercios*, with a value of 220.5 pesos. He next appeared in the records in 1843 carrying 1,400 sheep assessed at 700 pesos and 12 *bultos* of domestic merchandise valued at 161.40 pesos. It is not possible to assert that Archuleta had dramatically increased his assets because the sheep probably belonged to Tomás Baca, who was listed as the conductor, but who in all likelihood was the owner of the sheep. Archuleta was herding Baca's sheep and at the same time carrying his own *efectos*. [45]

For others the patterns are not quite clear. In 1838 Fernando Aragón received two guías for 20 *tercios* of domestic goods valued at approximately 200 pesos with destination Chihuahua and Sonora. He left on October 24. Three months later he left Hermosillo with 451 pesos worth of merchandise. Even though the net profit was small, proportionately he made a

substantial gain over the original investment, particularly since the expenses associated with such trips were small and payments to *peones* minimal at best. A year later (Oct. 16, 1839) Aragón obtained another *guía* for 402.50 pesos worth of goods. Unfortunately no information survives about his return trip. In October 1840 he went south again, but this time he took only 130.5 pesos of merchandise. [46]

Diego Gómez took four *bultos* valued at 90 pesos in 1840, six priced at 187 pesos in 1843, and six again in 1844, but assessed only at 78 pesos. Salvador López made trips in 1838 and 1840 carrying 159 and 317 pesos respectively. José Dolores Durán traded exclusively *efectos del país*, but the size and value of his goods varied considerably—six *bultos* valued at 94 pesos in 1838, 15 at 234 pesos in 1840, and 11 at 200 pesos in 1844. Another merchant who made four trips was Juan Miguel Mascarenas. As many of the others, he specialized in local manufactures and carried small loads—six *tercios* in 1838, five *piezas* in 1839, eight *tercios* in 1843, and a similar small load in 1845. The value of his goods varied slightly, from 83 pesos in 1838 to 144 pesos in 1845. Diego Lucero and José Antonio Lucero both made two trips, but the latter specialized in foreign merchandise, although he could have been the conductor of goods belonging to either New Mexico's *ricos* or foreign merchants. Three other members of the Lucero family frequently carried effects to Mexico—Blas, Antonio, and Mariano. Pedro Antonio made four trips while Blas and Mariano made three and two respectively. In all of their cases the amount and value of the shipments reflect very little change. [47]

The *guías* did identify others who were essential to the system—the conductors. They were in charge of carrying the shipments sent by those who were unable to travel or those who could afford to pay someone to travel in their place. At least 80 individuals were so listed, although many others might have been omitted. [48] Leading the caravans appears to have provided valuable experience for the sons or younger relatives of wealthy merchants. In 29 instances the conductors shared the last name of the owners and it is probable that in other cases familial relations were involved. The frequent intermarriages of the elite make identification of the familial relationship between owners and conductors quite difficult. Many conductors did double duty. They were in charge of shipments sent by others, but they also took their own loads. In 1838 Pedro Armijo hauled his merchandise to Sonora, but he was also listed as the conductor of a load belonging to Manuel Armijo. In 1845 Rumaldo Baca herded 4,000 sheep belonging to José María Gutiérrez to Durango. At the same time he took 1,000 wethers of his own to the same destination. Juan José Sánchez was the conductor of a cargo of foreign merchandise belonging to Gerardo Miranda that left Santa Fe for El Paso in 1839. At the same time he hauled two shipments of his own—one for El Paso and the other one for Galeana. [49]

Was there an opportunity for conductors to become owners? Although not frequent, such situations seem to have existed. In 1840 Jesús María Ortiz led two loads belonging to Juan Gutiérrez. Four years later he carried his own bundles of foreign merchandise to Chihuahua and Sonora. In 1837 José María Martínez herded sheep belonging to Pedro José Perea to Durango, but by 1843 he was able to haul 15 bundles of domestic merchandise to Chihuahua, Durango, and Zacatecas. [50]

New Mexicans maintained their traditional direction of trade (north/south) throughout the 1830s, but at the same time (1830-1846) they established a similar network of commercial relations with California along the Old Spanish Trail (Santa Fe to California by way of the Great Basin) (see Figure 1). The process started in 1829 when acting Governor José Antonio Chávez authorized a caravan, quite similar to those traveling down the Royal Road, under the command of Antonio Armijo, to secure mules in exchange for *efectos del país*. Armijo also kept track of the Indian tribes they encountered on their way and the distance that separated the two territories. Armijo believed it important for the government to protect and foster the

commerce between the two territories. The journey was quite arduous as the party left Santa Fe on November 7, 1829 and arrived at Mission San Gabriel on January 31, 1830. [51]

Only four *guías* survive that document similar trips to California, but caravans apparently went west on a yearly basis. Francisco Esteban Quintana left in 1839 with six bundles assessed at 78 pesos. Juan Arce carried more valuable merchandise in two bundles in 1843. Two merchants traveled to California in 1844—Francisco Frantes and Francisco Rael. The latter was probably among the first to drive sheep to California. [52]

The records of the 1847-1848 caravan to California reveal many similarities with those traveling south. The merchandise consisted mostly of bulky *efectos del país* weighing 8,000 to 10,000 pounds carried by 150 to 160 mules. Between 70 and 80 men were owners of the effects, but apparently there were "as many interested in the concern." As those going south, the value of the goods was relatively low—the greatest amount of property owned by any one trader did not exceed 300 or 400 pesos. [53]

The California caravans continued traditional patterns of trade, but by the late 1830s a dramatic change took place as the wealthiest New Mexicans began to travel east, in the direction of St. Louis, New York, and Philadelphia, to purchase goods directly from major wholesalers. Dealing in foreign goods was not new. Starting in 1826 a few traders had taken foreign merchandise down *el Camino Real* (16 percent of all shipments included such goods). Eliseo Sánchez and Ramón García were the first for whom records exist. Sánchez left Santa Fe in August 27, 1826, and was issued two *guías*. He carried in all a substantial amount of foreign merchandise—3,065 pesos 5 *reales* 6 *granos* (monetary unit—12 *granos* equal 1 *real*). García left a few days later (Sept. 9) and took a smaller load (676 pesos 5 *reales* 6 *granos*). [54]

However, few New Mexican merchants followed the example of Sánchez and García and hauled *efectos extranjeros* to Mexico—only 32 individuals participated in this activity between 1826 and 1838. Although it is not possible to establish the size and value of many of these loads, in those cases where the assessment was included, it was quite low averaging only 343.75 pesos. In several instances the documents indicate that local merchants had purchased the merchandise from foreigners living in New Mexico. [55]

Throughout the 1830s, however, wealthy New Mexicans continued to acquire foreign products in the interior provinces of Mexico for resale in their territory. Although the records documenting such purchases are very sporadic and it is impossible to establish the number of individuals involved, the frequency of the trips, and amount and value of the goods procured, some of the *ricos* made significant purchases until the late 1830s. [56] It is possible that in exchange for these purchases they were able to obtain advantageous prices for their local products. Perhaps Mexican dealers were temporarily able to compete with traders selling foreign merchandise in Santa Fe due to the astronomical markups local merchants paid in the province's capital. [57]

After 1838 a transformation took place. The number of New Mexican merchants carrying foreign goods into the Mexican territory remained stable, but their identity changed and the value of the average shipment increased to 3,781 pesos with seven individuals each carrying loads in excess of 15,000 pesos. The leading New Mexico traders gradually invested a larger portion of their assets in such purchases, although they continued to ship the traditional local merchandise to the interior provinces of Mexico. For example, in 1843 José Chávez sent a monumental shipment of foreign goods to Durango, Zacatecas, and San Miguel de los Lagos—more than 160 bundles, yet the following year he still sent sheep and local manufactures to Chihuahua and Lagos. His brother, Mariano, followed a similar pattern. In 1844 he sent 177 pieces of foreign goods assessed at 26,474 pesos to Chihuahua, but at the same time his

trusted *mayordomo* (steward), Cristóbal García, herded 6,000 sheep to Durango and Zacatecas. The Oteros did the same. They shifted emphasis from domestic to foreign goods, yet they still shipped large flocks of sheep to the interior of Mexico. [58]

Those who controlled the sheep trade dominated the sale of foreign merchandise as well. Five families (Armijo, Chávez, Otero, Perea, and Yrizarri) owned 81.68 percent (148,248 pesos) of the 181,492 pesos worth of foreign goods listed in the *guías*. Some of these shipments were quite impressive. In 1843 José Chávez remitted over 105,000 yards of *lienzo* (linen), 48,700 yards of *indiana*, and more than 10,000 yards of assorted fabrics. In addition his conductor also carried 250 dozen scarfs and handkerchiefs, 13 dozen hats, 29 dozen stockings, 36 gross of buttons, five dozen razors, one box of needles, three gross of thimbles, seven mirrors, four sets of pistols, 54 sets of beads, one gross of pencils, one dozen brushes, 10 dozen assorted necklaces, four dozen inkstands, three dozen scissors, seven dozen ivory combs, six boxes of ribbons, three accordions, seven silk hats, 10 guns, one dozen muslin dresses, six dozen silk gloves, four dozen silk shoes, and additional single items. [59]

As soon as wealthy New Mexicans traveled east and began to trade directly with American wholesalers, most of them stopped purchasing foreign goods from their counterparts in Chihuahua and Durango and began to develop an extensive network of commercial relations outside their nation that would alter the economic structure of the province. Yet they continued to send consignments of local goods and sheep to the interior provinces of Mexico, possibly to ensure their advantageous sale and avoid unexpected fluctuations in the market. [60]

New Mexicans were cautious entrepreneurs, who were reluctant to abandon traditional patterns of trade. Yet slowly they began to realize that unless they modified their commercial strategies, only foreigners would enjoy the benefits associated with the Santa Fe trade. Realizing that they could expect little help from the Mexican authorities they began venturing to major cities in the east. There they slowly helped to create a widespread commercial network, establishing strong economic relations with major entrepreneurs in the United States and Europe. They searched for the most lucrative deals using extensive information networks. Back home they established stores where they bought or traded products of the countryside for imported goods.

The majority of New Mexicans received limited benefits from these activities. Trading down the Royal Road produced some economic gains for those who owned and hauled local merchandise, but it is doubtful that *arrieros* and *peones* made enough money to substantially improve their circumstances. Most continued to be dependent on *patrones* who, by the middle of the 19th century, had accumulated massive fortunes. Increased trade also contributed to smuggling, as traders attempted to avoid taxes.

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SANTA FE

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CHAPTER IV:

CONTRABAND AND THE LAW

...seguí mi camino dividiéndome con las acciones que observaba entre los que venían espionando a ver si dejaban los Americanos algunos tercios, parándome por esta causa varias veces en el camino. [1]

Francisco Pérez Serrano, 1828

Increased economic activities associated with the Santa Fe trade produced few changes for the majority of the people who continued to live in poverty, barely managing to subsist. Economic opportunity was mostly limited to those who were well-connected, owned a substantial amount of land and raised large herds of sheep. Life was hard and even the *ricos* apparently did not accumulate significant amounts of liquid capital or credit until the 1830s.

One of the major impacts of the Santa Fe trade was an increase in available jobs. This resulted from the large amount of fabrics and the Mexican ban on the importation of already-made clothes. Between 1822 and 1840s the number of *sastres* (tailors) and *costureras* (seamstresses) multiplied dramatically. Censuses for 1860 and 1870 reveal a growing number of trade-related occupations, particularly in San Miguel, Doña Ana, Valencia, and Bernalillo counties. [2] Additional employment and the availability of cheaper and better merchandise also contributed to an improvement in the standard of living.

Wages, however, remained incredibly low—in the 1840s most peones earned only two pesos per month, although some managed to obtain the maximum remuneration of five pesos. Herders made even less—one-and-three-quarter pesos a month. Work in the Santa Fe trade caravans possibly paid better. In the 1860s the going wage for a peón was six to eight dollars a month, but a surviving account reveals that this might have only applied to highly skilled *arrieros*. Teen-age boys, who were a significant element of the convoys, received considerably less. In 1867 16-year-old José Librado Gurulé, after working 11 months and traveling back and forth to the United States, received eight dollars. There were few fringe benefits. The merchant who owned the goods (José Leandro Perea) furnished the meager food he consumed—one full meal during each day supplemented by two snacks of tortillas and onions, but Gurulé had to pay for his own clothes and shoes. [3]

Increased commercial activity offered a limited number of opportunities to those with certain skills. New Mexicans, who enjoyed a well-deserved reputation as excellent muleteers and horsemen, became highly sought for work in the caravans that traveled from Missouri to the interior of Mexico. Americans acknowledged their superlative skills in packing and handling beasts of burden, but it is not clear that recognition resulted in adequate wages. [4]

Packing and freighting offered economic opportunities for some. Leading commission merchants and wholesaling firms, like Chick, Browne & Co. and Otero & Sellars, relied on the hispanos' packing expertise to haul merchandise cheaply and effectively. Freighting was an attractive economic enterprise that required less capital and risk. As Charles Raber noted after he and his partner failed to sell anything on a trading trip down the Río Grande, "This

was the last time we hauled our own goods again. From then on we did a freighting business, and in this way got our pay at the end of each trip, and could put the money into more rolling stock, thereby increasing our earning capacity." [5] The United States Army provided others, like Epifanio Aguirre and the Romeros (Vicente, Miguel, Trinidad, and Eugenio) a chance to capitalize on their reputation as excellent packers as they obtained contracts to carry United States Army freight. The need to save the cost of transporting forage and food items across the plains, particularly after the Civil War, resulted in a series of contracts to supply military installations in the west. Some hispanos were able to take advantage of this opportunity. [6]

But only a small portion of the population enjoyed significant improvements in their economic circumstances. Even though the 1821-1880 period witnessed substantial territorial expansion, making a living remained difficult. [7] The majority continued to farm and ranch. They lived in abject poverty and many were driven into a system of debt peonage from which escape became difficult. [8]

Some searched for extra legal means to enhance their economic conditions. The increased commercial activities associated with the Santa Fe Trail possibly raised the expectations of New Mexicans. They had resorted to contraband to ease their economic woes while under Spanish control, and in the 1820s they tried to profit from foreigners' interest in evading Mexican regulations. Smuggling was not a new activity for the foreigners operating in the territory either. Widespread contraband and disregard for British mercantilist policies had been one of the major causes leading to the American revolution. Prevalent in the western frontier it had involved British, French, Spanish, and Americans, and a variety of Indian groups, and had been rampant in Missouri. [9]

American merchants claimed to be horrified at the New Mexican officials' willingness to accept bribes and to subvert Mexican laws. Yet Americans engaged in similar illegal activities and took advantage of the local permissiveness when it was in their best interest. Gregg claimed that "the average gross return of the traders has rarely exceeded 50 percent, upon the cost of the merchandise, leaving a net profit of between 20 and 40 percent; though their profits have not infrequently been under 10 percent; in fact, as has been mentioned, their adventures have sometimes been losing speculations." [10] This became a good excuse to avoid paying the tariff duties imposed by Mexican laws and to lobby in the American Congress for the drawback act. This legislation, which was finally enacted in March 1845, allowed overland traders who re-exported goods in their original packages to Santa Fe and Chihuahua to receive drawbacks (rebates) on their customs duties. [11]

Americans' ethnocentrism was undoubtedly behind their pejorative remarks about the local population and their legal system. Most of their observations reveal a profound misunderstanding of New Mexican culture, attitudes, and values. Josiah Gregg questioned the character of Mexicans and felt strong contempt for what he considered absolute disregard for legal institutions:

The administration of the laws in Northern Mexico constitutes one of the most painful features of her institutions. Justice, or rather judgements, are a common article of traffic; and the hapless litigant who has not the means to soften the claws of the *alcalde* with a "silver unction" is almost sure to get severely scratched in the contest, no matter what may be the justice of his cause, or the uprightness of his character. It is easy to perceive, then, that the poor and humble stand no chance in a judicial contest with the wealthy and consequential, whose influence even apart from their facilities for corrupting the court and suborning witnesses, is sufficient to neutralize any amount of plebeian testimony that might be brought against them. [12]

He was not the only critic. Charles Bent, one of the most famous Americans to settle in the territory, described New Mexicans:

... there is no stability in these people, they have no opinion of their own, they are entirely governed by the powers that be, they are without exception the most servile people that can be imagined. They are completely at the will of those in power lest these be as ignorant as may be they dare not express an opinion contrary to that of their rulers, they are not fit to be free, they should be ruled by others than themselves. Mexico has tried long enough to prove to the world that she is not able to govern herself...every species of vice in this country is a recommendation to public office; and such officers as they are corrupt, destitute of all principle, lazy, indolent, ignorant and base to the last degree. There is no confidence to be placed in them... Officers and justices...equally ignorant insolent and avaricious are easily bribed. Justice is badly administered and is rendered with extreme delay, caused as much by the wrangling and subterfuge of advocates as the insufficiency of the laws and the innumerable ignorant pleasers who from their indolence and incapacity, and the extortion of the justices are always calculated to create delay. Fees are a grievous item they are always exacted according to the caprice of the justice. The Mexican character is made up of stupidity, obstinacy, ignorance, duplicity and vanity. [13]

Gregg and Bent were not alone in depicting New Mexicans in these terms. Other observers shared their animosity. James Ross Larkin noted in 1856, "the morals of the residents generally are very bad—the habits of the women very loose and the men addicted to gambling and stealing." George Rutledge Gibson's remarks about the man who offered him board and embraced him provide another good example of the profound distrust Americans felt, "Like all Mexicans he is tricky and I watched him closely without being able to discover anything." [14]

John P. Bloom recording the perceptions of New Mexico by American troops included comments from a Mormon youth who admitted that he was quite prejudiced against Mexicans having heard since infancy that they were a very savage and unprincipled people, his mother having particularly cautioned him against them when he enlisted. [15]

Americans found it hard to adjust to the legal system which operated in New Mexico. Local authorities often handled small legal matters by means of a system of verbal decisions whereby the plaintiff and the accused got together with the justice of the peace and a pair of individuals who would speak for each of the parties. Conciliations were reached promptly and in most cases those involved appeared satisfied with the outcome. Little formality accompanied these hearings, which were devoid of the argumentation typical of traditional legal proceedings. [16]

Lack of funds and support from the central government also impeded the implementation of the judiciary system as stipulated in national legislation enacted in 1826 and in article 148 of the Mexican constitution. According to the law the territory of New Mexico was to have a district judge expert in matters about the federation. If for some reason this appointment was not possible the government was to appoint three individuals well-versed in the law as substitute, and if this were impossible, to name three of the most capable individuals in the territory to take their place. [17] But no such appointments were made until the mid 1830s.

Local officials tried to enforce the laws to the best of their ability and to avoid unjust and unusual punishments. Even the *ricos* were penalized for their excesses. José María Chávez, a member of one of the leading families in New Mexico, had signed a contract with a carpenter named Ignacio Trujillo to build a series of shelves for Chávez's store. Trujillo was

unable or unwilling to deliver the shelves. Chávez, believing that serious punishment was in order, sued Trujillo for breach of contract and convinced the local *alcalde* to order Trujillo's mother and brother to administer him a series of lashes. The carpenter was lashed, but he appealed the humiliating sentence to the governor who declared the punishment cruel and unjust and sentenced Chávez to pay a fine. [18]

The negative stereotypes Americans presented did not consider that local circumstances provoked illegal activities, like contraband. In most cases it was not lack of morality, but a human and normal response to a frontier situation where economic survival often depended on taking advantage of limited opportunities. Earning a living was difficult and the prospect of realizing any economic gain encouraged disregard for laws which were troublesome to enforce and which were perceived as detrimental to the local well-being. The increasing presence of foreigners and merchandise provided incentives and additional markets for those with initiative.

The earliest and most widespread form of contraband involved furs. Beaver skins had always attracted foreigners' interest. French, British, and American hunters had successfully operated along the Rockies during the late 18th century. Spanish authorities had been aware of their presence and remained quite wary about the infiltration of foreign trappers along their northern frontier. These activities continued and possibly increased after independence from Spain. [19]

Mexicans also looked with suspicion at the foreigners operating in the back country, and were reluctant to issue the required permits for hunting. Difficulties arose as a result. Licenses were scarce. Foreigners were seldom allowed to hunt legally. And if unable to get a permit for beaver directly, they purchased the furs from the locals who in turn claimed to have obtained them from a variety of Indian groups. [20] The earliest recorded cases involved Frenchmen. Silvestre Pratte was charged with illegal hunting of beaver. Although part of the information is missing, surviving evidence reveals that Juan Bautista Vigil who had a legal license to hunt, had sold the pelts to Pratte. A similar case involved two other Frenchmen, Vicente Guion and Jean Baptiste Trudeau. In this instance the authorities confiscated 300 pounds of beaver. Guion claimed that he had never hunted and that he had obtained the furs from Trudeau, who in turn testified that he had bought them from the *alcades* of Taos and Abiquiú, their predecessors and their children. Americans Richard Campbell and Philip Thompson, were also involved. The *alcalde* of Taos admitted selling beaver skins to merchants, like Manuel Alvarez, but professed to have obtained them from the Comanches. Trudeau admitted that he had purchased the skins from the *alcalde* and other locals and had sold them to Guion. He maintained that Guion paid him in fabrics, not in cash. [21]

Americans continued to hunt illegally until declining numbers of beavers forced trappers to scout large regions to obtain sufficient pelts, and eventually put a halt to their activities. In 1832 Ewing Young hunted over a considerable portion of Mexico's northern provinces along the Colorado and the Salado, the Río Arriba (the Río Grande Valley north of La Bajada), the San Francisco, the Río Abajo down to the Gila River, the Maricopa, and from there to California. [22] His appears to be the last major legal case involving the illegal acquisition of furs.

The most significant type of contraband activity, however, focused on foreign goods. New Mexicans used a variety of methods. Sometimes they made arrangements with foreigners to introduce merchandise illegally. These operations, described in several legal cases, varied. The parties involved, usually a foreigner and a New Mexican, selected a rendezvous where the former hid the merchandise. The latter waited until the danger from the militia dispatched to prevent fraud disappeared, retrieved the cache, and met the owner at a prearranged location. Few documents record the identities of these partners. Manuel Armijo, for example,

participated in such an incident in 1832. During the judicial proceedings he did not deny that he had illegally introduced a *tercio* of foreign merchandise for an American merchant. The details became public only because Armijo was sued when he claimed to have lost the merchandise. [23]

Most commonly New Mexicans furtively followed the foreign caravans hoping to see where the foreigners hid or left contraband merchandise. [24] Then they had two options. They could try to sell the goods by themselves, or they could denounce the contraband to the official authorities. The first option potentially could produce greater profits because there was no need to share the proceeds. But there were more risks involved; they had to hide the merchandise until they could arrange for its sale. During this period it was more susceptible to denunciation and it was hard to get high prices for contraband goods, so profits were smaller. [25]

The second option, made possible by Mexican law, entailed less risk and could be remunerative if the contraband was sizable. The government had continued Spanish mercantilist policies issuing strict regulations detailing the *comiso* (confiscation) process. Legally it was a simple operation, but the rules were periodically modified as were the lists of prohibited merchandise. The procedure should have been easy to put into effect as the regulations detailed every step—from the official declaration of contraband to the distribution of the profits resulting from the confiscation. The law provided that 50 percent of the proceeds from *comiso* were to go to the public treasury while the other half was to be divided equally into thirds—one for the *denunciante* (denouncer), another for the *aprehensor* (apprehender), and the last to be shared among the local *alcalde* who declared the contraband, the *promotor fiscal* (district attorney), the commandant, and the *administrador* (political leader). [26]

In New Mexico the practice was somewhat different, and it changed with time and with various local administrations. In some cases the public treasury received close to the 50 percent stipulated by the law, but in most instances it secured only 25 percent, the denouncer and the apprehender collected 35 percent each while the remaining 5 percent was used for the expenses associated with the confiscation. In the 1820s the *alcalde* received roughly 10 percent, the *promovedores* (promoters) 20 percent, the public treasury close to 45 percent, while the rest went to the denouncers. [27]

The documents reveal that some New Mexican officials made a concerted effort to curtail contraband, particularly during the late 1820s and 1830s. As soon as the Santa Fe Trail caravans approached, authorities dispatched troops to discourage fraud, particularly the common practice of hiding merchandise along the road. [28] According to Gregg about 150 miles from Santa Fe parties of customs house agents or clerks accompanied by a military escort would come out to guard the caravan to the capital with the ostensible purpose of preventing smuggling. But he claimed that "any one disposed to smuggle would find no difficulty in securing the services of these preventive guards, who, for a trifling *douceur* (gift) would prove very efficient auxiliaries, rather than obstacles to the success of any such designs." [29] Naturally these agents and soldiers were susceptible to bribes and the local authorities might have been aware that these encounters could produce a measure of economic relief for the underpaid New Mexicans. Unrest among the troops in Santa Fe had flared after they denounced a load of contraband belonging to Daniel Workman, and the local officials authorized the return of the confiscated merchandise. In 1845 securing enough funds to cover soldiers' salaries continued to be an important political issue. [30]

Still, the legal process in handling contraband cases reveals determination on the part of some local authorities to follow correct procedures. This was difficult because New Mexico's isolation delayed judicial appeals and impeded the prompt administration of justice.

Furthermore officials were seldom adequately trained and often ignorant of the legal system and the current judicial dispositions.

The most revealing case during this period involved a leading citizen accused of smuggling. The prolonged proceedings (1828-1831) are important for two reasons—they include valuable information on the mechanics of contraband and operating the legal system, and reveal conflicting perspectives between New Mexican and Mexican authorities regarding the punishment of smugglers. [31]

In July 1828 Francisco Pérez Serrano, *Primer Vocal* (first deputy) for the territory of New Mexico to the Mexican Congress, was accused of carrying five *tercios* of contraband. Pérez Serrano was jailed and the confiscated merchandise distributed. The total assessed at 816 pesos two *reales* and five *granos*, close to 42 percent (342 pesos six *reales* and three *granos*) went to the treasury, the *alcalde* received 81 pesos four *reales* and two *granos*, while the denouncers and promoters received 196 pesos each. According to Pérez Serrano's testimony he had found the *tercios* on the side of the road along the Cañada de los Alamos (near Pecos) as he was riding with José María Padilla. His deposition indicated that he immediately realized that fraud was involved, with the purpose of either stealing the merchandise or avoiding import duties, so Pérez Serrano and Padilla moved the *tercios* to a spot close by where they waited to see if the owner would show up. Since nobody did, Pérez Serrano decided to take them to the *aduana* (customs house) in Santa Fe on less-frequented roads. Corporal José Larrañaga and a detachment of soldiers dispatched for the purpose of preventing contraband stopped Pérez Serrano and Padilla and accused the former of trying to introduce merchandise illegally. Pérez Serrano told Larrañaga to take the merchandise back, but the officer refused and carried Pérez Serrano to the Santa Fe jail. The following depositions indicate that animosity existed between these two individuals and it is possible that there is an underlying family feud behind much of what happened. [32]

Pérez Serrano sat behind bars as his plea for bail was not accepted. Juan Bautista Alarid, the *Alcalde Segundo* (vice-mayor), mishandled the case as a result of his ignorance about correct legal procedures, or perhaps antagonism toward Pérez Serrano. A month after the incident New Mexican authorities requested legal advice from Licenciado Victoriano Guerra from Chihuahua. He severely chastised Alarid for not following exactly the provisions of the law. The *comiso* should have been declared within 48 hours of finding the merchandise. Only then would it have been possible to establish a legal action against Pérez Serrano. It would have been necessary to obtain depositions from the soldiers and the corporal immediately after they seized the property. Guerra also noted that there appeared to have been intent to harm the Provincial Deputy because Padilla was left free while Pérez Serrano stayed in jail. Most important, since the deputy had been held for more than 72 hours without being told the motive for his imprisonment, he should have been released immediately. [33]

Soon after Guerra's pronouncement, Alarid acknowledged having made involuntary mistakes in his original handling of the case and proceeded to record the testimony from Larrañaga and his soldiers. They all concurred that upon apprehension Pérez Serrano had admitted he was carrying the merchandise for an American, and asked the corporal to take the mules and the merchandise. Since Larrañaga would not agree, Pérez Serrano asked the corporal to shoot him to avoid the shame that such an action would bring upon his name. [34]

Miguel Sena, the *promotor fiscal* of the territory at the time, presented an eloquent case against Serrano. He claimed that Pérez Serrano used the "supposed" animosity of Larrañaga to hide his dishonorable behavior. Sena believed there were doubts about Pérez Serrano's innocence and was particularly incensed at the attempt to defraud the public treasury. He wanted a harsh punishment for Pérez Serrano because he was an *empleado público* (public employee) and as such he should have been worthy of the people's trust. Sena requested that

in accordance with the Mexican law of September 4, 1823, article 13, his name and crime be published in the newspapers declaring Pérez Serrano to be unworthy of the public trust. Sena was particularly incensed that a public servant like a deputy to the Mexican Congress, who might have voted for the *comiso* law enacted in 1823, should be involved in such an outrageous crime. [35]

A week later Santiago Abreu presented a lengthy and articulate defense of Pérez Serrano. Abreu's argument rested on the animosity that existed between Pérez Serrano and Larrañaga and spoke of the intent to harm his client, although it is never clear why this was so. Abreu was quick to point out that Padilla was allowed to leave Santa Fe the day after the incident, but his client was forced to remain in jail and his offer of bail was not accepted. [36]

Alarid was unsure how to continue, so he sent all the documents associated with the case to authorities in Chihuahua, once again requesting legal advice. On December 31, 1828, Licenciado Juan Antonio Villaroel responded. His decision reached Santa Fe in February. By this time Alarid was no longer the mayor, having been replaced by Francisco Trujillo. Villarel decided that in the past when there was no *Audiencia* (high court), as in New Mexico, the *alcaldes* and lower judges did not have the authority to sentence, only to suspend a case. In such instances they sent the *Audiencia* the dossier and an explanation of why there was a disagreement. Villarel decided that this was what had to be done and New Mexican officials complied. But upon receipt of the case the Circuit Court in El Parral returned the materials. They had found a number of *nulidades* (corrections, crossouts, intercalated documents) throughout the proceedings and made Alarid responsible for the failure to handle the case correctly. The members of the Circuit Court warned Trujillo that the form and order of the documents had to be corrected before the appeal could continue. [37]

The tribunal at El Parral also requested officials to determine if Alarid had acted as substitute district judge or simply as *Alcalde*. If Alarid had not acted as a judge, the materials related to the case were to be sent to a magistrate competent on such matters so a decision could be reached in accordance with the law. Alarid admitted that he had acted as *Primer Alcalde*, but was angered by the turn of events and left for Chihuahua and Sonora. The court at El Parral decided that since it was not the responsibility of the *alcaldes* of the territory to be knowledgeable on matters about the public treasury, Alarid did not have the authority to declare the *comiso* nor to distribute the smuggled merchandise as he did. The court also added that Alarid only had the authority to place the merchandise in deposit and that the district judge should take care of the case. [38]

But there were no district judges in New Mexico. After 18 months (Dec. 1830) the Parral circuit judges noted that a law enacted May 1826 stipulated that the territory of New Mexico should have a district judge and that if such a position could not be filled the government would have to appoint three *letrados* (lawyers) as substitutes, and if unable to do so, it would have to appoint three of the most capable local individuals. Since none of these appointments had taken place the tribunal decided there was no competent authority in the territory to handle matters pertaining to the national treasury. José Francisco Blanco, the head of the tribunal, admitted that Pérez Serrano had been guilty of trying to smuggle merchandise, but ruled that the irregularities in the proceedings forced him to nullify the case. [39] An appeal finally went before the Supreme Court which upheld the ruling of the lower court. Mexico's highest judicial authority's verdict endorsed the notion that punishing smuggling was not as important as ensuring that the legal process operated without irregularities and that it follow strictly the dictates of the law. Local authorities had limited powers and until the national judiciary was established they would be limited in their ability to enforce the laws.

Contraband cases were numerous in the late 1820s and early 1830s, but declined within the next decade. Corporal Larrañaga participated in other smuggling incidents and seemed always

ready to follow the dictates of the laws. In one instance a group of Americans was digging a large "crater" in the ground supposedly for 55 adjacent *tercios*. The foreigners claimed that they were trying to cover the merchandise temporarily until two of their broken wagons were fixed. The corporal did not hesitate to inform the local authorities and request a decision whether contraband was to be declared. Unluckily no records survive that document the outcome of this case. [40]

Denunciation of illegal merchandise was a common occurrence. In March 1831 the authorities seized contraband merchandise from a store operated by Americans. [41] Another interesting case involved José M. Martínez, the *alcalde* of Taos. In 1832 an American rented 12 mules from Martínez's brother. Apparently, he later found out that the Americans intended to introduce contraband and tried to catch them. Unfortunately he was not successful, although later it appeared that the Americans had held the merchandise in the vicinity. Afterwards, Martínez argued that since he was only a local official he was not empowered to act. [42]

There is no doubt that contraband was common, and that many New Mexicans took advantage of the economic opportunity smuggling offered. The administration of justice was slow and ill-suited for a province like New Mexico, large, distant and isolated, and lacking officials who were well-educated and versed in judicial matters. Such a cumbersome system encouraged illegal activities. Pérez Serrano was jailed, but not fined, and suffered only the loss of the merchandise, for which he probably had paid nothing. The local officials, however, were chastised and reprimanded by Mexican judicial authorities. Even though they attempted to conduct the process carefully, their ignorance of proper procedures caused them to spend a considerable time on this case. It is not surprising that relatively few were charged with contraband after 1831. Even if there would have been a strong incentive to prosecute those who violated Mexican regulations, the province did not have the resources to take them to court.

Yet most cases of contraband for which documentation exists listed a limited amount of merchandise, and with a couple of exceptions, involved individuals who were not socially prominent. Political authorities and the well-to-do were able to take advantage of their position and avert any inconveniences for their illegal activities. Manuel Armijo, a relative of the famous governor, traveled east several times. The records show that no *guías* for foreign merchandise were ever issued to him, even though Missouri newspapers and customs house records note that Armijo, like other merchants from the *Río Abajo*, regularly made substantial purchases of merchandise in the United States for the Mexican market and brought them to New Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail. [43] It is not clear what Armijo did with these goods, but it is probable that like other wealthy merchants he succeeded in establishing a sophisticated system of mercantile operations. [44]

The major impact of the Trail trade on most New Mexicans was an increase in job opportunities, although wages continued to be appallingly low. Because of the Mexican ban on importing ready-made clothing, tailors and seamstresses were in considerable demand. Hispanos were renowned for their muleteer, horsemanship, and packing skills and were sought for packing and freighting services. But most of the population continued to live in poverty with little opportunity for betterment. Many were driven into debt peonage, pledging crops years in advance. Contraband offered economic relief that looked increasingly attractive to a neglected, destitute population.

Most contraband cases show that authorities in Mexico City were unable to pay adequate attention to the edges of the republic and failed to realize that illegal trading was becoming a means of strengthening the economic ties linking American traders to the struggling New Mexican population.

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SANTA FE

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CHAPTER V:

NEW MEXICAN MERCHANTS AND MERCANTILE CAPITALISM

Está algo enredado, pero así se hace dinero. [1]

Damaso Robledo, 1846

Damaso Robledo, an agent for Manuel Alvarez, was scouting the New Mexican territory buying grains and legumes from small farmers and selling merchandise Alvarez had purchased in the eastern United States. His activities were typical of the commercial system which had developed in New Mexico by the time of the Mexican war, and illustrate how New Mexican merchants took advantage of the economic opportunity their territory offered. Like Manuel Alvarez they had established stores throughout the countryside where the local population could buy the merchandise they had imported. Since most New Mexicans had no cash, they paid for these purchases with sheep or crops, which often they mortgaged years in advance. Robledo's comment also indicates that Hispanos understood the need to engage in complex transactions to make a profit.

It took time for the New Mexican mercantile system to mature. For almost two decades after the "opening" of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821 local merchants did not participate in any direct large-scale commercial activities with United States firms. By the end of the 1830s, however, they ventured east to New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, where they invested sizable assets. Slowly they became part of a widespread commercial network, which offered them substantial returns. Their complex transactions came to include merchants in the United States, Europe, and Mexico. Far from ending hispano involvement, the changes which resulted from the Mexican War appear to have strengthened the economic relations between New Mexico's *comerciantes* (merchants) and their counterparts in the United States.

By the mid-19th century New Mexicans regularly arranged for substantial purchases in the major commercial centers in the eastern United States, including European merchandise from Ireland, Great Britain, France, and Italy. American businesses and newspapers in Kansas, Missouri, and New York acknowledged the presence of large parties of Hispanos and, realizing their likely impact in the local economies, they published advertisements intended exclusively to attract their attention. The announcement of Francisco B. Rhodes & Co. provides an excellent idea of the variety of items New Mexicans purchased in the United States (see Figure 6). [2]



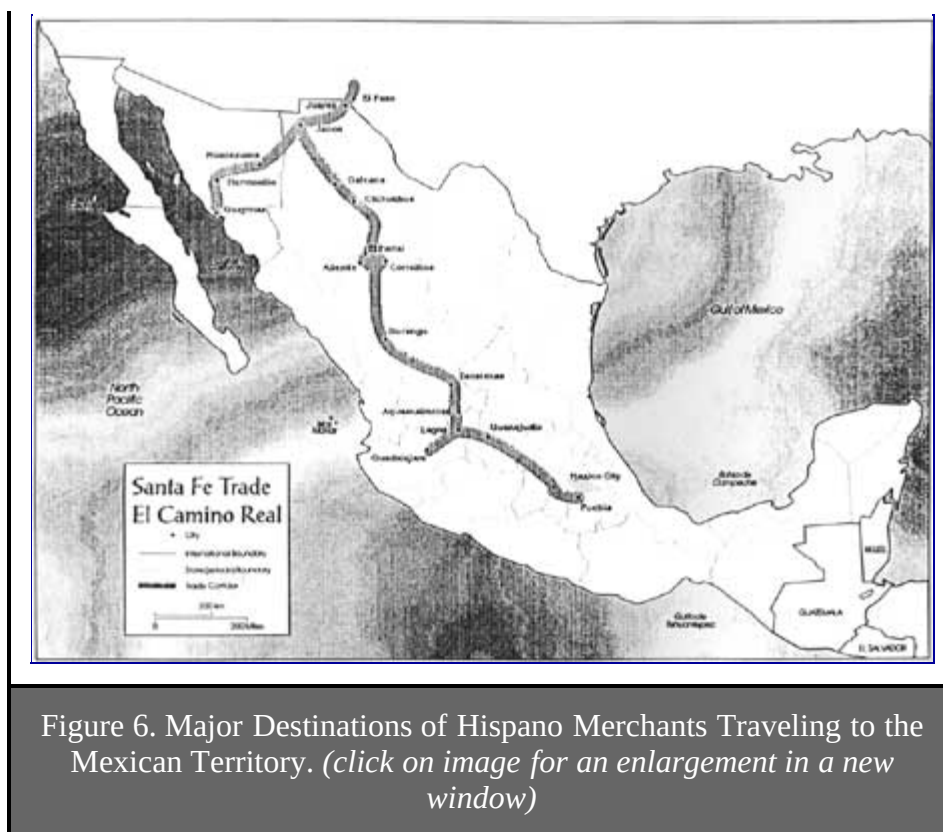


Figure 6. Major Destinations of Hispano Merchants Traveling to the Mexican Territory. (*click on image for an enlargement in a new window*)

Hispano merchants might not have dominated the trade, but they owned a significant portion of the goods hauled across the prairies. For example, out of the 402 wagons traveling to Santa Fe in 1859, almost half (197) belonged to Hispanos. It is not possible to determine the value of the merchandise carried by each ethnic group, but it is likely that it paralleled the volume. Records of caravans during the 1850s and 1860s indicate no major changes in this pattern and inscriptions in Oklahoma corroborate the presence of large numbers of New Mexican traders until the 1880s. [3]

During those four decades (1839-1880) the nature of the enterprise evolved. Hispano merchants, like their American and European counterparts, stopped making yearly trips east to arrange orders of merchandise, but used the services of commission merchants, such as Peter Harmony, to manage their transactions in the United States. They designated trusted *mayordomos* to travel east and make the final purchases and freighting arrangements. They obtained goods from a variety of sources in an attempt to get the best prices.

Unfortunately only sporadic sets of personal papers survive that directly document their activities. Enough evidence exists, however, on the Chávez family to describe the operation and evolution of their businesses. [4] Census data from 1860 and 1870 and scattered correspondence from Manuel Alvarez, the Delgado family, and others confirm its operation and success.

Hispanos began to trade sporadically in the United States in the early 1820s. The first to do so were the Escuderos, a couple of Chihuahuan traders. In 1824 Governor Bartolomé Baca selected José Escudero to travel to Council Bluffs (present-day Iowa) with a delegation of 26 Spaniards. His primary purpose was to conclude a treaty with the Pawnees. There is no evidence that Escudero purchased any merchandise in the United States. [5]



ALVAREZ PAPERS

No 267

FRANCISCO B. RHODES Y COMPANIA,

TIENEN SUS ALMACENES EN

Pearl street, No. 120, y Water street No. 84.

NUEVA YORK,

IMPORTAN

JENEROS INGLESES, FRANCESES, ALEMANES Y VENECIANOS, Y TRATAN ASIMISMO EN OBJETOS

VARIOS DE GUSTO Y CAPRICHIO, DE FÁBRICA AMERICANA.

ESCOPETAS.

Fusiles con bayonetas.

Escopetas con la marca del { con devolucion
Elefante. } de derechos.

Id. de la Costa del Noroeste. }

Escopetas baratas, sencillas y dobles.

Id. de dos cañones, ricamante montadas.

Id. id. en caoba.

Cajas con vitallinos.

Escopetas repadas y carabinas.

PISTOLAS.

Fistolas baratas, con cañones de bronce y de

acero parados.

Id. de uno y dos tiros, de gran variedad de

clases.

Id. con culatas de marfil y ébano.

Id. de dos tiros.

Id. con cañones de metal alemán.

Id. en cajas de caoba.

Id. con pulcra.

PISTONES.

Pistones reforzados y con headstrokes.

Id. reforzados.

Id. sencillos.

De varias calidades.

CUCHILLERIA.

Navajas de afeitarse en estuches dobles de tallado

Id. en id. sencillos.

Id. con moles, baratas.

Corapiumas y navajas de habillo en cartones.

Id. con mangos de marfil, nácar y cuerno.

Id. en docenas.

Cuchillos de monte.

TIJERAS INGLESAS Y

ALEMANAS.

Gran variedad de clases, en cartones y por

docenas.

AVALORIOS.

Imitacion de papel. Avalorios gruesos, negros,

blancos, azules, verdes, amarillos, anaranja-

dos, color de rubi, calia y azul-celeste.

Cuentas de cristal tallado, del núm. 1 al 14.

Un surtido abundante de avalorios de cachem-
bo sencillos y tallados.

Id. apropiados para los mercados de Africa y

de los indios.

Cuentas doradas, plateadas y de acero.

JENEROS VARIOS.

Corchetes franceses, plateados.

Cuchilleria id. id.

Id. de 7 y a 11 pulgadas de tamaño, gran surtido.

Id. con pantallas de cristal.

Sequitos y botas de avalorios.

Tornos de goma elástica, y cables.

Ligas de id.

Id. de terciopelo estampado.

Cordones para el reloj, de goma elástica.

Piedras de sillar para navajas y cortapiumas.

Botas de punto de red, de seda.

Id. de Canton, labradas y lana.

Espejos de dos caras.

Vidrios de Sol.

Agujas de mazar con muestra.

Id. de bolillo.

Sedaes para pescar, de pua de Canton.

Id. de hilo.

Anzuelos.

Dedales de metal alemán.

Id. de plata, sencillos y con moles.

Id. de bronce, abiertos y cerrados por arriba.

Id. de acero parados.

Lapices de Camperdown.

Id. de cedro alemán.

Lapiz piedra, cubierto.

Id. sencillo.

Picartas alemanas, de todos tamaños.

Lapiz de piedras para escribir en ellas.

Objetos en cajas, blancos y encarnados.

Lacre, surtido de varios colores.

Tinteros de cuerno.

Brasante de hilo, blanco, amarillo y azul.

Botas de mármol para juguete de niños,

blancos y y jaspados.

Piomas de acero.

Acorchones de Palo de Rosa de 6 a 12 filos.

Flautas alemanas.

Harpas id.

Cueravillos id.

Violones furtados y sencillos.

Cuerdas de violin, inglesas y alemanas.

Cuerdas de guitarra.

Cajitas de cristal, de capricho.

Balones de juguete, ingleses, franceses y

alemanes.

Cajas de agujas y a fileres.

Agujas, de la fábrica de Hemmings & hijos.

Id. en cajas de ojalata para exportar.

Id. de hacer punto, en gruesas.

Id. de Victoria, en cajas.

Id. de empaquetar, alemanas.

Alfileres gruesos, surtidos, por cuarterones.

Herruquillas para la cabeza, alemanas.

Papel de hilo para escribir, frances.

Cajas de Tabaco: 5000 docenas de toda

especie.

Id. de de madera con embutidos.

Id. de metal alemán.

ANTEOJOS.

Anteojos de metal alemán, con vidrios claros

y verdes.

Id. de ojo de plata, de uro y dos vidrios.

Id. montados en acero.

Id. de teatro, por gruesas.

Id. en cajas.

PERFUMERIA.

Agua de Colonia, alemana.

Id. de Lavanda.

Aleone perfumado para el pelo, en botellas

de gusto.

Id. de Moutard.

Jabon perfumado de Windsor, de la fábrica

de Lova.

Id. fino frances, de rosa y de alimendra.

Jabones surtidos de gusto, de todas des

especies.

JOYERIA.

Zarcillos dorados, embuchados y esmalados.

Alfileres de pecho, dorados, sencillos y

esmalados.

Cadenas y cordones de reloj, dorados.

Borques de oro fino.

Id. de oro de uro.

Id. doradas, baratas, en cajas.

Llaves para relojes.

Broches dorados y charolados.

BOTONES.

Botones de hueso para tirantes, finos y

ordinarios.

Id. para trabbas y camisas, id. y id.

Id. de nácar lino y labrados, id. y id.

Id. de metal para tirantes, id. y id.

Id. de mucha diara, id. y id.

Id. de seda y terciopelo, lino y labrados.

Id. para camisas y chalecos.

PEINETERIA.

Peinucillas de cuerno, en cajas.

Peinos de cuerno con puaa adelgazadas y sin

adelgazar.

Id. de marfil con puaa finas.

Batidores de id.

Id. de cuerno ingles.

Id. de cuerno comun, claro y oscuro.

Id. de bolillo, derechos y arqueados.

Id. de trabajo grueso, como usan los negros.

Peines bastos para limpiar caballos.

Id. de cuerno fino y ordinario.

Peinotas de varias clases.

Rondores de cuerno de bífido.

Id. de metal alemán.

Id. para el bolillo.

Id. de madera, para id.

CPILLOS.

Cepillos de dientes de 3, 4 y 5 sedenas.

Id. de uitas, con la sepada elida & de enro-

jado de alambres.

Id. para el pelo, de Palo de rosa y adornados.

Id. finos y ordinarios.

Id. de ropa, de pu'o de rosa y charolados.

Id. de vombres, finos y ordinarios.

Escobillas de afeitarse, con mango de hueso,

de ébano y de palo de coro.

Picotes de pelo de camelo.

Cepillos de mesa, de cuerpo y de limpiar

caballos.

JENEROS VARIOS DE

FÁBRICA AMERICANA.

Corchetes plateados, en cajas redondas.

Piomas de metal para escribir, en cajas y en

cartones.

Mangos para id.

Acorchadores de navajas de Emerson.

Cajas con arcos de afeitarse, con y sin espejo.

Balenas para corsets, de acero, de madera y

de hule.

Figure 7. Spanish Leaflet Advertising Merchandise Available in New York. Courtesy of New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

Another Escudero, Manuel Simón, a deputy to the Mexican Congress, journeyed east the following year. Commissioned by Governor Baca as well, his task was to visit the United States in the interest of international commerce and to seek protection from the Indians. Manuel Escudero stopped at St. Louis, Washington, and Franklin, Missouri. [6] His stay in the United States received considerable attention. The *Franklin Intelligencer* reported that Escudero had arrived with "six or seven new and substantial built waggons [sic]. . .heavily laden with merchandise." The article added that Escudero had expended a very large sum in the purchase of goods, wagons, and equipment, and concluded that the trip "may be considered as a new era in the commerce between Mexico and this country, and it is probable the example of Mr. Escudero will be followed by others of his rich countrymen who will bring hither large portions of their surplus wealth for the same purpose." [7]

The Escuderos made at least one more trip. In July 1827 Manuel received a *guía* that listed him as the owner of a modest amount of foreign merchandise (346 pesos five *reales* six *granos*) with destination Chihuahua. Luis Escudero was the recipient of the effects and

http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/safe/shs5.htm[7/2/2012 3:04:27 PM]

another Escudero, José Agustín, was the conductor of the load. [8]

Apparently the Escuderos' trading did not ignite the imagination of New Mexican merchants, as it would be more than 10 years before the province's *ricos* decided to bring "large portions of their surplus wealth" to the United States. [9] It is possible that José Ignacio Ortiz, the *alcalde* of Santa Fe, might have traveled to Philadelphia in 1830 to arrange for the purchase of merchandise. Only one document records his stay; unfortunately it does not reveal the purpose of his trip. [10]

New Mexicans continued to acquire large shipments of foreign goods from their traditional Mexican suppliers at least until 1837, when José Chávez purchased 7,680 pesos worth of merchandise from Durango. [11] But commercial opportunities in Mexico appeared to be declining. A June 1838 letter from José Cordero to Manuel Armijo suggested the need to look for markets elsewhere. Cordero informed Armijo that it would be difficult to sell sheep in the Mexican territory and that prices would be lower than usual. He notified his business associate that he was thinking of leaving Chihuahua since it was no longer possible to make a good living there. [12]

It is unclear if and how Cordero's assessment relates to the change in New Mexican patterns of trade which took place in 1839. It is possible that Cordero and his New Mexican counterparts realized that in order to satisfy the growing demand for foreign goods they would have to acquire merchandise elsewhere. It is also difficult to ascertain the accuracy of Cordero's appraisal of the situation in Mexico, since an April 1840 report by Mariano de Valois (in response to a letter from U.S. Representative Edward Cross) indicated that Chihuahua, with a population of 140,000 and a consumption of \$2.5 to \$3 million a year, continued to be an ideal market for foreign goods. [13]

Why didn't New Mexicans trade directly with American wholesalers until the late 1830s? There are several possible explanations. First, New Mexicans might not have had enough cash on hand in the 1820s to get favorable credit terms. Second, as foreigners, they might not have been able to get loans to purchase merchandise in the eastern cities. Third, local New Mexican authorities might have imposed unofficial restrictions on their commercial activities in a foreign country. After all, the governor of the province (Baca) had to personally authorize Escudero's trip. Fourth, a dramatic change in economic conditions within the Mexican territory in the late 1830s might have made such trips profitable. Fifth, wealthy New Mexicans might have decided to stop paying substantial mark ups on foreign products. Although it was cheaper to buy foreign merchandise in Santa Fe than from Mexican merchants, surcharges were still high. In 1834 local storekeepers Santiago and Ramón Abreu bought goods from Manuel Alvarez. They paid surcharges of 100 and 120 percent on most items. Such practices continued to be the norm as late as April 1845 when Juan Otero paid similar surcharges on the 7,800 pesos worth of goods he purchased from Manuel Alvarez at Santa Fe. [14]

Regardless of the reasons, 1839 witnessed a dramatic change in the direction of trade from New Mexico. Although Cordero did not leave Chihuahua in 1838, the following year he was among the first Hispanos who traveled east to establish direct commercial relations with commission merchants and suppliers of needed *efectos extranjeros*. Cordero was identified as one of the prominent "Mexicans" who were part of a large trading caravan of more than 100 wagons crossing present-day Kansas en route to Santa Fe. The size of his shipment was substantial although the official assessment of its total value, if it ever existed, has not survived. A manifest of the property he declared at the New Mexican customs house at Santa Fe indicates that he imported 42,000 yards of cotton textiles for which he paid more than 10,000 pesos in duties. He received two *guías*, a small one for 280 pesos of merchandise and a much larger one including 42 bundles, for which no value was indicated. It is not clear if he

carried back to Chihuahua all he purchased in the United States. [15]

Cordero traveled with José Olivares, another Mexican merchant, who bought a smaller amount of merchandise. They were the earliest merchants, but not the only ones, who went east that year. José Chávez and other Mexican merchants left San Miguel del Vado, New Mexico on September 23 and reached Independence, Missouri, on October 30. Theirs was a five-wagon caravan, apparently composed entirely of New Mexicans. According to the *Niles' National Register* the members of the group traveled again to St. Louis on November 11 carrying \$60,000 in specie. [16] These merchants spent the winter in the United States and left in May for Santa Fe where they arrived in July. Both official documents from the *aduana* at Santa Fe and American newspaper reports concur that these entrepreneurs freighted 11 wagons of merchandise back to New Mexico.

