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The L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company: A Case Study of Mercantile Conquest in the Rio Abajo Region of New Mexico, 1848-1880

Ricardo S. Gonzales
University of New Mexico

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Ricardo “Rico” Santos Gonzales

Candidate

History

Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Durwood Ball, Chairperson

Jason Scott Smith

Paul Andrew Hutton

Richard Melzer

**THE L. & H. HUNING MERCANTILE COMPANY:
A CASE STUDY OF MERCANTILE CONQUEST IN THE RIO ABAJO REGION OF
NEW MEXICO, 1848–1880**

By

Ricardo “Rico” Santos Gonzales

B.A., Philosophy, cum laude, University of New Mexico, 2009

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

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RICARDO “RICO” SANTOS GONZALES

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ABSTRACT

This master’s thesis is a case study of the L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company, a mercantile partnership in New Mexico during the territorial period. Louis and Henry Huning, a pair of brothers who immigrated to New Mexico from Germany in 1859, established wholesale and retail enterprises in the Arizona and New Mexico territories. Their main storehouse was founded in Los Lunas, New Mexico, in 1871 following the departure of Erhardt Franz to St. Louis.

L. & H. Huning became a successful merchandising business in the Rio Abajo by establishing a mercantile monopoly in Los Lunas. The introduction of free-market exchanges, the extension of credit in traditional communities, and the creation of a market for locally grown crops—these factors contributed to their success over the Hispano merchants in the post–Civil War era. In addition, federal supply contracts entrenched L. & H. Huning in New Mexico, providing the store’s main source of cash flow. This component allowed the store to anchor its foundations in the community and structure the local economy. Through selling merchandise, providing a market for local crops, and extending credit to their customers, L.

& H. Huning was able to acquire its assets (wool and land) from store debtors in New Mexico and Arizona. The partnership ultimately made its fortune by selling wool to eastern industrialists.

Merchants, such as the Huning brothers, wielded visible influence over the frontier economy through retailing, wholesaling, banking, importing and exporting, freighting merchandise, facilitating transactions, and receiving federal contracts. This thesis concludes with the dissolution of the L. & H. Huning partnership in 1888. The decline of the business was due to the end of the Indian Wars in 1886 (no more supply contracts), the closure of frontier posts, the decline of wool, and the importation of cheaper grains from Kansas via the railroad. In all, New Mexican merchant capitalists, such as the Huning brothers, established roots in their communities, earned fair reputations, adapted to New Mexican culture, provided economic services, and spawned multi-generational family businesses. Merchants replaced the Hispano patrons in the economic hierarchy, but created new social and economic dependencies in a changing capitalist landscape.

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Introduction

After the U.S.-Mexico War concluded in 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States formally brought northern Mexico under its sovereignty. Western historian Howard Lamar has classified a significant portion of this region (New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado) as the Far Southwest, noting its geographical similarities, shared territorial histories, and mutual dependency on the federal government for economic aid. For the rest of the nineteenth century, the Far Southwest was a site of political, military, social, and economic conquest. Indeed, conquest has taken on different forms in westward expansion: the subjugation of Natives; the dispossession of Spanish and Mexican land grants; and the consolidation of land, resources, and minerals in the hands of a few wealthy entrepreneurs and speculators. My research falls in line with this theme, but with a less-well-known cast of characters. This master's thesis is a narrative about mercantile conquest in the Far Southwest; it is a history about ambitious businessmen who established wholesale and retail enterprises in New Mexico and created commercial empires through merchants' capital. They practiced a form of capitalism in which an individual or entity profits from the exchange process in market transactions. Merchants, in particular, carved out their economic dominions through shrewd employment of economic practices and opportunistic exploitation of markets. Although less romantic than the courageous soldier conquering Native fighters or the brave explorer battling rugged terrain, merchants constructed their own weapons for seizing market power in the West. My aim is to tell how one particular merchant family, the Huning family of New Mexico, accomplished that end.¹

¹ Howard Lamar was the first western historian who defined the Far Southwest as a distinct subregion of the West. See Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History*, rev. ed. (1966; repr., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 2–5. The inspiration for employing the theme of

The time period under investigation begins in 1848 at the close of the U.S.-Mexico War and ends in 1880, the year in which the railroads arrived in New Mexico Territory. This history examines the Rio Abajo, the lower Rio Grande region of New Mexico, a string of communities lining the Rio Grande from Albuquerque south to Socorro. I have chosen this time period and region for three reasons. First, in 1848, the entirety of the Santa Fe Trail, a trade route from Missouri to Santa Fe, and much of the Chihuahua Trail officially became part of the United States. Market relationships between *nuevomexicanos* and the United States became commonplace with the influx of Anglo American and European merchants to the region. Second, the U.S. Army made regular expenditures in the West while executing its mission to pacify indigenous peoples, a mission that lasted into the mid-1880s. Capitalism became a fact of everyday life for New Mexicans as a result of an army presence and their incorporation into the national economy. The railroad's arrival in 1880 changed the economic process of merchant capitalism to a more-industrial one. Merchants had to reorganize their logistics in the midst of changing circumstances in technology and transportation. My study provides an in-depth look at commerce in New Mexico during a time in which the territory was still largely agricultural and pastoral. Third, I have chosen to focus on an understudied region of New Mexico—the Rio Abajo. Settlements in the Rio Arriba, such as Santa Fe, Taos, and Las Vegas, have received the most scholarly attention. This work will demonstrate that the Rio Abajo had enjoyed a significant capitalist orientation

conquest in my research emanates from Patricia Limerick's *Legacy of Conquest*. See her *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987), 17–32. In her work *Empires, Nations, and Families*, Anne Hyde argues that the category of the family provides a “useful way to look at our region.” The protagonists in this thesis, the members of the Huning family, used their networks and associations in New Mexico to become some of the most-successful merchants in the territory, shaping the mercantile economy in the Rio Abajo from the 1870s into the twentieth century. See Anne F. Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800–1860* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 20.

since the Mexican era and retained it throughout the nineteenth century, demonstrating large concentrations of capital in merchandising, agriculture, and livestock.²

I have chosen to write a case study of a mercantile business in the Rio Abajo as opposed to a comprehensive economic history of the region. The L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company (L. & H. Huning) was one of the most-substantial mercantile stores in New Mexico during its heyday. The storehouse was founded in Los Lunas, New Mexico, in the fall of 1871 following the departure of Erhardt Franz, the previous merchant who relocated from Los Lunas to St. Louis, and lasted into the late decades of the twentieth century.³ During its first fifteen years of business in Los Lunas, it consisted of a wholesale/retail outlet, a freighting company, and a mill operation. The company contracted regularly with the federal government to supply produce to the U.S. Army, evolved into a *de facto* banking institution, extended credit to regional residents, and provided a market for surplus crops grown in the Rio Abajo. During this time period, L. & H. Huning probably affected the lives of most Rio Abajo citizens in multiple ways.

Louis and Henry Huning, the business partners, arrived in New Mexico from Germany in 1859. Franz Huning, their older brother, was a prominent Albuquerque merchant who had been residing in New Mexico since 1849. Through the tutelage, networks, and business experience of the eldest Huning, Louis and Henry Huning became among the most-influential territorial merchants in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Starting out with modest stores in Belen and Sabinal in the mid-1860s, they built a new storehouse in Los

² For a history of the Rio Abajo over the long duration, see Gilberto Espinosa and Tibo J. Chavez, *El Rio Abajo*, ed. Carter M. Waid (Portales, N.Mex.: Bishop Publishing Co., 1970).

³ Although Henrika Busch states that the store was founded in Los Lunas in 1869, Erhardt Franz did not leave the territory until 1871. I speculate that the store remained Franz's in practice until his departure while the name changed to L. & H. Huning. See Laurel E. Drew, *Henrika Busch Huning: A Woman of Early New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Zimmerman Library, 1963), 5.

Lunas in 1874 and expanded the scope of their business throughout the entire Rio Abajo and eastern Arizona by 1880. One historian has characterized the younger brothers as “the premier flour contractors in New Mexico.” Although this study focuses on a single family from 1848–1880, it serves a broader purpose. Many common themes of western history reverberate throughout this narrative: the relationship of the federal government to the western economy; the establishment of new markets to traditional communities; the clash of merchant-capital with land-based capital; and the phenomenon of commercial monopoly. My thesis, however, often highlights the particulars in these general themes. The benefit of such a study is that historians can see in detail how merchants formed intricate networks through their customers, federal representatives and agencies, and midwestern and eastern wholesalers. Such a study lays the groundwork for similar analyses of the nineteenth-century mercantile economy in other western regions. This case study of L. & H. Huning opens up new vistas in western social and economic history.⁴

As a category of economic conquest, merchandising in the Far Southwest was a means to an end—capital accumulation in the forms of cash and valued resources. Although many scholars assume markets were a simple matter of supply and demand, the goals of merchants were more complex and far sighted. Merchants established stores with an explicit goal of earning profits through an exchange process, which, in turn, gave them access to western resources, such as land and livestock. The profits generally did not flow from simple retail and wholesale functions but came through an elaborate system of sophisticated accounting practices. Merchants knew cash was scarce in New Mexico. They extended store

⁴ Drew, *Henrika Busch Huning*, 5; and Darlis A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861–1885* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 155.

credit to allow customers to buy imported goods. Customers typically exchanged agricultural goods with the store for imported wares. In turn, the merchants used this produce to fulfill military contracts, converting these products to cash. In scenarios where customers had no apparent ability to make cash payments, they incurred substantial debts. Merchants implemented the *partido* system to accumulate herds of sheep and wool and to sell these products in outside markets.⁵ Historian Richard White provides the most succinct definition of this partido practice. He writes:

In the Rio Abajo, *ricos* managed to gain control of the best grazing lands on the plains adjacent to the Rio Grande and used the *partido* system to create a system of debt peonage. Under the *partido* system, sheep essentially became capital lent at interest. The owner (banker) of the sheep turned over a certain number of ewes (capital) to the *partidario* (borrower), who agreed to make set annual payments of wool and lambs, usually 20 percent of the original head count (interest). If the *partidario* could realize a return greater than the interest that he paid the owner, he profited and could establish his own flock. If he failed, he sank deeper into debt and lost his collateral: land, if he had any, or if not, his own labor. [This arrangement] led to poverty and peonage. Sheep owners, on the other hand, succeeded in transferring part of the risk to the *partidarios*, solved their own labor problems in a cash-short economy, and freed themselves from active management of the herds. Large landholders gradually became *patrones* to the surrounding villages of dependent laborers.⁶

The Hunings implemented a variation of this system in the 1870s and 1880s. When customers were unable pay off their debts, they conveyed ownership of their sheep to the mercantile. The debtors continued to manage the sheep and augment the herd for the new owners. This method allowed the Hunings to convert their accounts receivables into cash by

⁵ For a history of the nineteenth-century sheep industry in New Mexico and the consolidation of sheep interests by Anglo merchants away from Hispano owners, see Jon Wallace, “Livestock, Land, and Dollars: The Sheep Industry of Territorial New Mexico” (master’s thesis, University of New Mexico, 2013). For a case-study of a nineteenth-century merchant who also became a purveyor of wool, see Frank Grubbs, “Frank Bond: Gentleman Shepherd of Northern New Mexico, 1883–1915” (master’s thesis, University of New Mexico, 1960).

⁶ Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 42–43.

selling wool to wool-merchants in Philadelphia. In fact, merchants made little money through selling imported goods in their stores, reaping a meager profit at best. The retailing and wholesale functions were merely parts in a complex business-organization that sought to commodify New Mexican resources and make a profit on wool sales in distant and lucrative markets. In 1880, large industrial wool buyers in Philadelphia attracted New Mexican wool and made substantial purchases from the Hunings. By applying the practices of merchant capitalism, the Huning brothers sought to become large-scale purveyors of wool and develop into substantial landowners. In the end, they executed this system almost to a fault. Starting out as a modest merchant in 1859, Louis Huning acquired 82,000 head of sheep by 1878 and owned 74,283 acres in various land grants and real-estate holdings at the time of his death in 1901. When the brothers dissolved their partnership in 1888, their joint estate was valued at \$750,000 (roughly \$18.75 million U.S. dollars in 2015). Their business success arose from their ability to transform the accounts receivables on their balance sheet into cash-value commodities, mostly land and wool.⁷

Three subarguments flow directly out of this claim. First, a successful merchandising business required a monopoly. With many competitors in the wholesale and retail sectors, capital accumulation on a large scale was next to impossible. The German merchants cornered their market through the introduction of specific market practices, as opposed to outright displacement of their Hispano competitors. Credit allowances for Hispano communities had an enormous impact on them, for this practice revolutionized local societies

⁷ Last Will and Testament of Louis Huning, 13 December 1913, Los Lunas, New Mexico, Probate Records, Valencia County Courthouse, Los Lunas, New Mexico; Laurel E. Drew, *Henrika Busch Huning*, 2; Franz Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail: The Memoirs of Franz Huning*, ed. Lina Fergusson Browne (Albuquerque, N. Mex.: University of Albuquerque, 1973), xi; and David Manuel, "Inflation Calculator," <http://www.davemanuel.com/inflation-calculator.php>.

by establishing regularized market relationships between customer and vendor. This new economic system created a new dependency on merchants in lieu of Hispano *patrones*. The traditional *patrón* system was at a disadvantage under changing economic practices and circumstances, and by 1870, it no longer dominated the merchandising sector.⁸ Most Hispano merchants who continued to operate in the Rio Abajo purchased their inventories from L. & H. Huning.

Second, military contracting gave L. & H. Huning the financial means to entrench its business in the Rio Abajo. Federal contracts were a source of cash inflow, providing liquidity in a cash-scarce economy and acting as a bulwark against insolvency. Without these federal contracts, merchants lacked the ability to convert their stockpiles of produce into currency and would have become bankrupt almost overnight. By the same token, military contracts jumpstarted the surplus production of grains in the Rio Abajo and provided the first federal economic stimulus in the region; this infusion of cash brought economic life to a place that had been primarily subsistence-based.

Third, business expansion resulted from monopoly and federal contracts. Merchants consequently rose to the highest rung of the economic ladder in New Mexico. Through selling merchandise, providing a market for local crops, and extending credit to their

⁸ Howard Lamar describes in detail the *patrón* system and debt peonage in nineteenth-century New Mexico: "At the same time that the landed or wealthy don occupied a hereditary position at the head of a vast family clan, spreading in concentric circles from his village, his position was further exalted by the rudiments of the peonage system...By 1800 the custom of debt peonage had become prominent. The system worked to keep the servant bound to the master for a lifetime. Many comparisons have been made between the don with his peons and the American pre-Civil War planter with his slaves, [but the *patrón*] moved in a much more primitive, self-sufficient economic system, which was more subsistence than commercial. In the unending fight for survival both owner and laborer were bound together by a common race and religion as well as by the common peril of the Indian menace." The Lunas, Jaramillos, Romeros, Chavezes, and Oteros, the leading Hispano families of the Rio Abajo, were recognized as the local *patrones*. The *patrón* system carried over into merchandising, as their peons would be further indebted to them for receiving basic goods in return for their "free" labor. See Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 24.

customers, merchants were then able to acquire their most-valuable assets (wool and land) and make their fortunes in economically legal ways. Indeed, a mercantile hierarchy had developed in New Mexico by 1880. The middleman-merchant was the man of the future, and the future in New Mexico was capitalism.⁹

The capitalist processes and relations that this thesis surveys—namely those that are based off the exchange difference from one entity to another—are historically distinct from those found in industrial and corporate capitalism. Prior to the onset of those modes of production, merchant capitalism was the predominant mode of exchange that preceded the Industrial Revolution and laissez-faire liberalism. It consisted of three salient features: merchants carried out long-distance commerce through elaborate trade networks; they negotiated purchases of goods directly with small-scale producers in exchange for imports; and they sold these various products for profit in more-lucrative markets through a firm or agency. Merchant capitalists have typically earned their profits from the exchange process in the buying and selling of commodities, instead of engaging directly in the commodity production of modern industrialism. Economists, historians, and philosophers, including Adam Smith, Max Weber, Fernand Braudel, and Karl Marx, have contrasted earlier merchant-capitalist oriented practices with modern industrial capitalism. For an in-depth explanation of merchant capitalism, it is necessary to revisit briefly its provenance in European intellectual history. Smith, Marx, Weber, and Braudel provide the historiography

⁹ Historian Fernand Braudel also argues that middlemen-merchants were the men of the future in Europe and Asia in premodern Europe. See Fernand Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, vol. 2 of *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, trans. Siân Reynolds (Paris: Libraire Armand Collin, 1979; New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 64. Citations refer to the Harper and Row edition.

and theoretical lenses with which to interpret the effects and consequences of a merchant-based mode of capitalism.

Early economic thinkers focus on the conditions that gave rise to industrial capitalism and its distinction from merchant capitalism. Smith and Weber juxtapose the modes of production that typify these distinctive economic systems. Smith argues that society's capital naturally progresses from basic agriculture to manufacturing and culminates in global commerce. Although these sectors are interdependent, productive, and contribute to the "wealth of nations," Smith's model suggests that merchant capitalism did not provide a seamless transition into the industrial age. Since merchants "buy cheap and sell dear," their capital is not tied to a specific polity. Smith explains: "A merchant is not necessarily the citizen of any particular country. It is in a great measure indifferent from what place he carries [on] his trade." Rather, Smith claims, the subdivision of labor into different tasks, superior work efficiency, and increased productivity in manufacturing proved critical to the affluence of strong producing nations, all of which ultimately gave birth to industrial capitalism. On the other hand, Weber maintains that the precepts of Protestant asceticism and changes in moral and ethical norms during the Protestant Reformation characterize industrial capitalism and its different approach to organizing labor. Merchant capitalism, its antecedent, was "of an irrational and speculative character, or directed to acquisition by force, whether directly in war or in the form of continuous fiscal booty by exploitation of subjects." The virtues of restraint and self-discipline tamed this "irrational impulse" and transformed it into a rational pursuit. Although Smith and Weber disagree on the nature of its origins, they maintain that industrial capitalism is inherently distinct due to the way in which it organizes free labor, promotes efficiency and coordinates mass production of goods for the

global economy. For them, industrial capitalism was a major improvement on the crude practices of merchant capitalism.¹⁰

In contrast to Smith and Weber, Braudel proposes a structural paradigm to explain capitalist development. Merchant capitalism, he contends, took place over the *longue durée* from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries in Europe and Asia. Braudel argues that the “fairly-fixed” composition of economic relationships over multiple centuries entrenched permanent historical realities: limited population growth; the prevalence of maritime trade; metallic bases of currency; instruments of credit for trade; fluctuations and crises in small-scale agriculture; and the overall “fragility of economic life.” Braudel suggests that elements of merchant capitalism survived long after the established hegemony of industrial capitalism. For example, the eastern United States was undergoing major industrial transformations while merchant capitalism persisted in New Mexico Territory. In his later work *Civilization and Capitalism*, he posits a “tripartite schema”: market economy, nonmarket economy, and capitalism. Whereas he defines the market economy as the official arena of free exchange and nonmarket economy as the domain of barter, capitalism proper exists above market relationships, manipulates them, and wields monopoly power. The practices of eighteenth-century merchants, “privileged actors [who] were engaged in circuits and calculations that ordinary people knew nothing of,” set the precedent for the concentration of economic power in the hands of the few. While residues of merchant capitalism lingered into the twentieth

¹⁰ Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations, Books I-III*, ed. Andrew Skinner (1776; repr., New York: Penguin, 1999), 266, 278, 306; and Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, ed. Richard Swedberg (1905; repr., New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009), 5, 7.

century, Braudel argues, merchant capitalism begat structural, economic, and social relationships that became fixed for multiple centuries.¹¹

For Marx, merchant capitalism was a necessary precondition for the rise of industrial capitalism. He describes the former as a type of commercial-dealing capital distinct from industrial capital and “is in fact the oldest historical mode in which capital has an independent existence.” Functioning as middlemen and brokers prior to the industrial period, merchants carried out long-distance trade and only required “the circulation of commodities and money” to carry out their business. The buying and selling of commodities for many people across vast trading networks comprised the landscape of the mercantile system. A merchant “compares money prices and pockets the difference.” Marx claims that merchant capitalism was quite compatible with precapitalist social formations, such as feudal or slave societies and medieval guilds, because it did not radically alter their labor or political structures. Venetian, Genoan, and Dutch merchants were common practitioners of merchant capitalism. According to Marx, this economic system was notorious for malevolent business practices: merchants committed plunder, defrauded politically undeveloped communities, exploited them for their goods, and arbitrarily determined commodity values.¹²

In Marx’s estimation, merchant capitalism sowed the seeds of industrial capitalism by orienting production towards exchange value. But in the words of one contemporary interpreter of Marx, “merchants’ capital and its forms of organization just as often inhibited

¹¹ Fernand Braudel, “History and the Social Sciences,” in *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 31–33; and Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, vol. 1 of *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, trans. Siân Reynolds (Paris: Libraire Armand Collin, 1979; New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 24. Citation refers to the Harper and Row edition.

¹² Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 3, trans. David Fernback (1894; repr., London: Penguin Books, 1981), 441, 442, 446–48. Citations refer to the Penguin edition.

the development of full-fledged industrial capitalism as they promoted it.” Marx’s key points stress that the concentration of mercantile wealth and the genesis of commodity exchange were the necessary conditions for a future revolution in industrial growth. Although merchants engendered the necessary conditions for capitalist accumulation and expansion, they also inhibited industry: “the less developed production is, the more monetary wealth is concentrated in the hands of merchants.” Merchants hindered social, economic, and industrial progress in the regions where they influenced production patterns as they sought to “retain old and backward forms of production organized on traditional lines.”¹³

What ultimately separates Marx from Smith is that the former made one of the first attempts to delineate merchant capitalism *within* the industrial mode of production. Marx claims that merchant capital confounded Smith and classical political economists because they incorrectly understood it as a derivative of industrial capital. They were unable to determine adequately how merchants and commercial capitalists attain profit in industrial milieus. Marx writes, “The merchant buys, transforming his money into commodities, then sells, transforming the same commodities again into money, and so on in constant repetition.” According to Marx, merchants operate as an autonomous class of capitalists who deal chiefly in the sphere of commodity circulation. Together, merchants and industrialists form a symbiotic class relationship. Industrialists sell high volumes of commodities to merchants for quick turnover rates. In turn, merchants get to realize a share of the surplus

¹³ David Harvey, *A Companion to Marx’s Capital*, vol. 2 (New York: Verso, 2013), 153; and Marx, *Capital*, 443, 448.

value of factory-produced goods “without participating in production.” Simply put, they facilitate the circulation of industrial capital.¹⁴

The insights of Smith, Weber, Braudel, and Marx have had a profound influence on the recent history of capitalism. This quickly growing historical subfield has revived studies of merchants by examining their impacts on socio-economic relations, imperial conquest, and commodity procurement. In contrast to the intellectual historians and philosophers mentioned above, contemporary historians of capitalism tend to favor empirical research in case studies over theoretical or philosophical discourse.¹⁵ The above authors, however, have provided the theoretical frameworks for most empirical studies of capitalism.

The field’s progenitor is historian Eric Hobsbawm. In a second book of his series on the long-nineteenth century, *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875*, Hobsbawm maintains that capitalism became hegemonic in the global economy during these years. As the European political revolutions fizzled out in 1848, “industrial revolution advanced.” Along with massive technological and industrial innovations, Hobsbawm traces the period’s economic growth through the spread of competitive private enterprise and world markets. To justify this new order of things, bourgeois liberals touted “the recipe for economic growth: economic liberalism. The remaining institutional barriers to the free movement of the factors of production, to free enterprise, and to anything which could conceivably hamper its profitable operation, fell before a world-wide [sic] onslaught.” Situating capitalism historically, Hobsbawm argues that the world became capitalist in this period. He concludes

¹⁴ Marx, *Capital*, 386, 397, 417.

¹⁵ Seth Rockman, “What Makes the History of Capitalism Newsworthy?” *Journal of the Early American Republic* 34 (fall 2014): 4.

his study in the early 1870s, during the time in which the capitalist world experienced its first shocks and recessions.¹⁶

Deviating to a certain degree from Hobsbawm, recent historians of capitalism agree that they are writing the “histories of capitalism(s).” To explain, they maintain capitalism is multifarious and does not conform to a single trajectory in a specific place and time period. In other words, they suggest studying capitalist developments that took place outside nineteenth-century Great Britain, Europe, and the eastern United States. Sven Beckert, Scott Marler, and Nelson Lichtenstein, some of the leading contemporary historians of capitalism, have critically engaged merchant capitalism. Beckert examines the influence of Atlantic merchants on the slave, cotton, and spice trades from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century; Marler follows the rise and descent of the New Orleans merchant community in the nineteenth century; and Lichtenstein draws parallels between these earlier mercantile practices with current retail enterprises such as Wal-Mart. These studies are invaluable for their insights, but a shortcoming is their habit of geographic exclusion. In short, they privilege the Atlantic world and downplay the nineteenth-century American West. In general, the history of capitalism has been mostly silent about capitalism’s role in westward expansion and discounts the region’s contribution to capitalist development on a global scale. As we will see, it was crucial to both American and international capitalist development.¹⁷

¹⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital: 1848-1875* (New York: Meridian, 1984), xvii, xviii, 34.

¹⁷ Sven Beckert, Angus Burgin, Peter James Hudson, Louis Hyman, Naomi Lamoreaux, Scott Marler, Stephen Mihm, Julia Ott, Philip Scranton, and Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, “Interchange: The History of Capitalism,” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 2 (2014): 509; Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015); Scott P. Marler, *The Merchants’ Capital: New Orleans and the Political Economy of the Nineteenth-Century South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Nelson Lichtenstein “The Return of Merchant Capitalism,” *International Labor and Working Class History* 81 (spring 2012).

Since the rise of the New Western history in the 1990s, some historians have begun to perceive the West as consisting of intimate market relationships between city and county, and offering an opportunity for corporate investment and industrial growth. William G. Robbins's *Colony and Empire*, William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis*, and Richard White's *Railroaded* have advanced these interpretations, focusing attention on the role of capitalism in the nineteenth-century America than on individuals on the frontier. In *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West*, Robbins places the West and its borderlands in the context of nineteenth-century global capitalist expansion. For him, capitalist institutions and principles came to the West in the early fur trade and blossomed in the extractive industries, mechanized agriculture, livestock companies, and railroads. This activity introduced to the western region Atlantic and European capital, which exerted substantial influence and power in the regional economy. Robbins applies Marx's concept of historical materialism and Braudel's paradigm of capitalism, a coherent structure of fixed relationships, to the American West. The West accordingly developed under the capitalist means and modes of production: wage labor, industrialization, and private property laws. Situating these phenomena as *longue durée* structures that organized social life in the West, he asserts that "capitalism provides a unifying thesis for discussing change in the American West during the last two centuries. [It] is the common factor essential to understanding power, influence, and change in the American West from the onset of the fur trade to the present."¹⁸

¹⁸ William G. Robbins, *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1994), ix, xii, 7.

Utilizing the distinction between core and peripheral zones, Robbins posits the western hinterlands as “areas that have contributed enormously to the success of industrial capitalism in the United States and elsewhere.” He convincingly argues that advances in production and wealth accumulation on the Atlantic seaboard and overseas in Europe were contingent on the development of western resources and industry. Particular cities served as gateways to the mineral and agricultural hinterlands of the West, and “private command centers in the East and in Europe funded the development of the initial western metropolitan power bases of San Francisco and Denver.” The profits from these commodities flowed to core geographical zones on the Atlantic seaboard and continental Europe. These economic relations are crucial for Robbins because they reflect the growing dependency of the resource-rich western hinterlands on regional urban markets and eastern capital.¹⁹

Applying core and periphery distinctions in research on the Pacific lumber industry, Robbins lauds Cronon and White for promoting these geographical differences as “a more fruitful way to explain change and relationships of power in the West.”²⁰ Cronon highlights the reciprocal relations between the hinterland and the metropolis in the Old Northwest, and White claims that the federal government buttressed corporate power in the development of the West. Although they are not exclusively historians of capitalism, they have exerted the most influence in the western field. The only weakness is that Cronon and White historicize only industrial and finance capitalism, omitting the critical roles that merchant capitalism played in paving the way for the industrial and corporate transformations of the West and in circulating the goods between the periphery and the core.

¹⁹ Robbins, *Colony and Empire*, 163, 170.

²⁰ Robbins, *Colony and Empire*, 13.

In *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, Cronon maintains that metropolis and hinterland regions were tightly interwoven despite the urge to perceive them as fundamentally divided. He proves his argument by underscoring how commodity flows of wheat, timber, and livestock from Chicago's nineteenth-century hinterlands brought these peripheral zones closer to Chicago and the national economy. Much as Robbins views San Francisco and Denver, Chicago became an *entrepôt* for eastern markets and untapped western resources. Cronon finds merchants to be significant historical subjects because they "exemplify broader city-country connections." In Cronon's analysis, however, they were merely one element of a larger narrative about industrial capitalism inaugurating "a new capitalist logic to the geography of the Great West." Assigning less significance to prior forms of capital, Cronon assumes that industrial capitalism was the main agent of change in the region.²¹

Cronon describes how frontier merchants operated in Illinois, Indiana, and the Midwest hinterlands from the 1830s through the 1850s. Following Adam Smith's "buy cheap and sell dear" principle, these rural merchants purchased eastern goods from eastern wholesalers at low cost and sold western farm commodities like grain at higher prices in outer markets. These enterprises were fraught with high risks in transportation, but they could achieve success if they were able to return with imported goods and sell them at high markup prices in exchange for local agricultural products. Primitive transportation methods and the winter season created difficult obstacles. Merchants also required adequate warehouses to store dry and perishable commodities and needed a consistent flow of eastern

²¹ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991), xvii, 81.

capital, which was usually advanced by merchant banks and wholesale firms in Chicago and St. Louis. Cronon notes, “Without credit, frontier economies would have quickly collapsed. This then was the world of money, credit, and merchandise—of capital—that existed during the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s.”²²

The logic and movement of industrial capital radically transformed nature’s hinterlands bounty into commodities. The arrival of the railroads and new agricultural technology, like the grain elevator, interrupted the previous world of commerce. The grain exchange displaced mercantile water-based grain marketing, and the railroads diminished the frontier populace’s reliance on rural merchants, thus increasing their dependency on Chicago wholesalers and manufacturers who peddled their goods directly in the hinterland via railroad and telegraph marketing. Cronon implicitly invokes Joseph Schumpeter’s notion of creative destruction to highlight capitalist transformation of the West and the compression of town and countryside. This relationship comes into focus in Cronon’s interrogation of bankruptcy records. The regional credit flows reveal the different strata in the urban hierarchy and the power that Chicago wielded over its tributaries. Cronon paints a nuanced picture of merchants before the arrival of the railroad, but he does not define the era as one of merchant capitalism. Nevertheless, he would admit that “a culture of buying and selling” laid the groundwork for industrial capitalism by giving what Marx called an orientation to exchange value.²³

While Cronon compares the preindustrial West with its industrial transformations in Chicago, White’s *Railroaded* examines the relationship between the federal government and

²² Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis*, 323–24.

²³ *Ibid.*, 318.

corporate growth in the West during the construction of the transcontinental railroads after the Civil War. White argues, “Corporations, along with the federal government, were central to its [the West’s] creation. The transcontinentals were entwined with the state.” The federal government subsidized the transcontinentals, assumed the financial risk, sided with the railroad managers and owners in labor disputes with employees, and rescued them from utter collapse. As Cronon stressed the importance of credit in stabilizing frontier economies, White cites “finance capitalism—the use of credit and the financial markets—as the central engine of corporate growth and expansion in late-nineteenth-century North America.” White situates entrepreneurs and their webs of federal and business friendships at the heart of this enterprise, arguing that they ultimately “created inefficient, costly, dysfunctional corporations.” *Railroaded* indicates that although some of these individuals amassed personal fortunes, their practices fomented socio-political discontent among populist farmers and wageworkers.²⁴

White cites numerous case studies to support his claim about the close relationship between the federal government and the railroad empires. His argument is significant, for it not only examines finance capitalism and the manipulation of markets, but explains the manner in which the federal government intervened when corporate management went awry. It follows that an examination of capitalism is incomplete without including the dimension of the state, especially in the case of the American West where the federal government strongly asserted its power after the Civil War. White’s only shortcoming is his assumption that the railroads “helped integrate settlers into an expanding world economy so that wheat, silver,

²⁴ Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2011), xv–xvi, xxii–xiii, xxvi.

gold, timber, coal, corn, and livestock poured out of it.”²⁵ Appealing to the hinterland’s incorporation into the expanding world of commerce with new transportation technology, he overlooks how merchant capitalism laid the groundwork for this process. Prior to the railroads, merchants had already formed national and international networks of trade and credit in the West and facilitated the movement of both western and eastern commodities to outside markets. Although the transformative effects of industrial and finance capital are more apparent in the ways in which they changed the physical, social, and economic landscapes of the West, a comprehensive analysis of merchant capital could shed light on how it might have paved the way for these transformations to occur or how it might have inhibited development in certain areas.

The U.S.-Mexico Borderlands offer a unique case of merchant capitalism. Robbins notices that investors began looking toward the American Southwest during the 1870s for new markets and raw materials for the burgeoning industrial world. Mineral extraction, livestock, and agricultural goods became more profitable enterprises with the development of modern transportation. “The coming of the railroads,” Robbins writes, “marked the onset of the economic, social, and cultural transformation of the Hispanic borderlands and the linking of the broader region with the world’s expanding economy.”²⁶ Robbins points out that these industrial advances instituted wage labor and market capitalism in the Far Southwest, but I argue that these deep structural changes can be only understood by extending the periodization before the arrival of the railroads. Capitalism practiced by merchants had penetrated the West long before the first railroad tracks were laid.

²⁵ White, *Railroaded*, xxiv.

²⁶ Robbins, *Colony and Empire*, 31.

Western historians should also consider the previous era of merchant capitalism in the Far Southwest to understand better the economic and social relations that predate those of western industrialization and urbanization brought about by the railroads. Prior to this period, merchants inserted themselves into key market positions, were heavily subsidized by the federal government, and oriented agrarian societies to exchange value and capitalist relationships. Partnerships were the basic business formations in merchant capitalism in contrast to the relationship between corporate shareholders and absentee capitalists who made industrial and corporate investments in the West. These corporate entities delegated to management the responsibilities of running the ground operations and overseeing the wage-laborers. Merchant capitalists, on the other hand, had direct interactions with their customers, suppliers, and financiers. Industrialists and corporations were far more anonymous in the lives of their employees and the regions they exploited. Differences aside, Marx's key point regarding the role of merchant capitalism in setting the foundation for these more-advanced forms of capital must be taken into consideration. The introduction of exchange value and markets was the necessary preconditions for the processes that Robbins, Cronon, and White depict.

Unknown to most historians of capitalism and western historians, merchant capitalism persisted in the hinterlands of the latter half of the nineteenth-century American West. While the Northeast began to industrialize in earnest, the Far Southwest remained a rural region isolated from the centers of manufacturing in the East and trans-shipment depots in the Midwest. Merchant capitalism was the main mode of economic exchange in the territory of New Mexico from 1821 until the arrival of the railroad in 1879. Although historians of the Far Southwest and New Mexico give considerable attention to this economic

period, they have not addressed mercantile monopolies and the vital importance of federal subsidies in promoting capitalism. Historians should begin to analyze the effects of frontier retail and wholesale mercantile practices on agricultural production and acquisition of western resources. In this environment, merchants were key social actors who wielded significant power over frontier economies. From retailing, wholesaling, banking, importing and exporting, freighting merchandise, facilitating transactions and receiving federal contracts, merchants are significant historical subjects calling for further analysis of their operations.

After Mexico attained independence from Spain in 1821, previous Spanish trade restrictions were lifted by the newly founded Mexican republic. In that same year, William Becknell, a Missouri merchant, was one of the first entrepreneurs to institute trade relations between the Missouri frontier and northern Mexico. This beginning laid the foundation for the Santa Fe trade, an era of economic activity that spanned from the early 1820s until the arrival of the railroad in the early 1880s. Wagon trains and caravan teams transported manufactured goods from depots in Missouri across the Central Plains, Comanche and Kiowa territory, making their way into Santa Fe and points farther south along the Chihuahua Trail, a stretch of El Camino Real de La Tierra Adentro between Santa Fe and Chihuahua City. Northern Mexico also provided silver and draft animals that were in high demand in the United States. This cross-border trade route was a northeastern extension of the Camino Real, a Spanish-era trade network that connected Mexico City with its northern frontiers, New Mexico in this case. Out of this mercantile landscape emerged a loose confederation of Anglo, Mexican, and New Mexican merchants who negotiated these transactions and reaped

the profits from the exchange process. They comprised the merchant capitalist class or elites of the Far Southwest.²⁷

Anglo merchants began to settle in what would become the U.S. Far Southwest in the 1820s and to establish permanent businesses by marrying into prominent Hispano families. They established trading posts in places such as Taos and Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Fort Bent in present day Colorado (then a part of New Mexico). Elite Hispano sheep-ranching families also founded commercial enterprises in this period. By the start of the U.S.-Mexican War in 1846, the economy of northern Mexico had been so tightly integrated with that of the United States that the region offered little in the way of resistance to the *yanqui* invasion. Merchant capitalism is an accurate framework to explain this region's economy in this time period, for the territory did not begin undergoing industrialization until the arrival of the railroad in the late 1870s. Furthermore, an absence and then a shortage of banks in the region and the long distances between New Mexico and the Midwest compelled merchants to import goods and credit from the East into the hinterland economy. Other historians have argued that capitalism became institutionalized with the onset of the railroads, but it was in the era of the Santa Fe trade that capitalist relations were introduced in the Far Southwest. Merchant capitalism, not industrial capitalism, was responsible for this socio-economic transition to a market-based society.

²⁷ Richard Etulain, *Beyond the Missouri: The Story of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); David J. Weber, "The New Colonialism: Americans and the Frontier Economy" chap. 7 of *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Stephen G. Hyslop, *Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002). For examples of Santa Fe traders who wrote books, see Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954); and James Josiah Webb, *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade, 1844-1847*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (1931; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995). For a history of trade in New Mexico during the Spanish era, see Ross Frank, *From Settler to Citizen: New Mexican Economic Development and the Creation of Vecino Society, 1750-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

Merchant capitalism in nineteenth-century New Mexico has an extensive historiography. The first serious treatments of this period appeared in the 1960s. Howard Lamar's *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History* examines how Anglo American political and economic institutions, the groundwork of which was laid by the commercial conquest by Anglo and French trappers, merchants, and gold speculators in the Mexican period, took root after the U.S.-Mexico War and played a role in Americanizing a region that "remained stubbornly and overwhelmingly Spanish-American in culture, tradition-directed in habits, and Roman Catholic in religion." Although occurring at a slow tempo and culminating with New Mexico's admission as a state in 1912, the intervention of eastern capital and the federal government assimilated New Mexico and the Far Southwest by "paying for its government, maintaining military posts throughout the West, running an elaborate Indian service in the field, building roads, and providing land offices and mail routes."²⁸

Lamar demonstrates that the federal government slowly stabilized the Far Southwest through the territorial system and federal bureaucracies, but William Parish's *The Charles Ifield Company: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico* is the definitive history of the system in New Mexico. It is also the only case study of a nineteenth-century New Mexico mercantile. Parish argues that "the sedentary merchant," initiated by the arrival of German Jewish entrepreneurs in New Mexico in the 1840s and 1850s, instituted merchant capitalism in the region. With the growth of the industrial centers in the East and with the desire to create new markets in the expanding West, merchants were in a unique position to profit from importing manufactured goods and exporting raw

²⁸ Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 3, 10.

materials to the Midwest and the East. Parish found “the most successful merchants to be those who set up shop, using partners and agents for selling their wares in an orderly manner at established stands.” Parish posits developmental stages beginning with the practices of petty capitalism during the Mexican period of the Santa Fe Trade, followed by the arrival of the sedentary merchant in the early territorial period with the entry of a small cadre of German Jewish merchants, and concluding with the mature phase brought about by the railroad in the late 1870s, which ultimately transitioned into industrial capitalism.²⁹

Parish attributes the prosperity of merchant capitalism in this period to three main factors: “the ability to acquire scarce monetary exchange acceptable for the purchase of foreign goods, the absence of an efficient system of indirect lending of capital, and the necessity for hauling purchases over vast stretches of land.” A merchant’s success was determined by his ability to procure eastern exchange, credit, or working capital to finance his business. He accomplished this task in two ways: federal supply contracts or exporting hinterland commodities to attain bank drafts. This need for ready-at-hand cash drove the merchants to establish a superior economic position over petty capitalists, small surplus farmers, and laborers, namely those who exchanged their goods or labor for imported merchandise or store credit. Although their customers were not good credit risks, merchants generally granted long terms of credit, extended them modest cash loans, and allowed their customers to settle their debts when their seasonal crops were ready. Extending credit to small producers “gave the sedentary merchant the controlling position in the hinterland hierarchy of business capitalism.” Financial control tended to favor merchants in the

²⁹ William J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 5.