The Chávez brothers and the other merchants were wealthy and carried substantial cash on their trips to the United States. It seems, however, that American newspapers might have exaggerated the amount and value of the specie New Mexicans took. If we believe *The Weekly Picayune*, Chávez and his party managed to make a substantial profit in those five months. According to the above newspaper the "Mexican" merchants carried back merchandise valued at \$75,000, five times more than the \$15,000 reported in November. The manifests for these goods survive and it is unlikely that all the assessments together could have reached even the lower alleged sum. [17]

Nevertheless, the 1839 trip must have been successful because thereafter increasing numbers of New Mexican merchants traveled east every year to arrange for commercial transactions in the United States. They quickly adopted regular trading patterns. In general, their caravans departed Santa Fe during April or the early part of May, reached Independence or St. Louis, Missouri, and then continued on to eastern industrial centers, like Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Sometime in June they started on the trip home. Weather sometimes delayed their activities and they did not return until September or October. [18] Many probably followed the example of Gaspar Ortiz and José Chávez who added foreign goods to the merchandise they had been sending to the interior of Mexico for years. They both came back from the United States on July 27, 1843. Less than a month later, on August 17, Ortiz sent two loads to Chihuahua and Sonora. Chávez postponed the shipment of his merchandise to Mexico until August 25. [19]

Manifests for caravans entering New Mexico in theory had to account for all packages, their certified value, the persons to whom they were consigned, the destination, and the value of the goods. Historians agree, however, that the declared value of the merchandise bore little relation to what the owner had paid or even to what tariff the local officials collected. According to Moorhead the customs records merely justified the amount of revenue actually sent to the national treasury, and the true value of the Santa Fe trade was never accurately reported. [20]

Gregg and other foreign merchants complained that unfair import duties favored New Mexicans, but the surviving documents reveal no special treatment from the authorities at the customs house in Santa Fe. In 1839 Cordero paid 7,897.48 pesos of *derecho de internación*, 459 pesos of *derecho de consumo*, and in addition 1,673.52 pesos on a special fee placed on cotton textiles—four cents on each square *vara* (.84 yards). And he was not the exception. Another Mexican merchant who traveled with Cordero, José Olivares paid similar dues. [21]

In July 1840 two American traders, in addition to three New Mexicans, introduced merchandise into the territory. The locals paid a substantial share of the import duties—4,647.72 pesos for *derecho de internación*, 895.98 pesos for *derecho de consumo*, and 955.52 pesos for a special temporary surcharge on cotton textiles. Their total amounted to 6,499.21

pesos. Americans did not pay the *derecho de consumo*, so their duties were relatively lower than those paid by the locals—3,413 pesos. New Mexicans contributed 61 percent of the *derecho de internación*, but only 38.7 percent of the *derecho de consumo*. It is difficult to generalize on the basis of these figures because they included only merchandise introduced during the month of July, and unfortunately no additional records survive for that year. Undoubtedly rumors about the Texan Santa Fe expedition contributed to a temporary decreased interest in the trade. [22]

The following spring (May 1841) the Chávezes, the Armijos, possibly the Oteros, and others traveled east in the company of American traders. The *Daily Missouri Republican* noted that the caravan had 22 wagons, a large number of mules, and \$180,000 to \$200,000 in specie. A witness saw "about 20 Spanish Mexicans. . .led by Chávez." The New Mexicans apparently did not winter in the United States that year. Newspapers reported that by early October Armijo and Chávez left Independence, Missouri, headed west with 30 wagons, 72 tons of merchandise, and around 350 mules. The majority of the official customs documents for 1841 have been lost and it is not possible to learn much more about this trip. Gregg listed 15 merchants carrying \$150,000 in goods for that year. [23]

During the early 1840s the size of New Mexican purchases in the United States increased dramatically. Webb believed that, "the [American] traders had some hand in deterring the Mexicans from going in for goods by exaggerating the danger and reporting rumors of a large expedition from Texas being organized for the purpose of making a raid upon the prairies and taking every Mexican train that should attempt to cross the plains that year." [24] Local merchants, however, were undeterred by the failed Texan Santa Fe expedition. [25] In June 1842 Juan Perea introduced 70 *bultos*. Among them he brought 30,129.5 yards of fabrics, different types of sewing threads, ribbons, cotton socks, and 100 hats. The most interesting aspect of this shipment, however, is the lack of variety—only 12 different types of goods. Four of these were fabrics, but most of the shipment (26,589 yards—88 percent) consisted of *lienzo*. Perea paid 4,910.10 pesos in duties. *Lienzo* was inexpensive and it only required one *real* per *vara* in import duties. Other fabrics paid higher tariffs—*pano* was 12 *reales* per *vara*, woolen knittings 15 *reales* per *vara*. Luxury items were subject to more substantial duties—silk thread and ribbons two dollars per pound, socks two and a half dollars per dozen, hats three dollars each. [26]

Perea was not the only merchant who introduced large shipments with little variety. Antonio José Otero's purchases for 1842 included almost twice as much cloth as Perea's and showed the same lack of variety. Otero paid 9,321.90 pesos in import duties reflecting the substantial size of his purchase. [27] New Mexican merchants were following the example of some foreign merchants, who since the early 1830s, had been introducing large quantities of selected items. But not all traders relied on this strategy. For example, in 1843 Spanish-born Manuel Alvarez introduced a much more varied assortment than those of Perea and Otero, a larger number of items paying higher import duties; John McKnight followed the pattern adopted by the Spaniard, while James Magoffin took a middle-course—his manifest reflected less variety than Alvarez's but a lot more than either Perea's or Otero's. [28]

1843 was a banner year for the Santa Fe Trail. Gregg reported 30 traders with 230 wagons carrying almost \$500,000 in merchandise. [29] In spite of the murder of Antonio José Chávez, which took place in April, increasing numbers of New Mexicans began trading directly with United States wholesalers. In April, 180 men, 42 wagons and 1,200 mules left Santa Fe for Independence, where they arrived by mid-May. Most were identified as Mexicans who carried between \$250,000 and \$300,000 in bullion and a substantial amount of furs. Witnesses reported that 11 traders continued to New York to make purchases. An account indicates that it was during this trip that Juan and José Leandro Perea and José Chávez brought young Francisco and Joaquin Perea and J. Francisco Chávez to be registered

as students in a Jesuit college. [30]

By late June the merchants were back in Santa Fe. The manifests for the year (1843) document an expanding New Mexican presence and changes in the composition of the caravans. New families joined the trade for the first time as it became possible even for those with limited capital to participate in direct trade with the United States. Tomás González, for example, brought a modest load consisting of four different kinds of fabrics—500 yards of *lienzo*, 45 yards of *manta*, 330 yards of *indiana*, and 120 yards of *mahon* (nankeen). Customs officials charged him 150 pesos in tariffs. [31] Juan Nepomuceno and José Mariano Gutiérrez returned with 13 bundles of foreign merchandise. Together they paid 2,626.22 pesos in duties. Their goods included little variety and no luxury items. Juan introduced 2,817 yards of linen, 1,792 yards of calico, 450 yards of assorted fabrics, nine dozen knives, 12 dozen cotton socks, three dozen scissors, six dozen locks, and four dozen pocket knives. José Mariano's manifest showed even less variety, but large quantities—3,100 yards of linen, 2,500 yards of nankeen, 3,300 yards of calico, 250 yards of other textiles, 25 dozen cotton socks, and 16 pieces of handkerchief cloth. [32]

In general the economic resources of the owner determined the size, composition, and value of the shipments. The wealthier merchants introduced larger quantities of merchandise, but did not import a greater variety of items than those of more limited means. They concentrated instead on finer and more expensive merchandise. For example, Gaspar Ortiz introduced French and British calicos, top quality cashmere, corduroy, velvet, silk gloves, and others. Mariano Chávez brought in close to 40,000 yards of textiles and among these he included European luxury goods, such as cashmeres, velvet, linens, calicos, flannels, fancy shawls, satins, and silk ribbons. [33]

The manifests for 1844 suggest that each year New Mexican traders imported larger quantities and more expensive foreign merchandise. Although the size of the shipments increased, their composition did not change. Juan C. Armijo, Antonio José Otero, Juan and José Perea, and Mariano Chávez together introduced close to \$75,000 in merchandise. Shipments were composed almost exclusively of fabrics. In addition Armijo's goods included combs, cotton socks, and handkerchiefs. Otero and the Pereas purchased the same kinds of effects, except no combs. Chávez's loads also included fur hats and scarfs. [34]

The records for 1845 appear incomplete, but possibly reflect uncertainty as the clash between the United States and Mexico became inevitable. No manifests survive for this year and the New Mexican shipments to the interior of Mexico were insignificant compared to the loads foreigners carried. For example, the *guías* indicate that James Magoffin hauled 176 *piezas* assessed at \$26,000. The merchandise belonged to Kerford and Jenkin, who also sent more than 100,000 yards of various fabrics to the interior of Mexico under the care of other freighters. Albert Speyer dispatched 601 *tercios* valued at \$68,948. [35]

The Mexican War did not stop commerce for long and appears to have had limited short-term detrimental impact on New Mexican commercial interests since merchants did not allow the armed confrontation to affect their economic transactions in the United States. [36] The Armijos, at least, seemed unconcerned and New York newspapers recorded their presence late in 1845 "to purchase their winter outfit." [37] The following spring New Mexican merchants traveled east again to "acquire goods for the trade and Pittsburgh manufactures." [38]

There has been a lot of controversy regarding economic control of the Santa Fe trade before and after the Mexican War. Unfortunately the lack of systematic information regarding ownership, the value and amount of merchandise, and its origin and final destination prevents a definitive analysis of the trade between New Mexico and the United States during the 19th

century. Estimates of the value of the merchandise invested in the Santa Fe trade are crude and incomplete. Gregg provides the most often cited and possibly most reliable assessment prior to the Mexican war. With a few fluctuations he identified a fairly steady increase in the value and volume of merchandise that culminated in 1843 with 230 men carrying \$450,000 in merchandise in 230 wagons. [39] Later appraisals included fair indicators of volume, but the assessment of overall value is questionable. The reported average figure for the overland trade with Mexico for 1848 to 1858 was \$1,138,000, nearly a quarter of the total American trade with Mexico. In 1858 S. M. Hayes & Company, located at Council Grove, recorded 2,440 men, 1,827 wagons, 429 horses, 15,714 oxen, 5,316 mules, 67 carriages, and 9,608 tons of goods for a total investment capital of \$2,627,300. In 1859 the *Missouri Republican* reported that the trade had risen to \$10 million annually as 2,300 men, 1,970 wagons, 840 horses, 4,000 mules, 15,000 oxen, 73 carriages, and over 1,900 tons of freight left for New Mexico. According to T. B. Mills in 1860 even higher numbers of men (5,948), wagons (2,170), mules (5,933), and oxen (17,836) were carrying merchandise across the plains. A decade later it was estimated that the trade amounted to over \$5 million. [40]

Gregg claimed that by the 1840s Mexicans monopolized the trade. Much has been made of Cooke's statement in 1843 that, "of about 200 wagon loads which I have escorted this year, I do not believe 10 have belonged to Americans who were resident citizens." [41] Part of the difficulty stems from the incomplete nature of the records. Irregularities in record keeping by customs officials at Santa Fe also cast a doubt on the nature of the transactions recorded. For example, Missouri newspapers and witnesses agreed that Manuel Armijo procured considerable merchandise in the United States. However, no manifests identify such purchases, and even though the Customs House records at Santa Fe showed that Armijo received 14 *guías* between 1835 and 1845, none of them declared foreign merchandise. [42]

Official records roughly agree with the number of shipments Gregg reported, but his estimate of the value of the merchandise might be questionable. Any visual assessment of the value of the loads would have been subjective. Reporters referred to a wagon-load as the standard unit of shipment, but carts were not necessarily the same size and were laden with different kinds of goods. Those carrying bulky, coarser textiles, such as bolts of *lienzo* and *manta*, paid lower duties than those carrying finer fabrics, such as silk or lace, or luxury items. In addition during certain years some merchandise was exempt from import duties. For example, José Chávez and Antonio José Otero paid no duties on iron tools and coarse linens. [43] Assessments of the value of the trade were often based on newspaper accounts and eyewitnesses reports. While these might be adequate indicators of the numbers of men, wagons, mules, and oxen, they should be considered only rough estimates of the actual value of the merchandise hauled across the plains.

Furthermore, witnesses like Cooke were unlikely to have identified with certainty the owners of the merchandise since those who traveled with the goods did not necessarily own them. As the documents indicate and Gregg's figures suggest, by the 1840s foreign merchants not always accompanied their shipments. Furthermore their reliance on the superior freighting skills of New Mexicans probably accounts for the large number of Hispanos accompanying the caravans to the United States during the 1840s. The information American newspapers presented regarding ownership was inconsistent. Sometimes it listed the real owner, even if he had not traveled east. Sometimes the reported owner was the *mayordomo* in charge of organizing purchases and freighting the goods back home. [44]

Surviving documents, such as manifests and *guías*, do not allow an accurate and systematic comparison between American and New Mexican shipments. It is also impossible to establish the size and value of the merchandise that remained in the territory. *Guías* often do not provide information on the value of the goods. Customs officials seldom prepared complete manifests for an entire year and, as Moorhead noted, these documents bore little relation

either to the amount or the assessment of the imports. Although it is not possible to assert that New Mexicans controlled the trade on the eve of the Mexican War, it is accurate to maintain that during this period New Mexicans were the majority of the traders traveling down the Royal Road to the interior of Mexico. In 1843 New Mexicans received 70 *guías* to only 21 for Americans. However, only in 10 cases did New Mexicans haul foreign goods. The other shipments included sheep and *efectos del país*. They were bulky and, in general, of much smaller value than the shipments foreigners sent. New Mexican merchants were trading alongside Albert Speyer, Henry Connelly, Louis Robidoux, George East, and other wealthy entrepreneurs who controlled sizable capital and had important commercial relations with major American financial institutions. It is not possible to establish who controlled the trade, but after 1839 New Mexicans played a major role in the commerce between Mexico and the United States. [45]

Control of the trade is an issue that has attracted the attention of scholars of the Santa Fe Trail; however, there are neither descriptions nor analyses of the economic system that developed in New Mexico as a result. D. Sandoval concludes that the changes following the Mexican War had an immediate detrimental impact on New Mexico. [46] But documents indicate that wealthy New Mexican merchants profited substantially from the trade in the decades immediately after the American occupation as they continued to make large duty-free purchases in the United States. The evidence also indicates that New Mexicans further developed mercantile capitalism in the territory at least until 1880, when the railroad finally reached Santa Fe.

Scholars have ignored the contributions New Mexicans made to the development of an economic system well-suited to the special circumstances of their territory. Lewis E. Atherton's studies of Santa Fe traders include insightful observations, but concentrated exclusively on the activities of Missouri merchants before the Mexican War. [47]

Robert Parish wrote the most comprehensive study of the economic system that evolved as a result of the Santa Fe trade, yet he completely overlooked New Mexicans' contributions, focusing instead on the role of German Jews. [48] Parish identified three basic characteristics of mercantile capitalism in New Mexico. First, traveling merchants were replaced by sedentary merchants who depended on regular deliveries, and ordered ahead of time from Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and other eastern cities. Second, cash was a scarce commodity in a New Mexican economy that had a strongly unfavorable balance of trade. This forced merchants to establish close connections with local institutions, such as United States Army forts, which paid for their badly needed local produce with cash. This was then converted into Federal drafts on Eastern banks and deposited with wholesaling houses and commission merchants in New York City. Third, the need to gain access to the produce of the countryside encouraged the establishment of stores in small rural towns. [49]

New Mexican merchants began to implement such a system before the Mexican War, and after 1845 they were quick to acquire much-needed credit through the sale of raw materials to industrial areas and supplies to federal installations, such as United States Army posts, and possibly Indian reservations.

Parish's failure to examine Mexican documents accounts for his assessment that, "He [the German Jewish merchant] had found the Mexican merchants, with few exceptions, to possess little drive for material productiveness." [50] Parish did not realize that wealthy New Mexicans shared many of the characteristics of their German counterparts, and like them, did not enter the trade for speculative reasons, but sought to build a thriving and permanent business enterprise.

It is not possible to ascertain who was the first individual to implement mercantile capitalism

in New Mexico. It is clear, however, that Hispanos had developed a fairly sophisticated system before the Mexican War. Manuel Alvarez was not a native New Mexican, but should share at least partial credit for introducing mercantile capitalism in the province. Parish dismissed him as a minor figure because "his ledgers. . . show but three Eastern trips, some bartering in Taos and Abiquiú, but no signs of imports and exports on any scale." [51] It is unfortunate that Parish did not see how well Alvarez and other New Mexicans fit the model of the sedentary merchant, who had gone beyond petty capitalism to introduce a more sophisticated mercantile system to the territory.

Alvarez, a Spaniard who sporadically acted as American consul in New Mexico, spent close to three decades in Santa Fe. His international contacts allowed him to interact with relative ease with Europeans, Mexicans, and Americans. [52] It is true that Alvarez only made three trips east, but one of them took him to Europe from where he kept himself informed of business developments in the province and periodically forwarded instructions to his employees. [53] Alvarez was certainly not a traveling merchant. On the other hand, he seems to have matched perfectly Parish's idea of the sedentary merchant, "who sat down in administration... [and] became dependent on regular deliveries, ordered ahead of time, from distant areas." [54] Invoices from New York firms demonstrate that even though Alvarez himself did not travel east in 1845, he made substantial purchases from Alfred Edwards & Co., Francis B. Rhodes & Co., and Hyslop & Brothers. [55]

His ledgers do not reflect all his purchases, but they do show that until his death in 1856 he acted as a major wholesaler, retailer, commission merchant, and intermediary for both New Mexican merchants and their foreign counterparts. He had a large and varied clientele and by 1834 he already was wholesaling merchandise to Santiago and Ramón Abreu and lending money to a wide range of individuals. His economic operations prospered, possibly because Alvarez took advantage of the continued local demand for foreign goods. On April 24, 1845, he sold close to \$8,000 worth of merchandise to Juan Otero, among them 27,000 yards of fabrics. [56]

Another characteristic of Alvarez's system was the establishment of branch stores in order to gain access to the produce of the countryside. Alvarez had stores in San Miguel del Vado, La Cañada, Mora, and El Paso. During the 1840s he employed at least two agents, Damaso and Francisco Paula de Robledo. They covered certain areas of the New Mexican territory collecting grains and legumes, and informed Alvarez of the result of their efforts and of fluctuations in local production and demand for specific merchandise. [57] In 1844 Francisco Robledo notified Alvarez that he was scouting the countryside looking for *sarapes* and hides as part of a scheme to introduce non-native cattle to the territory. From his official residence at San Miguel del Vado, Robledo made trips to neighboring communities where he sold the merchandise that Alvarez had ordered from the United States. As they traveled throughout the *Río Arriba*, the Robledos updated Don Manuel on the types of goods that would be easy to sell. In November 1846, drinking glasses and metallic beads of various colors were in demand. [58] At the same time the Robledos purchased wheat, corn, beans, and other produce which they probably sold to the United States Army, as the correspondence mentions contracts with, and payments from, the Quartermaster. [59]

It is possible that Parish might have overlooked New Mexican merchants because he focused on those who operated out of Santa Fe and San Miguel del Vado. [60] These were important ports of entry for the trade caravans and attracted influential foreigners. The wealthiest New Mexican merchants (Oteros, Pereas, Armijos, Yrizaris, Lunas, and Chávezes), however, did not reside in that area, but at the time lived in Bernalillo and Valencia counties (see Table 6). These astute entrepreneurs took advantage of the opportunities the Santa Fe trade offered to develop a widespread network of commercial establishments, which by the 1850s allowed them to solidify their control of the provincial economy.

TABLE 6
Hispano Merchants 1860-1870
Reported Wealth and Residency

Area	County	Number of Merchants in 1860	Total Assets in 1860	Number of merchants in 1870	Total Assets in 1870
Río Abajo	Bernalillo	24	\$1,025,375	10	\$714,500
	Valencia	31	\$542,930	5	\$321,976
	Socorro	20	\$239,100	27	\$148,200
	Doña Ana	20	\$150,725	9	\$36,775
	Lincoln [63]			2	\$2,675
Totals Río Abajo		95	\$1,958,130	53	\$1,224,126
Río Arriba	Río Arriba	1	\$3,059	9	\$24,160
	San Miguel	23	\$93,295	13	\$34,111
	Santa Fe	25	\$261,700	25	\$125,125
	Taos	5	\$26,700	6	\$30,900
	Santa Ana	1	\$2,500	2	\$3,797
	Mora	4	\$12,129	4	\$9,082
Total Río Abajo		59	\$399,383	59	\$227,175
Total for the Territory		154	\$2,357,513	112	\$1,451,301

An analysis of the 1860 census reveals the geographical concentration of New Mexican merchants in the *Río Abajo* (see Table 6). Out of 154 individuals who listed themselves as *comerciantes*, 95 lived south of Santa Fe—in Valencia, Bernalillo, Socorro, and Doña Ana counties. The remaining 59 were in the northern jurisdictions of Río Arriba, San Miguel, Santa Ana, Santa Fe, and Taos. During the next decade the number of listed merchants declined to 112. Among those residing in the *Río Abajo* the decrease was from 95 to 53. The number of those from the Río Arriba counties remained the same (see Table 6). Some counties witnessed dramatic decreases in the number of merchants. In San Miguel they went down from 23 to 13, in Bernalillo from 24 to 10, and in Valencia they experienced the sharpest decline from 31 to 5. Río Arriba was the only county to experience a sharp increase from 1 to 9. The reasons for the decline are not clear. In some cases the 1870 census listed former 1860 merchants as farmers although the reported value of their personal property suggests that they continued their mercantile activities. For example, Mariano Yrizarri, the second wealthiest merchant in 1860 was listed as a farmer in 1870. His assets however, increased to \$215,000 with most of it (\$210,000) in personal property. In other instances the head of the family retired or died and the property was split among children who apparently did not continue the family business. In many instances the female children of leading New Mexican families married American or European entrepreneurs. [61]

An analysis of the reported wealth in personal and real estate reveals that in 1860 Hispano merchants residing in the *Río Abajo* controlled a disproportionate share—83 percent of all declared assets. Those living in two counties, Bernalillo and Valencia, accounted for 66.5 percent of all assessed wealth. Even though their numbers declined dramatically *Río Abajo* merchants continued their economic dominance through the next decade. In 1870 their share had increased to 84.34 percent. Those who resided in Bernalillo and Valencia counties, which witnessed the sharpest decline in the number of merchants, still controlled 71.4 percent of all the assets reported (see Tables 6 and 7). [62]

TABLE 7
Distribution of Wealth Among Merchants in New Mexico, 1860-1870

Hispanos				
Percentile	Assets Reported in 1860 (N = 154)	Percentage of Wealth	Assets Reported in 1870 (N = 112)	Percentage of Wealth
Top 20 percent	\$1,845,685	78.28	\$1,256,700	86.59
Second 20 percent	\$338,345	14.35	\$101,483	6.99
Third 20 percent	\$120,579	5.11	\$51,192	3.52
Fourth 20 percent	\$43,820	1.85	\$29,635	2.04
Bottom 20 percent	\$9,084	.38	\$12,291	.84
Totals	2,357,513	99.97	1,451,301	99.98
Non-Hispanos				
Top 20 percent	\$1,381,300	65.88	\$1,768,149	70.22
Second 20 percent	\$408,525	19.48	\$484,897	19.25
Third 20 percent	\$213,350	10.17	\$173,850	6.9
Fourth 20 percent	\$73,910	3.52	\$74,705	2.96
Bottom 20 percent	\$19,650	.94	16,200	.64
Totals	2,096,735	99.99	2,517,801	99.97

The 1870 census showed an overall decline in the wealth Hispano merchants reported, from more than two and a quarter million dollars to less than one million and a half. Although the average wealth decreased from \$15,288 to \$11,220, the concentration of wealth rose. In 1860 the wealthiest 20 percent of the merchants controlled 76 percent of the declared wealth; 10 years later they owned over 86 percent of the assets. José Leandro Perea and José Felipe Chávez saw a dramatic increase in real and personal property. Perea's declared wealth rose from \$225,000 to \$408,000; Chávez's went from \$67,575 to \$140,000. Together they

accounted for 38 percent of all wealth New Mexican merchants declared in 1870. [64]

The economic success of the *Río Abajo* merchants is not difficult to explain. Most were members of wealthy families who participated in a variety of economic activities. They farmed, raised cattle and sheep, and mined. In addition they owned retail businesses and acted as local and regional banks. Information before the 1850s survives for only one property, that of José and Mariano Chávez. This family would own several of the best stores in the territory. The biggest one was probably at Belén, the earliest at San Miguel del Vado, and the most famous at Santa Fe. Visitors remarked that the Santa Fe store on the southeast corner of the plaza managed by Juan Sena was "the second best store in town. . .floored with plank—the only plank floor in New Mexico." [65]

There are no available management records for this establishment, but it probably operated like the one at San Miguel del Vado. For several years after 1840, Pablo Delgado, the youngest son of another influential merchant, Manuel Delgado, managed the Chávez store in this community. Pablo's duties and the complex transactions in which he participated resembled those of Alvarez's agents. Young Delgado was responsible for a geographic area around the store, including a variety of communities around San Miguel—Antón Chico, Tecolote, Puertecito, Cuesta, San José, and Bernal. He sold whatever the locals needed. Pablo's correspondence with his father Manuel and his brothers Simón and Felipe reveals that repayment of debts was a prime concern in operating the business. [66] Pablo accepted grains, wheat, barley, and oats as payment for debts. Although the store owned some sheep, Delgado collected *carneros* as reimbursement, in particular from the *partidarios*. [67] Most of the leading New Mexican merchants took advantage of the *partido* system which allowed them to increase the size of their herds without incurring much risk. [68]

The records indicate that the Chávez business at San Miguel del Vado was a diversified operation, designed to take advantage of the local shortages of cash to collect valuable local commodities—grains, *aguardiente* (alcoholic spirits), wine, sheep, precious metals. But they also demonstrate that mining precious minerals was a significant factor in the creation of the family wealth. A notebook started on November 20, 1841, provides an almost daily account of the weight of the gold brought to this store. The entries stopped after May 9, 1842. Although incomplete and extremely hard to read, and although it does not record who did the mining or who brought the ore to the store, the notebook shows that the province provided a significant source of the bullion wealthy merchants took to the United States. This document also demonstrates that the Chávizes, like other New Mexican *ricos*, relied on a variety of economic activities to support and enhance the family business. [69]

Collaboration among Hispano merchants became essential to success, particularly because of the instability characteristic of a western economy. In addition, the rugged New Mexican terrain, the long distance separating the province from American markets, and the Indian threat contributed to foster cooperation. Numerous documents testify to a willingness to help each other. [70] Information regarding demand and availability of merchandise determined the prices and the size of purchases and was essential for the success of the mercantile system Hispanos had established by the early 1840s. [71] Merchants realized the importance of maintaining frequent mail service between the province and shipping points for trade goods, such as Independence, and in 1851 62 leading Hispano and non-Hispanos entrepreneurs petitioned the United States government to expand mail service between Santa Fe and Independence. [72]

Hispano merchants pioneered many of the activities Parish associated with the German Jews. They were particularly successful in securing and arranging deliveries of merchandise from eastern markets, such as Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, and, for bulkier goods, Independence and St. Louis. They were intent on building permanent businesses, and

realized that it was necessary to cultivate personal associations with suppliers if they were to receive high quality merchandise at competitive prices. Initially they selected the goods personally, since the eastern wholesalers had little "feel" for southwestern markets, but later on they were content to send agents to act in their behalf. New Mexicans learned that the most consistent, reliable, and profitable method of obtaining credit in the Eastern United States was through the shipment of raw materials. Initially they carried metal ores and Mexican silver dollars and later on they freighted hides and wool. To get cash for more far-flung ventures they also furnished United States Army installations with supplies which they obtained from their regional stores. [73]

Years before the Jewish merchant Charles Iffeld moved to Taos in 1865, New Mexican merchants had put in practice an economic system based on the model Parish so aptly described. Several wealthy entrepreneurs participated in the evolution of a form of mercantile capitalism that allowed them to control the economic life of the province. Their commercial activities foreshadowed those German Jews would carry out during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Extensive documentation appears to indicate that Felipe Chávez came to be among the most successful in implementing this economic system.

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SANTA FE

Special History Study



CHAPTER VI:

FELIPE CHÁVEZ

...fue para mí el amigo más fino y más sincero que he conocido, pues no tengo suficientes palabras para manifestarle mi gratitud a un amigo como él, que siempre lo hayé listo cuando recurría a él en mis necesidades. . . rue go y le suplico que me deje el dinero, si gusta con el seis por cieinto como me lo tenía prestado su buen papá... [1]

Felipe Delgado, 1906

Delgado's letter to José E. Chávez at the time of his father's (Felipe Chávez) death reveals the complex nature of *el millonario* (the millionaire). Felipe Chávez (1834-1906) seldom hesitated to lend money to relatives or acquaintances in need, yet at the same time he seldom failed to charge the prevailing interest for his loans. [2] A shrewd entrepreneur, his economic activities are an excellent example of mercantile capitalism and represent the culmination of the system New Mexican merchants developed during the years prior to the Mexican War. His transactions reveal that during the second half of the nineteenth century Felipe Chávez took advantage of the opportunities the Santa Fe trade offered to become one of the most prosperous and influential businessmen in the region. [3]

Chávez was able to build on the fortune he inherited from his father because he adopted a sound, yet flexible commercial strategy. Diversification was crucial to his success. Chávez sold American and European manufactures, grains, raised sheep, shipped wool and precious metals, bought large amounts of merchandise, purchased real estate in the east (New York city), acted as a banker, commissioner, wholesaler and retailer. He maintained economic relations with merchants in Liverpool and Manchester (England), New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, El Paso, Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, and Guadalajara; established partnerships with other New Mexicans; and acted as intermediary between American and Mexican wholesalers. His contracts with United States government agencies helped him acquire the monetary exchange necessary to finance his large purchases of merchandise. Cautious, but not reluctant to take risks, he regularly requested and received information on the prices of precious metals and commodities, and investment opportunities. His decisions were often based on the advice he sought from business associates in New York, St. Louis, and Mexico. His meticulous record-keeping ensured that losses due to carelessness and mistakes were kept to a minimum. He invested capital where he could receive the highest possible return, yet he appeared to have been generous with kin and friends to whom he often lent large sums of money.

Felipe Chávez was the son of José María Chávez and Manuela Armijo. Born in 1834 he attended school at the *Seminario Conciliar de Guadalajara* (Conciliar Seminary of Guadalajara), Mexico, where he distinguished himself, receiving awards for his academic efforts. He completed his education by 1852. [4]

After returning home young Chávez began to help his father with the management of the family's thriving commercial operations and took charge of the entire business four years

later. Felipe was smart, had a great deal of common sense, and was a meticulous record keeper. He kept *borradores* (onion skin notebooks) of most of his outgoing business letters. [5] He painstakingly checked all shipments he received and was quick to note any discrepancies. Until his father's death Felipe made sure that their merchandise was kept separate. In September 1856, a wholesaler in New York apologized for a labeling error which mistakenly assigned Felipe's merchandise to his father. Felipe quickly noted the error and wrote to ensure that proper credit was assigned. For someone as wealthy as Chávez the sum was relatively small, yet the incident is a good example of Felipe's careful record-keeping and persistence. This was not an isolated episode. Chávez always demanded full accountability from his associates. In 1859 a package of 2,000 yards of *lienzo*, part of a shipment which included more than 150 of them, was lost between New York and New Mexico. Upon discovering it was missing Felipe dispatched letters to Peter Harmony & Nephews in New York, and Edward J. Glasgow in St. Louis. Since he did not obtain a satisfactory reply he wrote two additional letters until finally Harmony agreed to reimburse him for the cost of the lost cloth. [6]

Large-scale operations were becoming more common when Felipe took over the family business in 1856. He more than met Parish's criteria of the sedentary merchant who became dependent on regular deliveries, ordered from distant areas ahead of time. [7] His first documented major purchase dates from 1856 when he bought 172 *tercios* (weighing 42,964 pounds) of merchandise valued at \$14,167.33. To arrange the bulk of the purchase Chávez used the services of Peter Harmony & Nephews, a Spanish firm located in New York City that often did business with New Mexicans. Harmony acted as wholesaler, retailer, commission merchant, banker, real estate agent, answered Chávez's questions and provided him sound business advice. [8] Harmony was instrumental in arranging most of Felipe's major purchases for several decades. The transactions were complicated because they involved a variety of businesses, and required the transportation of several tons of goods over thousands of miles. Chávez normally bought some merchandise directly from Harmony, but he often instructed his *mayordomos* to search for bargains or items that were not available in New York or that could be obtained more favorably in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, or elsewhere. Once the order was ready Harmony consigned it to a firm in Independence or St. Louis, often the Glasgow Brothers, that would oversee the final shipment to New Mexico. [9]

Massive purchases were the norm. A 1859 invoice listed 80,000 yards of *indiana*, *manta*, and *lienzo*, 1,092 pairs of boots, 540 pairs of shoes, and 585 pairs of pants. [10] Another one from March 1860 included 36 pages of items—135 *balas* (bolts) with close to 200,000 yards of fabrics, 346 boxes, 48 bundles or packages, 74 large trunks, and two barrels, all valued at \$36,237.77. [11] In 1863 Felipe arranged another order. A bill presented by W. H. Chick identified the expenses incurred in shipping merchandise to New Mexico. Chávez bought more than 50,000 pounds of merchandise for which he paid \$1,486.43 for storage and freight. He also bought 70 mules (each one cost \$6) and a horse, and had to pay for expenses in taking care of the animals. The shipment was so large that it took a month for the entire load to be processed and shipped. In addition he arranged for the purchase of a variety of hardware, tools, and wagons from several dealers in St. Louis and the standard order of dry goods from the Glasgow Brothers. [12]

For many years the Glasgows arranged for the dispatch of merchandise when Chávez's caravans reached the railroad terminal. They sold Chávez the groceries that normally completed these shipments. [13] Invoices from 1856 reveal that during the first week of May Felipe bought 64,298 pounds of dry goods. Among them 220 sacks of clarified sugar, 71 barrels of whiskey, one barrel of brandy, two boxes of cognac (listed apart from the brandy), 10 boxes of claret, 10 baskets of champagne, two boxes of oysters, two of sardines, 18 pounds of almonds, 10 sacks of coffee, 70 boxes of sperm candles, 40 boxes of white soap, 3,000 cigars, and other miscellaneous items. [14]

This pattern continued throughout the next decade. During the first week of July 1871 Chick, Browne & Co. prepared another order. Thirteen mule-drawn wagons under Francisco Chávez carried 64,866 pounds, and ox wagons led by Ambrosio Pino and Manuel Aragón hauled respectively 5,704 and 18,675 pounds for a total weight of 89,245 pounds. It is not possible to establish if Chávez's economic situation had improved by 1880, but it is clear that the weight of his shipments had not declined. [15]

During certain years his purchases were more modest. In 1873 he received around 12,000 pounds of goods and in 1876 he bought only around \$2,500 in merchandise from Samuel C. Davis & Co. of St. Louis, but this might not have been the only merchandise he acquired that year. [16] Chávez appeared to have bought additional commodities at the shipping terminals when his needs for merchandise were more limited. In many cases these were perishable goods, such as jams, ham, butter, crackers, pickles, corn, dried fruits, potatoes, but sometimes the invoices included an occasional wagon, trunks, cups, and silverware. [17]

Chávez set price limits for every item to be purchased and often succeeded in obtaining substantial savings. In February 1860 he sent his *mayordomo* Antonio Robles to buy merchandise in New York. Chávez trusted Robles and authorized Harmony to make all the necessary funds available to facilitate his agent's task. Robles wrote to his *patrón* almost daily informing him of the current prices and of the purchases he had made. The correspondence reveals how specific Chávez's instructions had been. Once Robles bought too many capes and he was afraid that they would not be the exact type Chávez had asked him to buy. Robles also provided Chávez with information on the quality and prices of a variety of items and kept him abreast of what he was about to buy. [18]

At times this policy produced less favorable results. In 1859 Chávez gave specific instructions to Harmony regarding the purchase of items for the church. Harmony informed Felipe that out of the order for three crucifixes and six candleholders, he was only remitting one crucifix. He did not dare purchase more since he was unable to obtain them at less than \$40.00 and Chávez had set the upper limit at \$15.00. [19]

Robles's search for the lowest prices also caused some problems. Anxious to please Chávez he bought some items of clothing from less than respectable businessmen (not associated with Harmony) who offered substantial discounts. Chávez was not satisfied with the quality of some of these items and complained to Harmony. The wholesaler replied that in his efforts to obtain the effects at the lowest possible price Robles had rejected those *almacenes* (dry-good dealers) where Harmony normally made purchases and acquired merchandise from salesmen who did not have a sound reputation. Harmony warned that it was not possible to make a claim for a reimbursement. Chávez, still trying to recover some of his losses complained again, but Harmony answered admonishing the New Mexican that it was common for outsiders to come to New York and listen to astute salesmen who promised merchandise, 4, 5 or even 20 percent cheaper and delivered items of less than desirable quality. Harmony warned Chávez once again of the dangers involved in such dealings. [20] There is no record of his reply, but apparently he listened because on subsequent trips his agents dealt only with those businesses which had a reputation for honesty and reliability.

Chávez's search for the best available buys still led him to procure merchandise from a variety of wholesalers and he continued this practice throughout the 1870s. In 1858 another *mayordomo*, Atanacio Montoya, went to St. Louis where he bought twenty carts from one dealer, mules harnesses from another one, small carts from a third one, fabrics from a fourth one, guns and ammunition from H. E. Dimick, and groceries from the Glasgow brothers. [21] Similar purchases were made in 1861 and 1863. [22] In April 1867 he bought a shipment of fabrics from Charles Stern & Co. Amounting to \$5,679.98, the order included close to 20,000 yards of muslin, 2,540 shawls of various types, 144 yards of *alpaca* (wool or cloth), 40

coverlets, 8 grosses of handkerchiefs, 3,000 of a variety of printed textiles, and 5,000 yards of *manta*. In 1868 he received a letter of inquiry from Cuno, Bohms and Co. from St. Louis and he purchased \$2,834 in boots and shoes from wholesale dealer Appleton, Noyes & Co. [23] In June 1871 he acquired goods at least from four dealers—Glasgow Brothers, A. A. Mellier, Rodney D. Wells & Co., and B. & J. F. Slevin & Co. [24]

American merchants courted Felipe trying to obtain his business. In 1865 S. P. Shannon of Kansas City offered Chávez dry goods, shoes, boots, and ready-made clothes, specially designed for the New Mexican market. Shannon informed Felipe that because the company had agents in New York it was able to offer the lowest prices and the greatest variety of goods, and promised discounts of 40 per cent over the previous year's charges. [25] W. H. Chick followed suit in 1867 as he established new *almacenes* in Phil Sheridan, Kansas. When the firm became Chick and Browne and moved to Granada, Colorado, Chávez received the notification. [26] Other wholesalers tried to obtain Chávez's business and were extremely appreciative when they did, as were the Bartels Brothers. [27] Other American firms, like Pittsburgh's Black Diamond Steel Works, wrote advising him of the excellent quality of their products. [28]

The procedure for sending goods to New Mexico was quite complex. Merchandise from New York was usually sent via steamboat to St. Louis. Often it had to be stored while local purchases were readied. The shipper was responsible for checking that all items listed in invoices had arrived. This was a laborious task because merchandise identified only with the initials of the owner could be easily lost. At other times the content of the boxes did not quite match the invoices and it was troublesome to trace the fate of some of these goods.

By the time the merchandise arrived to Missouri one of Chávez's *mayordomos* was ready to help with the final shipment. This was not always easy. In 1860 Atanacio Montoya went to Kansas to help haul the merchandise Robles had purchased in New York. From Westport, he wrote to Chávez explaining that it took a lot of work, time and care to load each wagon with 4,000 pounds of goods. He warned his *patrón* that in spite of his efforts he had been unable to load the entire 69,919 pounds that comprised the load. [29]

Hauling effects from New York to New Mexico was also very expensive. Merchants had to pay for packaging, carrying the merchandise to the *almacén*, and from the *almacén* to the port, handling charges, insurance, and a 2.5 percent commission, in all about 6.1 percent surcharge over the original purchase. [30] Railroad freight from New York to St. Louis was not cheap either as it usually amounted to 3 percent of the value of the merchandise. [31] Freight expenses declined very slowly as the railroad approached New Mexico, and Chávez searched for the best bargain. In June 1868 W.H. Chick informed him that part of the order would have to pay four cent per 100 pounds, but for the rest he would pay only three cents. Chick added that this was absolutely the best price available since freight to Ft. Union was two and a half cents per 100 pounds, and to Santa Fe was three cents. Since the merchandise had to go to Los Lunas and Peralta (south of Albuquerque) Chávez was getting a special deal. [32] Two years later the rates decreased. In July 1871 Chávez paid only two and a half cents per 100 pounds on a shipment from Kit Carson, Colorado, but in November Chick, Browne & Co. charged him three and half cents per 100 pounds for sending 1,540 lbs of coffee. [33] In April 1878 Francisco Manzanares explained to an impatient Chávez that competition between the railroad companies would result in lower rates and assured Felipe that when that time came he would be able to offer him the lowest available rates. [34] And he was correct. Competition among the railroads did reduce freight rates almost by half. In 1878 Vicent M. Baca, Felipe's foster son, advised Chávez that the price of sending 100 pounds to Las Vegas was down to half a cent, and that it was only three quarters of a cent to Santa Fe, and a cent and a quarter to Bernalillo. [35]

Insurance, normally a 1.25 percent surcharge, was virtually a necessity even for relatively small purchases because losses and damages were quite common. In addition to the hazards of shipping tons of merchandise over thousands of miles, the Indian threat always had to be considered. In 1864 Chávez appeared concerned for the first time about the danger posed by Indian tribes. [36] By September 1868 one of his trains was forced to go back due to Indian hostilities. [37] Next year during June W. H. Chick congratulated Chávez on his luck. His train arrived at New Mexico safely while the Indians attacked Phil Sheridan (Kansas) stealing 34 mules and a horse belonging to other New Mexican merchants who were getting ready to travel home. [38]

One of the keys to Chávez success was his ability to take advantage of the information he received from his business associates. Harmony regularly kept him apprised of the prices of cotton fabrics, shoes, coffee, hides, and gold. [39] W. H. Chick and E. J. Glasgow also updated Chávez on current prices of merchandise, freight, and gold. During the climax of the Civil War the Glasgows forecasted a dramatic increase on the price of cotton goods and mailed him reports on the need for various types of wool. [40] Chávez's information network was quite extensive and proved valuable because it allowed him to protect his interests. For example, in 1879 Benjamin Walker advised him of the financial trouble affecting the Glasgow Brothers and warned him to transfer his shipments of wool to the Gregg Brothers of Philadelphia. [41]

Chávez was willing to take risks, but quickly realized his mistakes and did not repeat them. Early in his business career he purchased flannel directly from England. Two invoices survive documenting the transaction. The first one from June 1856 records the sale of 1,000 yards of flannel in Manchester, England. From Manchester the fabric was sent to Liverpool. From there it was shipped to New York, then to Kansas City and finally to Santa Fe. The original cost of the flannel in Manchester including shipping and commission fees was \$96.60, but by the time it reached New Mexico the total had risen to \$661.04.[42] The next year Felipe tried again. But this time instead of sending the fabric to New York he shipped it through New Orleans. The result was not much different—this time he paid \$662.18.[43] There is no record that he ever tried this type of transaction again; he learned from his mistakes.

The death of José María Chávez on October 30, 1858 meant that from then on Felipe was responsible for the well-being of his mother as well as that of his sister Bárbara and numerous relatives. Felipe always took this responsibility quite seriously even though at times it probably became a heavy burden. His brother-in-law, Nicolás Armijo, married to his sister Bárbara, regularly borrowed money from Felipe. Armijo apparently was in charge of the Chávez family businesses in Chihuahua, but appeared to be in constant economic trouble. Felipe's cousin, J. Francisco Chávez, became another chronic borrower. In 1865 he asked for \$3,000. Francisco promised to insure the loan and pledged to handle the affair as a regular business transaction. He considered his economic prospects to be very positive and believed that his California property would return to him at least \$50,000 in less than two years. There is no record that Francisco ever repaid this obligation. [44]

Other members of the family relied on Felipe's position and wealth to help them through bad times. In April 1867 Melquíades Chávez wrote to Felipe requesting funds to cover a *libranza* worth \$5,000. [45] In 1879 Francisco Chávez II informed Felipe that he was unable to settle his loan, but would continue paying the annual interest and promised to repay the capital as soon as his situation improved. But one month later Francisco requested an additional \$3,000 to cover a debt to José Leandro Perea and promised 10 carts with eight mules and 10,000 sheep as collateral on the new loan. [46]

Friends of his father and former employees also appealed to his generosity and asked for

employment, loans, or delays in paying their accounts. On January 1868 José Gutiérrez wrote from Las Vegas. He had moved from Algodones hoping to receive a large sum of money he had lent Francisco Perea, but Perea was unable to pay, so Gutiérrez asked Chávez to sell him a train of mules which Felipe had promised some time before. José did not have collateral for the loan and proposed to use the train of mules itself as security. [47]

Chávez received numerous requests for financial help both from hispanos and Anglos throughout the province and he satisfied many of them. [48] Chávez lent money to merchants, like Martín Amador from Las Cruces, and Hilario Romero, son of Miguel Romero. [49] When borrowers requested extensions in their loans these were often granted.

How much profit did Felipe make in his capacity of informal lending institution? It is not possibly to know exactly, since with few exceptions there is no information on the interest rates he charged, or if he regularly did so. [50] In June 26, 1867 he lent A. & L. Zeckendorf \$4,312.50. A month later Zeckendorf asked for an extension of the loan and a reduction in the interest. Felipe was charging the Albuquerque merchant 12 percent interest on this loan, and Zeckendorf reminded him that the going rate was a 6 percent. If this was his standard charge Chávez could have earned substantial sums since commission merchants, like Chick & Armijo, P. Harmony, and E. Glasgow paid only 5 percent on those funds left on account. [51] But it is not clear that it was. At the time of his death he was charging Felipe Delgado 6 percent interest on a loan. Delgado's eager request for the continuation of the loan at the same rate possibly indicates that in cash-scarce New Mexico, Felipe Chávez's charges might have been quite reasonable. [52]

Besides, there were risks in lending. There is no evidence that any of Chávez's relatives ever paid any of the principal they borrowed. Many of the other debtors also failed to fulfill their obligations. Collecting debts was time-consuming and, depending on the economic circumstances of the debtor, it might not have been a worthwhile activity. In January 1868 Chávez sent José Felix Benavídez to Cubero and Seboyeta to collect from José Padilla. But Benavidez got nothing out of Padilla, who was apparently totally unable to pay. [53]

Chávez operated as an intermediary between local New Mexico merchants and eastern promoters like P. Harmony and W. H. Chick. For example, in 1867 a merchant from Las Cruces owed \$2,400 in a *libranza* to a merchant from Sonora who had passed away. Harmony wrote to Felipe requesting his help in straightening out the situation. And this was not the only case in which commission merchants resorted to Chávez for help. [54] He also facilitated the economic ventures of many New Mexicans. In June 1860 he made it possible for José Maria Romero to purchase \$7,925.13 in merchandise from the Glasgow Brothers. [55]

Throughout his career Chávez maintained economic relations with merchants in Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua (Mexico), Manchester and Liverpool (England), and Canada. In June 1858 Harmony made a \$6,820 payment in Felipe's behalf to the account of Durango's Juan Flores. In August 1859 Harmony credited José Cordero with \$1,095.50 from the Chávez's account. Felipe continued to make transactions with José Cordero for a number of years. Cordero relied on Chávez's accounts in New York to invest in U.S. government bonds, and when he sent his agents to the United States with the purpose of selling effects, he instructed them to do nothing before they got Chávez's advise. Cordero assumed responsibility for Chávez's *libranzas* in Durango, Mexico, and sold *piloncillo* (Mexican sugar) to the New Mexican as late as November 1862. The monthly accounts that Harmony prepared for Chávez often recorded transactions in which Cordero had participated. [56] Associates in Zacatecas also relied on Felipe Chávez to act as intermediary with Peter Harmony. And in July 1861 P. Harmony made an interesting request. As the Civil War disrupted the commercial activities in the United States, Harmony asked Chávez to inquire

among his business associates in Mexico, and particularly Chihuahua, if there would be any interest in purchasing several boxes of machinery. [57]

During the next year (1862) the Delino Brothers from Durango also relied on Felipe Chávez to obtain a loan which they backed with United States treasury notes. [58] Sixteen years later, Felix Francisco Maceyra, a leading merchant from Chihuahua, asked Felipe for a substantial loan, but promised a high return—\$40,000 to \$50,000 at 12 percent. [59] Like his father he continued commercial relations with D. Duarte & Co. from Manchester (England) relying on the services offered by Guadalajara's Alvarez Araujo and the trusted Harmony. [60]

Chávez and other New Mexican merchants, particularly those from the *Río Abajo*, cooperated formally and informally in commercial transactions. They often took care of each's other businesses. For example, Antonio José Otero acted as Chávez's intermediary in 1862 carrying correspondence from the Harmony store and money orders from Felipe to his business associates in New York. [61]

Chávez participated in more formal arrangements. During the 1850s he formed partnerships with members of other important New Mexico merchants. One of the most important and long-lasting was with Simón and Felipe Delgado, who besides being Chávez's associates managed his store in Santa Fe, like their brother Pablo had done for Felipe's uncles, Mariano and José during the 1840s. [62]

The earliest records for the partnership date from January 1857 when P. Harmony credited the account of Simón Delgado and Felipe Chávez with a \$2,000 *libranza* from the United States treasury. [63] The enterprise seemed remarkably successful, as the earnings for a less than a year (between November 1856 and May 1857) were \$4,439.26, a substantial profit on the \$25,902.32 that the partners had invested. The Delgados operated as special agents for Chávez handling business affairs in Santa Fe and occasionally travelling east to arrange for purchases. In 1863 Simón Delgado was receiving payments from the Quartermaster of the United States Army to deposit in Chávez's account, but the records do not indicate the nature of the purchases. An 1865 invoice showed transactions with Ft. Craig, but the cryptic entries do not present a clear picture either. In April 1867 Simón Delgado once again sent a *libranza* against the United States subtreasury for \$5,000 which Harmony credited to Chávez's account. [64] Next year Pablo Delgado credited Chávez with another *libranza* from the quartermaster against the treasury of New York, this time for \$4,300.00. Delgado informed Felipe that Minister Shaw paid \$2,000 of the above sum. [65]

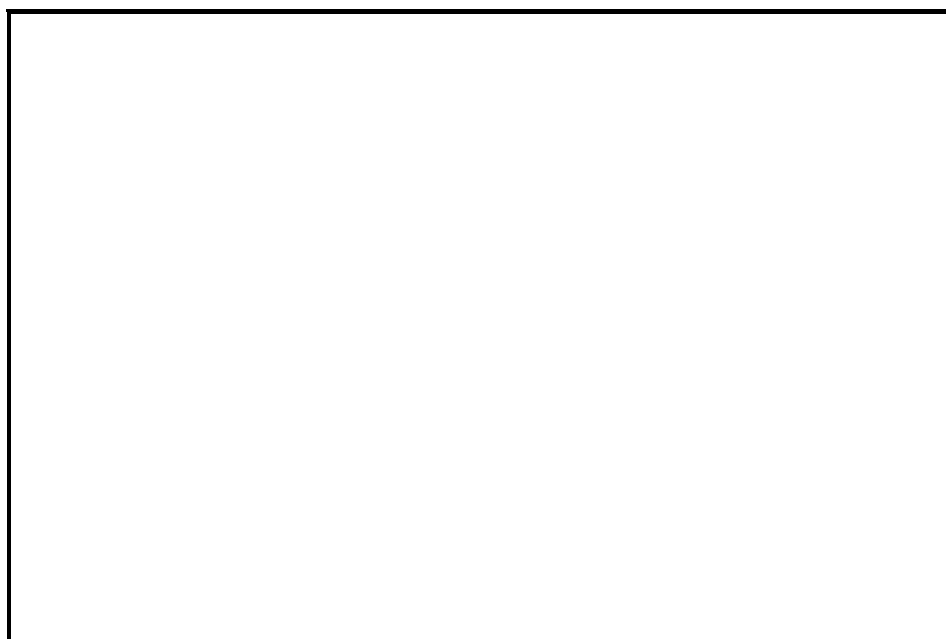




Figure 8. Don Felipe Chávez. Photo courtesy of Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

The two families maintained close economic relations throughout the century. During December 1868 Francisco A. Manzanares informed Felipe that he had sent \$2,201.81 to St. Louis according to his wishes and that he had left copies of this transaction in Pablo Delgado's home in Santa Fe. [66] A few months later Pablo wrote to Chávez updating him on Jacob Amberg's activities. Apparently Amberg had left New Mexico, but before leaving he had promised that would cover all his debts. But Pablo had found out that the day before, Amberg's brother and a commissioner from St. Louis had arrived at Santa Fe and he suspected something. He informed Chávez that he would keep his eyes open and that would get in touch with Chávez's lawyer if anything else happened. Delgado reassured Felipe that he was taking care of his affairs as if he (Chávez) were in town. [67] And apparently he was. A June 1869 letter showed that Pablo was still handling finances for Chávez out of Santa Fe, sending a *libranza* for \$13,643.56 to W.H. Chick and receiving payment from Chávez's debtors. [68] The partnership continued to operate at least through the 1870s. [69]

The relationship between the Delgados and Chávez is quite interesting and extends for many

years. While strong economic interests were important elements, it is clear that there was honest affection between Felipe, Pablo, and Simón. In a 1872 letter Pablo asked Felipe to speak to his son, Juanito, in English because although he was quite shy he did understand the language. [70]

Another partnership joined Felipe to another wealthy family—the Oteros. In 1858 Manuel Antonio Otero and Felipe made two purchases from the Glasgow Brothers in St. Louis. The first dated from June 27 and amounted to 5,985.13. The second was from November 18 and totaled \$10,621.13. Invoices indicate that the partnership was still in operation during August 1859. [71]

Chávez normally paid for his purchases with *libranzas* (drafts), *letras de crédito* (drafts), or *letras de cambio* (drafts) that had been deposited in his various accounts. But it was risky to send *libranzas* to New York. In August 1863 Harmony informed Chávez that they were trying to recover some of the losses resulting from the disappearance of various *libranzas* in the wreck of the *Tempest*. This was not an unusual occurrence. [72]

Sometimes his strategy was different. In 1858 he sent his *mayordomo*, Atanacio Montoya to Westport, Missouri, to collect \$15,968.99 worth of merchandise. Chávez paid cash for this purchase—\$14,420 in American coins, \$432.00 in California gold, \$31.00 in doubloons, \$184.30 in sovereigns, \$19.00 in French pieces, \$146.00 in guilders, and \$9.00 in odd pieces. [73] He tried to send specie to Missouri for safekeeping in 1861, but this time the Glasgow brothers asked Felipe not to do it because it was impossible to spend it and they did not want to be responsible for it. A few months later they repeated their warning against dispatching currency to St. Louis, and suggested that it would be safer to deal with his agents in New York. [74]

It is difficult to identify directly the source of Chávez's growing wealth. He inherited a substantial fortune from his father and he regularly remitted drafts to P. Harmony, but it is not clear how he acquired these funds. The invoices indicate the date and the amount of *libranzas* credited to Chávez's accounts. They also name the individual or agency that authorized payment—the United States subtreasury, the Quartermaster General, Americans, New Mexicans, or Mexican merchants. In settling his account with Harmony in August 1859 Chávez got \$13,000 from an unclear source and \$6,000 from Eugene Kelly. By October Kelly paid an additional \$2,000, and by December \$6,400 more. Kelly continued to make sizable payments during the next year—\$3,731 on August, \$2,680. [75] on September 6 and \$4,000 on September. Between October 1861 and June 1862 Chávez sent three *remesas* (remittances) to Harmony from the subtreasury for a total of \$37,987.09. [75] In August 1863 he was credited with \$6,652.05 from C. R. Morehead & Co. of Leavenworth. In another instance Chávez's account received a draft for \$8,000 from C. P. Clever. A month later this note had not been paid, but by November of the same year the Assistant Treasurer of the U.S. in New York issued drafts in favor of Clever which were also credited to Chávez's account. [76]

There is no easy way to accurately assess the wealth of the Chavezes. An 1857 invoice indicates that between May 1855 and August 1856 Felipe had \$56,400 tied up in various transactions, and that in August 1857 Harmony notified him that he had \$24,326 in his account. [77] In spite of the voluminous correspondence there is only sporadic information on his total wealth. In the 1860 census he declared \$5,000 in real estate and \$62,575 in personal estate, indicating he owned a substantial amount of merchandise. At this time he was managing his mother's property which was listed as \$6,000 dollars in real estate and \$55,660 in personal estate, for a combined family total of \$118,235. [78] By 1870 the listed family assets had increased to \$40,000 in real estate and \$100,000 in personal estate. [79]

During the 1860s and 1870s Chávez maintained a sizable favorable balance with Peter Harmony, the Glasgow Brothers, Otero & Sellars, Chick, Browne & Co., and its successor Browne & Manzanares, as well as a substantial sum in the First Bank of Santa Fe. A statement from January 1, 1879, indicates that at that time he had \$69,367.19 in his account with the Glasgow Brothers. An invoice from Chick, Browne & Co., shows that six months later his balance amounted to \$12,616.14. By the end of the year (December 31, 1879) his account with Harmony showed a favorable surplus of \$39,289.99. [80]

An important portion of these funds came from the Quartermaster of the United States Army, but it is not possible to identify the exact amount of goods or services that Chávez provided in return. It is likely that he furnished grain and meat for troops stationed in the west, or possibly for the Civil War combatants. Some of the drafts came from the Assistant Treasurer of the United States in New York. [81] It is possible that mining activities in New Mexico (Ortiz Mountains) might also have contributed to the Chávez's wealth. [82]

Chávez was involved in a variety of economic activities. Sheep raising continued to be an important component of his business, particularly during the 1870s when his shipments of wool increased dramatically. His records indicate that through the 1880s, Felipe had numerous *partidarios* who cared for nearly 500,000 sheep. [83] Even Americans tried to get involved in sheep raising. In 1869 Edwin Edgar asked Chávez if he would be willing to give him a *partido* contract. Edgar had had a business at La Bajada for a number of months, but was thinking of moving to Los Conejos, where according to reports it was ideal to raise sheep. [84]

During the 1870s proceeds from the sale of wool became another important source of revenue for Chávez. The system required several *fleteros* (freighters) that departed from New Mexico every other week. As soon as the carts reached their destination (Kansas and Missouri), the wool was unloaded and merchandise targeted for New Mexico was loaded. [85] In 1869 W. H. Chick assured Chávez that he would sell his wool at the best possible price and would report back as soon as he firmed up the sale. It is not clear what the going price was at this time, but by 1879 Glasgow was paying between 13 and 11 cents per pound depending on the quality. Chávez incurred other expenses in selling this product—2 cent per pound for freight and \$1.15 per bale, as well as storage and commission charges, normally 4 percent. With the coming of the railroad the freight charges were reduced slightly to 1.75 cents per pound, but it is possible that expenses were even lower since wool was no longer shipped in bales, but in *tercios*, each one holding close to 500 pounds.

During the 1870s wool shipments became an significant component of Chávez's operations, growing steadily in size from 7,642 pounds (shipped to Philadelphia) in 1869 to 192,668.5 pounds nine years later. In 1878 his account with the Glasgow Brothers indicated an income of \$11,266.55 from the sale of wool. Glasgow, however, was only one of the buyers of Chávez's wool, and it is safe to assume that he made at least twice as much. He made a profit on these sales only because the *partido* system ensured a risk-free wool production and because the wages Chávez paid to those handling the wool were quite low. [86] His account with P. Harmony indicates that in 1879 he earned \$10,414.96 from the activity. [87] His growing interest in wool appears wise since during the 1870s there was a steady increase in prices—the earlier shipments brought about 11 to 12 cents a pound, but by 1879 Chávez was obtaining between 18 to 22 cents per pound. [88]

Sometimes Chávez sent herds of sheep east. This type of operation appeared riskier as indicated in one of Vicente Baca's letters. From Dodge City, Kansas, he informed his foster father that he had lost 800 animals since leaving Belen. But he was still optimistic and felt that he would make enough on the trip to pay what he owed. [89]

Chávez also raised crops, but it is unclear how he managed his agricultural operations. A letter from José Chávez Ballejos identified the amount of wheat and corn to which Ballejos was entitled, but additional information on Chávez's agricultural activities has not been found. He probably produced a significant amount of grains as demonstrated by the purchase of a flour mill (*máquina de calórico de Ericson*) which according to Harmony would grind five bushels of wheat an hour. [90] Additional evidence also suggests substantial production. In June 1868 Z. Staab asked Chávez whether he could deliver 100,000 or 200,000 pounds of corn for his firm at Ft. Fauntleroy and, if so, at what price. [91]

Throughout his life Chávez also operated as a local retailer and wholesaler. Many of his customers charged their purchases, and it is unclear if and how much interest, they paid on their outstanding debts. Scattered correspondence appears to indicate that he might have been more lenient with the local population than with his business associates. [92] Chávez acted as wholesaler for many of the small New Mexican merchants, and also as their banker. The partial account of José Miguel Baca, between 1868 and 1873, shows that Baca borrowed \$217.50 in cash. In addition he charged \$469.925 in groceries and supplies. [93] All the fabrics that Chávez and others like him introduced into the territory provided job opportunities for *modistas* (seamstresses). The records indicate the amounts paid, but there is no indication how many women worked, for how long, and what they produced. [94]

Chávez's ability to prosper was also the result of varied investment strategies. During the 1860s he became involved in real estate. In September 1864 he sent *mayordomo* Castillo to New York with *libranzas* amounting to \$42,911.36. Harmony acted as the real estate broker and advised Felipe that it would be best to acquire houses (as opposed to lots) since they were easy to lease and would immediately start making profit (about 4 percent per year). Harmony acted quickly. Upon receipt of Chávez letter from September 28, he answered on October 1, and five days later had already acquired a list of houses for sale and had arranged to have Castillo examine them with care. Three months later Chávez was the owner of two houses, one for which he paid \$20,500, and the other, \$18,000. [95] These properties produced a sizable monthly income—the larger one rented for \$358.75 (per three months) and the smaller one for \$315.00. Some expenses were involved. Harmony charged a .5 percent commission to collect the rents, and Chávez also had to pay insurance and miscellaneous fees to inspectors, file a legal form to allow Harmony to collect rent, and pay other expenses. [96] By 1866 the rents were increased to \$450.00 and \$358.75. [97]

That same year (1866) Harmony began to look for a buyer for these properties. Chávez wanted to sell the smaller, which was apparently located in an undesirable neighborhood. The renters did not want to move and offered to lease it for two or three additional years for \$2,050, 10 percent of the price that he had paid for the property. And that was the monthly rent that Chávez finally accepted. The same happened with the other house. Harmony informed him that he would be able to get the price he set for the other—\$22,500, but Chávez wanted more money and asked for \$25,000. He did not get it, and finally Harmony rented this property for \$2,300 for three years. [98]

Before the lease expiration approached Harmony began to look for a buyer. There is no record of the final sale, but Harmony informed Chávez in September 1869 that he could probably obtain \$30,000 for the larger house and \$26,500 for the smaller one, a 31 percent gain (not including rent) for a five-year investment. [99] But Harmony's valuation was a little optimistic. The smaller house finally sold in 1871 for \$25,000, but after paying lawyers, fees, and other expenses Chávez realized only less than \$24,000, still a considerable gain for a six and a half year investment. [100]

Chávez's financial strategies demonstrate his willingness to invest sizable capital in new ventures as well as flexibility and commitment when changing investment fields. For

example, during the 1870s he shifted away from real estate and began to purchase United States government bonds, likely as a result of advice he received from business associates, like Harmony. Although it is not possible to establish how much profit he made, he invested a sizable amount in a short period of time. He purchased the first bond (\$10,000) on July 1878 and continued to purchase them on a regular basis, at least through the following year. [\[101\]](#)

Felipe Chávez, a successful entrepreneur, was one of the leading practitioners of early mercantile capitalism in New Mexico. His skillful management of personal resources, local products, and business connections, coupled with hard-work, determination, informed risk-taking and some ruthlessness allowed him to strengthen his economic standing to become one of the richest men in the territory. Chávez's career was exceptional, but not unique. Other New Mexican merchants rivaled him in wealth, influence, and skills. Their experiences clearly reveal that many hispanos possessed a strong drive for "the material productiveness" Parish found only among the German Jews. This drive allowed them to take advantage of the opportunities the Santa Fe trade offered to consolidate the comfortable economic conditions they had inherited.

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SANTA FE

Special History Study



CHAPTER VII:

OTHER LEADING MERCHANT FAMILIES

Felipe Chávez was a member of one of the several prominent Hispano families who contributed to the establishment and development of the Santa Fe trade during the nineteenth century. Other influential *comerciantes* names were Otero, Perea, Yrizarri, and Armijo. For generations these families intermarried, cooperated in business ventures, and made possible the form of mercantile capitalism that evolved in New Mexico. Until 1860 a large number of wealthy Hispano merchants enjoyed commercial success. During the following decade their numbers and overall assets declined, but the Hispano elite still maintained and, in some cases, even strengthened their economic position.

A comprehensive analysis of the commercial endeavors of the wealthiest Hispano merchants in New Mexico is not possible because only scattered documents of their economic transactions survive. Information about merchants of more moderate means is even more scarce. However, inadequate documentation does not mean that their contributions were less important than those of the elite. A brief sketch of the Delgado family commercial activities suggests that, though less affluent, the Delgados played an crucial role in the economic system that evolved in New Mexico as a result of the Santa Fe trade. The activities of *arrieros* and *peones* were also critical to the success of the system, but little besides their names is known about them.

The Otero family was one of the most heavily involved in the Santa Fe trade. Manifests at the Santa Fe customs house indicate that the Oteros, among the leaders in establishing direct commercial relations with the United States before the Mexican War, traveled east with Mariano and José Chávez at least twice (1840 and 1844). [1] A credit report from July 1856 listed Antonio José as "enterprising" and worth between \$75,000 and \$100,000. [2] Even though the Otero name does not appear in the very extensive lists of Santa Fe merchants who passed Council Grove during June and July 1859, census data for 1860 indicate that two family members, enumerated as merchants, were among the richest New Mexicans—Manuel Antonio reported \$164,550 in total assets while Antonio José declared \$65,074. In 1870 Manuel Antonio claimed \$174,500 in personal and real estate while Antonio José, who listed himself as a farmer, assessed his property and that of his wife at \$22,000. [3]

Manuel Antonio Otero's partnership with Felipe Chávez and frequent references to the Oteros throughout the Chávez papers confirm the similarity of their activities and interests. Like Felipe Chávez, Manuel Antonio continued to maintain close economic ties to Chihuahua as preparations for his 1867 trip indicate. [4] Like Chávez he also became involved in banking ventures. On December 1881 Jacob Gross of Gross, Kelly & Company, forwarding and commission merchants, advised Manuel Antonio:

When you organize your bank at Socorro, I would not advise a capital of over \$50,000, that sum is plenty & it pays better when the capital is small. Get Lic. Perea interested or Felipe Chávez, or the present delegate Luna, if possible, then have some of the prominent people in Socorro to take a few shares, such men as Captain Abeyta or Juan José Baca. [5]

The Oteros were successful politicians and businessmen, systematic information on the Oteros' businesses, however, is quite scarce. One branch of the family left New Mexico in 1862 to become partners in a commission merchant firm (Otero & Sellars & Co) that operated at the various terminal points of the Santa Fe Trail. Miguel Antonio Otero I was delegate from New Mexico to the United States Congress, but abandoned a political career to devote his energy to "banking, outfitting, wholesaling, and retailing." [6] He and his family left New Mexico in 1862 and followed the changing railroad terminus from Westport, to Fort Harker, Ellsworth, Hays City, Sheridan, Fort Wallace, Kit Carson, Granada, La Junta, and briefly back to New Mexico at El Morro, Otero, and then Las Vegas. [7] Miguel Antonio Otero II's autobiography contains wonderful insights about life on the frontier and recounts the hectic activities of firms like those his father operated:

"...[the business] remained open both day and night. This was necessary, since it usually took all day to load a large outfit, and after that there were many odds and ends that had to be attended to. The wagon-boss had to buy all his provisions for the trip, see that his wagons and animals were in good condition, sign the bills of lading for each wagon, obtain an advance of the money needed for incidental expenses on the trip, and give drafts on the merchants owning the goods. All this had to be done in time for the train of wagons to start at daybreak. To attend to these necessary details, the commission houses utilized two full set of bookkeepers, salesmen, clerks, and porters, one set working all day and the other all night. [8]



Figure 10. Wagon Trains Arriving in the Santa Fe Plaza, ca. 1861.
Photo courtesy Museum of New Mexico.

Otero also revealed that his father, in addition to his regular line of business, was a large government contractor, receiving and forwarding supplies to different military posts and Indian reservations throughout the southwest. [9] Miguel Antonio Otero II followed his father's example and became a successful politician. President William McKinley appointed him governor of the territory of New Mexico in 1897. The first native New Mexican to

occupy the post, he continued to act in that capacity until 1906. The literature on his political life is extensive, but there is little, if any, specific information on the family's economic activities. [10]

Otero described the hacienda *La Constancia*, the large estate of his uncle Manuel Antonio, who according to his 1860 census declaration was the fourth richest man in New Mexico. [11] The hacienda was located south of Albuquerque:

to the rear of the main house was the country store, which my uncle operated. It was a single room, about one hundred feet long and thirty feet wide, with shelves and a counter. One side of the room was devoted to groceries, vegetables, fresh meats, chickens, milk, butter and eggs, while the other half was used for dry goods, hardware, leather goods, and the like. [12]

The Pereas are another family who played an important role in the development of the Santa Fe trade. Juan and José Perea were among the New Mexicans who returned from the United States in 1844 with impressive shipments of American and European products. At the end of July of that same year José remitted over \$40,000 in merchandise to Chihuahua, Zacatecas, and Aguas Calientes (see Appendix I). [13] Unfortunately only scattered documents survive about the family business activities after the Mexican War. The *Westport Border Star* reported that on July 8, 1859 the Pereas shipped to New Mexico thirty-five tons of merchandise in fourteen wagons. The caravan included sixteen men, two horses, four mules, and 162 head of cattle. [14] In 1867 José Leandro, by this time one of the wealthiest men in the territory, outfitted another large train which carried wool to Kansas City and returned laden with merchandise, an operation that took place on a yearly basis. [15] Periodic reports between 1851 and 1875 indicate that American business firms considered him one of most prominent men in the territory. He owned substantial real estate, had a top credit rating, and owned a series of stores, the most important at Bernalillo, where he resided. His assessed wealth in 1875 was \$800,000 with real estate valued at about \$100,000 and about 75,000 sheep. [16] Census reports for 1860 and 1870 confirm the information presented in the credit reports—he was among the richest men in New Mexico with assets listed at \$225,000 in 1860 and \$408,000 in 1870. [17]

Only one additional Perea listed in the 1860 shared José Leandro's occupation—J. L. from Las Vegas with \$36,500 in total reported assets. Other Pereas—Pedro José and Julian declared themselves farmers. They also owned substantial property. Pedro José reported \$40,000 in personal estate while Julian claimed \$20,000. At the time of the next census José Leandro was the only merchant, but five Pereas, who continued farming, held combined personal estate of \$59,000, a substantial amount of property for farmers in New Mexico in 1870. [18]

Another New Mexican family who played an important role in the development of the Santa Fe trade were the Yrizaris. Mariano Yrizarri also owned several stores, one of which was at Ranchos de Albuquerque, and at least until the 1870s he was heavily involved in bringing wagon trains of merchandise from Missouri. One surviving invoice from 1854 demonstrates the similarity in the buying strategy of the Yrizaris and the Chavezes. Mariano bought merchandise from 19 different suppliers—hats and caps from H. & K. Whittemore, fabrics from Eddy Jamison, ribbons from Pittman & Tennent, bandannas from T. W. Hoit, shoes from R. C. Shackelford and E. C. Yoste, pantaloons from Young Brothers, lace from Weil & Brother, miscellaneous items from A. J. McCreery & Co. and Hanford Thayer & Co., and dishes from Noonan Tooly & Co. and O. S. Filley & Co. Like Chávez he purchased his groceries from Glasgow Brothers, who also handled his account. Yrizarri also was collecting substantial credit from American sources, but it is not possible to identify how he obtained these funds. [19]

Credit reports on Mariano Yrizarri between 1868 and 1875 indicate that he also was considered one of the richest men in New Mexico with a total assessed wealth of \$500,000 and 100,000 sheep. In 1873 he was described as, "carrying stock of \$60,000 to \$75,000. . .a small mercantile business. . .owning real estate valued at \$75,000. . .has \$50,000 or \$60,000 in cash on deposit with Glasgow Brothers of St. Louis all the time and bushels of it buried." His estimated wealth was \$400,000 to \$500,000 and apparently he was "too mean to have any less at any time." [20] The same report indicated that his son, Manuel, although worth only about \$30,000, was a good businessman, prompt, reliable, and fair. Those who rated Mariano were quite accurate since the 1860 census information confirmed his economic status—he was the second-richest man in the territory with \$213,000 in assets. Ten years later he no longer listed himself as a merchant, but as a farmer. Nevertheless his reported assets grew slightly to \$215,000. A substantial portion of his fortune was tied up in personal estate (two hundred thousand dollars), evidence that the change in the occupation recorded in the Census schedule does not necessarily indicate a change in his economic activities. [21]

His son, Manuel appears to have lost some of the family assets within a decade. In 1860 at 20 years of age he held property valued at \$17,400, higher than the \$15,000 which was the average Hispano merchants reported that year. A decade later the value of his real estate had declined by half to \$1,000; his personal estate had even dropped more dramatically from \$15,400 to \$3,000. Manuel also had changed his declared occupation—from merchant to freighter—another indication that the loss of assets paralleled a decline in status. [22]

The Armijo family needs little introduction to students of the Santa Fe Trail. Manuel Armijo is probably the best known New Mexican merchant, but Manuel was not the only entrepreneur in the family. [23] The Armijo name appeared regularly among the lists of merchants associated with the Santa Fe Trail, and particularly with those bringing American goods to New Mexico after the Mexican War. Cristóbal, Rafael, Nestor, and Juan Armijo owned five percent of all the wagons reported through Council Grove in 1856. Their caravans combined also for 327 mules and 74 tons of merchandise. [24] Fifteen Armijos were listed in the 1860 census. Their reported assets (\$458,500) were the largest for any one family. A decade later the family's wealth remained high. Although only nine Armijos were listed as merchants, their declared property was over a quarter million dollars. [25]

Surviving documents suggest that the business strategies of the Armijos were quite similar to those of other Río Abajo *ricos*. Brothers Rafael and Manuel were reported to have had the largest store of goods in Albuquerque during the 1850s. The 1860 census data confirm the information as each brother reported \$74,000 in assets. Rafael, who apparently preferred to live in the southern part of the territory, also had retail and wholesale businesses in Mesilla and Las Cruces. The records from one of his stores, very much like the one owned by José and Mariano Chávez and operated by Pablo Delgado in San Miguel del Vado, reveal that during 1856 Armijo kept a blue notebook where he recorded the amount of grains several individuals owed him. Most of the notebook included a series of promissory notes like the following:

I, Seferino Quesada, will *befiador* (security, safety) for Juan Reyes for the sum of 13 *costales* (bag, sack) of corn from next year's crop [1857] and for this purpose I sign the present document before the witnesses below. . . having understood that I ensure the said sum with my personal property and that if I were to lose my property I would work for the said gentleman [Armijo] until the obligation was fulfilled. [26]

The notebook periodically displayed the total amount of the debt. Though most of the entries were for very small sums, by the end of the year the total amounted to over \$1,000. [27] This was not a significant sum for a wealthy merchant, but it is indicative of one type of operation

that helped entrepreneurs, like the Armijos, to acquire hard cash or credit with eastern commission merchants. It entailed limited risks and furnished a substantial amount of produce, likely used to supply United States Army troops stationed in western posts and to be distributed among the various Indian reservations. The revenues from these contracts and sales would become an important source of monetary exchange.

The Armijos appeared also to have acted as an informal lending institution. An account book for 1859 listed more than one hundred individuals who owed Rafael and Manuel close to \$4,000. The amounts tended to varied substantially from \$3.00 to \$704.51. Similar records for 1860 and 1861 indicate that lending continued and that the sums involved increased. [28]

Manuel Armijo also continued to have very close economic ties to Mexican firms in Guadalajara. Early in 1859 the firm of Alvarez Araujo remitted him 154 boxes with almost \$12,000 in merchandise. [29] The two surviving invoices demonstrate that the Mexican War did not put an end to commercial transactions between New Mexican merchants and their counterparts across the border. The Armijos' commercial skills are quite evident as they successfully recuperated from the total loss of their property as a result of their support for the Confederacy. [30]

Salvador Armijo, a cousin of Manuel and Rafael, was another influential member of this family. An astute and successful businessman, he became one of Albuquerque's wealthiest and most influential citizens and developed a reputation for political savvy. The owner of a major store in the Albuquerque plaza, he was a progressive farmer and merchant who became involved in a variety of mercantile operations and who profited by selling provisions to the American troops stationed in the province after the Mexican War. [31]

In spite of the losses he suffered at the onset of the Civil War when his merchandise and stock were seized by the Confederate forces, his holdings remained substantial. In 1864 he announced the formation of a partnership with his son-in-law Santiago Baca with estimated assets of \$100,000. Baca possibly helped with some of more time-consuming activities and allowed Armijo the opportunity to expand his business by opening stores at Cebolleta, Cubero, Jarales, and Peralta. The census of 1870 shows a moderate increase in his personal property, from \$15,000 to \$26,000. [32] These census declarations, however, do not provide an accurate assessment of Armijo's wealth and influence.

Other wealthy merchant family names were Luna, Baca, González, and Barela. With combined assets of over half a million dollars (\$514,744) these families rounded up the wealthy New Mexican elite. Below them in terms of reported wealth in 1860 were Delgado, Vigil, Ortiz, Gallegos, Sandoval, Gutiérrez, and Sánchez. Merchants of means also included Miguel Córdoba, Manuel Garcia, Prudencio Lopez, Pablo Pino, and Antonio Ribera. A decade later their numbers and overall reported wealth declined dramatically, but the same family names headed the list of the wealthiest merchants (see Tables 6 and 7). [33]

In addition to differences in the geographic distribution of hispano merchants noted in chapter V (see Tables 6 and 7) the census data suggest a consolidation in the position of the extremely wealthy and a substantial loss in the reported wealth of those immediately below them. For example, there was a dramatic decline in the number of merchants who reported between one hundred thousand and ten thousand dollars, from 44 to 14. There was also a decrease in the proportion of merchants' assets tied up in personal estate, at least in part a surrogate for the value of their merchandise. In 1860 almost 81 percent of their wealth was in personal property; 10 years later it had declined to 76 percent. [34] The decrease in the combined assets (almost \$900,000), if it is a true indicator of conditions in the territory, suggests major modifications to the economic circumstances of the Hispano mercantile establishment. [35]

There are several potential explanations for this change. Hispano merchants, as they reached middle-age, might have been reluctant to continue the complex and risky activities required of successful Santa Fe trade entrepreneurs and might have devoted more of their energies to agricultural activities while allowing their sons to acquire experience in commercial enterprises. For example, Mariano Yrizarri listed his occupation as farmer in 1870 even though it is obvious from the size of his personal estate that he continued to engage in mercantile activities. It is possible that his son Manuel continued to help him with the family enterprise. The sons of other individuals who declared high personal property were enumerated as store clerks, freighters, or "working in warehouse." Such were the situations of Juan Maria Baca from Las Vegas (San Miguel) and Antonio José Otero from Peralta (Valencia). Baca at 52 years of age reported \$5,000 in real estate and \$40,800 in personal estate. Fifty-eight-year old Otero and his wife Mercedes claimed combined assets of \$24,000. No property was reported for their son Adolfo who worked as a store clerk. But there are numerous similar cases. Given the range of values in personal estate declared in the New Mexico 1870 schedule it seems safe to assume that those with more than \$5,000 in personal estate were seriously engaged in other commercial activities besides agriculture. And their number was substantial. Sixty-nine individuals fell in this category. With a combined personal estate of \$889,379 it is possible that these individuals took the place of the "missing" 1860 merchants. [36]

Changes in residency can help to account for the losses suffered by Hispano merchants. Some individuals probably followed the example of Miguel A. Otero and moved out of the New Mexican territory to Colorado. Others might have gone west. A few, like Nestor and Nicolás Armijo, who married Bárbara Chávez (Felipe Chávez's sister) moved to Chihuahua for a decade (ca. 1868-1878) where they continued the commercial activities of their father. [37]

Some of the losses were the result of marriages. As the daughters of wealthy merchants wed, they received their share of the family's fortune. If they married farmers or lawyers, the wealth would not have been identified as mercantile assets. Furthermore, census schedules seldom identified wives' property as separate. In those few instances where they did, as in the case of Salvador Armijo's wife Nieves, was as a result of marital problems. [38]

The cross-cultural marriages of the daughters of the Hispano elite also contributed to the dispersal of their families' wealth. For example, the 1870 census reveals that among the 50 wealthiest non-Hispano merchants, 19 had Hispano wives (21 were not married and nine had wed non-Hispano women). [39] However, since maiden names were listed for only certain precincts, it is difficult to identify the brides' families and make a definitive linkage between cross-cultural marriages and the decline in the wealth of the Hispano elite.

It is also possible that the creation of three new counties (Lincoln, Grant and Colfax) and changes in county boundaries in the late 1860s might have affected Hispano merchants since foreigners seemed to move into new areas much more easily. The three new counties Colfax, Grant, and Lincoln listed 36 foreign merchants but only two Hispanos, both of them in Lincoln county. [40]

The differences between 1860 and 1870 might be the result of changes in the criteria census enumerators used in their reports, one of the most common problems associated with the use of census data. Although census information is quite valuable as a study tool, it has to be used judiciously; misreporting is probably one of the most common mistakes, but there are additional problems; errors are sometimes committed in transcribing manuscript materials or in adding them up; more importantly for this study it is difficult to compare results across time because of the changing format of successive census questionnaires. [41] In the case of the 1860 and 1870 census reports it is obvious that careless mistakes are quite common. For

example, in recording the individual's country of birth enumerators in certain counties just repeated the same information page after page. It is possible that Albert Stephenson and his wife Eleanor, reported living in Mesilla in 1870, might have been born in New Mexico, but it is not likely. The same is the case for Horace and Mary Stephenson and similar examples abound. The census schedule often lists individuals with no assets, but this might mean that the information was not available or not provided, and not necessarily that the respondent owned no property. For example, Ceran and Vicente St. Vrain reported neither personal nor real estate in 1870. The inconsistencies in the census return are very clear in double reporting. In some cases individuals were enumerated twice and neither their declared assets nor their names match. Nathan Eldadt was also listed as Nicholas Eldadt. Because of the names and ages of his wife and children it is possible to establish that there was only one Nathan (or Nicholas) Eldadt living in San Juan in 1870. Louis Clark was reported as a resident of Río Arriba county and of San Juan pueblo. In the former report his assets were one thousand dollars in real estate and eight thousand in personal. As a pueblo resident his property was assessed at four thousand dollars for both real and personal estate. [42]

It is difficult to trace the careers of Hispano merchants from one census to another. The returns indicate that only 34 (30.35 percent) of the 112 *comerciantes* enumerated in 1870 had been similarly listed in 1860. Thirteen showed an increase in the total value of their property, one remained the same, and the rest registered losses. However, with the exception of Felipe Chávez and José Leandro Perea, the gains were quite small—an average of less than \$4,900. Foreigners also experienced great geographical mobility; only 18 (11.25 percent) of the 160 merchants listed in the 1870 census had declared the same occupation a decade earlier. But unlike their Hispano counterparts, most of those who stayed in New Mexico and maintained the same occupation, experienced substantial increases in their reported holdings—an average of \$40,000. In 12 cases the value of their property increased, in two cases it declined, and in three cases it showed no change. It is interesting to note that between 1860 and 1870 the distribution of reported wealth for Hispanos underwent a more substantial change than that of foreigners (see Table 7).

The "middling sorts" among native merchants suffered the greatest losses between 1860 and 1870. A systematic analysis of their individual circumstances is not possible, but sporadic records for the Delgado family permit a brief assessment of their commercial activities and reveal that they played a key role in the development of the commercial system that evolved in New Mexico as a result of the Santa Fe trade.

Although influential and fairly wealthy, Manuel Delgado and his sons worked for José and Mariano Chávez during the 1840s, and for José Leandro Perea and Felipe Chávez later on. In his letters to his son Pablo, who was managing the Chávez store at San Miguel del Vado during the early 1840s, Manuel Delgado admonished him to take good care of the interests of their *patrón*, to whom they owed so many favors. Simón Delgado also advised his brother Pablo to handle the affairs of the Chávez brothers with care, to ensure that the wethers belonging to the store were well taken care of and to appoint someone to collect the debts. Simón, Pablo, and Felipe Delgado continued to have close economic ties with Felipe Chávez. During the 1850s the Delgados formed a partnership with Felipe. Specific details are not available, but the Delgados managed Chávez's store in the capital as well as other business and family affairs, at least through the 1870s. They sent *libranzas* in Chávez's name, received payment from debtors, and occasionally traveled east to arrange for large shipments. [43]





Figure 9. Felipe Chávez's Store in Belén, New Mexico (1875). Photo courtesy Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

Yet the Delgados were merchants in their own right and owned a substantial amount of property. At the time of Manuel's death in November 1854, his assets were as follows—\$243 in cash, \$3,469 in carts and merchandise, \$2,517 in animals, \$1,309 in debts, and \$441 in real estate. At close to \$8,000, this was a substantial sum, but modest if compared to those of the wealthiest merchants. [44] Manuel's children owned sizable assets. According to the 1860 census returns Simón was the leader with \$27,000; Felipe followed with \$10,000, while Fernando and Pablo reported \$6,000 and \$5,000 respectively. The family continued to do reasonably well through the next decade with a total assessed wealth of \$33,900, a decline from the \$48,000 they listed 10 years before. [45]

Delgado family members, like their *patrones*, participated in a variety of commercial activities linked to the Santa Fe trade. Fernando was selling silver and gold in St. Louis in 1856. Felipe ran a mercantile establishment in Santa Fe, at least through the first decade of the 20th century. He did not purchase his merchandise directly from commission merchants in the eastern United States, but relied on local dealers, like Zadock Staab, for a sizable amount of the goods he retailed. [46] Through the 1880s Felipe also worked for José L. Perea arranging for the sale of produce, like flour and barley, and sheep. He took care of other businesses for Perea, such as requests to find an adequate tailor to fashion a special gift for his son, and making inquiries and remittances to businesses in New York. [47] Felipe continued to have economic ties with businesses on the Mexican border and in the Mexican nation. His correspondence with Sol and Albert Schutz reveals that in the late 1870s his attempt to sell wines in El Paso was not very successful. Scarce U.S. dollars meant that buyers offered only Mexican pesos, which meant a 15 percent loss. Wine sales in large quantities were difficult and the high cost of smaller containers (a small barrel cost five to six dollars) made it impossible to make a profit. Schutz also informed Felipe that an attempt to exchange the wine for *efectos del país*, like *piloncillo* and soap, had been unsuccessful. [48]

Juan Delgado also maintained close commercial relations with El Paso merchants like Cecilio Robles. His correspondence reveals that historic patterns of trade along the Royal Road continued through the 1870s, although the volume and nature of the merchandise changed. Delgado was procuring small shipments of *efectos del país*, such as soap, *chicle* (chewing

gum), chocolate, and *piloncillo* from Mexico. Had the trains from the Mexican capital to the frontier been running, Robles would have sold Delgado Mexican goods, such as cashmere from San Ildefonso. It is not clear what merchandise, if any, Delgado would have delivered in return, since Mexican import duties priced out foreign goods. Unstable political circumstances within the Mexican nation produced uncertainty and made regular commercial transactions between merchants across the border cumbersome. [49] Juan and Felipe Delgado did not appear to have had adequate information on market conditions at El Paso and within the Mexican territory to make successful transactions. Unlike Felipe Chávez, they appear to have lacked an adequate communication network to keep them informed of local demand, supply, and fluctuations in prices.

As the railroad brought an end to the Santa Fe Trail (1880), the Delgado family continued its involvement in a variety of economic activities, and maintained relations with Mexican merchants and, through wholesalers, with commission merchants from the United States. The Delgados and other merchants like them often acted as agents or intermediaries for the wealthier New Mexicans. Holding moderate resources, these merchants played an important role in the development of mercantile capitalism. Like Damaso Robledo, the agent for Manuel Alvarez in the 1840s, they provided an essential link between the elite mercantile class and the local populations.

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CONCLUSION

This study stresses the need to scrutinize the Santa Fe Trail from a broader geographical perspective than has generally been used. The portion linking Missouri with New Mexico was only one segment of a complex transportation network that brought together two continents and several countries and facilitated the development of a complex system of international trade. The Santa Fe trade reached east well beyond Missouri to include New Orleans, New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and other eastern cities; west, it extended as far as the California coast; it stretched south deep into the Mexican territory to include most of its western and central provinces. The merchandise hauled across the prairies was often European in origin and arrived in the southwest as a result of the involvement of commission merchants in England, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, as well as the United States and Mexico.

Patterns of trade that resulted from the Santa Fe Trail were complex. They required sound credit, coordination in the delivery of merchandise that often originated hundreds of miles away, and reliable up-to-date information on prices, demand, and supply. Diversification was also essential. Those New Mexican merchants who did well economically participated in a variety of economic activities. They farmed, raised sheep and mined, shipped wool and precious metals, introduced large amounts of American and European merchandise, and acted as intermediaries for other businessmen, bankers, wholesalers, and retailers. They developed close relations with merchants and commission agents in Mexico, the United States, and Europe. They had scattered stores where they exchanged manufactured goods for the *efectos del país* and produce. They were cautious, but understood that in order to thrive economically it was important to adapt and to take some measured risks. They delayed for over a decade the establishment of direct commercial relations with businesses in the United States until they were moderately assured that the enterprise would be rewarding. Once they made the decision to trade east, they invested a substantial portion of their assets in this business.

New Mexicans were well-suited for their roles as international merchants since their ancestors had made commercial activities an important focus of the provincial economy. For decades they had traded legally and illegally with French, British, Americans, Mexicans, and various Indian tribes. They also took advantage of their knowledge of local conditions to gain access to important cash-producing products, such as grains, that were overlooked by foreign merchants who tended to be interested in quick profits. Between 1820 and 1880 New Mexican merchants showed a remarkable ability to adapt to the unstable political and economic circumstances that affected the southwestern trade during this period. The rebellion in Texas and its subsequent annexation, the Mexican War, the Civil War, all contributed to make commercial enterprises uncertain and risky. Major business ventures, even those of American commission merchants, such as the Glasgow Brothers and many other smaller ones, went bankrupt. Economic success, or even survival, in such circumstances was an indication of exceptional talent, resources, and hard-work.

The form of mercantile capitalism that evolved in New Mexico was dependent on mutual cooperation, even among those of different ethnic origins. Hispano merchants tended to travel together, but often they joined foreign caravans because of common ventures or

because they hoped that larger trains might deter Indian attacks. New Mexicans understood that mutual support and cooperation were essential for success. They were not reluctant to lend money, take care of each other's children, act on each other's behalf, and provide necessary information and advice. They resorted to strong familiar alliances through marriages and business partnerships in another attempt to strengthen their social and economic position.

The Santa Fe trade brought change to the territory. It contributed to a slight improvement in the standard of living of all segments of the population, as scarce and expensive manufactured goods became cheaper and more readily available. Trade activities also offered employment, which often was not very remunerative, but nevertheless it allowed even *peones*, the poorest element of the population, the chance to earn scarce cash. New Mexicans' skills as packers brought them not only some measure of financial reward but, perhaps more important, recognition as master muleteers. Like the majority of New Mexicans they were affected by the Santa Fe trade and made significant contributions to its development and success.

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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This study highlights the need to view the Santa Fe trade as part of a widespread network of trade relations that extended geographically well beyond the Santa Fe-Missouri Trail segment and one that evolved through time. Various ethnic groups contributed to its evolution and success. In trying to place the economic activities of hispanos within an adequate context, it is apparent that certain aspects of the trade require further analysis.

First, it would be difficult to settle the controversy regarding control of the trade; yet a systematic comparison of the merchandise (both quantity and value) listed in *guías* and manifests issued to foreigners with that hauled by New Mexicans would be a step in the right direction.

Second, the endeavors of non-hispano merchants, particularly those who settled in the New Mexican territory, have to be examined in greater detail. How did their operations compare to those of José Leandro Perea or Felipe Chávez? Did they rely on the same strategies as their hispano counterparts? Did they tend to establish businesses in areas where there was little competition from wealthy New Mexicans? How did they relate to the less affluent population? Were they more or less benevolent *patrones* than the native elite?

Third, it would be helpful to understand how non-hispano involvement in the trade changed after the Mexican War. The few New Mexicans, who owned most of goods that entered the territory after 1846, did not rely on large freighters, like Russell, Majors, and Waddell. Rather, they used *arrieros* and *mayordomos* who traveled east to arrange for the purchases, supervise their packing, and accompany the shipments to their final destination. Did any of the Americans develop a similar strategy to bring goods into New Mexico? If so, how successful were they?

Fourth, it would be important to identify the owners of the goods hauled by the large freighters after 1846. The nature of commercial operations had already changed before the Mexican War. Gregg noted a dramatic reduction in the number of owners and a parallel increase in the value of the shipments by 1843. Did this trend continue? Who owned the merchandise hauled by Russell, Majors, and Waddell? How did those who did not settle in New Mexico participate in the trade? Did they finance specific consignments of goods or did they make general investments that were combined to fund large shipments?

Fifth, it would be critical to conduct a systematic study of wholesale and commission merchants, such as Peter Harmony & Nephews. The nature of these businesses varied as a result of their geographic location and possibly their financial networks in the United States. Commission merchants greatly facilitated trade, but their activities have yet to be systematically documented. They were fundamental to the success of New Mexicans. It is not clear, however, if they assisted other entrepreneurs to the same degree, and if and how their role evolved with time.

Sixth, it would be valuable to examine economic relations with Mexico, before and after the Mexican War and their impact on both American and New Mexicans. These long-term, far-

reaching commercial ties were not severed in 1846. Although large shipments were never discussed in the correspondence between merchants from northern Mexico and their New Mexican counterparts, the presence of business agents in Chihuahua and Durango, as well as substantial drafts handled by commission merchants in behalf of Mexicans, suggest that mercantile associations remained closer than what the law permitted.

There are other issues specifically related to New Mexicans that need clarification. Among the most interesting would be to know more precisely how the *comerciantes* managed to obtain substantial credit with United States agencies and commission merchants. What did they sell in addition to grains and wool? Both products are bulky and, like the *efectos del país*, they had to have been produced in enormous quantities to account for the drafts deposited in their eastern accounts. Besides, wealthy merchants did not start sending large shipments of wool to the east until the 1870s.

It would also be important to identify more clearly the sources of New Mexican wealth. How important was mining? Who was mining and where? What did they mine? How much ore did they get? To what extent were New Mexican merchants associated with mining? This is extremely important because precious metals seemingly provided the foundation for their mercantile operations. The silver and gold bullion they carried to the United States during the late 1830s and early 1840s provided the basis for their mercantile operations. If they obtained bullion from Mexico, what did they sell in exchange? Throughout the 1830s the only goods sent to the interior of Mexico were sheep and domestic manufactures, neither one in sufficient volume to explain the substantial amount of bullion Missouri newspapers reported New Mexicans were carrying on their trips to the eastern United States.

Even more important would be learning about the less wealthy, to try to obtain a better understanding of how their participation in the Santa Fe trade changed with time and how their lives were modified as a result of trading with the United States. It would also be valuable to explore the impact of the Santa Fe trade on the culture and the expectations of New Mexicans. How did their lives change as a result of the presence of additional goods? Was it a positive change? Did they enjoy a higher standard of living as a result of the trade? Did the Santa Fe trade improve their circumstances by making more jobs available to them? Did it mostly result in increasing dependence on *patrones* who cared little for their *peones* and who were intent on making a large profit? Were New Mexican merchants willing to help financially those dependent on them? Most of these issues defy easy analysis since source material is not readily available to shed light on them.

Finally, it would be necessary to assess the contributions of the various Indian tribes to the development of the Santa Fe trade. In general their participation has been viewed in negative terms, mostly as physical threats to the mercantile operations. However, they played a significant role in "opening" trade routes, even before the period of Spanish occupation. Historians acknowledge that they became key recipients of weapons, but it is also likely that they played a greater role as consumers of the merchandise hauled across the prairies.

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GLOSSARY

acero = steel

acto = act; decree

administrador = administrator

aduada = customs house

aforo = appraisal

aguardiente = alcoholic spirit

alcabala = excise tax

alcalde = mayor

algodón = cotton

almacén = warehouse

almirantazgo = import duty

almojarifazgo = customs fee

almud = dry measure about .8 of a liter

alpaca = wool or cloth

anta = elk skin

aparejo = pack saddle

aprehensor = apprehender

arancel = tariff, customs duty

arbitrio = municipal or tax excise

arma = arm, weapon

arriero = muleteer

artículo = article

atajo = team of pack mules

Audiencia = Spanish colonial high court

autoridad = authority

avería = tax to cover transportation costs

ayuntamiento = municipality

bala = bolt of cloth

barril = barrel

barrio = neighborhood

baúl = trunk

bestia = animal such as horse, cow, sheep, goat

bien = property

bono = bond, note

borrador = carbon copy

buey = ox

bula de santa cruzada = tax on indulgences

bulto = bundle

burro de carga = donkey able to carry a load

caballo = horse

cabra = goat

caja = box, chest

cajita = little box

cajón = big box, chest

Camino Real = Royal road

Camino Real de la tierra adentro = the Royal road to Chihuahua and the interior of Mexico

cantidad = amount, quantity

cantina = large wallet or leather box; canteen

carga = load, burden

cargamento = cargo, shipment camero = ram; wether casa = house

castor = beaver

cátedra = college-level class

caza = hunting

chicle = chewing gum

cíbolo = buffalo; buffalo skin

ciudadano = citizen

colcha = quilt, bedspread

comerciante = merchant

comercio = commerce

comiso = seizure, confiscation of goods

común = common

conchilla = seashell

conductor = driver of a caravan

consulado = merchant guild

consumo = consumption

contrabando = smuggling, contraband

cordobán = tanned goatskin

cordón = string of people or animals

corona = blanket used with the saddle

corte = a piece of cloth or fabric larger than a remnant

Cortes = Spanish legislative body (includes equivalent of House of Representatives and Senate)

costal = large sack for grain

costurera = seamstress

cuaderno de guías = notebook where *guías* were recorded

cuenta = account; bead

decreto = decree

denunciante = denouncer

derecho = right; duty

derecho de consumo = consumption fee

derecho de fundidor = smelting charge

derecho de internación = tariff; import duty

destino = destination

diezmo = tithe

diligencia = errand

dinero = money

Diputación Provincial = provincial delegation to Congress

diputado = representative to Congress; deputy

Dirección General de Hacienda = Treasury Department

distrito = district

documento = document

donde me convenga = where it suits me

douceur = gift

efectos = goods, effects, merchandise

efectos del país = local merchandise

efectos extranjeros = foreign merchandise

empaque = packaging

empleado = employee

escribiente = scribe

estado = state; condition; government

estanco = monopoly on tobacco

expende = to sell

extranjero = foreign

extraordinario = extraordinary

factura = receipt

fanega = grain measure of about 1.6 bushels

fardo = bundle

feria = fair

fiador = guarantor

fierro = iron

fletero = freighter

fraudulenta introducción = illegal entry

frazada = blanket

frazada corriente = common blanket

frazada camera = blanket for the bed, bedspread

frontera = frontier

gachupín = Spaniard who settles in Latin America

gamuza = deer skin

gasto = expense

gentil = heathen, pagan

gerga = coarse woolen cloth

gobierno = government

grano = grain; monetary unit—12 *granos* equal 1 *real*

gruesa = gross

grupera = leather band part of the pack saddle

guantes = gloves

guía = commercial passport that itemized articles shipped between the various Mexican provinces

habitante = inhabitant

hacendado = owner of real estate, farm and/or cattle ranch

herramienta = tool

importación = import

importe = amount

indiana = calico

indio = Indian

interino = provisional, temporary

interna = interior, internal

jefe político = political chief

jerga = coarse woolen cloth

juez de paz = justice of the peace

juez = judge

junta = council, board

jurisdicción = jurisdiction

labrador = farmer

lana = wool

letra de cambio = letter of exchange; draft

letra de crédito = written order to pay; draft

letrado = lawyer

libranza = written order to pay; draft

lienzo = linen

maestro = teacher

mahón = nankeen

manta = coarse cotton fabric

máquina = machine

marítima = maritime

mayordomo = steward

media = sock, stocking

mejicano = Mexican

media añata = half of the first year's salary of officials

mesada = tax on appointed offices

milicia = militia

millionario = millionaire

modista = seamstress

moneda = coin; currency

mula = mule

nación bárbara = Indian tribe

negociante = trader, merchant

negocio = business; deal

nota = note, bond, bill

nulidad = error that nullifies a legal act

nutria = beaver

oficio = official document

orden de pago = order to pay

oso = bear

otros puntos en el camino = other points along the road

oveja = sheep

palmeo = trade tax based on the bulk of the merchandise

pano = type of cloth

pañuelo = scarf; handkerchief

papel = paper; official document

partida = shipment, consignment

partido = administrative unit; pastoral institution that dominated the sheep industry in New Mexico

partidario = individual who signed an agreement to care for sheep belonging to someone else

pasaporte = passport

pase = pass; permission to carry small amount of merchandise between provinces

patrón = boss, master

peón = laborer

peso = monetary unit

peso a precios antiguos = bookkeeping monetary unit worth four *reales*.

peso a precio de proyecto = bookkeeping monetary unit worth six *reales*.

peso de la tierra = bookkeeping monetary unit worth two *reales*.

peso de plata = silver

peso piel de oso = beaver skin

pieza = piece; unit

piloncillo = Mexican sugar

piñón = pine nut

población = population

préstamo forzoso = forced loan

promotor fiscal = district attorney

promovedor = promoter

proveniente = coming from

provincia = province

público = public

pueblo = town; people

puesto = place, post

punto = place, spot

quintal = weight measurement equals 100 lbs. or 100 kgs.

quinto = royalty on bullion

rancho = ranch

real = monetary unit—8 *reales* made 1 peso

rebozo = shawl

recargo = surcharge, surtax

recibo = receipt

remesa = remittance

remitente = sender

rico = wealthy individual

rúbrica = signature; category

sabanilla = linen bedspread

salvaje = savage, Indian

sarape de niño = child's sarape

sarape = shawl or blanket worn as an outer garment

sarape corriente = common sarape

sayal = coarse woolen cloth

sastre = tailor

segundo = second

serape = sarape

sisa = excise on food

sobremesa = tablecloth

sombrero = hat

subscripción = subscription

subsidio extraordinario = extraordinary subsidy

sujeto = subject

Supremo Poder Ejecutivo = Supreme Executive Power

tejido = weaving

tercio = bale, bundle; each of the bundles in a mule load; third

territorio = territory

tierra de pan llevar = irrigated land

tornaguía = document indicating that merchandise taken into Mexico had been delivered

trabajo = work

vaca = cow

valor = value; bond, stock

vara = unit of measurement that equals .835 meters (close to 1 yard)

vino = wine

vocal = deputy

voluntaria = voluntary

Vuestra Excelencia = Your Excellency

yegua = mare

SANTA FE

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APPENDIX I:

Hispano Merchants Who Received *Guías* From the Customs House at Santa Fe

Abeyta, Aniceto. Roll 40 # 286, Sep 6, 1845. Guía # 24. 18 bultos of domestic and foreign merchandise. Value: 152 pesos 6.25 reales. To: Chihuahua.

Abreu, Santiago. Roll 21 # 282, Sep 20, 1835. Guía # 31. 1 *alambique* (still). To: de Palacios, Francisco, Chihuahua. Conductor: Eduardo L.

Aguilar, Luis. Roll 21 # 357, Sep 27, 1840. Guía # 59. Domestic merchandise. Value: 115 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora. Conductor: Serrano, Miguel. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 795].

Aguilar, Luis. Roll 21 # 358, ca. Oct 27, 1840. Guía # 68. [Rest of the entry is blank].

Aguilar, Luis. Roll 21 # 359, Oct 27, 1840. Guía # 71. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 142 pesos 3 reales. To: Sonora. Conductor: Chávez, Juan Cristóbal.

Alarid, José Ramón. Roll 21 # 303, Aug 24, 1837. Guía # 32. 3 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca 45 pesos. To: El Paso. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 796].

Alarid, Juan Bautista. Roll 14 # 258, Oct 24, 1831. Guía # [blank]. 3 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: Durango, Sonora y Chihuahua.

Albán, Dionisio. Roll 21 # 316, Aug 1, 1839. Guía # 115. 1 tercio of foreign merchandise. Value: 89 pesos. To: El Paso.

Albo, Agapito. Roll 19 # 323, Aug 18, 1834. Guía # 48. Foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

Albo, Agapito. Roll 21 # 318, Aug 17, 1839. Guía # 123. 15 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 1505 pesos. To: El Paso.

Albo, Agapito. Roll 21 # 318, Aug 17, 1839. Guía # 122. 16 bultos. Value: 2,554 pesos 1 real. To: Ronquillo, José Ignacio; El Paso.

Albo, Agapito. Roll 21 # 318, Aug 17, 1839. Guía # 124. 3 piezas. Value: 938 pesos 1/2 real. To: Velarde, Juan María; El Paso.

Ara, Eduardo. Roll 21 # 282, Oct 5 1835. Guía # 32. 21 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: Chihuahua y Sonora.

Ara, Eduardo. Roll 21 # 282, Oct 5, 1835. Guía # 33. 20 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: Chihuahua, Sonora y Durango.

Ara, Eduardo. Roll 21 # 283, Oct 5, 1835. Guía # 34. 12 tercios. To: Chihuahua, Sonora y Durango.

Aragón, Fernando. Roll 21 # 314, Oct 24, 1838. Guía # 105. 16 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 150 pesos. To: Chihuahua y Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1453].

Aragón, Fernando. Roll 21 # 314, Oct 24, 1838. Guía # 104. 4 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua y Sonora.

**Aragón, Fernando. Roll 27 # 643, Jan 29, 1839. Hermosillo, guía # 27. 8 bultos. Value: 451 pesos 3 reales. To: New Mexico.

Aragón, Fernando. Roll 21 # 337, Oct 16, 1839. Guía # 196. 25 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 402 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora.

Aragón, Fernando. Roll 21 # 360, Oct 16, 1840. Guía # 77. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 130 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua y Sonora.

Aragón, José. Roll 21 # 297, Feb 15, 1837. Guía # 108. Domestic merchandise. To: El Paso. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 767. There is a discrepancy between dates and *guía* numbers in the *cuaderno* and the *guía* itself].

Aragón, Juan Antonio. Roll 21 # 353, Aug 24, 1840. Guía # 43. 14 bultos. Value: 272 pesos 4 reales. To: Durango and San Juan de Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 783. The prices of the items do not add to the total as shown in the *guía*. Accounting seems to indicate real value was 230 pesos 4 reales].

Aragón, Ramón. Roll 21 # 295, Oct 27, 1836. Guía # 97. 2 baúles and 2 tercios. To: El Paso. Conductor: Perea, Baltazar. [Guía exists—Roll 22 # 1167. It is possible that the merchandise belongs to Baltazar Perea].

Aranda, Pedro. Roll 30 # 324, Sep 8, 1841. Panda, N.M., guía # 8. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Arce?, Juan. Roll 34 # 1202, Aug 7, 1843. Guía # 1. 2 bultos. Value: 487 pesos 46 cents. To: California.

Archuleta, Antonio Cayetano. Roll 21 # 313, Sep 11, 1838. Guía # 96. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora.

Archuleta, Eugenio. Roll 21 # 279, ca. August 31, 1835. Guía # 25. 18 tercios. To: those states which are most convenient.

Archuleta, Eugenio. Roll 34 # 1206, Aug 26, 1843. Guía # 26. 1,400 sheep. Value: 700 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Baca, Tomás.

Archuleta, Eugenio. Roll 34 # 1207, Aug 29, 1843. Guía # 33. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 161 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Archuleta, José Eugenio. Roll 21 # 332, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 179. 33 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 220 pesos 6 reales. To: Zacatecas and Guadalajara.

Archuleta, José Eugenio. Roll 21 # 311, Sep 3, 1838. Guía # 89. 19 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 183 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1443].

Archuleta, Pablo. Roll 21 # 353, Aug 24, 1840. Guía # 42. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 78 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Arellano, ??. Roll 21 # 343, Mar 27, 1840. Guía # 1. 10 bultos of foreign and domestic merchandise. Value: 1,011 pesos 4 reales. To: Durango, Zacatecas and Mexico.

Armijo, Ambrosio. Roll 21 # 305, Feb 10, 1838. Guía # 53. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Property appears to be jointly owned with Cristóbal Armijo].

Armijo y Ortiz, Ambrosio. Roll 21 # 325, Aug 31, 1839. Guía # 153. 30 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 489 pesos. To: Sonora and Sinaloa.

Armijo y Ortiz, Ambrosio. Roll 28 # 774, Aug 25, 1840. Guía # 31. 32 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 312 pesos 4 reales. To: Vizcaya and Sinaloa.

Armijo, Ambrosio. Roll 21 # 358, Oct 13, 1840. Guía # 64. 26 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 140 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Armijo, José.