“hinterland hierarchy” through their economic power. The long distances from Midwestern wholesalers and arduous, risky transport required merchants to form partnerships, secure agents, and hire freight teams to facilitate the purchase and movement of goods to and from St. Louis, Kansas City, and the eastern terminus of the railroad. For this reason, multirisk merchandising, as opposed to specialization and single-risk ventures, was the preferred method of conducting business in the region.³⁰

Susan C. Boyle, however, proposes a revisionist analysis that argues for a more-active role of Hispanos in modern commercial enterprises. She maintains that Hispano merchants during the Mexican period, located mostly in the Rio Abajo region of central New Mexico, initiated capitalist practices that were just as sophisticated, international, and adept as those of the German Jewish merchants. The debate over whether Anglo Americans, German Jewish immigrants, or Hispanos inaugurated merchant capitalism in the Far Southwest remains to be determined, but the fact remains that exchanges and competition between these different racial or ethnic groups definitively took place in New Mexico and played decisive roles in its socio-economic development.³¹

A complete analysis of merchant capitalism, however, must acknowledge the aid of federal money and the pervasive military presence in promoting private enterprise. In the

³⁰ Parish’s *The Charles Ilfeld Company* influenced the production of two significant monographs on the Germans and the German Jews in New Mexico: Henry Tobias’ *A History of the Jews in New Mexico* and Tomas Jaehn’s *Germans in the Southwest, 1850–1920*. Tobias and Jaehn examine the immigration patterns of Germans and German Jews who arrived in New Mexico and played a subsequent role in the development of New Mexico Territory. My approach somewhat differs from theirs; I interrogate the influence of German and German Jewish merchants on local and regional markets. See Henry J. Tobias, *A History of the Jews in New Mexico* (1990; repr., with a new chapter by the author, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000); Tomas Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); and Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, 35, 36, 50.

³¹ Susan C. Boyle, *Los Capitalistas: Hispano Merchants and the Santa Fe Trade* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), xi–xvii.

post-World War II era, historian Earl Pomeroy proposed historical continuity between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into the interpretation of the West, the notion that social and economic life was an extension of eastern economic, political, social, and military institutions. Working in the spirit of Pomeroy's theoretical orientation, historians Robert Frazer and Darlis Miller argue that the U.S. Army was the sole catalyst for southwestern economic development prior to the railroad. The frontier army was responsible for the creation of commodity markets, stimulated agriculture, livestock, and mining activity, and awarded supply contracts to merchants.³²

Frazer has argued that "the army was the single most significant factor in the economic development of the Southwest" from the conclusion of the U.S.-Mexican War to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. To solidify control of these regions and soothe ongoing tensions between new settlers and indigenous peoples, "military posts were established on or adjacent to Indian reservations for the three-fold purpose of guarding the agencies and protecting and restraining the Indians." As the federal presence increased, the army also required the necessary provisions to execute its mission on the frontier. Frazer adds, "Military purchases of services and locally produced goods introduced much larger sums of cash than had ever before been available in the area and resulted in a notable increase in production." The military market required large quantities of specific items, and this demand rippled throughout the economy: civilians grew wheat in larger quantities; those with capital erected sawmills and roller mills; and hay growers began to sell to

³² Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories and the United States, 1861-1890: Studies in Colonial Administration* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969); Earl S. Pomeroy, "Toward a Reorientation of Western History: Environment and Continuity," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 41, no. 4 (1955); and Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965).

quartermasters. The Subsistence and Quartermaster Departments advertised for supply contracts. In essence, the army presence laid the groundwork for New Mexico's economic expansion, encouraging its transition from subsistence to surplus agriculture and stimulating increased settlement.³³

Miller's book extends Frazer's periodization and continues his narrative arc. *Soldiers and Settlers* covers the New Mexico, Arizona, west Texas, and southern Colorado military markets from 1861–1865 and explores the contractors, often notable merchants, who supplied the posts. The contractors were not producers themselves, but they were middlemen-merchants. They accumulated the raw commodities from the farmers, sometimes refined them, and sold the products to the military. Sharing the same basic argument as Frazer, Miller maintains that government subsidies through supply contracts provided the foundation for social and economic development in the region: “the government combined with private investors to advance settlement and economic development.” Agreeing with Frazer that the U.S. Army was the “largest purchasing agency of the southwest,” she concludes that the force was an arm of robust state production. Federal largesse was the vehicle for southwestern commercial endeavors, and acquiring this money became a common pursuit of eager frontier capitalists.³⁴

Although Frazer and Miller do not state it explicitly, the army and federal money significantly rooted merchant capitalism in the early American period in the Southwest.

Lamar has also pointed out that sole attention to military contracting ignores the impact of

³³ Robert Frazer, *Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846–1861* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), ix; and Robert Frazer, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), xv.

³⁴ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, xiv, 330.

the Santa Fe trade on commercial activities in the region. What Lamar, Frazer, and Miller fail to notice is that Santa Fe traders were the entrepreneurs who relied on government contracts—they were two sides of the same coin. As we will see in this study, one method that merchants employed to generate cash flow was to secure and fulfill supply contracts. The federal government provided cash that buttressed the enterprises frontier capitalists. This study explores and explains the relationship between federal contracting and general merchandising, which were intimately related. Although Frazer and Miller seem to suggest that contracts always entailed profits, this work shows that was not always the case.

Illuminating as these historical works are, they are hardly exhaustive and call for further analysis of merchant capitalism in the Far Southwest. To the historian's dismay, the Atlantic world and Europe have captured most of the limelight in scholarship on the histories of capitalism. The corpus of western historiography is rich in studies about industrial and corporate capitalism, but lacks depth in investigations into merchant capitalism. The study of nineteenth-century New Mexico can help fill this gap. As the history of capitalism suggests, there are various types of capitalism, and all should be interrogated. Although this thesis is the case study of a merchant firm, and not a long study of western economic history, it will aid historians in tracing the economic networks that preceded western industrialization and show how hinterland merchants facilitated the circulation of industrial goods in the West, acquired local commodities from their customers, and earned profits in the exchange process. Historians can acquire a more-nuanced understanding of how merchant capitalism oriented agrarian societies towards exchange value and how this system provided the bedrock upon which industrial capitalism could later thrive in the West.

As a historical framework, merchant capitalism can be reduced to its most-basic abstract and historical components. Merchant capitalism is a rational system that relies on debits, credits, and money to facilitate exchange; it organizes social and economic relationships on the basis of markets; it tends toward monopoly; it has relied historically on state power; it is compatible with and adjusts to traditional social practices; it creates relationships of dependency on merchants for producers; and it orients societies to exchange value and advances capitalist development. The merchant's *modus operandi* is also reducible to his initial money, which is used to buy commodities with the hope of increasing the principal through constant buying and selling. These analytical points are significant, and throughout this work, these themes materialize in the sources of the L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company. The sources demonstrate capitalist relationships elucidate that theory can only recognize hazily.

This master's thesis is a western history of capitalism. In contrast to intellectual history, this work is an empirical study explaining markets as historically contingent as opposed to universal, unchanging phenomena. This work leaves Europe and the Atlantic world to examine how capitalism developed in remote geographical spaces. As western historians search for explanations about the origins of capitalist development in the nineteenth century, merchant capitalism offers an alternative paradigm to corporate and industrial capitalism. In this framework, the federal government played a role in shaping the markets through the frontier army and bureaucratic administration. Local actors, in addition, have agency and respond to the market in their own ways. In that sense, the traditional frameworks of political economy, federalism, and social history are present in this work. The key point is that merchant capital is also central to this story.

This thesis hopes to revive studies of merchant capitalism in New Mexico. It has been over fifty years since a historian has analyzed a mercantile firm in depth. The Far Southwest contains myriad historical problems relevant to the history of capitalism and has much to offer to the recent discipline. How did a merchant make money in a region hindered by a limited circulation of hard currency? Indeed, a few merchants made enormous fortunes in the West, but how did they create wealth given the limitations of distance and financial resources? How did a novel means of exchange—merchant capitalism—encounter and either change or adapt to traditional economic practices? These historical problems go well beyond those of New Mexico alone, but the region can help provide answers to questions that are still debated in contemporary historical discourse.

As a history of capitalism, this thesis relies heavily on quantitative sources: federal census records, tax documents, federal contracts, mill records, invoice books, and accounts receivable ledgers. One of the hazards in doing this type of history is a lack of attention to what historians consider qualitative sources, such as diaries, journals, letters, correspondence, and newspapers. I have used these sources where appropriate, but capitalist archives, if interrogated rigorously and paired side-by-side with other similar sources, can yield new historical knowledge. For example, I cross-reference the mill records and the L. & H. Huning ledgers with the federal supply contracts to identify the agricultural producers. Previous historians have only guessed where contractors acquired their supplies. Without having access to the federal contracts, the catalyst of the wheat and milling industry in the Rio Abajo would still be undefined. The federal census records also indicate the occupations and residences of the store customers, helping place the business records in the wider context of class and region. As a historian with extensive familial ties to the Rio Abajo, I am also able

to discover what my ancestors purchased and exchanged on a daily basis with their local merchant. Most importantly, reading the customer accounts like a text allows me to explore—albeit one-step removed—the lived experiences of nineteenth-century New Mexicans. The store records show what these people did to make a living. Few prospered and most engaged in grueling and exhausting manual labor to survive day-by-day. Analogous to contemporary times, their lives revolved around money (or lack thereof), work, markets, and labor allocation. Letters and journals also represent these experiences, but the store ledgers provide a gateway into the material existence of these historical subjects, for their livelihoods became increasingly more dependent on the merchant-capitalist system and reliant upon federal contracts to incentivize their production capabilities. Mercantile records disclose what was bought and sold in the region, the identities of and relationships between creditors and debtors, and the scale of wealth accumulation in the hands of merchants. These sources do indeed have a story to tell about social and economic life in the Far Southwest.

Most of these materials lean heavily on the merchants and the federal government, and contain their own innate “top-down” bias. Countervailing this deficiency, the store records provide a narrow window into the lives of ordinary peoples that previous social histories have neglected. The market activities of merchants, livestock-growers, farmers, freighters, and laborers in nineteenth-century New Mexico come to life in this thesis. The L. & H. Huning records are replete with information about these little-known historical actors. Taken together, these sources illuminate the social and economic relations of merchant capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century of the Rio Abajo and the individuals whose daily lives were affected by this economic system.

Chapter one discusses the immediate context of New Mexico following the U.S.-Mexico War. In the former Mexican territories, the U.S. government granted Hispanos control of local and county governments while it directed the territorial system and commanded the frontier army. These actors shaped the New Mexican economy to varying degrees, and I define this influence on the marketplace as New Mexico's political economy. In the Rio Abajo, merchant newcomers from Germany attempted to seize control of merchandising in the 1850s. Aware of these new economic actors in their region, affluent Hispanos recognized the immense potential of becoming multirisk merchants themselves. Their sheep drives to the California gold fields in the 1850s allowed them to make unprecedented fortunes; they sold their sheep where their asking price was far above the going rate in New Mexico. Returning to their homelands, they became merchants and competed with German and German Jewish merchants in the mid-1850s and Civil War era. In Valencia County, the German merchants emerged victorious in the merchandising trade. They accomplished this feat through market knowledge. The introduction of free-market exchanges, the extension of credit in traditional communities, and the creation of a market for locally grown crops—these factors contributed to their success over the Hispano merchants. By 1870, the Hispanos could no longer compete in merchandising, and a new class of German merchants created in the Rio Abajo a mercantile monopoly, lasting from the 1870s until the early decades of the twentieth century.³⁵

Chapter two focuses on how military contracting helped the Huning brothers retain their mercantile monopoly. Following a brief sketch on the influence of federal supply

³⁵ Felipe Chaves, a resident of Belen, was the only Hispano merchant who retained his status as a merchandiser independent of L. & H. Huning. See Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 108–09.

contracts on agricultural and livestock production at the territorial and county levels in New Mexico from 1850–1880, this section provides an exhaustive analysis of all the contracts the partnership fulfilled from 1871–1884; it also gives some commentary on the southwestern forts they supplied. Previous historians have exaggerated the dollar amounts received from L. & H. Huning’s dealings with the U.S. Army.³⁶ Consulting Darlis Miller’s transcriptions of the Quartermaster and Commissary contracts at New Mexico State University, I arrive at a precise dollar amount and quantity of produce supplied. The larger significance of these archives reveal that federal contracts entrenched L. & H. Huning in the Rio Abajo, providing the store’s main source of cash flow. This cash component allowed the store to anchor its foundations in the community, structure the local economy, and incentivize surplus production of grains in the region. This chapter contributes to the historiography of military contracting in the Far Southwest, for it employs mill records to ascertain how merchants accumulated and stockpiled produce for the army market. Military contracting brought economic productivity to new heights in the Rio Abajo and initiated uniform exchanges between surplus grain producers and merchant millers.

The third chapter is an exhaustive economic and accounting analysis of L. & H. Huning from 1878–1880. The federal contracts and regional monopoly allowed the business to expand further in the Rio Abajo, western Valencia County, and eastern Arizona.

Employing the accounts receivables and invoice books during this time, I organize customer accounts into merchandise purchases, cash loans, and interest charges. The U.S. Census of

³⁶ The *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, published in 1896, inaccurately claims that the Huning Brothers received \$150,000 annually in government contracts. Lina Fergusson Browne, a Huning descendant, perpetuates this claim in her introduction to Franz Huning’s memoir, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*. The archives in National Archives Record Group 92 and the Darlis Miller collection at New Mexico State University reveal this number was highly overstated. To my knowledge, no government contractor received this staggering amount of federal money over a one-year period.

1880 provides information about customer residences and work occupations. Each region where the L. & H. Huning Mercantile had a commercial presence is examined in detail. Mushrooming customer debt gave the Huning brothers the motive and opportunity to acquire land and livestock. By 1880, merchants had arrived at the pinnacle of business capitalism. They effectively exercised control over agrarian production and market transactions in the hinterlands. The functions of wholesale and retail merchandising, banking, interest charges, freighting, milling, and government contracting were their essential components for wealth-creation in a cash-poor region.

Chapter 1: From Competition to Monopoly: The Contest for Mercantile Supremacy in the Rio Abajo, 1848–1871

This chapter situates the political economy of New Mexico in the immediate years after the U.S.-Mexico War. Both federal and local actors played significant roles in shaping the contours of the local retail markets. Strategically posted in the region by the federal executive, territorial governors and the military exerted substantial influence on the economy, but elite Hispanos exercised extensive power in local and county government. Within this political and economic context, a new mercantile culture emerged in the Far Southwest, including the central Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico. Beginning in the late 1840s, German and German Jewish merchants sojourned into established Hispano communities, introducing new markets and capitalist formations in the process. By establishing profitable and prominent storehouses, they inaugurated a new era of merchandising. Although most Hispanos were not initially benefitted by this new mercantile system, they became a part of it in the 1850s after returning from their sheep drives to the gold fields in California. Briefly venturing into multirisk merchandising in the 1860s, Hispanos were, on the whole, unable to retain their merchant status by the beginning of the following decade. Considering these larger themes, this chapter narrates the early competition of merchants in the Rio Abajo region of New Mexico from 1848 until 1871. At the end of this phase of the burgeoning commercial industry, Louis and Henry Huning became the leading merchants of Valencia County and effectively restrained competition from other merchants. Previous histories have overlooked the economic, political, and racial nuances of mercantile competition in the Rio Abajo, and this chapter aims to fill the gaps in the prevailing historiography.

During the late 1840s, New Mexico underwent rapid and sweeping social, political, and economic change following the U.S.-Mexico War. After four years of U.S. military government under the Kearny Code, New Mexico formally became a federal territory with the passage of the Compromise of 1850 by U.S. Congress. The federally appointed territorial governors “were faced with the task of creating county and local government [and] had the power to appoint probate judges to the nine counties of New Mexico.”³⁷ The federal government exerted control through governors and military force in order to consolidate and absorb the New Mexico territory into the Union. It also conceded the task of local government to wealthy Hispanos who were sympathetic to Washington. In this era, both local and federal forces shaped economic markets.

The military conquest of the American Southwest offered new economic opportunities for American entrepreneurs, new immigrant arrivals from Europe, and Hispano stock raisers. While taking on substantial risk in their commercial pursuits, southwestern entrepreneurs faced the double task of satisfying the federal government’s interests and establishing amicable relationships with local New Mexicans. Businessmen often competed for control of local commodity markets and for military supply contracts. A commercial pioneer’s success or failure in New Mexico depended on his ability to satisfy local and federal interests, both political and economic.

In light of these factors, this chapter narrates the chronological succession of merchants in Los Lunas and the Rio Abajo region of New Mexico from 1848 to 1871. The discussion focuses on Los Lunas and also considers Peralta and Los Pinos as the main sites

³⁷ Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 76.

of significant commercial activity.³⁸ At the end of this period, Louis and Henry Huning rose to prominence in the mercantile industry in the Rio Abajo. They accomplished this feat through the assistance of their oldest brother, Franz Huning, and Erhardt Franz, also a German merchant and associate of the family. This chapter will illustrate how the brothers attained trading supremacy in Los Lunas and superseded previous mercantile establishments. The Huning brothers emerged as some of the most formidable and substantial merchants in Valencia County and, arguably, the territory.

The immediate years following the U.S.-Mexico War and the early post-Civil War were a critical period for the Huning merchant family, for they forged productive relationships with the U.S. Army, elite Hispanos, and the population of farmers, laborers, and freighters. Previous merchants, such as Moses Sachs and Erhardt Franz especially, laid the economic foundation for the L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company. Preceding the Hunings in Valencia County, Sachs and Franz established networks with Rio Abajoans and the army; both were customers of their establishments. The Hunings exploited these associations for their own ends in the mercantile industry. By the time they acquired the Franz establishment in 1871, they had become the principal retail and wholesale merchants of the Rio Abajo.

Moses Sachs: The First Merchant of Los Lunas

Moses Sachs was the first non-Hispano merchant in Los Lunas in the early American period. According to the federal census in 1850, Sachs was the primary merchant in town,

³⁸ As this master's thesis is a case study of the L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company in Los Lunas, I have omitted the towns of Bernalillo and Albuquerque. A future, extensive study of the Perea Brothers Mercantile Company in Bernalillo would be a significant contribution to the history of the mid-nineteenth-century Rio Abajo region. A detailed analysis of the Armijo family's mercantile in Albuquerque would also be an instructive study. See Perea Bros. Mercantile Co. Letterpress Copybook, MSS 30 BC; and Inventory of the Nicolas T. Armijo Family Papers, 1865-1947, MSS 539 BC, both in Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

servicing a population of 261 people. The majority of his civilian customers were laborers and farmers. Born in Bavaria in 1823, Sachs had made his way to Valencia County from Germany in the late 1840s, sometime shortly after the end of the U.S.-Mexico War.³⁹ Sachs, a German Jew, was part of a movement of other German Jews who formed a small enclave in New Mexico and developed a niche in trade and commerce, initiating a “commercial revolution” in the region.⁴⁰ One historian has pointed out that “in 1850, all Jewish males in the territory described their occupation as merchant or clerk.”⁴¹ Sachs, like other German and German Jewish merchants, converted his capital into saleable merchandise and spurred a new age of commerce in the Rio Abajo. Southwestern historians have written considerably on the German Jewish merchants in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, but merchants such as Sachs who settled in less-populated areas have remained in relative obscurity. Similar to other sedentary storekeepers, Sachs established a permanent store in Los Lunas to engage in business with the military and the local inhabitants. Sachs’s presence in Los Lunas and Valencia County stimulated economic activity among the townspeople.

With little money in circulation in Los Lunas, Sachs took an enormous risk in merchandising. Few inhabitants had cash to purchase goods from the store. To counteract

³⁹ Valencia County, New Mexico, Federal Census, 1880, r. 804, microfilm (Washington, D.C.: National Records and Records Service, 1880), *Tenth Census of the United States*, microcopy T9, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. [hereafter county, roll number, microfilm number, title, NAMP, RBC, RG 29, NARA].

⁴⁰ William Parish writes, “A relatively small group of German Jewish merchants permeated the territorial economy with their influence. It is evident, therefore, that a great change took place in business capitalism in New Mexico after the American Occupation, and that the German Jew was the key man in encouraging and developing its growth.” See William Parish, “The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850–1900,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (January 1960): 8, 18.

⁴¹ Henry J. Tobias, *A History of the Jews in New Mexico*, rev. ed. (1990; repr., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 30.

this liquidity problem, Sachs engaged in two professions that almost guaranteed payment in drafts or cash: the offices of postmaster and the army forage agent. Sachs held the former position from 6 November 1855 through 2 November 1857. Historian William Parish mentions that participation in the early U.S. postal system provided a source of revenue for merchants. The appointment allowed postmasters to use the mail-carrier system as a means to freight goods at no expense to themselves (but to the federal government). The position could also be used to gather intelligence and knowledge about the local population. Although offering his services for a period of only two years—and probably receiving a minor source of revenue at that—the mainstay of Sachs’s business was Capt. Richard S. Ewell of the U.S. Army and the Los Lunas post. Commenting on the ability of German entrepreneurs to prosper in remote locations through business with the military, historian Tomas Jaehn writes: “Moses Sachs, arriving in Valencia County in the late 1840s, initially owned land worth \$500. A decade later, through his and his wife’s efforts as merchants and government agents, they accumulated assets worth \$4,000.” By comparing Sachs’s reported assets at the beginning and end of the 1850s, Jaehn supports the notion that selling supplies to the local army post was lucrative. As an early practitioner of merchant capitalism, Sachs knew that selling goods to the military provided “a principal source of eastern exchange, the only domestic exchange acceptable to eastern suppliers of merchandise.”⁴²

The U.S. Army required forage agents to supply products such as hay, corn, barley, and oats to the military. Darlis Miller, the preeminent historian of military contracting in the Far Southwest, adds: “They were required to furnish without further remuneration meals to

⁴² New Mexico Territorial Post Offices, “Notes and Documents,” in *New Mexico Historical Review* 34, no. 3 (July 1959): 203; William Parish, *The Charles Iffeld Company*, 37, 40; and Tomas Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest*, 93.

expressmen, corrals for government animals, and fuel to teamsters and small detachments of soldiers. The army expected agents to promote the general interest of the United States by protecting government property, recovering stolen or stray animals, taking care of sick animals and indisposed government employees, providing soldiers and employees with means for cooking their meals, and circulating supply advertisements for the quartermaster's department."⁴³ With the assistance of his wife, Maria Gertrudes Baca, a native of Belen, Sachs executed the required duties of the forage agent. He acquired property in the vicinity of the Los Lunas plaza, providing lodging and domestic services for the troops at the Los Lunas post.

In January 1852, the U.S. War Department established a post in Los Lunas in the Ninth Military Department for the purposes of waging campaigns against Navajo, Apache, and Comanche Indians and ostensibly to protect settlers in the area. Sachs probably began his service as a forage agent shortly after the post's establishment. Col. Edwin V. Sumner directed Captain Ewell of the First Dragoons to station his company in either Los Lunas or Sabinal.⁴⁴ Ewell decided on Los Lunas, and the area was occupied until 1860. For eight years, the U.S. Army's presence in Los Lunas was comprised mainly of dragoons and infantry. Unlike Fort Marcy in Santa Fe, the military post at Los Lunas was a small station, but the army leased pre-existing buildings from local property owners. Throughout the decade, the troop aggregates averaged around seventy troops.⁴⁵

⁴³ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 114.

⁴⁴ Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 69.

⁴⁵ A small sample of five post returns from the era yielded the following numbers. 70 troops in 1852; the post return from December 1854 indicates 75 troops; another from August 1855 notes 84 troops; the January 1858 return highlights 77 troops; and the post return from August 1860, the last month of the fort's existence, indicates 113 troops. According to Dr. Troy Ainsworth, director of the Los Lunas Museum, "On average

The Army customarily purchased items such as corn and fodder from the forage agency and other local retail merchants.⁴⁶ In his inspection report of September 1853 regarding the Los Lunas Post, Col. Joseph Mansfield observed:

This company was well instructed and drilled handsomely. The quarters were good and all the public property in a good state of preservation. The supplies were good and abundant at present although until recently and for some time past, the soldiers had been obliged to purchase shoes and socks and shirts of the sutler at high prices in the absence of Government supplies. All supplies at this station can be readily obtained: corn can be purchased at one dollar the bushel of 56 pounds, and beans and flour abundant; mutton and beef readily obtained, and all other supplies from Fort Union via Albuquerque.⁴⁷

This report implies that Sachs had fulfilled his obligations as the forage agent. Mansfield also notes that Ewell served as both quartermaster and commanding officer. Officers such as Ewell required agents “who knew the New Mexican people and could deal with them in Spanish.”⁴⁸ Fluent in Spanish and married to a local woman, Sachs was able to act as a middleman between the local population, who were often the producers and suppliers, and the military authorities at Los Lunas. From January 1852 to 22 September 1856, when Captain Ewell and Company G removed to Tucson in Arizona Territory, Ewell used Sachs as his main source for agricultural commodities.

During Sachs’s tenure in Los Lunas, the Santa Fe firm of Webb and Kingsbury were his primary wholesalers. While Webb coordinated transactions in the East, Kingsbury

Company G, First Dragoons under Ewell’s command numbered about seventy men accounted for each month.” See Post Returns from Los Lunas Post, January 1852–August 1860, r. 648, *Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916*, Microcopy 617, microfilm, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780–1917, RG 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Troy Ainsworth, email with author, 26 October 2016.

⁴⁶ Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 103.

⁴⁷ Robert Frazer, ed., *Mansfield on the Conditions of the Western Forts* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 49.

⁴⁸ Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 83

imported these goods and remained in Santa Fe to run the day-to-day business, requisitioning orders from merchants dispersed throughout the territory. Correspondence in the 1850s between Kingsbury and Webb highlights Sachs's prosperity in the first half of the decade and the later decline of his business operation in Los Lunas. On 29 January 1856, Sachs acquired a bill of goods from Webb and Kingsbury, paying in cash. This transaction suggests that Sachs had regularly purchased store inventory with his readily accessible capital. Kingsbury wrote Webb: "Sachs has paid and bought another bill for cash. He is good, he tells me he is worth 15 or \$16,000. Next year if we sell him cheap he will be a good customer with the money in hand."⁴⁹

By 14 September 1857, however, Sachs's situation took a drastic turn for the worse. He became insolvent, incurring with his creditors and wholesalers liabilities that he was unable to pay. Kingsbury reported to his partner:

I have rec. from Mr. Sachs \$502.+ on account. He is broke. Levi [Spiegelberg] forced a settlement with him, his a/c was \$5,000. He took 50% cash, \$2,500. Sachs was afraid of Levi and had put everything out of his hands. He writes us that he will pay every cent all he wants is time to realize what he has outstanding. Capt. Ewell is in town after talking with him, I feel more easy about our account. He says Sachs was smart to settle with Levi, and that he certainly has a large lot of Wheat & Corn, also that he sent a large lot of goods not less than (\$2,000) to Tucson by the Luners [Lunas]. This he will realize and have in his opinion enough to pay all his debts and something more.⁵⁰

By 1857, Sachs had begun to overextend his business. He was indebted to Levi Spiegelberg, another Santa Fe wholesaler, and Webb & Kingsbury. Captain Ewell, who had traveled to Santa Fe from Tucson and the Gila River before departing for Fort Buchanan in January

⁴⁹ Kingsbury to Webb, 29 January 1856, Santa Fe, New Mexico, *Trading in Santa Fe: John M. Kingsbury's Correspondence with James Josiah Webb, 1853–1861*, ed. Jane Lenz Elder and David J. Weber (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, DeGolyer Library, 1996), 32.

⁵⁰ Kingsbury to Webb, 14 September 1857, Santa Fe, New Mexico, *ibid.*, 64.

1858, spoke with Kingsbury and bypassed Sachs. Ewell knew that Sachs stockpiled wheat and corn for the local post and that some of his liquid assets were en route on a freight expedition. Although this conversation appears benign on the surface, Ewell's private thoughts about Sachs disclose his possible contempt for the Los Lunas merchant. In an early letter to his brother Benjamin Ewell on 23 December 1852, Capt. Ewell remarked, "Today I have been pestered by a Dutch Jew merchant." Without stating his name, Ewell was clearly referring to Sachs. Although it is difficult to determine whether Ewell was anti-Semitic, he felt more comfortable dealing with Kingsbury than with Sachs. While one may only speculate about these religious and ethnic frictions, Sachs was no longer the prosperous merchant he had been. Even worse, his wholesalers and Captain Ewell were unsympathetic to his plight.⁵¹

From 1857 until 1860, Sachs spent the remainder of his time in Los Lunas selling off his assets to make good on his debts. In November 1857, Kingsbury related:

We can get nothing from him [Sachs] at present. He says he owes none now but us. He has paid all his debts below in grain and by shifting around has settled with everyone but us. He has put everything out of his hands long ago, so that we would gain nothing by pushing him, except by intreaty [sic]. He says we shall not loose [sic] a cent by him and will pay us just as soon as he can make collection. He has sold his little Store at Belin [Belen] on credit, is trying to settle up his business, is taking annuals or anything he can get for his old accounts. I think he will pay us in full in the Spring.

At the beginning of 1858, Kingsbury traveled to Los Lunas to "stir up Moses and if possible get something on account." By July, Kingsbury and Webb had filed a civil judgment against

⁵¹ Richard S. Ewell to Benjamin Ewell, 23 December 1852, Los Lunas, New Mexico, *The Letters of General Richard S. Ewell*, ed. Donald Pfanz (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 111–12. Lucinda Sachs Lucero, a New Mexico historian and descendant of Moses Sachs, proposes that a phonetic reading of "Dutch Jew" would suggest "Deutsch Jew." Her interpretation is sound, as Sachs was a German Jew, and I have no other reason to believe that Ewell was referring to anyone else but Sachs. Lucinda Sachs, email to author, 28 June 2016. Historians David J. Weber and Jane Lenz Elder have both emphasized Kingsbury's "deep Anti-Semitism" in their edited volume of the Webb and Kingsbury correspondence. See *Trading in Santa Fe*, xxvii.

Sachs. Antonio Jose Otero, a Peralta resident who was appointed justice of the Supreme Court of New Mexico and justice of the Second Judicial District by President James K. Polk after the U.S.-Mexican War, agreed to sign a joint note to cover Sachs's liability. On 11 May 1859, Kingsbury confirmed that he "succeeded in getting money on that Sachs debt." Sachs jettisoned Los Lunas for Belen by 1860 to live with his wife's family. For a brief interval, Nathaniel Macrae, a merchant originally from Louisiana, sold produce to the military. A letter on 6 May 1860 indicates that Macrae also became insolvent. Kingsbury pointed out that when the army abandoned the Los Lunas Post in 1860, Macrae was "essentially helpless." In the absence of a local military market, future merchants in Valencia County had to find other sources of revenue outside the county boundaries.⁵²

Moses Sachs experienced hard lessons during his decade-long residence in Los Lunas. His misfortune, however, was instructive for merchants who succeeded him. They learned that the military was the main market for agricultural goods in New Mexico. Over reliance on a single post was too risky—they needed to sell to multiple forts or posts to diversify their sales and spread the risk. Wealthy Hispanos also served three important functions: they supplied the produce, were reliable freighters, and could provide financial backing under difficult circumstances. The merchants who came after Sachs realized that Santa Fe wholesale firms had aggressive collection policies. Maintaining their own contacts and wholesalers in St. Louis and New York City allowed for more flexibility and better credit terms than they could find in New Mexico. German Protestants, as it turned out, had better

⁵² Letters from Kingsbury to Webb, 30 November 1857, 28 February 1858, 11 May 1859, and 6 May 1860, Santa Fe, New Mexico, *Trading in Santa Fe*, 71, 85, 166, 230; Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864–1882* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935), 282.

luck than German Jews in Valencia County.⁵³ While later German Protestant merchants such as Erhardt Franz and the Hunings discerned these truths about the marketplace, the 1850s were also a watershed for elite Hispano stock raisers. The California gold rush transformed their lives and socio-economic conditions, for they too became merchants and competed for mercantile supremacy in the territory.

The Impact of the California Gold Rush on the Hispanos of the Rio Abajo

Before the 1850s, Hispanos from the Rio Abajo earned the majority of their income from sheep raising. Although some families, such as the Oteros and Chavezes, had experience trading in the Midwest and on the East Coast, the decade of the 1850s was pivotal for the Chavez, Luna, and Otero clans. In a period of ten years, they transitioned from stock raisers and farmers to full-fledged merchants. On the surface, this occupational shift may appear inconsequential, but to Hispanos at the time, it signified that they had a claim to mercantile and commercial legitimacy. By 1860, they desired to prove to U.S. authorities that they had surpassed their single-risk venture in sheep and had the capital resources to deal in multirisk merchandising. They had become merchant-capitalists in their own right. In other words, their financial sophistication enabled them to compete with the ensemble of German and German Jewish merchants for control of the resale and wholesale commodity markets in New Mexico.⁵⁴

Prior to American occupation, Los Lunas was a rural village of small farmers on the west bank of the Rio Grande below Albuquerque. In the 1750s, Domingo de Luna purchased

⁵³ Jewish merchants did not return to Los Lunas until 1878 with the arrival of the Neustadt Brothers.

⁵⁴ For information on the sheep trade in northern Mexico before U.S. conquest, and especially during the Mexican period, see John O. Baxter, "The Peak Years, 1821-1846," chap. 5 in *Las Carneradas: The Sheep Trade in New Mexico, 1700-1860* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 89-110.

the San Clemente Land Grant from the heirs of Ana Sandoval y Manzanares, the original grantee. Shortly afterward, the Luna family constructed a hacienda and devoted its interests to sheep ranching. Through the Lunas's considerable political influence in New Mexico during the nineteenth century, Los Lunas eventually became the seat of Valencia County in 1875. In the early-twentieth century, New Mexico attorney and chronicler Ralph E. Twitchell observed, "Controlling influences in the county politically and otherwise for the past half century have been centered on members of the Luna family and their relations by blood and marriage."⁵⁵

The census of 1850, however, gives the impression that the Lunas's wealth was predicated on agriculture. For example, the total value of real estate in Los Lunas amounted to \$19,336.50. The farmers owned just above 95% of real property in the town. Antonio Jose Luna claimed \$2,600; Rafael Luna, \$2,500; Ramon Luna, \$2,000; and Juan Luna, \$2,000. They all claimed to be farmers, but that label is misleading for contemporary historians. The designation of farmer had a more-elastic meaning at the time, which would encompass stock raising, and it may have appeared as a more-respectable profession than the latter. Although the Lunas had agricultural pursuits, much of this real wealth was based on the sheep trade. Both Twitchell and historian John O. Baxter emphasize that the Lunas were one of the families that had dominated the sheep business since the Mexican era (1821–1846). In all, the census data demonstrates that the Lunas were indeed the economic elites of the settlement.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ralph E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. 5 (Iowa: Torch Press, 1917), 4.

⁵⁶ Valencia County, New Mexico, Federal Census, 1850, r. 470, microfilm (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1963), *Seventh Census of the United States*, microcopy 432, NAMP, RBC, RG 29, NARA.

While the Lunas were the principal stock raisers and farmers on the west side of the Rio Grande, the Oteros and Chavezes were also heavily invested in sheep across the river in Peralta and Los Pinos, respectively. But unlike the Lunas, these families had some experience with trading in the United States and were considered American-friendly by the federal government. Antonio Jose Otero, one of the sons of Santa Fe–Chihuahua trader Vicente Otero, had worked in the Santa Fe Trade since 1842.⁵⁷ As Lamar notes in *The Far Southwest*, the Polk administration deemed Otero trustworthy, naming him chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Mexico after the war with Mexico. Selling sheep in Chihuahua before war broke out with the United States, Otero had acquired a mill in Peralta after the war and sold flour to the army beginning in 1851. Historian Francelle Alexander notes that he sold over two million pounds of flour to various posts throughout the territory in the 1850s.⁵⁸

Similar to the Oteros, the Chavez family owed its prosperity to the sheep trade in Chihuahua and Durango and on the Santa Fe Trail during the Mexican period. Sometime before 1829, Mariano Chavez, the family patriarch, had married Dolores Perea, an heir to the prominent Perea family of Bernalillo, a clan that also claimed vast sheep holdings. In her diary, Susan Shelby Magoffin noted that the Chavezes invited her and her husband to stay at their house during the U.S.-Mexico War. Moving from Los Padillas to Los Pinos in the late 1830s, the Chavezes became closely allied with the Oteros in nearby Peralta. After Mariano Chavez's death in 1844, his wife married Henry Connelly five years later. He was also an

⁵⁷ Susan C. Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 63; Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 57; and Francelle Alexander, *Among the Cottonwoods: The Enduring Rio Abajo Villages of Peralta and Los Pinos, New Mexico, before 1940* (Los Ranchos, N.Mex.: Rio Grande Books, 2012), 61.

⁵⁸ Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 80; and Alexander, *Among the Cottonwoods*, 100.

experienced Chihuahua trader who had been navigating the circuits of the Santa Fe Trade since 1828.⁵⁹ This brief sketch shows that the wealth of prominent Rio Abajo families was historically rooted in sheep. Their early engagement in the mercantile trade in the United States allowed them to diversify their investments prior to the gold rush.⁶⁰

Before the California gold rush directly impacted Rio Abajo stock raisers and traders, they had established a distinct niche in stock raising. Figures from the census of 1850 suggest that many of these families enjoyed access to resources, money, and labor. Class stratification, although present during the Mexican and early American eras, did not become firmly entrenched until the early 1860s. By then, the Hispano stock raisers had made unprecedented fortunes by selling sheep near the gold fields. Cross-referencing the census figures with the history of the sheep trade in the Rio Abajo demonstrates that the distribution of wealth in Los Lunas clearly favored the “farmers,” who were, in actuality, sheep raisers.

The Luna family, among others, lived as sheep ranchers until 1849 when the California gold rush improved their lives, augmented their wealth, and elevated their socio-economic status. Instead of driving their herds south to Chihuahua and Durango, as was the previous custom of trade along the Camino Real, they began driving sheep to California. They were able to sell them at inflated prices due to the influx of miners and lack of food supplies for a population that was growing quickly around the gold fields. One historian has remarked that during the 1850s, “speculators marketed hundreds of New Mexico sheep in

⁵⁹ Susan Shelby Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846–1847*, ed. Stella M. Drumm (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), 152; and Richard Melzer, “Henry Connelly—New Mexico’s Civil War Governor” in *Enchanted Journeys: More Tales of the Rio Abajo*, ed. Richard Melzer (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Rio Grande Books, forthcoming publication), 1–21.

⁶⁰ Francelle Alexander has written biographical accounts of the Chavez and Otero families of the Rio Abajo. See her chapters “Mariano Chavez and the Beginning of Los Pinos” and “Adapting: The Next Generation of Oteros” in *Among the Cottonwoods*, 51–68 and 93–108.