Armijo, Ambrosio. Roll 34 # 1208, Aug 31, 1843. Guía # 37. 6 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 146 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, Ambrosio. Roll 34 # 1215, Nov 1, 1843. Guía # 109. 32 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 4,367 pesos 64 cents. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, Ambrosio. Roll 34 # 1215, Nov 10, 1843. Guía # 115. 29 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 3,843 pesos 64.75 cents. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, Ambrosio. Roll 37 # 399, Sep 1, 1844. Guía # 45. 26 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 267 pesos 3 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Armijo, José. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 472].

Armijo, Ambrosio. Roll 40 # 283, Sep 2, 1845. Guía # 7. 28 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 403 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Sonora, and Sinaloa. [Guía exists—Roll 49 # 313].

Armijo, Ambrosio. Roll 40 # 318, Sep 10, 1845. Guía # 12. 15 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 155 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango.

Armijo, Antonio José. Roll 34 # 1211, Sep 12, 1843. Guía # 61. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 221 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and San Juan de los Lagos.

Armijo, Cristóbal. Roll 21 # 305, Feb 10, 1838. Guía # 53. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Property appears to be jointly owned with Ambrosio Armijo].

Armijo, Cristóbal. Roll 21 # 351, Aug 27, 1840. Guía # 32. 25 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 494 pesos*. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 775].

Armijo, Cristóbal. Roll 21 # 356, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 54. 18 bultos. Value: 175 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

**Armijo, Cristóbal. Roll 32 # 1645, Nov. 24, 1842. Guaymas, pase. 2 *cajas* (boxes) and 3 *quintales* of steel. To: New Mexico.

Armijo, Cristóbal. Roll 34 # 1206, Aug 26, 1843. Guía # 27. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 127 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, José. Roll 21 # 358, Oct 13, 1840. Guía # 63. 18 [blank] of domestic merchandise.

Value: 117 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, José. Roll 30 # 318, Aug 30, 1841. Guía # 133. 32 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 363 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, José. Roll 34 # 1205, Aug 26, 1843. Guía # 19. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 133 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, José. Roll 34 # 1205, Aug 26, 1843. Guía # 18. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 133 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [The *cuaderno* shows the same information for guía # 19. It might be a mistake].

Armijo, José. Roll 37 # 398, Aug 29, 1844. Guía # 42. 25 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 340 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 470].

**Armijo, Juan. Roll 27 # 629, Jan 21, 1839. Chihuahua, guía # 14. 12 bultos. Value: 411 pesos 2 reales. [This guía is a good indicator of how much goods cost in Mexico. It also shows what they brought back].

Armijo, Juan. Roll 21 # 325, Aug 27, 1839. Guía # 151. 1200 common blankets. Value: 300 pesos. To: Zacatecas and Guanajuato.

Armijo, Juan Cristóbal. Roll 21 # 349, Aug 22, 1840. Guía # 23. 1,400 sheep and domestic merchandise. Value: 800 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 766].

Armijo, Juan. Roll 21 # 354, Aug 25, 1840. Guía # 47. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 189 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 28, 787].

Armijo, Juan. Roll 30 # 316, Aug 23, 1841. Guía # 124. 16 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 191 pesos 4 reales. To: Guanajuato and Zacatecas.

Armijo, Juan C. Roll 37 # 395, Aug 1, 1844. Guía # 19. 89 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 18,049 pesos 14 cents. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Aguas Calientes.

Armijo, Julián. Roll 21 # 294, Oct 27, 1836. Guía # 96. 54 bultos. To Vizcaya or Sonora.

Armijo, Julián. Roll 21 # 306, Aug 12, 1838. Guía # 60. 22 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 274, Aug 10, 1835. Guía #4. 9,400 sheep and 20 tercios of blankets. Value: ca. 4,800 pesos. Fiador: Abreu, Santiago. To: Mexico.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 275, Aug 18, 1835. Guía # 8. 3,000 sheep. Value: ca. 1,500 pesos. To: Mexico City. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 366].

**Armijo, Manuel. Roll 22 # 1179, Jan 2, 1836. Durango, guía # 515. 20 bultos. Conductor: García, Cristóbal.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 294, Oct 27, 1836. Guía # 95. 1 baúl of merchandise. To: Lucero, José Antonio, Chihuahua. Conductor: Apodaca, Ramón.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 299, Aug 12, 1837. Guía # 11. 4,100 sheep. Value: ca. 2,050 pesos. To: El Paso, Durango and Mexico. Conductor: García, Antonio María.

Armijo y Mestas, Manuel Roll 21 # 303, Aug 27, 1837. Guía # 35. 2,200 sheep. Value: ca.

1,100 pesos. To: Durango or Zacatecas, Mexico. Conductor: Vergara, Vicente. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 798].

Armijo y Mestas, Manuel. Roll 21 # 301, Aug 18, 1837. Guía # 25. 2,600 sheep. Value: ca. 1,300 pesos. To: Zubiria, Francisco; Mexico.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 305, Feb 10, 1838. Guía # 54. 9 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora. Conductor: Armijo, Pedro. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1429].

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 325, Aug 31, 1839. Guía # 152. 1800 common blankets and 6 tercios of pinyons. Value: 459 pesos. To: Zacatecas and Guanajuato. Conductor: Armijo, Rafael.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 348, Aug 20, 1840. Guía # 19. 5,116 sheep. Value: 5,116 pesos. To: Durango and Zacatecas. Conductor: Ortiz, Gaspar. Fiador: Chávez, José Antonio. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 762].

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 349, Aug 20, 1840. Guía # 20. To: Chihuahua. Conductores: Ortiz, Gaspar and González, Mario.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 354, Aug 25, 1840. Guía # 46. 34 bultos. Value: 300 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. Conductor: Armijo, Rafael. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 786].

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 37 # 393, Jul 29, 1844. Guía # 11. 19 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 197 pesos. To: Chihuahua. Conductor: Ruiz, Marcos.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 37 # 393, Jul 27, 1844. Guía # 10. 4,500 sheep. Value: 2,500 pesos. To: Durango and Mexico. Conductor: Sánchez, Felix.

Armijo, Manuel. Roll 40 # 282, Sep 2, 1845. Guía # 6. 4,000 sheep. Value: 2,000 pesos. To: Urquide, Juan N.; Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico. Conductor: Suarez, Mateo.

Armijo, Pedro. Roll 21 # 305, Jan 31, 1838. Guía # 50. 44 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Armijo, Pedro. Roll 21 # 362, Oct 26, 1840. Guía # 103. 30 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 375 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Armijo, Santiago. Roll 14 # 236, Sep 14, 1831. Guía # 56. Foreign and domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 200 pesos. To: Sonora and Chihuahua. Conductor: Ortiz, Ignacio. [Guía indicates Ortiz is carrying for his brother? Santiago Armijo].

Armijo, Vicente. Roll 6 # 509, ca. Sep 2, 1828. Guía # 17. 8 tercios. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Ascarante?, Anastasio. Roll 40 # 344, Sep 21, 1845. Guía # 61. Foreign merchandise. Value: 4,023 pesos 18.75 cents. To: Galeana, Corralitos, and Janos. Fiador: Scolley, John.

Baca, Antonio. Roll 34 # 1206, Aug 30, 1843. Guía # 24. 3 bultos of domestic merchandise and 2,757 sheep. Value: 1,408 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Baca, Francisco Tomás. Roll 21 # 279, Aug 29, 1835. Guía # 21. Domestic merchandise. Value: 36 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 372].

Baca, Francisco Tomás. Roll 21 # 278, Aug 29, 1835. Guía # 20. 2,200 sheep. Value: ca. 1,100 pesos. To: Yzurrieta, José María; Durango and Federal District. [Guía exists—Roll 21

371].

Baca, Francisco Tomás. Roll 22 # 1180, Jan 2, 1836. Durango, Guía # 516. Conductor: García, José. [Merchandise was possibly jointly owned with Juan Yzurrieta]

Baca, Tomás. Roll 21 # 302, Aug 25, 1837. Guía # 31. 3,000 sheep. Value: ca. 1,500 pesos. To: Pescador, Antonio; Mexico. Conductor: Baca, Domingo.

Baca, Francisco Tomás. Roll 21 # 311, Sep 3, 1838. Guía # 86. 50 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 400 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1440. In 1840 he is at Pena Blanca, Roll 27 # 1049-51].

Baca, Francisco Tomás. Roll 21 # 311, Sep 3, 1838. Guía # 87. 550 sheep. Value: ca. 275 pesos. To: Zuviria, Francisco; Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1441].

Baca, Tomás. Roll 21 # 346, Aug 18, 1840. Guía # 12. 75 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 2,498 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 758].

Baca, Francisco Tomás. Roll 30 # 319, Aug. 30, 1841. Guía # 138. 56 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 360 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Baca, José. Roll 21 # 320, Aug 23, 1839. Guía # 133. 40 baúles of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Baca, Juan Antonio. Roll 6 # 508, Aug 22, 1828. Guía # 14. 4 tercios. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Baca, Juan.

Baca, Juan Bautista. Roll 21 # 294, Oct 26, 1836. Guía # 94. 460 blankets. Value: ca. 115 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Baca, Juan de Jesús. Roll 21 # 354, Aug 26, 1840. Guía # 48. 6 bultos. Value: 143 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 788].

Baca, Juan de Jesús. Roll 21 # 314, Sep 12, 1838. Guía # 103. 7 tercios. Value: 109 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Baca, Juan de Jesús. Roll 34 # 1207, Aug 30, 1843. Guía # 35. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 122 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango

Baca, Juan. Roll 34 # 1214, Oct 30, 1843. Guía # 108. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 185 pesos 4 reales. To: El Paso.

Baca, Luis. Roll 21 # 304, Aug 28, 1837. Guía # 36. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Baca, Pedro M. Roll 34 # 1207, Aug 30, 1843. Guía # 34. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 128 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Baca, Pedro. Roll 21 # 333, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 181. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 94 pesos 2 reales. To: Zacatecas and Guadalajara.

Baca, Pedro. Roll 21 # 355, Aug 26, 1840. Guía # 50. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 125 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 790].

Baca, Pedro. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 27. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 150 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

****Baca, Romualdo.** Roll 32 # 1658, Nov 12, 1842. Hermosillo, guía # 427. 18 piezas (iron, steel, and domestic merchandise). Value 247 pesos. To: New Mexico.

Baca, Romualdo. Roll 34 # 1205, Aug 30, 1843. Guía # 22. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise and 791 sheep. Value: 541 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Baca, Romualdo. Roll 40 # 283, Sep 2, 1845. Guía #9. 1,000 sheep. Value: 500 pesos. To: Chihuahua.

Baca, Vicente. Roll 10 # 382, Nov 18, 1829. Guía # 14. 1 tercio of foreign merchandise bought in the country. To: Sonora. [Baca is possibly *arriero* for Antoine Robidoux].

Baca, Vicente. Roll 12 # 1155, Nov 20, 1830. Guía # 32. To: Sonora. [Baca is possibly *arriero* for Antoine Robidoux].

Baca, Vicente. Roll 30 # 320, Sep 1, 1841. Guía # 143. 17 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 449 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Baca y Pino, Juan José. Roll 21 # 308, Aug 27, 1838. Guía # 70. 4,200 sheep and 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 2,140 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico.

Ballejos, Antonio. Roll 21 # 306, Aug 12, 1838. Guía # 63. 12 bultos 600 sarapes. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Otero, Juan.

Ballejos, Antonio. Roll 21 # 307, Aug 12, 1838. Guía # 64. 3,800 sheep. Value: ca. 1,900 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Otero, Juan [It is not clear if owner of the sheep is Ballejos or Otero].

Barcelo, José. Roll 21 # 345, Aug 11, 1840. Guía # 6. 100 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 815 pesos. To: Sonora. Fiador: Madrid, Dolores. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 754].

Barcelo, José. Roll 21 # 346, Aug 14, 1840. Guía # 9. 46 bultos. Value: 348 pesos 1 real. To: Sonora. Fiador: Ortiz y Delgado, Francisco. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 757].

Barcelo, Trinidad. Roll 40 # 352, Oct 10, 1845. Guía # 65. Foreign merchandise. Value: 106 pesos 20 cents. To: El Paso.

Barela, Francisco. Roll 21 # 295, Nov 7, 1836. Guía # 98. 3 big and 1 small tercios. To: Ponce de León, Juan María; El Paso. Conductor: Valencia, Tomás. [Guía exists—Roll 22 # 1168. It appears that Barela is also an *arriero* carrying merchandise which belongs to Ponce de León].

Bazan, J. A. Roll 37 # 402, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 16. 5 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 342 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Benavidez, Sebastian. Roll 19 # 230, Aug 16, 1834. Guía # 46. Foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

Beytia, Juan de Jesús. Roll 34 # 1209, Sep 5, 1843. Guía # 44. 6 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 144 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1246].

Beytia, Juan de Jesús. Roll 37 # 400, Sep 5, 1844. Guía # 6. 3 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 91 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Tierra Caliente. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 479].

Blanco, Miguel. Roll 21 # 344, Aug 11, 1840. Guía # 5. 4 bultos. Value: 229 pesos 6 reales. To: Barrio, Lorenzo; El Paso. Fiador: Miranda, Guadalupe. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 753].

Brena?, Francisco. Roll 21 # 350, Aug 23, 1840. Guía # 25. 24 fanegas of pinyon. To: Sonora.

Bustamante, Juan. Roll 21 # 294, Oct 18, 1836. Guía # 91. 2 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: the localities down south up to El Paso. Fiador: Valencia, Tomás. [Guía exists—Roll 22 # 1166].

Bustos, Antonio. Roll 21 # 330, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 173. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 179 pesos. To: Zacatecas and Guadalajara.

Bustos, Francisco. Roll 21 # 362, Oct 26, 1840. Guía # 102. 3 bultos. Value: 67 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua.

Cabeza de Baca, Luis María. Roll 21 # 303, Aug 28, 1837. Guía # 36. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 117 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 799].

Candelaria, José Rafael. Roll 34 # 1211, Sep 15, 1843. Guía # 63. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 111 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and San Juan de los Lagos.

Carbajal, Ventura. Roll 21 # 276, ca. Aug 19, 1835. Guía # 13. 1 bullo of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

Carrillo, Juan Felipe. Roll 21 # 360, Oct 16, 1840. Guía # 76. 2 piezas of foreign merchandise bought in Sta Fe. Value: 201 pesos 2 reales 1 grano. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Chávez, Antonio José. Roll 21 # 352, Aug 30, 1840. Guía # 35. 20 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,337 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Chávez, José. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 775, but first page is mostly illegible and partially torn. Most of the value can be accounted from fabrics].

Chávez, Antonio José. Roll 34 # 1204. Aug 25, 1843. Guía # 16. 5,400 sheep. Value: 2,700 pesos. To: Durango and Mexico. Conductor: Chávez, José.

Chávez, Antonio. Roll 21 # 305, Jan 31, 1838. Guía # 49. 24 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Chávez Castillo, José. Roll 37 # 394, Aug 1, 1844. Guía # 15. 5,500 sheep. Value: 2,750 pesos. To: Urquide, Juan Nepomuceno; Chihuahua. Conductor: Chávez, Diego.

Chávez Castillo, José. Roll 37 # 398, Aug 29, 1844. Guía # 40. Domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 468. Guía indicates that Francisco Ortiz y Delgado signs for his father, but it is not clear if he is acting as conductor or fiador. Amount of merchandise is quite small, around 60 pesos. Amount of salt carried is not indicated].

Chávez, Francisco. Roll 21 # 349, Aug 25, 1840. Guía # 22. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 150 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 765].

Chávez, José Antonio. Roll 21 # 352, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 36. 1 *carro* (cart). Value: 3,390 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Chávez, José. Roll 21 # 275, Aug 18, 1835. Guía # 7. 11,000 sheep. Value: ca. 5,500 pesos. To: Mexico City.

Chávez, José. Roll 21 # 323, Aug 26, 1839. Guía # 147. 5,000 sheep. Value: 2,500 pesos. To: Marquez, Juan de Dios; Durango. Conductor: Pino, José.

Chávez, José. Roll 34 # 1204, Aug 25, 1843. Guía # 17. 12 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: Sonora, Durango and Zacatecas.

Chávez, José. Roll 34 # 1205, Aug 25, 1843. Guía # 18. 160 bultos of foreign merchandise. To: Durango, Zacatecas and San Juan de los Lagos. Fiador: Pino, Miguel Estanislao. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1233. This is a very impressive shipment. It is one of the largest going to Mexico. Among the merchandise there are 100,169 yards of *lienzo* and 43,963 yards of *indiana* (calico).

Chávez, Josefa. Roll 30 # 319, Aug 30, 1841. Guía # 140. 2,400 sheep. Value: 1,200 pesos. To: Cordero, José; Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Gallegos, Julián.

Chávez, Juan de Dios. Roll 21 # 310, ca. Aug 30, 1838. Guía # 84. Domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 15 # 1035, Jul 12, 1832. Guía # 97. 30,000 sheep and 600 frazadas corrientes. Value: ca. 15,150 pesos. To: Durango.

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 21 # 274, Aug 18, 1835. Guía # 6. 26,000 sheep. Value: ca. 13,000 pesos. To: Mexico. Conductor: Chávez, José.

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 21 # 310, Aug 30, 1838. Guía # 85. To: Durango, Mexico and Puebla.

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 21 # 318, Aug 23, 1839. Guía # 134. 500 sheep. Value: ca. 250 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Zacatecas. Conductor: García, Gregorio.

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 21 # 356, Aug 29, 1840. Guía # 58. 5,500 sheep. Value: ca. 2,750 pesos. To: Zubiría, Francisco; Durango. Conductor: García, Gregorio, *mayordomo*. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 794. Guía is signed by Mario Sandoval who does so for Maríano Chávez].

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 30 # 319, Aug. 30, 1841. Guía # 139. 14 tercios of domestic merchandise and 7,000 sheep. Value: 3,554 pesos 4 reales. To: Zuviria, Francisco; Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico. Conductor: García, José [This is possibly a mistake—the first name should be Gregorio].

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 34 # 1204, Aug 25, 1843. Guía # 14. 4,400 sheep. Value: 2,200 pesos. To: Durango and Mexico. Conductor: García, Gregorio, *mayordomo*.

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 37 # 395, Aug 2, 1844. Guía # 20. 177 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 26,474 pesos 79.5 cents. To: Chihuahua. Conductor: Sandoval, Maríano.

Chávez, Maríano. Roll 37 # 395, Aug 2, 1844. Guía # 21. 6,000 sheep. Value: 3,000 pesos. To: Durango, Zacatecas and Mexico. Conductor: García, Gregorio.

Chávez, Vicente. Roll 21 # 326, Aug 31, 1839. Guía # 154. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 254 pesos. To: Sonora and Chihuahua.

Chávez, Vicente. Roll 21 # 348, Aug 20, 1840. Padillas, N.M., guía # 17. 17 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 212 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and San Juan de Lagos.

[Guía exists—Roll 28 # 761].

Chávez, Vicente. Roll 30 # 315, Aug 22, 1841. Guía # 123. 15 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 162 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Chávez, Vicente. Roll 34 # 1204, Aug 25, 1843. Guía # 15. 9 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 110 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Chávez y Chávez, José. Roll 21 # 349, Aug 21, 1840. Guía # 21. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 150 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 764].

Cisneros, Manuel. Roll 21 # 360, Oct 18, 1840. Guía # 79. 16 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 250 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Cisneros, Manuel. Roll 34 # 1215, Nov 6, 1843. Guía # 113. 1 bulto of foreign merchandise. Value: 193 pesos 5 reales. To: Chihuahua.

Cisneros, Manuel. Roll 36 # 1267, Nov 7, 1843. Guía # 114. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 261 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [The *cuaderno* lists Maríano Lucero as the owner of the merchandise, Roll 34 # 1215].

Contreras, Jesús. Roll 15 # 1028, Aug 2, 1832. Guía # 93. One tercio of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso. [He purchased goods from Solomon Houck].

Contreras, Manuel. Roll 21 # 337, Oct 16, 1839. Guía # 197. 7 bultos. Value: 80 pesos. To: El Paso.

Cordero, José. Roll 21 # 341, Nov 7, 1839. Guía # 212. Bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 280 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora.

Cordero, José. Roll 21 # 342, Nov 7, 1839. Guía # 215. 42 bultos of foreign merchandise. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Córdoba, Felipe. Roll 25 # 1463, Nov 16, 1838. Guía # 121. 8 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 134 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].

Córdoba, Felipe. Roll 34 # 1210, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 55. 6 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 146 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Córdoba, José del Espíritu Santo. Roll 21 # 332, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 177. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 163 pesos 7 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Córdoba, José María. Roll 21 # 275, Aug 19, 1835. Guía # 10. 1 bulto. To: El Paso.

Córdoba, José María. Roll 37 # 532, Feb 12, 1844. El Paso, guía # 21. 30 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 100 pesos. To: New Mexico.

Córdoba, José María. Roll 37 # 406, Nov 9, 1844. Guía # 38. 10 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 88 pesos. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 495].

Córdoba, José Rafael. Roll 34 # 1213, Oct 24, 1843. Guía # 79. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 105 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Córdoba, José. Roll 34 # 1214, Oct 30, 1843. Guía # 106. 15 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 268 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Córdoba, Pedro. Roll 21 # 312, Sep 10, 1838. Guía # 93. 5 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Córdoba, Pedro. Roll 37 # 401, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 12. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 218 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 485].

Córdoba, Pedro. Roll 40 # 332, Sep 9, 1845. Guía # 47. 10 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 252 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango, and Lagos.

Cortez, José Manuel. Roll 34 # 1213, Oct 30, 1843. Guía # 102. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 137 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Cortez, José Manuel. Roll 37 # 406, Nov 11, 1844. Guía # 40. 2 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 95 pesos 3 reales. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 497].

Cuarón, Juan. Roll 37 # 531, Feb 13, 1844. El Paso, guía # 23. Domestic merchandise. Value: 186 pesos. To: New Mexico.

**Delgado, Juan José. Roll 24 # 802, Nov. 20, 1837. Durango, guía # 352. 50 piezas. Value: 7,680 pesos. To: Chávez, José, Padillas, N. M.

Delgado, Simón. Roll 21 # 339, Oct 28, 1839. Guía # 205. 25 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 211 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

**Delgado, Simón. Roll 41 # 832, Jun 2, 1846. Chihuahua, guía # 81. 12 piezas of domestic and foreign merchandise. Value: 11,117 pesos 7 reales. To: Santa Fe. Conductor: Araujo, Angel.

Díaz de la Serna, Ramón. Roll 21 # 275, Aug 19, 1835. Guía # 9. 1 tercio of foreign merchandise. Value: ca. 53 pesos. To: El Paso. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 367].

Domínguez, José. Roll 21 # 297, Feb 11, 1837. Guía # 107. To: El Paso.

Durán, José Dolores. Roll 21 # 312, Sep 10, 1838. Guía # 95. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 94 pesos 7 reales 6 granos*. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1446].

Durán, José Dolores. Roll 21 # 353, Aug 24, 1840. Guía # 41. 15 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 234 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Fiador: Archuleta, Pablo. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 781].

Durán, José Dolores. Roll 37 # 401, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 9. 11 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 200 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 482].

Elguea, Francisco. Roll 21 # 341, Nov. 3, 1839. Guía # 214. 78 bultos of foreign merchandise. To: Olivares, Pedro; Chihuahua.

Elguea, Francisco. Roll 21 # 341, Nov. 3, 1839. Guía # 213. 33 bultos of foreign merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Guadalajara.

Elguea, Francisco. Roll 37 # 408, Dec 19, 1844. Guía # 48. 32 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 3,926 pesos 20 cents. To: Ronquillo, Ignacio; Chihuahua and other points along the way. Conductor: Castillo, Simón.

Elguea, Francisco. Roll 37 # 408, Dec 19, 1844. Guía # 49. 22 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,395 pesos 49 cents. To: Chihuahua, El Paso and El Parral. Conductor: Killman, Enrique.

Elguea, Francisco. Roll 37 # 408, Dec 19, 1844. Guía # 50. 21 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,165 pesos 17 cents. To: Chihuahua, Jesús María and Parral. Conductor: Castillo, Simón.

Escudero, Manuel. Roll 6 # 486, Jul 1, 1827. Guía # 30. Foreign merchandise. Value: 346 pesos 5 reales 6 granos. To: Escudero, Luis; Chihuahua. Conductor: Escudero, José Agustín.

Esquivel, Diego. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 30. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 145 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

Fentre?, Nicolás. Roll 37 # 407, Nov 15, 1844. Guía # 45. 150 fanegas of domestic pinyon. Value: 300 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Fernández, José. Roll 21 # 304, Oct 27, 1837. Guía # 44. 1 bulto of domestic merchandise. To: El Paso. Flores, Santiago. Roll 30 # 320, Sep 1, 1841. Guía # 141. 50 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 297 pesos 6 reales. To: Durango, Zacatecas and San Juan de los Lagos.

Flores, Santiago. Roll 37 # 397, Aug 23, 1844. Guía # 37. 47 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 5,837 pesos 88.75 cents. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 463].

Flores, Santiago. Roll 37 # 398, Aug 22, 1844. Guía # 38. 17 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 491 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 466].

Flores, Santiago. Roll 40 # 314, Aug 28, 1845. Guía # 9. Domestic merchandise. Value: 397 pesos 1 real. To: Durán, Ramón; Huepaca, Sonora. Conductor: Figueroa, Joaquin. [This guía is not listed in the cuaderno, which lists guía # 9 as being issued to Rumaldo Baca on Sep 2, 1845].

**Flores, Santiago. Roll 40 # 316, 1845. Moctezuma, guía ??. 55 bultos of domestic merchandise and 900 pesos *en dinero* (in cash). Value: 1,390 pesos. To: New Mexico.

Frantes?, Francisco. Roll 37 # 405, Nov 8, 1844. Guía # 36. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 100 pesos. To: California. Fiador: Robidoux, Louis; [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 494].

Gallegos, Antonio. Roll 21 # 294, Oct 18, 1836. Guía # 92. 1 tercio of domestic merchandise. To: El Paso.

Gallegos, Isidro. Roll 21 # 361, Oct 26, 1840. Guía # 98. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 103 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Gallegos, José de la Luz. Roll 34 # 1210, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 52. 9 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 196 pesos 7 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1251].

Gallegos, José Gabriel. Roll 37 # 401, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 13. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 100 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 486].

Gallegos, José Pablo. Roll 21 # 330, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 171. 14 bultos of domestic

merchandise. Value: 214 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Gallegos, Juan. Roll 21 # 336, Oct 15, 1839. Guía # 191. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 75 pesos. To: Chihuahua.

Gallegos, Saturnino. Roll 21 # 311, Sep 3, 1838. Guía # 88. 2 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 119 pesos 7 reales. To: Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1442; guía indicates that Gallegos was carrying 15 tercios].

Gallegos, Tranquilino. Roll 34 # 1210, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 51. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 123 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1250].

García, Andres. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 20. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 153 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

García, Francisco. Roll 21 # 277, Aug 20, 1835. Guía # 15. 1 bulto of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

García, Francisco. Roll 37 # 402, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 14. 9 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 208 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 487].

García, Hilarion. Roll 21 # 287, Dec 6, 1835. Guía # 51. 4 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 395].

García, Juan B. Roll 37 # 401, Sep 5, 1844. Guía # 8. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 234 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 481].

García, Juan. Roll 37 # 398, Aug 29, 1844. Guía # 41. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 300 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 469].

García, Rafael. Roll 34 # 1210, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 53. 5 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 131 pesos. To: Chihuahua. Conductor: Montoya, Rafael. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1252].

García, Ramón. Roll 6 # 477, Sep 9, 1826. Guía # 10. Foreign merchandise. Value: 676 pesos 5 reales 6 granos. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 6 # 463].

**Garibay, José María. Roll 14 # 306, Nov 24, 1831. Aguascalientes, guía # 1193. 29 bultos of foreign and domestic merchandise. Value: 3,203 pesos. To: New Mexico. Conductor: Otero, Vicente.

Gil, Santiago. Roll 21 # 288, Apr 26, 1836. Guía # 60. 7 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua.

Gómez, Diego. Roll 21 # 361, Oct 26, 1840. Guía # 99. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 90 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Gómez, Diego. Roll 34 # 1214, Oct 30, 1843. Guía # 103. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 187 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Gómez, Diego. Roll 37 # 407, Nov 11, 1844. Guía # 43. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 78 pesos. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 500].

Gómez, Maríano. Roll 34 # 1214, Oct 30, 1843. Guía # 104. Domestic merchandise. Value: 252 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

González, Ambrosio. Roll 25 # 1458, Nov 15, 1838. Guía # 116. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 72 pesos 5 reales. To: Sonora. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].

González, Dionisio. Roll 37 # 401, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 10. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 123 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 483. Guía lists the owner as Patricio Gonzalez].

González, Hilarión. Roll 34 # 1213, Oct 29, 1843. Guía # 80. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 280 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1262].

González, Hilarión. Roll 37 # 399, Sep 4, 1844. Guía # 49. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 171 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

González, José. Roll 21 # 338, Oct 23, 1839. Guía # 199. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 209 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora.

**González, Juan José. Roll 32 # 1639, Nov 17, 1842. Hermosillo, guía # 317. 5 *quintales* (500 kilograms) of iron. To: New Mexico.

González, Juan José. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 24. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 230 pesos. To: Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 488. There is a discrepancy in the value indicated. The *cuaderno* shows 230 pesos, the *guía* itself shows 232 pesos; computation indicates that value should be 239 pesos].

González, Sabino. Roll 21 # 336, Oct 16, 1839. Guía # 192. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 87 pesos. To: Sonora.

González, Santiago. Roll 25 # 1459, Nov 15, 1838. Guía # 117. 18 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 94 pesos 6 reales. To: Sonora. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].

González, Santiago. Roll 21 # 338, Oct 23, 1839. Guía # 200. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 99 pesos. To: Sonora.

**Griego, Antonio. Roll 32 # 1660, Nov. 5, 1842. Guaymas, pase [no number]. 7 *quintales* (100 kilograms) of steel. Value: 7 pesos. To: New Mexico.

**Griego, Manuel Victorio. Roll 32 # 1646, Dec 20, 1842. Moctezuma, guía # 61. 12 piezas. Value: 126 pesos. To: New Mexico.

Griego, Saturnino. Roll 21 # 290, Aug 30, 1836. Guía # 72. To: El Paso.

Griego, Victoriano. Roll 21 # 305, Feb 12, 1838. Guía # 56. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Gutiérrez, José María. Roll 30 # 317, Aug. 29, 1841. Guía # 132. 50 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 2,062 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Gutiérrez, José María. Roll 37 # 393, Jul 21, 1844. Guía # 6. Sheep. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Baca, Romualdo.

Gutiérrez, José María. Roll 40 # 283, Sep 2, 1845. Guía # 8. 4,000 sheep. Value: 2,000 pesos. To: Urquide, Juan N.; Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico. Conductor: Baca, Rumaldo.

Gutiérrez, Juan. Roll 21 # 356, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 57. 18 bultos. Value: 175 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora. Conductor: Ortiz, Jesús María.

Gutiérrez, Juan. Roll 21 # 356, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 56. 8 bultos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora. Conductor: Ortiz, Jesús María.

Guzman, José Dolores. Roll 21 # 332, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 178. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 115 pesos 7 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Herrera, Antonio José de. Roll 25 # 1461, Nov 16, 1838. Guía # 119. 9 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 125 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].

Herrera, Carpio. Roll 34 # 1210, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 54. 8 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 183 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Herrera, José de Jesús. Roll 37 # 400, Sep 5, 1844. Guía # 7. 9 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 308 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 480].

Huerta, Aniceto. Roll 40 # 320, Sep 6, 1845. Guía # 24. 9 bultos of domestic and foreign merchandise. Value: 152 pesos 61.5 cents. To: Chihuahua.

Huerta, Rafael. Roll 21 # 345, Aug 11, 1840. Guía # 7. 56 bultos. Value: 226 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Michoacán. Fiador: Alarid, Bautista?. [Guía exists— Roll 28 # 755].

Iconamio?, Manuel. Roll 32 # 1630, Oct 26, 1842. Guía # 24. Domestic merchandise. Value: 158 pesos 1 real. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Jaquez [Xaquez], José de la Luz. Roll 19 # 228, Aug 16, 1834. Guía # 45. Foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

Jaquez [Xaquez], José de la Libra. Roll 21 # 317, Aug 16, 1839. Guía # 118. 18 tercios of foreign merchandise. Value: 1,680 pesos 13.5 cents. To: El Paso.

Jaramillo, Manuel. Roll 21 # 337, Aug 1839. Guía # 194. 10 bultos. Value: 105 pesos. To: Sonora.

Llanes, José María. Roll 21 # 346, Aug 14, 1840. Guía # 10. 22 bultos. Value: 157 pesos 2 reales. To: Sonora.

Lobato, Buenaventura. Roll 34 # 1214, Oct 30, 1843. Guía # 105. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 207 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

López, Francisco. Roll 37 #400, Sep 4, 1844. Guía # 1. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 92 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

López, Salvador. Roll 21 # 312, Sep 9, 1838. Guía # 92. 4 *carros* and 78 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 159 pesos 4 reales*. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1444].

López, Salvador. Roll 21 # 355, Aug 26, 1840. Guía # 52. 2 *carros* (carts) and 5 mules with domestic merchandise. Value: 317 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Fiador: Madrid, Dolores. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 792].

Loya, Jesús. Roll 40 # 354, Oct 13, 1845. Guía # 73. Foreign and domestic merchandise. Value: 486 pesos 39.25 cents. To: El Paso.

Lucero, Andres. Roll 21 # 304, Jan 31, 1838. Guía # 47. 40 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Lucero, Blas. Roll 21 # 304, Jan 22, 1838. Guía # 46. 60 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Lucero, Blas. Roll 21 # 333, Sep 18, 1839. Guía # 182. 50 bultos. Value: 512 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora and Sinaloa.

Lucero, Blas. Roll 34 # 1207, Aug 28, 1843. Guía # 30. 22 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 269 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1241].

Lucero, Diego Antonio. Roll 21 # 330, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 170. 13 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 157 pesos 3 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Lucero, Diego. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 25. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 235 pesos 2 reales. To: Durango.

Lucero, José Antonio. Roll 21 # 278, Aug 24, 1835. Guía # 19. 2 bultos of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 370].

Lucero, José Antonio. Roll 21 # 316, Aug 1, 1839. Guía # 114. 1 tercio of foreign merchandise. Value: 125 pesos 2 reales. To: El Paso. Fiador: Madrid, Dolores.

Lucero, José Benito. Roll 21 # 295, Nov 7, 1836. Guía # 99. 1 tercio of merchandise. To: El Paso.

Lucero, Maríano. Roll 21 # 305, Feb 10, 1838. Guía # 55. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Lucero, Maríano. Roll 34 # 1215, Nov 13, 1843. Guía # 114. 7 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 261 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [The *cuaderno* lists Lucero as the owner of the merchandise; the *guía* indicates Maríano Cisneros was the owner].

Lucero, Pedro. Roll 21 # 329, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 167. 13 bultos of merchandise and 140 pesos *en dinero* (in cash). Value: 268 pesos. To: Zacatecas and Guanajuato.

Lucero, Pedro Antonio. Roll 21 # 352, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 38. 23 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 288 pesos 4 reales. To: San Juan de Lagos. Fiador: Beita, Diego. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 779].

Lucero, Pedro. Roll 34 # 1209, Sep 5, 1843. Guía # 45. 22 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 238 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1247].

Lucero, Pedro Antonio. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 8, 1844. Guía # 23. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 234 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

Lucero, Ricardo. Roll 34 # 1209, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 50. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 103 pesos 3 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

Luján, Antonio. Roll 21 # 328, Sep 9, 1839. Guía # 163. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 65 pesos 3 reales. To: Chihuahua.

Luján, José de Jesús. Roll 21 # 355, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 53. 4 bultos. Value: 88 pesos 4

reales. To: Chihuahua.

Luna, Juan de Jesús. Roll 25 # 1465, Nov 16, 1838. Guía # 123. 6 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 173 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua. [There is no record of this guía in the *cuaderno*].

Luna, Pedro. Roll 34 # 1209, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 49. 10 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 137 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Luna, Ramón. Roll 34 # 1211, Sep 13, 1843. Lunas, N. M., guía # 57. 500 sheep at 4 reales and 11 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 499 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1255].

Mares, Juan de Jesús. Roll 34 # 1208, Sep 5, 1843. Guía # 41. 11 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 287 pesos 5 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Márquez, Geronimo. Roll 21 # 346, Aug 14, 1840. Guía # 11. 76 bultos. Value: 586 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora.

Márquez, Pedro Ignacio. Roll 25 # 101, Sep 12, 1838. Guía # 101. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 66 pesos 7 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1450. *Cuaderno* lists owner's surname as Martinez; guía indicates the surname was Marquez].

Márquez, Salvador. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 26. 10 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 77 pesos. To: Durango and Lagos.

Martín, Juan Nepomuceno. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 28. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 181 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 489].

Martín, Ramón. Roll 34 # 1208, Sep 5, 1843. Guía # 39. 8 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 147 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Zacatecas.

**Martínez, Antonio. Roll 32 # 1656, Nov. 21, 1842. Hermosillo, guía # 432. 10 piezas (steel, iron, and domestic merchandise). Value: 54 pesos 56 cents. To: New Mexico.

Martínez, Antonio. Roll 34 # 1209, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 48. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 115 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

Martínez, Francisco. Roll 21 # 330, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 172. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 156 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 27 # 624].

Martínez, José Antonio. Roll 21 # 311, Sep 3, 1838. Guía # 90. 15 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

**Martínez, José Antonio. Roll 32 # 1640, Nov 21, 1842. Hermosillo, tornaguia # 267. [Document indicates that Martínez arrived on Nov 2, 1842 with guía # 14, issued in Santa Fe on Sep 13, 1842].

Martínez, José María. Roll 34 # 1209, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 47. 15 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 196 pesos 6 granos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Martínez, Juan Antonio. Roll 21 # 313, Sep 11, 1838. Guía # 98. 4 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 54 pesos 3 reales. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1447].

Martínez, Juan Antonio. Roll 21 # 355, Aug 26, 1840. Guía # 51. 2 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 81 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 791].

Martínez, Pascual. Roll 21 # 331, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 175. 13 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 205 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Tierra Caliente.

Martínez, Pascual. Roll 37 # 406, Nov 11, 1844. Guía # 39. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 126 pesos 1/2 real. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 496].

Martínez, Pedro Ignacio. Roll 21 # 314, Sep 12, 1838. Guía # 101. 4 tercios. Value: 66 pesos 7 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1450. *Cuaderno* listed owner's surname as Martínez; guía indicated the surname was Marquez].

Martínez, Tomás M. Roll 34 # 1202, Aug 14, 1843. Guía # 3. 27 bultos. Value: 2,057 pesos 43 cents. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Mascarenas, Juan Miguel. Roll 25 # 1467, Nov 16, 1838. Guía # 125. 6 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 83 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].

Mascarenas, Juan Miguel. Roll 21 # 326, Sep 2, 1839. Guía # 155. 5 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 138 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Mascarenas, Juan Miguel. Roll 34 # 1208, Sep 1, 1843. Guía # 38. 8 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 96 pesos 7 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Mascarenas, Juan Miguel. Roll 40 # 324, Sep 6, 1845. Guía # 30. Domestic merchandise. Value: 144 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango, and Guadalajara.

Medina, Mateo. Roll 21 # 313, Sep 11, 1838. Guía # 97. 8 bultos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora.

Medina, Mateo. Roll 21 # 326, Sep 3, 1839. Guía # 156. 10 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 93 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Mestas, Francisco Antonio. Roll 21 # 329, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 169. 3 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 90 pesos. To: Sinaloa and Guanajuato.

Mestas, Francisco Antonio. Roll 21 # 361, Oct 26, 1840. Guía # 101. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 82 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua.

Mestas, Francisco Antonio. Roll 34 # 1207, Aug 31, 1843. Guía # 36. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 207 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Fiador: Bustos, José María. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1244].

Mestas, Francisco Antonio. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 8, 1844. Guía # 21. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 177 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

Mestas, José Benito. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 29. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 159 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 490].

Mestas, Ramón. Roll 34 # 1208, Sep 5, 1843. Guía # 43. 6 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 124 pesos 3 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1245. The listed value of the merchandise is 109 pesos]

Miranda, Gerardo?. Roll 21 # 316, Aug 16, 1839. Guía # 117. 1 tercio of foreign merchandise. Value: 191 pesos 4 reales. To: del Villar, Tomás, El Paso. Conductor: Sánchez, Juan José.

Miranda, Guadalupe. Roll 39 # 1215, Nov. 3, 1843. Guía # 111. 3 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 308 pesos 2.5 cents. To: Sonora. Conductor: Feller?, Richard. Fiador: Larragoiti, Anselmo. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1266].

Miranda, Guadalupe. Roll 39 # 1215, Nov. 3, 1843. Guía # 112. 16 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 1712 pesos 11.25 cents. To: El Paso.

Monge, Luis. Roll 21 # 307, Aug 22, 1838. Guía # 67. 17 bultos of merchandise. To: Sonora.

Montalvo, Pablo. Roll 21 # 283, Oct 15, 1835. Guía # 37. 2 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

**Montaño, Antonio. Roll 32 # 1641, Nov. 23, 1842. Hermosillo, tornaguía # 275. [Montano entered with guía # 25 issued on Sep 14, 1842].

**Montaño, Antonio. Roll 32 # 1654, Nov. 23, 1842. Hermosillo, guía # 441. 10 piezas (steel, iron, and foreign merchandise). Value: 62 pesos 3 reales. To: New Mexico.

Montaño, José Manuel. Roll 21 # 314, Nov 6, 1838. Guía # 106. 24 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 150 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists— Roll 25 # 1454].

Montaño, José Manuel. Roll 21 # 336, Oct 15, 1839. Guía # 190. 27 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Montaño, José Manuel. Roll 32 # 1651, Nov. 29, 1842. Hermosillo, guía # 442. 2 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 46 pesos 6 reales. To: New Mexico.

Montaño, José. Roll 21 # 304, Jan 31, 1838. Guía # 48. 25 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Montaño, José. Roll 21 # 307, Aug 22, 1838. Guía # 66. 25 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora and Vizcaya. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1429].

Montaño, José. Roll 21 # 336, Oct 16, 1839. Guía # 193. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 253 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora. Montes, Jesús Donaciano. Roll 21 # 276, Aug 19, 1835. Guía # 12. 1 tercio of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

Montoya, Diego. Roll 21 # 314, Oct 24, 1838. Guía # 104. 4 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 64 pesos 1 real. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1452. Fernando Aragón signs for Montoya].

Montoya, Ermenegildo. Roll 21 # 303, Aug 25, 1837. Guía # 34. 2 tercios of domestic merchandise and 25 sheep. To: El Paso. [Guía exists—Roll 27 # 620. Montoya is from El Paso. He brought 3 loads of wine and *aguardiente*].

Montoya, Faustino. Roll 21 # 303, Aug 25, 1837. Guía # 33. 2 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 55 pesos 6 reales. To: El Paso. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 797].

Montoya, Hugo?. Roll 21 # 361, Oct 26, 1840. Guía # 100. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 147 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Montoya, Jesús María. Roll 37 # 397, Aug 11, 1844. Guía # 34. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 104 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 460].

Montoya, José. Roll 21 # 338, Oct 21, 1839. Guía # 198. 28 bultos of domestic merchandise and 100 sheep. Value: 299 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora. Conductor: Montoya, Miguel.

Montoya, José Nicolás. Roll 21 # 352, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 37. 13 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 480 pesos. To: San Juan de los Lagos. Conductor: Montoya, Miguel. Fiador: Madrid, Benito. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 778].

Montoya, José Nicolás. Roll 30 # 320, Sep 1, 1841. Guía # 142. 34 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 571 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Montoya, José Miguel.

Montoya, Juan Bautista. Roll 21 # 334, Sep 20, 1839. [Not a *guía*, but *apase*]. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 46 pesos. To: Sonora.

Montoya, Juan de Dios. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 22. 5 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 134 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

Montoya, Juan. Roll 21 # 337, Oct 16, 1839. Guía # 195. 10 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 100 pesos. To: El Paso.

Montoya, Maríano. Roll 34 # 1211, Sep 12, 1843. Guía # 59. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 102 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1256].

Montoya, Maríano. Roll 34 # 1211, Sep 14, 1843. Albuquerque, guía # 62. 1 bulito of foreign merchandise. Value: 119 pesos 68 cents. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1259].

**Montoya, Miguel. Roll 28 # 799, Nov 10, 1840. Durango, guía # 673. 24 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 502 pesos. To: New Mexico.

Montoya, Miguel. Roll 34 # 1205, Aug 28, 1843. Guía # 20. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise and 750 sheep. Value: 730 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Montoya, Ramón. Roll 21 # 329, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 168. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 133 pesos 3 reales. To: Sinaloa and Guanajuato.

Moreno, Antonio. Roll 21 # 344, Aug 3, 1840. Guía # 4. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 222 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora.

Ortega, Francisco. Roll 21 # 362, ca. Oct 26, 1840. Guía # 104. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 102 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Ortega, Gervasio. Roll 37 # 402, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 18. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 108 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Ortiz, Antonio. Roll 21 # 323, Aug 26, 1839. Guía # 146. 10 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Zacatecas. Conductor: Ortiz, Rafael.

Ortiz, Antonio Matías. Roll 21 # 354, Aug 26, 1840. Guía # 45. 13 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 629 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 28

785].

Ortiz, Antonio M. Roll 34 # 1207, Aug 29, 1843. Guía # 32. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 1,575 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1243].

Ortiz, Antonio Matías. Roll 37 # 396, Aug 4, 1844. Guía # 29. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise and sheep. Value: 1,143 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Sánchez, José María. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 459].

Ortiz, Fernando María. Roll 21 # 305, Feb 6, 1838. Guía # 52. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Sonora.

Ortiz, Francisco. Roll 21 # 279, Aug 29, 1835. Guía # 22. 7 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Abrafuerte?

Ortiz, Francisco. Roll 21 # 279, Aug 29, 1835. Guía # 23. 4,000 sheep. Value: ca. 2,000 pesos. To: the capital of Mexico. Conductor: Ortiz, Francisco.

Ortiz, Gaspar. Roll 21 # 323, Aug 26, 1839. Guía # 144. 8 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 160 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Ortiz, Gaspar. Roll 30 # 319, Aug. 30, 1841. Guía # 137. 36 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 710 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Ortiz, Gaspar. Roll 34 # 1203, Aug 17, 1843. Guía # 10. 23 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 3,138 pesos 33.25 cents. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Ortiz, Ignacio.

Ortiz, Gaspar. Roll 34 # 1204, Aug 17, 1843. Guía # 11. 1? bulto of foreign merchandise. Value: 87 pesos 12 cents. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Ortiz, Ignacio. [On the margin it says—se tacha por haber pedido el remitente pase y no llegar la cantidad a 100 pesos—crossed out for having requested the sender a pass and not reaching the value of the merchandise 100 pesos].

Ortiz, Gaspar. Roll 34 # 1212, Oct 1, 1843. Guía # 76. 5,500 sheep at 4 reales. Value: 2,750 pesos. To: Cordero, José, Chihuahua.

Ortiz, Ignacio Ricardo. Roll 14 # 241, Sep 27, 1831. Guía # 62. Domestic merchandise. Value: 486 pesos 2 reales. To: Sonora. [This is the first *guía* which includes prices for domestic merchandise].

Ortiz, Ignacio. Roll 40 # 286, Sep 5, 1845. Guía # 23. 11 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,102 pesos. To: Chihuahua.

Ortiz, Ignacio. Roll 40 # 319, Sep 4, 1845. Guía # 17. 11 bultos. Value: 2,102 pesos 7 reales 7.5 granos. To: Chihuahua.

Ortiz, Isidro. Roll 21 # 335. Oct 14, 1839. Guía # 188. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 181 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Ortiz, Isidro. Roll 21 # 360, Oct 16, 1840. Guía # 78. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 290 pesos. To: Chihuahua.

Ortiz, Jesús María. Roll 37 # 402, Sep 7, 1844. Guía # 17. 3 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 255 pesos 40 cents. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Ortiz, José Francisco. Roll 8 # 1342, Oct 14, 1828. Guía # 33. Foreign merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía indicates that Ortiz purchased merchandise from foreign merchant, Z. Nolan].

Ortiz, José María. Roll 21 # 291, Aug 30, 1836. Guía # 73. 6,000 sheep. Value: ca. 3,000 pesos. To: Mexico.

Ortiz, José María. Roll 21 # 301, Aug 18, 1837. Guía # 24. 206 sarapes. Value: ca. 50 pesos. To: the internal provinces.

Ortiz, Juan Rafael. Roll 15 # 1034, Aug 12, 1832. Guía # 96. Domestic merchandise and sheep. Value: ca. 741 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Ortiz, Francisco, son.

Ortiz, Mateo. Roll 21 # 304, Oct 26, 1837. Guía # 43. 2 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 158 pesos 4 reales. To: El Paso. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 800].

Ortiz, Tomás. Roll 21 # 349, Aug 22, 1840. Guía # 24. 9 bultos of domestic merchandise and 1,330 sheep. Value: 1,170 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Rendón, Tomás, *arriero*. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 767].

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 21 # 301, Aug 21, 1837. Guía # 26. 3,800 sheep. Value: ca. 1,900 pesos. To: Yzurrieta, Juan; Mexico.

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 21 # 302, Aug 21, 1837. Guía # 28. 4,000 sheep. Value: ca. 2,000 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 794].

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 21 # 350, Aug 22, 1840. Guía # 29. 22 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 435 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Otero, Manuel Antonio. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 772].

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 21 # 351, Aug 22, 1840. Guía # 30. 4,800 sheep. Value: 2,200 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Otero, Manuel Antonio. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 773].

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 21 # 358, [no date, ca. Oct 1840]. Guía # 67. [Rest of the entry is blank].

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 21 # 358, Oct 27, 1840. Guía # 69. 32 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 3,032 pesos 6 reales. To: Sonora.

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 34 # 1204, Aug 24, 1843. Guía # 13. 9,500 sheep. Value: 4,750 pesos. To: Durango and Mexico.

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 37 # 392, Mar 1, 1844. Guía # 1. 12 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 1,313 pesos 54 cents. To: Chihuahua. Conductor: Diviny, Juan.

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 37 # 395, Aug 3, 1844. Guía # 22. 118 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 17,878 pesos 16.25 cents. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Aguas Calientes.

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 37 # 395, Aug 3, 1844. Guía # 23. 166 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 16,991 pesos 38.75 cents. To: Allende, Zacatecas and Aguas Calientes.

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 37 # 395, Aug 3, 1844. Guía # 24. 16 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,485 pesos 41.75 cents. To: Chihuahua, Galeana and Aguas Calientes.

Otero, Antonio José. Roll 37 # 396, Aug 3, 1844. Guía # 28. 13,000 sheep. Value: 6,500 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico.

Otero, Francisco Antonio. Roll 17 # 1107, Aug 16, 1833. Guía #2. 4,200 sheep. Value: ca. 2,100 pesos. To: Durango and Mexico.

Otero, Francisco Antonio. Roll 21 # 273, Aug 16, 1835. Guía # 2. 4,200 sheep. Value: ca. 2,100 pesos. Fiador: Gutiérrez, Juan Nepomuceno. To: Yzurrieta, Juan, Durango.

Otero, Francisco Antonio. Roll 21 # 301, Aug 21, 1837. Guía # 27. 4,000 sheep. Value: ca. 2,000 pesos. To: Yzurrieta, Juan; Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 793].

Otero, Francisco Antonio. Roll 21 # 302, Aug 21, 1837. Guía # 29. 3,600 sheep. Value: ca. 1,800 pesos. To: Yzurrieta, Juan; Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 795].

Otero, Francisco Antonio. Roll 21 # 302, Aug 21, 1837. Guía # 30. 26 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Durango.

Otero, Francisco Antonio. Roll 34 # 1205, Aug 28, 1843. Guía # 21. 28 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 384 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Otero, José Antonio. Roll 15 # 1027, Jul 24, 1832. Guía # 90. Domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 400 pesos. To: Zacatecas.

Otero, José. Roll 37 # 396, Aug 3, 1844. Guía # 26. 14 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,341 pesos 11.5 cents. To: Chihuahua, Allende and Aguas Calientes. Conductor: Diviny, Juan.

Otero, Juan. Roll 21 # 306, Aug 13, 1838. Guía # 61. 800 sheep. Value: ca. 400 pesos. To: Durango, Chihuahua and Mexico. Conductor: Perea, Manuel.

Otero, Juan. Roll 21 # 306, Aug 12, 1838. Guía # 62. 6 bultos 300 sarapes. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Chávez, Antonio.

Otero, Juan. Roll 21 # 306, Aug 12, 1838. Guía # 63. 12 bultos 600 sarapes. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Ballejos, Antonio.

Otero, Juan. Roll 21 # 307, Aug 12, 1838. Guía # 64. 3,800 sheep. Value: ca. 1,900 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Ballejos, Antonio.

Otero, Juan. Roll 21 # 321, Aug 23, 1839. Guía # 136. 5,000 sheep. Value: ca. 2,500 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Otero, Juan. Roll 37 # 405, Oct 16, 1844. Guía # 33. 10 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 125 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 491].

Otero, Manuel Antonio. Roll 37 # 396, Aug 3, 1844. Guía # 27. 16 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,326 pesos 2.5 cents. To: Chihuahua, Allende and Aguas Calientes.

Otero, Manuel. Roll 21 # 273, Aug 10, 1835. Guía # 3. 10,500 sheep. Value: ca. 5,250 pesos. Fiador: Sarracino, Rafael. To: Flores, Manuel, Mexico. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 364].

Otero, Vicente. Roll 6 # 508, Sep 2, 1828. Guía # 15. 5 tercios. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Conductor: Otero, Antonio.

**Otero, Vicente. Roll 15 # 1023, Jan 23, 1832. Chihuahua, guía # 8. 16 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 1,541 pesos 4 reales 9 granos. To: New Mexico. [These prices appear awfully low; they are probably not indicative of the value of the merchandise, but of duties imposed on foreign goods].

Pacheco, Antonio Alejandro. Roll 21 # 313, Sep 12, 1838. Guía # 100. 7 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 94 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1449].

Pacheco, Antonio Alejandro. Roll 21 # 327, Sep 5, 1839. Guía # 158. 9 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 143 pesos. To: Durango and Zacatecas.

Pacheco, Antonio María. Roll 37 # 400, Sep 5, 1844. Guía # 3. 10 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 142 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 476].