California.” To exploit this distant and lucrative market, Hispano families from the Rio Abajo communities of Los Lunas and Albuquerque set out to California in 1852 with twenty-five thousand sheep and returned with seventy thousand dollars. These entrepreneurs earned their profits by owning sheep in an area where production costs were relatively low and selling them where demand and market prices were high. In essence, the sheep drives were the sources of the *rico* class’ wealth and the stock raisers attained a much-higher degree of affluence than ever before. They had never encountered such market advantage in Chihuahua, where they typically sold sheep at fair market value. For Hispanos with access to expansive herds of sheep, the gold rush was a rare opportunity to capitalize on a booming market for sheep that would never occur again in their lifetimes.⁶¹

In October 1858, S. A. Hubbell, famous New Mexico attorney and brother-in-law to prominent sheep rancher and business partner Joaquin Perea, reported in the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette* “the number of sheep being driven or about to be taken overland from this section of the territory to California: Antonio Jose Luna, 17,000; Jose Jaramillo, 17,000; Rafael Luna, 10,000; Toribio Romero, 9,000; and Ramon Luna, 7,000.”⁶² Along with the Lunas, the Romeros and Jaramillos lived in Los Lunas. Furthermore, Tibo Chavez and Gilberto Espinosa, the authors of *El Rio Abajo*, write:

Antonio Jose Luna and Antonio Jose Otero of Valencia decided on a very bold venture in selling their sheep in the California market. It is estimated that they would receive \$10 or \$15 per head in California, instead of the local market value of 50 cents. It is estimated that in one drive the Luna and Otero families transported overland to California better than 50,000 sheep in the 1850’s [sic].⁶³

⁶¹ John O. Baxter, *Las Carneradas*, 96–104, 114, 121.

⁶² “New Mexico Sheep for California,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 9 October 1858.

⁶³ Tibo J. Chavez and Gilberto Espinosa, *El Rio Abajo* (Albuquerque: Bishop Publishing, 1966), 55.

Returning from their arduous livestock drives, these families also brought with them something that was previously scarce in Los Lunas and Valencia County: U.S. currency. Chavez and Espinosa suggest that these overland sheep drives laid the political and economic foundations for Los Lunas in the mid-nineteenth century: “The ready cash this provided to these families soon made them the big ricos and political leaders of the Rio Abajo.” Baxter estimates that sheep traders brought in “over a half-million dollars in new capital” in the 1850s. Through their active participation in the larger national economy and their sheep sales to California during the gold rush era, the Lunas, Jaramillos, and Romeros came to control political and economic life in Los Lunas. The Connelly/Chavez and Otero families likewise benefitted from the sheep drives.⁶⁴

By the early 1860s, the Luna, Jaramillo, and Romero families had become merchants, and the federal census of 1860 illustrates their occupational shift from stock raisers/agriculturalists to merchants. To illustrate, 484 people comprised the total population of Los Lunas in 1860. That number includes 49 U.S. Army regulars at the Los Lunas Post. This demographic figure had more than doubled from the total population of 226 persons counted in 1850. The leading men of Los Lunas now declared “merchant” as their occupation. Jose Jaramillo listed \$55,414 in real and personal-property assets; Antonio Jose Luna claimed \$67,500 in total wealth; Ramon Luna, \$32,000; Toribio Romero, \$11,600; and Miguel Romero, \$17,500. In all, 61% of the overall wealth in Los Lunas belonged to these three sheep and merchant families. These numbers show a significant increase in total wealth from just ten years before. In addition, they suggest a marked increase of money circulating in Los Lunas. Antonio Jose Luna’s real and personal property assets were three times larger

⁶⁴ Baxter, *Las Carneradas*, 128, 143.

than the town's total real estate values in 1850.⁶⁵ These three families were also linked through intermarriage, and their extended family members engaged in substantial and lucrative agricultural enterprises. For example, Valentin Romero, a farmer, reported \$6,800 in real and personal property; Juan Luna, \$34,000; Rafael Luna, \$49,500; Juan Romero, married to Soledad Luna, claimed \$8,400.⁶⁶ To put these numbers in perspective, over 92% of town wealth rested in the hands of three families tied together through marriage and blood. They were also the benefactors of the day laborers and smaller farmers by selling them goods in their stores, extending them small-credit purchases through informal processes of exchange, and providing them employment.

The problem with this census roll is that most of the day laborers did not list their real and personal property assets, either because they preferred to withhold this information or, as was more likely the case, they had no property to report. It is difficult to distinguish the poor from the affluent in rural Los Lunas, but a laborer who owned assets, whether real or personal property, likely identified as more economically stable than a laborer with none. The former, presumably, had relative autonomy to choose how to allocate his labor, daily or seasonally. In the absence of holding any assets whatsoever, this lack of property strongly suggests that an individual was indebted to someone else. As was the custom in the system of debt peonage, laborers were indebted to and "cared for" by their *patrones* and survived by trading their labor for basic necessities such as shelter, food, and other provisions. In fact,

⁶⁵ Valencia County, New Mexico, Federal Census, r. 716, microfilm (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1867) Eighth Census of the United States, microcopy 653, NAMP, RBC, RG 29, NARA.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*

three laborers disclosed their assets, but their average reported wealth was a modest \$275 in comparison to the much higher values claimed by the affluent families in Valencia County.

The influx of wealth from sheep sales in the California gold rush was staggering. Further analysis demonstrates that the Luna, Jaramillo, and Romero families controlled the local economy through their personal and family wealth and customs of intermarriage prior to the arrival of the L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company. But would this new wealth enable them to go beyond the sheep business and invest in commodities and wholesale/retail merchandising?

During the 1850s, the wealthy Hispanos from the Rio Abajo came into their own as merchants who were equal to Moses Sachs and some of the other established businessmen operating in the territory. Aware of Moses Sachs's business in merchandising, Hispanos reasoned that they could compete in that business sector. In becoming capitalists, they desired to compete with non-Hispano merchants and achieve a new level of respectability as legitimate, multirisk businessmen, not just single-risk sheep traders. Instead of hoarding their wealth, they invested their profits to jumpstart other investment opportunities in the territory. With access to cash after the California sheep drives, the Hispano merchants had the ability to contend for mercantile supremacy in the Rio Abajo. Although it was customary for Hispanos to be the local political leaders, could they compete effectively against non-Hispanos in the mercantile trade? With their newly acquired wealth, could they use it to quash their German counterparts?

Unfortunately, no extant records of these Hispano businesses in Los Lunas either indicate the size and scale of their operations or lend themselves to comparison with the German establishments. The few available sources demonstrate that Hispano merchants

invested in coffee, carpet, linens, whiskey, and other commodities.⁶⁷ Merchandising, nevertheless, allowed Hispanos to diversify their sheep business and invest in new forms of capital. From the census records, it is clear that they wanted to be identified and acknowledged as merchants. Despite the new identity and role as merchants by 1860, German arrivals after Moses Sachs's tenure in Los Lunas would contest their claim to mercantile supremacy. The merchant status of most Rio Abajo Hispanos, however, was ultimately short-lived. By 1870, Erhardt Franz and the Huning brothers would surpass their Hispano counterparts and take merchandising to a new level of sophistication.

Erhardt Franz and the Relative Decline of Hispano Merchants

Shortly after Sachs and Macrae failed to seize control of the local and military markets, another entrepreneur, Erhardt Franz, arrived in Los Lunas. Born 30 March 1833 in Hanover, Germany, Erhardt Franz was born to a lawyer and received a private-school education in his homeland. While temporarily working in his father's law office, Franz initially studied to become a postal clerk. At the age of twenty-one, he left Europe for the United States. Arriving in New York City in the mid-1850s, he made his way to St. Louis. In 1859, he encountered a fellow German, Franz Huning, who recommended that he try his luck in New Mexico Territory. It is quite possible that Huning suggested Los Lunas instead of Albuquerque, given that the town lacked a merchant following the failures of Sachs and Macrae. Acting on this advice, Franz moved to New Mexico Territory. Only residing there for a period of twelve years, Franz he enjoyed an impressive run as a territorial merchant.

⁶⁷ "Account of Losses sustained by Santiago Luna y Hermano," Los Lunas, New Mexico, 2 January 1866, f. 157, reel 25, microfilm, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, New Mexico State Archives, Santa Fe; and "Account of Losses sustained by Toribio Romero y Hermano," Los Lunas, New Mexico, January 2, 1866, f. 151, reel 25, *ibid.*

Returning to St. Louis in 1871, he became a wholesale grocer and distributor. Although he is mostly known in the annals of Missouri business history, Franz made a significant impression on business practices in the Far Southwest. New Mexico historians of merchant capitalism have overlooked him, but his activities in the Rio Abajo region revolutionized merchandising in Valencia County during his brief tenure.⁶⁸

Bringing his legal and financial savvy to the territory, Franz had access to capital and forged extensive connections to Missouri. In the process, he befriended the elite Hispanos, acquired property, and acclimated to the local business environment. Franz established a new precedent in the Rio Abajo, for after him, German Protestant merchants would dominate the mercantile business in Valencia County for the rest of the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ As a direct result of Franz's presence in Los Lunas, the Hispano merchants no longer had the ability and financial resources to compete with the German merchants over the long run.⁷⁰ In all, the influx of German merchants in the latter nineteenth-century cannot be understood without placing Erhardt Franz at the beginning of the historical timeline.

Although difficult to pinpoint the precise time that Franz arrived in Valencia County, he is listed in the census in 1860. Undoubtedly, the young entrepreneur had not been in town long, settling next to Abran Jaramillo, a farmer, and Toribio Romero, a merchant. He also

⁶⁸ William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (New York: Southern History Company, 1899), 830; and Franz Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail: The Memoirs of Franz Huning*, ed. Lina Fergusson Browne (Albuquerque: Calvin Horn Publisher, 1973), 65.

⁶⁹ For studies on German merchants in Belen following the arrival of Erhardt Franz, see Margaret Espinosa-McDonald, "*Vamos Todos a Belen*": *Cultural Transformation of the Hispanic Community in the Rio Abajo Community of Belen from 1850 to 1950* (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1997), 27–101; and Chavez and Espinosa, "New Immigration," chap. 18 in *El Rio Abajo*, 125–132.

⁷⁰ Felipe Chaves, a resident of Belen, is one exception to this claim. On the whole, Hispano merchants, as an economic bloc, could not compete with the Erhardt Franz, Louis and Henry Huning, John Becker, Oscar Gobel, and others in the county. See Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, passim.

befriended Rafael Mestas, who would eventually sell him land in the vicinity of the *plaza vieja* (old plaza).⁷¹ Although the earliest county deed books have since been lost or destroyed, the grantor/grantee index at the Valencia County Courthouse has survived. This register of property transactions reveals that Franz made some of the earliest property purchases in the county. At some point in the early 1860s, Eustaquio Padilla, Maria Regina Padilla, Domingo Peralta, Domingo Moya, Abran Jaramillo, Dionicio Chaves, and Vidal Chaves conveyed Franz tracts of land in Los Lunas and Los Lentos. The Padilla, Peralta, and Moya tracts were located in Los Lentos and the Jaramillo and Chaves parcels were situated in Los Lunas. Franz also held joint ownership of lands with Rafael Mestas on the town plaza. Anticipating the increase of property values, Franz shrewdly accumulated these lands for future sale. Establishing himself in Los Lunas also gave him the ability to become a sedentary merchant, setting up there to coordinate his mercantile activities. Although there are no early records of this real-estate speculators' business activity and military transactions, the *Encyclopedia of St. Louis*, published in 1899, indicates that he was "interested in freighting goods across the plains to the towns and military posts of that remote region." The author of this biographical entry lauded Franz for his "genius for the business of merchandising," and his business operation in New Mexico Territory already demonstrated considerable business acumen in his twenties. Acquiring local property, establishing trade

⁷¹ Rafael Mestas raised the author's great-grandfather, Jesus Maria Chaves. The property that my maternal side of the family inherited from the San Clemente Land Grant lies adjacent to the Huning Mercantile, which still stands. Erhardt Franz owned that parcel before he sold it to the Hunings. Franz originally purchased it from Mestas in the 1860s.

relations with the military, using his connections in St. Louis—all these factors contributed to Franz’s success in the region in the first half of the 1860s.⁷²

Although lacking historical sources for the first half of the 1860s, documents from 1865 onward give some insight to Franz’s undertakings. On 20 November 1865, he succeeded Sachs as the local postmaster. No one else had filled the vacancy since 1857. Franz had studied the postal system in Hanover, and he easily transitioned into that role and brought expertise to the office. Handling the mail was also a means by which he acquired knowledge about the local population.⁷³ Inaugurated in 1862 during the Civil War, President Lincoln established the United States Internal Revenue Service to collect taxes on income for federal wartime expenses. Many New Mexican merchants complied with the new law in the hopes that disclosing their incomes would decrease their likelihood of being audited by the federal government. In 1865, Franz reported his income at \$4,400. In the following year he claimed that he was a retail liquor salesman and hotelkeeper in Los Lunas. These declarations indicate that his revenues exceeded his expenses and that he was running a profitable venture. In 1868, his total income in Los Lunas amounted to \$3,196.25.⁷⁴

In a moment of merchant solidarity in 1866, Franz and the Hispano merchants submitted damage claims to the territorial secretary of New Mexico for goods “taken by

⁷² Grantor/Grantee Index, County Clerk’s Office, Valencia County Courthouse, Los Lunas, New Mexico. Original deeds located in Book 3A, which no longer exists; Frank Tondre, “Lands Situated in Los Lentes: Legal Statement” 20 March 1928, Los Lentes, New Mexico, private collection of Anthony J. Williams; and Hyde and Conard, *History of St. Louis*, 830.

⁷³ New Mexico Territorial Post Offices, “Notes and Documents” *New Mexico Historical Review* 34, no. 3 (July 1959): 203.

⁷⁴ Income of Erhardt Franz in 1865 and 1868, 1 roll, *Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for the Territory of New Mexico, 1862–1870, 1872–1874*, microcopy 782, National Archives Microfilm Publication, Records of the Internal Revenue Service, Record Group 58, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

force by Texan troops from our premises at Los Lunas” after the Civil War Battle of Peralta in April 1862.⁷⁵ According to their statements, retreating Texans had ransacked their stores and committed larceny after the last Civil War skirmish in New Mexico. Writing a cover letter on their behalf, Dr. Henry Hilgert, United States assistant assessor at Los Lunas and Santa Fe attorney according to the 1880 census, requested, “Is there any chance for the people of getting their accounts paid? In case you can, send me a copy of our government’s message in ‘Spanish.’”⁷⁶ Hilgert’s request confirmed that that Spanish remained the language of business among the Los Lunas merchants, despite annexation by the United States and the gradual increase of English speakers to the region. The damage claim also demonstrated the legal sophistication of Hispano and non-Hispano merchants, who mastered and understood the U.S. legal system.

Santiago Luna, Toribio Romero, and Erhardt Franz requested compensation for items the Confederates had plundered from them after a small skirmish at Governor Connelly’s residence at Los Pinos. They desired remuneration for hay, fodder, corn, whiskey, meat, livestock, and sugar. Luna’s, Romero’s, and Franz’s total losses equaled \$3,215, \$4,048, and \$2,750, respectively.⁷⁷ Interestingly, these letters were all written in English by Hilgert and were notarized by the justice of the peace in Los Lunas. The merchants declared their status

⁷⁵ Erhardt Franz to Territorial Secretary of New Mexico, 2 January 1866, Los Lunas, New Mexico, “Account of Losses Sustained by Huning and Co. of the town of Los Lunas, County of Valencia and Territory of New Mexico, an account of the Texas invasion in the year 1862,” f. 137, reel 25, microfilm, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe [hereafter TANM, NMSRCA].

⁷⁶ Dr. Henry Hilgert to Territorial Secretary of New Mexico, Los Lunas, 2 January 1866, f. 137, reel 25, microfilm, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, New Mexico State Archives, Santa Fe.

⁷⁷ “Account of Losses sustained by Huning and Co., Santiago Luna, and Toribio Romero,” Los Lunas, New Mexico, 2 January 1866, ff. 143, 151, 157, reel 25, TANM, NMSRCA.

as U.S. citizens and expressed their loyalty to the Union. Since there are scant records of the Hispano businesses in Los Lunas, the claims provide a rare glimpse into their operations and inventories.

“Santiago Luna y Hermano” sold items out of a storehouse. Property stolen by the Confederates included 70 sacks of corn, 25 barrels of whiskey, 150 yards of the “the finest [carpet] in the States,” and 8 sacks of sugar. “Toribio Romero y Hermano,” on the other hand, operated out of his residence, incurring losses of 36 sacks of sugar, 12 barrels of whiskey, 20 boxes of soap, 7 mules and 10 sacks of coffee. Comparing these inventories with Franz’s goods indicates that merchants were still competing with each other.⁷⁸

Although New Mexico historians know that German merchant capitalists dominated the mercantile industry in the post–Civil War era, they have not explained the process by which Germans curtailed the business of Hispano storehouses. In this case, how did Franz eventually supplant those operations and become the primary merchant in the town? One possible explanation suggests the modernizing influence of open markets and the dissolution of debt peonage. Without any surviving records to demonstrate otherwise, the Hispano merchants more than likely employed “back-door,” informal commercial arrangements to conduct transactions in the local economy. Their customers were their peons. Declaring peonage unlawful with “An Act Relative to Involuntary Servitude Peonage Abolition Act of 1867,” the New Mexico Territorial Legislature abolished “all involuntary servitude within the limits of the Territory of New Mexico” on 26 January 1867. The federal government

⁷⁸ “Account of Losses sustained Santiago Luna y Hermano,” Los Lunas, New Mexico, 2 January 1866, f. 157, reel 25, *ibid*; and “Account of Losses sustained by Toribio Romero y Hermano,” Los Lunas, New Mexico, 2 January 1866, f. 151, reel 25, *ibid*.

followed suit on 2 March 1867 with the Peonage Abolition Act of 1867.⁷⁹ In effect, Hispano patrons could no longer legally hold their peons in voluntary or involuntary servitude and they could no longer use the patron system as a way of exchanging merchandise for work or cheap labor. Erhardt Franz, in contrast, used the open market to attract his customers, who now had the option to buy goods and sell their produce on the open market. He organized his business through the rules of the marketplace, used his knowledge of credits and debits to record transactions, and extended credit to this new customer base. These practices were novel in New Mexico at the time and would eventually become the standard throughout New Mexico in the nineteenth century. The marketplace underwent profound structural changes after the Civil War, and the U.S. influence on economic life in New Mexico Territory pushed the region in the direction of merchandising that favored new economic practices over traditional Hispano ones.

With Erhardt Franz's mercantile becoming the principal store in Los Lunas by 1870, Hispanos no longer officially claimed "merchant" as their occupation according to that year's U.S. census. Most of them now declared themselves as "farmers" or "freighters." Antonio Jose Luna stated that he was a farmer with \$11,000 in total assets, an 84 percent decrease in his assets reported a decade prior. Following suit, Ramon Luna stated that he was now a farmer with \$17,000, a 53 percent decline in his wealth. This downward trend in wealth,

⁷⁹ *An Act Relative to Involuntary Servitude*, 26 January 1867, *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1866–1867* (Santa Fe: Manderfield & Tucker 1867), 44–47; Peonage Abolition Act of 1867, 39 U.S.C., 187 Stat. 546 (1867); and John P. Hays, "The Curious Case of New Mexico's Pre-Civil War Slave Code," in *New Mexico Historical Review* 91 (forthcoming).

according to the census of 1870, was common among the Luna, Romero, and Jaramillo families.⁸⁰

During the late 1860s, some sheep ranchers and former retail merchants, including Abran Jaramillo, Santiago Luna, Toribio Romero, and Miguel Romero, became freighters. On 10 July 1869, the *Santa Fe Gazette* reported that Apaches in the Gila country killed Jose Jaramillo while he was en route from St. Louis to Tucson on a freighting expedition.⁸¹ His wife, Trinidad Romero de Jaramillo, along with her son, Telesfor, who was studying in St. Louis at the time of his death, inherited his assets and sheep ranch. The widow claimed \$50,000 in total real and personal assets in 1870.⁸² While this episode explains why the Jaramillo family left the mercantile business after Jose's death, the other chief Hispano sheep-ranching families were still able to retain their extensive sheep flocks and real property. Their exit from the mercantile business in Los Lunas did not significantly deplete their wealth, but they were flexible in business and willing to adapt and evolve with the changing economic circumstances.

The shift to freighting allowed the Hispanos to continue their merchant activities but in a different capacity and in other markets. Their wagons and teams freighted cargo to places such as Missouri, Colorado, Arizona, and Mexico.⁸³ Even though their economic situation may have slumped after the Civil War, these Hispanos seem to have held no malice

⁸⁰ Valencia County, New Mexico, Federal Census, 1870, r. 897, microfilm, (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1965), *Ninth Census of the United States*, microcopy 593, NAMP, RBC, RG 29, NARA.

⁸¹ *Santa Fe (N.Mex) Weekly Gazette*, 10 July 1869.

⁸² Pauline Jaramillo, "The History of Los Lunas" (unpublished manuscript, last date modified unknown), PDF file, 23.

⁸³ Jaramillo, *The History of Los Lunas*, 25.

against the German entrepreneur, for they conducted business with the store, paid their customer accounts, and borrowed money. These freighting operations show that Hispanos had business connections beyond Franz's store, which are best exemplified by sending their children to school in St. Louis and Washington, D.C., to learn Anglo customs and expand their family businesses and political connections in the eastern United States.⁸⁴

Beginning in July 1868, the former Hispano merchants of Los Lunas were frequent customers of Erhardt Franz's mercantile. Antonio Jose Luna, who had earlier made his fortune from his overland sheep drives to California, was regularly etched in the early ledgers along with his extended family. In November 1870, for example, Luna accumulated \$1,000 worth of charges for "sundries" and paid in full by check. Ramon Luna and Toribio Romero, who were listed as merchants in the census of 1860, also purchased respectively \$649.77 and \$234.89 worth of supplies from the store. These former merchants possibly saw the benefits of purchasing goods at a lower price from a large vendor with more inventory than they had offered in their stores. Also, the close proximity of the store to their places of residence was convenient for them, as opposed to traveling twenty miles north to Albuquerque.⁸⁵

While Franz's store sold general commodities such as coffee, sugar, tobacco, thread, and silk to the Hispano sheep ranchers, day laborers and small-scale farmers were also frequent clients. In August 1868, Rafael Mestas, a farmer with \$450 of real and personal property according to the census of 1860, purchased calico and charged \$10 worth of various

⁸⁴ John Coulligan and Mary Jean Cook, "New Mexico Students Travel the Trail, 1832-1880" in *Wagon Tracks: Santa Fe Trail Association Quarterly*, no. 10 (Santa Fe, N. Mex., 1995): 6-10.

⁸⁵ E.D.F. (Erhardt D. Franz)/L. & H. Huning Journal and Ledger, 1868-1874, p. 396, folder 6, box 13, Huning Mercantile Company Records, MSS 926 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico [hereafter HMCR, CSWR]; and L. & H. Huning Journal and Ledger, 1868-1874, pp. 394, 423, folder 6, box 13, *ibid.*

merchandise. Small charges for tobacco, sugar, thread, coffee, and soap were common among the farmers. The mercantile allowed customers of lower economic status to charge items to their accounts and pay at a later date, given that they usually lacked ready access to cash. The store provided townspeople the means to obtain basic necessities and appears to have not discriminated on the basis of social status or credit worthiness. Like those of other small-town merchants, Franz's open economic practices made his store appealing to the much-larger population of common farmers and day laborers. Their modest purchases allowed Franz to build commercial rapport with a large cross-section of Rio Abajo society.⁸⁶

The mercantile employed a handful of men who charged store goods and paid by their labor. One of these individuals, Dolores Montes, was a frequent customer. He charged items such as sugar, coffee, tobacco, soap, calico, and a pair of shoes. On 19 July 1868, a couple of weeks after his credit purchases, he then paid for some of these items "by work," which amounted to \$3.00. Although this entry does not indicate the number of hours he worked or what job(s) he was paid for, in late October he worked five days and obtained \$3.75 of store credit, which amounted to 75 cents per day. On that same transaction date, Montes charged \$2.50 to his account for a sheep. Santos Apodaca, an illiterate, twenty-eight-year-old laborer according to the census of 1870, worked in a similar capacity for the mercantile and paid for his goods by his store wages. Unlike Montes, Apodaca usually received the equivalent of \$30.00 of store credit every three months, which offset the amount due for goods he had purchased during that time period. Like Montes, Apodaca also began to purchase sheep from

⁸⁶ E.D.F. (Erhardt D. Franz)/L. & H. Huning Journal and Ledger, 1868–1874, pp. 8, 13, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

the store. In one particular entry, he received \$2.25 for three days of labor, which also shows that the store enforced a standard wage of 75 cents for a day's work.⁸⁷

The most common and voluminous commodity stocked by and purchased from the store was wheat. Although most entries do not list the total amount of incoming wheat, the mercantile compensated Juan Jose Aguirre with \$27 in store credit in exchange for "13.5 fanegas of wheat," equivalent of two dollars per fanega. From the toil of his labor, Aguirre was now in a position to barter for credit and provide for his family through his economic arrangement with the store. On the other side of the transaction, Franz could then sell wheat for profit. The ledgers indicate that Cook and Shaw, possibly a livestock outfit, purchased a large supply of wheat from the store. Beginning in July 1868, this business daily purchased wheat, ranging anywhere from 40–90 pounds. Franz benefited from this economic practice, for these types of turnkey transactions yielded profits and precluded long-term storage of a perishable commodity. The locals also found this practice beneficial, for it instituted a standard, uniform, and consistent system of exchange, which allowed them to obtain goods that were produced in the larger urban markets for their surplus crops. Without the store, they would have struggled to find ready buyers on hand for their crops and receive immediate compensation, whether it was store credit or U.S. dollars. Given that these laborers and small-scale farmers had been accustomed to acquiring goods from their Hispano patrons, these open-market transactions were revolutionary, for workers and small producers now had

⁸⁷ E.D.F. (Erhardt D. Franz)/L. & H. Huning Journal and Ledger, 1868–1874, pp. 8, 75, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

the ability to engage in the exchange of commodities and buy on credit, as opposed to engaging a direct exchange of their labor for subsistence items.⁸⁸

By 1870, competition between Hispano and German merchants had dissipated. By that year's census, Franz was the sole merchant in town and claimed \$22,000 in assets. Two major consequences resulted from this process of market monopoly. In normal functioning markets, competition between multiple actors precluded any one capitalist from attaining sole dominance, and it was often difficult to make large profits when many firms or proprietors competed for customers, who naturally preferred low prices. Market competition was a reality in Los Lunas during the early 1860s. After the Civil War, the local retail and wholesale market shifted in a noncompetitive direction; Franz gradually monopolized and absorbed all merchandising functions in Los Lunas. Indeed, he became the single-most influential merchant in the town, and it became difficult for others to compete with him. When markets tended towards monopoly, the barrier to entry became extremely high, and one individual, Franz in this case, accumulated the majority of wealth and profits from that sector. This modern microeconomic explanation helps illustrate what happened between the Hispano merchants and Erhardt Franz in Los Lunas during the 1860s.⁸⁹

But the events of the day were more nuanced, as Franz had established intimate ties with the local Hispano population. The people came to trust and rely on him for their needs and consumption. By reverting to their niche in sheep ranching and diversifying into freighting, the previous Hispano merchants exercised their comparative advantage. For them,

⁸⁸ E.D.F (Erhardt D. Franz)/L. & H. Huning Journal and Ledger, 1868–1874, p. 27, *ibid*.

⁸⁹ Michael Manville, "Firms and Competition," (lecture, History of Capitalism Workshop, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 14 July 2016).

it was a rational decision to engage in economic activities in which they were most proficient and that were most profitable to them. Although the system of accommodation that emerged between German merchants and Hispanos was complex and subtle, the result of this implied agreement was that Franz would be the only merchant in town for some time.

Perhaps growing weary of life in the Far Southwest, Franz decided to sell his store to Louis and Henry Huning. In June 1871, Franz closed out his customer accounts and transferred the books to the new owners. Later that year, he returned to St. Louis. The Huning brothers, however, were not entirely new to New Mexico. Their older brother, Franz Huning, had been one of the first German merchants in the territory and had aided Erhardt Franz when he first arrived in New Mexico. Erhardt Franz even used the name of “Huning and Company” for his store in Los Lunas, ostensibly to publicize his business association with Franz Huning in Albuquerque. Louis and Henry Huning maintained their relationship with Erhardt Franz, using him as a wholesaler in St. Louis while they assumed the latter’s clientele in Los Lunas. This final section of the chapter sketches the history of the Huning family, ending with the establishment of the L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company in Los Lunas.

The Huning Family in New Mexico, 1848–1871: The Strength of Kinship Ties

When Franz Huning arrived in New Mexico in 1849, he did not plan to stay. In time, however, he became a permanent resident and one of the most-successful Albuquerque merchants. Historian Tomas Jaehn has noted Huning’s investments in Albuquerque’s New Town and his civic role in stimulating early urban development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹⁰ Prior to the economic impact of the railroad and Huning’s real-

⁹⁰ Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest*, 6.

estate speculation in Albuquerque, this later economic activity was largely the outcome of his commercial success in the era of New Mexican merchant capitalism. His strong associations with influential Hispanos, German Jewish merchants, and federal authorities, which included soldiers, judges, and attorneys, were critical to the successes of his mercantile establishment and flourmill. Franz Huning spun these business webs and personal networks in the era of merchant capitalism through business pragmatism, language acquisition, and exploitation of military markets in New Mexico. Establishing these relationships in the immediate post-U.S.-Mexican War era, Franz Huning aided his brothers who came after him, as they fell into a broad network of local and regional contacts. Unknown to most nineteenth-century New Mexico historians, the Huning brothers' family network underlay trade throughout most of territorial New Mexico.

Although the military had relinquished its civil authority, Brvt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner, commander of the Ninth Military Department in New Mexico, established Fort Union and other posts throughout the territory during the early 1850s, including those at Albuquerque and Los Lunas, to combat Native American raiding. The army had spurred the growth of the New Mexican economy during the military occupation from 1846–1850; its string of outposts continued to stimulate the regional economy. As a whole, the economy of the 1850s prospered from “sheep raising, better roads, and an extensive military and [federal] Indian establishment.”⁹¹ These conditions laid the foundation for a nascent commercial environment in which freight teams, partnerships, and mercantile houses emerged and prospered. Fulfilling army supply contracts became one of the most lucrative enterprises in the territory. It was within this context that Franz Huning entered New Mexico and formed

⁹¹ Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 107.

critical links to influential Hispanos, German Jewish merchants, federal and local authorities, and the U.S. Army.

According to his memoir, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, Franz Huning originally emigrated from the Germany to the U.S. West in 1848. Born on 26 October 1827 in the province of Melle, Huning was raised in a farming family and was one of thirteen siblings. Reflecting on his early years, he recalled the pleasure of managing his family's cattle while teaching himself to read. "There I would be," Huning recalled, "stretched out under an oak or a beech, oblivious of everything else but the book before me, and let the cows take care of themselves. I always loved the grand old forest of oak, beech, and pine and love them to this day." Raised in the Lutheran Church, Huning became skeptical of religion altogether as a teenager. He also realized his "excessive bashfulness" as one of his principal shortcomings. These character traits, agnosticism, and reticence remained permanent features of his personality.⁹²

During his early teenage years, Huning left public school and entered a private educational institution. Learning French and English there, Huning also settled on acquiring a trade: "I gradually made up my mind to go into the mercantile business, [and] therefore entered as an apprentice for three years in a grocery, tobacco, and linen business." During that time, he had decided, along with his brother, Carl, that they would seek new business opportunities in the Americas. Eventually deciding on the United States instead of Brazil, they sailed from Bremerhafen to New Orleans in late 1848.⁹³

⁹² Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 2–3.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 2–3.

Commenting on German immigration to the United States, Jaehn argues that “freedom from authoritarian powers, and liberation from economic and societal restrictions” were some of the guiding motivations for German immigration to the United States and the American West. Jaehn places much emphasis on the influence of western popular literature circulating in Germany as a pull factor to leave the continent. German writers such as Balduin Mollhausen, Friedrich Armand Strubberg, Robert von Schlaginweit, and Karl May, all of whom set their fiction in the American West, captured the popular imagination of Germans. Jaehn writes, “German publications, to varying degrees, emphasized the economic possibilities of New Mexico.” Although historians lack evidence that Huning read any of these stories and novels, it is plausible that he read or heard about the Far Southwest and its economic possibilities in New Mexico before he was hired as a freighter and bullwhacker on the Santa Fe Trail. His vocational training would have immediate application in a region where he was free to follow his commercial pursuits.⁹⁴

By 1849, Franz Huning had made his way to St. Louis via New Orleans. He temporarily held a job at a dry goods store, C. & F. Kunsemeiller, and his younger brother worked at a drugstore. They had heard about the immense riches and booming economy in the California gold rush, their initial destination. Without the personal means to get there, they learned that the army quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth was advertising for teamsters to drive wagons to Santa Fe and California. Eventually, freight contractors hired the brothers to haul government stores to Santa Fe.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest*, 18 and 54; and Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 11–15.

⁹⁵ Robert F. Gish, *Frontier's End: The Life & Literature of Harvey Fergusson* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 50; and Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 9.

After Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, Missouri traders, such as William Becknell, had established trade links with northern Mexico. In this process, they reoriented New Mexico's commercial economy from Chihuahua and Durango in Mexico to Missouri. This opening up of trade relations began shifting New Mexico from a subsistence-based economy to a market society. In the 1820s and 1830s, more American and European merchants streamed into New Mexico. This trade was mutually beneficial, as Mexicans received manufactured commodities from Americans while the latter obtained Mexican silver and mules from their trade partners. Huning, however, arrived at a critical moment in the history of the Santa Fe Trade. During the U.S.-Mexico War, "the [U.S.] army was charged with protecting the merchants and their interests and affording them safe passage to Santa Fe in the wake of advancing troops. In this campaign, commerce and conquest went hand in glove."⁹⁶ This close relationship between commerce and conquest continued long after the war with Mexico, with the U.S. army remaining in New Mexico to prosecute the Indian Wars. Huning, consequently, benefitted from this economic and military context by starting business relationships with the army and engaging in long-distance trade with Missouri to sell retail goods in New Mexico.

Arriving shortly after the conclusion of the U.S.-Mexican War, Huning spent the first two years of the 1850s around Santa Fe. In 1852, Huning arrived in Albuquerque en route to Mexico on a trading expedition with Gaspar Ortiz, a resident of Santa Fe. While Huning was temporarily waiting there, Simon Rosenstein, a German Jewish merchant, convinced him to stay in Albuquerque and work in his establishment on the south side of the Plaza. Huning accepted Rosenstein's proposition. Through his employment and apprenticeship, Huning

⁹⁶ Hyslop, *Bound for Santa Fe*, 305.

formed a close working relationship with the U.S. Army personnel stationed at the Post of Albuquerque, a major quartermaster depot that was established just two years prior. These men were frequent customers at Rosenstein's store. "The quartermaster's men," Huning wrote, "received good wages and they spent their money freely." As Rosenstein's clerk, he became familiar with U.S. soldiers, especially those of German extraction who played in the regimental band.⁹⁷

The Post of Albuquerque had been established on 17 November 1846. Although U.S. troops temporarily vacated the site in 1851, they reoccupied the post in 1852, abandoning it permanently fifteen years later in August 1867.⁹⁸ An inspector general's report in September 1850 indicates that forty-eight troops of F Company, Third Infantry, were present at the time. Huning's observations of the Post of Albuquerque remain some of the most succinct and vivid descriptions of an otherwise obscure western military outpost: "Albuquerque at that time was a prominent military post and had a garrison of two companies of dragoons and generally two companies of infantry, with the regimental band. Besides that, the chief quartermaster and commissary department were located here and also the purveying department and military hospital." Beyond recounting the different military units in the town, he personally knew the army officers stationed in Albuquerque. "Of the army officers then in the town," Franz recounted, "I remember Major [Daniel] Rucker, quartermaster; Major Frye, paymaster, until later relieved by Major [James] Longstreet, who in 1860 [sic] joined the Confederacy; Lieut. [Samuel] Sturgiss [sic] of the dragoons, later a General in the Union

⁹⁷ Gish, *Frontier's End*, 57; and Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 56–58.

⁹⁸ Colonel George Archibald McCall, *New Mexico in 1850: A Military View*, ed. Robert W. Frazer (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 153.

Army; Dr. Adabie, surgeon, later relieved by Dr. DeLeon, who went south; a Major Shepphard [Oliver L. Shepherd] of the infantry; also General [John] Garland. One of the officers in command of the post in the years to 1860 was Col. [Benjamin] Bonneville, well known as an explorer in the Northwest. He used to come over to the store to chat.” While these recollections may appear insignificant and nostalgic in his later years, they indicate that Huning cultivated valuable relationships with the army officers, including field and general officers. In the years to come, these relationships opened the door to the federal contracting business.⁹⁹

Huning’s command of English, Spanish, and German significantly contributed to his productive interactions with different ethnic groups and allowed him to form linguistic bonds and friendships that facilitated his economic success. Like most Germans who arrived in territorial New Mexico, he had undergone a thorough education in the German school system. Prior to his arrival in the United States, Huning had studied English at a private school in Germany. In 1850, he had clerked for a merchant at San Miguel del Vado but could neither speak nor understand Spanish. In his memoir, he remarked, “It was uphill work at first behind the counter, knowing as yet only a few words of Spanish and the customers were all Mexicans.” However, he was determined to learn and purchased grammar books and a copy of *Don Quixote*. The community came to his aid and took an active interest in his learning, and after “six months I could speak and read and write Spanish pretty well.” His fluency in Spanish was also vital to his work and social relationships, without which he would not have been able to engage in direct communications and clear transactions with native Hispanos. He realized, as Jaehn also points out, “it [Spanish] was the language of the

⁹⁹ Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 55, 57.

street and of business.” Some newcomers to the territory had neither the inclination nor the interest to learn the lingua franca of New Mexico, assuming the common people would eventually transition to English as their adopted language. Huning, however, committed himself to a lifelong study of the Spanish language.¹⁰⁰

While still clerking for Rosenstein in late 1856, Huning performed a life-saving act that would earn him a job as a Spanish interpreter for the New Mexico territorial court. As he remembered it, Judge Kirby Benedict “was presiding over the whole district from Albuquerque to Mesilla. He did not belong to any temperance society and was fond of a game of cards.” Rosenstein often hosted card games at his store in the late evening into the early morning. During one particular contest, Huning “was awakened by a rumpus in the store and heard angry voices of the players. One of the party rushed into my room and asked me for a pistol. He commenced to look for it himself and I [Huning] slipped out of the room into the store, took the judge by the arm and shoved him out of the door. I knew that the judge had been cheating.”¹⁰¹ Judge Benedict, as he later became aware of what took place that night, thanked Huning for intervening on his behalf, and in 1857, Huning traveled the New Mexico judicial circuit with the fortunate magistrate. His stint with the territorial court as an interpreter and deputy clerk allowed him to apply his language skills. The court officers and other personnel traveled the federal circuit and held court proceedings in Tome, Socorro, and Mesilla. In his position, Huning rubbed shoulders with the U.S. justice, U.S. attorney,

¹⁰⁰ Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest*, 32; and Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 24.

¹⁰¹ Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 56, 58.

U.S. marshal, and lawyers.¹⁰² Although he never ran for territorial office, Huning would later use his political friendships to further his business ventures.

In 1857, upon returning from his duties as interpreter and deputy clerk, Huning purchased “a small stock of goods” from Elsberg and Amberg, two early German Jewish immigrants and partners in a large mercantile house in Santa Fe. Gustave Elsberg and Jacob Amberg had formed a partnership to run a general mercantile in Westport, Missouri, in 1855, and had relocated to Santa Fe the following year. The former acted as purchasing agent in Philadelphia while the latter was a permanent resident of Santa Fe. William Parish maintains that they were the earliest practitioners of merchant capitalism in New Mexico. Later mercantile establishments would continue the pattern of using one partner as a wholesale purchaser in the East while the other remained in New Mexico to run the day-to-day operations of the store. In Parish’s eyes, Elsberg and Amberg were the forerunners of merchant capitalism in the Southwest. They established a permanent storehouse as opposed to the conventional Santa Fe traders, who were often on the move and never settled in one place for an extended period of time.¹⁰³

German Jewish efforts to secure legal emancipation in Germany during the Revolution of 1848 and German Protestant reluctance to allow Jewish citizenship seem to have had little bearing on Huning’s relationship with the German Jewish merchants in New

¹⁰² “When Congress created a new territory, the act of organization included a federal lawman. Congress also declared that each territory should have a district attorney. These two offices, the ‘doors’ to the United States courts, became an important part of federal justice in the territories for the next century. The task of policing the western territories placed an incredible strain upon the frontier marshals, who were fortunate to have the western army to assist them. When the United States marshalcy appeared in New Mexico in 1846 (more permanently in 1851), Congress regarded the first task of the federal lawmen to be the routine service of process of the federal courts. The semiannual routine of serving the spring and fall sessions became a ritual-like duty that the public anticipated with the seasons.” See Larry Ball, *The United States Marshals of New Mexico and Arizona Territories, 1846-1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978), 16, 240.

¹⁰³ Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 64; and Parish, *The Charles Ifeld Company*, 8.

Mexico. In fact, their old country and language ties transcended the religious and political disputes in Central Europe. Without the backing of Elsberg and Amberg, Huning would have been unable to establish his mercantile in Albuquerque. Thus, in 1857, he officially opened his store on the Albuquerque Plaza with his brother, Carl, and named it the F. & C. Huning Mercantile (F. & C. Huning).¹⁰⁴

Like other German merchants, Huning furnished a wide range of products and supplies to the local markets and military posts. In the 1850s, half the German immigrants in New Mexico were engaged in the mercantile business. Drawing on his previous connections with the U.S. Army and the friendships Huning made as a traveling interpreter, F. & C. Huning had a diverse clientele. “We did business with the soldiers, quartermaster hands, mechanics, and Mexicans,” Huning recalled. While Huning received the business of the federal government represented by U.S. troops and judicial representatives of the territory, along with German-Jewish merchants, he also enjoyed the support of Hispanos such as Antonio Sandoval, “a rich old Mexican who lived in Barelás.” In 1857, Sandoval extended him a “letter of credit” to St. Louis. This encounter with Sandoval exemplifies how Huning’s economic success in New Mexico also depended on garnering support and backing from wealthy and well-connected Hispanos.¹⁰⁵

Henry Connelly, an established Santa Fe trade merchant and governor of New Mexico during the Civil War, also endorsed a credit line for Huning at merchant houses in St. Louis. This authorization was good for five to six thousand dollars worth of goods and

¹⁰⁴ Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 64

¹⁰⁵ Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest*, 39, 88; Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 64–65.

merchandise.¹⁰⁶ With close connections to the Chaves and Perea families in the Rio Abajo, Connelly might have advised Huning to open a mercantile in Los Lunas, which lay four miles south of Peralta and on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Perhaps Huning passed this information on to Erhardt Franz when they encountered each other in St. Louis in 1859.

In 1857, Huning entered into a contract with the U.S. Army's Department of New Mexico to supply "500 bushels of beans to the general depot for \$2.60 per bushel." To reduce freighting costs, the army sought to purchase food and supplies locally by encouraging New Mexicans to increase agricultural production. The military created a "lucrative and dependable market" for items such as corn, wheat, and beans, ultimately creating a "new [flour] industry in the Southwest." The army established commodity markets that had been nonexistent before their arrival. Recognizing this potential stream of steady revenue, Franz secured bean contracts and constructed a steam-powered mill to process flour in Albuquerque in 1863 during the Civil War. In the case of Huning and some other merchants, the federal contractors were also mill owners.¹⁰⁷

Previous historians have noted that merchant contractors and mill owners derived most of their profits from federal contracts, and they point out that small farmers also benefited by selling their crops to a merchant or miller. But these historians have not explained how the army played a role in strengthening merchant capitalist enterprises in the Southwest. Federal contracts provided cash to merchants, who in turn, procured the commodities and goods that the military needed. Economically speaking, the center of

¹⁰⁶ Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 64–65.

¹⁰⁷ Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 42, 46, 110; Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 132; and Robert Frazer, "Purveyors of Flour," in *New Mexico Historical Review* 47, no. 3 (summer 1972): 230.

gravity shifted to the merchants, who acted both as supply conduits for the army and as buyers of local commodities. By entering the mercantile economy of New Mexico, Huning provided a comprehensive business model for his younger brothers, Louis and Henry Huning, who would arrive in the late 1850s. In this operational model, the recipe for economic success was to establish a retail store with wholesale connections in the Midwest, attract local customers who could also deliver farm commodities, secure government supply contracts, and own and operate a mill to process flour for sale to the army.

Enjoying both local and federal connections, Huning traveled to St. Louis where he bought eastern goods and merchandise for his store. He then shipped his freight to Kansas City and had one of his employees, Henry Carpenter, haul his shipment from there to New Mexico on the Santa Fe Trail. They typically rendezvoused at Fort Leavenworth to start the journey back to Albuquerque. In his memoirs, Huning suggests that direct purchase was better for business and gave him more control over his wholesale purchases, for he could evaluate the quality of his goods in person. Indirect procurement entailed paying a middleman, precluded direct negotiation of prices, and amounted to higher freighting costs. “This direct purchase in the St. Louis market,” Huning wrote, “gave us a big advantage, [and] therefore we improved rapidly when we moved into the new store.”¹⁰⁸

In the words of Jaehn, “the Hunings tried to blend into the economic-cultural landscape of New Mexico.” Franz Huning certainly adapted to political and economic conditions, but he clearly distinguished himself as a merchant capitalist. By learning the nuances of the political economy in territorial New Mexico at the local, regional, and national levels and by using this market knowledge to his advantage, Huning cultivated

¹⁰⁸ Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 65.

throughout the territory business networks and diverse associations that were of paramount importance to his ventures in general merchandising, government contracting, and the early flour industry in New Mexico. In all, Huning foreshadowed and encouraged the pursuits of Erhardt Franz and his younger brothers, Louis and Henry Huning.¹⁰⁹

Louis and Henry Huning arrived in New Mexico not long after Franz Huning established a permanent storehouse in Albuquerque. Born in 1834, Louis Huning was four years older than Henry. Neither wrote memoirs, so details of their biography have been subject to speculation, particularly their early years in New Mexico Territory. Henrika Busch Huning, the wife of Louis, claimed that her husband arrived in New Mexico in 1858. Before venturing into their own partnership outside Albuquerque, the brothers learned the mercantile trade at F. & C. Huning. During this time, they probably received training in bookkeeping and learned Spanish. In 1865, Louis Huning purchased a store in Belen from a German Jewish merchant, Julius Freudenthal, who would remain an important connection to the family for decades to come. Freudenthal and Franz Huning had known each other and “opened stores in Belen and Paraje” in the late 1850s. For a sum of four thousand dollars, Louis and Henry Huning bought the Belen store and began their official partnership, which lasted for twenty-three years.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Jaehn, *Germans in the Southwest*, 101.

¹¹⁰ For example, Chavez and Espinosa perpetuate the idea that Louis Huning was a self-made man on the frontier. They write: “It is said that Louis Huning had approximately \$45 cash when he arrived at his new home. The brothers founded a store at Los Lunas and soon began to branch their business.” In reality, he had the help and resources of his older brother. It also took him seven years to acquire his first establishment in Belen and an additional six years to acquire the store in Los Lunas. See Chavez and Espinosa, *El Rio Abajo*, 131; Laurel E. Drew, *Henrika Busch Huning: A Woman of Early New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Zimmerman Library, 1963), 2; Warranty Deed, Freudenthal and Co. to Franz Huning, 16 November 1865, Belen, New Mexico, Private Collection of Huning Limited Liability Limited Partnership. Although Franz Huning is the grantee in the legal document, family sources have confirmed that Louis and Henry Huning owned and operated the Belen store. Noel Pugach, “Jewish Pioneers of New Mexico: The Freudenthal, Lesinsky, and Solomon Families” (Albuquerque: New Mexico Jewish Historical Society, 2006), 3.

Following family lore, New Mexico historians have often assumed that the Hunings immediately started their careers in Los Lunas, but the tax documents place the brothers first in Belen. Starting in 1865, the brothers each reported \$268.70 of income at Belen. They would develop their business there before expanding into other communities. The following year, Louis Huning reported \$1,378 in income at Belen while Henry Huning disclosed \$460.60 of income at Sabinal. Two years later, Henry moved to Cubero in western Valencia County, declaring himself a retail liquor salesman. Already in the early years of their partnership, a discernible pattern emerged between the pair. While the older brother often preferred to remain within the more-established communities along the Rio Grande, the younger one often drifted into less-populated regions to the west. This business arrangement apparently suited the Hunings. Louis coordinated business transactions and kept the books in Belen and later in Los Lunas; Henry cultivated customers who lived beyond the reach of the main storehouse. In the late 1870s, this strategy allowed them to expand their business into eastern Arizona Territory.¹¹¹

When Erhardt Franz decided that life on the frontier no longer suited him, he sold his mercantile to Louis and Henry Huning. Before this transaction, the IRS records reveal that Louis Huning had earned \$1,232 of income in Los Lunas in 1866. In 1870, however, he was still residing in Belen. In that year's census, he reported \$1,500 in real estate and \$6,000 in personal property. His move from Los Lunas to Belen probably took place in the fall of 1871. Although not arriving in Los Lunas for another five years, Henrika Huning provides some insight into the community's relationship with the Huning family. She recalled: "People

¹¹¹ Tax Records for Louis and Henry Huning, 1 roll, *Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for the Territory of New Mexico, 1862–1870, 1872–1874*, microcopy 782, National Archives Microfilm Publication, Records of the Internal Revenue Service, Record Group 58, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[were] all kind and courteous. Principal families were the Lunas, Jaramillo[s], and Romero[s]. Wealth consisted of sheep and cattle. Lunas were superior to others. When [I] first came everyone who visited brought gifts, cigarette cases, jewelry, and silver money. The poor brought fruit.” Her biographer also suggests that the family befriended most of the influential Hispano families throughout the Rio Abajo region.¹¹²

Henrika’s observations, although brief and fragmentary, capture significant historical processes at work in local society. The wealthy and poor classes embraced the Huning family, bringing them gifts on the arrival of the new wife in 1876. More importantly, this recollection confirms that the German merchant family integrated with the Hispano community by creating bonds and friendships with them through exchanges in the marketplace. Merchandising was one possible means through which non-Hispano interlopers, with something to gain in the nascent territorial economy, integrated with local communities and acclimated to local conditions. Instead of disrupting class and social formations, which would not be in their short-term or long-term interest, they offered these families and communities retail goods at fair-market value. On a more subtle point, Henrika perceived the wealthy Hispanos in terms of their sheep and cattle. As early as 1876, the era of the Hispano merchants was a distant memory. She did not know them as early competitors to non-Hispanos in the mercantile trade. Rather, her husband occupied the well-defined and stable role of the local merchant. The Hispanos, although prominent and affluent, were sheep specialists in her eyes.

¹¹² Tax Records for Louis Huning, 1 roll, *Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for the Territory of New Mexico, 1862–1870, 1872–1874*, microcopy 782, National Archives Microfilm Publication, Records of the Internal Revenue Service, Record Group 58, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; and Drew, *Henrika Busch Huning*, 2–3.

But as we have seen throughout this chapter, these economic and social labels were still fluid in the 1860s and did not harden until after the Civil War period. Competition between Hispanos and German merchants was indeed prevalent after the gold rush until the post-Civil War. By the time that Henrika Huning arrived in Los Lunas, her husband had consolidated mercantile power in his business. By 1871, mercantile competition developed into a mercantile monopoly.

Conclusion

In the immediate aftermath of the U.S.-Mexico War, Moses Sachs attempted to become the sole merchant in Los Lunas. Given his precarious relationship with Captain Ewell and his Santa Fe wholesalers, coupled with the fragility of the early marketplace in Los Lunas, Sachs became insolvent and failed. During Sachs's years in Los Lunas, the Hispano stock raisers saw the lucrative potential of investing in merchandise and selling goods to the army. After realizing enormous gains following their adventures in California, they invested in retail and wholesale commodities, which allowed them to diversify beyond sheep. While Hispano entrepreneurs set up modest stores and sold goods to their employees and peons, Erhardt Franz acquired property in the town and established a rival mercantile. With business connections to St. Louis and his implementation of nineteenth-century accounting methods, he was able to grow his business, track his assets and liabilities, and engage in formal market relationships with the townspeople. These practices ultimately revolutionized the retail industry in Valencia County and the territory at large. As a result, the Hispano merchants in Los Lunas no longer had the resources to legitimately compete in that sector.

When Louis and Henry Huning acquired the Los Lunas store from Erhardt Franz in 1871, their brother, Franz Huning provided a long-term blueprint for business success in the

territory. This business plan consisted of establishing a store with St. Louis and East Coast connections, garnering support from affluent Hispanos, and making regular transactions with the U.S. army.¹¹³ While the Hunings retained Franz's customer base in Los Lunas, they also serviced customers in Belen, Sabinal, and Cubero. All these connections and relationships were significant, but the fact that Louis and Henry had become the undisputed town merchants solidified their advantage. During the 1870s, they faced little to no competition in the Rio Abajo. All the key components were in place for the L. & H. Huning Mercantile to entrench the business and attain commercial permanency.

This chapter, although narrative in focus, has emphasized the way in which local and federal actors influenced or shaped the parameters of the marketplace. Within this particular economic domain, early competition in the Rio Abajo ultimately gave way to monopoly in the post-Civil War era. But how would the Hunings maintain their strong position over time? The next chapter will show that supply contracts were the fulcrum of their economic power, for they provided the cash inflow that was essential to their operations in a cash-scarce region. As it turned out, the Hunings became among the most substantial military contractors in the Far Southwest.

¹¹³ In chapter three, we will see that Erhardt Franz was their wholesale grocery connection in St. Louis, and Julius Freudenthal fulfilled the same function as a commission merchant in New York City.

Chapter 2: Quartermaster and Commissary Contracts as Cash-Flow:

The Entrenchment of the L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company, 1871–1884

“The Government contracts in those times were the great business plums,” Miguel Antonio Otero II, Governor of New Mexico Territory, 1897–1906

From 1871 to 1884, L. & H. Huning received a total of \$427,090.29—roughly \$9.8 million in 2015—in federal contracts to supply army posts in the Arizona and New Mexico territories during the late years of the Indian Wars.¹¹⁴ For frontier merchants, the army contracting business during the Indian Wars generated cash flow to underwrite mercantile operations. They received compensation for providing transportation and freighting services, and flour, bran, barley, corn, oats, and other commodities for U.S. Army troops and outposts. Historians Robert Frazer and Darlis Miller demonstrate that the army occupation directly increased agricultural production in these geographically isolated regions, thus significantly reducing army’s costs of transporting supplies and goods from Missouri and Kansas.¹¹⁵ Secondly, the army provided new commodity markets for the produce of New Mexican farmers and ranchers, stimulating more surplus production of crops among rural dwellers and more commercial activity for New Mexico’s hinterland merchants than farmers and merchants had experienced prior to U.S. conquest.

¹¹⁴ Louis and Henry Huning’s supply contracts are located in Register Continental, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, and Register Continental, Records of the Office of the Commissary General of Subsistence, RG 192, National Archives. Facsimiles contained in the Darlis A. Miller Papers, Archives and Special Collections, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, New Mexico, unprocessed collection. See Appendix 2.1 for list of quartermaster and commissary contracts by date, delivery location, fort, product, price, quantity, monetary totals, and monetary totals with current inflation rates (2015). For this research, I was unable to access the original contracts. Darlis Miller transcribed the abstracts and donated her research notes to the NMSU Library. I followed her transcriptions accordingly.

¹¹⁵ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 50; and Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, ix.

This chapter examines the growth of New Mexico’s agricultural production from the beginning of the territorial period in 1850 to the arrival of the railroad in 1880. During this thirty-year span, the army was a dominant institution. Historians have attributed this agricultural expansion largely to army demand. Indeed, this causal argument becomes even clearer in light of the volume of quartermaster and commissary contracts that the federal government extended to merchants during this time period. The second part of this chapter details the army supply contracts that Louis and Henry Huning received from 1871 to 1884. This section will also profile the specific frontier posts and discuss the wider context of the Indian Wars in which these deliveries took place. The third and final segment of this chapter examines the Huning Champions Mill ledgers in the early 1880s alongside agricultural growth at the county level in Valencia from 1850–1880. “Merchants as well as mill owners,” writes Miller, “had the necessary financial resources to take advantage of the military market and to win contracts to supply the army.”¹¹⁶ A virtual monopoly in Valencia County, the Huning mill (Champions Mill) was a magnet to local residents looking to sell their wheat and corn surpluses. The mill operation provided local residents milling services to process their wheat into flour and corn into meal. In this way, the Huning brothers accumulated the raw materials to fulfill their contracts with the military posts and organized the agricultural practices of the local economy.

The mill ledgers are significant for three main reasons. They demonstrate the inner-workings of the early flour industry in the Rio Abajo and show how mill proprietors helped structure the local economy by normalizing exchange relationships in the marketplace. The ledgers also reveal how merchants became “purveyors” of wheat and corn products by

¹¹⁶ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 132.

practicing economic diversification outside selling general merchandise, although these endeavors were closely related.¹¹⁷ Lastly, these sources indicate how and from whom the Hunings procured the high volume of agricultural commodities needed to fulfill their supply contracts. Unlike previous histories, this chapter shows the process by which merchants accumulated the goods specified in their contracts.

This chapter aims to show how the federal government, through letting army contracts and waging the Indian Wars in Arizona and New Mexico, entrenched merchant capitalism in the region. While previous studies have conveyed the “military-civilian economic alliance”, this chapter considers how this relationship reinforced the economic system of merchant capitalism, a system that had been in existence since the Chihuahua trade along the Camino Real and continued during the Santa Fe trade.¹¹⁸ It entrenched this economic system by providing the much-needed cash flow to frontier mercantile operations. L. & H. Huning’s federal contracts and the early Rio Abajo mill industry reveal that the rapid economic transformation of surplus production occurred during a relatively short period of time during the Indian Wars. Economic organization, a larger economy of scale, and exchanges from grower to the middleman-merchant were unprecedented in the Rio Abajo prior to 1870. The federal government’s chief concern was pacifying indigenous threats, but the supply contracts granted to merchants cultivated market and commercial relationships in New Mexico, all which fostered the territory’s burgeoning integration into the national economy.

¹¹⁷ Robert Frazer, “Purveyors of Flour,” 213.

¹¹⁸ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 4.

Agricultural Productivity in New Mexico Territory, 1850–1880

Before U.S. occupation, modern flouring and gristmill establishments were nearly non-existent in New Mexico. Beginning in 1850, Ceran St. Vrain and Antonio Jose Otero constructed water-powered mills that had the capacity to produce a higher output than any milling operation beforehand. Located in Peralta, Otero's mill ground 500,000 pounds of flour a year. In the Mexican period, gristmills were "capable of grinding only a few bushels of grain a day." Frazer indicates that beginning in Santa Fe, that wheat growers began to surface near army installations to sell their products. In 1860, twenty-two mill sites operated in the territory.¹¹⁹ Two decades later there were fifty-one. Their daily productive capacity in 1870 totaled 2,574 bushels of grain, the equivalent of 154,440 pounds. A decade later, the mills were churning out 5,019 bushels daily (301,140 pounds). From 1860 to 1880, the capitalization of mills more than doubled from \$121,950 (\$3.5 million in 2015 dollars) to \$249,250 (roughly \$5.8 million in 2015). The value of all mill products in the territorial census of 1880 was \$529,171 (\$12.3 million in 2015). These figures suggest that territorial residents with capital invested in mills. The majority of mill owners also worked as general merchants who bid on military supply contracts, for the main consumer of flour in the territory was the U.S. Army. These merchant-millers found little financial risk in government contracting. Their principal challenges were the bidding competitions with other contractors, years of poor harvests, Native raiding parties, and inclement weather along transportation routes, but the federal government backed and guaranteed their agreements if the contractor met the terms of the compact. Since merchants rarely devoted themselves to farming, they

¹¹⁹ The federal census of 1850 does not indicate the number of mills in New Mexico.

acquired unprocessed agricultural produce from their clients and customers. As productivity in milling rose, the agrarian sector also grew.¹²⁰

Throughout the nineteenth century, New Mexico's rural inhabitants far exceeded in number urban dwellers, meaning most of them lived in settlements comprised of 2,500 people or less. In 1850, they outnumbered the town dwellers by a ratio of 11.4 to 1 in a total 62,000 territorial residents. By 1880, 113,000 citizens out of 120,000 lived in rural communities.¹²¹ For most New Mexicans, farming was an everyday reality in the countryside along the Rio Grande. Moreover, the average value per farm fluctuated from 1850 to 1870, rising from \$441 in 1850 to \$532 in 1860 and declining to \$404 in 1870. But in the 1870s, the average farm price more than doubled, later totaling \$1,091 in 1880. Although total farm acreage decreased from 1,414,909 acres in 1850 to 631,131 in 1880, improved farm acreage steadily climbed from 166,201 to 237,392 acres. As more land went under cultivation, the aggregate value of farms more than tripled from \$1,653,922 to \$5,514,399 due to increased output. Many of these small-scale and large-scale operations could produce crops and sell them to nearby general merchants who accepted these items in exchange for imported merchandise from their storehouses. In cash-scarce economies such as New Mexico, this kind of transaction was commonplace.¹²²

¹²⁰ Rayglen Commodities, "Conversion Calculator," http://www.rayglen.com/grain_conversion_calculator/; Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 131, 342; "Wealth and Industry," *Ninth Census of the United States*, 1870, vol. 3. (Washington: GPO, 1872), 598; and "Flouring and Gristmill Products," *Tenth Census of the United States*.

¹²¹ "In the census prior to 1950, the urban population comprised all persons living in incorporated places of 2,500 or more and areas (usually minor civil divisions) classified as urban under special rules relating to population size and density." See United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1975), 2.

¹²² "Agriculture: Farming Lands and Improvements," *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 169; "Summary for the Eighth Census," *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1864), 16–19; "Statistics of Agriculture,"

More specifically, wheat, corn, barley, oat, and bean production increased during these thirty years. According to the agricultural census reports, wheat production accelerated from a total of 196,516 bushels (11,790,960 pounds) in 1850 to 706,641 bushels (42,398,460 pounds) in 1880, over a 350 percent increase. In the 1850s, corn cultivation nearly doubled from 365,411 bushels (20,463,016 pounds) to 709,304 bushels (39,721,024 pounds) by 1860. Falling to 640,823 bushels in 1870, it totaled 633,786 bushels (35,492,016 pounds) in 1880. When New Mexico became a territory in 1850, barley and oats were almost foreign to the agricultural landscape. That year, only 5 bushels of oats (170 pounds) and 5 bushels of barley (240 pounds) were harvested throughout the entire region but by 1880, New Mexican farmers cultivated 156,527 bushels of oats (5,321,918 pounds) and 50,053 bushels of barley (2,402,544 pounds). Lastly, bean farming increased by about 36 percent over the span of thirty years, rising from 15,688 bushels (941,280 pounds) in 1850 to 21,268 bushels (1,276,080 pounds) in 1880. In fact, the contract needs of the regional merchants, who were more than willing to accept wheat, corn, barley, oats, and beans in exchange for store purchases, explains the growth in the agricultural sector. Most of these farm commodities ultimately made their way into the storehouses of the frontier army.¹²³

As a whole, New Mexico underwent expansion in livestock, milling, and agriculture between 1850 and 1880. From this landscape arose a vibrant commercial culture for merchants who imported merchandise from the East in exchange for the agricultural products

Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1872), 11–16; and “Statistics of Agriculture,” *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, vol. 3 (Washington: GPO, 1883), 3–10.

¹²³ “Statistics of New Mexico Territory,” *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, 335; “Territory of New Mexico: Agriculture,” *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, 178–179; “Productions of Agriculture: Territory of New Mexico,” *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, 209; and “Statistics of Agriculture: New Mexico Territory,” *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, 199.

of New Mexican residents. By procuring these farm products from their customers, merchants such as Louis and Henry Huning played important roles in supplying the military and used these federal payments as cash flow. New Mexico was cash-deficient with customers rarely paying with hard currency, but federal dollars enabled merchants to keep their businesses solvent. Military contractors needed a consistent supply of agricultural commodities to receive these funds, and this demand kept local inhabitants busy producing farm goods to exchange for manufactured items and dry goods at general mercantiles. The Indian Wars, however, were the basis for this new regional economic activity. Without army expenditures in the Far Southwest, these transformations likely would not have taken place. At the same time, the federal government created a clear legal and capitalist framework for the region by quashing all potential and real indigenous threats to commerce and trade. The examination of the triangle of territorial agricultural production, the middleman role of merchants in commodity procurement for military supply contracting, and the frontier army illuminates how the federal government supported merchant capitalism and helped prepare New Mexico to cross the threshold into the age of capital before the arrival of the railroads.

The Business of Occupation and War: The Huning Brothers' Military Contracts during the Indian Wars

Military contracting, although seemingly secondary to army strategy and operations, was a critical component to the logistics of the frontier army. Without adequate supplies and basic foodstuffs, soldiers could not carry out their missions and campaigns. In terms of army organization, the Subsistence and Quartermaster departments were faced with the task of acquiring supplies and services for troops stationed at posts across the United States,

including the Far Southwest.¹²⁴ During the military occupation of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851, the Army had freighted supplies from Missouri to New Mexico on the Santa Fe Trail. This logistical operation proved time consuming, impractical, and costly. Consequently, the Subsistence Department started to purchase food items, such as flour, beans, and salt, “close to the area of consumption.”¹²⁵ Although on occasion the army made purchases directly from producers, it eventually decided on implementing an organized contract system.¹²⁶

Advertising for contracts in territorial newspapers, subsistence and quartermaster officials awarded contracts to the lowest bidder.¹²⁷ In effect, choosing the contract system over the open market ultimately gave the edge to merchant capitalists, who acted as conduits between the military market and the supply source, earning their profits through the exchange process.

In this system, federal regulations required a thirty-day notice to solicit bids from the public. The territorial newspapers published these notices, and potential contractors submitted “their sealed proposals to the office of the district or department quartermaster and commissary by noon of a certain date when they would be opened.”¹²⁸ In the post–Civil War years, contractors dispatched their proposals to the purchasing agent at the post and the main offices in Prescott, Arizona, or Santa Fe, New Mexico.¹²⁹ In *Soldiers and Settlers*, Miller refers to cases of fraud in which contractors “salted” their supplies, instances in which the

¹²⁴ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 3.

¹²⁵ Ibid. According to Miller, merchants typically provided grain to the quartermaster and flour, beans, salt, and beef to the commissary department. See Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 132–33.

¹²⁶ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 4.

¹²⁷ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 4 and 39.

¹²⁸ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 40.

¹²⁹ Ibid

contractor falsified the weight of produce by adding rocks or sand inside the sacks. Some contractors also colluded with the clerk of the post quartermaster, paying him a cut of the transaction while he made false delivery entries. Miller, however, has shown that fraud was the exception rather than the rule. To avoid graft and outright favoritism of certain contractors, the commanding officer of the appropriate military department vetted the accepted bids. “The army chain of command, stretching from western supply offices to the War Department in Washington, D.C.,” writes Miller, “was a built-in safeguard against corruption and maltreatment. It kept political influences in awarding contracts to a minimum, for a successful bid had to receive approval at several levels. Other institutional practices that limited fraud included weekly verification of post supply funds by commanding officers, inventory of supplies and property upon a change in supply officers, and periodic investigations into the general management of a military installation by the Inspector General’s department.”¹³⁰ Nevertheless, cases of fraud do not rule out the strategic use of business networks to secure contracts. The Hunings usually had connections to retail and wholesale customers in the vicinity of the forts they supplied, and they built a reputation with the military as dependable contractors, freighters, and superior millers. These associations and qualities were decisive in their winning commissary and quartermaster contracts from 1871–1884.

The date of the first contract that the Hunings received from the Department of War was 16 January 1871.¹³¹ At a rate of 7.5 cents per pound, they delivered 6,000 pounds of

¹³⁰ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 331, 332, 342.

¹³¹ Bran contract between Louis Huning and Fort Craig, Socorro, New Mexico, 9 September 1871, Registers of Contracts, No. 1: 1871–1876, Entry 1242, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. [hereafter, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA]. Facsimiles contained in the Darlis A. Miller Papers, New Mexico State University Library, Archives

beans to Fort Craig, amounting to a modest \$450 contract. By this time, the fort had diminished in tactical importance, given that it was no longer the target of Confederate forces. During the Civil War, a Confederate brigade from Texas had attempted to conquer New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona. Union troops defeated it at the Battle of Glorieta Pass in late March of 1862. “Many of the New Mexican Volunteers,” according to historian F. Stanley, “thought the war was over.”¹³² Under the new Union commander, Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton, however, the federal government intensified its campaigns against the Apaches and Navajos in the Southwest. Fort Craig, situated south of Socorro along the *Jornada del Muerto*, a dangerous and waterless stretch of the old Camino Real below Socorro, became the Department of New Mexico’s tactical anchor for waging war against Apaches and Navajos in the south-central region of the territory. Troops from Fort Craig campaigned against the Mescaleros and other Apaches, and against the Navajos. Historian Durwood Ball has also argued that Fort Craig became critical to opening the region to economic development and mining pursuits.¹³³

Henceforth, Gov. Henry Connelly “called upon various towns to enlist new militia companies. He was anxious about Socorro and the region to the south because the Indians had been more troublesome here than in most areas.”¹³⁴ During the Long Walk of the

and Special Collections, Las Cruces, NM, unprocessed collection. See Appendix 2.1 for list of quartermaster and commissary contracts by date, delivery location, fort, product, price, quantity, monetary totals, and monetary totals with current inflation rates.

¹³² F. Stanley, *Fort Craig* (Pampa, Texas: Pampa Print Shop, 1963), 72.

¹³³ Durwood Ball, “Fort Craig and the Southwestern Indian Wars, 1854-1884,” in *Fort Craig: The United States Fort on the Camino Real* (Socorro, N.M.: New Mexico Bureau of Land Management, Socorro Field Office, 2000), 65, 72; and Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848–1865* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

¹³⁴ Stanley, *Fort Craig*, 81.

Navajos in 1864, troops at Fort Craig apprehended Navajos and Apaches who tried to escape from the authorities.¹³⁵ Out of these wartime conditions emerged a merchant class that provided much-needed supplies to the army in these remote and sparsely populated places.

Besides the Civil War, Fort Craig is also known for its role in the Apache Wars of the 1870s and 1880s. Whereas most historians discuss warfare and diplomacy between the Apaches and the federal government, they have generally neglected the business of war. The Hunings supplied Fort Craig in the post-Civil War era with beans, bran, flour, and corn. Stanley writes, “The 70s and 80s witnessed not only the rise of settlements like Alma, Lake Valley, Silver City, Lordsburg, Shakespeare, Deming, Nutt, Robinson City, Hillsboro, Mogollon, Chloride, and Fairview [but] also produced noted Indian leaders such as Victorio, Nana, Geronimo, Ju, Roan Shirt, Naiche, Chatto, Chihuahua and Mangus.”¹³⁶ By the time the Hunings received their first contract in 1871, the final phase of military campaigns was well underway. With mineral discoveries in the south half of the territory and frictions between Hispanos, new Anglo settlers, and Warm Springs and Mescalero Apaches, the army increased troop aggregates in the Southwest, including at Fort Craig, in the 1870s.¹³⁷ The post return from January 1871 indicates an aggregate of 188 troops at Fort Craig, including the General Staff, Eighth U.S. Cavalry, and the Thirteenth and Fifteenth U.S. Infantries.

¹³⁵ Stanley, *Fort Craig*, 103.

¹³⁶ Stanley, *Fort Craig*, 125.

¹³⁷ Stanley, *Fort Craig*, 131.

Thus, the post required a sufficient stock of provisions for its troops and draft animals. The Hunings helped fulfill that commercial role.¹³⁸

Roughly ninety-nine miles north of Fort Craig in Los Lunas, the Hunings had first-rate mercantile, freighting, and milling operations. Furthermore, they had established business networks of customers and freighters in Socorro, Lemitar, San Marcial, and Las Nutrias, all located in the vicinity of Fort Craig. For example, Juan Jose and Leandro Baca, two prominent Socorro merchants, made large wholesale purchases from the Huning inventory in the late 1870s. Indeed, Fort Craig fell in the Hunings's market. After their first contract in 1871, the Hunings continued to supply the fort until 1881. In that ten-year span, they delivered, at minimum, 6,000 pounds of beans, 88,183 pounds of bran, 100,000 pounds of corn, and 90,500 pounds of flour. In 1878, however, Fort Craig rejected 21,000 pounds of flour due to spoilage. The Hunings also held with Fort Craig two open-ended contracts, one from 1 July 1874 to 30 June 1875 and the other from 1 July 1877 to 31 October 1877, to dispense beans and flour "as needed" at the rate of 4.3 cents per pound and 4.55 cents per pound, respectively. Stanley also mentions that Fort Craig, the most important post south of Fort Union, was a depot and transshipment point for goods destined for Forts Stanton, Bliss, Cummings, and Bayard. The Hunings certainly delivered the goods to keep Fort Craig's warehouse well stocked. In total, the Hunings received \$8,905.00 (\$201,175.72 in 2015 dollars) from their Fort Craig contracts.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ See Post Return of Fort Craig, New Mexico, January 1871, r. 261, *Returns From U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916*, Microcopy 617, microfilm, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780-1917, RG 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

¹³⁹ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 152. It is uncertain whether the Hunings sent a second shipment to replace the bad flour. See contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Craig, Socorro, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1871 and December 1876, Registers of Contracts, No. 1: 1871-1876, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Craig, Socorro, New Mexico, all contracts

Twenty-three miles south of Fort Craig, Fort McRae was an active post from 1863 to 1876. “Placed along a strategic corridor that linked the Jornada del Muerto to the Rio Grande,” according to Matthew Sterner, the fort was intended to provide protection to nearby settlers from Apache raiding and oversee the safety of travelers on this dangerous travel route.¹⁴⁰ Although this post was less significant than Fort Craig, the Hunings held one open-ended contract with the fort to provide beans “as needed” from 1 July 1874 to 30 June 1875 at 4.55 cents per pound. In addition, the Hunings provided bran to the short-lived Fort Tularosa in December 1872 and October 1873.¹⁴¹ The former contract specified 15,000 pounds of bran at \$2.35 per 100 pounds and the latter contract called for 25,000 pounds at \$2.29 per 100 pounds, totaling \$925.00 (\$18,361.76 in 2015). This fort only lasted from April 1872 to November 1874 when the Warm Springs Apaches were taken to Ojo Caliente, Arizona.¹⁴² New Mexico state historian Rick Hendricks has also pointed out that the fort was more like a campsite, “never more than a collection of log huts, with a few frame buildings,

between January 1877 and December 1880, Registers of Contracts, No. 2: 1877–1880, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Craig, Socorro, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1863 and December 1871, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1863–1871, Entry 69, Records of the Office of the Commissary General of Subsistence, RG 192, NARA [hereafter, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA]; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Craig, Socorro, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1873 and December 1877, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1873–1877, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; and Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Craig, Socorro, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1877 and December 1880, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1877–1880, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA. See Appendix 2.1 for more specifics relating to all quartermaster and commissary contracts at Fort Craig.

¹⁴⁰ Matthew A. Sterner, “Fort McRae,” New Mexico State Register of Cultural Properties, July 2002.

¹⁴¹ The Apache bands of Cochise, Victorio, and Loco refused to settle near Fort Tularosa. Lieutenant General Sheridan’s General Order No. 8 which called to establish an Indian Reservation at Ft. Tularosa was ultimately unsuccessful. See F. Stanley, *The Fort Tularosa Story* (Pep, Tex.: F. Stanley, 1968), 9–10.

¹⁴² Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 105.

and no trace of it has survived.”¹⁴³ Interestingly, Patrick Kelley established one of the first permanent settlements in the Gila and Mogollon regions after the term of his enlistment at Fort Tularosa expired. He also became a large landowner and was a wholesale customer of Huning, and it was possibly this connection that allowed the Hunings to secure these two contracts. In the 1880s, Kelley grew a substantial amount of barley for the Hunings’s Fort Apache contracts.¹⁴⁴

Fort Marcy was the only delivery point north of the Huning establishment along the Rio Grande. The fort was erected in Santa Fe in fall 1846 shortly after General Kearny and his Army of the West seized the town in the U.S.-Mexico War. In *Old Fort Marcy*, L. Bradford Prince, governor of New Mexico Territory, wrote that Kearny’s goal “was to occupy some adjacent height from which the city could be controlled even by the small body of troops that it was possible to leave for its protection. The importance of this fortification [was] the key to the whole of New Mexico.”¹⁴⁵ This scenario may have been the case during the early occupation years, but the fort faded in importance as a strategic site. It was deactivated in 1867. From 1867 to 1875, the army used the installation as “quarters for officers and troops, and facilities for storage of supplies.”¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Rick Hendricks, “Fort Tularosa,” New Mexico Office of the State Historian. Accessed 25 August 2016, <http://newmexicohistory.org/places/fort-tularosa>.

¹⁴⁴ F. Stanley, *Fort Tularosa*, 16; and Patrick Kelley (Tularosa), L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, p. 640, 645, and 666, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; Contract between L. & H. Huning and Fort McRae, Socorro County, New Mexico, 31 March 1874, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1873–1877, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; and Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Tularosa, Fort Tularosa, New Mexico, 21 December 1872 and 9 October 1873, No. 1: 1871–1876, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA.

¹⁴⁵ L. Bradford Prince, *Old Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, New Mexico: Historical Sketch and Panoramic View of Santa Fe and Its Vicinity* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Co., 1912), 4, 7.

¹⁴⁶ Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 101; and Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico* (1909; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1976), 2.

Upon the fort's reactivation in 1875, the Hunings received their first Fort Marcy contracts two years later in 1877. From 3 September 1877 to 1 June 1879, they signed a total of six flour contracts, an aggregate of 83,000 pounds of flour for \$3,650.50 (\$85,825.77 in 2015). While other merchants and flour contractors lived adjacent to and in the vicinity of Santa Fe, the Fort Marcy contracts attest to the high quality mill products that the Hunings had become renowned for throughout the region. "L. Huning's flour," army inspector Nelson H. Davis remarked, "was reported to me to be equal to any made in New Mexico, if not superior." This reputation became even more pronounced when in 1875, Z. Staab and Company, a pair of German brothers Abraham and Zadoc who operated a wholesale mercantile company out of Santa Fe, "lost the Fort Marcy contract to Louis Huning." In her comprehensive account of all flour contractors in the Southwest, Miller firmly states, "The Hunings of Los Lunas became the premier flour contractors in New Mexico, receiving more flour contracts after the Civil War than any other residents."¹⁴⁷

On the eve of the Lincoln County War in February 1878, the Hunings signed a contract to deliver 29,250 pounds of flour to Fort Stanton by 31 October 1877. Col. John Garland, the commanding officer of the Department of New Mexico, had founded the post in May 1855. He selected the site to oversee and control the Mescaleros and White Mountain Apaches in southern New Mexico.¹⁴⁸ For the years following the Civil War, Fort Stanton,

¹⁴⁷ Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Marcy, Santa Fe, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1877 and December 1880, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1877–1880, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; and Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 155, 157. Original quote in *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 15 January 1872. While this occasion may have irked the Staab brothers in losing the competition to outsiders from the Rio Abajo, the Hunings and Staabs continued to have an amicable business relationship on the basis of their commercial transactions throughout the late 1870s. See Appendix 2.1 for more specifics on flour contracts at Fort Marcy.