Pacheco, Juan Rafael. Roll 34 # 1208, Sep 5, 1843. Guía # 40. 10 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 190 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Pacheco, Ramón. Roll 37 # 400, Sep 5, 1844. Guía # 2. 8 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 91 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 475].

Padilla, Juan Blas. Roll 21 # 313, Sep 12, 1838. Guía # 99. 4 tercios. Value: 65 pesos 67 cents. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1448].

Padilla, Blas. Roll 21 # 327, Sep 5, 1839. Guía # 159. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 71 pesos 4 reales. To: Durango and Zacatecas

Padilla, Blas. Roll 21 # 354, Aug 26, 1840. Guía # 49. 5 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 106 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 789].

Padilla, Jesús. Roll 40 # 355, Sep 29, 1845. El Paso, guía # 97. Domestic merchandise. Value: 22 pesos. To: New Mexico.

Perea, Baltasar. Roll 21 # 295, Oct 27, 1836. Guía # 97. 2 baúles and 2 tercios. To: El Paso. Conductor: Aragón, Ramón. [Guía exists—Roll 22 # 1167].

Perea, José. Roll 34 # 1202, Aug 17, 1843. Guía # 5. 4,500 sheep. Value: 2,250 pesos. To: Cordero, José; Chihuahua and Mexico. Conductor: Gallegos, Julián.

Perea, José. Roll 37 # 393, Jul 27, 1844. Guía # 7. 104 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 15,207 pesos 42.75 cents. To: Chihuahua, Zacatecas and Aguas Calientes.

Perea, José. Roll 37 # 393, Jul 27, 1844. Guía # 8. 4,000 sheep. Value: 2,000 pesos. To: Urquide, Juan Nepomuceno, Chihuahua. Conductor: Cisneros, Mariano.

Perea, José. Roll 37 # 393, Jul 27, 1844. Guía # 9. 5,000 sheep. Value: 2,500 pesos. To: Urquide, Juan Nepomuceno, Chihuahua. Conductor: Carbajal, Miguel. [Tornaguía exists—Roll 37 # 523. Issued at Río Florido, annexed to the Administration of Allende. Document indicates that no duties were paid].

Perea, José. Roll 37 # 394, Jul 29, 1844. Guía # 13. 165 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 25,128 pesos 48 cents. To: Chihuahua, Zacatecas and Aguas Calientes. Conductor: Perea,

Juan.

Perea, Juan. Roll 21 # 320, Aug 23, 1839. pinyons. Value: ca, 2,584 pesos. Conductor: Perea, Julián. Guía # 135. 5,000 sheep and 28 fanegas de To: Chihuahua, Durango and Zacatecas.

Perea, Julián. Roll 21 # 298, Aug 2, 1837. Guía # 8. 5 tercios of foreign and domestic merchandise. To: Yzurrieta, José María, Sonora. Conductor: Leyba, Pedro. Fiador: Gallegos, Ignacio. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 771].

Perea, Julián. Roll 34 # 1203, Aug 17, 1843. Guía # 9. 2,350 sheep. Value: 1,175 pesos. To: Cordero, José; Chihuahua and Mexico. Conductor: Gallegos, Julián.

Perea, Pedro José. Roll 24 # 769, July 21?, 1837. Guía # 2. 3,000 sheep. Value: ca. 1,500 pesos. To: Yzurrieta, Juan; Durango. Conductor: Martínez, José María.

Perea, Pedro José. Roll 21 # 352, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 39. 3,480 sheep. Value: 1,740 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Perea?, José. Roll 21 # 348, Aug 20, 1840. Guía # 16. 28 bultos. Value: 434 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora.

**Pescador, Juan Antonio. Roll 22 # 1177, Jan 3, 1836. Durango, guía # 4. To: Ortiz, Francisco; New Mexico. Conductor: Rendón, Tomás.

Pino, Manuel Doroteo. Roll 14 # 188, Jul 28, 1831. Guía # 38. Domestic merchandise and 14,000 sheep. Value: ca. 7,000 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor; Chávez, Ermenegildo.

**Pino, Manuel Doroteo. Roll 14 # 305, Sep 6, 1831. Durango, guía # 318. 26 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: New Mexico. Conductor: Flores, Mark.

Pino, Manuel Doroteo. Roll 21 # 277, Aug 24, 1835. Guía # 16. 2 tercios of foreign merchandise. Value: 300 pesos. To: Albo, Agapito, El Paso. Conductor: Sánchez, Juan José. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 368].

Pino, Manuel. Roll 21 # 280, Aug 31, 1835. Guía # 24. 17,000 sheep. Value: ca. 8,500 pesos. To: Chávez, Mariano. Conductor: Baca y Pino, José Francisco.

Pino, Manuel Doroteo. Roll 21 # 322, Aug 26, 1839. Guía # 143. 9 tercios domestic merchandise and 4,000 sheep. Value: 4,387 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Ponce de Leon, Juan María. Roll 21 # 316, Jul 13, 1839. Guía # 113. 7 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 1,207 pesos 2 reales. To: El Paso.

Quintana, Francisco Esteban. Roll 21 # 334, Sep 24, 1839. Guía # 185. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 78 pesos 4 reales. To: California.

Quintana, José Vicente. Roll 37 # 397, Aug 23, 1844. Guía # 35. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 138 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango, and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 461. Miguel Quintana signed the gula].

Quintana, Ramón. Roll 37 # 400, Sep 5, 1844. Guía # 4. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 71 pesos. To: El Paso. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 477. *Cuaderno* indicates value of merchandise was 75 pesos].

Rael, Francisco. Roll 37 # 403, Sep 28, 1844. Guía # 31. 5 bultos of domestic merchandise

and sheep. Value: 1,748 pesos. To: California.

Rascón, Francisco. Roll 21 # 276, Aug 19, 1835. Guía # 11. 1 bulto of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

Robledo, Damasio. Roll 34 # 1207, Aug 29, 1843. Guía # 31. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 250 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1242].

Robledo, Damasio. Roll 37 # 398, Aug 22, 1844. Guía # 39. 33 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 353 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 467].

Robles, José María. Roll 40 # 284, Sep 3, 1845. Guía # 11. 11 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 193 pesos 2 reales. To: Robles, Nicomedes; San Juan de los Lagos. Conductor: González, Desiderio, *arriero*.

Rodriguez, José Manuel. Roll 21 # 346, Aug 20, 1840. Guía # 15. 70 lbs of wool. Value: 70 pesos. To: Sonora. Fiador: Provencio, Jesús. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 759].

Romero, Diego. Roll 21 # 335. Oct 15, 1839. Guía # 189. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 159 pesos.

**Romero, Diego. Roll 32 # 1652, Nov 29, 1842. Hermosillo, guía # 448. 4 piezas (iron, steel, and domestic merchandise). Value: 108 pesos 6 reales. To: New Mexico.

**Romero, Diego. Roll 32 # 1648, Dec 13, 1842. Sonora, guía # 133. 12 *quintales* (100 kilograms) of iron. Value: 84 pesos. To: New Mexico.

Romero, Domingo. Roll 21 # 307, Aug 24, 1838. Guía # 69. 20 tercios. To: Chihuahua.

Romero, José Miguel. Roll 21 # 283, Oct 8, 1835. Guía # 35. 8 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 378].

Romero, Juan Felipe. Roll 21 # 312, Sep 10, 1838. Guía # 94. 14 bultos. Value: ca. 161 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 25 # 1445].

Roybal, Juan Antonio. Roll 21 # 326, Sep 5, 1839. Guía # 157. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 202 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Roybal, Juan Antonio. Roll 21 # 314, Sep 12, 1838. Guía # 102. 7 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 140 pesos 3 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Roybal, Juan Antonio. Roll 37 # 401, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 11. 13 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 251 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 484].

Ruiz, Marcos. Roll 37 # 398, Sep 1, 1844. Guía # 44. 26 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 230 pesos. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 471. Gaspar Ortiz signed for Ruiz].

Saavedra, Francisco. Roll 21 # 346, Aug 19, 1840. Guía # 13. 34 bultos and 300 sheep. Value: 400 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Saavedra, Francisco. Roll 21 # 356, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 55. 18 bultos of domestic

merchandise. Value: 207 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Saavedra, Miguel, his son. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 793].

Salas, Pablo. Roll 19 # 294, Jun 29, 1834. Guía # 96. 1,800 sheep. Value: ca. 900 pesos. To: Puebla.

Salazar, Antonio de José María. Roll 21 # 352, Aug 28, 1840. Guía # 40. 17 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 213 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Conductor: Salazar, Diego. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 780].

Salazar, Damasio. Roll 37 # 399, Sep 4, 1844. Guía # 47. 22 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 212 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Salazar, José. Roll 21 # 338, Oct 23, 1839. Guía # 201. 40 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 349 pesos. To: Sonora and Sinaloa.

Salazar, José. Roll 37 # 396, Aug 3, 1844. Guía # 25. 6 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 592 pesos 84 cents. To: Chihuahua, Zacatecas and Aguas Calientes.

Salazar, Pablo. Roll 15 # 1029, Jun 29, 1832. Guía # 93. 3,000 sheep. Value: ca. 1,500 pesos. To: Durango and Mexico.

Salazar, Pablo. Roll 21 # 334, Oct 5, 1839. Guía # 186. Domestic merchandise. Value: 422 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Salazar, Pablo. Roll 21 # 359, Oct 27, 1840. Guía # 70. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 352 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora.

**Salazar, Pablo. Roll 32 # 1638, Nov 4, 1842. Durango, tornaguía # 1091. [Document indicates that Salazar had *guía* #21 issued in New Mexico on Aug 28, 1842. He arrived at Durango on October 27, 1842].

Salazar, Pablo. Roll 34 # 1213, Oct 28, 1843. Guía # 78. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 142 pesos 2 reales. To: Sonora. Conductor: Abreu, José. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1261].

Salazar, Romualdo. Roll 37 # 402, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 15. 3 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 55 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

Salinas, Agapito. Roll 37 # 402, Sep 6, 1844. Guía # 19. 5 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 120 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos.

Sánchez, Eliseo. Roll 6 # 474, Aug 27, 1826. Guía # 3. 13 tercios of foreign merchandise. Value: 1,540 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [This is the first *guía* issued to a merchant with a hispanic surname].

Sánchez, Eliseo. Roll 6 # 475, Aug??, 1826. Guía # 6. 10 tercios of foreign merchandise. Value: 1,525 pesos 3 reales 6 granos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Sánchez, Felix. Roll 37 # 398, Sep 1, 1844. Guía # 43. 57 piezas of salt from New Mexico. Value: 134 pesos. To: Chihuahua.

Sánchez, Francisco. Roll 21 # 305, Jan 31, 1838. Guía # 51. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua.

Sánchez, Francisco Antonio. Roll 30 # 321, Sep 1, 1841. Guía # ??. 25 bultos of domestic

merchandise. Value: 324 pesos 2 reales. To: Sonora and Vizcaya.

Sánchez, Gregorio. Roll 21 # 360, Oct 18, 1840. Guía # 80. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 117 pesos. To: Chihuahua.

Sánchez, José Manuel. Roll 40 # 285, Sep 4, 1845. Guía # 18. 2 piezas of foreign merchandise bought locally. Value: 312 pesos 5 reales. To: El Paso. Conductor: Sánchez, Mauricio.

Sánchez, José Manuel. Roll 40 # 285, Sep 4, 1845. Guía # 19. 2 tercios of foreign merchandise bought locally. Value: 416 pesos 1.5 reales. To: El Paso.

Sánchez, Juan José. Roll 21 # 317, Aug 16, 1839. Guía # 120. 2 bultos. To: Galeana.

Sánchez, Juan José. Roll 21 # 317, Aug 17, 1839. Guía # 121. 3 bultos. Value: 328 pesos 1 real 6 granos. To: El Paso.

Sánchez, Manuel. Roll 21 # 283, Oct 15, 1835. Guía # 36. 15 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Montalvo, Pablo.

Sánchez, Manuel. Roll 21 # 303, Aug 29, 1837. Guía # 37. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Sánchez, Manuel Antonio. Roll 21 # 328, Sep 9, 1839. Guía # 162. 3 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 72 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua.

**Sánchez, Ramón. Roll 37 # 529, Nov 18, 1844. Durango, guía # [not indicated]. Domestic merchandise. To: New Mexico.

Sánchez, Victor. Roll 21 # 312, Sep 3, 1838. Guía # 91. 14 tercios of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango.

Sánchez, Victor. Roll 34 # 1209, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 46. 11 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 181 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1248].

Sandoval, ???. Roll 11 # 1138, Oct 16, 1830. Guía # 18. Foreign and domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 11 # 1138. It indicates that in the previous year Sandoval had brought several tercios of *mercería* (sewing notions) from Chihuahua and was taking one of them back. This is the first *guía* which identifies domestic manufactures].

Sandoval, Anastasio. Roll 21 # 327, Sep 7, 1839. Guía # 160. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 38 pesos. To: El Paso.

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 21 # 274, Aug 17, 1835. Guía # 5. 10,000 sheep. Value: ca. 5,000 pesos. Fiador: Abreu, Santiago. To: Durango. Conductor: Ortiz, José María, *arriero*. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 365].

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 21 # 300, Aug 18, 1837. Guía # 20. 3,800 sheep. Value: ca. 1,900 pesos. To: Marquez, Juan de Dios, Puebla.

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 21 # 300, Aug 18, 1837. Guía # 21. 3,621 sheep. Value: ca. 1,810 pesos 5 reales. To: Marquez, Juan de Dios, Durango.

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 21 # 301, Aug 18, 1837. Guía # 22. 3,300 sheep. Value: ca. 1650

pesos. To: Marquez, Juan de Dios, Zacatecas.

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 21 # 301, Aug 18, 1837. Guía # 23. 3,900 sheep. Value: ca. 1,950 pesos. To: Marquez, Juan de Dios, Mexico.

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 21 # 310, Aug 30, 1838. Guía # 83. 4,000 sheep. Value: cac. 2,000 pesos. To: Durango. Conductor: José María [no last name indicated]

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 21 # 324, Aug 27, 1839. Guía # 148. 5,000 sheep, 14 tercios de pinyons, 80 blankets. Value: 2,546 pesos. To: Marquez, Juan de Dios, Durango. Conductor: Gómez, Lucas, *arriero*.

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 21 # 346, Aug 19, 1840. Guía # 14. 5,000 sheep. Value: ca. 2,500 pesos. To: Durango and Mexico. Conductor: Luera, José.

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 34 # 1270, Aug 30, 1843. Guía # [not indicated]. 4,442 sheep. Value: 2,221 pesos. To: Cordero, José. Conductor: Santillanes, Guadalupe.

Sandoval, Antonio. Roll 40 # 283. Sep 2, 1845. Guía # 10. 5,500 sheep. Value: 2,750 pesos. To: Urquidi, Juan N.; Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico.

Sandoval, Francisco. Roll 30 # 320, Sep 1, 1841. Guía # 144. 20 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 198 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. Conductor: Sandoval, Jesús.

Sandoval, Juan Simón. Roll 25 # 1462, Nov 16, 1838. Guía # 120. 3 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 30 pesos. To: Chihuahua or Sonora. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].

Sandoval, Juan. Roll 37 # 405, Oct 9, 1844. Guía # 34. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 212 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 492]

Sandoval, Mateo. Roll 15, # 1023, Feb 7, 1832. Guía # 88. 16 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Sandoval, Nepomuceno. Roll 21 # 353, Aug 25, 1840. Guía # 44. 3 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 59 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and the fairs. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 784].

Sandoval, Simón. Roll 21 # 339, Oct 28, 1839. Guía # 204. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 55 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua.

Santillanes, Guadalupe. Roll 25 # 1460, Nov 15, 1838. Guía # 118. 3 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 23 pesos 4 reales. To: El Paso. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].

Serrano, Juan Antonio. Roll 37 # 399, Sep 3, 1844. Guía # 48. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 189 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 473].

Silva, Jesús María. Roll 21 # 348, Aug 20, 1840. Guía # 18. 20 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 133 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. Fiador: Jerres, José Francisco Baca. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 762].

Silva, Jesús María. Roll 37 # 397, Aug 24, 1844. Guía # 36. 27 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 315 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 398; tornaguía was issued at Durango Nov 16, 1844].

Silva, Jesús María. Roll 40 # 286, Sep 6, 1845. Guía # 25. 18 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 214 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [Guía exists—Roll 40 # 321].

Silva, Juan. Roll 21 # 327, Sep 7, 1839. Guía # 161. 2 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 35 pesos 2 reales.

Soto, José. Roll 21 # 344, Jul 28, 1840. Guía # 3. 7 bultos. Value: 83 pesos 2 reales. To: Montez, Josefa, *su patrona* (his female boss); El Paso.

Tafoya, José Dolores. Roll 37 # 406, Nov 11, 1844. Guía # 41. 9 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 121 pesos. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 498].

Tenorio, Julián. Roll 21 # 309, Aug 27, 1838. Guía # 78. 6 bultos, 300 blankets. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango.

Tenorio, Julián. Roll 21 # 308, Aug 27, 1838. Guía # 79. 4 bultos, 200 blankets. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango.

Tenorio, Juan. Roll 21 # 309, Aug 27, 1838. Guía # 80. 5 bultos, 250 blankets. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango.

Tenorio, Juan. Roll 21 # 333, Sep 18, 1839. Guía # 183. 40 bultos. Value: 227 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora and Sinaloa.

Tenorio, Julián. Roll 21 # 357, Oct 4, 1840. Guía # 61. 25 bultos. Value: 241 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora.

Tenorio, Julián. Roll 21 # 357, Oct 4, 1840. Guía # 60. 8 bultos. Value: 77 pesos. To: Sonora.

Tenorio, Julián. Roll 37 # 399, Sep 28, 1844. Guía # 46. 18 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 572 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and the fairs of San Juan.

Torres, Tomás. Roll 34 # 1213, Oct 30, 1843. Guía # 101. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 207 pesos 7 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Trujillo, Faustín. Roll 21 # 333, [Sep 10] 1839. Guía # 180. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 131 pesos 2 reales. To: Zacatecas and Guadalajara.

Trujillo, Juan Bautista. Roll 37 # 407, Nov 11, 1844. Guía # 44. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 58 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua.

Trujillo, Juan de Jesús. Roll 34 # 1208, Sep 5, 1843. Guía # 42. 10 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 217 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Tierra Caliente.

Turnia?, Manuel. Roll 37 # 399, Sep 4, 1844. Guía # 50. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 189 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Uvado?, Miguel. Roll 21 # 277, Aug 24, 1835. Guía # 17. 5 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

Valdez, Celedonio. Roll 40 # 285, Sep 5, 1845. Guía # 20. 13 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 206 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Tierra Caliente.

Valdez, Desiderio. Roll 21 # 334, Sep 20, 1839. Guía # 184. 5 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 62 pesos 4 reales. To: Sonora.

****Valdez, Ignacio Díaz.** Roll 34 # 1271, Nov. 7, 1843. Chihuahua, guía # 101. 970 *naipes* (playing cards) in 80 packages. To: New Mexieo.

Valdez, Ignacio Díaz. Roll 37 # 396, Aug 8, 1844. Guía # 30. 16 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,853 pesos 5.5 reales. To: Cordero, José; Allende.

Valdez, Ignacio Díaz. Roll 37 # 396, Aug 8, 1844. Guía # 31. 52 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 9,184 pesos .75 reales. To: Chihuahua.

Valdez, Ignacio Díaz. Roll 37 # 397, Aug 8, 1844. Guía # 32. 18 piezas of foreign merchandise. Value: 2,665 pesos 7.5 reales. To: Zuloaga, José María, Presidio de Galeana. Conductor: Torres, Cenovio.

Valdez, Ignacio Díaz. Roll 37 # 397, Aug 8, 1844. Guía # 33. 12,500 sheep. Value: 12,500 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Zacatecas and Durango.

Valdez, Juan de Jesús. Roll 37 # 406, Nov 11, 1844. Guía # 42. 6 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 79 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 499].

Valencia, Domingo. Roll 21 # 307, Aug 24, 1838. Guía # 68. 12 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Chihuahua.

Valencia, Tomás. Roll 21 # 294, Oct 4, 1836. Guía # 91. 2 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso. Conductor: Bustamante, Juan. [Guía exists—Roll 22 # 1166].

Valencia, Tomás. Roll 21 # 295, Nov 7, 1836. Guía # 100. 6 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: Ponce de Leon, Juan María; El Paso. Conductor: Barela, Francisco, *arriero*. [Guía exists—Roll 22 # 1170].

Valencia, Tomás. Roll 21 # 304, Nov 8, 1837. Guía # 45. 2 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 255 pesos. To: Ponce de Leon, Juan María; El Paso. Conductor: Labbaddie, Pablo. [Guía exists—Roll 24 # 801].

Valerio, Juan Pedro. Roll 25 # 1466, Nov 16, 1838. Guía # 124. 6 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 20 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].

Valverde, Francisco. Roll 21 # 316, Aug 16, 1839. Guía # 116. 29 tercios of foreign and domestic merchandise. Value: 1,143 pesos 1.75 reales. To: El Paso.

Valverde, José Francisco. Roll 14 # 250, Oct 3, 1831. Guía # 65. Foreign merchandise. To: El Paso. Conductor: Leak, José Gerónimo. [Large amount of merchandise came from the United States, but some was purchased in Santa Fe from John E. Hardman. Tornaguía, Roll 14 # 254 indicates that goods were consigned to Valverde at El Paso].

Valverde, José. Roll 19 # 234, Aug 18, 1834. Guía # 49. 9 tercios, 2 cajones, and 2 baúles of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso.

Vasquez, José. Roll 21 # 278, Aug 24, 1835. Guía # 18. 3 tercios of foreign merchandise. To: El Paso. Fiador: Madrid, Dolores. [Guía exists—Roll 21 # 369].

Velarde, José Vicente. Roll 37 # 400, Sep 5, 1844. Guía # 5. 3 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 70 pesos 6 reales. To: Chihuahua and Tierra Caliente. [Guía exists—Roll 37 # 478].

- Vigil, José Esquipulo. Roll 25 # 1464, Nov 16, 1838. Guía # 122. 4 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: ca. 67 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua. [There is no record of this guía in the guía notebook of 1835].
- Vigil, José Francisco. Roll 21 # 331, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 174. 34 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 901 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas and Guadalajara.
- Vigil, José Francisco. Roll 21 # 332, Sep 10, 1839. Guía # 176. 10 bultos of domestic merchandise. To: Zacatecas and Guadalajara. Conductor: Vigil, Juan de Jesús.
- Vigil, José Miguel. Roll 34 # 1210, Sep 6, 1843. Guía # 56. 9 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 123 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua and San Juan de los Lagos. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1253].
- Vigil, Juan Bautista. Roll 34 # 1214, Oct 30, 1843. Guía # 107. 4 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 148 pesos. To: Chihuahua.
- Vigil, Ramón. Roll 21 # 328, Sep 9, 1839. Guía # 164. Domestic merchandise. Value: 83 pesos 2 reales. To: Zacatecas and Guanajuato. Conductor: Mestas, Benito.
- Vigil, Ramón. Roll 21 # 328, Sep 9, 1839. Guía # 165. Domestic merchandise. Value: 210 pesos. To: Sonora and Sinaloa. Conductor: Martín (Marín?), José Antonio.
- Vigil, Ramón. Roll 21 # 329, Sep 9, 1839. Guía # 166. Value: 135 pesos. To: Zacatecas and Guanajuato. Conductor: Seledón, José.
- Vizcarra, Juan. Roll 14 # 294, Nov. 28, 1831. Guía # 80. Foreign merchandise purchased from Luis Robidoux. To: Chihuahua.
- Yrizarri, Mariano. Roll 21 # 335. Oct 5, 1839. Guía # 187. 30 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 655 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.
- Yrizarri, Mariano. Roll 21 # 350, Aug 22, 1840. Guía # 26. 900 sheep. Value: 450 pesos. To: Durango and Mexico. Fiador: Otero, Antonio José. [Guía exists, Roll 28 # 769].
- Yrizarri, Mariano. Roll 21 # 350, Aug 22, 1840. Guía # 28. 36 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 383 pesos 1 real. To: Durango and Chihuahua. Fiador: Otero, Antonio José. [Guía exists—Roll 28 # 771].
- Yrizarri, Mariano. Roll 34 # 1204, Aug 22, 1843. Guía # 12. 7 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 1,475 pesos 5 reales. To: Chihuahua and Durango. [Guía exists—Roll 34 # 1232].
- Yrizarri, Mariano. Roll 34 # 1206, Aug 26, 1843. Guía # 29. 38 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 2,970 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Durango.
- Yrizarri, Mariano. Roll 37 # 394, Aug 1, 1844. Guía # 16. 16 bultos of domestic merchandise and 2,800 sheep. Value: 1,722 pesos 2 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Aguas Calientes.
- Yrizarri, Mariano. Roll 37 # 394, Aug 1, 1844. Guía # 17. 23 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value: 3,313 pesos 43.5 cents. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Aguas Calientes.
- Yrizarri, Mariano. Roll 37 # 394, Aug 1, 1844. Guía # 18. 22 bultos of foreign merchandise. Value 2,603 pesos 11.75 cents. To: Chihuahua, Sonora and Durango. [Tornaguía exists—Roll 37 # 524. Issued at Allende on Aug 24, 1844. Yrizarri did not pay any duties because he sold

the merchandise at the domestic fair].

Yrizarri, Maríano. Roll 40 # 286, Sep 5, 1845. Guía # 21. 3,000 sheep and 4 tercios of domestic merchandise. Value: 1,563 pesos. To: Chihuahua, Durango and San Juan de los Lagos. Conductor: Aranda, Pedro.

Yrizarri, Pablo. Roll 21 # 310, Aug 30, 1838. Guía # 82. 14 bultos of domestic merchandise and 200 sheep. To: Chihuahua and Durango.

Yrizarri, Pablo. Roll 34 # 1206, Aug 26, 1843. Guía # 28. 40 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 530 pesos. To: Chihuahua and Sonora.

Yrizarri, Pedro. Roll 40 # 286, Sep 5, 1845. Guía # 22. 26 piezas of domestic merchandise. Value: 209 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and San Juan de Los Lagos.

**Yzurrieta, Juan. Roll 22 # 1178, Jan 2, 1836. Durango, guía # 515. 20 bultos of domestic and foreign merchandise. To: Armijo, Manuel. Conductor: García, Cristóbal, *arriero*. [Guía exists—Roll 22 # 1179].

**Yzurrieta, Juan. Roll 22 # 1180, Jan 2, 1836. Durango, guía # 516. 10 tercios of domestic merchandise. Conductor: García, Cristóbal, *arriero*. [Guía exists—Roll 22 # 1180].

Zubia, José Felix. Roll 37 # 408, Dec 19, 1844. Guía # 47. 62 bultos of domestic merchandise. Value: 165 pesos 4 reales. To: Chihuahua, Durango and Mexico.

Zuloaga, José M. Roll 40 # 349, Sep 22, 1845. Guía # 62. Foreign merchandise purchased in the United States and in the area. Value: 9,370 pesos 96 cents. To: Galeana.

** Indicates that the *guía* or *tornaguía* was issued outside the territory of New Mexico.

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SANTA FE

Special History Study



APPENDIX II:

Manifests of Merchandise Presented to the Customs House in Santa Fe Belonging to Hispano Merchants

[1]

- 1840 Chávez, José, 11 *bultos*. Roll 28 # 730.
- 1840 Chávez, Mariano. Roll 28 # 750.
- 1840 Otero, Antonio José, 30 *bultos*. Roll 28 # 736-738.
- 1842 Otero, José Antonio, Roll 32 # 1607-1628.
- 1842 Perea, Juan, 70 *bultos*. Roll 32 # 1598-1603.
- 1843 Chávez y Castillo, José, 5 *bultos*. Roll 34 # 1182-1183.
- 1843 Chávez, Mariano, 34 *bultos*. Roll 34 # 1193-1199.
- 1843 González, Tomás, 2 *bultos*. Roll 34 # 1171.
- 1843 Gutiérrez, José Mariano, 8 *bultos*. Roll 34 # 1190.
- 1843 Gutiérrez, Juan Nepomuceno, 5 *cajas* and *bultos*. Roll 34 # 1180-1181.
- 1843 Ortiz, Gaspar, 22 *bultos*. Roll 34 # 1176-1177.
- 1843 Sandoval, Antonio, 14 *bultos*. Roll 34 # 1191-1192.
- 1844 Armijo, Juan C. Roll 37 # 437-442.
- 1844 Chávez, Mariano. Roll 37 # 443-455.
- 1844 Otero, Antonio José. Roll 37 # 456-58.
- 1844 Perea, Juan and José. Roll 37 # 418436.
- 1846 Armijo, Juan. 5 *bultos*. Roll 41 # 811-813.

¹The first year for which there are surviving manifests of merchandise introduced by Americans into New Mexico is 1831, MANM, roll 14 # 176-187.

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SANTA FE

Special History Study



APPENDIX III:
New Mexican Merchants Listed in the 1860/1870 Censuses

New Mexican Merchants Listed in the 1860 Census
(sorted by wealth)

Name	County of Residency/Precint or Town	Age	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Total Value of Assets
Perea, José Leandro	Bernalillo	38	25,000	200,000	225,000
Yrizarri, Maríano	Benalillo/Los Ranchos	45	20,000	193,000	213,000
Otero, Manuel A.	Valencia/Valencia	38	10,000	154,550	164,550
Armijo, Juan Cristóbal	Bernalillo/Gallegos	50	10,000	100,000	110,000
Armijo, Rafael	Benalillo/Albuquerque	42	14,000	60,000	74,000
Armijo, Manuel	Benalillo/Albuquerque	47	14,000	60,000	74,000
Chávez, Felipe	Bernalillo	24	5,000	62,575	67,575
Luna, Antonio José	Valencia/Los Lunas	52	4,000	63,500	67,500
González, Navarro	Santa Fe/La Ciénaga	41	13,000	53,000	66,000
Otero, Antonio J.	Valencia/Valencia	48	21,000	44,074	65,074
Baillio, Anastasio	Doña Ana/Mesilla	43	15,000	50,000	65,000
Jaramillo, José	Valencia/Los Lunas	36	2,700	52,714	55,414
Baca, Luis	Socorro/Limitar	30	6,000	40,000	46,000
Vigil, Manuel	Socorro/Limitar	48	4,000	38,000	42,000
Perea, J. L.	San Miguel/Las Vegas	42	500	36,000	36,500
Gallegos, José M.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	43	16,000	20,000	36,000
Sandoval, Anastasio	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	44	12,000	22,000	34,000
Luna, Ramón	Valencia/Los Lunas	50	1,000	31,000	32,000
Ortiz y Alarid, Gaspar	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	36	25,000	6,000	31,000
Montoya, Juan	Socorro/Limitar	39	800	28,000	28,800
Gutiérrez, Rafael	Valencia/Casa Colorada	45	2,600	25,800	28,400
Armijo, Ambrosio	Benalillo/Albuquerque	32	8,000	20,000	28,000
Delgado, Simón	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	44	20,000	7,000	27,000
Salazar, José	Valencia/Valencia	32	2,800	21,027	23,827

Sánchez, Juan J.	Valencia/Valencia	60	4,000	16,545	20,545
Armijo, Salvador	Benalillo/Albuquerque	37	5,000	15,000	20,000
Baca, Pedro	Socorro/Socorro	55	2,000	17,000	19,000
Montoya, Nestor	Benalillo/Albuquerque	33	4,000	14,180	18,180
Romero, Toribio	Valencia/Los Lunas	35	500	17,000	17,500
Romero, Miguel	Valencia/Los Lunas	23	500	17,000	17,500
Yrizarri, Manuel	Benalillo/Los Ranchos	20	2,000	15,400	17,400
Ribera, Antonio	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	51	3,500	11,000	14,500
Córdoba, Miguel A.	Taos/El Llano	46	3,900	10,000	13,900
Armijo, Francisco	Benalillo/Albuquerque	20	10,000	3,800	13,800
Armijo, Juan	Socorro/El Sabinal	60	2,500	10,000	12,500
Montoya, Stanisla	Socorro/San Ignacio	40	2,000	10,000	12,000
Armijo, José	Benalillo/Gallegos	30	1,800	10,000	11 800
Baca, José Miguel	Socorro/La Panda	60	1,000	10,000	11,000
Romero, José Miguel	San Miguel/Las Vegas	61	6,000	4,000	10,000
Romero, José María	Valencia/Los Lunas	27	1,000	8,900	9,900
López, Prudencio	San Miguel/San José	35	2,500	7,095	9 595
González, Ignacio	Benalillo/Albuquerque	32	2,500	6,000	8,500
García, Manuel	Benalillo/Albuquerque	36	7,000	1,470	8,470
Pino, Pablo	Valencia/Cubero	60	800	7,500	8,300
González, Tomás	Benalillo/Albuquerque	37	2,000	6,000	8,000
Abeita, Manuel	Socorro/Socorro	26	none listed	6,800	6 800
Ortiz y Delgado, Francisco	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	46	4,600	2,000	6,600
Delgado, Fenando	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	33	1,000	5,000	6,000
Chávez, Rumaldo	Valencia/Belén	39	1,000	5,000	6,000
Sena y Quintana, Miguel	San Miguel/La Extrañosa	??	1,500	4,000	5 500
Baca, Gregorio	Socorro/El Pago	26	450	5,000	5,450
Gallegos, José Guadalupe	San Miguel/Antón Chico	32	1,200	4,000	5,200
Sarracino, Clemente	Valencia/Cubero	48	500	4,500	5,000
Delgado, Pablo	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	37	1,000	4,000	5 000
Barela, Jesús María	Mora/Santa Gertrudis	37	2,000	3,000	5,000
Abeitia, Antonio	Socorro/Socorro	36	1,000	4,000	5,000
Romero, Vidal	San Miguel/Las Vegas	25	500	4,000	4,500
Baca, Francisco	Socorro/El Pago	26	600	3,500	4,100
Ulibarri, Felix	San Miguel/El Burro	34	2,000	2,000	4,000
Armijo, José Francisco	Taos/Arroyo Seco	35	1,000	3,000	4,000

Martín, José	San Miguel/Antón Chico	36	3,000	700	3,700
Salazar, Manuel	Valencia/Valencia	22	none listed	3,600	3,600
Baca, Francisco	Socorro/El Pago	26	600	3,000	3,600
Chávez, Pablo	Valencia/Casa Colorada	25	350	3,050	3,400
Trujillo, Severo	Río Arriba	26	1,400	1,659	3,059
Chávez, Ambrosio	Valencia/Valencia	26	1,000	2,020	3,020
Sandoval, Manuel	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	33	500	2,500	3,000
Ortiz, Miguel	Taos/Río Colorado	38	1,000	2,000	3,000
Martínez, Leandro	Taos/Los Cordobas	26	none listed	3,000	3,000
Sánchez, Pedro	Taos/Fenando	28	800	2,000	2,800
Montoya, Lorenzo	San Miguel/Las Tuzas	28	300	2,400	2,700
García, Candelario	Socorro/Valverde	30	600	2,000	2,600
Armijo, Reyes	Socorro/El Sabinal	60	600	2,000	2,600
Montoya, Juan	Doña Ana/Mesilla	35	none listed	2,500	2,500
Baca, Benardo	Santa Ana/Algodones	28	2,000	500	2,500
Gutiérrez, José	Mora/San Antonio	30	600	1,800	2,400
Armijo, José	Valencia/Valencia	20	1,500	800	2,300
Montoya, Francisco	Benalillo/Albuquerque	38	1,500	600	2,100
Trujillo, Vicente	San Miguel/Las Manueitas	31	800	1,200	2,000
González, Manuel	San Miguel/Las Manuelitas	31	1,000	900	1,900
Jaramillo, José	Valencia/San Fenando	44	500	1,200	1,700
Naranjo, Desiderio	Mora/Guadalupe	40	800	870	1,670
Romero, Bonifacio	Santa Fe/Agua Fría	28	300	1,300	1,600
Herrera, Antonio	San Miguel/Las Manueitas	38	1,000	600	1,600
Chávez, Jesús María	Socorro/Socorro	28	1,000	500	1,500
Abreu, Fracisco	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	28	400	1,000	1,500
Gallegos, Dolores	Valencia/Tajique	40	250	1,000	1,250
Vigil, Agapito	San Miguel/Las Gallinas	28	200	1,000	1,200
Sánchez, Desiderio	Valencia/Los Chávez	25	200	1,000	1,200
Baca, Ramón	San Miguel/Las Manueitas	56	400	800	1,200
Abeytia, António	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	23	500	700	1,200
Sánchez, Manuel	Valencia/Manzano	27	600	500	1,100
Luna, Venislao	Valencia/Los Lunas	22	500	500	1,000
Sena, José	San Miguel/Las Vegas	23	none listed	800	800
Baca, Tomás	San Miguel/Las Vegas	21	none listed	800	800
Salas, Higinio	Valencia/Los Chávez	31	200	550	750

Silva, Bautista	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	27	none listed	500	500
Sánchez, Jesús	Valencia/Valencia	20	none listed	500	500
Armijo, Pablo	San Miguel/Antón Chico	27	400	100	500
Ortiz, Juan Luis	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	65	400	none listed	400
Ortiz, Teodoro	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	28	100	200	300
López, Miguel	San Miguel/Los Luceros	61	none listed	250	250
Roibal, Albino	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	24	none listed	200	200
Leivas, Basilio	San Miguel/San Gerónimo	25	none listed	190	190
Baca, Victoriano	San Miguel/Las Vegas	37	100	none listed	100
Delgado, Felipe	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	32	4,000	6,000	10,000
Valdez, Pablo	Mora	23	none listed	none listed	none listed
Salazar, Juan	Valencia/Valencia	23	none listed	none listed	none listed
Salazar, Jesús María	Valencia/Valencia	23	none listed	none listed	none listed
Otero, Vicente	Valencia/Valencia	21	none listed	none listed	none listed
Luna, Jesús María	Valencia/Los Lunas	23	none listed	none listed	none listed
García, Felipe	Benalillo	29	none listed	none listed	none listed

New Mexican Merchants Listed in the 1870 Census

Name	County of Residency/Precint or Town	Age	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Total Value of Assets	Listed Occupation*
Perea, José Leandro	Benalillo/Benalillo	47	46,000	560,000	606,000	merchant & farmer
Chávez, José Felipe	Valencia/Belén	35	40,000	100,000	140,000	dry goods merchant & retailer
Armijo, Ambrosio	Benalillo/Albuquerque	50	15,000	85,000	100,000	merchant & farmer
Armijo, J. C.	Benalillo/Los Griegos	60	8,000	58,000	66,000	wholesale merchant & farmer
Armijo, Cristóbal	Benalillo/Albuquerque	50	6,000	60,000	66,000	wholesale merchant
Vigil, Manuel	Socorro/Socorro	58	8,000	38,000	46,000	general merchant
Ortiz, Gaspar	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	45	28,000	3,000	31,000	retail merchant
Baca, Nepomuceno	Socorro/Socorro	36	10,000	20,000	30,000	general merchant
Gutiérrez, José	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	40	600	2,000	2,600	merchant & retailer
Armijo, Salvador	Benalillo/Albuquerque	47	5,000	21,000	26,000	merchant & farmer

Santiesteban, Juan	Taos/El Rancho	37	2,000	18,500	20,500	general merchant & retailer
Sandoval, Anastasio	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	54	16,000	2,000	18,000	merchant & retailer
López, Rafael	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	43	13,700	2,000	15,700	merchant & retailer
Delgado, Felipe	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	41	6,000	7,000	13,000	merchant & retailer
Delgado, Fenando	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	44	10,000	2,000	12,000	retail merchant
Baca, Pedro	Socorro/Socorro	60	3,000	9,000	12,000	general merchant
Abeita, Atanasio	Socorro/Limitar	43	5,000	5,000	10,000	general merchant
Armijo, Jesús	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	25	5,000	3,000	8,000	dry goods merchant & retailer
Roybal, Antón	Río Arriba/Santa Cruz	59	1,700	5,000	6,700	retail dry goods merchant
González, Ignacio	Doña Ana/Mesilla	45	1,300	5,000	6,300	dry goods merchant & retailer
Sánchez, Juan	Taos/Picuris	60	3,000	3,000	6,000	merchant
Chávez, Sixto	Río Arriba/El Rito	22	1,000	5,000	6,000	retail dry goods merchant
González, Ramón	Doña Ana/Mesilla	44	1,300	4,275	5,575	grocer & retailer
Montoya, Nestor	Benalillo/Albuquerque	44	3,000	2,000	5,000	retail merchant
Luján, Vicente	Valencia/Valencia	41	1,000	4,000	5,000	dry goods merchant & retailer
García, Vicente	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	42	3,500	1,500	5,000	retail merchant
Armijo, Perfecto	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	26	2,000	2,500	4,500	dry goods merchant & retailer
Delgado, Pablo	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	47	4,000	400	4,400	general merchant
Robledo, Ramón	San Miguel/Sapillo	24	1,000	3,329	4,329	dealer in general merchandise
Brito, António	San Miguel/Sapillo	22	1,000	3,329	4,329	dealer in general merchandise
Armijo, Juan	Mora/Loma Parda	43	4,000	100	4,100	retail grocer & merchant
Martínez, Eduardo	San Miguel/Antón Chico	33	1,000	3,040	4,040	dealer in general merchandise
Tafoya, Rafael	Santa Fe/Alamosito	37	2,000	2,000	4,000	general merchant

Jaramillo, Pedro J.	Río Arriba/El Rito	21	1,000	3,000	4,000	retail merchant
Sánchez, José	San Miguel/Antón Chico	35	1,200	2,413	3,613	dealer in general merchandise
Montoya, Juan	Socorro/Limitar	43	1,000	2,500	3,500	general merchant
Delgado, Felipe	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	28	500	3,000	3,500	merchant
Abeita, Manuel	Socorro/Socorro	38	500	3,000	3,500	general merchant
Ramfrez, Candido	San Miguel/Chaperito	26	3,000	300	3,300	dealer in general merchandise
Trujillo, Anastasio	Mora/Mora	35	1,600	1,592	3,192	retail merchant
Córdoba, Pablo	Socorro/La Joya	43	1,000	2,000	3,000	general merchant
Baca, Juan José	Socorro/Socorro	27	1,500	1,500	3,000	general merchant
Trujillo, Tomás	Río Arriba/El Rito	30	400	2,500	2,900	retail merchant
Aranda, Francisco	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	65	2,100	800	2,900	merchant & retailer
Baca y Baca, António	San Miguel/San José	39	2,000	500	2,500	merchant in dry goods
Chávez, Tomás	San Miguel/Upper Las Vegas	30	300	2,000	2,300	dealer in general merchandise
Quintana, Miguel	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	34	2,000	100	2,100	retail merchant
Sales, Sabino	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	45	2,000	none listed	2,000	retail merchant
López, Romano	San Miguel/San José	23	none listed	2,000	2,000	merchant in dry goods
Baca, Severo	Socorro/Socorro	23	1,000	1,000	2,000	general merchant
Baca, António José	San Miguel/Antón Chico	43	400	1,600	2,000	dealer in general merchandise
Rivera, José L.	San Miguel/La Cuesta	24	1,000	800	1,800	dealer in general merchandise
Pantaleón, Estes	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	23	200	1,500	1,700	merchant
Vigil, José Armijo	Socorro/Limitar	28	500	1,000	1,500	general merchant
Torres, Isidro	Santa Fe/Alamosito	27	1,000	500	1,500	general merchant
Pino, Esquipulo	Socorro/Socorro	29	500	1,000	1,500	general merchant
Peralta, Felipe	Socorro/La Joya	31	300	1,200	1,500	general merchant
Mora, Jesús	San Miguel/Antón	37	500	1,000	1,500	dealer in general

H	Chico						merchandise
González, Tomás	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	46	500	1,000	1 500		retail merchant
Gabaldón, Dionisio	Valencia/Los Lunas	32	500	1,000	1,500		dry goods merchant & retailer
Armijo, Diego	Socorro/Limitar	34	500	1,000	1,500		general merchant
Abreu, Francisco	San Miguel/Chaperito	38	1,000	300	1,300		dealer in general merchandise
Ortiz, Esquipulo	Santa Fe/Pojoaque	46	500	700	1,200		trader
Baca, Juan María	Socorro/Socorro	37	1,000	150	1,150		general merchant
Valdez, Manuel	Río Arriba/San Juan	48	700	400	1,100		retired merchant
Romero, Lorenzo	Mora/la Cueva	40	500	510	1,010		retail merchant & grocer
González, Tomás	Santa Fe/El Paraje	34	500	500	1,000		general merchant
Chávez, Juan B.	Benalillo/Los Ranchos	25	500	500	1,000		retail merchant
Ortiz, Teodoro	Río Arriba/San Juan Pueblo	33	400	500	900		merchant
García, Juan	Río Arriba/San Juan Pueblo	38	300	500	800		merchant
Gallegos, Dolores	Mora/La Cueva	50	100	680	780		retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Valdez, António	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	53	600	none listed	600		retail merchant
Baca, José Miguel	Socorro/Socorro	70	150	400	550		retail merchant
Montoya, José Andrés	Santa Ana/Jemez	21	none listed	500	500		merchant
Quintana, Irene?	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	80	300	none listed	300		retail merchant
Bustamante, Bonifacio	Socorro/Contadera	40	100	100	200		general merchant
Durán, Facundo	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	44	100	none listed	100		retail merchant
Sánchez, Juan	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	48	none listed	none listed	none listed		merchant
Armijo, Jesús	Socorro/Contadera	20	none listed	none listed	none listed		general merchant

* Occupational classification varies among the various counties and precincts. The differences between some of the labels are not clear. Is a general merchant the same as a retail merchant? what is the difference between a dry-goods merchant and retailer and a

grocer? Only those listed as merchants, either retailer or wholesaler, are included in this list. Store keepers, store clerks, liquor dealers, traders, and druggists are not included.

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SANTA FE

Special History Study



APPENDIX IV:

Non-New Mexican Merchants Listed in the 1860/1870 Censuses

Non-New Mexican Merchants Listed in the 1860 Census

Name	County of Residency/Precint or Town	Age	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Total Value of Assets	Orign
St. Vrain, Corain	Mora/El Rancho	59	58.000	153,000	211,000	St. Louis
Moore, W. H.	San Miguel/El Tecolote	42	15,000	150,000	165,000	New York
Connelly, Henry	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	59	58,000	84,000	142,000	Kentucky
Gold. John	San Miguel/Las vegas	40	1,500	75,000	76,500	Germany
Gold, Andrea	San Miguel/Las Vegas	34	1,500	75,000	76,500	Germany
Spiegelberg, Levi	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	29	15,000	50,000	65,000	Prussia
Hirsch, Joseph	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	36	40,000	20,000	60,000	Poland
Hover, Oliver P.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	33	18,000	35,000	53,000	Vermont
McGroskey, William	Doña Ana/Mesilla	35	1,000	49,000	50,000	Ireland
Brewster, Samson	Mora/San Fernando	30	3,600	41,000	44,600	Prussia
Pley, Joseph	Mora/San Fernando	40	12,000	32,000	44,000	Cadiz, Spain
Bull, Thomas	Dons Ana/Mesilla	35	7,000	30,000	37,000	Ohio
Clark, C.B.	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	32	none listed	35,000	35,000	New York
Boyce, Stephen	San Miguel/Las vegas	42	15,000	20,000	35,000	Canada
Joseph, Pedro	Mora/San Fernando	44	8,000	25,000	33,000	Portugal
Hunning, Charles	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	27	200	30,000	30.200	Hanover, Germany
Seligman, S.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	30	none listed	30,000	30,000	Hesse
Metzger, Frank	Mora/Santa Gertrudia	41	30,000	none listed	30,000	Prussia
Johnson, James	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	35	none listed	30,000	30.000	Massachusetts
Clever, C. P.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	30	none listed	30,000	30,000	Prussia
Bucheau, Alfred	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	25	1,500	25,000	26.500	New York
Stapleton, Robert H.	Socorro/Valverde	30	6,000	20,000	26.000	Ireland
Amberg, Jacob	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	34	1,000	25,000	26,000	Prussia
Rosé, L. D.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	33	10,000	15,000	25,000	Bavaria

Amberg, Gustave	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	31	none listed	25,000	25,000 Prussia
Kingbury, John M.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	31	4,000	20,000	24,000 Massachusetts
Duval, Alexander	Socorro/Río Bonito	41	2,500	21,200	23,700 Virginia
Rosenstein, Simon	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	45	500	22,000	22,500 Hanover
Torres, Agustín	Doña Ana/Mesilla	46	3,000	19,000	22,000 Spain
Beark, Charles	Valencia/Manzano	25	7,000	15,000	22,000 Illinois
Wood, E. M.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	38	2,500	18,000	20,500 Ohio
Zeckendorf, Louis	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	22	none listed	20,000	20,000 Hanover, Germany
Mercure, Joseph	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	41	none listed	20,000	20,000 Canada
Kroning, William	Mora/Las Golorndrinss	35	10,000	10,000	20,000 Germany
Lerma, António	Bernalillo/Alameda	31	7,000	12,000	19,000 Mexico
Wheeler, H. M.	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	31	2,500	15,525	18,025 England
O'Neil, Henry	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	33	6,000	12,000	18,000 Ireland
Blummer, Charles	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	54	8,000	10,000	18,000 Prussia
Cochran, Robert	Doña Ana/Mesilla	26	none listed	17,000	17,000 Virginia
Bramford, Edward	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	38	10,000	7,000	17,000 England
Luján, Wensilso	Socorro/Limitar	36	1,000	15,000	16,000 Mexico
Geck, Louis	Doña Ana/Mesilla	48	6,000	9,000	15,000 Poland
Elsberg, Albert	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	27	none listed	15,000	15,000 Prussia
Desmarais, Miguel	San Miguel/Las vegas	54	none listed	15,000	15,000 Canada
Posthoff, William	Taos/Costilla	29	6,000	8,000	14,000 Germany
Morrison, A.	San Miguel/Bernal	32	1,000	13,000	14,000 Hesse
Meléndez, Pablo	Doña Ana/Mesilla	60	10,000	4,000	14,000 Mexico
Augustine, A.	Doña Ana/Mesilla	27	3,000	10,000	13,000 Germany
Zamowsky, J.	Socorro/Ft. Craig	45	800	12,000	12,800 Poland
Barriento, Saturnino	Doña Ana/Mesilla	40	100	12,000	12,100 Mexico
Loeb, Randolph	Mora/Río Colorado	39	3,000	9,000	12,000 Germany
Groton, James	Doña Ana/Mesilla	27	8,000	4,000	12,000 Pennsylvania
Bramsford, William A.	Mora/Santa Gertrudis	48	4,000	8,000	12,000 Virginia
Birmbaum, Henry	Mora/Santa Gertrudis	35	4,000	8,000	12,000 Germany
Whitlock, F. M.	San Miguel/El Tecolote	36	3,000	8,000	11,000 Kentucky
Zeckendorf, Aaron	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	25	500	10,000	10,500 Hanover
Webb, Nathan	Mora/Las Golorndrinass	32	none listed	10,000	10,000 Boston
Smith, Stephen	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	30	none listed	10,000	10,000 Maryland
Meyer, Lipman	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	29	10,000	none listed	10,000 Bavaria
Lacomb, Augustin	Taos/Arroyo Hondo	48	2,000	8,000	10,000 France
			none		

Generet, Jules	Doña Ana/Mesilla	28	listed	10,000	10,000 Switzerland
Ancheta, Nepomuceno	Doña Ana/Mesilla	33	2,000	8,000	10,000 Mexico
Tulley, P. H.	Doña Ana/Ft. Thorn	37	1,000	8,000	9,000 Tennessee
Staab, Zadock	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	25	none listed	9,000	9,000 Prussia
Robles, Bernahe	Socorro/San Lorenzo	35	none listed	9,000	9,000 Sonora
Stevens, David	San Miguel/Antón Chico	27	7,000	1,500	8,500 Maryland
Martin, L. J.	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	21	2,000	6,500	8,500 Mississippi
Spiegelberg, Manuel	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	23	300	8,000	8,300 Prussia
Miller, T. G.	Doña Ana/La Mesa	33	2,200	6,000	8,200 Louisiana
Gold. Louis	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	38	100	8,000	8,100 Poland
Lucas, James	Doña Ana/Mesilla	34	3,000	5,000	8,000 Missouri
Aleck, José	Doña Ana/Mesilla	32	3,000	5,000	8,000 Spain
Sledd, Joshua	Doña Ana/Mesilla	50	5,500	2,000	7,500 Virginia
Larragoiti, Benito	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	48	6,000	1,000	7,000 Spain
Barela, Nestor	Doña Ana/Mesilla	32	2,000	5,000	7,000 Mexico
Zolier, John	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	36	2,000	4,000	6,000 Baden Baden
Green, H. H.	Mora/Santa Gertrudis	38	none listed	6,000	6,000 Chicago
Woodman, J?	San Miguel/El Burro	36	2,000	3,500	5,500 New York
Estes, George	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	41	250	5,000	5,250 Virginia
Hayes, M.	San Miguel/Las vegas	37	1,000	4,000	5,000 Missouri
Deus, Charles	Taos/Culebra	41	1,900	3,000	4,900 Germany
Constante, António	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	47	4,000	200	4,200 Peru
Weache, Charles	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	29	none listed	4,000	4,000 Prussia
Sachs, M.	Valencia/Los Lunes	37	1,000	3,000	4,000 Germany
Maxwell, Ferdinand	Mora/San Fernando	43	none listed	4,000	4,000 Illinois
Magruder, C. B.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	44	1,000	3,000	4,000 Maryland
Beaubien, Jean Baptiste	Mora/Río Colorado	48	2,000	2,000	4,000 Montreal, Canada
Beaubien, Charles	Mora/San Fernando	59	3,000	1,000	4,000 Canada
Saenz, Manuel	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	40	100	3,500	3,600 Mexico
Rhoman, W. B.	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	24	100	3,500	3,600 Ohio
Cuellar Medina, Celso	Socorro/Fray Cristóbal	34	250	3,000	3,250 Mexico
Latapie, Jean	Mora/San Fernando	30	none listed	3,000	3,000 France
Hart. Charles	Mora/El Rancho	40	1,000	2,000	3,000 unknown
de Valois, Maríano	Doña Ana/Santa Rita	59	none listed	3,000	3,000 Mexico
Bernadet, José Miguel	Mora/Las Golondrinas	34	1,000	2,000	3,000 Catalúna, Spain