¹⁴⁸ Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 103.

about 158 miles southeast of Los Lunas, retained its significance among military posts in the Southwest and remained critical “in Carleton’s [and the army’s] scheme for control of the Indians of central and southern New Mexico.”¹⁴⁹ Although Fort Stanton was captured by the Confederates during the Civil War, Union troops under the command of Kit Carson re-seized the facility in November 1862. Physical and structural damage to the buildings forced the army rebuild and repair the site. Lawrence G. Murphy, a former First New Mexico Cavalry volunteer, post sutler at Fort Stanton, and general merchant in nearby Lincoln, received a lumber contract in 1868 to furnish materials for renovating the fort. Moreover, the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments spent \$107,283 on local wages, stimulating development in the nearby town of Lincoln as a result.¹⁵⁰

With the establishment of the Mescalero Indian Reservation near Fort Stanton in 1873, L. G. Murphy and Company furnished food and supplies to the Indian agency. As “the only post tradership in the region, [Murphy’s business was] the dominant economic institution in the area.”¹⁵¹ However, historians agree that Murphy lacked a monopoly on government contracting. “From 1867 through 1878,” historian John P. Ryan indicates, “L. G. Murphy and Co. held only thirty-one percent of the Fort Stanton quartermaster and commissary contracts.”¹⁵² The remainder went to merchants such as Louis and Henry

¹⁴⁹ Lee C. Myers, *Fort Stanton, New Mexico: The Military Years, 1855–1896* (Lincoln, N.M.: Lincoln County Historical Society Publications, 1993), 22.

¹⁵⁰ John P. Ryan, *Fort Stanton and Its Community: 1855–1896* (Las Cruces, N.Mex.: Yucca Tree Press, 1998), 77, 79.

¹⁵¹ Contract between L. & H. Huning and Fort Stanton, Lincoln County, New Mexico, 16 September 1877, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1877–1880, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; Ryan, *Fort Stanton*, 93; and Myers, *Fort Stanton, New Mexico*, 31.

¹⁵² Ryan, *Fort Stanton*, 94.

Huning, who provided 166,050 pounds of flour in seven contracts from September 1877 through November 1879. In these years, Fort Stanton “was about as busy as any time in its history,” its troops dealing simultaneously with the Lincoln County War and intermittent indigenous raiding.¹⁵³ The Hunings also held four open-ended contracts for beans, corn meal, and flour during the mid-1870s. Interestingly, two of their three most voluminous flour deliveries occurred just before tensions escalated between the Murphy and Tunstall factions in Lincoln and near the resolution of their dispute in mid-July 1878.¹⁵⁴ In total, the Hunings received \$8,982.37 (\$210,838.45 in 2015) from their business with Fort Stanton.¹⁵⁵

The dollar sums that the Hunings received for supplying Forts Craig, McRae, Tularosa, Marcy, and Stanton pale in comparison, both in volume and price, to their contracts with Fort Wingate in western New Mexico. The price total on the Fort Wingate contracts dwarfed those of all New Mexico forts combined. In 1862, Lt. Col. J. Francisco Chaves established the first Fort Wingate in San Rafael, New Mexico, under the order of Brigadier General Carleton.¹⁵⁶ The post located near *Dinetah* in northwestern New Mexico, was a base from which the army carried out the Navajo internment campaign the following year.

¹⁵³ Myers, *Fort Stanton, New Mexico*, 35.

¹⁵⁴ The Hunings delivered 29,000 pounds of flour sometime between 14 January and 15 February 1878 and an additional 39,000 between 13 July and 15 September 1878. The murder of John Tunstall occurred on 18 February 1878 and the Battle of Lincoln took place on 15 July 1878.

¹⁵⁵ Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Stanton, Lincoln County, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1873 and December 1877, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1873–1877, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Stanton, Lincoln County, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1878 and December 1880, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1877–1880, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Stanton, Lincoln County, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1871 and December 1876, Registers of Contracts, No. 1: 1871–1876, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; Contract between L. & H. Huning and Fort Stanton, Lincoln County, New Mexico, 31 October 1881, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1881–1883, Entry 1245, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. [hereafter, Entry 1245, OQMG, RG 92, NARA].

¹⁵⁶ Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 108.

Abandoned in 1868, the department moved the garrison to Fort Wingate II, the previous site of Forts Faunterloj and Lyon, at Bear Springs, near the current town of Gallup, to be in closer proximity to the new Navajo reservation. The troops who relocated the Navajos back to their homeland began to occupy Fort Wingate II in order to supervise Native activities. According to the official *History of Fort Wingate*, constant raiding plagued the areas of Cubero and Fort Wingate: “Mescalero, Ute, and other tribes from the north of Wingate were continuously warring against the Navajos as well as the white. Mescaleros and Utes habitually teamed up against the Navajos and kept them in a constant state of unrest. The Navajos, indignant over the attacks and unwilling to depend on white soldiers for protection, kept scouts out to warn them of impending attacks.”¹⁵⁷ This commotion kept the military busy and required a steady number of troops to contain these outbursts of violence. The official history also adds: “The new Wingate was a good post. Blessed with a good location and fine climate, it appealed to soldiers and Indians alike because it furnished the necessities of a good camp—a spring of water, woods in the hills, and grass in the valley.”¹⁵⁸ Besides these basic provisions, Fort Wingate II also needed food for its troops and fuel for draft animals, and these products did not grow there in abundance. One archaeological report states: “Hispanic farmers from Cubero and Cebolleta were encouraged to grow surplus crops for the Bear Springs Post in the 1870s. Contractors for Fort Wingate were buying grain from these villages. Despite the evidence for local production, the majority of supplies, including hay and grain, continued to be transported from the Rio Grande Valley.”¹⁵⁹ Darlis Miller has

¹⁵⁷ United States. *History of Fort Wingate Depot: Forts Faunterloj and Lyon* (New Mexico, 1968), 17.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ The contractors the report references are more than likely the Huning brothers. Henry Huning had been in Cubero as late as 1868 and established a subsidiary store in the mid-1870s. See Jeanne A. Schutt, et al.

also pointed out that Fort Wingate I had imported these items, which grew closer to the Rio Grande, and this logistical pattern continued into the 1870s and early 1880s, with the Hunings procuring and delivering a large share of these commodities to Fort Wingate II.¹⁶⁰

From 1871 to 1881, the Hunings supplied 3,000 pounds of beans, 238,534 pounds of bran, 302,000 pounds of corn, 4,000 pounds of salt, 149,750 pounds of flour, and 50,000 pounds of oats to Fort Wingate II. They also held seven open-ended contracts for salt, corn, and beans from 1874–1875 and an additional one for flour in 1877. Situated 130 miles northwest of the Huning store in Los Lunas, Fort Wingate II was a far distance from the Rio Abajo. The Hunings, however, had a subsidiary store in nearby Cubero, a settlement about seventy-four miles southeast of the fort. They serviced a loyal contingent of retail customers in Cubero and Cebolleta. Dumas Provencher, a merchant in San Rafael, purchased wholesale goods from Huning and had a partnership with the post sutler at Fort Wingate.¹⁶¹ Consequently, the Hunings were well known in this area’s commercial circles and well placed to bid on, receive, and fulfill their supply contracts. In a ten-year period, they received \$27,049.68 (\$597,890.49 in 2015) from their contracts with Fort Wingate II. The Wingate contracts were the Hunings’s most-lucrative in New Mexico Territory.¹⁶²

Cycles of Closure: A Cultural Resources Inventory of Fort Wingate Depot Activity, New Mexico, (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Office of Contract Archeology, University of New Mexico, 1997), 204.

¹⁶⁰ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 56.

¹⁶¹ David Gonzales, “Damasio Provencher: ‘El Padre de los Pobres,’ Assassinated in San Rafael, New Mexico on November 6, 1888,” *La Herencia* 7, no. 1 (1999): 1–3.

¹⁶² Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Wingate, Valencia County, New Mexico, all contracts between January 1871 and December 1876, Registers of Contracts, No. 1: 1871–1876, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Wingate, Valencia County, New Mexico, all contracts between 1877–1880, Registers of Contracts, No. 2: 1877–1880, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Wingate, Valencia County, New Mexico, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1872–1873, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Wingate, Valencia County, New Mexico, all contracts between 1873–1877, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1873–1877, Entry 69,

In early May 1870, the *Arizona Miner* reported that the Huning brothers had shipped their first stock of merchandise to Prescott, Arizona. By the end of the decade, Henry Huning had settled in Show Low in central-eastern Arizona. He has been regarded as one of its early pioneers.¹⁶³ Indeed, his new residence allowed the partnership to penetrate the army market in Arizona Territory, much as he and Louis had in New Mexico, through its kinship network. Whereas most New Mexico contractors had “limited success” in Arizona, Henry Huning, a transplant to Arizona Territory, would guarantee their success in that market.¹⁶⁴

In January 1864, Lt. Col. J. Francisco Chavez of the New Mexico Volunteers established Camp Verde on the west bank of the Rio Verde, thirty-five miles east of Prescott, Arizona. The camp was designed to safeguard the nearby burgeoning mining district.¹⁶⁵ One account indicates that the outpost was “an important base of military operations against the Apache Indians.”¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, “General Crook’s 1872–73 winter campaign brought the Indians under submission and a general peace treaty was entered into at Camp Verde.”¹⁶⁷ In the following years, the premier flour contractors of New Mexico furnished at least 139,000 pounds to Camp Verde. The Hunings signed a flour contract in March 1873 for 105,000 pounds flour at 8.7 cents per pound and another for 34,000 pounds at 6.88 cents per pound,

OCGS, RG 192, NARA; and Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Wingate, Valencia County, New Mexico, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1877–1880, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA.

¹⁶³ Catherine H. Ellis and Jani Huso, *Images of America: Show Low* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 16.

¹⁶⁴ “Goods Coming,” *Prescott Arizona Miner*, 7 May 1870; and Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 73.

¹⁶⁵ Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 14.

¹⁶⁶ Britt W. Wilson, *Lieutenant Morton's 1871 Scout from Camp Verde, Arizona Territory: A Factual Account of One of the Most Successful Military Actions against Apache Indians during the Apache Indian Wars* (Banning, Calif.: self-published, 1997).

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

earning \$11,474.20 (\$238,395.24 in 2015) with Camp Verde. The *Arizona Sentinel* also published the contract award on 5 April 1873.¹⁶⁸ According to Frazer, the army initially conceived of Camp Verde as an outpost of Fort Whipple. Founded in December 1863 by Maj. Edward B. Willis under the order of Brigadier General Carleton, Fort Whipple was originally located in the Chino Valley at River Spring near the Rio Verde and later moved to just two miles northeast of the town of Prescott.¹⁶⁹ Like that of Camp Verde, the mission at Fort Whipple was to ensure the safety of nearby mining operations. Obtaining only one contract throughout the Fort Whipple's duration, the Hunings agreed in January 1878 to provide 55,000 pounds of flour at 6.88 cents per pound.¹⁷⁰

In terms of quantity and dollar amount, the contracts with Camp Apache, which later became Fort Apache, were the most lucrative. Miller has also pointed out that flour was the most expensive commodity at Forts Apache, Verde, and Whipple due to distance and Apache raids. The Hunings freighted supplies to the post from June 1872 to June 1884. Established 16 May 1870, about forty miles south of Show Low, Camp Apache was intended to monitor Coyotero Apaches in central-eastern Arizona. By 1873, the station became a permanent post and became known as Fort Apache in 1879.¹⁷¹ In his memoir *With Scouts and Cavalry at Fort Apache*, Colonel H. B. Wharfield, a first lieutenant cavalryman who was sent to Fort

¹⁶⁸ "List of Awards," *Yuma Arizona Sentinel*, 5 April 1873.

¹⁶⁹ Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 14-15.

¹⁷⁰ Contract between L. & H. Huning and Camp Verde, Arizona Territory, 14 March 1873, Register of Contracts, vol. 1872-1873, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; Contract between L. & H. Huning and Camp Verde, 7 December 1877, Arizona Territory, Register of Contracts, vol. 1877-1880, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; and Contract between L. & H. Huning and Fort Whipple, Arizona Territory, 7 December 1877, Register of Contracts, vol. 1877-1880, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA.

¹⁷¹ Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 3.

Apache in 1918 and later became quartermaster and post commander, chronicled the fort's early history during the Indian Wars. On his journey to his new assignment in Arizona, Wharfield encountered the Apache wife of Corydon Eliphalet Cooley, a founder of the settlement of Show Low. Wharfield recounts that Cooley, prior to his arrival in Arizona, had been both a quartermaster at Fort Craig and fought as a Union volunteer in the Civil War battles of New Mexico. Accordingly, stories of gold in the White Mountains lured him to Arizona Territory, and he eventually started a ranch in Show Low. During General Crook's Indian campaigns in 1872–1873, Cooley worked as a scout and interpreter, providing his services to the frontier army until 1882. “Most of the writings about the Apache campaigns of General George Crook,” wrote Colonel Wharfield, “mention his [Cooley's] scouting work and good influence over the bands of Pedro and Miguel.”¹⁷² In 1876, Cooley terminated his previous partnership and “took Henry Huning as a partner on the Show Low ranch.”¹⁷³ Henry Huning's relationship with Cooley was likely instrumental in obtaining the Huning brothers' quartermaster and commissary contracts at Fort Apache. Moreover, Cooley also purchased supplies and kept a running customer tab at the Huning store in Los Lunas. This relationship demonstrates how regional business networks connected agricultural and flouring production in the Rio Abajo via merchants to far-flung army outposts beyond New Mexico Territory.

In June 1872, the Hunings contracted to deliver flour “as needed” to Camp Apache at eight cents per pound. The Hunings supplied 180,000 pounds of flour, 8,000 pounds of

¹⁷² H. B. Wharfield, *With Scouts and Cavalry at Fort Apache* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1965), 8.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 9.

beans, and 40,000 pounds of bran to the fort. In addition, 700,000 pounds of barley at five dollars per 100 pounds amounted to a \$35,000 contract and two contracts for 1,100,000 pounds of corn yielded \$59,400. In a direct response to the “several thousand pounds of flour [brought] from [the] Huning Bros., Los Lunas, N.M.,” the *Arizona Miner* implored “Arizona flour manufacturers to compete with New Mexico merchants, and secure home contracts.”¹⁷⁴ By the time Camp Apache became Fort Apache, the Hunings had already received \$92,218.¹⁷⁵

During the Fort Apache phase, the federal government was increasing its pressure against the Apache bands that refused to settle on the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona. Colonel Wharfield also mentions that General Crook recruited White Mountain Apache scouts from Fort Apache to execute his mission to apprehend Geronimo. These campaigns, along with an increase in the number of troops, demanded sufficient stores of food for officers and men and fodder for cavalry mounts and draft animals at Fort Apache. From November 1879 until February 1884, the Hunings delivered 350,000 pounds of flour to Fort Apache. Their largest flour shipment consisted of 60,000 pounds at a rate of 5.45 cents per pound. Also in the early 1880s, the Hunings secured three bran contracts for the delivery of 276,000 pounds and three corn contracts for 987,000 pounds to the fort. Barley was by far the most-voluminous commodity that the Hunings transported to Fort Apache. The *Arizona*

¹⁷⁴ *Prescott Arizona Miner*, 21 June 1878.

¹⁷⁵ Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Camp Apache, Arizona Territory, Registers of Contracts, No. 1: 1871–1876, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Camp Apache, Arizona Territory, Registers of Contracts, No. 2: 1877–1880, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; Contract between L. & H. Huning and Camp Apache, Arizona Territory, 3 June 1872, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1872–1873, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; and Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Camp Apache, Arizona Territory, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1877–1880, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA. See Appendix 2.1 for more totals relating to the Camp Apache contracts.

Citizen published its first barley contract for 700,000 pounds on 24 May 1878.¹⁷⁶ From May 1880 to June 1885, the Hunings delivered 3,703,400 pounds of this cereal grain to the fort. In fact, the largest contract the Huning brothers had ever received was granted on 25 May 1883 for the arrangement to deliver 1,407,000 pounds of barley at the rate of \$4.49 per 100 pounds, a \$63,174.30 contract. Combining the totals of Camp Apache and Fort Apache, this figure amounts to \$348,519.54. The deliveries to Camp Apache/Fort Apache comprised 83 percent of the total payments that the Hunings received from their military supply contracts. In today's figures (2015), this total equals just over 8.4 million dollars.¹⁷⁷

Nevertheless, the numbers do not tell the entire story. To claim that merchants reaped all the profits from these federal contracts is misleading. In other words, equating contracts with profits is erroneous. Calculating the net profits and taking into account the expenses incurred by acquiring the material from the contracts would be a study in and of itself. As we will see in chapter 3, store customers rarely paid in cash but usually bartered with produce or other commodities. In the end, the federal supply contracts were a means for merchants to convert agricultural commodities into cash and provide a regional market for farmers.

The quartermaster and commissary contracts illuminate the immense volume of agricultural products that the Army purchased during the Indian Wars in the Far Southwest and indicate the merchant beneficiaries of these subsidies, but they do not indicate how and

¹⁷⁶ "List of Awards of Contracts," *Arizona Citizen*, 24 May 1878.

¹⁷⁷ Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Apache, Arizona Territory, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1879–1882, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Apache, Arizona Territory, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1882–1884, Entry 69, OCGS, RG 192, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Apache, Arizona Territory, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1877–1880, Entry 1242, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Apache, Arizona Territory, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1881–1883, Entry 1245, OQMG, RG 92, NARA; and Contracts between L. & H. Huning and Fort Apache, Arizona Territory, Registers of Contracts, vol. 1884–1885, Entry 1245, Register of Contracts, OQMG, RG 92, NARA. See Appendix 2.1 for further information on all contracts at Fort Apache.

from whom merchants accumulated the goods to complete these arrangements. This dimension of military contracting, the supply side, is critical to the story but has been largely undeveloped by previous historians. In her studies on Fort Wingate, for example, Miller writes, “It is no longer possible to show where each contractor secured grain, but records suggest that the Rio Grande Valley continued to be the major source of supply.”¹⁷⁸ While her speculation is indeed correct, the records of Champions Mill in Los Chavez detail some of the wheat suppliers for the Huning contracts by name and residence. By examining the mill records of merchant-millers, historians can get a clearer insight into how this process of wheat accumulation worked. Whereas Frazer and Miller provide a comprehensive, top-down approach to military contracting, a bottom-up approach to wheat accumulation adds a new dimension to studies on military contracting during the Indian Wars. This approach also shows how federal spending provided cash-flow to merchants, who were then able to structure the local economy by systematizing exchanges between wheat producers and themselves.

Wheat and Corn Production in Valencia County and Champions Mill

The agricultural census records in Valencia County from 1850 to 1880 show the county’s patterns of agrarian production over a thirty-year period. Pairing the federal census records with the mill records indicates that Champions Mill attracted most of the wheat surpluses of county farmers. In turn, the Huning brothers accumulated these commodities and consigned them to fulfilling contracts with the various forts. What makes this study distinctive from previous histories is that it shows how and from whom the military contractors acquired their produce. The effects were threefold: merchants received the

¹⁷⁸ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 57.

necessary cash flow from the federal government to maintain their economic ventures; local producers could use their crops as a form of payment to their local merchant proprietors; and a modern roller mill provided essential services to a community that was transforming from subsistence to commercial agriculture. Supply contracts ultimately gave merchants the financial power to incentivize wheat and corn production in the county, initiating a system of formal system of exchange between producers and middlemen that lasted into the early decades of the twentieth century in the Rio Abajo.

In 1850, Valencia County claimed the largest number of farms in the territory at 1,379. Already in 1850, 22 percent of the territorial wheat crop originated from its irrigated fields. In addition, Valencia County was the largest grower of corn; its farms produced 43 percent of all corn grown in the territory. Drawing on the census totals from 1850 to 1880, Valencia County's farmers cultivated 83,385 bushels of corn and 31,943.25 bushels of wheat per year on average.¹⁷⁹ The 1850 and 1870 yields were peak years for these crops. In her analysis of northern New Mexico counties in 1870, Miller concentrates on the agrarian outputs of the Rio Arriba region. She writes: "For many years much of the grain that filled government contracts was raised in three adjoining counties of Taos, Mora, and San Miguel. Representing 39 percent of the territory's population and containing 37 percent of its farms, these counties together produced in 1870 almost 34 percent of New Mexico's corn, 60 percent of its wheat, and 74 percent of its oats."¹⁸⁰ But in that same year, Valencia County

¹⁷⁹ For census totals on Valencia County from 1850 to 1880, see "Statistics of New Mexico Territory: Valencia," *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, 334; "Territory of New Mexico, Agriculture: Valencia," *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, 178–79; "Productions of Agriculture, Territory of New Mexico, Valencia," *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, 208–09; and "Statistics of Agriculture: Valencia," *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, 127.

¹⁸⁰ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 64.

was third overall in wheat production, ranked fifth in corn production, and placed fourth in the cash value of farms. While the farmers in northern counties were certainly top producers of these items, farming in Valencia County was also profitable. Wheat and corn production was quite substantial and visible in the central Rio Grande Valley during the thirty years under study. For instance, the cash value of farms increased from \$179,924.00 in 1860 to \$425,185.00 in 1880. The value of farm implements also appreciated from \$5,077.00 in 1870 to \$22,258.00 in 1880. Small- and large-scale agriculturalists invested in their farms and used what means they had available to increase their value, and they accomplished this task by growing primarily corn and wheat.

Prior to the establishment of Champions Mill in 1870 in Los Chavez, Antonio Jose Otero, a prominent Rio Abajo land owner, sheep rancher, politician, and merchant from Valencia County, had owned and operated a mill in Peralta. Appointed chief justice of New Mexico by General Kearny in 1850, Otero later received in the pre-Civil War years contracts to supply flour to the army in Albuquerque and was the first merchant in Valencia County to receive federal contracts.¹⁸¹

In 1864, Franz Huning constructed the Glorieta flourmill near Old Town in Albuquerque. “To this mill,” according to a Huning descendant, “came all the grain that was grown in the valley. The Indians came from long distances, hitched their wagons and made camp in the shade of the trees around the mill.”¹⁸² Following the lead of the eldest brother, the younger Huning brothers also constructed a modern gristmill in Los Chavez in 1870, later

¹⁸¹ Frazer, *Forts and Supplies*, 80–81; and Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 57.

¹⁸² Huning, *Trader*, 144.

claimed to be “one of the best full roller processing mills in the Territory.”¹⁸³ Los Chavez was a modest Hispano settlement bordering the southern boundary line of Los Lunas.

Although Otero’s mill was the first of its kind in the county, Champions Mill revolutionized the economy of Valencia County by further orienting a largely subsistence and agrarian society towards exchange value and market relationships.

Unfortunately for historians, the only surviving mill records from the company’s early years encompass three years of activity from August 1881 to June 1884. The partial reconstruction of the flour industry in Valencia County is possible from this three-year sample. On 3 September 1881, Romolo Aragon made the five-mile journey from his residence in Belen south to Los Chavez.¹⁸⁴ Probably travelling by wagon, Aragon also carried sacks of wheat from his recent harvest. Upon his arrival, the wheat grower likely encountered the millers at Champions Mill—Louis Funke and Robert McQuiston—and other employees running the day-to-day operation. The millers then weighed his wheat crop at 395 pounds, and after his wheat was turned into grain, he received 329 pounds of processed grain, a little over 80 percent of the original weight. This basic exchange between a farmer and Champions Mill had taken place many times before and would continue into the mid 1880s.

Figuratively, Champions Mill acted as a lodestone to the agricultural yields to the residents of Valencia County and beyond. Small- and large-scale agricultural producers in Valencia County had become accustomed to bringing their wheat and corn crops to the mill at Los Chavez. Hispanos, Anglos, and Native Americans alike, came from the various

¹⁸³ Los Chavez is roughly five miles south of Los Lunas. Both settlements are located on the west bank of the Rio Grande. See Chavez and Espinosa, *El Rio Abajo*, 131.

¹⁸⁴ Champions Mill Ledger, p. 2, item 9, box 11, Huning Mercantile Company Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque [hereafter HMCR, CSWR].

hamlets across Valencia County: Los Lunas, Los Lentos, Belen, Los Chavez, Sausal, Manzano, Los Gabaldones, Belen, Ladera, Sabinal, Pueblitos, Los Lecos, Jarales, La Jolla, Bosque, Casa Colorada, Rito Colorado, Cubero, Rito Quemado, Tome, and San Fernandez. Some customers also traveled from outside the county, from Pajarito in Bernalillo County, the town of Socorro, and the Pueblo of Isleta. While the establishment provided basic milling services for local residents' consumption, it also enabled the Hunings to accrue the raw agricultural produce to be transformed into flour and cornmeal, which were both in demand for the military market.

The stockpiling process worked in two main ways. First, in return for services rendered to the customer for milling his crop, Champions would then take a certain percentage of the total as payment. In the case of grinding corn into meal, an eighty-twenty percent ratio was usually commonplace. Much like Aragon who carried home just slightly over eighty percent of his original crop weight, Felipe Ortega from Jarales delivered 190 pounds of corn and garnered 152 pounds of cornmeal, an exact eighty/twenty proportion.¹⁸⁵ To convert wheat into flour, the mill employed a fifty-fifty exchange ratio.¹⁸⁶ On 5 September 1882, Jose Tafoya brought 1,061 pounds of wheat and received 531 pounds of flour.¹⁸⁷ Slight variations of this exchange were frequent according to season, grade, and quality, but they do not deviate far from these standards. There are many cases in the mill

¹⁸⁵ Champions Mill Ledger, p. 107, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

¹⁸⁶ Even into the early twentieth century, millers in Valencia County also employed the fifty-fifty exchange ratio to trade mill services for half of the customer wheat crop. In Raoul J. Cordova's oral history with the New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum, he states: "Typically a farmer would bring in a hundred pounds of wheat and receive fifty pounds of flour. The miller would keep the remaining flour as payment for his services." See Raoul J. Cordova interview by Jane O'Cain, transcript, New Mexico Farm and Ranch Museum, 1998, http://www.nmfarmandranchmuseum.org/oralhistory/PDFs/interview_129.pdf.

¹⁸⁷ Champions Mill Ledger, p. 208, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

ledgers in which customers preferred to receive their processed crop in full or above the going exchange rates, but they had to pay the monetary difference.¹⁸⁸

Secondly, the Hunings accumulated wheat and corn from their store customers, who used these items as payment for merchandise. Indicated in the list of customer names written in the mill ledgers, entries of “Store, Los Lunas” appear throughout. Using a team of freighters, Louis Huning transported wheat and corn from the store in Los Lunas to the short distance of Champions in Los Chavez for refinement. To get a sense of how much of the store inventory comprised the total incoming wheat arriving at the mill, a sample taken from 19 August to 31 December 1881 reveals that store deliveries constituted about 23 percent of incoming wheat for those 4.5 months.¹⁸⁹

The first method was significant because each party benefited in some form. In return for taking customer shares of produce, the Hunings provided a vital service to community members. The latter, in turn, could use refined wheat and corn for their domestic needs. Second, customers could use wheat and corn to purchase merchandise in lieu of cash, of which most had little. The mill ledgers also reflect the arrival of incoming wheat to be consigned and shipped to the forts. On 15 October 1881, the mill bookkeeper inscribed “Store to Fort Stanton” and scheduled 13,110 pounds of bran for freighting and delivery to

¹⁸⁸ To take one example, Vicente Sanchez from Pueblitos delivered 1,212 pounds of wheat and received 825 pounds of flour. Receiving about 68 percent of his crop in contrast to the 50/50 exchange, Mr. Sanchez paid a dollar difference of \$4.85 to take home eighteen percent more. As a result, he paid about 2.2 cents for each additional pound of flour beyond the 50/50 exchange custom. See Champions Mill Ledger, p. 26, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

¹⁸⁹ Out of 1,048,759 pounds of wheat delivered to the mill, 241,297 pounds came from the store in Los Lunas. In later years, a significant portion of store deliveries came from the branch store in Cubero. See Champions Mill Ledger, pp. 1–136, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

Fort Stanton in Lincoln County.¹⁹⁰ Representing probably the last delivery of a contract the Hunings signed in mid-May for 28,360 pounds of bran to be fulfilled by 31 October, this entry shows that customer produce made a standard journey from producer, to middleman, and to final market. Producers who grew crops on regional farms used wheat and corn as currency for acquiring store merchandise. After this barter exchange, the merchant sent his miller the wheat to render it into bran. The employees at Champions Mill sacked the bran, and the freighter drove it by wagon south to Fort Stanton. Once it reached its destination, the transaction was complete. The Hunings received in cash or bank drafts the going rate per the terms of the supply contract. They used the capital to maintain their mercantile, and the money helped keep the local economy buoyant. The profitability of merchant capitalism hinged on these transactions, which depended on the federal government for hard currency and drafts.

Although the ledgers do not show all the fort deliveries from 1881 to 1884, they do indicate how the contractors operated logistically and temporally. On 28 October 1881, the entry reads 20,000 pounds of bran “to Fort Craig.”¹⁹¹ The bran contract that Louis Huning signed on 26 May 1881 called for 16,183 pounds at the rate of \$1.75 per 100 pounds, but clearly, Huning felt the need to send additional bran. Historians can only speculate on why he felt it was necessary. Perhaps the possibility of damage, to ensure that his supply would not fall under the contract specifications, or to provide extra as compliments of the contractor—all these factors might have prompted him to send additional product. A similar case occurred in mid-May of 1882, when Huning transported, in two separate shipments, 32,201

¹⁹⁰ Champions Mill Ledger, p. 48, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

¹⁹¹ Champions Mill Ledger, p. 62, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

pounds of flour to Fort Apache.¹⁹² The March 25 contract only required 30,000 pounds of flour, but Huning again exceeded the agreed upon number.

For fulfilling the larger contracts that they received, the Huning brothers developed different logistical strategies to ensure the product's safe arrival. From 8 November 1881 to 30 June 1882, Louis Huning sent from Los Lunas the final four shipments of his contract to supply 200,000 pounds of bran to Fort Apache. He transported the first in November 1881, the second in December, the third during March 1882, and the fourth and final delivery on June 30th, dispatching 36,209 pounds over an eight-month period.¹⁹³ One can deduce three practicalities from this order. Huning preferred to send his stock on installments and separate trips, thus avoiding the risk of sending all the commodities in one delivery and incurring a heavy loss due to unforeseen circumstances. In 1880, as Miller relates: "Apaches attacked their wagon train about eighty miles from Los Lunas en route to Fort Apache, killing some of the teamsters. The cargo of flour had to be abandoned."¹⁹⁴ Perhaps these types of episodes cautioned Huning to spread the risk on future deliveries. Secondly, Huning avoided sending wagons during the first three months of the year, when the weather was challenging. And third, he could apparently wait until the last date of the contract to transport his final shipment. However, this episode is not to suggest that Huning had a propensity to procrastinate. For instance, Huning signed a contract on 7 May 1883 to deliver 35,000 pounds of flour to the commissary at Fort Apache. He prepared a wagon on 31 May for Rafael Sanchez to drive 17,052 pounds of flour to Arizona Territory. On the next day, J. J.

¹⁹² Champions Mill Ledger, p. 178, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

¹⁹³ Champions Mill Ledger, p. 70, 114, 166, 180, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

¹⁹⁴ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 172.

Chavez y Romero agreed to ship 4,214 pounds of flour and Valentino Gabaldon arranged to drive a wagon moving 2,450 pounds of flour. Beginning his journey of 5 June, Manuel Artiaga, also a freighter, delivered the final shipment of 11,515 pounds of flour.¹⁹⁵ With an experienced group of freighters available to him, Huning could also act swiftly to complete his contracts.

By the time that the Hunings consigned their last of shipment barley to Fort Apache in 1885, Champions Mill had cornered the grain market in Valencia County and also attracted customers from outside the county for a period of about fifteen years. To get a sense of the magnitude of its mill operation, the agricultural census for 1880 reports that Valencia County produced 1,791,120 pounds of wheat during that calendar year. In 1882 alone, the Hunings processed 1,841,965 pounds of wheat, superseding the county totals in the census just two years earlier.¹⁹⁶

The unavoidable issue at stake is the problem of monopoly in merchant capitalism. In some cases, monopolistic practices can stymie economic growth, hold back social progress, and check potential competition. In this specific case, merchant capitalism made grain producers dependent on the merchant-mill owners.

Some of these effects associated with monopoly power did not manifest. In the midst of the heyday of Champions Mill, Valencia County wheat and corn production flourished, the cash value of farms increased, and agriculturalists invested more of their resources in farm implements. No evidence of agrarian discontent has surfaced in Valencia County during

¹⁹⁵ Champions Mill Ledger, p. 352, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR.

¹⁹⁶ Champions Mill Ledger, pp. 138–314, item 9, box 11, HMCR, CSWR; *Tenth Census of the United States*, 199; and Rayglen Commodities, “Conversion Calculator,” http://www.rayglen.com/grain_conversion_calculator.

this time period.¹⁹⁷ The existence of a modern gristmill provided more structure to the local and regional economy by systematizing the exchange of modern milling services for surplus crops. Champions Mill also held a formidable check upon potential competitors, but it did not last indefinitely. Throughout the pages of the mill ledgers, the names of later prominent Belen merchants such as John Becker, Oscar Gobel, and Frederick Scholle appear throughout, ostensibly cutting their teeth as grain merchants and managing Huning's interests in Belen before coming into their own as store proprietors.¹⁹⁸ Bringing substantial wheat deliveries to Huning, ranging in the thousands in terms of poundage, John Becker would construct his own mill in Belen in 1886 and directly competed with Champions Mill.¹⁹⁹ An unknown arsonist burned Huning's roller mill in 1892, only the structural foundation remaining intact. For unknown reasons, Louis Huning did not rebuild his mill. John Becker's roller mill had by then surpassed the former. In the early twentieth century, other mills in the county began to appear in most of the towns in the Rio Abajo.

¹⁹⁷ In *New Mexico Populism: A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory*, Robert W. Larson chronicles agrarian discontent in the territory. He argues that populists targeted the Santa Fe Ring for its land grant monopolies. Some members of the populist movement protested the proposed state constitution of 1889. According to Larson, populism began to take hold in 1887 after a substantial western drought. It is likely that few, if any, Valencia County citizens protested the Hunings's hold on stockpiling local grain. In Larson's words, "The well-known hostility of Populists towards Washington would make the People's party appear as a major threat to the growth and prosperity of the territory in the minds of many New Mexico citizens." Even if some producers thought the terms of exchange unfair with Champions Mill, the continued existence of this institution and its federal subsidization were vital to their economic interests. Without such a market, they had no incentive to produce. See Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico Populism: A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1974), xi–xiv, 1–5.

¹⁹⁸ For biographical information on these Belen merchants, see Tibo J. Chavez et al., *El Rio Abajo*, 127–131.

¹⁹⁹ Helen Haines, *History of New Mexico: From the Spanish Conquest to the Present Time, 1530–1890: With Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent People* (New York: New Mexico Historical Publishing Company, 1891), 379.

Conclusion

Without receiving this cash flow from the supply contracts, the Huning Mercantile would have been unable to maintain liquidity from 1871–1885. Indeed, many southwestern merchants who traded on the Santa Fe Trail would have likely foundered without bidding on and winning army contracts. The contracting system was uniform and competitive; no one contractor benefitted at the expense of others. The contracts did not generate immense profits for contractors, but they allowed these merchants to transform New Mexican commodities into money.²⁰⁰ Selling to the army market, Merchants used this cash to remain solvent, pay their creditors, create a demand for local produce, and, most importantly, maintain cash on their balance sheets. In this way, the federal government buttressed the merchant capitalist enterprise during the Indian Wars. On a smaller scale, the supply contracts entrenched L. & H. Huning in the Rio Abajo. At the expense of the Apaches and Navajos who suffered immensely during these years, the federal government allocated contracts to merchants, who used this money to regularize economic relationships with their customers and establish modern economic structures, such as flourmills, throughout the territory. Federal contracts provided a commercial basis for merchants to organize local production and incentivize surplus agriculture. Perhaps developing economic order and infrastructure through supply contracts was the best weapon the U.S. government had in prevailing over the Apaches and Navajos during the tumultuous years of the Indian Wars.

In one of his less acclaimed, though critically important short essays, Frederick Jackson Turner once remarked, “The pioneer of the arid regions must be both a capitalist and

²⁰⁰ The next chapter will show in more detail that contracts rarely generated profits.

protégé of the government.”²⁰¹ Turner understood that the federal government needed to give economic pioneers monetary incentives to settle and survive in the West. In the specific case of the Indian Wars of the Far Southwest, the federal government created this enticement through supply contracts. In exchange for receiving federal money for their mercantile establishments, merchant-contractors carried out the federal government’s long-term vision of establishing economic order and productivity in the former Spanish and Mexican provinces. While previous biographers of the Hunings—and southwestern merchants in general—celebrate their rugged individualism and perpetuate the tropes of self-made men on the frontier, popular depictions of the frontier capitalist must be read against the background of Turner’s assertion that to prosper, the commercial pioneer required the assistance of the federal government.²⁰² This federal influence certainly rings true in the era of military contracting during the Indian Wars. Federal money injected working capital into mercantile establishments, which allowed hinterland traders to function and import merchandise from the centers of production of the East via St. Louis. While this chapter has aimed to show how Louis and Henry Huning were protégés of the federal government, the final chapter will demonstrate how they operated as successful and prosperous merchant capitalists.

²⁰¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, “Pioneer Ideals and the State University” in *The Frontier in American History* (1910; repr., Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003), 279.

²⁰² For example, see Gish, “Huning Houses and Homes,” in *Frontier's End*, 48.

Appendix 2.1:

L. & H. Huning Quartermaster and Commissary Contracts, 1871–1884

Name	Month, Date, and Year	Delivery Location	Product	Quantity (lbs.)	Price (\$)	Total	Inflation 2015
Huning, L and H	May 11, 1878–June 30, 1879	Camp Apache, AZ	Barley	700,000	\$5.00 per 100 lbs	\$35,000.00	\$35,000.00 \$833,333.33
Huning, Louis	January 1, 1878–June 30, 1878	Camp Apache, AZ	Beans	8,000	7 cents per lb	\$560.00	\$560.00 \$13,333.33
Huning, Louis and Henry	April 19, 1876–June 30, 1877	Camp Apache, AZ	Bran	40,000	4 cents per lb	\$1,600.00	\$1,600.00 \$35,555.56
Huning, Louis	June 5, 1875–June 30, 1876	Camp Apache, AZ	Corn	800,000	5.7 cents per lb	\$45,600.00	\$45,600.00 \$991,304.35
Huning, L and H	May 11, 1878–June 30, 1879	Camp Apache, AZ	Corn	300,000	4.6 cents per lb	\$13,800.00	\$13,800.00 \$328,571.43
Huning, Louis	January 1, 1878–June 30, 1878	Camp Apache, AZ	Flour	60,000	5.47 cents per lb	\$3,282.00	
Huning, L and H	May 10, 1878	Camp Apache, AZ	Flour	40,000	5.27 cents per lb	\$2,108.00	
Huning, Louis	August 29, 1878–Nov. 29, 1878	Camp Apache, AZ	Flour	60,000	5.18 cents per lb	\$3,108.00	
Huning, L and H	March 1, 1879–April 15, 1879	Camp Apache, AZ	Flour	20,000	4.8 cents per lb	\$960.00	
			Total Flour			\$9,458.00	\$225,190.48
			Total Camp Apache, AZ			\$106,018.00	\$106,018.00 \$2,427,288.48
Huning, L and H	May 10, 1880–June 30, 1881	Ft. Apache, AZ	Barley	700,000	\$4.24 per 100 lbs	\$29,680.00	
Huning, L and H	April 30, 1881	Ft. Apache, AZ	Barley	687,000	\$5.56 per 100 lbs	\$38,197.20	
Huning, L and H	June 9, 1882–June 30, 1883	Ft. Apache, AZ	Barley	909,000	\$5.50 per 100 lbs	\$49,995.00	
Huning, L and H	May 25, 1883–June 30, 1884	Ft. Apache, AZ	Barley	1,407,000	\$4.49 per 100 lbs	\$63,174.30	
Huning, L and H	May 15, 1884–June 30, 1885	Ft. Apache, AZ	Barley	400	\$3.51 per 100 lbs	\$14.04	
			Total Barley			\$181,060.54	\$4,245,706.40
Huning, L and H	April 30, 1881–June 30, 1882	Ft. Apache, AZ	Bran	200,000	\$4.25 per 100 lbs	\$8,500.00	
Huning, L and H	June 9, 1882–June 30, 1883	Ft. Apache, AZ	Bran	30,000	\$4.25 per 100 lbs	\$1,275.00	
Huning, L and H	May 25, 1883–June 30, 1884	Ft. Apache, AZ	Bran	46,000	\$4.00 per 100 lbs	\$1,840.00	
			Total Bran			\$11,615.00	\$271,135.10
Huning, L and H	May 10, 1880–June 30, 1881	Ft. Apache, AZ	Corn	200,000	\$3.94 per 100 lbs	\$7,880.00	
Huning, L and H	June 9, 1882–June 30, 1883	Ft. Apache, AZ	Corn	303,000	\$4.70 per 100 lbs	\$14,241.00	
Huning, L and H	May 25, 1883–June 30, 1884	Ft. Apache, AZ	Corn	484,000	\$4.00 per 100 lbs	\$19,360.00	
			Total Corn			\$41,481.00	\$975,394.24
Huning, L and H	November 3, 1879	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	50,000	5.45 cents per lb	\$2,725.00	
Huning, L and H	December 28, 1879–February 12, 1880	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	60,000	5.45 cents per lb	\$3,270.00	
Huning, L and H	March 15, 1880	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	35,000	7.5 cents per lb	\$2,625.00	
Huning, L and H	March 20, 1880–June 20, 1880	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	35,000	7.5 cents per lb	\$2,625.00	
Huning, L and H	May 26, 1882–July 10, 1882	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	30,000	7.5 cents per lb	\$2,250.00	
Huning, L and H	March 25, 1882	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	30,000	7.5 cents per lb	\$2,250.00	
Huning, L and H	May 7, 1883	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	35,000	6 cents per lb	\$2,100.00	
Huning, L and H	July 1, 1883–August 15, 1883	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	35,000	6 cents per lb	\$2,100.00	
Huning, L and H	November 12, 1883–February 10, 1884	Ft. Apache, AZ	Flour	40,000	5.5 cents per lb	\$2,200.00	
			Total Flour			\$22,145.00	\$521,863.22
			Total Ft. Apache, AZ			\$256,301.54	\$6,014,098.96
Huning, L and H	March 5, 1873	Camp Verde, AZ	Flour	105,000	8.7 cents per lb	\$9,135.00	
Huning, Louis	January 1, 1878–June 30, 1878	Camp Verde, AZ	Flour	34,000	6.88 cents per lb	\$2,339.20	
			Total Camp Verde, AZ			\$11,474.20	\$238,395.24
Huning, Louis	January 16, 1871	Ft. Craig, NM	Beans	6,000	7.5 cents per lb	\$450.00	\$450.00 \$8,823.52
Huning, Louis	September 9, 1871	Ft. Craig, NM	Bran	30,000	2.3 cents per lb	\$690.00	
Huning, Louis	November 30, 1872	Ft. Craig, NM	Bran	15,000	\$2.15 per 100 lbs	\$322.50	
Huning, L and H	September 20, 1873	Ft. Craig, NM	Bran	15,000	\$2.10 per 100 lbs	\$315.00	
Huning, Louis	December 7, 1877–April 30, 1878	Ft. Craig, NM	Bran	12,000	\$1.60 per 100 lbs	\$192.00	
Huning, Louis	May 26, 1881	Ft. Craig, NM	Bran	16,183	\$1.75 per 100 lbs	\$283.20	
			Total Bran			\$1,802.70	\$37,102.63
Huning, Louis	December 7, 1877–April 30, 1878	Ft. Craig, NM	Corn	100,000	\$2.90 per 100 lbs	\$2,900.00	\$2,900.00 \$65,909.09
Huning, Louis	January 14, 1878–Feb. 15, 1878	Ft. Craig, NM	Flour	59,000	4 cents per lb	\$2,360.00	
Huning, Louis	July 13, 1878–September 15, 1878	Ft. Craig, NM	Flour	31,500	4.42 cents per lb	\$1,392.30	
			Total Flour			\$3,752.30	\$89,340.48
			Total Ft. Craig, NM			\$8,905.00	\$201,175.72
Huning, L and H	September 3, 1877	Ft. Marcy, NM	Flour	11,250	4.48 cents per lb	\$504.00	
Huning, L and H	September 16, 1877–Oct. 31, 1877	Ft. Marcy, NM	Flour	11,250	4.48 cents per lb	\$504.00	
Huning, Louis	January 14, 1878–Feb. 15, 1878	Ft. Marcy, NM	Flour	14,000	4 cents per lb	\$560.00	
Huning, Louis	July 13, 1878–September 15, 1878	Ft. Marcy, NM	Flour	12,500	4.42 cents per lb	\$552.50	
Huning, L and H	May 12, 1879	Ft. Marcy, NM	Flour	17,000	\$4.50 per 100 lbs	\$765.00	
Huning, L and H	June 1, 1879–June 30, 1879	Ft. Marcy, NM	Flour	17,000	4.5 cents per lb	\$765.00	
			Total Ft. Marcy, NM			\$3,650.50	\$85,825.77

Huning, Louis	October 6, 1875–June 1, 1876	Ft. Stanton, NM	Bran	21,000	\$2.50 per 100 lbs	\$525.00		
Huning, Louis	May 16, 1881–October 31, 1881	Ft. Stanton, NM	Bran	28,360	\$2.50 per 100 lbs	\$709.00		
			Total Bran				\$1,234.00	\$27,901.41
Huning, L and H	September 16, 1877–Oct. 31, 1877	Ft. Stanton, NM	Flour	29,250	4.89 cents per lb	\$1,430.33		
Huning, Louis	January 14, 1878–Feb. 15, 1878	Ft. Stanton, NM	Flour	29,000	4 cents per lb	\$1,160.00		
Huning, Louis	July 13, 1878–September 15, 1878	Ft. Stanton, NM	Flour	39,000	4.78 cents per lb	\$1,864.20		
Huning, L and H	May 12, 1879	Ft. Stanton, NM	Flour	17,000	\$5.00 per 100 lbs	\$850.00		
Huning, L and H	June 1, 1879– June 30, 1879	Ft. Stanton, NM	Flour	17,000	5 cents per lb	\$850.00		
Huning, Louis	October 25, 1879–November 30, 1879	Ft. Stanton, NM	Flour	17,400	4.58 cents per lb	\$796.92		
Huning, Louis	October 6, 1879	Ft. Stanton, NM	Flour (anim	17,400	4.58 cents per lb	\$796.92		
			Total Flour				\$7,748.37	\$182,937.04
			Total Ft. Stanton, NM				\$8,982.37	\$210,838.45
Huning, Louis	December 21, 1872	Ft. Tularosa, NM	Bran	15,000	\$2.35 per 100 lbs	\$352.50		
Huning, L and H	October 9, 1873	Ft. Tularosa, NM	Bran	25,000	\$2.29 per 100 lbs	\$572.50		
			Total Ft. Tularosa, NM				\$925.00	\$18,361.76
Huning, Louis	January 1, 1878- June 30, 1878	Ft. Whipple, AZ	Flour	55,000	6.88 cents per lb	\$3,784.00		
			Total Ft. Whipple, AZ				\$3,784.00	\$90,095.24
Huning, Louis	January 18, 1878- Feb. 15, 1878	Ft. Wingate, NM	Beans	3,000	6 cents per lb	\$180.00	\$180.00	\$4,285.71
Huning, Louis	September 9, 1871–May 31, 1872	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	35,000	\$2.95 per 100 lbs	\$1,032.50		
Huning, Louis	November 30, 1872	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	25,000	\$2.50 per 100 lbs	\$625.00		
Huning, L and H	September 17, 1873	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	40,000	\$2.45 per 100 lbs	\$980.00		
Huning, Louis	October 16, 1874–May 31, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	40,000	\$2.42 per 100 lbs	\$968.00		
Huning, Louis	October 6, 1875– June 1, 1876	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	15,000	\$2.60 per 100 lbs	\$390.00		
Huning, Louis	December 7, 1877–April 30, 1878	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	19,000	\$2.50 per 100 lbs	\$475.00		
Huning, Louis and Henry	July 1, 1878–October 31, 1878	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	20,000	\$2.50 per 100 lbs	\$500.00		
Huning, Louis and Henry	November 6, 1878–March 31, 1879	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	20,000	\$2.25 per 100 lbs	\$450.00		
Huning, Louis	May 16, 1881–October 31, 1881	Ft. Wingate, NM	Bran	24,354	\$1.95 per 100 lbs	\$474.90		
			Total Bran				\$5,895.40	\$125,203.62
Huning, Louis	September 9, 1871	Ft. Wingate, NM	Corn	100,000	4.5 cents per lb	\$4,500.00		
Huning, Louis	January 20, 1872	Ft. Wingate, NM	Corn Meal	2,000	5 cents per lb	\$100.00		
Huning, Louis	October 16, 1874–March 31, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Corn	100,000	\$2.84 per 100 lbs	\$2,840.00		
Huning, Louis and Henry	July 1, 1878–October 31, 1878	Ft. Wingate, NM	Corn	100,000	\$4.00 per 100 lbs	\$4,000.00		
			Total Corn				\$11,440.00	\$244,600.84
Huning, L and H	January 20, 1873	Ft. Wingate, NM	Fine Salt	4,000	5.5 cents per lb	\$220.00	\$220.00	\$4,400.00
Huning, L and H	September 3, 1877	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	16,875	4.89/100 cents per lb	\$825.19		
Huning, L and H	September 16, 1877–October 31, 1877	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	16,875	4.89/100 cents per lb	\$825.19		
Huning, L and H	December 4, 1877	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	11,000	\$4.89 per 100 lbs	\$537.90		
Huning, Louis	January 14, 1878–February 15, 1878	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	42,000	4 cents per lb	\$1,680.00		
Huning, L and H	May 12, 1879	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	19,000	\$5.00 per 100 lbs	\$950.00		
Huning, L and H	June 1, 1879– June 30, 1879	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	19,000	5 cents per lb	\$950.00		
Huning, Louis	July 13, 1878–September 15, 1878	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	13,000	4.78 cents per lb	\$621.40		
Huning, Louis	October 6, 1879	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	6,000	4.58 cents per lb	\$274.80		
Huning, Louis	October 25, 1879–November 30, 1879	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	6,000	4.58 cents per lb	\$274.80		
			Total Flour				\$6,939.28	\$162,852.70
Huning, Louis and Henry	July 1, 1878–October 31, 1878	Ft. Wingate, NM	Oats	50,000	\$4.75 per 100 lbs	\$2,375.00	\$2,375.00	\$56,547.62
			Total Ft. Wingate, NM				\$27,049.68	\$597,890.49
TOTALS							\$427,090.29	\$9,883,970.11
Huning, Louis	June 30, 1872	Camp Apache, AZ	Flour	As needed	8 cents per lb			
Huning, L and H	March 14, 1873	Camp Verde, AZ	Flour	As needed	8.7 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. McRae, NM	Beans	As needed	4.55 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Tularosa, NM	Beans	As needed	4.6 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Stanton, NM	Beans	As needed	4.8 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Stanton, NM	Corn Meal	As needed	5.65 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Craig, NM	Beans	As needed	4.3 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Fine Salt	As needed	4.7 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Coarse Salt	As needed	4.7 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Corn Meal	As needed	5.65 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Beans	As needed	4.8 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Tularosa, NM	Flour	As needed	5.4 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Tularosa, NM	Corn Meal	As needed	5.4 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Tularosa, NM	Fine Salt	As needed	5 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 1, 1874–June 30, 1875	Ft. Tularosa, NM	Coarse Salt	As needed	4.25 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	May 10, 1875	Ft. Marcy, NM	Flour	As needed	4.95 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 19, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Corn Meal	As needed	7.5 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 19, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Beans	As needed	9 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 19, 1875	Ft. Wingate, NM	Fine Salt	As needed	4.35 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	July 19, 1875	Ft. Stanton, NM	Corn Meal	As needed	8 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	February 14, 1876	Camp Apache, AZ	Beans	As needed	9 cents per lb			
Huning, Louis	February 14, 1876	Camp Apache, AZ	Corn Meal	As needed	8 cents per lb			
Huning, Henry	July 1, 1877–December 31, 1877	Camp Apache, AZ	Beans	As needed	6.5 cents per lb			
Huning, L and H	July 1, 1877–October 31, 1877	Ft. Craig, NM	Flour	As needed	4.55 cents per lb			
Huning, L and H	July 1, 1877–October 31, 1877	Ft. Stanton, NM	Flour	As needed	4.94 cents per lb			
Huning, L and H	July 1, 1877–October 31, 1877	Ft. Wingate, NM	Flour	As needed	4.94 cents per lb			

Chapter 3: The Webs of Mercantile Exchange and Credit in Arizona and New Mexico:

The L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company, 1878–1880

“They who produced with their hands were under the control of those who sold by their wits.” William Parish, *The Charles Iffeld Company*

By 1878, Louis Huning came to play a multidimensional role in the economy of the Southwest. The designation general merchant fails to capture his entrepreneurial diversity. Starting out as a multirisk merchant in Belen in 1865, Huning had also become a federal contractor, mill proprietor, banker, postmaster, and wool merchant. His younger brother and business partner, Henry Huning, had also expanded the reach of L. & H. Huning into western Valencia County and eastern Arizona by the end of the 1870s.²⁰³ Carrying a wide spectrum of eastern merchandise at the main storehouse in Los Lunas, the central location of the business, the mercantile serviced a broad regional customer base throughout central New Mexico and eastern Arizona (see Appendix 3.1 for retail customer purchases and Appendix 3.2 for wholesale customers). Its retail customers consisted of Hispano stock raisers, farmers, freighters, and laborers (see Appendix 3.1 and 3.2 for customer occupations). In addition, German, Anglo, and Hispano merchants purchased wholesale goods from the Huning business.

Western historiography generally characterizes rural commercial enterprises as based on simple barter exchanges. The L. & H. Huning records, however, show that the mercantile system of finance was more complex than historians have assumed. The sources, moreover,

²⁰³ Throughout this chapter, I will distinguish Louis’s activities from Henry’s. If I use terms such as the *Huning Brothers* or *L. & H. Huning*, these designations suggest that the matter at hand was a joint decision made by their partnership. As a rule of thumb, Louis managed the books in Los Lunas and negotiated business transactions along the Rio Grande communities. In contrast, Henry was the face of the partnership in western Valencia County and eastern Arizona.

show the vast scope and reach of a successful southwestern business enterprise. The challenge for merchants, especially for L. & H. Huning, was ultimately to make its mercantile pursuits profitable in a region that was distant from the centers of production and finance, and in an economic environment where there was little money in circulation.

Similar to other German merchants, the Huning Brothers were attuned to what New Mexico economist and historian William Parish has described as the foundational phase of merchant capitalism. Positing three criteria for business success in this era, Parish argues that merchants required “the ability to acquire scarce monetary exchange acceptable for the purchase of foreign goods, the absence of an efficient system of indirect lending of capital, and the necessity for hauling purchases over vast stretches of water or sparsely settled land.”²⁰⁴ The Huning partnership satisfied these three requirements. The firm acquired eastern exchange or cash flow mainly through military contracts, as we saw in the previous chapter. Its customers typically lacked money to make payments for storehouse items (see Exhibit 3.6), but the business accepted their farm goods and located markets for them. “Small specialists,” Parish notes, “became tools through which the sedentary merchant assured his sources of supply.”²⁰⁵ This chapter further details L. & H. Huning’s supply sources, which consisted of its wholesale and retail customers; the mercantile was also the main source of customer credit. Before the arrival of the railroads, general merchandising, as opposed to single-risk specialization, was the preferred method of business in New Mexico. The case was no different for Louis and Henry Huning, who were, at bottom, multirisk merchants. General merchants often used freight teams to transport hinterland exports to the railroad

²⁰⁴ Parish, *The Charles Iffeld Company*, 35.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

terminus and army posts; they imported dry goods, hardware, and groceries through commission merchants. In particular, Louis Huning, the Los Lunas storeowner and manager of the partnership's finances and business records, was an adept practitioner of merchant capitalism: he had a steady supply of raw materials; he granted credit to providers or customers; he used skilled freight teams to maintain the flow of goods to local and regional markets; and he employed commission merchants in St. Louis and New York City to arrange his eastern wholesale purchases.

Historian Susan Boyle, author of *Los Capitalistas*, proposes further lines of inquiry for studies on the era of merchant capitalism. This chapter responds to her queries. "The endeavors of non-Hispano merchants," she writes, "have to be examined in greater detail."²⁰⁶ She adds, "Did they rely on the same strategies as their Hispano counterparts? Did they tend to establish businesses where there was little competition from wealthy New Mexicans? How did they relate to the less affluent population?"²⁰⁷ This chapter argues that Louis Huning adopted some practices that departed from those of earlier Hispano merchants in the Rio Abajo. His operation was more diversified, he granted cash loans to his customers, and he provided a market for local crops. A system of standardized market relationships emerged directly out of his local presence and practices. He established a business where there had previously been merchants, but the scale of his business outstripped theirs. The sources show that the Hispano elites were eventually willing to yield to Huning for his new sources of credit, in which the former stood to benefit. The less-affluent Hispanos were also able to buy supplies on credit. Huning, consequently, employed business practices that were favorable to

²⁰⁶ Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 112.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

elite and non-elite customers. Becoming accustomed to buying goods on credit, however, they incurred liabilities by failing to reduce their account balances. When they could no longer resolve their debts, Huning adopted the partido system to accumulate wool and sheep instead of cash. In that manner, he exploited pre-existing social practices to his benefit.

In 1878, Huning had been residing in New Mexico for nineteen years. The “accommodation structure” that he developed with the Hispano elites, small farmers, and laborers was still intact.²⁰⁸ Historical sociologist David Montejano defines class accommodation as an arrangement “between the leaders of the victors and those of the defeated [in which] one finds a landed Mexican elite, an ambitious Anglo mercantile clique, a class of independent but impoverished Mexican rancheros, and an indebted class of Mexican peones.” The social categories were somewhat different in New Mexico, where there were the landed New Mexican elite wealthy in sheep, an ambitious class of German merchants, the farmers and freighters just below the stock raisers, and the peones indebted to their patrons. I argue that German merchants formed class bonds with wealthy Hispanos by offering financial services and supporting their political endeavors. Such symbolic and realities were necessary in New Mexico, for Hispanos comprised the overwhelming majority. In South Texas, the opposite occurred as Anglos assumed political power and outnumbered the Hispano population. In New Mexico, the Hispanos allowed the German entrepreneurs to run their businesses as they saw fit. In the long run, the new German merchants were able to accumulate land and livestock through their mercantile operations.

In fact, Valencia County was representative of a significant demographic pattern of German merchants moving to Hispano communities and providing supplies and

²⁰⁸ Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 8, 34.

merchandise.²⁰⁹ Louis Huning offered elite livestock raisers favorable credit terms and luxury goods. Even further, he provided employment opportunities for Hispano laborers and freighters. Some Hispanos also became his store clerks. Farmers received extended periods of payment for merchandise, bringing to the storehouse their crops during harvest time. Prominent Hispanos such as Jesus Maria Luna and Jose Francisco Chaves had adopted a far-sighted commercial outlook in livestock raising and wool sales, but they conceded the tasks of merchandising and financing to a rising class of German merchants. In South Texas, Montejano observes, “A segment of the landed Mexican elite assimilated a mercantile outlook, and retained a patrimony of land and workers. But, generally speaking, most Mexicans did not commercialize, either because they failed to acquire an export-related source of capital or because they retained a complacent attitude toward merchandising.”²¹⁰ This observation can also be applied to the Rio Abajo. The Luna, Romero, and Jaramillo families, although perceptive of the pull of the marketplace and changing economic conditions, were complacent towards large-scale merchandising. By the end of the nineteenth century, L. & H. Huning attained mercantile supremacy and superseded Hispano storehouses.

In addition to expanding on the research of Parish and Boyle, the object of this chapter is to explain the nuanced business practices of L. & H. Huning through a systematic examination of accounts receivable ledgers and daily invoice records from 1878 to 1880. These sources reveal the dominant position to which merchants rose in the economic system of the hinterland trade. Organizing its business through regional merchandise sales, cash

²⁰⁹ See Margaret Espinosa-McDonald, “Modern Business Development,” chap. 2 in *Vamos Todos a Belen*, 26–102.

²¹⁰ See David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 51.

loans, interest charges, and account receivables, L. & H. Huning was emblematic of “the large changes taking place in western commerce.”²¹¹ The expansive reach of the mercantile represented the significance of merchant capital to the region and how its introduction further oriented an agricultural-based society to exchange value and more-intense market relationships. By the same token, merchandising was also a subtle means through which shrewd merchants could legally acquire land and livestock, and exploit these resources for their value in distant markets.

In this chapter, I rely on two types of sources that are uncommon in most historical research: account ledgers and invoice books (see Exhibits 3.1 and 3.22 for examples of these sources). I have exhaustively employed records available from 1878 to 1880 to trace the flow of merchandise, credit, interest, and debt in central New Mexico and eastern Arizona territories. These sources, invaluable to historians, offer a better view of what was bought and sold, who owed money to whom, and how much wealth was accumulating in the region.²¹² The L. & H. Huning records disclose the increasing dependency of rural dwellers on the merchant capitalist, who provided these essential goods and services.

I have assembled an aggregate of 280 customer accounts during this period. The customer names, however, were insufficient in and of themselves. The federal census of 1880 provide the information for the occupations and residences for most of the store’s customers (see Exhibit 3.3 for a facsimile of the census of 1880 in New Mexico). This data is critical for two main reasons. Knowing the customers’ line of work or occupation suggests the different

²¹¹ Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 328.

²¹² Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 269. In this history, Cronon employs probate and bankruptcy records to map the geography of capital in Chicago and the Great West. My use of the L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company business records shares a similar purpose, which is to represent the geography of capital in the southwest hinterlands through the lens of a single creditor.

classes of individuals, such as elite livestock raisers, merchants, large-scale and small-scale farmers, freighters, laborers, and a handful of others, whom L. & H. Huning serviced. Second, it becomes evident that the store was a regional enterprise operating in two federal territories. Western historians have theorized that rural storehouses and “their trade hinterlands extended no more than a couple of miles beyond their own boundaries, approximately the distance customers could travel on horseback and still return home in a single day.”²¹³ This close study of the Huning operation demonstrates that its trade radius extended from Los Lunas 245 miles west to Show Low, Arizona; 84 miles south to San Marcial; 65 miles east to Manzano; and 86 miles north to Santa Fe. Depicting the store’s regional scope geographically, I have also placed customers into nine distinct regions.

²¹³ Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis*, 280.

MAP OF NEW MEXICO.
FOR POOR'S MANUAL OF RAILROADS FOR 1885.

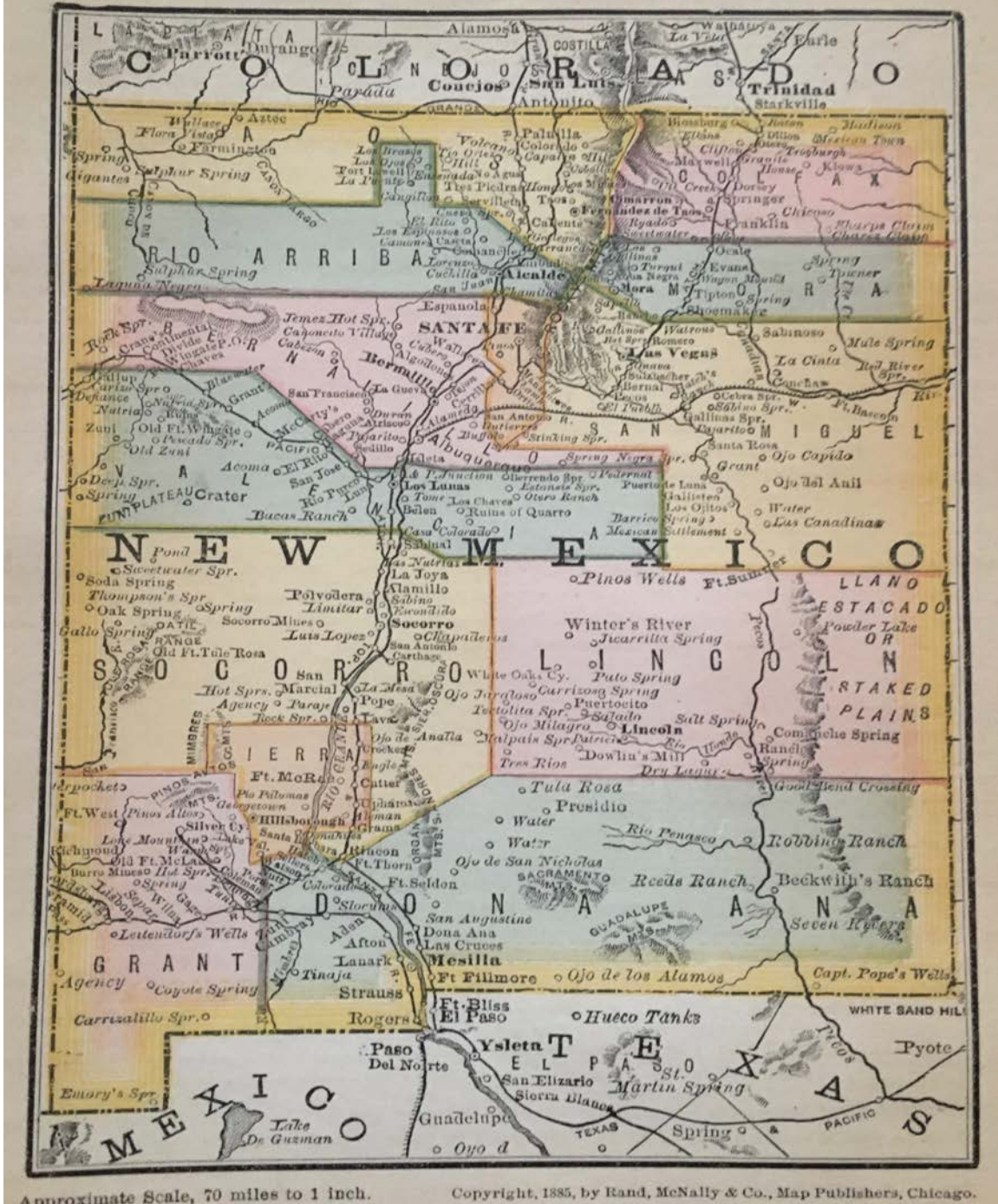
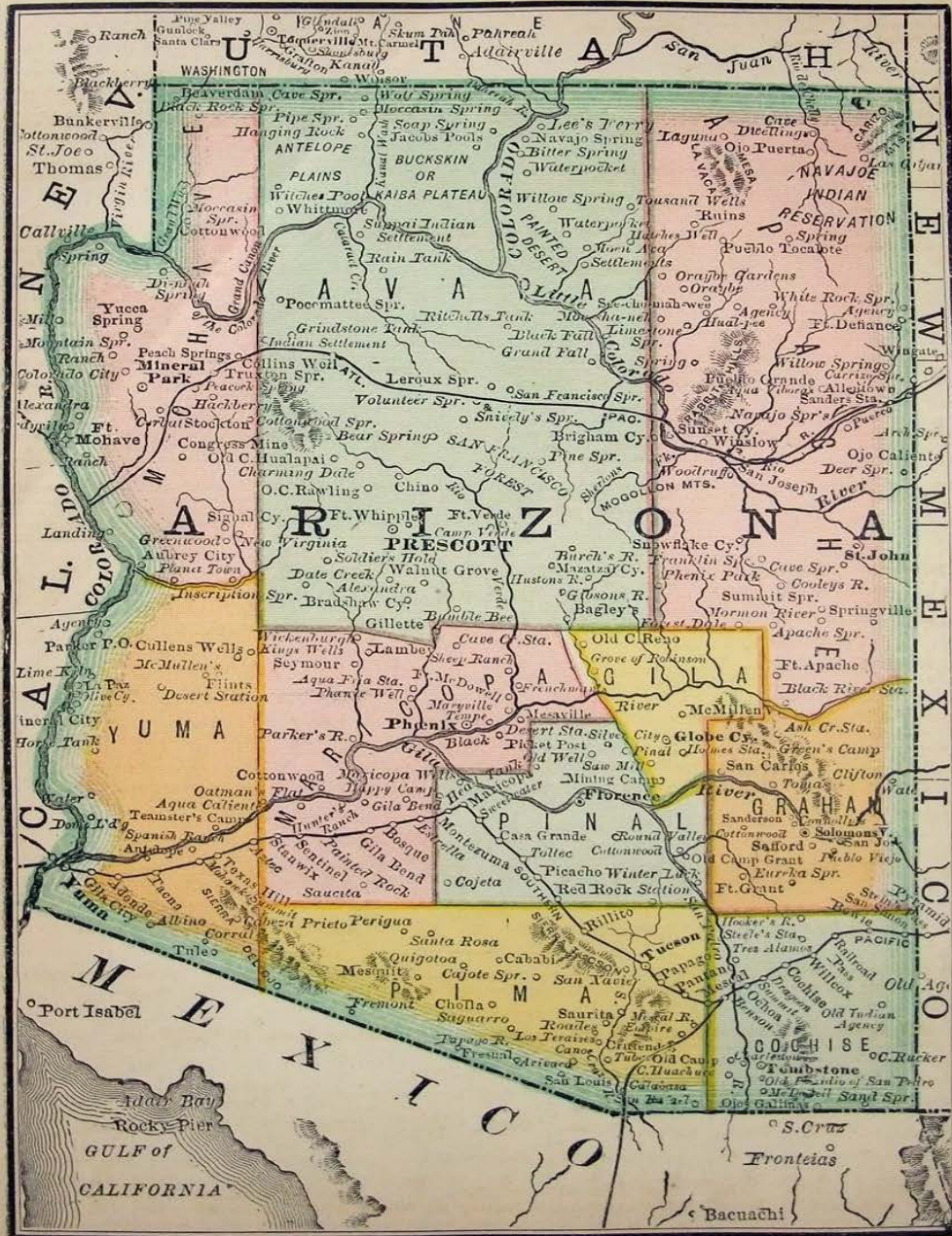


Figure 3.1. Map of New Mexico Territory, *Poor's Manual of Railroads for 1885* (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1885).

MAP OF ARIZONA.

FOR POOR'S MANUAL OF RAILROADS FOR 1885.



Approximate Scale, 70 miles to 1 inch.

Copyright, 1885, by Rand, McNally & Co., Map Publishers, Chicago.

Figure 3.2. Map of Arizona Territory, *Poor's Manual of Railroads for 1885* (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1885).

Region 1 consists of a group of settlements in Valencia County on the west bank of the Rio Grande: Los Lunas, Los Chavez, and Los Lentes. Region 2's settlement lies on the east bank of the river: Tome, Valencia, Peralta, and Los Pinos. Region 3 is comprised of the town of Belen and towns farther south along the Rio Grande corridor: Casa Colorada, Jarales, La Joya, Sabinal, Socorro, and San Marcial. Region 4 is made up of the Pueblo of Isleta, Los Padillas, Pajarito, Albuquerque, and Bernalillo. The hamlets in the far western portion of Valencia County fall into Region 5: Cebolleta, Cubero, San Rafael, and San Mateo. The only town that Huning serviced in eastern Valencia County is Manzano, comprising Region 6. Region 7 is not a region per se, but customers who lived within the boundaries of military forts in Arizona and New Mexico: Fort Apache, Fort Stanton, Fort Tularosa, and Fort Wingate. Region 8 contains settlements in central-eastern Arizona: Randalville, Round Valley, Show Low, Springerville, and St. Johns. Lastly, Region 9 is composed of settlements north of Bernalillo: Las Vegas, San Miguel, and Santa Fe. By grouping customers into regional clusters, this study gains a clearer sense of how the Huning brothers might have envisioned their market reach in terms of space and geography.²¹⁴

For each customer account, I generate a quarterly analysis of wholesale/retail merchandise sales, cash loans, interest charged, and accounts receivable (see Appendix 3.3 for cash loans, Appendix 3.4 for interest charges, Appendix 3.5 for retail accounts receivable, and Appendix 3.6 for wholesale accounts receivable). Merchandise also includes sundries (payments by or to companies that were not regular customers or suppliers), charges for

²¹⁴ Regions 1–6, and 9 lie within New Mexico. Region 8 is located in Arizona. Region 7 encompasses military posts in Arizona and New Mexico. See Figures 3.1 and 3.2 for the location of specific settlements within these enumerated regions.

moving freight, and grinding produce.²¹⁵ Some customers also borrowed cash regularly from the store, receiving either small amounts of currency or drafts. For outstanding debts that continued to accumulate, L. & H. Huning charged interest to penalize customers who were slow to make payments.

The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the economic and social impacts of L. & H. Huning in the regions where it had a commercial presence. Each region will be discussed at length, followed by an examination of the macro-business trends of the concern. Increasing customer debt ultimately compelled the business to turn to wool for its profits.

Region 1, the Command Center of L. & H. Huning: Los Lunas, Los Lentes, and Los Chavez

When the railroad made its way into the territory in 1880, boosters had compiled information about the commercial potential of the Southwest. Originally written for easterners and investors, this literature now provides knowledge about the region's business climate in the early 1880s. Noting that Valencia County was not a bustling mining or timber center, *A Complete Business Directory of New Mexico, and Gazetteer of the Territory for 1882* mentions that "the raising of sheep is the greatest industry of the county. In it is centered a great deal of capital and it gives employment to a large number of people."²¹⁶ In addition, good farmland comparable to that in Socorro and Bernalillo Counties could also be found there: "All of the cereals and vegetables common to the counties just north and south do well here, and the field for gardening and small farming is an inviting and profitable

²¹⁵ Cambridge Dictionaries Online, s.v. "sundries," <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/sundries-account>, Web, accessed 01 June 2016

²¹⁶ Edgar Caypless and William Gillet Ritch, *A Complete Business Directory of New Mexico, and Gazetteer of the Territory for 1882* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing and Publishing Company, 1882), 178.

one.”²¹⁷ Livestock raising and farming, the two staple industries in the county, were most prevalent in and around Los Lunas. Identifying Los Lunas as the county seat and the largest town with a population of two thousand people, the *Business Directory* promoted it as “the commercial center of the county.”²¹⁸ The publication also noted that the town was home to the large livestock owners of the county and was the main depot for shipping stock, wool, and hides. Livestock enterprises, wool production, farming, and freighting—these modes of production were heavily concentrated in this region. With the economy revolving around these occupations, L. & H. Huning was the main storehouse that provided markets, credit, supplies, and capital to stimulate and support these occupations.

According to the census in 1880, the towns of Los Lunas, Los Lentos, and Los Chavez were home to 195 households and 876 residents. From 1878–1880, 78 residents had running accounts at L. & H. Huning. At minimum, 15 stock raisers, 3 merchants, 13 farmers, 13 freighters, and 8 laborers patronized the store. While not everyone in Region I frequented the mercantile—only 40 percent of the heads of household had accounts—the settlements on the west bank of the Rio Grande comprised 43 percent of its total retail business (a total of \$102,077.73 merchandise sales over a three year period) and 14 percent of its sales to other merchants, a total of \$42,225.95 (see Appendix 3.1 and Appendix 3.2). I had expected that L. & H. Huning would have had more retail business in Los Lunas. Trying to account for this discrepancy, I discovered in *The Daily New Mexican* a clue that might offer some explanation. According to the article, “In the plaza there are several very fine residences of modern build, and the fine store of the Luna Brothers, an old, substantial firm, dealing

²¹⁷ Cayless and Ritch, *Complete Business Directory*, 179.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

largely in Santa Fe. Opposite the hotel is the large store and warerooms of L. & H. Huning, extensive merchants and dealers in flour and grain.”²¹⁹ I speculate that J. M. Luna y Brother purchased wholesale goods from nearby L. & H. Huning, and sold these items out of their storehouse to customers who were still on the patron system with the Luna family. It is possible that the Lunas, Romeros, and Jaramillos remained in merchandising on the condition that they bought their inventories from L. & H. Huning.

The elite Hispano and Anglo livestock raisers in Region I, hailing mainly from Los Lunas and Los Chavez, were valuable customers to L. & H. Huning. Also exercising political control at the county level, the sheep kings had access to capital in the form of land and livestock. To establish a mutually beneficial relationship with them, Louis Huning offered them credit and cash loans. Although he probably preferred not to give advances to customers, this practice evolved directly from the provincial conditions of the hinterland trade. From necessity, mercantile stores were *de facto* banking institutions in areas where banks were scarce or nonexistent. For example, Toribio Romero, a livestock raiser, had a \$750.61 store balance at the beginning of 1878. Buying store goods for the next eight months and receiving \$40.00 in loans, he accrued a bill of \$1,529.70. In mid-August, he remunerated Huning by paying \$1,437.50 in sheep. Knowing that Romero was worth the short-term risk for a future gain in sheep holdings, Huning understood that cultivating these types of arrangements with Hispano stock raisers could also benefit him and his business. Given the limited circulation of specie, wool was the next best option for him. Acquiring his own herd of sheep and regularly sending wool to the East, Huning earned his profits by selling retail

²¹⁹ See “From Albuquerque to Los Lunas and Belen,” *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 22 December 1876.

items at markup prices and converting wool into specie or currency in the eastern exchanges.²²⁰

Non-Hispano stock raisers also received similar payment terms. Like all of his customers, they were subject to interest charges if they did not bring their products to the storehouse in a timely manner. Henry Connelly Jr., son of Santa Fe trader and territorial governor Henry Connelly, had been involved in sheep raising since his father's death in 1866. By the end of 1880, Connelly Jr. had purchased \$6,976.35 in merchandise, borrowed \$129.00, and had an ending balance of \$5,225.25. In other words, he bought much more than what he was paying for. Although the Huning's owed their start in the mercantile business to the late governor, this situation caused alarm. In the third quarter of 1878, Connelly Jr. incurred interest charges of \$152.38 for failure to settle his outstanding debts. To reduce his balance, he paid Louis Huning with 6,848 pounds of wool in November 1879, receiving a store credit of \$958.44. This arrangement, however, was still insufficient—he received another interest charge of \$168.93 at the beginning of 1880. Not until mid-September when Connelly Jr. make a substantial payment of \$593.30 (698 sheep at 85 cents per head) did his interest payments come to a momentary halt. Although an extreme example, Connelly Jr.'s case shows that Huning was quite generous to and usually patient with the stock raisers in

²²⁰ Entries for Toribio Romero, pp. 27, 91, 123, 170, 203, 291, 320, 347, 364, 379, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, Huning Mercantile Company Records, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico [hereafter HMCR, CSWR]; and Entry for Toribio Romero, p. 400, L. & H. Huning Journal 1878, folder 1, box 30, HMCR, CSWR.

terms of offering credit services, but he had no qualms about assigning penalties to debtors who were sluggish in meeting the terms of their accounts (see Appendix 3.4).²²¹

German merchants in the Rio Abajo provided commercial and financial services to the politically connected Hispano livestock owners, and Louis Huning's relationship with Jesus Maria Luna exemplifies this dynamic. Born 5 July 1836 in Los Lunas, Luna received his education in Santa Fe; at an early age, he engaged in the sheep business and freighted merchandise from Kansas City to New Mexico and Arizona. He had also been elected sheriff for two terms and was a probate judge at the young age of twenty.²²² Inheriting a sheep empire from his father, he continued to expand the family's power in both sheep and territorial politics. In his memoir, *My Life on the Frontier*, territorial governor Manuel A. Otero II recalled an instance of the Luna family rigging the 1880 territorial delegate election in favor of Tranquilino Luna, a Republican and Jesus Maria's younger brother, at the expense of Otero's father, a rival Democrat. In Valencia County, Otero indignantly wrote: "They voted the sheep. This was one of the most daring and dangerous cases of stealing an election ever perpetrated in New Mexico or elsewhere."²²³ Otero also remarked that Jesus Maria Luna "was the leader in Valencia County and quite a political manipulator."²²⁴ The Lunas, similar to many forward-looking and affluent Hispanos, were conscious of the market forces

²²¹ Entries for Henry Connelly Jr., pp. 21, 102, 151, 178, 179, 250, 276, 298, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; and Entry for Henry Connelly Jr., p. 29, L. & H. Huning Journal 1879-1880, folder 1, box 41, *ibid.*

²²² Haines, *History of New Mexico from the Spanish Conquest to the Present Time*, 348.

²²³ Miguel A. Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, vol. 1, 1864–1882* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1935), 271–72.