Bent, Alfred	Mora/El Rancho	23	1,000	2,000	3,000 Taos
Miranda, Guadalupe	Doña Ana/Mesilla	50	1,300	1,500	2,800 Mexico
Noel, Gustavus	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	42	1,500	1,000	2,500 France
Mousan, Jules	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	26	1,500	1,000	2,500 Germany
Messell, Thomas	Doña Ana/La Mesa	40	500	2,000	2,500 Missouri
Woodson, James B.	Taos/Conejos	39	310	2,000	2,310 Virginia
Easterday, H. E.	Taos/Culebra	42	500	1,800	2,300 Virginia
Duper, Christian	Doña Ana/Ft. Fillmore	33	600	1,500	2,100 Germany
Thornton, Willis	Dons Ana/Mowry City	56	none listed	2,000	2,000 Kentucky
López, Juan	Doña Ana/Mesilla	45	1,000	1,000	2,000 Mexico
Heppin?, Charles	Dons Ana/Mesilla	49	1,500	500	2,000 Rhode Island
Francisco, John M.	Taos/Culebra	40	none listed	2,000	2,000 Virginia
Carey, Robert	Mora/El Rancho	42	1,000	1,000	2,000 St. Louis
Muller, Frederik	Mora/San Fernando	30	none listed	1,800	1,800 Prussia
Mignault, Teodoro	Mora/San Fernando	39	none listed	1,800	1,800 Canada
Proffit, William	Mora/El Rancho	43	600	1,000	1,600 Missouri
Seligman, B.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	22	none listed	1,500	1,500 Hesse
Contreras, Reyes	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	40	500	1,000	1,500 Mexico
Nevares, Ramón	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	42	1,000	300	1,300 Mexico
Moreau, Augustin	Doña Ana/Mesilla	48	1,000	300	1,300 France
Grandert, William	Mora/San Antonio	28	none listed	1,300	1,300 Hanover
Bordeaux, Victor	Socorro/El Pago	37	250	1,000	1,250 France
Robles, António	Valencia/Manzano	40	200	1,000	1,200 Mexico
Valla, Frank	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	29	none listed	1,150	1,150 Missouri
Winslow, Henry	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	43	none listed	1,000	1,000 Georgia
Schewrick, L.	Mora/San Fernando	24	none listed	1,000	1,000 Bavaria
Robles, Cecilio	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	35	nonelisted	1,000	1,000 Mexico
Rite, Charles	Mora/San Fernando	26	none listed	1,000	1,000 Bavaria
Ochos, Jesús	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	60	none listed	1,000	1,000 Mexico
Hastings, G. M.	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	40	500	500	1,000 Missouri
Hass, G.	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	46	none listed	1,000	1,000 Switzerland
Debus, Wendel	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	41	none listed	1,000	1,000 Hesse
Carter,?	Doña Ana/Pinos Altos	53	none	1,000	1,000 Virginia

			listed			
Oceano, Secundo	Doña Ana/Mesilla	33	none listed	800	800	Mexico
Buckman, S. F.	Valencia/Cubero	30	none listed	650	650	New York
Harrison, John	San Miguel/Antón Chico	43	600	none listed	600	England
Apodaca, Marcos	Doña Ana/Mesilla	47	400	200	600	Mexico
Schwarkoff, Maurice	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	21	none listed	400	400	Bohemia
Márquez, Leonardo	Valencia/El Bosque	30	100	300	400	Mexico
Spiegelberg, Solomon	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	35	none listed	300	300	Prussia
González de la Rueda, J. D.	San Miguel/Antón Chico	39	180	100	280	Mexico
Morris, George M.	Socorro/Socorro	33	none listed	200	200	Virginia
Ariscon?, Durret?	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	26	none listed	200	200	Mexico
Dens, Gemelo?	Doña Ana/Mesilla	50	125	none listed	125	Cuba
Martínez, Chaffoe?	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	60	none listed	100	100	France
Velásquez, José M.	Socorro/Ft. Craig	20	none listed	none listed	none listed	Sonora
Saenz, Manuel	Doña Ana/Santa Rita	35	none listed	none listed	none listed	Mexico
Reese, B. L.	San Miguel/El Tecolote	32	none listed	none listed	none listed	Missouri
Mitchell, W.	San Miguel/El Tecolote	32	none listed	none listed	none listed	Maryland
Mayagoitia, Eleuterio	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	36	none listed	none listed	none listed	Mexico
Hammond, G. H.	Doña Ana/Ft. Fillmore	33	none listed	none listed	none listed	Tennessee
Estrada, José	Doña Ana/Mesilla	46	none listed	none listed	none listed	Mexico
Curtis, Edward	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	27	none listed	none listed	none listed	Virginia
Barela, Carlos	Doña Ana/Mesilla	38	none listed	none listed	none listed	Mexico

Non-New Mexican Merchants Listed in the 1870 Census

Name	County of Residency/Precint or Town	Age	Value of Real Estate	Value of Personal Estate	Total Value of Assets	Orign	Listed Occupation
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merchant

Maxwell, Lucien	Colfax/Precinct 3	56	150,000	20,000	170,000	Illinois	(retired)
Moore, William	Mora/La Quinta	51	20,000	100,000	120,000	New York	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Porter, Henry M.	Colfax/Precinct 1	29	70,000	20,000	90,000	Pennsylvania	banker & grocer
Spiegelberg, Lehman	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	29	2,000	75,000	77,000	Prussia	wholesale & retail merchant
Bierbaum, Henry	Mora/Mora	42	4,000	70,000	74,000	Hesse	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Rosenbaum, Louis	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	41	none listed	60,000	60,000	Prussia	dry goods merchant & retailer
Koch, Diedrich B.	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	35	21,000	36,000	57,000	Aldenburg	wholesale merchant
Bull, Thomas	Doña Ana/Mesilla	43	20,000	35,000	55,000	Ohio	dry goods merchant & wholesaler
Lesenicky, Henry	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	35	4,000	50,000	54,000	Prussia	dry goods merchant & retailer
Zeckendorf, Aaron	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	35	2,000	50,000	52,000	Hanover	wholesale merchant
Staab, Abraham	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	31	none listed	50,000	50,000	Prussia	wholesale & retail merchant
Johnson, James	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	45	20,000	30,000	50,000	Maryland	wholesale merchant
Grzelachowsky, A.	San Miguel/Las Vegas	46	11,400	35,791	47,191	Poland	dealer in general merchandise
Metriger, Frank	Mora/Mora	51	22,100	24,350	46,450	Prussia	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Seligman, Berbard	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	32	25,000	20,000	45,000	Hesse	wholesale merchant & retailer
Watrous, Samuel B.	Mora/La Quninta	61	23.500	21,000	44,500	Vermont	retail merchant
Lemon, John	Doña Ana/Mesilla	38	25,000	15,000	40,000	Pennsylvania	dry goods merchant, wholesaler & retailer
Dent, John	Mora/La Quinta	53	10,000	30,000	40,000	Pennsylvania	retail

Hunning, J.	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	41	13,000	20,000	33,000	Prussia	merchant wool merchant wholesale & retail
Spiegelberg, Willi	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	25	2,000	30,000	32,000	Prussia	merchant wholesale merchant & retailer
Keyser, Meyer	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	36	12,000	20,000	32,000	Saxony	dry goods retail
Lerma, António	Bernalillo/Alameda	43	6,000	25,000	31,000	Chihuahua	dry good merchant & retailer
Reynolds, Joseph	Doña Ana/Mesilla	45	5,500	25,000	30,500	Ireland	merchant & druggist
Hunning, Charles	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	37	10,000	20,000	30,000	Hanover	dealer in general merchandise
Dold, Andres	San Miguel/Las Vegas	45	16,000	13,320	29,320	Germany	wholesale & retail merchant dealer in general merchandise
Gould, Louis	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	48	25,500	3,000	28,500	Poland	retired merchant general merchant & retailer
Bernard, Josh	San Miguel/Las Vegas	38	5,250	21,245	26,795	Virginia	dry goods merchant & retailer
Dold, John	San Miguel/Las Vegas	40	2,000	24,150	26,150	Germany	merchant
Webster, David	Taos/El Rancho	41	6,000	20,000	26,000	New York	dealer in general merchandise
Franz, Ehrhardt	Valencia/Los Lunes	35	7,000	18,000	25,000	Hanover	retired merchant general merchant & retailer
Constant, Louis	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	53	2,500	none listed	2,5000	Missouri	merchant
Hayce, May	San Miguel/Las Vegas	48	13,500	10,527	24,027	Missouri	dealer in general merchandise
Thaler, Charles	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	45	7,000	15,000	22000	Massachusetts	merchant
Stapp, William B.	Colfax/Precinct 1	36	2,000	20,000	22,000	Illinois	retail merchant general merchant & retailer
Joseph, António	Taos/San Fernando	26	10,000	12,000	22,000	Missouri	dry goods merchant & retailer
Griggs, James E.	Doña Ana/Mesilla	34	5,500	15,000	20,500	New Jeraey	general merchant &
Muller, Frederick	Taos/San Fernando	41	13,300	7,000	20,300	Germany	

Newhenn, Robert	Grant/Mimbres	29	2,000	18,000	20,000	Illinois	retailer dry goods merchant wholesaler & retailer
Hunter, James	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	43	20,000	none listed	20,000	Kentucky	merchant
Letcher, Adolph	San Miguel/Las Vegas	41	none listed	18,700	18,700	Hanover	dealer in general merchandise
Pendaries, John	San Miguel/Las Vegas	45	11,700	6,320	18,020	France	retail grocer
Wedeles, Hugo	Mora/Mora	31	7,000	10,000	17,000	Bavaria	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Vase, Rufus	Lincoin/Precinct# 3	36	5,000	10,000	15,000	California	wholesale dry goods merchant
Hecht, Jacob	San Miguel/Las Vegas	30	none listed	15,000	15,000	New York	dealer in general merchandise
Geck, Louis	Doña Ana/Doña Ana	52	5,000	10,000	15,000	Poland	dry goods merchant & retailer
Dowlin, Paul	Lincoin/Precinct# 2	40	10,000	5,000	15,000	Pennsylvania	lumber merchant
Raymond, Vaina	Socorro/Contadera	23	500	14,000	14,500	Switzerland	general merchant
Lea, Adolph	Doña Ana/Laesburg	45	7,000	7,000	14,000	at sea	dry goods merchant & retailer
Stephenson, Horace	Doña Ana/La Mesa	36	11,500	1,500	13,000	Mexico	dry goods merchant & retailer
Russell, Richard	San Miguel/Tecolote	31	4,000	9,000	13,000	Canada	dealer in general merchandise
Maxwell, George	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	31	5,000	8,000	13,000	New York	dry goods merchant & retailer
DeHague, Joseph	San Miguel/Tecolote	36	4,000	9,000	13,000	Illinois	dealer in general merchandise
Murphy, Lawrence	Lincoln/Fort Stanton	35	10,500	2,000	12,500	Ireland	wholesale merchant
Fritz, Emil	Lincoln/Fort Stanton	38	10,500	2,000	12,500	Germany	wholesale merchant
Martinet, Chaffee?	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	68	3,000	9,000	12,000	Italy	dry gooda merchant & retailer

Grundyman, Vinna?	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	31	10,000	2,000	12,000	Switzerland	dry goods merchant & retailer
Goke, Henry	San Miguel/Sapillo	27	4,300	6,590	10,890	Prussia	dealer in general merchandise
Springer, Harry	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	39	150	10,000	10,150	Bavaria	retail merchant
Wheeler, Samuel	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	29	7,000	3,000	10,000	New York	wholesale merchant & retailer
Lowestein, Benjamin	Mora/Mora	40	5,000	5,000	10,000	Hesse	retail & dry goods merchant
Debus, Vandal	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	51	none listed	10,000	10,000	Hesse	wholesale merchant & retailer
Welach, Charles	San Miguel/Las Vegas	39	none listed	9,510	9,510	Prussia	dealer in general merchandise
Eldadt, Nathan	Río Arriba/San Juan	30	300	9,000	9,300	Prussia	merchant
Eldadt, Nicholas	Río Arriba/San Juan	30	300	9,000	9,300	Prussia	retail merchant
Mignault, Theodore	Mora/Mora	46	1,500	7,500	9,000	Canada	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Colman, Joseph	Colfax/Precinct 1	34	3,000	6,000	9,000	Prussia	dry goods merchant
Clark, Louis	Río Arriba/San Juan	35	1,000	8,000	9,000	Prussia	retail & dry goods merchant
Clark, Louis	Río Arriba/San Juan	35	4,000	4,000	8,000	Pruussia	merchant
Hunning, Louis	Valencia/Belen	36	1,500	6,000	7,500	Hanover	dry goods merchant & retailer
McMartin, Samuel	Mora/Loma Parda	45	4,000	3,000	7,000	Canada	retail merchant
Barneville, John	Doña Ana/Doña Ana	37	3,000	4,000	7,000	Illinois	dry goods merchant & retailer
Knauer, Ferdinand	San Miguel/Las Vegas	40	4,000	2,900	6,900	Prussia	dealer in general merchandise
Joseph, Jan B.	Taos/San Fernando	23	4,000	2,500	6,500	Missouri	general merchant & retailer
Rosenwald, Emanuel	San Miguel/Las Vegas	32	none listed	6,400	6,400	Bavaria	dealer in general

							merchandise
Grant, William	Grant/Ralston City	38	3,000	3,000	6,000	Scotland	dry goods merchant & retailer
Aledo, José	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	42	1,500	4,000	5,500	Spain	dry goods merchant & retailer
Pape, Gorgous	Taos/San Fernando	45	1,200	4,200	5,400	France	cattle merchant
Messick, Eric? F.	Colfax/Precinct 1	36	400	5,000	5,400	Maryland	retail merchant
Webb, Siene y M.	Grant/Mimbres	33	2,000	3,000	5,000	Ohio	dry goods retailer
Trudell, Charles	Socorro/La Joys	39	1,000	4,000	5,000	Berlin	general merchant
Michaelis, Aaron	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	28	none listed	5,000	5,000	Prussia	merchant
Hyman, Rinaldo	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	27	none listed	5,000	5,000	Russia	merchant & retailer
Clouthier, Joseph	Taos/San Fernando	34	1,000	4,000	5,000	Canada	general merchant & retailer
Carter, Charles	Mora/Golondrines	29	2,500	2,500	5,000	Bohemia	retail merchant
Blazer, Daniel	Lincoin/Precinct# 4	45	3,000	2,000	5,000	Iowa	lumber merchant
Suches, Nelson	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	29	none listed	4,600	4,600	Denmark	wool merchant
Nesmith, George	Lincoln/Precinct # 4	35	3,000	1,500	4,500	Ohio	lumber merchant
Dickson, Robert	Lincoin/Precinct# 4	41	3,000	1,500	4,500	Alabama	lumber merchant
Hunning, Henry	Valencia/Cubero	28	250	4,000	4,250	Prussia	dry goods merchant & retailer
Schiffer, Herman	Colfax/Precinct 1	25	1,000	3,000	4,000	Bavaria	dry goods merchant
Maxwell, Ferdinand	Taos/El Rancho	59	3,000	1,000	4,000	Illinois	retired merchant
Grisdorf, Alexandro	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	21	none listed	4,000	4,000	Prussia	wholesale & retail merchant
Chisom, P. W.	Lincoln/Precinct #3	35	1,500	2,500	4,000	Texas	wholesale dry good merchant
Bourgignon, Philip	Socorro/Limitar	42	2,000	1,500	3,500	Hesse	general merchant
Schwartz, Jacob	Valencia/los Lunes	36	400	3,000	3,400	Austria	dry goods merchant &

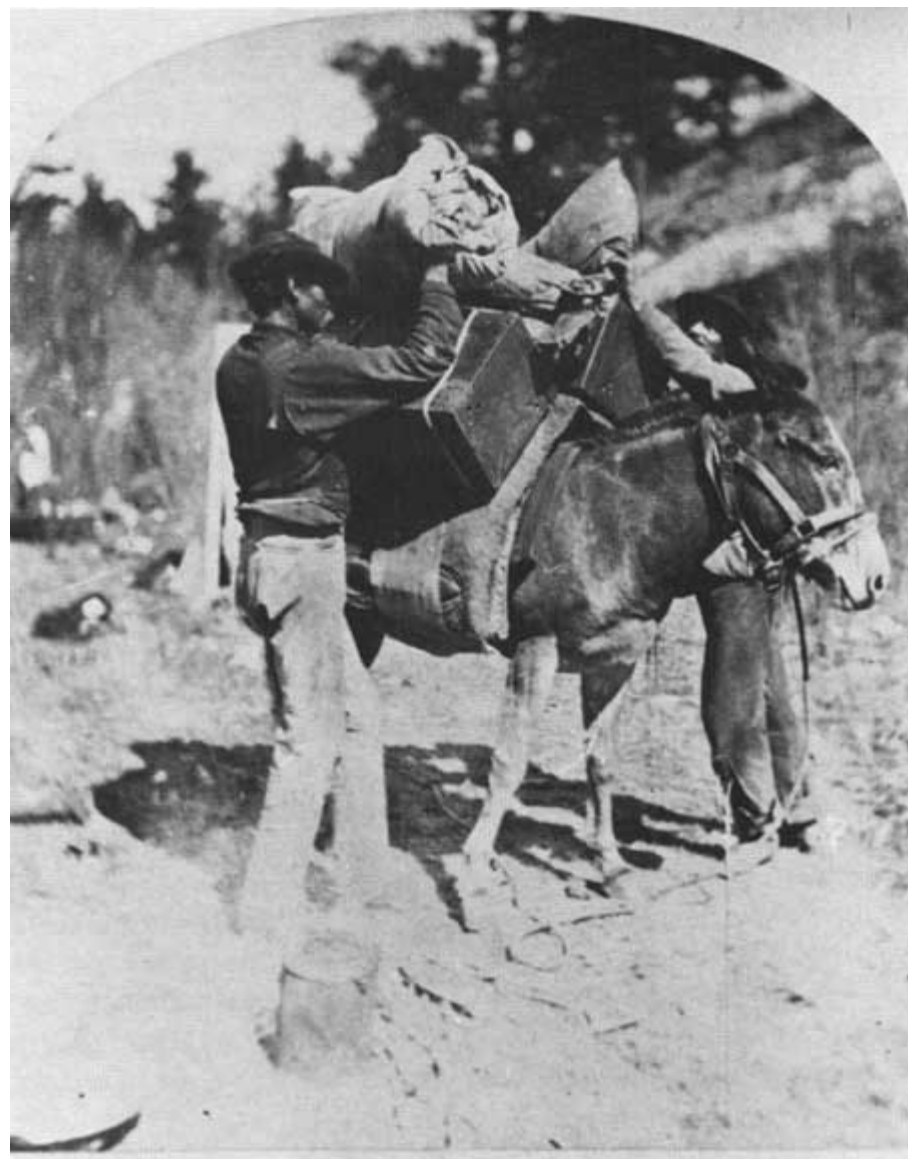
Barth, Solomon	Valencia/Cubero	28	300	3,000	3,300	Prussia	retailer dry goods merchant & retailer
Dougherty, James	Mora/San Antonio	26	2,000	1,025	3,025	Ireland	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Seligman, Adolf	Colfax/Precinct 1	27	2,000	1,000	3,000	Hesse	dry goods merchant
McCulloch, Jim B.	Colfax/Precinct 1	26	1,000	2,000	3,000	Pennsylvania	retail merchant
Hopkins, Caleb	Colfax/Precinct 1	40	1,000	2,000	3,000	Illinois	retail merchant
Geofrian, Octave	San Miguel/Las Vegas	32	1,550	1,450	3,000	Canada	dealer in general merchandise
Ely, Simeon	Doña Ana/Picacho	24	1,000	2,000	3,000	Ohio	dry goods merchant & retailer
Desmarais, Frederick	San Miguel/Las Vegas	30	1,550	1,450	3,000	Canada	dealer in general merchandise
Boiseller, Julius	Lincoin/Precinct# 4	33	none listed	3,000	3,000	France	retail dry good merchant
Warden, John	Mora/Golondrines	36	300	2,400	2,700	Ohio	retail merchant
Obermeyer, Hermann	Mora/San Antonio	40	1,000	1,550	2,550	Pruussia	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Olendorf, Meyer	Mora/Mora	29	2,000	500	2,500	Prussia	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Jeaneret, Jules	Doña Ana/Mesilla	37	500	2,000	2,500	Switzerland	dry goods merchant and retailer
Harrison, John	San Miguel/Antón Chico	52	530	1,500	2,030	England	dealer in general merchandise
Thompson, William	Grant/Pinos Altos	38	none listed	2,000	2,000	Tennessee	dry goods merchant & retailer
St. John, Marshall	Grant/Mimbres	33	1,000	1,000	2,000	New York	dry goods retailer
Moreno, Jan a	Doña Ana/La Mesa	45	1,000	1,000	2,000	Mexico	dry goods merchant & retailer

Merletti, Jan B.	Taos/San Fernando	45	500	1,500	2,000	Italy	general merchant & retailer
Hattenback, Isaac	Colfax/Precinct 1	32	1,000	1,000	2,000	Prussia	dry goods merchant
Gould, Aaron	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	25	none listed	2,000	2,000	Poland	merchant & retailer
Bassie, Alexander	Grant/Ralston City	35	none listed	2,000	2,000	Canada	retail grocer
Baker, Henry	San Miguel/San José	32	none listed	2,000	2,000	Prussia	merchant in dry goods
Audital, Arnold	Doña Ana/Las Cruces	21	none listed	2,000	2,000	Switzerland	dry goods merchant & retailer
Boquet, John	Santa Fe/Pojoaque	46	1,500	400	1,900	France	retail merchant
Grant, William	Bernalillo/Albuquerque	45	800	1,000	1,800	Prussia	retail merchant
Mercure, Henry	Río Arriba/Tierra Amarilla	48	500	1,200	1,700	Canada	retail merchant
Kohn, Louis	San Miguel/Sapillo	41	1,500	200	1,700	Bavaria	retired merchant
Miranda, Guadalupe	Doña Ana/Doña Ana	60	none listed	1,500	1,500	Mexico	dry goods merchant (ret.)
Fisher, M.	Taos/Picuris	30	none listed	1,500	1,500	Prussia	merchant
Sulzbacher, Louis	Mora/Ocate	27	400	1,000	1,400	Bavaria	retail grocer
Jefforda, Thomas	Socorro/Polvareda	34	none listed	1,200	1,200	New York	general merchant
Brewert, Bliss	Socorro/Polvadera	47	none listed	1,200	1,200	Michigan	general merchant
Moreno, Charles	Grant/Pinos Altos	44	100	1,000	1,100	Italy	dry goods merchant & retailer
Villa, Jan	Doña Ana/Mesilla	41	none listed	1,000	1,000	Mexico	dry goods merchant & retailer
Rosenstein, Simon	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	54	1,000	none listed	1,000	Hanover	wholesale merchant & retailer
Knox, David	Grant/Fort Bayard	38	none listed	1,000	1,000	Virginia	dry goods merchant & retailer
Keene, Charles L.	Grant/Fort Bayard	28	none listed	1,000	1,000	Hanover	dry goods merchant & retailer
Carver, Albert	Colfax/Precinct 1	30	1,000	none listed	1,000	Massachusetts	retail merchant

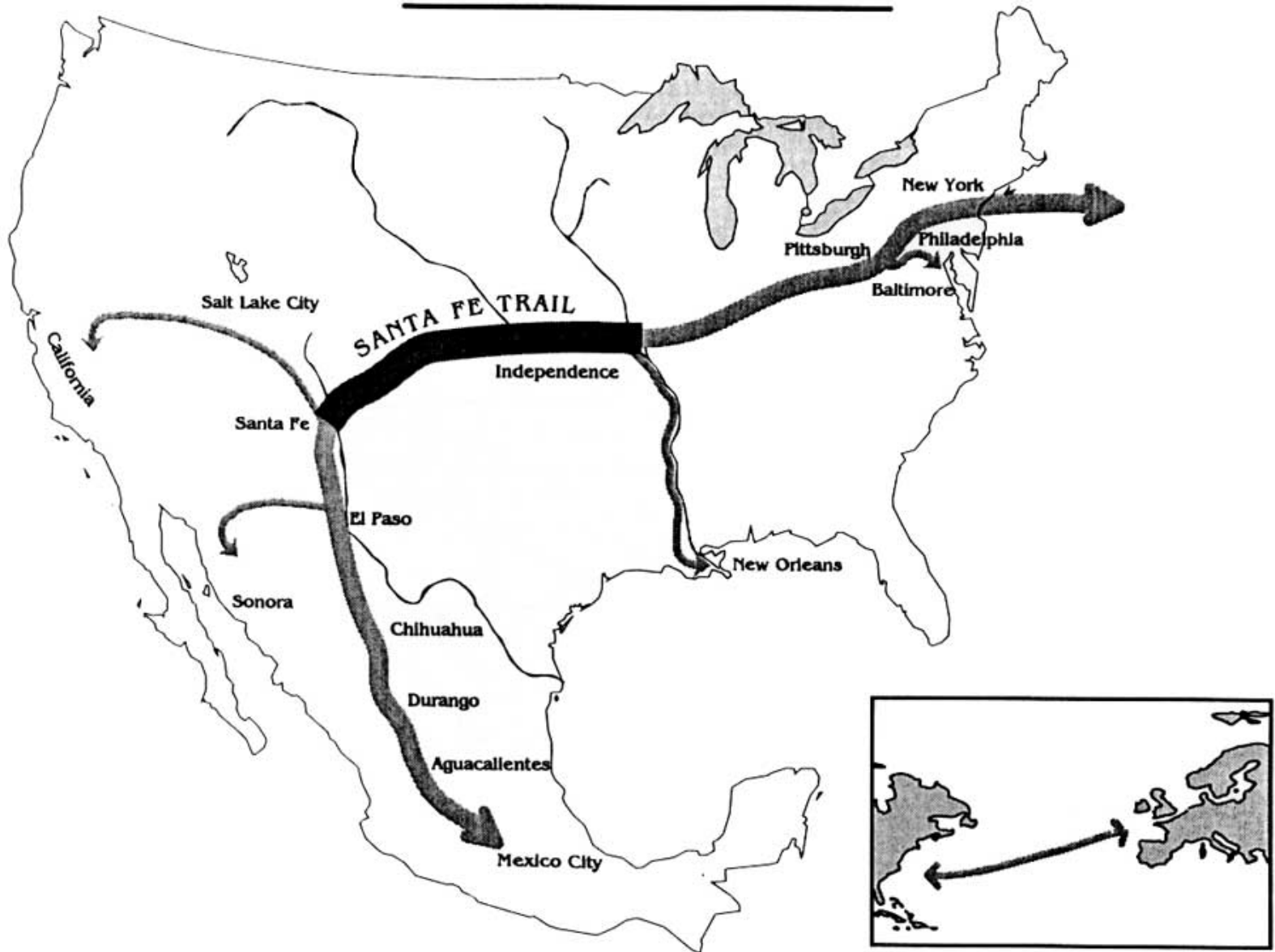
Bibo, Nathan	Valencia/Seboyeta	27	500	500	1,000	Prussia	dry goods merchant & retailer
Libel, George	Grant/Ralston City	22	none listed	800	800	Canada	retail grocer
Hefner, Augustus	Grant/Ralston City	23	200	500	700	Illinois	dry goods merchant & retailer
Friedman, Julius	Taos/San Fernando	34	300	400	700	Silesia	general merchant & retailer
Fortune, Therese	Socorro/Socorro	45	none listed	600	600	Ireland	general merchant
Zigmond, Richard	Grant/Silver City	42	300	200	500	Canada	dry goods merchant & retailer
Bibo, Simon	Valencia/Seboyeta	23	none listed	500	500	Prussia	dry goods merchant & retailer
Bibo, Samuel	Valencia/Seboyeta	19	none listed	500	500	Prussia	dry goods merchant & retailer
Vallentin, Luis	San Miguel/San José	38	300	none listed	300	France	retired merchant
Bustamante, Bonifacio	Socorro/Contadera	40	100	100	200	Mexico	general merchant
Zuckenberg, Marcus	San Miguel/Las Vegas	23	none listed	none listed	none listed	Prussia	dealer in general merchandise
Wedeles, Sigmund	Mora/Mora	34	none listed	none listed	none listed	Bavaria	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
St Vrain, Vicente	Mora/Mora	43	none listed	none listed	none listed	New Mexico	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
St Vrain, Ceran	Mora/Mora	67	none listed	none listed	none listed	Illinois	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Rohman, Anthony	Mora/Mora	67	none listed	none listed	none listed	Bavaria	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Rivera, Guadalupe	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	48	none listed	none listed	none listed	Mexico	retired merchant
Olendorf, Pestoll?	Mora/Mora	26	none listed	none listed	none listed	Prussia	retail merchant, groceries &

Meyer, Frederick	Mora/Mora	37	none listed	none listed	none listed	Germany	dry goods retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
McMartin, Adam	Mora/Loma Parda	33	none listed	none listed	none listed	Canada	retail merchant
Koate, Henry	Mora/Mora	30	none listed	none listed	none listed	Prussia	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Herach, Joseph	Santa Fe/Santa Fe	55	none listed	none listed	none listed	Russia	merchant & retailer
Frankenthal, Simon	Mora/San Antonio	30	none listed	none listed	none listed	Prussia	retail merchant, groceries & dry goods
Eldadt, Marcus	Río Arriba/San Juan	27	none listed	none listed	none listed	Prussia	retail merchant

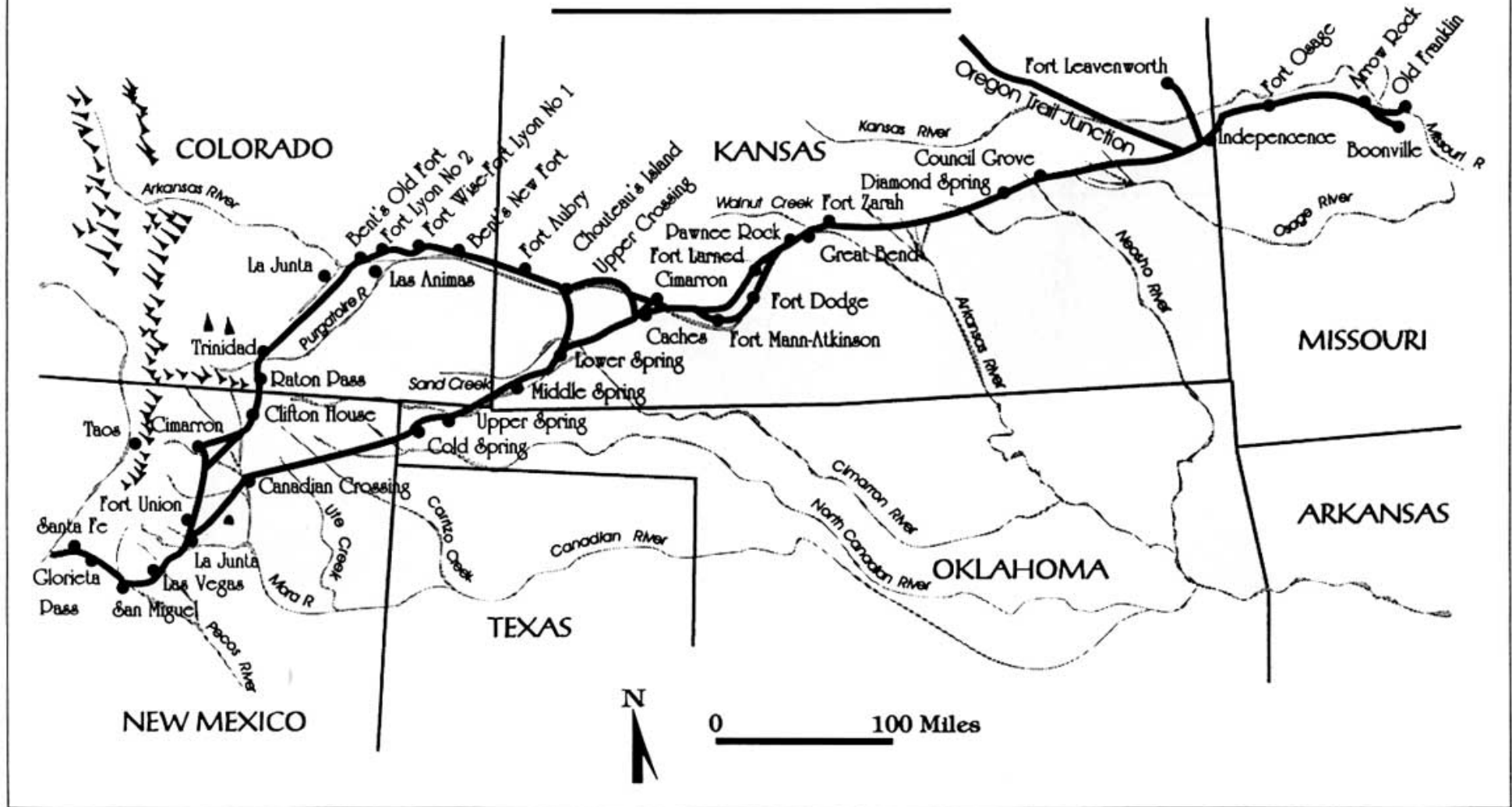
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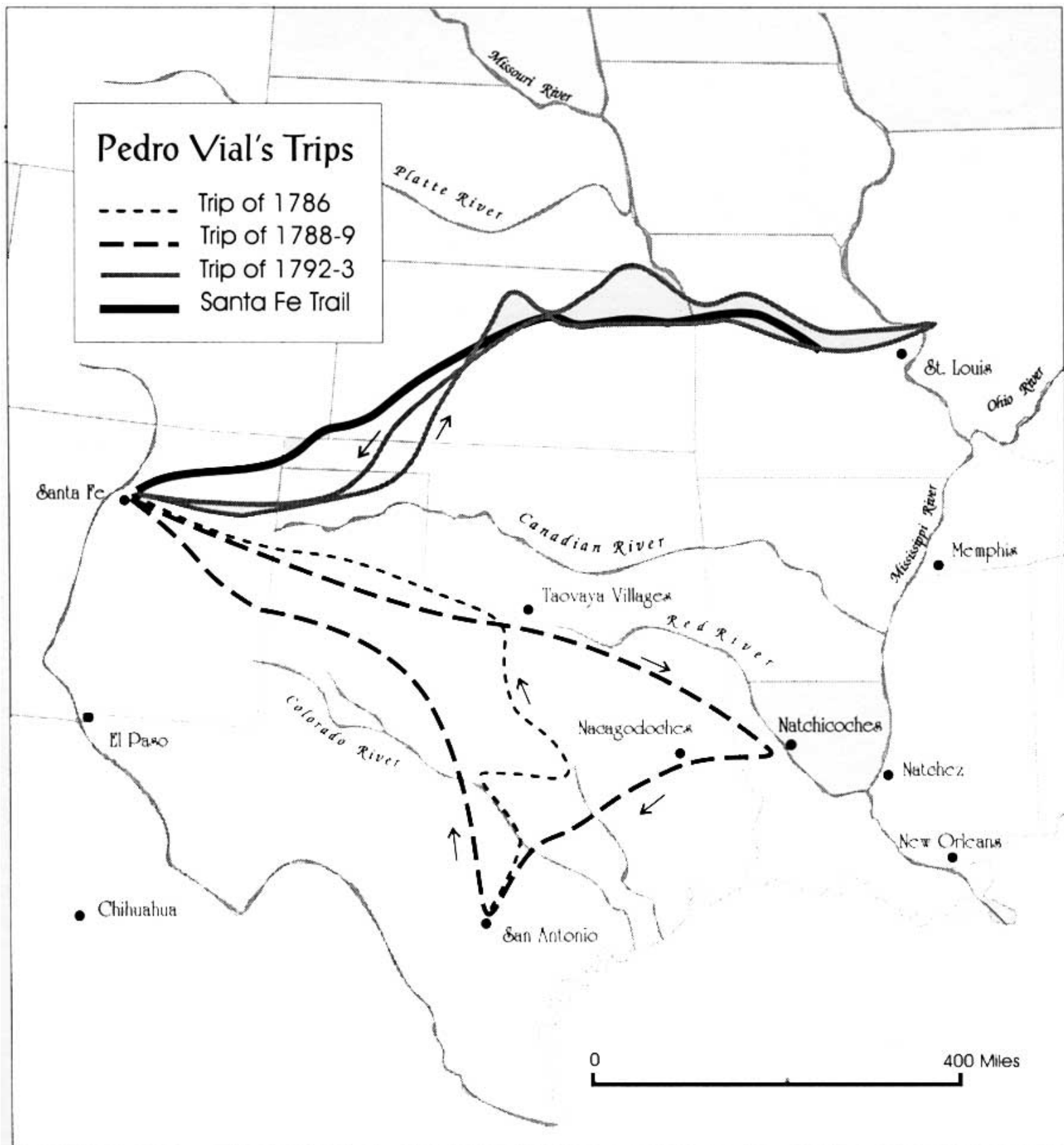


the
SANTA FE TRADE
An International Trade Network

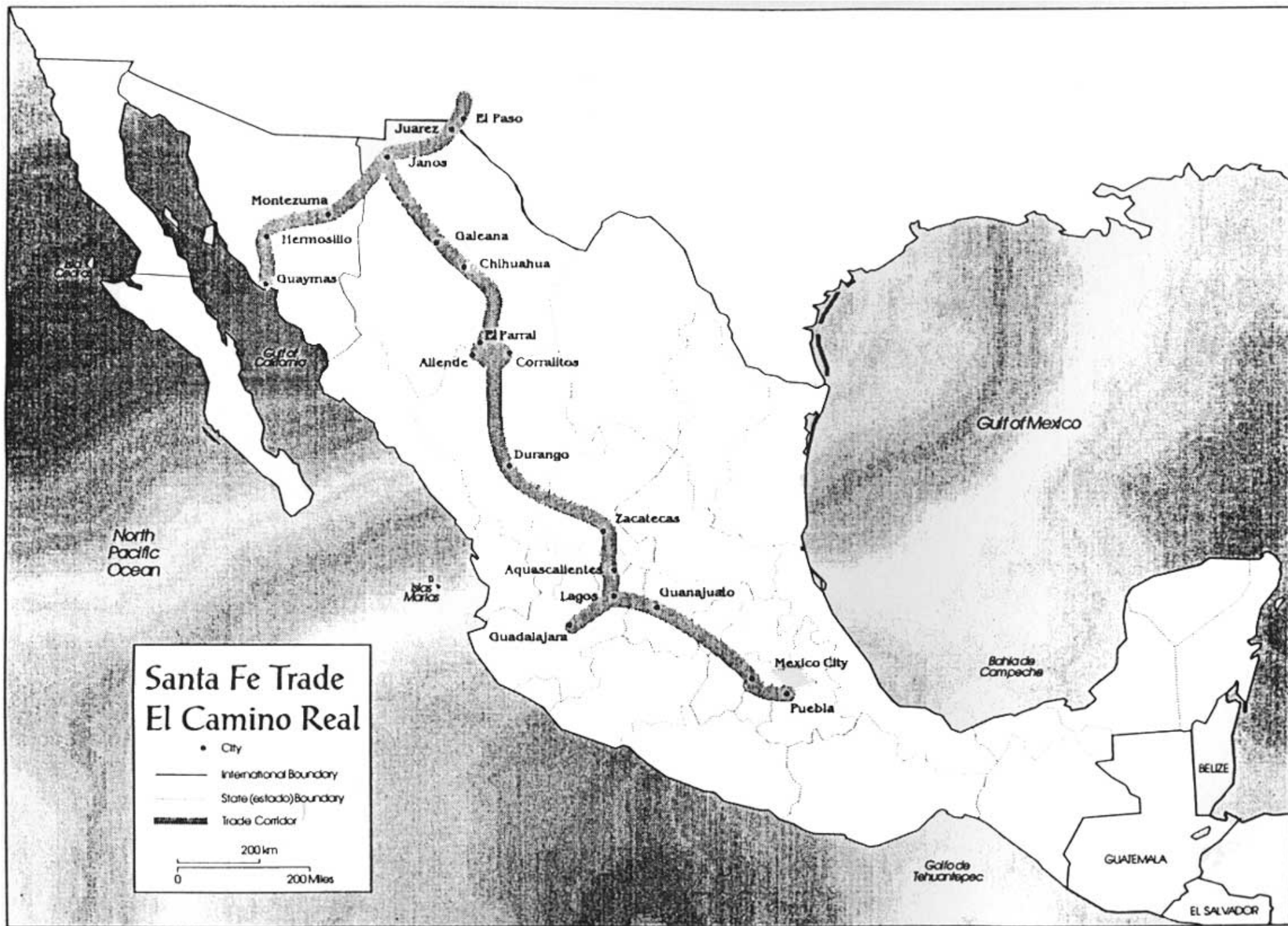


the SANTA FE TRAIL









FRANCISCO B. RHODES Y COMPANIA,



TIENEN SUS ALMACENES EN

Pearl street, No. 120, y Water street No. 84.
NUEVA YORK,

IMPORTAN

JENEROS INGLESES, FRANCESES, ALEMANES Y VENECIANOS, Y TRATAN ASIMISMO EN OBJETOS
VARIOS DE GUSTO Y CAPRICHIO, DE FÁBRICA AMERICANA.

ESCOFETAS.

Escopetas bayonetas.
Escopetas con la marca del } con devolución
Elefante. } de derechos.
Id. de la Costa del Noroeste.
Escopetas baratas, sencillas y dobles.
Id. de dos cañones, ricamano montadas.
Id. id. en caoba.
Cajas con estenuos.
Escopetas rayadas y varabizas.
PISTOLAS.
Pistolas baratas, con cañones de bronce y de
acero paravento.
Id. de uno y dos tiros, de gran variedad de
clases.
Id. con culatas de marfil y ébano.
Id. de dos tiros.
Id. con cañones de metal alemán.
Id. en cajas de caoba.
Id. con puñales.

PISTONES.

Pistones reforzados y con hendiduras.
Id. reforzados.
Id. sencillos.
De varias calidades.

CUCHILLERÍA.

Navajas de afilar en estuches dobles de tallado
Id. en id. sencillos.
Id. con muescas, baratas.
Cortaplumas y navajas de bolillo en cartones.
Id. con mangos de marfil, nácar y cuerno.
Id. en docenas.
Cuchillos de monte.

TIJERAS INGLESAS Y

ALEMANAS.

Gran variedad de clases, en cartones y por
docenas.

AVALORIOS.

Imitación de coral. Avalorios gruesos, negros,
blancos, azules, verdes, amarillos, anaranja-
dos, color de rubí, caña y azul-celeste.
Cuentas de cristal tallado, del núm. 1 al 14.
Un surtido abundante de avalorios de cachum-
bo sencillos y tallados.
Id. apropiados para los mercados de África y
de los indios.
Cuentas doradas, plateadas y de acero.

JÉNEROS VARIOS.

Corchetes franceses, plateados.
Candeleros id. id.
Id. de 7½ a 11 pulgadas de tamaño, gran surtido.
Id. con pantallas de cristal.
Saquitos y bolsas de avalorios.
Tijeras de goma elástica, y cabos.
Ligas de id.
Id. de terciopelo estampado.
Cordones para el reloj, de goma elástica.
Piedras de afilar para navajas y cortaplumas.
Bolas de punto de red, de seda.
Id. de Cañor, labradas y lanas.
Espejos de dos caras.
Vidrios de Sol.

Agujas de marcar con muestra.

Id. de bolillo.
Sedaes para pascar, de pisa de Canton.
Id. de hilo.
Azuñales.
Dedales de metal alemán.
Id. de plata, sencillos y con mones.
Id. de bronce, abiertos y cerrados por arriba.
Id. de acero paravento.
Lapices de Campender.
Id. de centro alemán.
Lapiz piedra, cubiero.
Id. sencillo.
Fusillas alemanas, de todos tamaños.
Lapiz de piedra para escribir en ellas.
Obleas en cajas, blancas y encarnadas.
Laca, surtido de varios colores.
Tintores de cuero.
Bisnutes de hilo, blanco, amarillo y azul.
Bolas de mármol para juguete de niños,
blancas y jaspeadas.
Pinzas de acero.
Acorchones de Palo de Rosa de 6 a 12 llaves.
Flautas alemanas.
Harpas id.
Caramillos id.
Violines farrados y sencillos.
Cuerdas de violín, inglesas y alemanas.
Cuerdas de guitarra.
Cajitas de cristal, de capricho.
Relojes de juguete, ingleses, franceses y
alemanes.
Cajas de agujas y a filares.
Agujas de la fábrica de Hemmings & hijos.
Id. en cajas de ojales para reportar.
Id. de hacer punto, en gruesa.
Id. de Victoria, en cajas.
Id. de empujador, alemanas.
Alfileres gruesos, surtidos, por cuarterones.
Herruquillas para la cabeza, alemanas.
Papel de hilo para escribir, frances.
Cajas de Tabaco: 5000 docenas de toda
especie.
Id. de de madera con embutidos.
Id. de metal alemán.

ANTEOJOS.

Anteojos de metal alemán, con vidrios claros
y verdes.
Id. de oja de plata, de oro y dos vidrios.
Id. montados en acero.
Id. de teatro, por gruesa.
Id. en cajas.

PERFUMERÍA.

Agua de Colonia, alemana.
Id. de Lavanda.
Acosis perfumado para el pelo, en botella
de gusto.
Id. de Muecasar.
Jabon perfumado de Windsor, de la fábrica
de Lova.
Id. fino frances, de rosa y de almendra.
Jabones surtidos de gusto, de todas las
cripaciones.

JOYERÍA.

Zarcillos dorados, amatechados y esmalados.
Alfileres de pecho, dorados, sencillos y
esmalados.
Cadenas y cordones de reloj, dorados.
Boritas de oro fino.
Id. de oja de oro.
Id. doradas, baratas, en cajas.
Llaves para reloj.
Brazos dorados y charolados.

BOTONES.

Botones de hueso para tirantes, finos y
ordinarios.
Id. para trébulas y camisas, id. y id.
Id. de nácar fino y labrados, id. y id.
Id. de metal para tirantes, id. y id.
Id. de mucha dura, id. y id.
Id. de seda y terciopelo, lino y labrados.
Id. para camisas y chalecos.

PEINETERÍA.

Peinucillas de concha, en cartones.
Peines de cuerno con púas adelgazadas y sin
adelgazar.
Id. de marfil con púas finas.
Batidores de id.
Id. de cuerno inglés.
Id. de cuerno común, claro y oscuro.
Id. de bolillo, derechos y arqueados.
Id. de trabajo grueso, como usan los negros.
Peines buenos para limpiar caballos.
Id. de cuerno fino y ordinario.
Peinetas de varias clases.
Rondores de cuerno de búfalo.
Id. de metal alemán.
Id. para el bolillo.
Id. de madera, para id.

CFPILLOS.

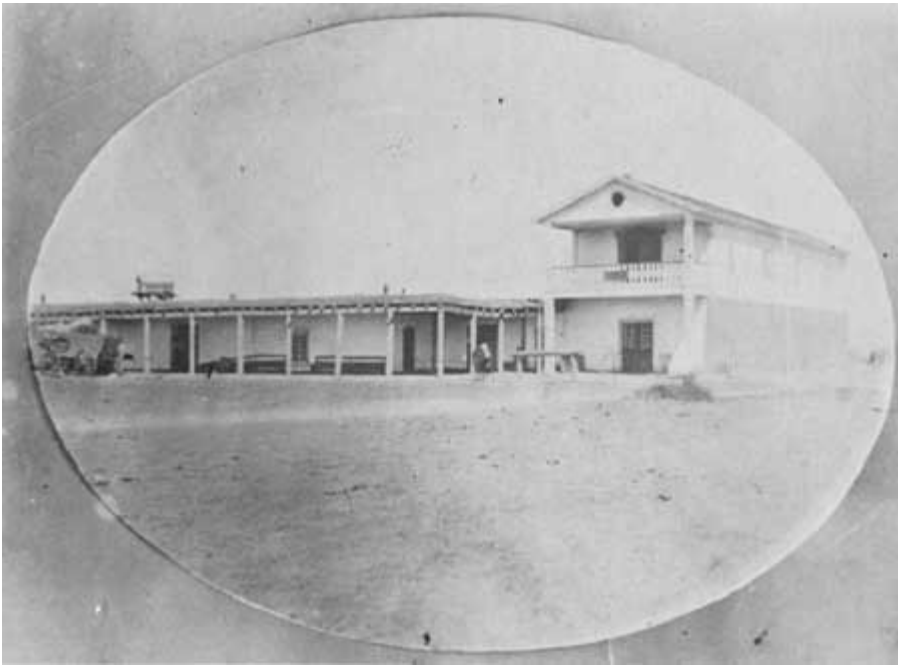
Cepillos de dientes de 3, 4 y 5 líneas.
Id. de uñas, con la espaldita elida & de enre-
jado de alambre.
Id. para el pelo, de Palo de rosa y adornados.
Id. finos y ordinarios.
Id. de ropa, de paño de rosa y charolados.
Id. de sombrero, finos y ordinarios.
Escobillas de afeitarse, con mango de hueso,
de ébano y de palo de coco.
Pincitos de pelo de camelo.
Cepillos de mesa, de cuerpo y de limpiar
caballos.

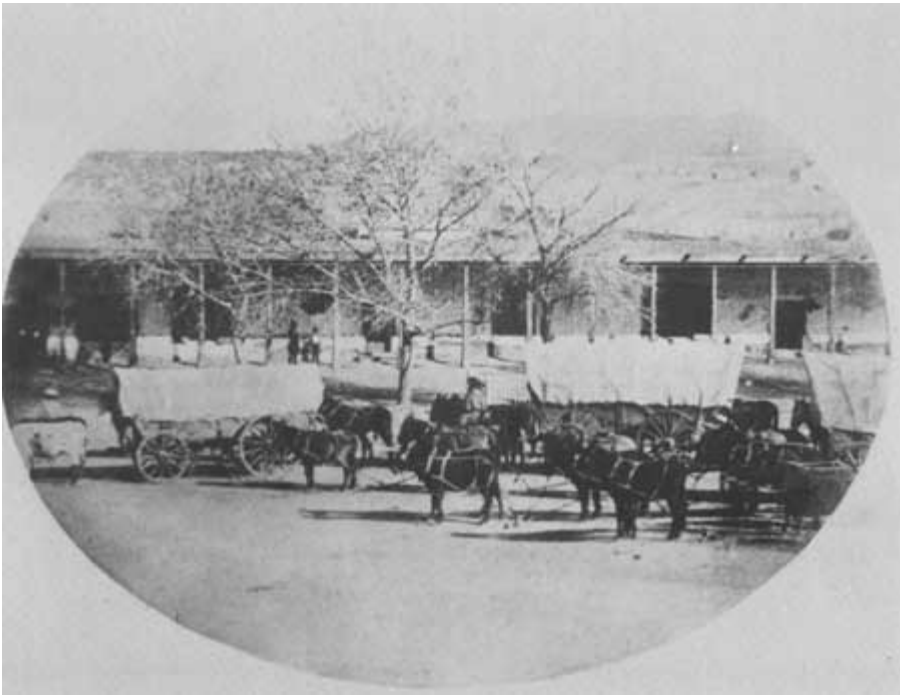
JÉNEROS VARIOS DE

FÁBRICA AMERICANA.

Cuchetas plateadas, en cajas redondas.
Plumas de metal para escribir, en cajas y en
cartones.
Mangos para id.
Acorchadores de navajas de Emerson.
Cajas con arcos de afilar, con y sin espejo.
Balletas para corsés, de acero, de madera y
de balen.







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INTRODUCTION:

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¹Jack Rittenhouse's fine *The Santa Fe Trail: A Historical Bibliography* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971) is entirely devoted to materials pertinent to the trail.

²William Patrick O'Brien reaches a similar conclusion after examining the economic activities of Missouri merchants, "Independence, Missouri's trade with Mexico, 1827-1860: A Study in International Consensus and Cooperation," unpublished dissertation, University of Colorado-Boulder, 1994.

³Thomas D. Hall in *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), agrees that the *ricos* benefited from the trade, but attributes their economic gains to their dependence on American traders, 154-166.

⁴The terms New Mexican and hispano are used interchangeably to identify individuals with hispanic names living and working in New Mexico. It is not always possible to establish if individuals were born in the province, but for the purpose of this study, such distinctions are not always necessary.

⁵Few scholars have examined New Mexicans in the context of the Santa Fe Trail. David A. Sandoval has completed a dissertation, "Trade and the *Manito* Society in New Mexico, 1821-1848," unpublished dissertation, University of Utah, 1978, which addresses some of the issues raised in this study. He has also written a series of articles on New Mexican merchants, "Who is Riding the Burro Now? A Bibliographical Critique of Scholarship on the New Mexico Trader," in *The Santa Fe Trail: New Perspectives*, ed. by David Wetzel (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1987); "Montezuma's Merchants: Mexican Traders on the Santa Fe Trail, in *Adventure on the Santa Fe Trail*, ed. by Leo Oliva (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1988), 37-60, and "Gnat, Goods, and Greasers: Mexican Merchants on the Santa Fe Trail," *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1989): 22-31. Jere Krakow is another scholar who has examined New Mexican merchants, "Hispanic Influence on the Santa Fe Trail," *Courier*, October 1991, 21-23. Marc Simmons also made available to the author a copy of "The Mexican Side of the Santa Fe Trail," a paper he presented at "Rendezvous-1980," Santa Fe Trail Association Meeting, March 28, 1980. O'Brien, "Independence, Missouri's Trade with Mexico," stresses the importance of cooperation among merchants associated with the Santa Fe trade, 4-9, 169, 255-256.

⁶Mark Gardner, "Locomotives, Oxen, and Freight: The Last Decade of the Santa Fe Trail," summary of a paper that was to be presented at the Western History Association Meeting, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 1994.