²²⁴ Miguel A. Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, vol. 2, 1882–1897* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1939), 213.

that were transforming the territory, and they sought to place themselves and their Republican allies in U.S. Congress. Land speculation in anticipation of railroads, commercial capital, and mining interests—these new forms of capital investment and outside markets could potentially disturb the sheep kingdoms that had characterized the economy since the early Chihuahua Trade.

The Luna family, however, had not abandoned its single-risk investment in sheep and was generally averse to multirisk operations. By 1880, Antonio Jose Luna, the family patriarch, no longer considered himself a merchant as he had in the census of 1860—he was a stock raiser. In fact, this apparent shift in occupations was a return to tradition, for the Hispano sheep families in Valencia County adhered to a conservative business philosophy that regarded wealth as based primarily in land and livestock, not in commercial capital.²²⁵ This reasoning may explain why a rising class of German merchants acceded to the interests of Hispano livestock owners, offering them generous financial terms and assuming the risk of merchandising in return for wool and sheep. By default, merchants such as Louis Huning became purveyors of wool.

One can glimpse this dynamic in Jesus Maria Luna's financial records at L. & H. Huning. Although he operated the J. M. Luna y Brother Mercantile on the Los Lunas Plaza, Luna outfitted the store with wholesale merchandise from Huning and called himself a stock raiser in the census of 1880. At the beginning of 1878, Luna had a modest balance of \$1,471.48; by the end of the year, however, it had increased nearly fivefold to \$6,861.48. On

²²⁵ Jose Leandro Perea and Felipe Chaves are two exceptions to this generalization: "Only those who were major capitalists, like Jose Leandro Perea and Felipe Chavez, had the resources to enjoy continued economic success in a system of such magnitude. Their large holdings, their investment strategies, their diverse businesses, and their connections in St. Louis, New York, and other commercial centers allowed them not only to endure the fluctuations of the territorial economy, but also to enhance their circumstances." Susan Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 108–109.

15 August 1878, he brought two thousand ewes to the store at \$1.60 a head, earning him a store credit of \$3,200. Luna, however, constantly borrowed cash and drafts, using the establishment both as a bank and store. At the end of 1879, he had purchased \$10,513.76 in goods. Slightly reducing his balance in 1880, he delivered in October 1880 three loads of wool that accounted for \$9,786.29. At the end of three years, Luna had bought \$24,566.37 in goods and received \$27,962.85 in cash loans. He was the top cash borrower out of all Huning retail and merchant customers. Considering the low risk that Luna represented, he only paid \$839.21 in interest. In real terms, this interaction between land/livestock-based wealth with the merchant capitalist reveals the way in which Hispanos could also benefit from German merchants for their own ends. The Hispano sheep kings found local credit sources that had not existed before the arrival of the German merchants in Valencia County. In the meantime, Huning augmented his livestock assets (see Appendix 3.3).²²⁶

The livestock owners, an economic class at the top of the social hierarchy, purchased nearly \$61,000 in goods at L. & H. Huning from 1878–1880. The amount they owed the store as a group, however, increased yearly, from \$6,087.41 in 1877 to \$21,932.21 at the end of 1880. Although this debt trend continued upward, Huning's faith in the profitability of wool overrode his more immediate concerns for receiving payments. Considering the sheep kings' influence and their class status in a heavily populated Hispano province, Huning remained their monetary benefactor. He supported their political endeavors, and they backed

²²⁶ "From Albuquerque to Los Lunas and Belen," *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 22 December 1876. Entries for J. M. Luna and Brother, pp. 76, 77, 96, 120, 121, 160, 161, 206, 207, 232, 233, 267, 278, 279, 319, 334, 335, 375, 387, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; Entry for J. M. Luna and Brother, p. 403, L. & H. Huning Journal 1878, folder 1, box 30, *ibid*; Entry for J. M. Luna and Brother, p. 149, L. & H. Huning Journal 1879, folder 1, box 32, *ibid*; and Entries for J. M. Luna and Brother, pp. 622, 631, 639, L. & H. Huning Journal 1880, folder 1, box 41, *ibid*.

his economic pursuits by using his resources to finance their operations and to purchase goods and supplies on a large scale.²²⁷

As the only major wholesale and retail store on the west bank of the Rio Grande, Louis Huning faced no competition from other local merchants. Those present in the area, such as J. M. Luna y Brother, commissioned Huning as their wholesaler. The Neustadt Brothers, three young men in their early twenties, arrived in Los Lunas from Albuquerque in February 1879 and made modest purchases from 1879–1880. The Speare Brothers, listed as merchants in the 1880 census, operated a local hotel and saloon.²²⁸ Borrowing substantially and purchasing nearly \$24,000 of supplies, the Speares owed Louis Huning almost \$4,000 at the end of 1880. On the whole, L. & H. Huning monopolized merchandising in Los Lunas, even serving other merchants as a wholesaler of goods, merchandise, and other supplies crucial to their businesses.²²⁹

L. & H. Huning was also the main market for local crops. Preceding harvest time, farmers bought supplies on credit during planting and growing seasons. Farmers often paid the store in wheat, corn, barley, and hay. Some conveyed wool, skins, pelts, goats, and sheep on partido contracts to supplement their agricultural yields. Bartolo Garcia, a substantial farmer who had \$1,200 in real and personal property according to the census in 1870,

²²⁷ Louis Huning heavily campaigned for Tranquilino Luna in the 1880 election for territorial delegate and supported the Lunas in local county elections. See letter from Louis Huning to Felipe Peralta, 27 June 1878, Los Lunas, New Mexico, box 1, folder 2, Contreras Family Papers, MSS 52 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico [hereafter CFP, CSWR].

²²⁸ Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, vol. 2, 228.

²²⁹ Entries for the Neustadt Brothers, pp. 518, 534, 561, 571, 595, 657, 664, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; and Entries for Speare Brothers, pp. 472, 497, 524, 552, 565, 587, 591, 713, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, *ibid*.

received a \$1,112.10 store credit on 9 September 1879 for conveying his ewes, lambs, and goats to the store. Garcia probably continued to tend to these animals and delivered their skins and wool to the storehouse as payment.

Many Hispano farmers resorted to freighting. Huning's main team of freighters resided in Los Lentos. Juan Jose and Nicolas Aguirre were two such individuals who provided logistical support to the mercantile's shipping operations. They tended to freight in the midsummer, fall, and winter months. Just as farmers often wore two hats, freighters worked as farmers when they were not busy transporting goods. The Aguirres were also lumber suppliers and wheat growers. Juan Saiz, one of the principal farmers in Los Lentos, used freighting to buttress his farming. Freighting and farming were often interchangeable occupations that depended on seasonal factors or opportunities to move goods for merchants. In terms of consumption, the farmers and freighters purchased nearly the same dollar amount of goods over three years: \$11,321.84 and \$11,720.87, respectively (see Appendix 3.1).²³⁰

As a class, laborers bought \$4,693.62 of store products over a three-year interval. Although they occupied a lower rung in the social hierarchy, they used the store in a capacity similar to that of the farmers and freighters. Jose Chavez, a laborer, made his small domestic purchases on credit and serviced his balance by paying \$44.00 on a wool contract. Laborers could sometimes gain employment opportunities at the mercantile, working for anywhere from \$1.00 to \$2.00 a day.²³¹

Opening employment opportunities to Anglos, Germans, and Hispanos alike, Louis Huning's labor policy was progressive. Demetrio Ballejos, a thirty-five-year-old Hispano

²³⁰ Entry for Bartolo Garcia, p. 565, L. & H. Huning Journal 1878, folder 1, box 30, HMCR, CSWR.

²³¹ Entry for Jose Chavez, p. 575, L. & H. Huning Journal 1878, folder 1, box 30, HMCR, CSWR.

male from Los Lunas, received nearly \$103 a month for his services as a clerk. Jose Castillo, a forty-four-year-old widower in 1880, garnered approximately \$465.56 in wages every three months. J. A. Gingras and Conrad Kamps, the store's bookkeepers, earned nearly \$60 per month. On 31 March 1880, Huning terminated the services of Kamps and hired Paul D. Stone, a Londoner, who had made his way from to the British Isles to the Far Southwest. Louis Funke and Robert Mcuiston, the millers at Champions Mill, were also beneficiaries of these more-than-adequate financial arrangements with workers. Funke, the mill overseer, earned nearly \$179 in monthly wages during 1880. In contrast, Las Vegas merchant Charles Ilfeld paid his clerks a mere \$15 to \$20 a month. Ilfeld's biographer, William Parish, noted that paying bottom wages was "typical of the sedentary merchant." This statement is inaccurate in Huning's case, for he mentored these young men, especially to Ballejos and Castillo, who were apprenticing in a commercial trade. Fostering their development, Huning generously remunerated them. Even more significant, a racial wage gap was absent in Huning's store. He paid Anglos, Germans, and Hispanos at the same rate for similar work.²³²

The main problem that Region I posed to L. & H. Huning was that collection proved to be protracted and slow. The account receivables for Region I grew yearly: \$15,950.98 at the end of 1877; \$18,657.23 in 1878; \$27,265.42 in 1879; and \$34,535.71 in 1880 (see Appendix 3.5 and Appendix 3.6). Customer indebtedness more than doubled in a three-year period. Although Region I ranked highest in consumption, it also generated the highest

²³² Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, 88. Entries for Demetrio Ballejos, p. 41, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; Entries for Jose Castillo, p. 175, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, *ibid*; Entries for J. A. Gingras, pp. 83, 185, 251, 297, 352, 378, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, *ibid*; Entries for Conrad Kamps, pp. 78, 79, 239, 685, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, *ibid*; Entries for Paul D. Stone, p. 264, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, *ibid*; and Entries for Louis Funke, p. 389, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, *ibid*.

account receivables. L. & H. Huning experienced troubles collecting payment from its most voluminous customers. Although Region 1 was the command center of the storehouse, merchants and customers residing there probably caused the most headaches for the partnership. Selling merchandise was fundamentally not a paying proposition for Huning in Los Lunas, Los Chavez, and Los Lentes. Customer indebtedness made land and wool into methods of payment. By the early 1890s, Louis Huning was the largest landowner in Valencia County.²³³

Region 2, Supply Base for L. & H. Huning's Flour Contracts: Los Pinos, Peralta, Tome, and Valencia

Farming was a vital component of social and economic life on the east bank of the Rio Grande. In Peralta, “inhabitants are all engaged in stock raising and farming. This and the surroundings townships contain many thousand sheep and numerous vineyards, orchards, etc.”²³⁴ Peralta and Los Pinos had been centers of mercantile activity for the Chavez, Connelly, and Otero merchant families during the Mexican and early American territorial periods, but the region in the 1870s and early 1880s had given way to “intensive farming in the valley and indirectly the ranching further out on the mesas.”²³⁵ This transition from a commerce-oriented region, heavily dominated by experienced traders, to one predicated on agrarian activity is reflected in the L. & H. Huning business records. Thirty-two out of the

²³³ Richard Melzer, “Who Owned the Most Property in the County in 1892?” *Valencia County (N.Mex.) News-Bulletin*, 14 January 1999.

²³⁴ Caypless and Ritch, *Complete Business Directory*, 183.

²³⁵ Alexander, *Among the Cottonwoods*, 183.

store's sixty-three patrons in Region 2 were listed as farmers in the federal census taken in 1880.²³⁶

Region 2's farmers purchased just over \$17,000 worth of merchandise from 1878–1880, encompassing nearly half of the store's retail sales in Valencia, Peralta, Tome, and Los Pinos (see Appendix 3.1). A significant number of farmers traveled west across the river to sell their produce in Los Lunas. The farming population paid for goods with wool, wheat, hay, corn, grapes, beans, chile, cattle, pelts, oxen, or sometimes even freighting for the store, or in some rare circumstances, the farmers paid in specie. The two most-substantial farmers who visited the Huning establishment in Los Lunas were Antonio Salazar and Miguel Sedillo, both from Tome. Sedillo had a balance of \$19.90 at the beginning of 1878. Using L. & H. Huning as a source of credit, Sedillo purchased \$2,120.47 in goods for three years. At the end of 1880, he had borrowed \$41.85 and ended with a balance of \$501.52. Sedillo incurred no interest but rendered his account for over 75 percent of his purchases by freighting for Louis Huning from 27 July 1878 to 4 October 1880.²³⁷

Salazar relied on Huning in a similar manner. On 12 May 1879, Salazar brought 48,445 pounds of wheat to Huning, and he received 1.6 cents per pound on 12,500 pounds of wheat; 2 cents per pound on 33,332 pounds; and, 1.5 cents per pound on 2,623 pounds,

²³⁶ As a whole, Region 2 contains thirty-two farmers, two attorneys, two shepherders, two laborers, two clerks, two females “keeping house,” one priest, one miller, one stock raiser, one dentist, one carpenter, one freighter, one at-home male, one rancher, one schoolteacher, and twelve unknowns. I was unable to locate the latter due to unavailable information or was not able to find these individuals in the census of 1870 or 1880. I located their residences on the ledger pages, some which indicate a customer's residence, or they were listed in the Champions Mill ledgers. See Valencia County, New Mexico, Federal Census, r. 804, microfilm (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1887), *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, microcopy T9, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

²³⁷ Entries for Miguel Sedillo, pp. 411, 450, 470, 503, 521, 535, 561, 580, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

receiving a total of \$905.98 in store credit. On the same day, the Hunings signed supply contracts with Forts Marcy and Stanton to deliver 17,000 pounds of flour at 4.5 cents per pound and 17,000 pounds of flour at 5 cents per pound, respectively. Although responsible for rendering the wheat into flour and transporting the product to Santa Fe and Lincoln County, the Hunings made a modest profit from this transaction with Salazar. While Salazar depended on the mercantile to market his commodities, the merchants also relied on Salazar for fulfilling their flour contracts.²³⁸

L. & H. Huning sold \$9,104.92 in merchandise to three small-scale merchants in Region 2: Laureano Jaramillo from Tome, Jose E. Chavez from Valencia, and Vicente Lujan from Valencia (see appendix 3.2). Running a small operation in Valencia, Lujan paid for his stock of goods by freighting and supplying wheat for Huning's military contracts. On 31 August 1878, Lujan exchanged 12,246 pounds of wheat at 2 cents per pound for \$244.92 in store credit. From 13 July through 15 September, Huning had an obligation to fulfill a contract of 13,000 pounds of flour at 4.78 cents per pound at Fort Wingate. He satisfied most of the commodity for that arrangement with the aid of Lujan. Polonio Castillo provided the remainder on the previous date by bringing 770 pounds of wheat for \$15.40 in store credit. Paying his vendors \$260.32, Huning received \$621.40 in subsidies for this contract.

Although only reaping a modest return if freight charges and milling are placed into the

²³⁸ In the third quarter of 1878, Salazar acquired \$1,635.10 in merchandise. In 1879, his account balance increased to \$862.34 from just \$66.34 during the previous year. Although he borrowed \$251.00 in the first quarter of 1879, Salazar managed to avoid interest fines. In obtaining \$4,451.16 in supplies over a period of three years, Salazar had a balance of \$930.44 at the end of 1880, thus accounting for nearly eighty percent of his store acquisitions by cash, freight, and wheat. See entries for Antonio Salazar, pp. 421, 448, 477, 579, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

equation, the pattern that emerges is that smaller merchants were also a supply source; in return, they received advances on items that they could sell in their retail stores.²³⁹

Region 2 became critical on the supply side for military contracting. As a whole, the region had faded in importance as a locus of trade, especially in Los Pinos and Peralta.

Manuel R. Otero, Jose Francisco Chaves, and the Connelly brothers did not follow the career of their fathers in merchandising. Otero, son of Peralta miller and merchant Antonio Jose Otero, was a rancher and probate clerk; Chaves pursued politics and law in lieu of following the path of his father, trader Mariano Chaves; and Henry Connelly Jr. was a sheep raiser in Los Lunas while Julian Connelly had farmed in Los Pinos on the Connelly estate.²⁴⁰

Commercial power was shifting from the older centers of trade to Los Lunas. This phenomenon can be illustrated in examining the buying patterns of J. Francisco Chaves.

Born on 27 June 1833 in Los Padillas, New Mexico, J. Francisco Chaves was the product of a marriage that personified Hispano wealth in sheep and commerce on the Santa Fe and Chihuahua Trail.²⁴¹ His father, Mariano Chaves, was an active merchant during the Mexican era. In one of her diary entries in 1846, Susan Shelby Magoffin, wife of Anglo trader Samuel Magoffin, wrote: “[Mariano Chaves] was one of the chief men in New Mexico till his death, about a year since. His wealth was immense, and his lands (for Mexico) were

²³⁹ Entries for Vicente Lujan, pp. 3, 483, 570, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; and Entry for Polonio Castillo, p. 437, L. & H. Huning Journal 1878, folder 1, box 30, *ibid*.

²⁴⁰ “The Oteros were among the leaders in establishing direct commercial relations with the United States before the Mexican War.” Susan Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 90.

²⁴¹ Tobias Duran, “‘Brutal y Cobarde...’ The Murder of a Rio Abajo Politician,” email to author; Maurilio E. Vigil, *Los Patronos: Profiles of Hispanic Political Leaders in New Mexico History* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980), 56–61; and Lynn I. Perigo, *Hispanos: Historic Leaders in New Mexico* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Sunstone Press, 1985), 53–55.

improved accordingly.”²⁴² Chaves’s mother, Dolores Perea, was a descendant of the prominent Perea family, which had extensive sheep and land holdings in Bernalillo. Heeding the advice of his father to learn Anglo ways and undertake an American education in St. Louis, Chaves was told to “learn their language and come back prepared to defend your people.”²⁴³ While many scholars have interpreted this paternal injunction to protect all New Mexicans from the onslaught of Anglo newcomers to the Southwest, the class dimension to this advice that has been overlooked. The deeper layer of meaning was a suggestion for his son to learn to operate the levers of power in the U.S. political and legal system, so that affluent Hispano sheep ranchers and traders, like the Chaves family, could retain their economic and political influence.

Chaves took his father’s advice to heart. Perhaps no other New Mexican of his generation had such a distinguished career. He attended a Jesuit college in St. Louis and studied medicine in New York. Returning to New Mexico in 1852, Chaves led militia campaigns against the Navajos. In 1861, he was commissioned a major of Union Volunteers in New Mexico during the Civil War (probably due to the influence of his stepfather, Gov. Henry Connelly) and was promoted to lieutenant colonel before the end of the conflict. Chaves became a practicing lawyer in New Mexico and served as district attorney for the Second Judicial District from 1875 to 1877. From 1875 until his death in 1904, he sat on the New Mexico Territorial Council. In the midst of all these diverse undertakings, Chaves continued to raise sheep and livestock from his family’s compound in Los Pinos. Other

²⁴² Susan Shelby Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847*, ed. Stella M. Drumm (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 153–54.

²⁴³ Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexico History*, vol. 2, 400.

authors have written on Chaves's life, but few have addressed his financial deterioration over the span of his career. One of his biographers notes: "Later in his life, Chaves's assets were greatly reduced. Stories and rumors say that Chaves gambled heavily, creating debts and mortgages that could not be repaid."²⁴⁴

J. Francisco Chaves's account at L. & H. Huning sheds light on his financial straits. At the start of 1878, he held a balance of \$5,888.24 at the store. In that year alone, he purchased \$6,610.45 in goods. His most-substantial payments were made on 11 June 1878 for 2,479 sheep at \$1.20 per head and 9 November for 12,587 pounds of wool at 9 cents per pound. At the end of 1878, his store balance amounted to \$7,891.77. On 24 September 1879, Chaves signed over property for \$1,000 worth of store credit. The memorandum for the invoice book reads "by sale of house." At the end of 1880, the politician still had an outstanding balance of \$7,677.72. It was not until July 1881 that he settled his account with a note for \$7,782.52. Of all retail customers, Chaves was the second-largest purchaser at the storehouse after Jesus Maria Luna. In a span of three years, he had outfitted himself with \$8,504.64 in merchandise and borrowed \$273.90.²⁴⁵

Although Chaves wielded immense political power in the territory and in Valencia County, he was not immune from the allure of buying goods on credit and suffering the financial consequences. Quite similar to the buying habits of Jesus Maria Luna, Chaves also landed himself in a quandary that compelled him to sign over sheep and, in his case, property. *El colonel* incurred substantial debts and paid the price by losing a home. Despite

²⁴⁴ Alexander, *Among the Cottonwoods*, 248.

²⁴⁵ Entries for J. Francisco Chaves, pp. 24, 25, 108, 130, 131, 172, 173, 230, 231, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; Entries for J. Francisco Chaves, pp. 281, 625, L. & H. Huning Journal, 1878, folder 1, box 30, *ibid.*; and Entry for J. Francisco Chaves, p. 598, L. & H. Huning Journal, 1879, folder 1, box 3, *ibid.*

this situation, Chaves and Louis Huning maintained a cordial relationship. When Huning sat on the Valencia County Commission in 1884, he appointed Chaves as a legal advisor to the county's residents.²⁴⁶ Chaves also represented the Huning Brothers in their civil law suits against Jesus Maria Luna and the Speare Brothers.²⁴⁷ Huning employed Chaves for his political and legal influence. Although Chaves mastered territorial politics and the American legal system, he never developed the economic savvy necessary to preserve his family's commercial empire and sheep assets.

In all, retail purchases in Region 2 decreased over a three-year period: \$15,849.92 in 1878; \$11,370.76 in 1879; and \$9,403.02 in 1880 (see Appendix 3.1). The account receivables generally increased: \$9,059.86 at the end of 1877; \$12,474.44 in 1878; \$14,366.21 in 1879; and \$14,268.76 in 1880 (see Appendices 3.5 and 3.6). Collection, however, also proved problematic in this sector. In essence Valencia, Tome, Peralta, and Los Pinos were important communities to the Huning business, for these settlements provided produce for military contracts and they were markets for store merchandise. By 1878, the commercial power that the Connelly, Otero, and Chaves clans once wielded in the Mexican era and early American period had passed into the hands of L. & H. Huning.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ Alexander, *Among the Cottonwoods*, 245.

²⁴⁷ *L. & H. Huning vs. Speare Brothers*, 1884, Civil Case #00820, collection 1976-031, Records of the United States Territorial and New Mexico District Courts for Socorro County, series 6, Civil Case Files Box, Case Numbers: 795-836, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe; and *L. & H. Huning vs. Jesus Maria Luna*, 1887, United States Territorial and New Mexico Supreme Court Records, series 1, Territorial Supreme Court Cases, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe.

²⁴⁸ "Some New Mexican merchants abandoned full-time commercial operations. Instead, they may have turned their attention to facilitating the careers of their sons. Others channeled their energies into agricultural activities, supplying army posts with flour, grains, and hay, while allowing their sons to acquire experience in commercial enterprises requiring more limited capital, such as freighting." Susan Boyle, *Los Capitalistas*, 105.

Region 3, the South Central Rio Grande Corridor: Belen, Jarales, Sabinal, La Joya, Socorro, and San Marcial

Before Louis Huning acquired Erhardt Franz's store in Los Lunas in 1871, he had managed a mercantile in Belen and was familiar with the nearby retail and wholesale markets. As late as 1870, he was still residing in Belen with his domestic servant and future clerk, Demetrio Ballejos.²⁴⁹ Eight years later, Huning had moved to Los Lunas, yet he managed to retain clientele in Region 3. Similar to other Valencia County settlements, Belen, Casa Colorada, Jarales, and Sabinal were suitable for wheat farming. Land in La Joya, Socorro, and San Marcial in Socorro County was undergoing cultivation for similar purposes. "From the northern to the southern border of the county, along the valley of the Rio Grande," according to the *New Mexico Directory and Gazetteer*, "there is found but little soil which cannot be farmed successfully."²⁵⁰ Boosters endorsed Socorro as "The Granary of Central New Mexico."²⁵¹ Notwithstanding some embellishment by fanciful promoters, the agriculture dominated Region 3. Despite growing competition from other merchants, Huning still received farm products in the region through wholesale and retail commerce.

Farmers were the principal retail customers along the south-central Rio Grande corridor. They purchased just over \$25,000 in supplies over three years (see Appendix 3.1). They exchanged corn, wheat, wool, and freighting services for merchandise. Alvino Contreras and Mariano Baca, the two main farmers in the region, resided in La Joya. In 1878,

²⁴⁹ Valencia County, New Mexico, Federal Census, *Tenth Census of the United States*, microcopy 593, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, NARA, Washington, D.C.

²⁵⁰ Caypless and Ritch, *Complete Business Directory*, 150.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 150.

both individuals delivered wheat and transported freight to aide Huning in fulfilling his supply contracts. On 5 September 1878, Contreras transported 26,261 pounds of freight from El Morro to Camp Apache at a going rate of 3 cents per pound. During this time, Huning had a contract to supply 60,000 pounds of flour to Camp Apache, and it was probably for this order that Contreras provided a freight service. At the end of the month, Contreras took 39,243 pounds of “good wheat” to Louis Huning at a rate of 2 cents per pound, and he received an \$800 bill of goods on the same day. Contreras’s wheat supply could have been used for the Camp Apache or the Fort Craig flour contracts.²⁵²

Mainly a farmer, Mariano Baca also performed a role similar to Contreras’s. Five days after Contreras’s trip, Baca agreed to freight 13,067 pounds of flour at 3 cents per pound to Camp Apache. For a \$3,108 contract with Camp Apache, Huning spent \$1,179.84 on freighting two-thirds of the product, which includes neither his purchase from the suppliers nor his mill expenses. This evidence shows that contracts did not always yield high profits for the military contractor/middleman. Even so, Baca also brought his wheat surplus to Huning. On 11 September 1878, Baca arrived with 10,169 pounds of wheat at two cents per pound, and this load could have either been used for the Fort Craig or Camp Apache contracts. The business activities of Contreras and Baca demonstrate that farmers were versatile actors, performing the dual functions of grower and freighter to acquire dry goods and groceries from the merchant whom they chose to engage in business in a cash-scarce economy.²⁵³

²⁵² Entries for Alvino Contreras, pp. 8, 326, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; and Entries for Alvino Contreras, pp. 452 and 570, L. & H. Huning Journal, 1878, folder 1, box 30, *ibid*.

²⁵³ Entries for Mariano Baca, pp. 465, 467, L. & H. Huning Journal 1878, folder 1, box 30, HMCR, CSWR.

Huning employed four freighters from Region 3: Jesus Maria Sanchez y Luna, Epifanio Martinez, Juan de Jesus Sanchez, and Jose Lino Sanchez. The latter individual, a freighter residing in Sabinal, received transportation assignments from 3 May 1878 through 26 August 1880. On 23 October 1878, Sanchez received \$511.48 for freighting produce from El Morro to Camp Apache. In return, he procured small stocks of goods for domestic needs.²⁵⁴

In addition to the freighters, ten individuals identified as laborers in the census of 1880, appear on the customer accounts. Jose Seferino Saiz, a farm laborer residing in Socorro County in 1880, established a relationship with Huning probably through the influence of his family, which lived in Los Lentos. Saiz acquired a large consignment of merchandise in 1879 and remunerated Huning with \$803.16 in notes in mid-1880. Laborers often acquired their goods by exchanging wool, hides, pelts, freighting, and some cash.²⁵⁵

Not exactly fitting into the strata of stock raisers, farmers, freighters, or laborers, Catholic priests were also valuable customers. In a region heavily Catholic, Louis Huning, a Protestant, was shrewd to acquire the business of the clergy. Rev. Eugenio Paulet of Belen, Rev. Miguel Rolly of Sabinal, Rev. Benito Bernard of Socorro, and Rev. Jean-Baptise Ralliere of Tome kept accounts with L. & H. Huning during these years. In the third quarter of 1880, Rolly even borrowed \$97.83 from the store. While it may appear trivial that priests frequented the store, their patronage signaled to the Catholic communities along the Rio Grande that the German merchants, who were mostly Protestant, could be trusted in earthly

²⁵⁴ Entry for Jose Lino Sanchez, p. 424, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

²⁵⁵ Entry for Jose Seferino Saiz, p. 675, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

matters despite the ostensible religious differences. Merchant capitalism, at least as practiced by the Hunings, observed no religious distinctions between the Catholics and Protestants in New Mexico.²⁵⁶

The group of merchants in Region 3 was a diverse cohort of Germans and Hispanos who exercised considerable economic power in the region. Acting as a local wholesaler, Louis Huning sold them a total of \$81,444.41 in store goods over three years (see Appendix 3.2). These proprietors had modest-to-large businesses in Belen, La Joya, Paraje, Socorro, and San Marcial. Many of them were also supply sources and freight-team organizers for government contracts.

Immediately after Louis Huning obtained the Los Lunas store in 1871, Erhardt Franz had recommended his cousin, John Becker, to clerk for Huning.²⁵⁷ The latter placed Becker in the Belen store as his main clerk in 1871. By as late as 1876, L. & H. Huning had added Becker as a store partner, as revealed by the letterhead they used during the time period.²⁵⁸ Becker managed the Huning interests there until 1877. Felipe Chaves, a wealthy Hispano trader and wholesaler who resided in Belen, must have taken notice of Becker's talent and ambition. Writing a letter to solicit business from Chaves in February 1876, Becker offered to send "a dispatch to Santa Fe or anywhere else, it shall be sent free of charge."²⁵⁹

Eventually providing the financial backing to help Becker open his own storehouse in 1877,

²⁵⁶ Entry for Reverend Rolly, p. 420, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

²⁵⁷ Margaret Espinosa-McDonald, "*Vamos Todos a Belen*," 35.

²⁵⁸ L. & H. Huning and Becker to Felipe Chavez, 24 February 1876, Belen, New Mexico, folder 43, box 1, Felipe Chaves Family Papers, MSS10 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Chaves presented him with the necessary capital to leave the Huning fold. From the records, Chaves and Louis Huning had minimal transactions. While Becker was still a partner in 1876, the firm sold Chaves 2,000 pounds of flour “for which you [Chaves] may send any time.”²⁶⁰ Felipe Chaves, however, did not have an account ledger page at Los Lunas before or after this transaction. In 1878, the newly independent Becker made modest store purchases from Huning. Each year, however, they sharply declined.

Not all hope was lost in losing the Belen wholesale market. In 1877, Oscar Gobel, a German merchant, was promoted to Becker’s position in the Huning operation. In 1878, Huning sold \$8,379.42 of merchandise at the Belen store. A year later, there were no further sales, and the Belen store closed by the end of the year. According to the Belen accounts receivable page, Huning sold the establishment to Gobel on 21 September 1878. They apparently agreed to a sale price of \$9,974.20. After closing out the account, Huning netted a profit of \$1,057.14. On that particular day, Gobel received \$1,427.50 in his last store wages and authored a note for \$9,974.20, on which he continued to make annual payments.²⁶¹ It was probably on that day that Gobel became a sole proprietor in Belen.²⁶²

From that time forward, Huning’s previous branch manager began acquiring his own stock of goods, beginning with a \$1,374.41 “bill of goods” in mid-October. Gobel often paid

²⁶⁰ L. & H. Huning and Becker to Felipe Chavez, 8 September 1876, Belen, New Mexico, folder 43, box 1, Felipe Chaves Family Papers, CSWR.

²⁶¹ On 21 September 1878, Gobel made a payment of \$2,335.24. On 20 September 1879, Gobel made an additional one of \$1,782.20, and he also paid \$300.00 in house rent. Apparently, Gobel was occupying the old Huning quarters in Belen. On 15 October 1880, Gobel paid another \$1,336.10 on the note. By the end of 1880, Gobel had a remaining note of \$4,520.66. See entries for Oscar Gobel, pp. 154, 215, 264, 316, 355, 394, 436, 704, 721, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; and Entry for Oscar Gobel, p. 545, folder 1, box 32, L. & H. Huning Journal, 1879, *ibid*.

²⁶² Entries for Store in Belen, pp. 70–71, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

with freight, cash, wheat, and grapes, or on sundries accounts. Organizing freighting trips to army forts on behalf of Huning, Gobel earned \$533.06 in credit for providing freight teams and produce for a bran delivery to Fort Wingate in September 1880. Remaining loyal to his previous employer and benefactor, Gobel continued to use Huning as his wholesaler. In three years, Gobel purchased \$38,355.59 in merchandise. He was the top wholesale customer out of all regions from 1878 to 1880. He also borrowed heavily from Huning and obtained \$424.05 in cash. Although incurring \$223.46 in interest for the note he received in September 1879, Gobel remained Huning's main outlet for merchandise in Belen. Gobel, interestingly, continued to use the L. & H. Huning letterhead in 1880.²⁶³ He probably continued to operate under that banner until he paid off his note. Although Louis Huning had gained his firsthand experience of Valencia County markets during his time in Belen from 1864 to 1871, his direct influence in Belen had begun to wane toward the end of 1880.²⁶⁴

The La Joya and Socorro wholesale markets, however, had not yet been deluged with other ambitious German or other merchants. Local Hispano merchants continued to operate their retail stores and buy their goods from regional wholesalers, such as L. & H. Huning. In fact, Huning cultivated a commercial relationship and personal friendship with Felipe Peralta, a well-known general merchant in La Joya. Born on 18 September 1836 in La Joya, Peralta was an heir to the La Joya de Sevilleta Land Grant.²⁶⁵ During his late twenties, he

²⁶³ Receipt from Oscar Gobel to Felipe Chavez, 6 March 1880, Belen, New Mexico, Felipe Chaves Papers, box 1, folder 43, CSWR.

²⁶⁴ Entries for Oscar Gobel, pp. 154, 215, 264, 316, 355, 394, 436, 704, 721, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; and Entry for Oscar Gobel, p. 545, L. & H. Huning Journal, 1879, folder 1, box 32, *ibid*.

²⁶⁵ Jose R. Baca, "Felipe Peralta versus the United States: The La Joya de Sevilleta Land Grant" (unpublished manuscript, 9 December 1985), PDF file, 23.

became a first lieutenant in Company G, First Regiment, Third Division of the New Mexico Militia during the Civil War.²⁶⁶ After serving in the Union campaigns against the Confederacy in New Mexico, Peralta entered the mercantile business. According to the census of 1870, his real and personal property assets totaled \$1,500.00. His biographer, Jose R. Baca, writes: “Felipe’s closest business associate was Louis Huning of Los Lunas. [They] exchanged letters in Spanish on a regular basis.”²⁶⁷

Peralta’s business records confirm that he had a close relationship with Huning from as early as 1872 to the late 1880s. The early letters exchanged between them show that Peralta supplied corn and sent consignments of wheat to his wholesaler.²⁶⁸ Upon hearing a rumor in 1873 that Peralta no longer wished to send him wheat, Huning dispatched a frenzied letter to his associate. “Is it true,” Huning inquired, “that you do not want to bring me more wheat? I hope that you bring me all the wheat you have at the cheapest price available. I will go to La Joya if that would make it easier.”²⁶⁹ Despite this apparent misunderstanding, they continued to execute transactions and exchanges. In mid-July 1877, Huning informed Peralta, “I will leave in the morning to visit you, but it’s easier if we stay tomorrow night at Mariano Baca’s residence, because I doubt that my wife will want to make the trip directly from Los Lunas to La Joya in one day.”²⁷⁰ In the twilight of her life, Henrika Busch-Huning recalled

²⁶⁶ Baca, “Felipe Peralta,” 9.

²⁶⁷ Baca, “Felipe Peralta,” 10.

²⁶⁸ Louis Huning to Felipe Peralta, 12 November 1872 and 21 November 1872, Los Lunas, New Mexico, folder 2, box 1, CFP, CSWR.

²⁶⁹ “Supe que usted no me quiere traer mas trigo, es asi? Deseo que me traiga todo el trigo que tiene lo mas barato que pueda....por que es posible que yo vaya para alla. Muy alto respecto, su amigo, Louis Huning.” Louis Huning to Felipe Peralta, 26 November 1873, Los Lunas, New Mexico, folder 2, box 1, CFP, CSWR.

²⁷⁰ “Saldré en la mañana a visitarle, pero es fácil que nos quedarnos mañana en la noche en la casa de Don Mariano, por que lo duda que mi esposa avante es de aquí hasta La Jolla. Con muchas saludes, su amigo,

their stay with the Peralta family: “Visit to La Jolla (sic) to the house of Felipe Peralta for 3 or 4 days. Screens were unknown, so during the meal 3 or 4 boys with feather dusters stood back of the chairs to ‘shoo’ the flies away. Everything was immaculate. When a servant was wanted you would clap your hands and a servant would appear. La Jolla was a very quaint little village.”²⁷¹ While the purpose of this stay is unknown, it is evident that Peralta courted his wholesaler and was more than likely the patron of La Joya, given that he possessed domestic servants. No other evidence suggests that Louis Huning stayed at any of his other customers’ residences for an extended period of time.

Peralta was Huning’s second largest merchant in Region 3. Peralta purchased \$18,306.62 in goods and borrowed \$112 from 1878 to 1880. In return for goods, the La Joya merchant supplied substantial volumes of produce and provided freighting services for Huning. On 26 March 1878, Peralta delivered 14,978 pounds of corn to his wholesaler, receiving a \$308.61 credit for 2 cents per pound. This corn was probably used to complete a contract at Fort Craig for 100,000 pounds of corn at 2.9 cents per pound. Thereafter, Huning debited Peralta for a bill of merchandise priced at \$1,158.33. In early October, Peralta conveyed 91,610 pounds of wheat to Huning at 2 cents per pound, and this batch probably made its way to either Fort Wingate or Camp Apache. In early 1879, Peralta received \$1,001.69 in credit for freighting corn to Fort Wingate. Not holding a corn contract that year, Huning was a subcontractor for Z. Staab and Bro., a Santa Fe–based firm. The former charged Staab \$1,142.28 for the freighting services of Peralta. While Peralta’s biographer is

Louis Huning.” Louis Huning to Felipe Peralta, 12 July 1877, Los Lunas, New Mexico, folder 2, box 1, Contreras Family Papers, folder 2, box 1, CSWR.

²⁷¹ Drew, *Henrika Busch Huning*, 3.

uncertain whether Peralta cultivated wheat himself or obtained it through his store, a delivery in November 1879 confirms that he acquired his wheat through multiple farmers in the vicinity of La Joya. For a delivery of 86,954 pounds of wheat, eleven different individuals conveyed the product at the time of sale. Since Peralta received credit for this transaction, he more than likely had pre-existing arrangements with these farmers. By attracting produce grown by La Joya farmers in exchange for retail merchandise at his store, Peralta used these same agricultural goods to acquire wholesale stock from Louis Huning. Peralta was clearly the principal merchant in La Joya, and he was also a conduit through which Huning exercised his commercial influence in the wholesale market of northern Socorro County.²⁷²

The Baca merchant family of Socorro heavily patronized L. & H. Huning. Juan Jose Baca, Leandro Baca, and Pedro A. Baca were engaged in the mercantile business in the town of Socorro prior to the railroad and the mining boom that followed. In total, they purchased \$13,177.26 worth of merchandise from 1878 to 1880. Many of the Bacas had moved south from Belen into the town of Socorro, and they rose to commercial notoriety. Juan Jose Baca occupied a two-story storehouse on the plaza, and Pedro A. Baca was the county probate clerk from 1872 to 1873.²⁷³ Leandro Baca's acquisitions, however, comprised nearly 75 percent of sales to the Baca merchants. Born in La Joya on 8 March 1851, Leandro was introduced to the freighting business at an early age. His father, Tomas Baca, "was a farmer, freighter, and stock raiser, and freighted on the Santa Fe Trail to Kansas City, [to]

²⁷² Entries for Felipe Peralta, pp. 67, 199, 477, 531, 567, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; Entries for Felipe Peralta, pp. 146, 521, L. & H. Huning Journal 1878, folder 1, box 30, *ibid*; Entry for Felipe Peralta, p. 376, L. & H. Huning Journal, 1879, folder 1, box 32, *ibid*; Entry for Felipe Peralta, p. 10, L. & H. Huning Journal, 1880, folder 1, box 41, *ibid*.

²⁷³ George D. Torok, *From the Pass to the Pueblos: El Camino de Tierra Adentro Historic Trail* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2011), 150; and George B. Anderson, *History of New Mexico: Its Resources and People* (Los Angeles: Pacific Publishing Co., 1907), 611.