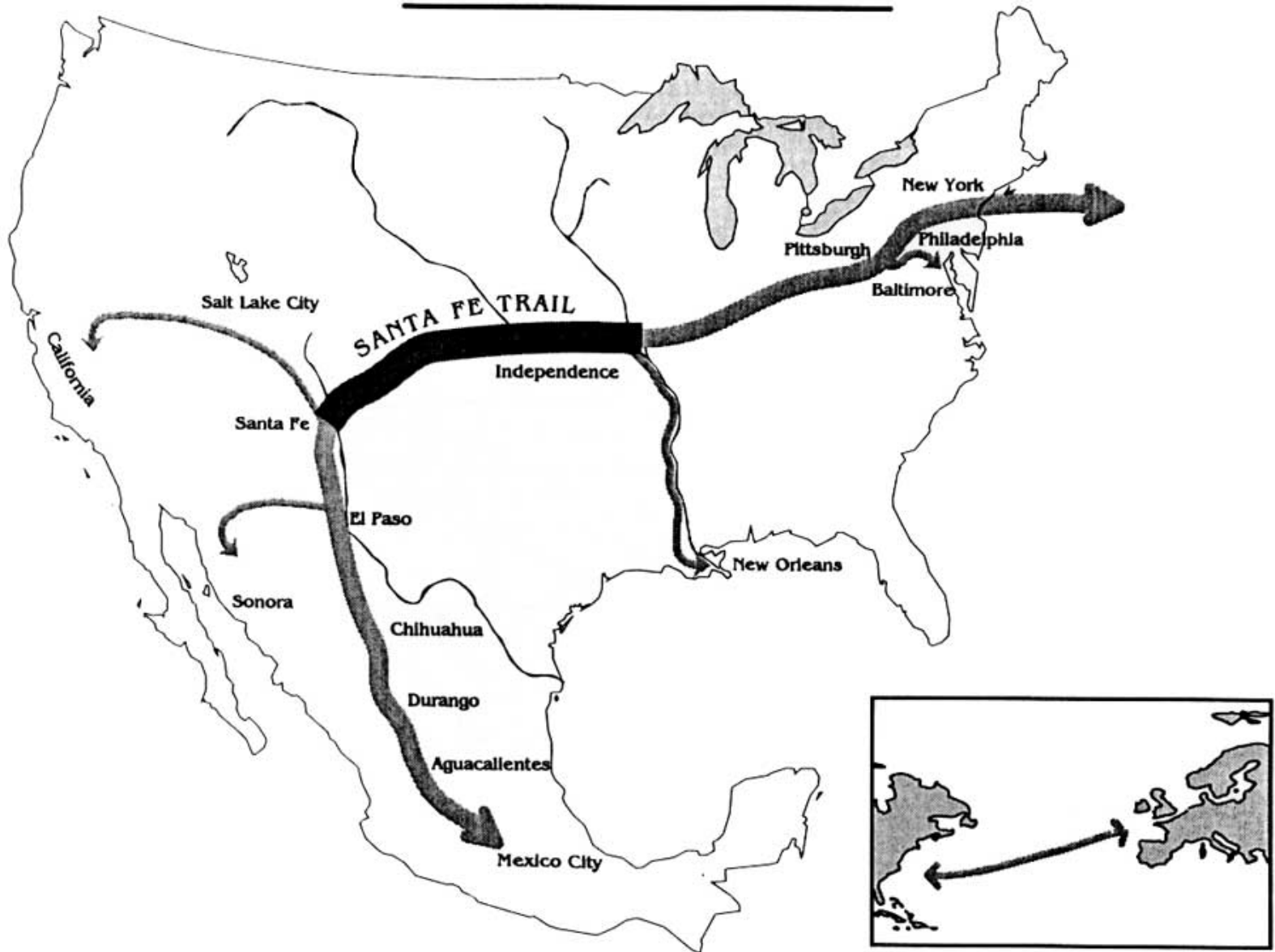
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CHAPTER I: ENDNOTES

¹Of this loyalty and faithfulness the United States are probably more aware than the citizens of Spain. Cognizant of the abandonment with which Spain has kept this province, they [United States] have tried to attract it through various means. . . they have done this by means of a beneficial commerce, inviting us with benign and protective laws, to join this precious portion of territory to that of the Louisiana purchase. Juan Bautista Pino's book, *Exposición sucinta y sencilla de la provincia de Nuevo México*, is printed in its original form in *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard (New York: Arno Press, 1967), 211-261. The above citation is from pages 224-225.

²Frances V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* V (1930), 93-115, 186-210, 386-404; Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Trade, 1958), 34-35, 40-43; John O. Baxter, *Las Carneradas: Sheep Trade in New Mexico, 1700-1860* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 79; Alfred Barnaby Thomas, ed. and trans., *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 178, 180, 345; Ralph Emerson Twitchell, comp., *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1914), (hereafter SANM1, SANM2), 1299, 1342. The other two routes were the West Mexican Interior Trail, and the Mexican Coastal Trail. These trails greatly facilitated the spread of Mesoamerican culture, agriculture, and religion.

³Scholes, "Mission Supply Service," 187-88; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 28-35; SANM, 1342.

⁴Scholes, "Mission Supply Service," 188; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 34, 49. The most common *efectos delpaís* (local products) were *piñones* (pinyon nuts), salt, candles, buffalo hides, *gamuzas* (deer hides), weavings, blankets, and a coarsely woven cloth, *sayal*. It is not clear if the use of the wagons for freighting goods from New Mexico was legal, although the governors frequently took the position that the wagons, being the property of the Crown, were at their disposal after the supplies from New Spain had been delivered. James E. Ivey argues that it is unlikely that such an important resource as the supply wagons would have gone unutilized and returned to Mexico City empty. He believes that the conflict was probably over how much space the governor could legitimately claim in the wagons, "[In the Midst of a Loneliness: The Architectural History of the Salinas Missions](#)," Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Paper No. 15, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Second Printing 1991, 206. For a general description of the local products that were being exported, see L. B. Bloom, "A Trade Invoice of 1638," *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 (1935), 242-248.

⁵SANM2, vol. II, 327, 456, 514, 1304, 1324; Henri Folmer, "Contraband Trade Between

Louisiana and New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 16 (1941) 249-274; Henri Folmer, "The Mallet Expedition of 1739 Through Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado to Santa Fe," *Colorado Magazine* 16 (1939), 161-173; Abraham P. Nasatir, *Borderland in Retreat: From Spanish Louisiana to the Far Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), 86-106; Marc Simmons, *New Mexico: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977), 79-81; Luis Navarro García, "The North of New Spain as a Political Problem in the Eighteenth Century," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821*, ed. David J. Weber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 205; R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958), 19-27; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 55-56.

⁶After 1795 there appears to be a growing number of Frenchmen coming to Santa Fe, SANM2, 1888, 1942, 2010, 2023, 2090, 2484, 2565, 2646; Isaac Joslin Cox, "Opening the Santa Fe Trail," *Missouri Historical Review* 25 (1930), 30-66; Noel L. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 110-136, provide a detailed account of the diplomatic, political, and economic factors leading to increased French presence in the New Mexican territory; George Ulibarri, "The Chouteau-Demun Expedition to New Mexico, 1815-1817," *New Mexico Historical Review* 36 (1961), 263-273; William E. Foley and C. David Rice, *The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 176.

⁷SANM2, 1871, 1900, 1925 (32), 2009, 2291, 2340, 2714; Donald Dean Jackson, *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike: With Letters and Related Documents*, 2 vols (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); Cox, "Opening the Santa Fe Trail," 46-66; Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, 12-13, 137-261.

⁸De Anza also claimed to have opened the road between Santa Fe and Arizpe in the province of Sonora, Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 367; Navarro García, "The North of New Spain," Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 367; SANM2, 1187, 1322, 1333; George P. Hammond, "The Zuñiga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fe: The Opening of a Spanish Trade Route, 1788-1795," *New Mexico Historical Review* 6 (1931), 40-65. There were other expeditions of this type. In 1787 Jose Mares went from Santa Fe to San Antonio and returned the following year, Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, 288-315. Another expedition was led by interpreter Joseph Miguel who left Santa Fe in June 1800. Miguel was accompanied by two Indians from Taos and four *genízaros* and was to explore the territory from New Mexico to the Missouri, SANM2, 1490. In 1808 Francisco Amangual embarked on a reconnaissance of the territory between Santa Fe and San Antonio and kept a detailed diary of his expedition, SANM2, 2139; Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, 459-534.

⁹Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, provide the most complete account of the extensive travels of Pedro Vial; SANM2, 1187, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1333, 1953; Simmons, *New Mexico*, 95-96.

¹⁰Spanish documents referred to the Indians as *naciones bárbaras*, *indios barbaros*, *salvajes*, or *gentiles*. Spaniards, Mexicans, Americans, and the Indians themselves participated in slave-trading, a nefarious activity that continued to be quite common at least through the 1850s, see Leland Hargrave Creer, "Spanish-American Slave Trade in the Great Basin, 1800-1853," *New Mexico Historical Review* 24 (1949), 171-183; Marc Simmons, *The Little Lion of the Southwest: A Life of Manuel Antonio Chaves* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1973), 34-37; Thomas D. Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas), 123-28, 168-69.

¹¹For proceedings against "embarrassing" and illegal trading, see SANM2, 185, 339, 340,

402, 403, 414, 429, 497, 530, 740, 912, 913, 920, 1393, 2511; Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 300-301, 306; William B. Griffen, *Utmost Good Faith: Patterns of Apache-Mexican Hostilities in Northern Chihuahua Border Warfare, 1821-1848*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 6-7; Navarro García, "The North of New Spain," 210-212; Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 380; SANM, 1393, 1670a, 1953; Foley and Rice, *The First Chouteaus*, 123. It has been claimed that the Spaniards did not want to rid New Mexico of the Indian menace, for most of the Indians made periodic trips to the settlements to conduct fairs of their own and traded valuable furs for trinkets, Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, 16-17.

¹²Spanish objectives also included winning and holding the allegiance of the Indian tribes of Louisiana and the Plains, keeping those tribes hostile to all foreigners, specially the English, excluding unlicensed traders, encouraging friendly tribes to pillage French traders, inducing friendly Indians to cross the Mississippi from the east and to establish posts to encourage those crossings, controlling the Indians through carefully regulated trade, and keeping them in a peaceful frame of mind toward the Spaniards, Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, 77-78, 80. The Spanish Archives of New Mexico contain large number of records documenting the resources spent in buying gifts and trying to pacify the various tribes, SANM2, 1025, 1228, 1287a, 1303a, 1320, 1366, 1395, 1400, 1410, 1428, 1513, 1633, 1769, 2076. After 1800 hostilities seem to have risen and by 1806 the Navajo chiefs were demanding gifts, SANM2, 1985; Griffen, *In Utmost Good Faith*, 12-18; Frances Leon Swadesh, *Los Primeros Pobladores: Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974), 24-25, 163-170.

¹³R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958), 27; William deBuys, *Enchantment and Exploitation: The Life and Hard Times of a New Mexico Mountain Range* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 69, 75, 94, 97; Leland Hargrave Creer, "Spanish-American Slave Trade in the Great Basin, 1800-1853," *New Mexico Historical Review* 24 (1949), 171-183; Marc Simmons, *New Mexico: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 85-86; Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 306. Taos remained the most important fur-trading center in the southern Rockies throughout the 1820s and 1830s, deBuys, *Enchantment and Exploitation*, 94.

¹⁴Peter Gerhard, *The Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 161-243; Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 117-147; John O. Baxter, *Las Carneradas: Sheep Trade in New Mexico, 1700-1860* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 42-43; Marc Simmons, *Spanish Government in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 12-13, 72-73; Moorhead, *The Royal Road*, 49-54. In 1805 the viceroy decreed that all goods bartered by New Mexicans at the annual fair in San Bartolome valley would be free from the payment of *alcabala*, Lansing Bartlett Bloom, "New Mexico Under Mexican Administration, 1821-1846," *Old Santa Fe* 1 (July 1913), 40.

¹⁵Enrique Florescano, "The hacienda in New Spain," in *Colonial Latin America*, ed. by Leslie Bethell (London: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 275-276; Henry Bamford Parkes, *A History of Mexico* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), 100-104.

¹⁶Florescano, "The hacienda in New Spain," 276; Lillian E. Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico at the End of the Colonial Period," *New Mexico Historical Review* 7 (1932), 143-164; Parkes, *History of Mexico*, 104.

¹⁷MANM, roll 9 # 1142-1143; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 49-52; Jones, *Nueva*

Vizcaya, 122, 186-188; Baxter, *Las Carneradas*, 43.

¹⁸Macleod, "Aspects of the internal economy," discusses how the *peso fuerte* or *peso de a ocho*, a silver coin divided into eight *reales*, was often cut with a cold chisel in two parts to make *tostones*, or in eight 'bits' or *reales*, 359-360; Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 113-114; Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial*, 5; Hubert H. Brancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco: History Company, 1889), 277-78; SANM2, 247; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 50.

¹⁹Moorhead documented the extent of the New Mexico increasing economic dependence on Chihuahua's merchants, particularly as they obtained contracts to supply the garrison at New Mexico, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 52-54.

²⁰Florescano, "The hacienda in New Spain," 275-277; Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi, "Geographical Description of New Mexico," Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 113-114; Marc Simmons, ed. and trans., *Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi's Account of Disorders in New Mexico, 1778* (Isleta, N. M.: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1977), 14-21. The practice of mortgaging crops years in advance would continue through the nineteenth century, see Rafael Armijo papers, New Mexico State Records Center.

²¹Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 49.

²²Every European government, during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, followed mercantilism. This economic policy meant that the state directed all economic activities within its borders, theoretically subordinating private profit to public good. In particular governments sought to increase national wealth by discouraging imports and encouraging exports.

²³Lillian E. Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico," 145; Charles C. Cumberland, *Mexico: The Struggle for Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 84-112; Henry Bamford Parkes, *A History of Mexico* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), 100-104; Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe*, 5-6.

²⁴Murdo J. Macleod, "Aspects of the internal economy," 340-341; Parkes, *History of Mexico*, 100.

²⁵Macleod, "Aspects of the internal economy," 340-341; Lillian E. Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico," 146-147; Parkes, *History of Mexico*, 100. For a detailed discussion of the taxation in the Spanish colonies see C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1947), 256-78. New Mexico was one of the provinces that remained exempt from paying the *alcabala* through the 1840s.

²⁶Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico," 146-147; Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, 256-278; Macleod, "Aspects of the internal economy," 340-343; Parkes, *History of Mexico*, 100-101.

²⁷Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico," 147.

²⁸Fisher, "Commercial Conditions in Mexico," 147; Macleod, "Aspects of the internal economy," 342-345; Parkes, *History of Mexico*, 100-101; Marc Simmons, *Spanish Government in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 90-111.

Baxter, *Las Carneradas*, 44-60.

³⁰SANM2, 1844.

³¹Bloom, "New Mexico Under Mexican Administration," 47-49; David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 16-17; Simmons, *New Mexico*, 105-106. For a description of the political system as it operated in New Mexico between 1821 and 1846, see Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 2 vols, (Albuquerque: Horn & Wallace, 1963), vol II, 9-16.

³²New Mexico was one of the *Provincias Internas* until 1824. In that year it was joined to the provinces of Chihuahua and Durango to form the *Estado Interno del Norte*. The people of Durango protested vehemently, so finally Chihuahua and Durango were made into states while New Mexico came to be a territory of the Mexican republic. With the constitution of 1836 the territory was changed into a department, Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, vol. II, 7-8; Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 25.

³³Pino was also selected as New Mexico's representative in 1820, but was unable to make the trip to Spain due to lack of financial resources, SANM2, 2937, 2940, 2993; Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 18-19; Simmons, *New Mexico*, 105-106; Pino, *Exposición*, 224-225.

³⁴Pino listed *bayetones* (large woolen ponchos), *sargas* (serge), *frazadas* (blankets), *sarapes*, *bayetas* (baize), *sayales* (coarse woolen cloth), *gergas* (sp. *jerga*—another type of coarse woolen cloth), *medias de algodón* (cotton stockings), and *mantelería* (table linen), *Exposición*, 219.

³⁵Pino, *Exposición*, 227.

³⁶Pino, *Exposición*, 223-224; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 64.

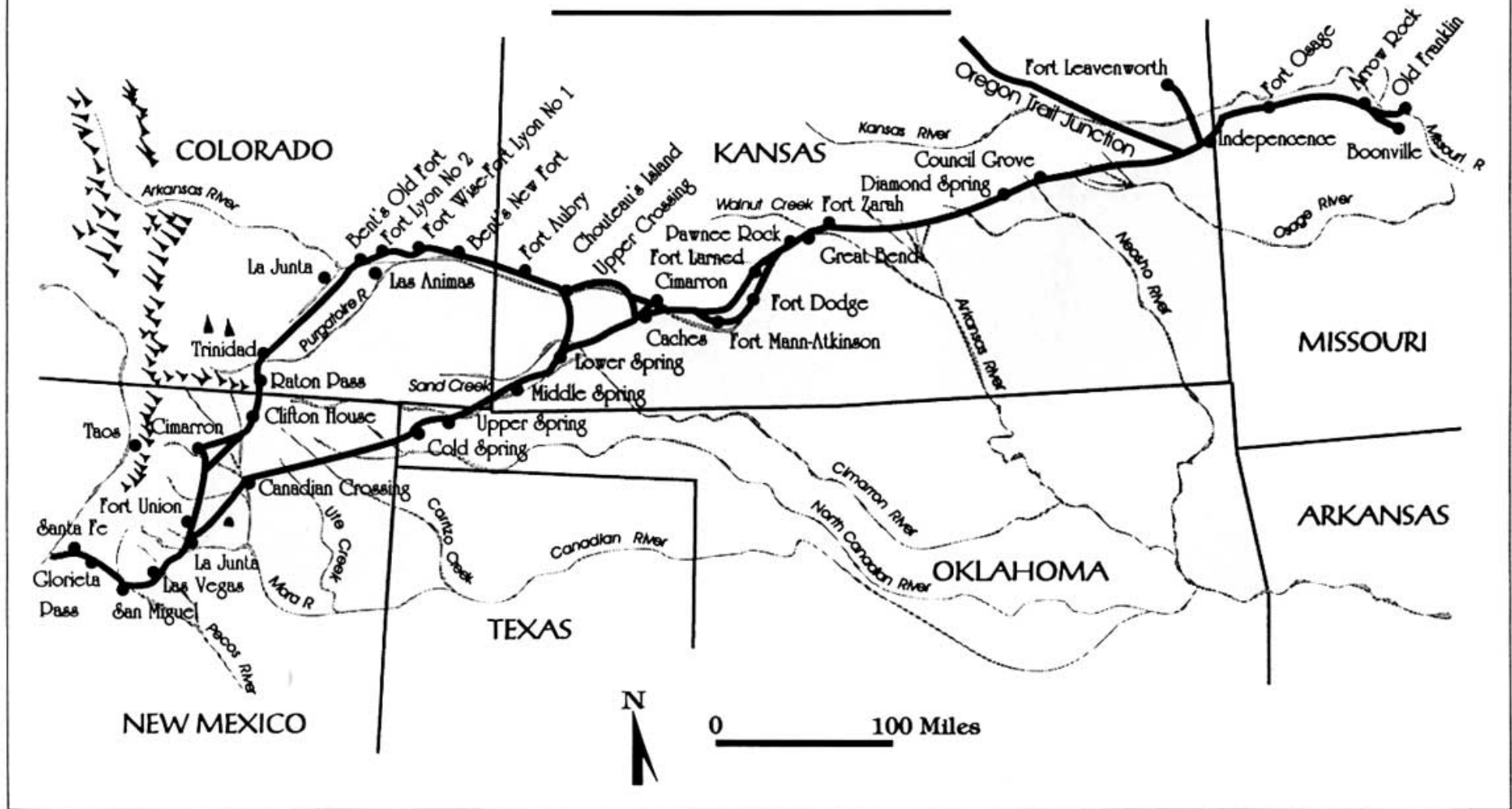
³⁷Pino also noted the lack of doctors, surgeons, and even that of a pharmacy, *Exposición*, 228-229.

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CHAPTER II: ENDNOTES

¹Without money there are no troops, and without them there is no doubt that my province is in danger. . . There have been some wicked dissidents who in my province are spreading rumors that it would be better for it [my province] to join the United States. José Rafael Alarid, MANM, roll 3 # 1068-69.

²New Mexicans were quite serious about autonomy. In 1822 electors from fourteen *alcaldías* (municipal districts) met in Santa Fe and elected seven *vocales* (representatives) to serve in the *diputación* (delegation to representative body). There was no authorization to do this, nevertheless these representatives met on a regular basis for over a year until the Mexican Congress formally sanctioned their existence, Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 19.

³*El Fanal*, Jan 6, 1835, pp. 5-6.

⁴Hira de Gortari Rabiela, "La minería durante la guerra de independencia y los primeros años del México independiente, 1810-1824," in *The Independence of Mexico and the Creation of the New Nation*, ed. by Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publication, 1989), 129-161. According to Lucas Alamán average silver production between 1815 and 1820 fluctuated between six and eleven million pesos, cited in Rabiela "La minería durante la guerra de la independencia," 145; Stanley C. Green, *The Mexican Republic: The First Decade, 1823-1832* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987), shows that in the 1820s the value of silver production averaged 8.3 million pesos, but between 1822 and 1827 the mean dropped to 3.8 million, 112-113, 128-129.

⁵Lenders could charge an interest rate of 3 percent a month because capital had disappeared. Two thirds of it had been the property of the *gachupines*, many of whom had returned to Spain taking their money with them, and the remainder—accused of conspiring to restore Spanish authority—were to be expelled in 1829, Harold Dana Sims, *The Expulsion of Mexico's Spaniards, 1821-1836* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), 38-41, 136-138, 152-153; José María Quiroz set the amount of capital flight at 786 million pesos, cited in Barbara A. Tenebaum, "Taxation and Tyranny: Public Finance during the Iturbide Regime, 1821-1823," in *The Independence of Mexico and the Creation of the New Nation*, ed. by Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publication, 1989), 203. Government expenditures were often twice the revenue. Between 1821 and 1868 government income averaged ten and a half million pesos, its expenses seventeen and a half, Parkes, *A History of Mexico*, 178-179; Cumberland, *Mexico*, 136-145.

⁶Charles A. Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821-1853* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 254-257; Cumberland, *Mexico*, 169.

⁷Albert William Bork, "Nuevos aspectos del comercio entre Nuevo Méjico y Misuri, 1822-1846," unpublished dissertation, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1944, 11-12;

Cumberland, *Mexico*, 170-171; Green, *The Mexican Republic*, 115.

⁸MANM, roll 1 # 703-705.

⁹Green, *The Mexican Republic*, 135; Bork, "Nuevos aspectos," 11-12.

¹⁰Green, *The Mexican Republic*, 134-135; Hale *Mexican Liberalism*, 255.

¹¹Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora*, 257, 268-277. Taxation of foreign trade presented two major problems which promoted conflict and instability—supervision of collections and international trade fluctuations. First, given the high cost of transportation in nineteenth-century Mexico, the ports and border crossings were relatively far from the capital and other centers of population. If high costs of supervising the collection of foreign trade taxes allowed customs officials to pilfer from the treasury, the national government's dependence on trade taxes collected in the periphery threatened the government's fiscal basis. The national government's main source of income was highly vulnerable to dissidents who found it easy to appropriate custom revenues to pay their own supporters. Second, dependence on taxation of foreign trade meant that revenues were subject to the vicissitudes of economic fluctuations as well. With total revenues largely dependent on international trade fluctuations and business cycles, a decline in foreign trade produced government revenue shortfalls; Donald Fithian Stevens, *Origins of Instability in Early Republican Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 12, 17-18.

¹²Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 13-44; Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, vol. II, 103; Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 125-26; Michael L. Olsen and Harry C. Myers, "The Diary of Pedro Ignacio Gallego Wherein 499 Soldiers Following the Trail of Comanches Met William Becknell on his First Trip to Santa Fe," *Wagons Tracks: Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly* (November 1992), 1, 15-20.

¹³Cited in Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 128.

¹⁴Moorhead, *The Royal Road*, 195-196.

¹⁵*The Franklin Intelligencer*, May 8, 1824, page 2, col. 3.

¹⁶*The Franklin Intelligencer*, June 18, 1825; the same concerns were expressed in the November 4 issue, p 3; David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), 61-64.

¹⁷MANM, roll 6 # 459-471; for Beaubien's *guía*, see # 469-470; for Wilson's, see # 471; in 1831 James Harrison received a *guía* for 30,000 yards of cloth, close to 150 dozen shoes, 22 dozens socks, silk, scarves, ribbons, combs, hairpieces, mirrors, hair pins, parasols, lace, belts, thread, knives, pocket knives, razors, snaps, saws, files, scissors, tin boxes, soap boxes, inkstands, ink, stoneware, crystal, shawls, threads for sewing and embroidery, thimbles, needles, paper, cinnamon, and many others. For a comparison between earlier and later *guías* see MANM, roll 4 # 1213-28; roll 7 # 743-757; roll 8 # 1341-1353; roll 10 # 367-382; roll 12 # 1133-1160; roll 14 # 176-319; roll 15 # 1018-1043; roll 17 # 1108-1123.

¹⁸The *cuadernos* (notebooks) *de guías* for 1826-1828 identify the specific amount of duties paid by each merchant, MANM, roll 6 # 472-514. Other *cuadernos* failed to record the duties exacted. The *Aduana* (custom house) records show that by 1835 in addition to the *derecho de consumo* custom officials were collecting *derecho de reserva* and *derecho de alcabala*, but

the actual rates were not indicated, only the actual sums collected, MANM, roll 21 # 135; James Josiah Webb, *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade, 1844-1847* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1931), 80-84; Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 79-80, 265-268.

¹⁹Tenebaum, "Taxation and Tyranny", 201-214.

²⁰Green, *The Mexican Republic*, 135-138; Bork, "Nuevos Aspectos," 40-47. It should also be noted that the mark-up of 100 or 120 percent was not unusual; see Chapter IV for a look at contraband and Chapter V for a discussion of the rates wholesale merchants charged retailers.

²¹For example, there were eight different types of wines identified in the tariff of 1822 and each one was assigned a different duty; it would have been difficult for custom officials to have enforced such a variety of duties had they been the same throughout the period, but both the duties assessed and the categories of wines changed periodically, MANM, roll 1 # 724-725; Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 149. Excessive regulation of products, like tobacco, also continued to be the rule, MANM, roll 1 # 565-568.

²²Before 1830 only those New Mexicans carrying foreign merchandise had to obtain *guías*, MANM, roll 10 # 513-574.

²³Beginning in 1826 local customs officials at Santa Fe kept *cuadernos* (notebooks) where they recorded most of the information from the *guías* issued. The *cuadernos* provide the most accurate account of the names of the merchants, muleteers, guarantors, the type and value of the goods traded south, and their destination. Some *guías* were not registered in the *cuadernos*. Many have been lost. Still these documents contain excellent sources for the study of the commercial activities associated with the Santa Fe trail before the Mexican War; David Sandoval's "Trade and the Manito Society," was the first attempt to analyze the role of New Mexicans through the study of *guías*; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. by Max L. Moorhead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 265-267; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 139; Susan Calafate Boyle, "Comerciantes, Fiadores, Arrieros, y Peones: The Hispanos in the Santa Fe Trail," paper delivered at the Santa Fe Trail Association Symposium, Arrow Rock, Missouri, September 27, 1992. Customs officials were expected to follow extremely complex procedures following the arrival of caravans from the United States. For the instructions issued to the Taos administrators, see MANM, roll 4 # 776-778.

²⁴Starting in 1831 the customs office at Santa Fe began to record the foreign merchandise introduced by all merchants. It is not clear if officials were required to do so, but in general these documents lack the consistency of the *guías* and are often missing, MANM, roll 14 # 182-187; roll 21 # 142-271; roll 28 # 730-760; roll 32 # 1598-1610; roll 34 # 1171-1210; roll 41 # 811-815; for Parkman's manifest, see MANM, roll 14 # 182-187; for his *guía*, see MANM, roll 14 # 243-249.

²⁵MANM, roll 1 # 724-725. At times New Mexicans were unwilling to perform their jobs according to the legal stipulations, and authorities in Mexico City were forced to insist that proper procedures be followed, MANM, roll 17 # 762-793. With the exception of *tornaguías*, which were issued in other custom houses, there is no evidence that regular communications were maintained with either terrestrial or maritime customs.

²⁶Requests for additional revenues became quite regular as political instability and conflict within Mexico increased; MANN, roll 1 # 1098-1099, roll 3 # 758-759; roll 12 # 1091; roll 22 # 940, roll 23 # 592, roll 24 # 663, 671, 674, roll 25 # 820, roll 26 # 336, roll 30 # 669, roll

38 # 608.

²⁷"La miseria de estas gentes llega a tal grado que me consta que ya se han comenzado a alimentarse con cueros de reses," MANM, roll 1 # 1098-1099.

²⁸"Extrañan muchísimo no saber para que se dirigen estas contribuciones tan anuales," MANM roll 3 # 758-759.

²⁹Daniel Tyler, "The Personal Property of Manuel Armijo, 1829," *El Palacio* 80 (Fall 1974), 45-48.

³⁰MANM, roll 22 # 940-976, 982-983.

³¹Manuel Armijo wrote to Pérez on May 16 and May 21, 1837 advising him that Mariano Chávez only had 600 pesos in cash and would be unable to meet his 1,500 pesos assessment, MANM, roll 23 # 353, 360, 592-96; Janet Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba, 1837* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 11-21.

³²MANM, roll 17 # 645. Concern about the dire economic circumstances which they faced appear in many documents, see MANM, roll 17 # 743-746, 747-754, 755-57, 762-764, 774-776.

³³MANM, roll 22 # 1075. There are numerous examples of public employees receiving their salaries months after they were due, MANM, roll 22 # 1061, 1079, 1082.

³⁴MANM, roll 21 # 568.

³⁵MANM, roll 22 # 1035, 1096, 1097, 1098; roll 24 # 663, 671, 674-75; roll 26 # 336-341; roll 25 # 820-849; roll 30 # 669; roll 38 # 608; in 1836 American Thomas Rowland lent the New Mexico treasury almost 1,000 pesos to pay for uniforms for the troops, MANM, roll 22 # 1096; *subcomisario* Francisco Sarracino provided almost 5,000 pesos to pay for officials' salaries and supplies for the troops, MANM, roll 22 # 1097, 1098; but the records show that in general New Mexican ricos contributed a substantial portion of these funds, roll 24 # 663, 674-675.

³⁶MANM Roll 22 # 1091-1092.

³⁷MANM, roll 21 # 847-852; Daniel Tyler, "The Mexican Teacher," *Red River Valley Historical Review* 1 (1974), 207-221.

³⁸MANM, roll 1 # 1475-1481; roll 3 # 219-285. Some of the census information is not reliable. The documents show a lot of errors in adding the reported figures; they often contain blank categories and some of the information is suspect. It is also not clear from the census if those who listed themselves as teachers were actually working in that capacity.

³⁹MANM, roll 7 # 2-5, 52. There is no record of any action on the part of officials in Mexico City to address educational issues in New Mexico.

⁴⁰MANM, roll 19 # 646-48; Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 111-114; Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba*, 9-10.

⁴¹Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba*, 10. Pino noted that some men were ruined in a single

campaign trading their clothing for ammunition or selling their children into peonage to perform their military duty, *Exposición*, 227.

⁴²MANM, roll 23 # 705-710; Baxter, *Las Carneradas*, 92-95; Frank D. Reeve, ed., "The Charles Bent Papers," *New Mexico Historical Review* 30 (1955), 344, 348-350.

⁴³Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 92.

⁴⁴These patterns appear to have been equally applicable to many other regions along the northern Mexican frontier, Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 94-95; for growing tensions between foreigners and New Mexicans see MANM roll 23 # 406-409, 622-23.

⁴⁵MANM, roll 1 # 260-261.

⁴⁶MANM, roll 6 # 947.

⁴⁷For examples of Navajo stealing see MANM, roll 5 # 491, 574-576.

⁴⁸MANM, roll 9, # 627, 632, 654, 658, 665, 834-835, 866-868; roll 10, # 941.

⁴⁹MANM, roll 9, # 805-806, 815-816, 831-833.

⁵⁰MANM, roll 9, # 1083-1112.

⁵¹MANM, roll 13 # 481, 559-583, 600.

⁵²MANM, roll 14 # 975-978.

⁵³MANM, roll 18 # 356.

⁵⁴MANM, roll 21 # 660-682; roll 38 # 540.

⁵⁵MANM roll 22 # 772-800, 809-826, lists of men eligible for the militia between the ages of 14 and 60 and they often indicated the type of weapons they had available. In 1836 many of them showed flechas (arrows). Officials also published lists of men who had to march with the regular troops in the campaign against the Indians.

⁵⁶MANM, roll 5 # 1322-1325; roll 8 # 387-438, 440-503.

⁵⁷The wording of the petition by Andrés Archuleta is, "*como siempre ha sido estilo*," MANM, roll 27 # 1031, roll 41 # 548-551; Swadesh, *Los Primeros Pobladores*, 62-63; Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 281; Simmons, *Spanish Government*, 185.

⁵⁸"*Sin dinero no hay tropas y faltando éstas está fuera de duda que peligra mi provincia*," MANM, roll 3 # 1068.

⁵⁹"*No han faltado disidentes malvados que en mi provincia andan diseminando la especie de que le estaría mejor agregarse a los Estados Unidos del Norte*," MANM, roll 3 # 1069.

⁶⁰MANM, roll 3 # 1071-1074. There is no record of the extent of the funds, if any, released by this authorization.

⁶¹The letter was signed by Juan Diego Sena, Antonio Sena, and Francisco Baca y Ortiz, MANM roll 4 # 702-704. For a concise discussion of the problems which plagued the judicial system, see Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 37-40.

⁶²Letter signed by A. Armijo in 1828 stresses the "*hambre y miseria a que se hallan reducidos estos habitantes*," (the hunger and misery to which the inhabitants have been reduced) MANM, roll 7 # 1181; for Pino's letter see MANM, roll 8 # 1119-1126. For continuous problems with the judicial system, see Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 37-40.

⁶³MANM, roll 9 # 1142-1143. There is no record of official acknowledgement of Alarid's request.

⁶⁴MANM, roll 13 # 601, 613.

⁶⁵MANM, roll 13 # 393-394, 601, 613, 630-642; it is not clear why this plan never received much attention; Santiago Abreu, the *jefe político* at the time decided to *archivar* (archive) the project, MANM, roll 13 # 642.

⁶⁶MANM, roll 13 # 635.

⁶⁷MANM, roll 23 # 705-710.

⁶⁸*El Fanal*, p. 56 Jan 6, 1835, "*Dijimos en el artículo de que se trata después de quejarnos de esta indiferencia, que el Estado por conservarse rompería los vínculos que lo unen con la Nación Mexicana y se uniría a la República del Norte para salir de la abyección a que lo tiene reducido la guerra de los bárbaros y el abandono del Gobierno general.*" *El Fanal* was published between September 29, 1834 and September 22, 1835. Many of its editorials were quite critical of the central government and the paper was closed as a result. *El Noticioso*, the newspaper that replaced *El Fanal* explained in its editorial of October 2, 1835, the reasons for the closure. Rejoicing at the demise of the "subversive" *El Fanal*, "*pues los editores de aquel periódico a fuerza de presentar al Supremo's general ante sus conciudadanos como un padrastro cruel, acaso alguna vez conseguirían alarmar a estos pacíficos paisanos. Las incesantes declamaciones de EL Fanal eran reducidas a persuadir que el alto gobierno no atiende con igual zelo al centro de la República que a sus extremos, no advirtiendole o afectando no advertir que si no sobran los recursos para exnquir la guerra desoladora que nos aflige, es porque tampoco hay los suficientes para cubrir las vastas asenciones que pesan sobre el erario federal. Hace el Gobierno supremo. . . cuanto está en la esfera de su posibilidad para asender a aquel objeto y por consiguiente exigirle más de un modo irritante es procurar el trastorno del orden; más los señores redactors de El Fanal jamás tomaron en consideración la crítica posición del gobierno para denostarlo casi en todos sus números, porque no ha disuelto como al humo a las hordas de los salvajes: lejos de esto incitan a la rebelión invocando principios del derecho público con que alucinan a los incautos.*" (The editors of that newspaper trying to depict the Supreme Government before the citizenry as a cruel stepfather, perhaps they would manage to alarm the peaceful countrymen. The never-ending declamations of *El Fanal* were limited to persuade the people that the government does not pay equal attention to the edges of the Republic than to its center, not noticing or pretending not to notice that if there are not enough resources to extinguish the devastating war that afflicts us, is because there are insufficient fund to cover the vast number of responsibilities that have to be taken care by the public treasury. The government does everything that is possible to take care of this and as a result to demand more in an irritating fashion in to look for upheaval and disorder; but the editors of *El Fanal* never took in consideration the critical situation of the government and insulted it in every issue because it has not dissolved as smoke the savage; far from this they [editors] incite a rebellion invoking

the principles of public right with which they hallucinate the innocent).

⁶⁹*El Fanal*, p. 56, Jan 6, 1835.

⁷⁰Thomas Chavez, "The Trouble with Texas: Manuel Alvarez and the 1841 'Invasion.'" *New Mexico Historical Review* 53 (1978): 133-144.

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SANTA FE

Special History Study



CHAPTER III: ENDNOTES

¹The road to Chihuahua (and the interior of Mexico) was called the *camino real*, *el camino real de la tierra adentro*, and the Chihuahua trail.

²The records indicate that between 1821 and 1838 the only hispano who travelled east to purchase manufactures directly in the United States was Manuel Escudero, a merchant from Chihuahua, see chapter V.

³*Franklin Intelligencer*, Jan 25, 1825, p 3; June 18, 1825, p 3. Some scholars, like T. D. Hall's *Social Change in the Southwest*, 150, argue that this was an attempt on the part of Missourians to discourage competition; but the traders themselves complained that selling for a profit was quite difficult.

⁴The first surviving *guías* issued in July 1825 demonstrate that initially shipments were fairly small and consisted of a wide array of goods, MANM roll 4 # 1213-1228. By the 1830s the volume and value of the merchandise had increased considerably although there was a proportional decline in the variety of items, MANM roll 11 # 1133-1160, roll 14 # 188-319, roll 15 # 1018-1041; roll 17 # 1107-1123; roll 19 # 226-294; roll 21 # 273-398; roll 24 # 767-802; roll 25 # 1429-1467; roll 27 # 620-643; roll 28 # 753-799; roll 30 # 315-324; roll 32 # 1630-1663; roll 34 # 1202-1271; roll 37 # 392-535; roll 40 # 282-358; Webb bemoaned the fact that after more than three weeks and close to four hundred miles on the road he had only been able to sell 350 dollars worth of goods, *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade*, 116.

⁵Gerhard, *Northern Frontier*, 24; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 64-65. Figures on the population of Nueva Vizcaya vary as Jones reports 190,159 for the census of 1821, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 245; Missouri newspapers also advertised the advantages of these markets, *Franklin Intelligencer*, May 28, 1825, p. 1; Nov 4, 1825, p 3.

⁶These patterns continued until the Mexican War in 1846, Robert W. Frazer, ed. *Over the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails, 1847-1848: George Rutledge Gibson's Journal* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 8. After 1846 changes resulted because Mexican duties made importation of *efectos del país* uneconomical; for a brief discussion of commercial exchange between New Mexican merchants and their Mexican counterparts, see chapter VI and VII.

⁷Gregg computed the distance between Missouri and Santa Fe several times; in all cases the total was less than 800 miles (the distance between Santa Fe and Mexico City is about 1660 miles, more than twice that between Missouri and Santa Fe), and he also commented on the poor quality of the drinking water, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 217, 275; "*el ideal carácter del territorio que se tenía que recorrer entre Misuri y Nuevo Mexico en comparación con el paisaje tan difícil de naturaleza en gran parte de la ruta interna*," Bork, "Nuevos aspectos," 13.

⁸Gibson seldom made positive comments about native New Mexicans, Frazer, *Over the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails*, 14-15. He observed that women accompanied the men on trading trips, an observation that was confirmed by other travelers, *ibid*, 15.

⁹Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 305; MANM, roll 23 # 900; John Adam Hussey, "The New Mexico-California Caravan of 1847-1848." *New Mexico Historical Review* 18 (1943), 8-9.

¹⁰Of the 476 dated *guías* eight were issued in January, ten in February, two in March, one in April, fourteen in July, 216 in August, 143 in September, 74 in October, 38 in November, and five in December, see Appendix I; Gregg's description of his trip to Chihuahua follows the norm, leaving on August 22, it took him about 40 days to arrive at his destination (October 1), *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 268, 277-278.

¹¹The *Westport Border Star* published a register of the men, wagons, and stock which passed Council Grove during the months of June and July 1859. During these two months more than 500 men and 1,000 wagons traveled to New Mexico carrying almost 3,000 tons of merchandise, July 15, 1859, p 3; August 12, 1859, p 3; according to the *Trinidad Chronicle News* some of wagons trains were so long in the late sixties and early seventies that it took two or three days for their teams to pass through Uncle Dick Wootton's toll gate, cited in Honora DeBusk Smith, "Early Life in Trinidad and the Purgatory Valley," unpublished Master's Thesis, Colorado College, 1930, 29; although many of these caravans were larger than the 1847-1848 convoy to California that involved 209 men (50 of whom were boys under 16), they probably also relied on very young males for much of the work, Hussey, "The New Mexico-California Caravan of 1847-1848," 1-16.

¹²See Appendix I.

¹³William B. Napton, *Over the Santa Fe Trail, 1857* (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1964), 16.

¹⁴Alvin R. Sunseri, "The Hazards of the Trail," *El Palacio* 81 (Fall 1975), 29-38. George R. Gibson traveling north with very light wagons noted that they were able to travel twice the distance as when they had full loads, but he seldom made more than twenty-five miles in a day, *Over the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails*, 12-13, 15, 28, 30, 33-36.

¹⁵Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 288-289; for a list of *arrieros* listed in the *guías*, see Appendix II.

¹⁶Frazer, *Over the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails*, 17.

¹⁷Cooke, Philip St. George, "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XII (1935), 72-98, 227-255.

¹⁸Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 128-129; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 87.

¹⁹Cited in Sunseri, "The Hazards of the Trail," 33.

²⁰Not all New Mexican goods traveling south were carried by mules. Some of them were hauled in wagons pulled by oxen, but it appears that until the Mexican War pack mules were the favored mode of transportation, Jose Ortiz y Pino III, *Don José: The Last Patrón* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 1981), 5; Erasmo Gamboa, "The Mexican Mule Pack System of Transportation in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia," *Journal of the West*, 29 Jan

1990), 16-28; Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 319; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 86; Janet Lecompte, *Pueblo Hardscrabble Greenhorn: The Upper Arkansas, 1832-1856* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 81; Gregg asserts that even the nomenclature of the apparatus had been adopted by the Army, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 129.

²¹Gamboa, "The Mexican Mule Pack System," 17-18; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 86-87.

²²John Keast Lord, cited in Gamboa, "The Mexican Mule Pack System," 18.

²³Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 87-89; Gamboa, "The Mexican Pack Mule System," 18.

²⁴Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 286; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 87; Gamboa, "The Mexican Mule Pack System," 19.

²⁵It is not possible to establish if these represented standard measurements of volume, weight, or value.

²⁶*Subcomisario* Francisco Sarracino admitted that the scribe had made an honest error in recording the merchandise of Eduardo Ara on November 29, 1835, MANM, roll 21 # 377.

²⁷For the *cuaderno de guías* reference see MANM, roll 34 #1215; for the *guía* itself, see roll 36 #1267.

²⁸MANM, roll 34 # 1205.

²⁹MANM, roll 34 # 1208, 1215.

³⁰For Tomás Baca see MANM, roll 21 # 278, 302, 311, 320, roll 22 # 1180 and roll 30 # 319; for Vicente Baca see roll 10 # 328, roll 12 # 1155, and roll 30 # 320; for Francisco García see roll 21 # 277 and roll 37 # 402; for José Montañón see roll 21 # 304, 307, 314, 336, and roll 32 # 1651.

³¹See Appendix I. The number and possibly the bulk of the shipments sent by hispanos was greater than that sent by Anglos although the value was smaller. For example surviving records indicate that in 1835 there were 19 Anglo shipments to 31 Hispano, in 1836 34 Anglo and 11 Hispano, in 1837 almost even, 24 Anglo and 25 Hispano; in 1838 12 Anglo and 40 Hispano, in 1839 32 Anglo and 77 Hispanos; in 1840 6 and 74 and in 1843 12 and 72 respectively; Gregg does not distinguish between American and New Mexican loads, but also notes the growth in value of the merchandise sent to Mexico through the Royal Road after 1831, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 332.

³²MANM, roll 32 # 1206, 1639, 1648, 1652, 1660.

³³More than 300 individuals were listed as owners of merchandise. Some, like Agapito Albo, José Cordero, Francisco Elguea, and Manuel Escudero were from the internal provinces, but the majority were New Mexicans; Barreiro noted that, "New Mexicans trade quite actively with the neighboring provinces exporting annually flocks of sheep, hides, piñon nuts, coarse woolen goods, tobacco and other articles. Some have contracts in Durango for the delivery of fifteen thousand sheep or more for which they received nine or more reales," *Ojeada sobre*

Nuevo Mexico, 287. Barreiro's report is printed in its original form in *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard (New York: Arno Press, 1967), 263-318. It is not clear if, and how, New Mexicans ever carried tobacco to the interior of Mexico, as its production and sale had been an important government monopoly throughout the colonial period; for the excessive regulations associated with the tobacco monopoly, see MANM, roll 1 # 565-568.

³⁴Their last names were Archuleta, Armijo, Baca, Chavez, Gutiérrez, Luna, Ortiz, Otero, Perea, Pino, Saavedra, Salas, Salazar, Sandoval, Valdez, and Yrizarri; one of the best studies of socio-economic conditions in New Mexico John O. Baxter's, *Las Carneradas: Sheep Trading in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987) devotes an excellent chapter to the period prior to the Mexican War, 89-110.

³⁵The few surviving records for 1842 do not include any shipments of sheep, but surviving *tornaguías* and *guías* issued in Mexico appear to indicate that trading might not have been too different from that of previous years; Felipe Chávez's papers at the University of New Mexico and at the State Archives Center at Santa Fe clearly demonstrate the importance of the sheep trade at least through the 1870s; for a more detailed discussion of the sheep trade to California, see chapter 4 and Baxter, *Las Carneradas*, 111-150; Donald Chaput, *Francois X. Aubry: Trader, Trailmaker and Voyageur in the Southwest, 1846-1854* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1975), 113-122, 137-149; Walker D. Wyman, "F. X. Aubry: Santa Fe Freighter, Pathfinder, and Explorer." *New Mexico Historical Review* 7 (1932), 1-31.

³⁶In 1839 Juan Silva carried two bundles of domestic merchandise valued at 35 *pesos* 2 *reales*, MANM, roll 21 # 327. The same day Anastasio Sandoval took 14 bundles assessed at 38 *pesos*, MANM, roll 21 # 327. Two weeks later Juan Bautista Montoya hauled four bundles worth 46 *pesos*, MANM, roll 21 # 334. For Santillanes's *pase* (pass) see MANM, roll 25 # 1460. There were others whose loads were not appraised and who were likely to have carried goods not in excess of the above sums.

³⁷This assessment appears extremely low and might be a mistake, MANM, roll 32 # 1660.

³⁸MANM, roll 32 # 1648, 1652, 1654, 1656, 1658, 1660.

³⁹MANM, roll 15 # 828-835; for samples of exemption requests see MANM, roll 21 # 897-898, roll 23 # 705-710; roll 25 # 804.

⁴⁰Juan Armijo carried 1,200 common blankets in Aug 1839, MANM, roll 21 # 325; Manuel Armijo took 1,800 common blankets at the same time, roll 21 # 325; he had carried 20 *tercios* of blankets in 1835, roll 21 # 274; Juan Bautista Baca also took 460 blankets in 1836, roll 21 # 294; others, like Antonio Sandoval, Julián and Juan Tenorio carried smaller quantities, roll 21 # 324, 308, and 309; for Felipe Romero's shipment, see MANM roll 25 # 1445.

⁴¹See Appendix I.

⁴²For Agapito Albo see MANM, roll 19 # 323; roll 21 # 318. For Manuel Armijo see MANM roll 21 # 274, 275, 294, 299, 301, 303, 305, 325, 348, 349, 354; roll 37 # 393; roll 40 # 282; the fact that the *guías* include no information on Armijo's shipments of foreign goods to Mexico, particularly after 1839, is a good indication that a sizable proportion of the trading activities was not recorded by the *Aduana* (Customs) officials.

⁴³MANM roll 21 # 278, 279, 302, 311, 346; roll 22 # 1180; roll 30 # 319; roll 34 # 1206.

⁴⁴MANM roll 30 # 320; roll 37 # 397, 398; roll 40 # 314, 316.

⁴⁵MANM, roll 21 # 279, 311, 332, 1206, 1207; roll 34 # 1206, 1207. Pedro Córdoba is another merchant who appeared to have increased his relatively small investment. He made three trips in 1838, 1844, and 1845. He specialized in domestic merchandise and augmented the size and value of his shipments each year, MANM, roll 21 # 312; roll 37 # 401; roll 40 # 332.

⁴⁶MANM, roll 21 # 297, 314, 337, 360; roll 27 # 643.

⁴⁷For Diego Gómez, see MANM, roll 21 # 361, roll 34 # 1214, roll 37 # 407; for Salvador López, see MANM, roll 21 # 312, 355; for José Dolores Durán, see MANM, roll 21 # 312, 353; for Juan Miguel Mascarenas, see roll 21 # 326, roll 25 # 1467, roll 34 # 1208, roll 40 # 324; for Blas Lucero, see MANM roll 21 # 304, 333; roll 34 # 1207; for Mariano Lucero, see MANM roll 21 # 305; roll 34 # 1215; for Pedro Antonio Lucero, see MANM roll 21 # 329, 352; roll 34 # 1209; roll 37 # 403. There were many others who appear to fall in this category—Juan Miguel Mascarenas made trips in 1838, 1839, 1843, and 1845, roll 21 # 326, roll 25 # 1467; roll 34 # 1208, and roll 40 # 324; Francisco Antonio Mestas in 1839, 1840, 1843, 1844, roll 21 # 329, 361, roll 34 # 1207, roll 37 # 403; José Nicolás Montoya in 1839, 1840, and 1841, roll 21 # 338, 352, roll 30 # 320; Antonio Matías Ortiz in 1839, 1840, 1843, and 1844, roll 21 # 323, 354, roll 34 # 1207, roll 37 # 396; Isidro Ortiz in 1839 and 1840, roll 21 # 335, 360; Antonio Alejandro Pacheco in 1838 and 1839, roll 21 # 313, 327, roll 25 # 1449; Blas Padilla in 1839, 1840, and 1845, roll 21 # 327, 354; Manuel Antonio Sánchez in 1835, 1837, and 1839, roll 21 # 283, 303, 328; Jesús María Silva in 1840, 1844, and 1845, roll 21 # 348, roll 28 # 762; roll 37 # 397, 398, roll 40 # 286, # 321; Juan Tenorio in 1838 and 1839, roll 21 # 309, 333; Julián Tenorio in 1838, 1840, and 1844, roll 21 # 308, 309, 357, roll 37 # 399; Ignacio Díaz Valdez in 1843 and 1844, roll 34 # 1271, roll 37 # 396, 397.

⁴⁸See Appendix I.

⁴⁹MANM, roll 21 # 305; roll 34 # 1205; roll 40 # 283; roll 21 # 317; roll 21 # 316.

⁵⁰MANM, roll 21 # 356; roll 37 # 402; roll 24 # 759; roll 34 # 1209.

⁵¹Crampton, C. Gregory and Madsen, Steven K, *In Search of the Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles, 1829-1848* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith Publisher, 1994); Antonio Armijo Journal, University of New Mexico, Zimmerman Library, Special Collections.

⁵²MANM, roll 21 # 334; roll 34 # 1202; roll 37 # 403, 405.

⁵³Hussey, "The New Mexico-California Caravan of 1847-1848," 1-16.

⁵⁴It is not possible to establish if García and Sánchez were from New Mexico. Sánchez received *guías* numbers 3 and 6. García's *guía* has not survived, but it is listed in the *cuaderno*, MANM, roll 6 # 463. 465, 474, 475, 477. For a complete listing of all surviving information on *guías* issued to hispanos in New Mexico and pertinent *tornaguías*, see Appendix I.

⁵⁵Jesús Contreras purchased one *tercio* of foreign goods from Solomon Houck, Aug 2, 1832, MANM roll 15 # 1028; José Francisco Ortiz from Z. Nolan, Oct 14, 1828, roll 8 # 1342; José Francisco Valverde from John E. Hardman, Oct 3, 1831, roll 14 # 250; Juan Vizcarra

purchased from Luis Robidoux, roll 14 # 294, Nov. 28, 1831; José María Zuloaga, foreign merchandise purchased in the United States and in the area, Sep 22, 1845, roll 40 # 349; Vicente Baca, (possibly *arriero* for Antonio Robidoux), one *tercio* of foreign merchandise bought in the country, Nov 18, 1829, roll 10 # 382; Juan Felipe Carrillo, two *piezas* of foreign merchandise bought in Sta Fe, roll 21 # 360, Oct 16, 1840; José Manuel Sánchez, two *tercios* of foreign merchandise bought locally, Sep 4, 1845, roll 49 # 285.

⁵⁶Their businesses probably extended to many communities in northern Mexico; Vicente Otero made a significant purchase in Chihuahua in 1832 paying 1,541 pesos in duties, MANM, roll 15 # 1023; José Chávez dealt with wholesalers in Durango where in 1837 he purchased 50 pieces of foreign goods valued at 7,680 dollars, MANM, roll 24 # 802.

⁵⁷Juan Otero paid 100 percent surcharge on the merchandise he purchased from Manuel Alvarez, MAP, roll 1 # 458461.

⁵⁸Few *guías* survive detailing shipments of foreign goods, see Appendix I; for the most interesting ones, see MANM roll 34 # 1205, roll 37 # 397, 472. For José's *guías* see MANM, roll 34 # 1294, 1205, roll 37 # 394, 398; for Mariano's see roll 37 # 395; for Antonio José Otero, see roll 37 # 392, 395, 396.

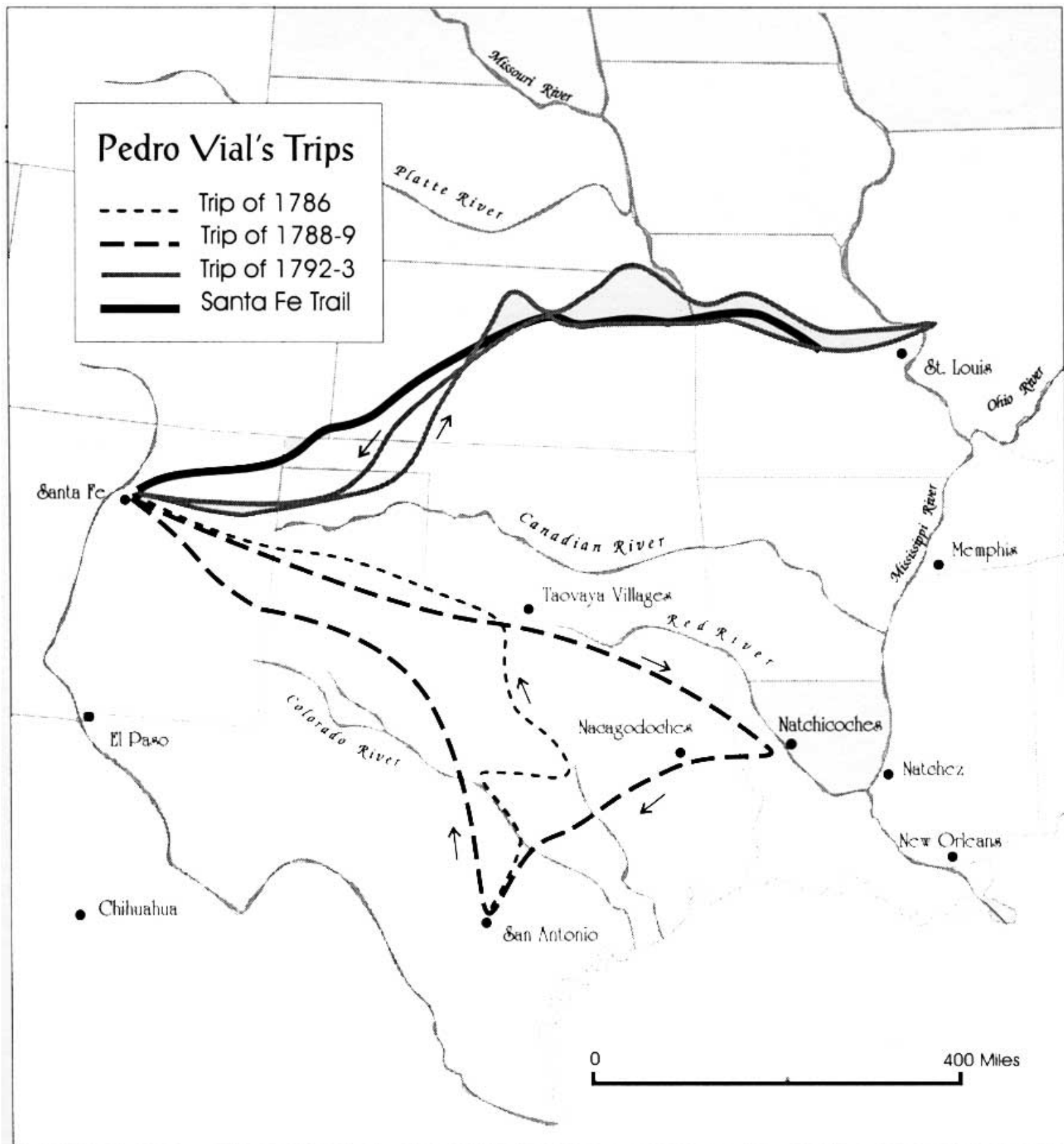
⁵⁹MANM, roll 34 # 1233-1240.

⁶⁰The documents record 47 consignments. The most popular consignees were José Cordero, Juan de Dios Márquez, Juan María Ponce de León, Ignacio Ronquillo, Juan Nepomuceno Urquide, Juan Yzurrieta, and Francisco Zuviría; for a complete list of these transactions, see Appendix I.

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¹"I continued my way watching those who were espying to see if the Americans were leaving any *tercios*, stopping for this reason several times along the road," testimony of Francisco Pérez Serrano, MANM, roll 8 # 514.

²For the occupational census of 1822 see, MANM, roll 3 # 214-285; for the 1841 census see roll 30 # 339-401; for the 1844 census for La Cañada, see roll 37 # 703-705. For the 1860 and 1870 census data, see Population Schedules, Eighth Census of the United States; Original Return of the Assistant Marshalls, Microfilm Edition, 14/6, roll 712-716; Population Schedules, Ninth Census of the United States; Original Return of the Assistant Marshalls, Microfilm Edition, 12/7, roll 893-897.

³Records kept by Felipe Delgado, who operated the Chávez store at San Miguel del Vado indicate the wages paid, Delgado Family Papers (Dingee Collection), 1837-1853; Marc Simmons, ed., "José Librado Gurulé's Recollections, 1867," in *On the Santa Fe Trail* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 120-133.

⁴Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 184.

⁵Charles Raber, "Personal Recollections of Life on the Plains from 1860 to 1868," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 16 (1925): 325; T. J. Sperry, "A Long and Useful Life for the Santa Fe Trail," *Wagon Tracks* 4 (May 1990): 14-17; Darlis Miller, "Freighting for Uncle Sam," *Wagon Tracks* 5 (November 1990): 11-15.

⁶Darlis A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 308-320, 357, 359-362, 365, 369, 372-373, 377; Mamie Bernard Aguirre, "Spanish Trader's Bride," *Westport Historical Quarterly* 4 (Dec. 1968), 5-23.

⁷Richard L. Nostrand demonstrates that between 1790 and 1880 the New Mexican population greatly expanded. This expansion, however, though in part a result of increasing demand for local products, was mostly the result of the search for additional grazing lands, and it did not enhance the circumstances of most of the people who continued indebted to the wealthy, "The Century of Hispano Expansion." *New Mexico Historical Review* 62 (1987): 361-386.

⁸During the 1850s Rafael Armijo kept a notebook where he recorded the cash loans he made. Most borrowed small sums of money, but were forced to mortgage their future crops to secure these loans. In many instances they mortgaged crops two or three years in advance, Rafael Armijo papers, New Mexico State Records Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico, see Chapter VII. The 1860 and 1870 Censuses indicate that few native New Mexicans declared any real or personal estate property.

⁹Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *The Formative Years, 1607-1763* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964)

173-202; Susan Calafate Boyle, "Inequality and Opportunity: Wealth Distribution in Ste. Genevieve, 1757-1804," paper delivered at the Social Science History Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., October 1983.

¹⁰Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 332-333.

¹¹U. S. House of Representatives, Report No. 458 to accompany H. R. No. 358, 13th Cong. First Session.

¹²Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 159.

¹³Frank D. Reeve, editor. "The Charles Bent Papers." *New Mexico Historical Review* 29 (1954): 234-39, 311-317; 30 (1955): 154-167, 252-254, 340-352; 31 (1956): 75-77, 157-164; 251-53.

¹⁴Barton H. Barbour, ed. *Reluctant Frontiersman: James Ross Larkin on the Santa Fe Trail, 1856-1857* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 103; Robert W. Frazer, ed., *Over the Chihuahua and Santa Fe Trails, 1847-1848: George Rutledge Gibson's Journal* (Albuquerque: published jointly by University of New Mexico Press and New Mexico Historical Society, 1981), 21.

¹⁵John P. Bloom, "New Mexico Viewed by Anglo Americans, 1846-1849." *New Mexico Historical Review* 34 (1959), 182.

¹⁶MANM, roll 15 # 230-257; roll 16 # 1000-1014; roll 20 # 2-124, 126-150, 355-458; 522-530; roll 22 # 3-5; 6-192; roll 23 # 1046-1075; roll 25 # 262-368; roll 26 # 602-650, 681-729; roll 28 # 103-131; roll 29 # 168-177, 289-320; roll 32 # 2-12, 31-63; roll 33 # 752-772; roll 35 # 5-48; 227-257; roll 39 3-37, 143-162; roll 42 # 453-490.

¹⁷MANM, roll 8 # 662-663, 665-667.

¹⁸MANM roll 36 # 380-389.

¹⁹MANM, roll 5 # 1322-1330, case against Silvester Pratte for illegal hunting of beaver; roll 8, # 387-417, case against Vicente Guion for illegally owning 300 lbs of beaver; roll 15 # 162-170, case against Ewing Young; for a colorful description of the fur traders' adventures in the New Mexican territory, see Lavender's *Bent's Fort*, 59-89.

²⁰MANM, roll 4 # 707-708; roll 5 # 1322-1330; roll 6 # 851-852, 1017-1020; roll 7 # 204-247; roll 8 # 372-418, 448-504; 1319-1332.

²¹MANM, roll 5 # 1322-1330; roll 8 # 387-418; # 1319-1332.

²²MANM, roll 15 # 162-170.

²³MANM, roll 15 # 268-270.

²⁴MANM, roll 8 # 504-672.

²⁵MANM, roll 13 # 647-49.

²⁶MANM, roll 10 # 565-572.

²⁷MANM, roll 1 # 208; roll 8 # 1349-1353; roll 10 # 545-546, 556-558; 565-572; roll 15 # 909-910,1007; roll 22 # 505; roll 38 # 90; roll 39 # 222-223.

²⁸MANM, roll 8 # 440-503, 118, 1142; roll 13 # 647-49; roll 14 # 49-52; roll 15 #635-650, 835, 869-70; roll 16 # 311-312, 998-999; roll 18 # 400-401; roll 26 # 675-678; roll 39 164-239.

²⁹Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 75

³⁰MANM, roll 23 # 406-409, 622-623; roll 38 # 511-514.

³¹MANM, roll 8 # 505-664.

³²MANM, roll 8 # 505-532.

³³MANM, roll 8 # 533-536.

³⁴MANM, roll 8 # 538-552.

³⁵MANM, roll 8 # 604-609.

³⁶MANM, roll 8 # 611-630.

³⁷MANM, roll 8 # 631-645.

³⁸MANM, roll 8 # 645-660.

³⁹MANM, roll 8 # 661-664.

⁴⁰MANM, roll 14 # 49-52.

⁴¹MANM, roll 13 # 647-654.

⁴²MANM, roll 15 # 620-623.

⁴³Appendix I; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 437, 449, 455, 475-476, 486, 565, 571.

⁴⁴Documents indicate that after 1839 wealthy New Mexicans regularly paid a substantial portion of the import duties collected by the Customs Office, MANM, roll 28 # 698-719, 730, 736-38, roll 32 # 1598-1620, roll 34 # 1171-1199, roll 37 # 413-458, roll 41 # 811-812, but the Armijos (Manuel, Juan and Rafael) were not identified among those bringing merchandise in 1840 and 1842, nor were their names among the lists of those paying import duties.

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¹It is somewhat tangled, but it is a way to make money. Letter by Damaso Robledo to Manuel Alvarez, October 29, 1846, Manuel Alvarez Papers [hereafter MAP], roll 1 # 598.

²*Council Grove Press* (Kansas), August 17, 1863; *ibid.*, Sep 14, 1863; MAP, roll 2 # 557.

³*Westport Border Star*, July 15, 1859; *Westport Border Star*, Aug 12, 1859; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 1037-1038; *Missouri Republican*, September 8, October 21, and December 17, 1858; June 8, July 18, and August 15, 1859; Fort Dodge (KS) Records, frame # 227, July 23, 1867; frame # 272, Sep 1867; Sister Lilliana Owens, "Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867-1882," *Jesuit Studies - Southwest*, Number 1 (n.d.), 32-35; "Preliminary Report of Survey of Inscriptions Along Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Autumn 1960), 310-322. The inscriptions, however, do not reveal if the names belonged to owners or freighters.

⁴The commercial activities of Felipe Chávez provide an excellent example of operations associated with the Santa Fe trail, see Chapter VI for the specific details.

⁵Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 117.

⁶Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexico History*, vol. II, 118; MANM, roll 5 # 575-576, 846-847; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 117, 132; James W. Covington, "Correspondence Between Mexican Officials at Santa Fe and Officials in Missouri: 1823-1825," *The Bulletin*, Missouri Historical Society (October 1959), 20-32; William R. Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Mexico* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 177-186; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 66.

⁷*Franklin Intelligencer*, June 9, 1826, p 3. Unfortunately there are no official records listing the merchandise Escudero introduced in the Santa Fe custom house at the end of his trip.

⁸MANM roll 6 # 486.

⁹*Franklin Intelligencer*, June 9, 1826, p 3.

¹⁰MANM, roll 11 # 346.

¹¹This is the last *guía* that records the introduction of foreign merchandise through Chihuahua, MANM, roll 24 # 802.

¹²The postscript of Cordero's letter requested information on the effects brought on the caravan, their prices and quantity, MANM, roll 24 # 1039-1040.

¹³U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Commerce, *To Establish Ports of Entry in Arkansas and Missouri*, 26th Cong., 1st sess., May 1840, p. 14-16. On the other hand fluctuations in the mining industry in Chihuahua might have caused a decrease in the demand for foreign goods.

¹⁴MAP, roll 1 # 458-461; roll 2 # 618.

¹⁵For Cordero's manifest, see MANM, roll 27 # 603-12; for the *guías* see MANM, roll 21 # 341-342.

¹⁶Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 383; information from surviving manifests and *guías* indicate that at least three leading New Mexican merchants participated in this trip—José and Mariano Chávez and Antonio José Otero, MANM, roll 28 # 698-699, 700-704, 730, 736-738, 750; see Appendix II for a list of all surviving manifests presented by Hispano merchants.

¹⁷MANM, roll 28 # 710-750. It is difficult to estimate the value of foreign merchandise coming to Santa Fe because neither manifests nor *guías* generally include an assessment of the value of the goods; a comparison of the loads from this period with those from the 1860s and 1870s reveals that with time their size and value improved dramatically. Another notable Mexican who brought a substantial amount of merchandise from the United States that year was Francisco Elguea (eleven *bultos*), but unluckily the value was not indicated.

¹⁸Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 449, 455.

¹⁹MANM roll 34 # 1176, 1182, 1203, 1204, 1205.

²⁰Moorhead, *New Mexico Royal Road*, 124-125.

²¹MANM, roll 27, 603-12, 613-618. The customs official sometimes referred to the *derecho de internación* as *derecho de alcabala*, which is technically incorrect; it is not possible to ascertain how they assigned import duties; *derecho de consumo* was 15 percent of the *derecho de internación*, MANM, roll 28 # 702, 730 738, 750.

²²MANM, roll 28 # 699, 702-204. Gregg confirms that only five merchants traveled that year; he claims that only \$50,000 worth of merchandise was shipped that year, the fourth lowest since 1822, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 332. Information on the amount of import duties merchants paid in other years is sporadic and does not allow for a comparison.

²³Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 430, 438; Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 332.

²⁴Webb, *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade*, 111.

²⁵In 1841 Texas Governor Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar believing that public sentiment in New Mexico favored Texas in its dispute with Mexico City, sent a party of over three hundred armed men across the plains to assert Texas jurisdiction over New Mexico. Governor Manuel Armijo was warned of the Texans' intent and easily forced the surrender of the weary, hungry and thirsty Texans, Webber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 266-269; Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 337-345.

²⁶MANM, roll 32 # 1598-1603; see Appendix II.

²⁷MANM, roll 32 # 1607-1628; see Appendix II.

²⁸For Alvarez's manifest see, MANM, roll 32 # 1604-1606; for John McKnight, # 1590-91; for James Magoffin, # 1588-1589; see Appendix II.

²⁹Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 332.

³⁰Marc Simmons's *Murder Down the Santa Fe Trail: An International Incident, 1843* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1987) provides the most complete account of the incident in which Antonio José Chávez lost his life; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 475-476.

³¹MANM, roll 34 # 1171. Import duties had increased dramatically following the disposition of a decree issued June 27, 1842 with some fabrics paying up to 80 *reales* (10 dollars) per *vara*. The special tax on knitted fabrics was dropped and the *derecho de consumo* fluctuated between 15 and 20 percent, # 1176-1199.

³²MANM, roll 34 # 1180-1181, 1190; see Appendix II.

³³MANM, roll 34 # 1176-1177, 1193-1195.

³⁴MANM, roll 37 # 413417, 418436, 437-442, 443-455, 456-458; see Appendix II.

³⁵MANM, roll 40 # 287-292, 294-311, 322-323, 325-327, 349-351. For other *guías* issued to traders carrying foreign merchandise see MANM, roll 40 # 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 399, 400, 402, 408, 472.

³⁶Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 571, 580, 591, 600, 628, 638, 642, 685, 702, 827-828, 874.

³⁷Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 512-513, 527, 565; David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), 230-231; for the Armijo trip to New York, see *New York Weekly Tribune*, November 15, 1845, p. 4; see Appendix II.

³⁸*Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*, April 6, 1846, April 7, 1846, and April 16, 1846; Tom Thomas, "The Evolution of Transportation in Western Pennsylvania," unpublished manuscript, 56-59.

³⁹Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 331-332.

⁴⁰Wyman, "Freighting in the Santa Fe Trail," 19-25; *Missouri Republican*, August 15, 1859; O'Brien, "Independence, Missouri's Trade," 98-108; Hall, *Social Change of the Southwest*, 150.

⁴¹Cooke, "A Journal of the Santa Fe Trail," 254. Cook is saying that he did not see ten wagons that belonged to Americans who resided in the United States. But of the 200 wagon loads that Cook mentions, several belonged to Americans who lived in Mexico. For example, Henry Connelly, a naturalized Mexican citizen, partially owned twenty-two wagons on the trail that year. Information from Mark Gardner, personal correspondence, 11/1/94.

⁴²Eugene T. Wells, "The Growth of Independence, Missouri: 1827-1850," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, vol. XVI (Oct 1959), 33-46; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 110; Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, 438, 455, 486, 565; for Armijo's *guías*, see Appendix I.

⁴³A cart laden with foreign goods could carry \$3,390 worth of merchandise, see MANM roll 21 # 352; MANM, roll 28 # 730, 736-738.

⁴⁴*Westport Border Star*, July 15, 1859, Aug. 12, 1859.

⁴⁵1841 and 1842 were not good years for keeping records associated with the Santa Fe trail; in 1841 the Texan Santa Fe expedition disrupted the trade and as a punishment the Custom Offices in Santa Fe and Chihuahua were closed for seven months, between August 7, 1843 and March 31, 1844, Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, 344; Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 124-125; for American guías in 1843 see MANM roll 34 # 1202, 1206, 1211, 1212, 1216; roll 37 # 392, 405, 407; roll 39 # 287-292, 294-311. Possibly as result of the drawback bill passed by the U. S. Congress in 1845 American traders showed renewed interest in the trade. James Magoffin took \$26,000 in merchandise, Albert Speyer close to \$70,000, MANM, roll 40 # 294-311.

⁴⁶Sandoval, "Trade and the *Manito* Society in New Mexico," *passim*.

⁴⁷Atherton, Lewis E., "James and Robert Aull—A Frontier Missouri Mercantile Firm," *Missouri Historical Review* 30 (1935), 3-27; "Business techniques in the Santa Fe Trade," *Missouri Historical Review* 34 (1940), 335-41; "The Santa Fe Trader as Mercantile Capitalist," *Missouri Historical Review* 72 (October 1982), 1-12.

⁴⁸Parish, Robert J., *The Charles Ilfeld Company: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 3-10, 11-82; "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850-1900," *New Mexico Historical Review* XXXV (1960), 3-29; 129-143.

⁴⁹Parish, "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico," 18-23; Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, 33-35.

⁵⁰Parish, "The German Jew," 9.

⁵¹It is possible that Henry Connelly, George and Charle Bent, and others could have developed similar commercial techniques as Alvarez; Parish, "The German Jew," 5.

⁵²The life of Manuel Alvarez has received a splendid treatment at the hands of Thomas E. Chávez, *Manuel Alvarez, 1794-1856: A Southwestern Biography* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990). Unfortunately this biography does not explore in sufficient detail Alvarez's economic activities. His extensive ledgers and correspondence in Spanish, French, and English deserve a more careful reading; they might provide a better understanding of the economic system which developed in New Mexico prior to the Mexican War; for a discussion of his transactions that involved other Santa Fe trail merchants. See also O'Brien, "Independence, Missouri's Trade," 231-247.

⁵³MAP, roll 1 # 441-443.

⁵⁴Parish, "The German Jew," 18.

⁵⁵MAP, roll 1 # 458-461, 479, 480, 481.

⁵⁶MAP, roll 1 # 1-102; roll 2 # 557, 546, 618; O'Brien, "Independence, Missouri's Trade," 231-247.

⁵⁷Parish, "The German Jew," 19; MAP roll 1 #441-443, 560-561, 574, 576, 594, 598, 600-601, 603, 634-635, 654-655, 694-695, 697, 723-724.

⁵⁸MAP, roll 1 # 441-443, 576, 723-724.

⁵⁹MAP, roll 1 # 594, 598, 600-601, 603, 694-695.

⁶⁰Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, 8.

⁶¹Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; for a listing of New Mexican merchants listed in the 1860 and 1870 Census, see Appendix III; unfortunately, the 1850 and 1880 censuses include no information on personal property. Darlis A. Miller presents the best analysis to date on cross-cultural marriages, "Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest: The New Mexico Experience, 1846-1900," *New Mexico Historical Review* 57 (1982): 335-59. See also Nancie L. González, *The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico: A Heritage of Pride* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), 80.

⁶²Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; see Appendix III.

⁶³Lincoln County was created in 1869 out of the eastern part of Socorro County. Colfax County was created out of Mora in the same year. Grant County had been created the year before (1868) out of the western fourth of Doña Ana County. Both Valencia and Bernalillo Counties ceded their eastern third to San Miguel County.

⁶⁴Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; see Appendix III.

⁶⁵Surviving stationery from the Perea family indicates that they owned at least one store in Bernalillo, Felipe Delgado Business Papers, 1864-1881; Webb, *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade*, 92-93.

⁶⁶In 1844 Simón Delgado wrote to his brother Pablo, "*a estos individuos no les aflojen un momento hasta que te paguen el último medio*, (don't let up until these individuals pay you the last cent)," Delgado Papers (Dingee Collection), 1837-1853, 1843-1851.

⁶⁷Delgado Papers (Dingee Collection), 1837-1853; Delgado Papers (Jenkins Collection), 1828-1876; Felipe Delgado Business Papers, 1864-1881.

⁶⁸A note on the back of one receipt said, "*Apunte de los carneros que tiene cuidando Nicolás Casados pertenecientes a esta tienda*," (Note on the wethers that Nicolas Casados is taking care that belong to this store), Delgado Papers (Jenkins Collection), San Miguel del Vado Accounts, 1837-1853; the document has no date.

⁶⁹Delgado Papers (Dingee Collection), 1851-1854; according to Agnes C. Laut, José Chávez was one of the foremost miners in New Mexico, *Pilgrims of the Santa Fe* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1931), 272.

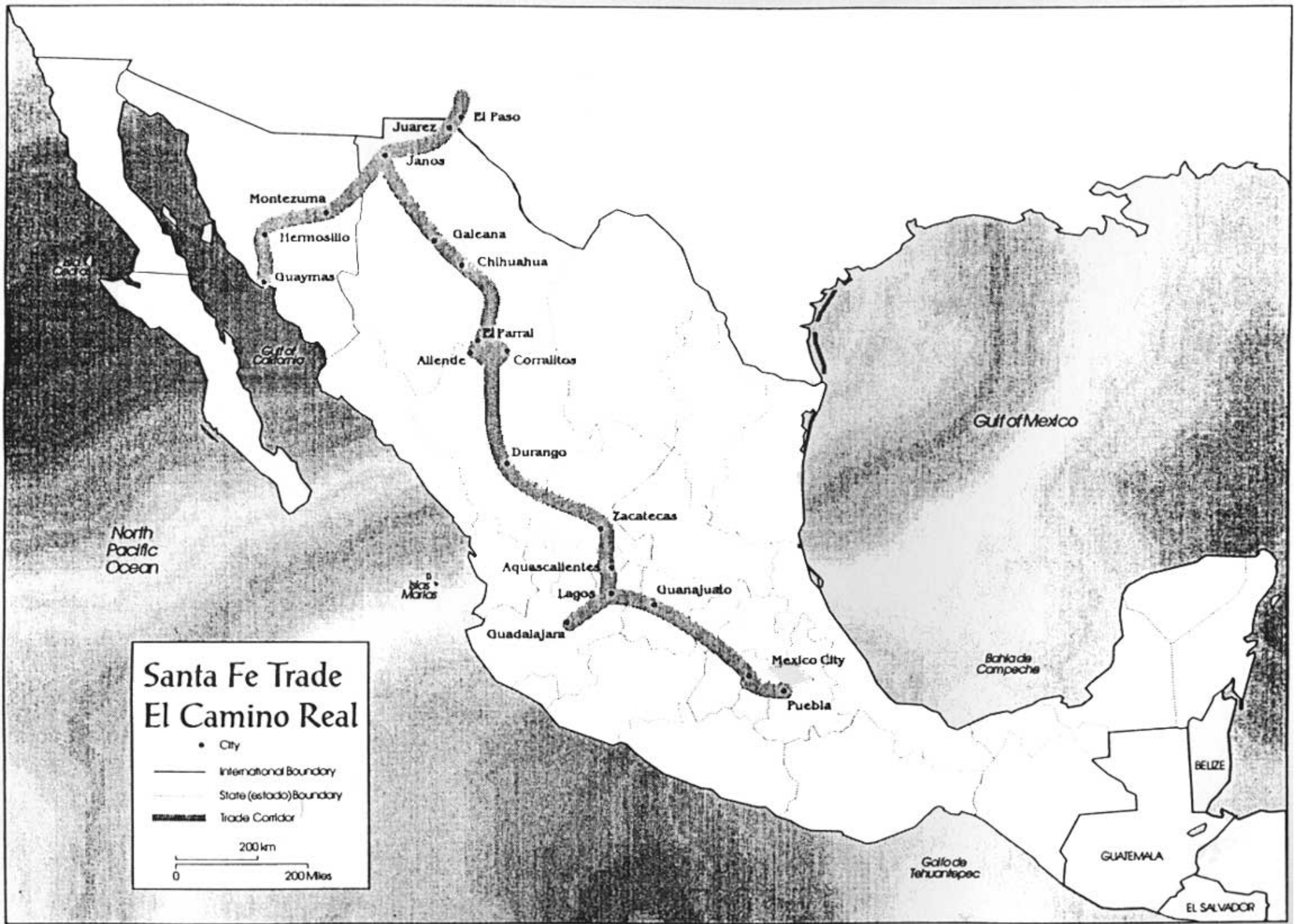
⁷⁰Correspondence (May 17, 1844) from José Zubía to Manuel Delgado, Delgado Papers, Dingee Collection, 1842-1846; correspondence from José Leandro Perea (1865, 1877, and

1881) shows both Perea and Delgado doing favors for each others, Felipe Delgado Business Papers, 1864-1881; correspondence (Sep 9, 1877) from Juan García to Martín Amador, a merchant from Las Cruces, Martín Amador Papers, Río Grande Historical Collections/Hobson-Huntsinger University Archives, Las Cruces, New Mexico, box 15; O'Brien, indicates that cooperation was also crucial to the success of non-Hispano merchants; see "Independence, Missouri's Trade with Mexico," *passim*.

⁷¹Felipe Delgado Business Papers, 1864-1881.

⁷²MAP, roll # 2 1076-1078.

⁷³In 1854 Fernando Delgado sold 101 ounces of silver in St. Louis for which he received \$360.09, Delgado Papers (Dingee Collection) 1851-1854; see Chapter VI for a more detailed discussion of Felipe Chávez's shipments outside New Mexico.



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CHAPTER VI: ENDNOTES

¹"I will never forget him because for me he was the finest and most sincere friend that I have known; I do not have enough words to express my gratitude to a friend like him who was always ready to help me when I was in need. . .I beg and plead with you that you continue to lend me the money, if you wish at 6 percent as your kind father, my boss, Don Felipe, had done..." FCZIM, folder 33 (Felipe Delgado, 6/16/1906). This letter was addressed to José E. Chávez right after the death of José Felipe Chávez, his father.

²Felipe Chávez played a very important role in the history of New Mexico during the nineteenth century. Substantial records survive to conduct a biographical study incorporating an in-depth analysis of both his business career as well as his private life. The present study does not include materials after 1880 and does not claim to have examined all of the Chávez records. For a brief summary of his life see, Tibo J. Chávez's "'El Millonario:' Ambitious Merchant Cut Stylish Figure on Frontier," *New Mexico Magazine* LXVII (June 1989), 73-79.

³His papers are at the New Mexico State Records Center, thereafter FCSRC, and at the Zimmerman Library at the University of New Mexico, hereafter FCZIM. The latter are part of the New Mexican merchants collection. Most of the documents used in this work come from box 1, but the folder number has been indicated. To facilitate the identification of the individual documents, the author of the letter and/or invoice is listed followed by the date of the document. Unluckily only scattered correspondence survives that records the economic activities of other members of this and other influential New Mexican families.

⁴FCZIM, folder 66 (Agustín de la Rúa, 12/2/52). Felipe Chávez died in June 1906, FCZIM (folder 33, Felipe Delgado, 6/1906).

⁵For example, the *borrador* for 1859 to 1863 included 76 letters addressed to W.H. Chick, P. Harmony, Edward James and William Henry Glasgow, Joseph Amberg, José Cordero, Henry Connely, R. Bernard, William Smith, Antonio Castillo, Ambrosio Armijo, and others.

⁶FCZIM, *borrador* 1859-1863, letters to P. Harmony on 8/13/59, 9/16/59, 9/22/59; to E. Glasgow 8/29/59; folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 9/13/59, P. Harmony 12/15/59); for the itemized list of the bolts of cloth Chávez purchased, see FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 519/56).

⁷Parish, "The German Jew," 18.

⁸Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City* (New York: Thomas R. Knox & Co., 1885), 226-227; for invoices, see FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 4/26/56, 4/30/56; E. Glasgow, 5/10/56, 5/21/56); FCZIM, folder 39 (P. Harmony, 4/26/56, 5/2/56; E. Glasgow, 5/21/56); folder 41 (Harmony, 5/14/56). A month and a half later Felipe arranged for the purchase of an additional 16,000 pounds of goods, this time from Kearney & Bernard, from Westport, Missouri, FCZIM, folder 41 (Kearney & Bernard, 6/6/56).

⁹FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 6/16/56; 4/30/56; 12/13/60; E. Glasgow, 5/6/56). There are more than one hundred examples of these types of transactions. Edward James and William Henry Glasgow were among the leading Missouri mercantile firms that engaged in active trade with New Mexico and the northern Mexican provinces; see Mark L. Gardner, ed., *Brothers on the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trails: Edward James Glasgow and William Henry Glasgow, 1846-1848* (Niwot: University of Colorado Press, 1993).

¹⁰FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 4/30/59).

¹¹FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 3/14/60); FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 3/15/60).

¹²FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 4/23/63); folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 3/31/63).

¹³Mark L. Gardner, *The Glasgow Brothers* (Niwot: University of Colorado Press, 1993),

¹⁴FCSRC, Business papers (E. Glasgow, 5/6/56).

¹⁵FCZIM, folder 31 (Chick, Browne & Co., 7/4-7/71).

¹⁶FCZIM, folder 31 (Chick, Browne & Co., 11/17/1873); folder 68 (S. Davis & Co., 2/22/76).

¹⁷FCZIM, folder 31 (Chick, Browne & Ca., 7/10/72, 11/17/73).

¹⁸Robles's comments were very interesting. More than once he noted that sometimes the packaging of the merchandise was worth more than the content itself, "*Las pomadas son de buena calidad y si se tira lo que adentro contienen, el pomo o botellita vale el dinero y un poco más,*" (Unguents are of high quality and after the contents are gone the tube or little bottle are worth the money, or even more); this citation is from a letter dated 2/22/60; FCSRC, Business papers (A. Robles, 2/17/60, 2/22/60); FCZIM, folder 67 (A. Robles, 2/21/60; 2/26/60).

¹⁹FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 5/4/59, 5/9/59).

²⁰Robles did not continue as Chávez's agent after this trip, possibly because Harmony sent a very unflattering report on him. Robles's activities offended Harmony and almost delayed the shipment of the order. According to the Spanish entrepreneur while his workers were trying to prepare the final invoice for shipment, numbering and checking the various loads, Robles would appear announcing the purchase of a new set of merchandise which had to be packaged adequately, labeled, and included in the invoice. To accommodate the additional goods the workers would have to stop their work on the invoice and shift their attention to the items Robles had bought. They were pressed for time since the merchandise had to be ready for shipment. Harmony admitted that in their hurry his workers had misnumbered various *fardos*. Chávez also complained that he had not received some of the shovels that Robles had purchased, FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 8/1/60).

²¹FCZIM, folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 6/30/58);

²²FCZIM, folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 5/17/61, 3/31/63).

²³FCZIM, folder 67 (Charles Stem, 4/15/67); FCSRC, Miscellaneous Documents 2 (Cuno,

Bohms & Co., 2/20/68); FCZIM, folder 67 (Appleton, Noyes & Co., 4/14/68).

²⁴FCZIM, folder 68 (E. Glasgow, 6/23/71; R. D. Wells, 6/23/71; A. Mellier, 6/21/71; B. & J. Slevin, 6/23/71).

²⁵FCSRC, Business papers (S. P. Shannon, 6/65).

²⁶FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick & Co., 3/22/67; Chick Browne & Co., 10/11/69).

²⁷FCSRC, Miscellaneous Papers 2 (Cuno, Bohms & Co, 2/20/68); FCZIM, folder 68 (Bartels Brothers & Co., 9/26/1876); folder 21 (Browne & Manzanares, 4/25/79).

²⁸FCZIM, folder 68 (P. Brother, 8/15/1871).

²⁹FCZIM, folder 67 (A. Montoya, 3/60).

³⁰FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 6/5/59).

³¹FCZIM, folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 4/5/62); FCSRC, Business papers (E. Glasgow, 3/4/60).

³²FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 6/8/69).

³³FCZIM, folder 31 (Chick, Browne & Co, 7/4-8/71, 11/22/71).

³⁴FCZIM, folder 21 (F. Manzanares, 4/25/78).

³⁵FCZIM, folder 21 (V. Baca, 7/17/78). Storage and commission fees were other expenses that had to be added to the cost of merchandise. These charges at times could be fairly high, FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 4/23/63); FCSRC, Business papers (W. H. Chick, 6/6/63).

³⁶FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 9/28/64).

³⁷FCSRC, Business papers (Otero & Sellars, 9/22/68).

³⁸FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 6/26/69).

³⁹There is a considerable number of documents that show this pattern, see FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 10/20/63); folder 31 (W. H. Chick & Co, 6/18/69).

⁴⁰FCZIM, folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 62); folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 6/8/69, 6/18/69); folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 10/6/79).

⁴¹FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 6/8/69, 6/18/69); FCSRC, Business Papers (Chick, Browne & Co., 4/25/72; W. C. Houston, Jr. & Co., 10/2/1880); FCZIM, folder 39 (E. J. Glasgow, 8/6/79); folder 68 (Benjamin Walker, 5/21/1879).

⁴²FCSRC, Business papers (Harmony, 6/16/56).

⁴³FCSRC, Business papers (Harmony, 7/14/57).

⁴⁴FCZIM, folder 5 (Nicolás Armijo, 2/2/69, 3/2/69, 3/9/69, 11/15/69), folder 13 (9/8/72);

folder 26 (J. Francisco Chávez, 10/10/65). His associates and friends also kept him informed of developments that could negatively affect his family and that required his attention. In 1871 the vicar of Denver wanted to discuss with Felipe's mother the inheritance of her recently-deceased daughter. Delgado advised Chávez that the vicar had been named administrator of the estate, and that he (Delgado) had informed the vicar that Mrs. Chávez was not the guardian. Since the vicar insisted, Delgado felt it would be better for Mrs. Chávez if Felipe himself went to Santa Fe and spoke directly with the vicar, FCSRC, Business papers (Pablo Delgado, 2/23/71).

⁴⁵FCZIM, folder 27 (Melquiades Chávez, 11/4/67).

⁴⁶FCZIM, folder 24 (Francisco Chávez II, 5/21/79, 6/25/79).

⁴⁷FCSRC, Business papers, (J. B. Rougemont, 3/28/73, 10/20/79), (Nicolás Quintana, 6/21/74); Gutiérrez's addressed Felipe as *primo* (cousin), FCSRC, Miscellaneous papers, (José Gutiérrez, 1/16/68).

⁴⁸FCZIM, folder 33 (Pablo Delgado, 5/12/71); folder 68 (Rita R. de Valencia, 5/22/73; Luis M. Baca, 5/21/77; Benito and Eleuterio Baca, 2/21/79); folder 16 (Benito and Eleuterio Baca, 3/3/79); FCSRC, Business papers, (Jacob Amberg, 5/30/69; A. Zeckendorf, 7/29/67).

⁴⁹FCSRC, Miscellaneous Papers 2 (J. Martin Amador, 2/3/68); FCZIM, folder 33 (Pablo Delgado, 7/30/70). He also lent \$3,000 to the Baca brothers and extended the loan for an additional year, FCZIM, folder 68 (Baca Hermanos, 2/21/79); folder 16 (Baca Hermanos, 3/3/79). Americans also borrowed, folder 33 (Pablo Delgado, 5/12/71).

⁵⁰At the time of his death Felipe was charging Delgado 6 percent interest, FCZIM (Felipe Delgado, 6/16/1906). It is not clear if this was the standard rate that he levied on his debtors.

⁵¹FCSRC, Business papers (A. Zeckendorf, 6/26/67; 7/29/67); it is possible that Chávez was guilty of anti-semitism. His correspondence does not indicate such sentiment, but a letter from Antonio Robles, his trusted agent, reveals a strong anti-Jewish sentiment. Writing from New York on February 26, 1860, Robles told Chávez, "*...esta judillada is infernal, si Salomón no es judío, vive con ellos, y sigue las mismas huellas,*" (...this bunch of jews is infernal; if Salomón is not a Jew, he lives with them and follows the same tracks), FCZIM, folder 67 (Antonio Robles, 2/26/60).

⁵²FCZIM, folder 33 (Felipe Delgado, 6/16/1906).

⁵³FCSRC, Miscellaneous papers 2 (José Felix Benavídez, 1/27/68).

⁵⁴FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 10/11/69); folder 41 (P. Harmony, 11/3/65, 4/23/67).

⁵⁵FCZIM, folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 4/6/60).

⁵⁶FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 8/12/59; José Cordero, 2/24/60, 9/20/62); FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 8/18/59, 8/7/61); folder 67 (José Cordero, 9/11/62).

⁵⁷FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 6/6/61), folder 67 (P. Harmony, 7/10/61); FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 7/10/61).

⁵⁸FCSRC, Business papers (Delino Hermanos, 9/16/62).

⁵⁹FCZIM, folder 68 (F. Maceyra, 4/26/78).

⁶⁰FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 3/15/60), folder 66 (Alvarez Araujo, 11/29/59); FCSRC, borrador (Felipe Chávez to Harmony, 10/5/59).

⁶¹FCSRC, Business papers (Antonio José Otero, 7/8/62); FCZIM, folder 41 (Antonio José Otero, 12/3/62).

⁶²It is possible that Pablo was also a partner. An invoice from the First National Bank of Santa Fe indicates that Pablo Delgado was making regular deposits on Felipe Chávez's account, FCSRC, Business papers (no date, ca. Nov. 1872). See Figure 8 for a look at Felipe Chávez's store in Belen.

⁶³FCSRC, business papers (P. Harmony, 1/10/57).

⁶⁴FCZIM, folder 33 (Simón Delgado, 2/4/63; 2/10/63; 3/25/63; 9/15/65; Pablo Delgado, 5/9/69; 6/18/69; 7/30/70; 5/12/71; 7/20/71; 2/25/72); FCSRC, Business papers (Simón Delgado, 9/1/61; W. H. Moore & Co., no day or month/65; Pablo Delgado, 6/28/70; 10/13/70; 2/23/71); FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 4/16/67).

⁶⁵FCSRC, Business papers, 1868 (Pablo Delgado, 6/11/68).

⁶⁶FCZIM, folder 21 (F. Manzanares, 12/26/68).

⁶⁷FCZIM, folder 33 (Pablo Delgado, 5/9/69). Amberg informed Chávez at the end of May that his partner (Gustave Elsberg) had cheated him and had stolen all the property and destroyed his reputation. He had even sold their store in Chihuahua. As soon as he heard of this Amberg went to Chihuahua to take care of the situation. Amberg assured Chávez that he would pay everything he owed even before it was due, FCSRC, Business papers, (Jacob Amberg, 5/30/69).

⁶⁸FCZIM, folder 33 (Pablo Delgado, 5/9/68, 6/18/69).

⁶⁹FCZIM, folder 33; unluckily it is not clear how much each partner invested in the operation initially; the one surviving invoice indicates that Chávez contributed \$20,795.14 while Simón Delgado's share was substantially smaller, \$3,827.65; FCSRC, Business papers (no name, 1861; Simón Delgado, 9/1/61).

⁷⁰FCZIM, folder 33 (P. Delgado, 2/2/5/72).

⁷¹FCZIM, folder 39 (Antonio José Otero, 1/9/59); FCSRC, Business papers (Pablo Delgado, 10/27/70).

⁷²FCZIM, folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 9/2/61); folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 10/3/69).

⁷³FCSRC, Business papers (A. Montoya, 7/12/58).

⁷⁴FCZIM, folder 39. In 1871 he was still authorizing P. Harmony to make payments in gold, but the reasons for this specific request are not clear, FCZIM, folder 41 (Theodore Herrmann, 4/18/71).

FCSRC, Business papers, 1859. This was not unusual. In Sep 1861 Simón Delgado sent in Chávez's behalf \$15,400 in *libranzas* to P. Harmony in New York, FCSRC, Business papers (S. Delgado, 9/1/61); in 1864 P. Harmony gave him credit for \$38,833.37, FCZIM, folder 41(10/1/64).

⁷⁶FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 8/24/63); folder 31 (Chick, Armijo y Cia., 11/10/67, 11/18/67).

⁷⁷FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 10/31/57); FCZIM, folder 66 (P. Harmony, 9/29/56).

⁷⁸Eighth Census of the United States, roll 712.

⁷⁹Ninth Census of the United States, roll 897.

⁸⁰FCZIM, folder 41 (Harmony 1/11/71); folder 39 (Glasgow. 1/1/79); folder 21 (Browne & Manzanares, 7/3/79), (Chick, Browne & Co., 7/3/79); FCSRC, Business Papers (Bank statement for 1872; FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 12/31/79). In November 1870 Manzanares wrote explaining that even though Chávez had been proposed as one of the director of the National Bank to be established in Santa Fe, all the stock being sold, however, it would not be possible for him to become a director. It is interesting to note that three of the six directors were merchants from the Río Abajo—José Leandro Perea, Manuel Antonio Otero, and Frank A. Manzanares. The other three directors were S. B. Elkins, J. L. Johnson, and J. L. Griffin, FCSRC, Business papers, 1870 (Frank A. Manzanares, 11/18/70). Unfortunately due to changes in census format it is not possible to establish if the family wealth continued to grow during the 1870s.

⁸¹FCZIM, folder 31 (10/18/67).

⁸²The evidence is not conclusive. The only reference to deposit of gold comes from one invoice, FCZIM, folder 33 (W. H. Chick, 6/24/71).

⁸³Most of the surviving *partidos* are in FCZIM, folder 59; folder 68 (Luis M. Baca, 10/14/78).

⁸⁴FCSRC, Business papers (Edwin Edgar, 10/1/69).

⁸⁵The first surviving record of Chávez's shipping wool dates from 1869, FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 10/3/69); FCSRC, Business papers (Chick, Browne & Co., 10/14/72). The strategy on wool deliveries was also complex, FCZIM, folder 68 (Luis M. Baca, 10/14/78); sometimes if only a small lot arrived at the railroad terminal, the middle-man would wait until he accumulated a larger amount to negotiate for a better price, FCSRC, Business papers (Chick, Browne & Co., 4/25/72).

⁸⁶FCZIM, folder 31 (W. H. Chick, 10/3/69, 10/17/69, 10/10/70); folder 21 (Browne y Manzanares, 4/2/1878); folder 25 (Jesús Bonifacio Chávez, 9/10/70); folder 39 (Glasgow Brothers, 5/17/1878, 6/14/1878, 7/11/1878, 7/27/1878); folder 41 (P. Harmony, 10/1/1878, 10/6/1878, 11/6/1878); folder 68 (Luis M. Baca, 10/14/78); FCSRC, Business papers (Chick Browne & Co., 8/14/72); Business papers (Glasgow Brothers, 4/21/79, 4/25/79).

⁸⁷FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 12/31/1879).

FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 10/26/1879, 11/8/1879, 11/10/1879); folder 39 (E. J. Glasgow, 10/2/79)

⁸⁹FCZIM, folder 17 (Vicente M. Baca, 4/29/79).

⁹⁰FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 6/5/61); FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 6/6/61).

⁹¹FCSRC, Business papers (Z. Staab & Brother, 6/14/68).

⁹²FCZIM, folder 67 (José Lobato account, 7/21/68-5/20/72); folder 68 (José Miguel Baca account, 2/12/68-6/24/63; Rita R. de Valencia, 5/22/73)

⁹³FCZIM, folder 67 (Baca's partial account, Jan. 1868-Jun. 1873).

⁹⁴FCSRC, Business papers, 1868 (Pablo Delgado, 10/27/70, 11/13/70).

⁹⁵FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 1/10/64; 5/10/64; 10/10/64); FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 2/7/65); the former was at No. 59 East 28th Street, the latter was at No. 36 East 29th Street.

⁹⁶FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 22/1/65); FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 5/6/65; 5/10/65; 10/3/65).

⁹⁷FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 4/5/66; 10/5/66).

⁹⁸FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 1/29/66; 2/20/66; 3/19/67; 5/9/67); FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 12/28/67).

⁹⁹FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 9/13/69, 10/9/69).

¹⁰⁰FCZIM, folder 41 (P. Harmony, 3/8/71, 5/6/71, 7/11/71).

¹⁰¹FCZIM, folder 39 (E. Glasgow, 1/1/79); folder 41 (P. Harmony, 7/22/1879, 10/28/79).

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SANTA FE

Special History Study



CHAPTER VII: ENDNOTES

¹MANM, roll 28 # 736-38; roll 32 # 1607-28; roll 37 # 456-58.

²*Westport Border Star*, July 15, 1859, p. 3; August 12, 1859; Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; R. G. Dun & Company Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University, New Mexico, vol 1, 346.

³Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897.

⁴MANM, roll 24 # 794; roll 28 # 772-773; roll 37 # 396; FCZIM, folder 39 (Antonio José Otero, 1/9/59); FCSRC, Business papers (Antonio José Otero, 7/8/62); FCZIM, folder 41 (Antonio José Otero, 12/3/62); FCZIM, folder 5 (Manuel Antonio Otero, 1/10/67); folders 6-11 numerous letters from Manuel Antonio writing from La Constancia.

⁵Gross, Kelly & Company, letter to Manuel Antonio Otero, 12/22/81, Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico.

⁶Miguel Antonio Otero, *Otero: An Autobiographical Trilogy*, 3 vols., *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882* (New York: Arno Press, 1974), 1, 280-288.

⁷Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, 8-164.

⁸Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, 11-12.

⁹Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, 87, 164. In return for ceding their lands Indian tribes received yearly payments, known as annuities, from the United States government. See O'Brien, "Independence, Missouri's Trade," 56-58.

¹⁰Howard Roberts Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912; A Territorial History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 197-201; the January 1992 issue of the *New Mexico Historical Review* is totally devoted to the career of Miguel Antonio Otero; Gerald D. Nash, "New Mexico in the Otero Era: Some Historical Perspectives," 1-12; Maria E. Montoya, "The Dual World of Governor Miguel A. Otero: Myth and Reality in Turn-of-the-Century New Mexico," 13-32; Cynthia Secor Welsh, "A 'Star Will Be Added': Miguel Antonio Otero and the Struggle for Statehood," 33-52; Jolane Culhane, "Miguel Antonio Otero; A Photographic Essay," 53-62. None of these publications address the business background of the Otero family.

¹¹Manuel Antonio Otero listed \$10,000 in real estate and \$154,550 in personal estate. José Leandro Perea was the richest with \$225,000; he was followed by Mariano Yrizarri with \$213,000, Cerain St. Vrain with \$211,000, and W. H. Moore with \$165,000, rolls 712-716;

see Appendix III and IV.

¹²Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, 65; for credit reports on Otero, see R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University, New Mexico, vol. 1; for a discussion of Lewis Tappan's Mercantile Agency, the first credit reporting firm in the United States, see O'Brien, "Independence, Missouri's Trade," 130-132.

¹³Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, includes a lot of information on the political activities of native New Mexicans, like the Pereas, but never addresses their economic interests, 87, 90, 99, 134-135, 187-188, 192, 198-199; W. H. Allison, "Colonel Francisco Perea," *Old Santa Fe I* (1913), 209-222.

¹⁴*Westport Border Star*, August 12, 1859, p. 3.

¹⁵Simmons, "José Librado Gurulé's Recollections," 120-133.

¹⁶MANM, roll 28 # 769, roll 34 # 1232; roll 37 # 524; R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard University, New Mexico, vol. 1, p. 348.

¹⁷Eighth Census of the United States, roll 712; Ninth Census of the United States, roll 893. According to his granddaughter at the time of his death in 1882, José Leandro owned seven million dollars. This information comes from a newspaper clipping, possibly from an Albuquerque newspaper, n.d., Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico.

¹⁸Eighth Census of the United States, roll 712; Ninth Census of the United States, roll 893.

¹⁹E. Boyd Collection, State Records Center, Santa Fe, Box 11, Folder 180

²⁰R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, New Mexico, vol. 1, p. 364.

²¹R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, New Mexico, vol. 1, p. 364; Eighth Census of the United States, roll 712; Ninth Census of the United States, roll 893; Appendix III and IV.

²²Eighth Census of the United States, roll 712; Ninth Census of the United States, roll 893; see Appendix III.

²³The documents examined during the course of this study do not permit an assessment of Governor Manuel Armijo's wealth; Janet Lecompte is working on a definitive biography of Manuel Armijo and it is quite likely that her study will answer many questions regarding Armijo's business activities; for a study of two others members of the Armijo family (Rafael and Manuel) at the time of the Civil War and the impact of their support for the Confederacy, see Susan V. Richards, "From Traders to Traitors? The Armijo Brothers Through the Nineteenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 69 (July 1994): 215-229.

²⁴*Westport Border Star*, July 15, 1839, p. 3.

²⁵Eighth Census of the United States, roll 712; Ninth Census of the United States, roll 893; R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, New Mexico, vol. 1, p. 341; see Appendix III.

²⁶Richards, "From Traders to Traitors?", 215-229; Eighth Census of the United States, roll 712; Rafael Armijo Business Papers, Account Book, SRC.

²⁷Rafael Armijo Business Papers, Account Book, SRC.

²⁸John J. Gay papers, items 12, 15, 16, 22, Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico.

²⁹John J. Gay papers, item 10, 1/5/1859; item 11, 1/13/1859, Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico.

³⁰Richards, "From Traders to Traitors?", 215-229; Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, 35-36, 38-45; "The German Jew," 18-23, 139-142.

³¹John O. Baxter has published the best study on Armijo, "Salvador Armijo: Citizen of Albuquerque, 1823-1879," *New Mexico Historical Review* 53 (July 1978): 218-237.

³²Baxter, "Salvador Armijo," 223-227; Eighth Census of the United States, roll 712; Ninth Census of the United States, roll 893.

³³Eighth United States Census, rolls 712-716; Ninth United States Census, rolls 893-897; Appendix III.

³⁴See Chapter 5 for a description of changes in wealth distribution and the geographic location of merchants; see Appendix III and IV.

³⁵Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; see Appendix III.

³⁶Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897. Most of these individuals appeared to be reaching middle age, the accumulation of personal estate seems excessive for the conditions in a territory where the average farmer reported less than one hundred dollars in personal estate.

³⁷Nestor and Nicolás were the children of Juan Cristóbal Armijo. There is an extensive correspondence between Nicolás Armijo and Felipe Chávez which documents the commercial activities of the Armijo brothers in Mexico. See FCZIM. folder 5 (Nicolás Armijo, 2/2/69, 3/2/69, 3/9/69, 11/15/69).

³⁸Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; Baxter, "Salvador Armijo," 229.

³⁹The trend is even more pronounced among the five wealthiest, three had Hispano wives (Lucien Maxwell, William Moore, and Henry Bierbaum). One of the few studies that addresses cross-cultural marriages is Darlis A. Miller's "Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest: The New Mexico Experience," *New Mexico Historical Review* 57 (September 1982): 335-359.

⁴⁰Both Valencia and Bernalillo counties ceded their eastern third to San Miguel while Doña Ana and Socorro counties relinquished a substantial portion of their territory to make possible the creation of Grant and Lincoln counties. Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; see Appendix III and IV; Beck, Warren A. and Hasse, Ynez D, *Historical Atlas of New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969) 34-38.

⁴¹For a discussion of some of the problems associated with the use of census information see, Susan C. Boyle, *Social Mobility in the United States: Historiography and Methods* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 115-116; Margaret Walsh, "The Census as an Accurate Source of Information: The Value of Mid-Nineteenth Century Manufacturing Returns," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, III (September 1970), 4-13; Joel Perlman, "Using Census Districts in Analysis: Record Linkage and Sampling," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, X (Autumn 1979), 279-289; Ian Winchester, "The Linkage of Historical Records by Man and Computer: Techniques and Problems," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, I (Autumn 1970), 107-125; Theodore Hershberg, Alan Burstein, and Robert Dockhorn, "Record Linkage," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, IX (March-June 1976), 137-163.

⁴²Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; Appendix III and IV.

⁴³Delgado Papers (Dingee Collection) 1837-1853, 1842-1846, 1843-1851; Felipe Delgado Business Papers, 1864-1881; FCSRC, Business papers (n. d., ca. Nov 1872); FCSRC, Business papers (P. Harmony, 1/10/57); FCZIM, folder 33 (Simón Delgado, 2/4/63; 2/10/63/ 3/25/65; Pablo Delgado, 5/9/69; 6/18/69; 7/30/70/ 5/12/71/ 7/20/71/ 2/25/72); FCSRC, Business Papers (Simón Delgado, 9/1/61; Pablo Delgado, 6/8/70; 10/13/70); Felipe Delgado worked for Felipe Chávez until the latter's death in 1906, FCZIM, folder 33 (Felipe Delgado, 6/16/1906).

⁴⁴Delgado Papers (Dingee Collection), 1854; Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United States, rolls 893-897; see Appendix III; for a discussion of the Felipe Chávez's assets, see Chapter VI.

⁴⁵Eighth Census of the United States, rolls 712-716; Ninth Census of the United states, rolls 893-897; see Appendix III.

⁴⁶Delgado Papers (Jenkins Collection); Felipe Delgado Business Papers, 1864-1881.

⁴⁷Felipe Delgado Business Papers, 1864-1881.

⁴⁸Felipe Delgado Business Papers, 1864-1881.

⁴⁹Internal conflict between Porfirio Díaz and Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada highlight the history of Mexico during the 1870s; Parkes, *A History of Mexico*, 270-273, 281-322; Cumberland, *Mexico: The Struggle for Modernity*, 194-196.

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