Leavenworth, and to California, making these trips in 1848 to sell sheep, in company with Governor [Miguel A.] Otero's father. The round trip required fourteen months." Following in his father's footsteps, Leandro freighted to "Kit Carson, Tucson, Fort Wingate, and the White Mountains."²⁷⁴ Some of Baca's freighting was done on behalf of Louis Huning. Although the records do not indicate the delivery location, Baca freighted nearly 75,000 pounds of freight for Huning in 1878.²⁷⁵ Two years later, he transported 66,558 pounds of cargo to Berardo Frayre in Apache County. As we will see in a discussion of Region 8, some members of the Baca family from the Rio Abajo moved to Apache County and were heavily involved in growing barley and peddling merchandise at the behest of the Huning brothers. The commercial networks between the Hunings and the Baca family were significant in both New Mexico and Arizona.

As a whole, the settlements along the southern Rio Grande corridor in Region 3 performed a similar function to the towns located on the central-eastern bank of the river in Region 2. Region 3 provided the raw materials for government contracts in addition to the human labor to transport these commodities to military posts in the New Mexico and Arizona territories. By the end of 1880, the Hunings attained a regional presence by outfitting retailers and wholesalers with goods and stimulating agricultural production. This market purview is indicative of the chain that bound farmers, freighters, farmers, and smaller merchants to L. & H. Huning. In the near future with the construction of the railroads, other businesses would directly compete with Huning for the wholesale trade in Socorro County. Despite growing

²⁷⁴ Anderson, *History of New Mexico*, 615.

²⁷⁵ Entries for Leandro Baca, pp. 344, 450, 494, 647, 677, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

competition in Belen and Socorro, the Hunings were still entrenched in these communities from Belen to farther south.

Region 4, Women and Pueblo Indians in Military Contracting: Isleta

Although the Huning partnership engaged in frequent business in central Valencia County and along the south-central Rio Grande corridor, the same cannot be said of its activity in Bernalillo County. In Region 4, the store was marginal in the wholesale and retail markets. Franz Huning's store and other establishments in Albuquerque had a strong hold in Bernalillo County, and they checked merchants from smaller communities who tried to compete there. From 1878 to 1880, L. & H. Huning sold only \$5,587.51 in retail goods and \$11,276.31 in wholesale merchandise to other vendors (see Appendices 3.1 and 3.2). Ranking seventh in retail sales and fifth in transactions with other merchants in this study, Albuquerque was a minor market, retail and wholesale, to L. & H. Huning.

Region 4, however, is noteworthy for other reasons. Historians have inquired about the roles of women and Native Americans vis-à-vis merchandising and military contracting, but they have furnished scant evidence that shows their direct participation in these endeavors. Josephine Tondre, a French female merchant at Isleta, slightly alters the narrative that merchandising was a strictly male activity, for she dealt directly with Louis Huning in wholesale transactions and exchanges in produce used in contracts with army posts. Her supply source, the Isleta Indians, produced a substantial volume of corn and a modest supply of wheat for Huning's military contracts. In a region that was generally unfavorable to the younger Huning brothers, Tondre's trade outpost at Isleta accounted for 57 percent of L. & H. Huning's business in Bernalillo County.

Born on 7 September 1831 in Soppe-le-Haut, France, Mary Josephine Mellecker Tondre immigrated to the United States sometime during midcentury. Arriving in a French settlement at Iowa City, Iowa, she met and married Joseph Tondre in 1856. Moving to Shawnee, Kansas, in 1859, they tried their lot at homesteading. When Joseph was diagnosed with tuberculosis in 1864, a physician suggested that they “move west for his health.” A Catholic clergyman in Shawnee pointed the Tondres in the direction of Santa Fe, and there they made the acquaintance of Archbishop Jean-Baptiste Lamy, also a French native. Lamy encouraged the Tondres to settle at the Pueblo of Isleta, “where they would be a great help to the padre there, Padre Agustin Brun.” Beginning their residency at Isleta in 1865, the pair established a trading post that remained active for the next quarter of a century. “Grandpa was sick most of the time,” Josephine’s granddaughter recalled, “so it was up to Grandma to make a living for her family.” Running the store while her husband was ailing, Josephine Tondre exchanged store merchandise with Isletans for their “beans, wheat, corn, chili, and livestock. Everything was [exchanged] on a barter basis.” She secured wholesale goods from Felipe Chaves in Belen and Louis Huning in Los Lunas.²⁷⁶

In addition to being the pueblo’s source for retail products, Josephine, fluent in French, German, Spanish, and Tewa, assumed the roles of banker, midwife, and political advocate for the Pueblo Indians at Santa Fe. In 1876, she acquired fifty-one acres of property at Los Lentos from Erhardt Franz and planted thirty thousand grape vines to produce wine. Her sons, Joe and Fred Tondre, managed the vineyard and “supplied most of the Catholic churches with the mass wine.” An exception to the norm in the mostly male-dominated

²⁷⁶ Stella Tondre, “The Tondre Family,” 1956, 1–10, manuscript, Los Lunas Museum of Heritage and Arts, New Mexico, 1–10.

mercantile economy of nineteenth-century New Mexico, Josephine Tondre wielded much economic influence among high-ranking clergymen, Pueblo society at Isleta, and German and Hispano merchants.²⁷⁷

Josephine Tondre and the Isletans were integral to the procurement and supply sides of military contracting from 1878 to 1880. Tondre obtained \$9,606.84 worth of merchandise to sell at her store over a three-year period. Her purchases, however, declined substantially in 1880. Like other merchants, she requisitioned “bills of goods” from her wholesaler. In order to pay for these items, Tondre knew that Isletans grew and harvested “excellent crops of corn” and that this commodity could be used to acquire her inventory.²⁷⁸ Serving as an intermediary between agrarian producers at Isleta and the military contractors, Tondre was pivotal in securing corn for at least two contracts in 1878. For an agreement that Huning had with Fort Craig during the first four months of the year, she delivered 11,094 pounds of corn. For a contract at Fort Wingate that called for 100,000 pounds of corn from 1 July through 31 October, Tondre brought 44,536 pounds of corn from 24 July through 28 September. Accounting for almost half the commodity, she received about 2 cents per pound on these transactions with her wholesaler; the army contracts specified that Huning would receive 4 cents per pound. Most of this produce was more than likely grown within the Isleta Reservation or in nearby Los Lentos.²⁷⁹

In the following years, Tondre continued to send agricultural commodities to her wholesaler. While one historian has rightly regarded Tondre a cultural broker between

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 1–10.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 3.

²⁷⁹ Entries for Josephine Tondre, pp. 51, 44, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

indigenous peoples and the Hispano and Anglo populations in New Mexico, she was also an economic broker, for she employed a system that utilized produce grown by Isletans to acquire store merchandise sold to pueblo residents.²⁸⁰

Region 5, A Grazing and Farming Region: Cebolleta, Cubero, San Mateo, and San Rafael

Roughly sixty miles west of central Valencia County, settlements in Region 5 had been a component of the mercantile enterprise since the mid-1870s. Henry Huning, the youngest brother of the family, embodied the spirit of the restless commercial pioneer. Not content to assume the livelihood of the sedentary merchant, he often traveled into the frontier west of the towns established on the Rio Grande. In the early 1870s, Huning managed the stores in Polvadera and Sabinal. In the following years, he operated the branch store in Cubero and eventually made his way to Apache County, Arizona, by the end of the decade. His movements often difficult to trace, he was unlisted in the federal census records from 1860 to 1880. Although most of the store's business in Regions 1–4 was driven by Louis Huning, most of the commerce in Region 5 was secured and driven by Henry Huning. This business dynamic appears to have benefited their enterprise overall, for Henry had exceptional ability to form business contacts with farmers, stock raisers, shepherds, ranchers, and military officials who lived near or on the the frontier and away from the more-established communities near the Rio Grande.

²⁸⁰ Although this author has only brushed the surface on the relationship between Tondre and Isleta Pueblo, a study devoted to this matter would be worthy in-and-of-itself. See Patricia B. Guggino, "Pablo Abeita (1871-1940): Cultural Broker between Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico and the United States Government" (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1995), 7.

According to Tibo Chavez and Gilberto Espinosa, Rio Abajo families moved to Cubero and Cebolleta in the eighteenth century, ultimately giving rise to new settlements in the western portion of what became Valencia County. These settlements, coupled with the U.S. Army's establishment of Fort Defiance in 1851 and Fort Wingate in 1862, were also instrumental in curbing raids and counter-raids between Hispanos and Navajos that had been prevalent before the establishment of these posts. By the early 1880s, boosters began to trumpet farming as "the principal occupation of this and the adjoining townships," in addition to claiming "splendid grazing country."²⁸¹ By relocating the Navajos farther north away from these settlements, the U.S. Army made this region hospitable for Hispanos and new Anglo settlers to graze sheep and to grow crops.

Shrewd to exploit these two commercial endeavors for their military contracts and wool enterprise, Henry Huning forged business links with residents in Cebolleta, Cubero, San Mateo, and San Rafael. In addition to keeping accounts with their wholesale and retail customers in the region on the Los Lunas books, the Hunings operated a subsidiary store in Cubero, selling \$30,630.28 in merchandise from 1878 to 1880.²⁸² In 1880, Cebolleta claimed 68 households; Cubero, 60; San Mateo, 64; and San Rafael, 70. Out of 262 residences, L. & H. Huning serviced 17 total customers, which included 5 sheep raisers, 3 farmers, 3 merchants, and the Reverend Juan B. Brun.²⁸³

Jose R. Apodaca, a sheep raiser from Cebolleta, was the most-voluminous retail customer in Region 5, purchasing \$9,954.65 of goods over a three-year period. At the

²⁸¹ Caypless and Ritch, *Complete Business Directory*, 180–81.

²⁸² Entries for Store in Cubero, pp. 6, 24, 201, 254, 313, 372, 733, L. & H. Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

²⁸³ Five of these individuals' occupations could not be identified.

beginning of 1878, Apodaca owed a balance of \$1,185.17. Although paying in cash the first six months of the year, he began paying in corn by the fall season.²⁸⁴ Apodaca was often an intermediary for L. & H. Huning's corn transactions with L. N. Hopkins Jr., the post trader at Fort Wingate.²⁸⁵ Apodaca's predicament, however, was that he was accumulating substantial debts to the Hunings. At the end of 1879, his account receivable had nearly doubled from \$1,855.17 to \$3,865.18. Henry Huning must have known that Apodaca was a sheep raiser who had access to grazing land, and the records indicate that Apodaca entered into a partido contract with L. & H. Huning in October 1879. From that period forward, Apodaca provided substantial amounts of wool to reduce his debt. In one transaction, he received \$925.69 in credit for 6,873 pounds of wool. On 23 September 1880, Apodaca transferred two thousand sheep to the Hunings at 85 cents per head. Ostensibly, Apodaca grazed these sheep in Cebolleta in the hope that he could grow the herd and produce enough wool to bring down his balance. At the end of 1880, his account receivable had only been reduced to \$2,880.87. This example demonstrates how the Huning brothers exploited economic resources in the region for corn production and its proximity to Fort Wingate. Sheep raisers, who often purchased goods on credit, could also be coaxed into partido contracts. Because they had difficulty paying off their store balances, a handful of them became partidarios; they grazed and sheared sheep, and delivered the wool at little cost or risk to L. & H. Huning. This

²⁸⁴ On 22 October 1878, Apodaca delivered 26,488 pounds of corn to Fort Wingate. This corn was more than likely used for L & H Huning's contract to deliver 100,000 pounds of corn at 4 cents per pound.

²⁸⁵ On 22 January 1878, Hopkins purchased 7,727 pounds of corn from L. & H. Huning, and Apodaca received \$251.13 for this transaction. They repeated on 24 May 1879 a similar deal, in which Apodaca received \$212.50 in credit for selling corn to Hopkins.

method of business often worked to the advantage of the merchant at the expense of the sheep raisers.²⁸⁶

Dumas Provencher, a merchant in San Rafael, was also a vital source for sheep and wool. Born on 31 August 1831 in Quebec, Canada, Provencher left his birthplace and sojourned into the American West. Arriving in Santa Fe in 1861, he first clerked for Joseph Hersch in Santa Fe and later worked under the Zeckendorf brothers in Albuquerque.²⁸⁷ Departing Bernalillo County in 1868, Provencher moved to western Valencia County and created two partnerships, one with the post sutler at Fort Wingate and the other with a ranching associate, Roman Baca. From 1879 until his untimely death in 1888, Provencher was an esteemed citizen of the San Rafael community, representing the county in the New Mexico Legislative Assembly in 1882 and earning the moniker “el padre de los pobres” from the local inhabitants. His politics—he was a staunch Democrat in a Republican-controlled county—proved to be his downfall. On 6 November 1888, Provencher “was killed by a political assassin’s bullet as he sought to protect the San Rafael polling records.”²⁸⁸

Besides this biographical information, little is known about Provencher’s major financial problems. Although his main chronicler has considered him “one of the most prominent and wealthy citizens of the community,” Provencher’s transactions with L. & H. Huning show a visible decline in wealth during his later years as a merchant. Just below Oscar Gobel, Provencher was the second-most-active merchant in this study. Over a three-

²⁸⁶ Entries for Jose Rafael Apodaca, pp. 37, 583, L. & H. Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

²⁸⁷ Gonzales, “Damasio Provencher,” 1–3; Francois Marie-Patorni, *The French in New Mexico* (forthcoming), email with author, 2 June 2015.

²⁸⁸ Marc Simmons, *When Six Guns Ruled: Outlaw Tales of the Southwest* (Santa Fe, N. Mex.: Ancient City Press, 1990), 12–15.

year span, he acquired \$36,743.88 from his wholesaler and borrowed \$6,850.57. Perhaps these wholesale purchases corroborate that he was a benefactor to the less affluent residents in his community.

Provencher was often in the red in the wholesaler's ledgers. Exchanging wool, hides, pelts, and goat-skins for store commodities, he was unable to decrease his account balance. By the end of 1880, a debt of \$24,870.42 remained on his ledger sheet with the Hunings. No other customer, retail or wholesaler, paid as much interest as "the father of the poor."²⁸⁹ This matter went unresolved until 5 May 1883 when L. & H. Huning settled "a certain indebtedness" with Provencher at the Valencia County Courthouse. For a sum of \$24,777.70 due to his wholesaler, he conveyed "a certain tract of land containing about fifteen hundred acres being in and above the spring of Old Fort Wingate, one dwelling house and corral, one storehouse, one garden enclosure, one half interest in and to a certain sawmill, one deed of mortgage, thirty head of cattle, two thousand railroad ties, four large oxen freight wagons, and twenty thousand feet of lumber."²⁹⁰ Seizing their customers' real and personal property in lieu of cash, the Huning brothers amassed grazing land for their sheep along with pre-existing property improvements. Provencher's personal misfortune proved to be an economic opportunity for the Hunings to expand their land and sheep operations in western Valencia County.

From the beginning of 1878 to the end of 1880, Region 5's wholesale and retail debt rose steeply from \$13,585.21 to \$36,670.30, an increase of 250 percent (see Appendices 3.5

²⁸⁹ Entries for D. Provencher, pp. 60, 324, 390, 496, 543, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

²⁹⁰ D. Provencher and wife to L. & H. Huning, Deed Book 5A, 254–57, Valencia County Courthouse, Los Lunas, New Mexico.

and 3.6). Because collection was slow, this trend may suggest why the Huning brothers resorted to partido contracts and civil suits in some cases. Retail sales increased from \$9,838.27 in 1878 to \$15,645.58 in 1880 (see Appendix 3.1). As business increased in the far-western settlements of Valencia County, the Hunings began to exploit this largely pacified region for grazing sheep and expanding their ranch. With local sheep raisers incurring debts, they were also able to extract wool from them and convert it into cash via export on the Santa Fe Trail.

Region 6, Freight and Timber Area: Manzano

On the opposite end of the county in 1880, the town of Manzano was located sixty miles east of the river communities. Situated just beyond the eastern face of the Manzano Mountains, this settlement was sparsely populated in 1880. Claiming 165 households in the 1880 Census, Manzano was part of a chain of settlements running north from Mountainair to Tajique. Land grant scholar J. J. Bowden reports that a flood in Tome in 1829 prompted some of the residents to move to Manzano. “The Estancia Valley,” he notes, “was ideal for stock raising.”²⁹¹ In addition, the *New Mexico Business Directory* remarked, “The foothills near the town are covered with a fine growth of timber.”²⁹²

L. & H. Huning conducted little retail business in Manzano. Region 6 was the lowest-ranking retail sales region. A freighter made \$160.73 in 1878, but there were no further sales after that year. The census of 1880, however, lists two active merchants in Manzano: Eusebio Garcia and Pedro Martinez. With heavy concentrations of laborers in Manzano, these two

²⁹¹ J. J. Bowden, “Private Land Claims in the Southwest,” 6 vols., (master's thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1969).

²⁹² Cayless and Ritch, *Complete Business Directory*, 181.

merchants were the main local sources for manufactured goods. Garcia intermittently used Huning as his wholesaler, acquiring only \$652.45 of goods over three years.

Martinez, on the other hand, contracted with Huning as his chief outfitter. Acquiring \$10,170.04 in goods that were mostly wholesale stock, Martinez supplied freighters, corn, wheat, lumber, and some wool to L. & H. Huning. Although avoiding the region for grazing, as they seemed to prefer the western end of the county for that endeavor, the Hunings exchanged merchandise with Martinez for freighting services and produce. On 29 April 1878, Martinez received the assignment to deliver 99,404 pounds of corn to Fort Craig. The Manzano merchant also sent 15,283 pounds of wheat on 30 September 1878, and 17,699 pounds of corn on 6 May 1879. More than likely, Martinez employed local laborers to freight goods across the territory and provide the produce. This arrangement allowed him to receive credit on his ledger sheet with his wholesaler. In early 1880, lumber became the chief commodity that Martinez exchanged with his vendor. In the third quarter of 1880, his ledger sheet shows receipt of \$1,118.46 in credit for lumber and freight.²⁹³

As a whole, Region 6 lacked a retail customer base. Pedro Martinez was the main commercial conduit in the eastern section of the county, the link through which the Hunings channeled merchandise to the residents of Manzano. Through him, the Hunings were able to extract the region's lumber and labor for freight expeditions. Although it was not quite lucrative, Region 6 offered the Hunings another rural source for raw materials and offered an expanding market for their merchandise.

²⁹³ Entries for Pedro Martinez, pp. 72, 168, 580, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; Entry for Pedro Martinez, p. 197, L. & H. Journal, 1878, folder 1, box 30, *ibid*; and Entry for Pedro Martinez, p. 266, L. & H. Journal, 1879, folder 1, box 32, *ibid*.

Region 7, Customers Who Resided on or Near Army Posts in Arizona and New Mexico

The Huning brothers dealt mainly with the quartermasters for their military contracts, but they also did a fair amount of business with civilians who lived near military installations. These individuals were often connected to military supply in some form or another. Selling a total of \$6,460.11 in retail items and \$2,679.99 in goods to merchants from 1878 to 1880, the Hunings's main assets were L. N. Hopkins Jr. at Fort Wingate and Patrick Kelley at Fort Tularosa (see Appendix 3.1). Hopkins, the post trader at Fort Wingate, occasionally requisitioned flour during these years. For example, on 6 July 1878, he purchased 15,000 pounds of flour at 4 cents per pound. Without a flour contract until May 1879 and no more corn contracts for the remaining years, Huning sent sacks of flour and corn to Hopkins in 1878 and 1879; Hopkins paid for these items in drafts and checks, often keeping a balance at the store in Los Lunas.²⁹⁴

Kelley remained in the vicinity of Fort Tularosa after it permanently closed in 1874. He was a former soldier at the fort and later helped establish settlements in the Gila and Mogollon regions. Even though the post was closed, his ledger sheet shows that he resided at Fort Tularosa from 1878 to 1880. Kelley began investing in wheat production, acquiring a threshing machine in August 1878. Often borrowing cash to pay farmers, Kelley began sending modest quantities of wheat to the Hunings in the summer months of 1879. In February 1881, he received a credit of \$4,119.46 for barley. Kelley had likely been instrumental in winning the contracts at Fort Tularosa years before, and he desired to benefit from the barley contracts at Fort Apache in the 1880s. Maintaining connections with various

²⁹⁴ Entry for L. N. Hopkins Jr. (Fort Wingate), p. 648, L. & H. Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

individuals at Forts Craig, Wingate, Apache, and Stanton, the Huning brothers preserved these networks to sustain their presence at military posts.²⁹⁵

Region 8, Central-Eastern Arizona: Randalville, Round Valley, Springerville, Show Low, and St. Johns

The settlements in Region 8 have histories distinct from those of New Mexican communities, which were mostly established during the Spanish and Mexican eras. Unlike the latter, they were products of the United States' consolidation of the Far Southwest in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Founded in 1870, Round Valley began as a satellite of New Mexican agricultural interests.²⁹⁶ A trio of Anglo military contractors, William R. Milligan, Oren W. McCullough, and Anthony Long, who had been residing in Socorro, left New Mexico to grow “barley, wheat, corn, and other grains” to supply Camp Ord (Fort Apache) in the White Mountains.²⁹⁷ A large contingent of Hispano families from the Rio Abajo joined them, and they cultivated the land and grew the produce for the government contractors. Many families who were farming and raising sheep around western Valencia County in 1870 had also moved to Arizona by 1880. Solomon and Morris Barth, Dionicio Baca, Francisco Baca, Jose Maria Baca, Rosalio Colomo, Berardo Frayre, Marcelino Jaramillo, and Matthew McCarthy moved to the White Mountains to engage in farming and earn money from military contracts. Henry Huning, who became a permanent resident of Arizona in the late 1870s, was more than likely responsible for prompting this migration into

²⁹⁵ Entries for Patrick Kelley (Tularosa), pp. 640, 645, 666, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

²⁹⁶ For further information on the town origins of Round Valley, Springerville, and St. Johns, see Jack Becker, Round ValleyAZ.com, 2005. Web. May 2016. Becker is a descendant of Julius Becker, a merchant in Arizona Territory, and is a local historian.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

eastern Arizona, for he was instrumental in securing contracts at Fort Apache from 1875 to 1884. These former New Mexicans were now heavily invested in agricultural production in Arizona Territory. Settlement in eastern Arizona was an example of suppliers following the U.S. Army into an unsettled region.

New Mexico, as Darlis Miller describes, was unsuitable for growing barley, but it fared better in Round Valley.²⁹⁸ According to an article published on 29 January 1876 in the *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, “the amount of grain raised in all that region (Little Colorado farming region) during the past season [was] at 2,500,000 pounds.”²⁹⁹ Henry Springer, a merchant from Albuquerque, opened a store near Round Valley in 1876 and was responsible for stimulating agricultural productivity in the region. Springer began receiving supply contracts shortly after erecting his store. “Every man, woman, and child,” stated the *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, “is busy taking out new ditches and enlarging old ones, preparatory to planting a very large crop, perhaps double the amount of last year.”³⁰⁰ Barley was Springer’s cash crop, and his market was the federal government. The town of Springerville emerged as a direct result of his agricultural enterprise. On 23 September 1876, the *Albuquerque Review* reported: “He [Springer] will have for sale about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds [of barley] which he has induced the farmers to raise by furnishing them with supplies and means to cultivate their crops. If activity, perseverance and strict attention to business will

²⁹⁸ Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 81.

²⁹⁹ “Correction,” *Tucson Arizona Weekly Citizen*, 29 January 1876.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

bring success then Springer will harvest greenbacks in business.”³⁰¹ By the beginning of 1877, Springer was reported to have nearly seventy-five tons of barley on hand.³⁰²

Springer’s financial troubles began during the first half of 1877. On 13 April 1877, the *Weekly Arizona Miner* related that “he [Springer] is in trouble at present with some of his creditors. We believe Mr. Springer’s present embarrassment is caused by having several thousand dollars tied up in barley, at Springerville in this county, which he has been unable to dispose of.”³⁰³ Springer had assumed that he would be the recipient of a barley contract that year, but it never came. With a barley surplus and no market for it, Springer settled his dilemma at District Court in Yavapai County, later renamed Apache County. The Spiegelberg brothers from Santa Fe sued Springer “for the sum of nine hundred and thirty-two and 77/100 dollars, and interest thereon.”³⁰⁴ On 21 December 1877, Louis and Henry Huning also filed a civil case against the financially distressed Springer. While the details are vague, the Huning brothers apparently took possession of Springer’s barley crop and probably paid a bargain price for it. In May 1878 they received a contract to supply Fort Apache with 700,000 pounds of barley. At the beginning of 1879, the *Albuquerque Review* reported that Springer “finally got a release from his creditors and now another opportunity is left open to him to make a new start in business.”³⁰⁵ A month later, Franz Huning hired

³⁰¹ *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Review*, 23 September 1876, p. 2.

³⁰² “Local Intelligence,” *Weekly (Prescott) Arizona Miner*, 12 January 1877.

³⁰³ *Weekly (Prescott) Arizona Miner*, 13 April 1877, p. 2.

³⁰⁴ “Summons,” *Prescott Arizona Enterprise*, 29 June 1878, p. 3.

³⁰⁵ *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Review*, 18 January 1879, p. 2.

Springer to work as his main salesman at the F. & C. Huning Mercantile on the Albuquerque Plaza.³⁰⁶

From May 1878 to June 1885, Louis and Henry Huning received annual barley contracts. Their entrée into the barley business was undoubtedly a consequence of Springer's failure to receive the contract at Fort Apache in 1877. Springer had expected to be a regular produce supplier to Fort Apache, even founding a town for the sole purpose of cereal production. But why did Springer fail as a government contractor? It was more than likely the result of Henry Huning's relationship with Corydon E. Cooley. During his military and civilian career, Cooley was a "trader, scout, soldier, quartermaster, interpreter, miner, health-spa owner, rancher, farmer, U.S. marshal, and local politician from the mid-1850s to 1917."³⁰⁷ While prospecting for gold in the White Mountains, Cooley abandoned his mining venture and joined Col. John Green, First U.S. Cavalry, in establishing Camp Ord in 1870, which later became Fort Apache. According to his biographer, Cooley "elected to remain near the military post, developing some farmland close to both the fort and Indian agency. He began supplying U.S. troopers with corn, beef and hay, as well as hiring laborers from the Apache bands of Alchesay, Miguel, Pedro, and Petone." He realized that farming was "far more certain of immediate cash than the illusionary Doc Thorne placers."³⁰⁸ Cooley had also been close to Gen. George Crook, working as chief of Apache scouts in the Tonto Basin campaign in 1872.³⁰⁹ Dissolving his ranch partnership with Marion Clark in 1876, Cooley

³⁰⁶ "The Old Reliable Store," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Review*, 22 February 1879.

³⁰⁷ Michael E. Welsh, "Corydon E. Cooley: Pioneer in Two Worlds," *Journal of Arizona History* 20, no. 3 (1979): 283.

³⁰⁸ Welsh, "Corydon E. Cooley," 287, 296.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 289.

“took Henry Huning as a partner on the Show Low ranch.”³¹⁰ Historian Michael Welsh dates the beginning of this association in 1881, but their relationship dates back as early as 1871. Cooley’s name appears on the early L. & H. Huning ledgers. In 1881, Cooley and Huning “enlarged the Cooley Ranch to over 100,000 acres, started up a ‘CC’ herd of cattle, installed a sawmill to supply the area with lumber, and established a general store.”³¹¹ Although there is no paper trail to prove that Cooley used his influence to secure contracts for the Huning enterprise at Fort Apache, he likely influenced the quartermaster at Fort Apache to issue L. & H. Huning’s contract that further strengthened its commercial and agricultural ties to eastern Arizona.

From 1878 to 1880, retail sales in Region 8 increased about 200 percent (see Appendix 3.1). In 1878, L. & H. Huning sold \$2,255.82 worth of merchandise. At the end of 1880, this figure increased to \$4,401.84. The retail customer base consisted of two Hispano farmers in Round Valley (Francisco Baca and Jose Maria Baca), one Hispano farmer in St. Johns (Trinidad Padilla), C. E. Cooley in Show Low, and the Barth Brothers, who raised livestock in St. Johns. Eastern Arizona ranks fifth in sales out of the nine retail markets in this study.

At the end of 1879, annual sales showed a slight incremental improvement of \$474.51; in 1880, total retail sales nearly doubled. In the first quarter of 1880, Cooley’s purchasing activity revealed a noticeable shift from his earlier consumption patterns. Acquiring \$1,609.13 in retail merchandise, Cooley paid for these commodities by growing barley and delivering it to Fort Apache. On 18 March 1880, Cooley took 29,012 pounds of

³¹⁰ H. B. Wharfield, *With Scouts and Cavalry at Fort Apache*, 9.

³¹¹ Welsh, “Coyrdon E. Cooley,” 292.

barley to the fort and received 4.5 cents per pound. Cooley clearly benefitted from the Huning barley contracts, as he was able to participate in its production. Jose Maria Baca and Francisco Baca also augmented their purchases in the second quarter of 1880. Although the Hunings doubled their sales in the region by the end of 1880, retail business was hardly the basis of their operation in Arizona. Their wholesaling made Arizona Territory the most lucrative aspect of their merchandising business.³¹²

In 1880, Apache County claimed 3,498 inhabitants. St. Johns had 541 permanent residents; Spingerville, 364; and Show Low, 113. St. Johns and Springerville were the first and third most-populated settlements in the county, respectively. The Hunings thrived on supplying merchants: Rosalio Colomo and Marcelino Jaramillo in St. Johns; Julius Becker, Dionicio Baca, and the Creaghe Brothers in Springerville; Berardo Frayre in Randalville; and Lacy and Company somewhere in Apache County.³¹³ Through the efforts of Henry, the Huning Brothers staked out these wholesale markets in eastern Arizona. In a short span of three years, they sold \$117,617.30 of merchandise (see Appendix 3.2). In 1879, their sales volume increased 174 percent from one year earlier. This region ultimately offered the Huning brothers an opportunity to exchange wholesale goods for local produce that could be sold to Fort Apache.

Both Rosalio Colomo and Marcelino Jaramillo rose to commercial prominence in the town of St. Johns. Born in Chihuahua, Mexico, Colomo had been a dry-goods merchant at Cubero in 1870. Just ten years earlier, Jaramillo was making his living as a laborer in western

³¹² Entry for C. E. Cooley, p. 242, L. & H. Journal 1880, folder 1, box 41, HMCR, CSWR.

³¹³ I was unable to identify the exact location of this company's operation. The Huning Mercantile records merely indicate that they operated out of Apache County, Arizona.

Valencia County. Although it is not clear when these individuals left New Mexico, Henry Huning might have informed them that Arizona offered better agricultural prospects. In a short period of time, Colomo and Jaramillo became well-established merchants in Arizona Territory. Both men invested in barley farming to acquire their store inventories. On 20 October 1879, Colomo grew and delivered 103,622 pounds of barley to Fort Apache. Two months later, Jaramillo received \$1,942.50 in store credit for selling 19,250 pounds of barley at 4.5 cents per pound and freighting 39,120 pounds of cargo at 2.75 cents per pound. The Huning brothers strategically placed Colomo and Jaramillo in St. Johns to grow barley for the annual military contracts and to circulate merchandise in the region through their local shops. As a result, these two Hispanos flourished in local commercial circles.³¹⁴

L. & H. Huning employed the same operation in Springerville. In 1878, Julius Becker, brother of the Belen merchant John Becker, satisfied the bean contract for the Huning Brothers at Fort Apache. Becker harvested and conveyed 7,946 pounds of beans at 6.75 cents per pound; the contract specified 7 cents per pound. Becker was a subcontractor, and the Hunings reaped a meager profit at best. Over three years, Becker engaged in less-frequent transactions with them. Although the non-Hispano merchants did rely on the Huning brothers for some transactions, they were less dependent on them for their businesses.³¹⁵

In contrast, the Hunings financed Dionicio Baca's mercantile business. Baca was born in Belen in 1836 and moved to Springerville around 1875.³¹⁶ Similar to many of the

³¹⁴ Entry for Rosalio Colomo, p. 661, folder 1, box 30, L. & H. Journal, 1879, HMCR, CSWR; and Entry for Marcelino Jaramillo, p. 41, folder 1, box 41, L. & H. Journal, 1879–1880, *ibid*.

³¹⁵ Entry for Julius Becker, p. 354, folder 1, box 32, L. & H. Journal, 1879, HMCR, CSWR.

³¹⁶ Statement of Dionicio Baca, *The Territory of Arizona against Dionicio Baca*, 16 January 1886, Territory of Arizona, Apache County, Web, <http://roundvalleyaz.com/dbaca>, accessed 03 June 2016.

Bacas who originated from Belen, he moved farther south into Socorro County and engaged in farming and freighting enterprises to Arizona. Instead of relocating to Socorro, he moved to Cebolleta by no later than 1870. According to that year's census, he worked primarily as a farmer. As farmers often freighted cargo to military forts to supplement their earnings, Baca ran a wagon to Fort Apache and became familiar with the region. As we saw in an earlier section, the Baca merchant family of Socorro was highly active in the trading networks at the Arizona military posts, and the case of Dionicio Baca was no different. It was probably at the behest of Henry Huning that Baca settled in Springerville. Baca exerted a palpable political influence on the Hispano population in Springerville, often controlling the vote in local elections.³¹⁷ Beginning as a small-scale farmer and becoming a prominent merchant owning a two-story brick store, Baca's commercial fortune was a direct consequence of the Huning brothers' barley investments.³¹⁸ He obtained \$17,591.43 in merchandise and borrowed \$637.72 from the Hunings over a period of three years. On 17 May 1879, Baca received \$3,572.84 in credit at L. & H. Huning for growing 89,321 pounds of barley. Although he accrued a balance of \$11,217.21 by the end of 1880, Baca continued to supply barley to his wholesalers.³¹⁹

The Hunings invested directly in eastern Arizona more than any other region. They jointly allocated \$13,500 of capital into a partnership with Lacy and Company, a firm that purchased substantially from the brothers. It constituted 43 percent of the \$44,404.98 in total

³¹⁷ Larry D. Ball, *Desert Lawmen: The High Sheriffs of New Mexico and Arizona, 1846–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 318.

³¹⁸ "D.B. Baca's Store in Springerville," accessed 03 June 2016, http://www.roundvalleyaz.com/baca_store.html.

³¹⁹ Entries for Dionicio Baca, pp. 565, 649, 661, 663, 674, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger 1878–1880, HMCR, CSWR.

sales to merchants in 1880. What made the Hunings' business in Arizona distinct from New Mexico was that the accounts receivables decreased from 1879 to 1880. At the end of 1878, customer debt had increased from a mere \$4,259.56 to \$25,094.01. A year later, it totaled \$43,030.61. By the end of 1880, however, the Hunings collected \$19,233.89 and reduced their total receivables to \$23,796.72 (see Appendices 3.5 and 3.6). Through their use of networks with individuals, such as C. E. Cooley, Rosalio Colomo, Marcelino Jaramillo, and Dionicio Baca, the Hunings were able to exploit the barley market at Fort Apache and employed Hispanos to grow this product for the government contracts. Although these Arizona transplants grew large amounts of barley, the Hunings likely obtained the remainder from the White Mountain Apaches.³²⁰ As a whole, these commercial pioneers founded towns, businesses, and farms in eastern Arizona for the prospect of federal money. Without the presence of Fort Apache, these settlements probably would have not come into being.

Region 9, Santa Fe

Although the Hunings enjoyed an impressive commercial range in central and western New Mexico and eastern Arizona territories, they were unable to penetrate the wholesale markets in Santa Fe and Las Vegas. These towns, already crowded with merchants, precluded the Hunings from making a significant number of sales. Two prominent mercantile establishments, however, patronized L. & H. Huning for cash loans and produce. Solomon Spiegelberg, a member of one the first Jewish families of New Mexico and a Santa Fe merchant, purchased \$993.90 worth of flour from Louis Huning in early

³²⁰ John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (1891; repr.; Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1962), 457–58.

1878.³²¹ Spiegelberg probably obtained it for a supply contract with the army. Likewise, Z. Staab and Brother, a wholesale mercantile firm in Santa Fe, paid the Hunings \$1,142.28 for delivering 35,147 pounds of flour to Fort Wingate on 20 June 1879. Staab frequently borrowed money from them, obtaining \$1,231.56 over three years. These instances show that merchants who resided in denser commercial areas in New Mexico called on rural merchants to furnish produce and, in some cases, to provide loans. Even though the Spiegelbergs, Staabs, and Hunings competed with one another for government contracts, they also depended on one another for their supply.³²²

The Role of New Mexico Banks and Eastern Commission Houses in the Hinterland Trade

Just as farmers, freighters, livestock owners, and laborers depended on L. & H. Huning for credit, loans, and goods, the Hunings also relied on two indispensable institutions for their financing and store merchandise: banks and commission houses. William Parish has emphasized the close relationship between western merchants and their metropolitan wholesalers, but he has overlooked the functions that banks performed in the early phase of merchant capitalism. “Unfortunately for the banker,” Parish argues, “he was confronted with the competition of liberal credit offerings of metropolitan wholesalers. Thus the mercantile capitalist was, creditwise, too independent to present the specialized banker with a ready demand for borrowings.”³²³ Although merchants kept their money with their commission

³²¹ Floyd S. Fierman, *Guts and Ruts: The Jewish Pioneer on the Trail in the American Southwest* (New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1985), 3.

³²² Entry for Solomon Spiegelberg, p. 430, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; and Entries for Z. Staab and Brother (Santa Fe), pp. 412, 471, 683, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable, 1878–1880, *ibid.*

³²³ Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, 50.

houses, some of them used regional banks for borrowing and withdrawing drafts, cash, and checks.

Louis and Henry Huning kept two bank accounts, one at the First National Bank of Santa Fe and the other at the Central Bank at Albuquerque. The former was established in 1870; the latter opened for business eight years later. Merchant capitalists, such as the Hunings, needed banking services as they grew their businesses and local sources for drafts and cash. The records indicate that Louis Huning withdrew \$162,177.20 from the First National Bank of Santa Fe over a period of three years. At the end of 1880, he owed a balance of \$1,121.75. The ledgers reveal that he made regular deposits, withdrawals, and payments, using this depository as a modern business checking account. Due to the unfavorable balance of trade and the long distances from St. Louis and New York, the main locations of their metropolitan wholesalers, the Hunings often employed the banking services at Santa Fe and Albuquerque, for they readily needed to requisition drafts and checks on short notice. Relying primarily on the merchant banking system was impractical for these immediate needs. The Hunings opened a second account with the Central Bank in Albuquerque on 5 March 1880. In 1880 alone, they withdrew \$81,515.75 from both institutions combined.³²⁴

Western bankers, as economic historians Lynn Doti and Larry Schweikart note, often started their careers as merchants. It was only sensible for them to cater to the demands of their merchant brethren and for storeowners to take advantage of these services. In all,

³²⁴ Entries for First National Bank of New Mexico, pp. 18, 98, 126, 169, 208, 236, 281, 304, 332, 333, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR; and Entries for Central Bank, pp. 306, 361, 722, 779, Accounts Receivable/Payable Ledger, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, *ibid*.

merchants used banks and commission houses simultaneously. The nascent banking system in territorial New Mexico was a useful instrument for mercantile financing, allowing proprietors to maintain a steady flow of cash, drafts, and checks.³²⁵

The significance of midwestern and eastern commission agents to the merchant capitalist system in New Mexico cannot be overstated, for they procured goods for hinterland merchants and supplied western businesses with their inventories. “Agencies and partnerships,” Parish points out, “became the dominant form of organization within mercantile capitalism.”³²⁶ Forming ties with individuals who could be trusted with their capital in midwestern and eastern cities, merchants engaged commission agents “to handle eastern purchases, to make payments on accounts when due, and to serve as a depository against which sight drafts could be drawn.”³²⁷ The Hunings used two particular individuals in that capacity: Erhardt Franz in St. Louis and Julius Freudenthal in New York. Both individuals personally knew the Hunings, had lived and worked in New Mexico during their careers, and were familiar with the economic conditions of the territory. Throughout these years, Franz and Freudenthal trafficked merchandise from the centers of production in the East into the rural areas of the West.

After Franz relocated to St. Louis in 1871, he served as L. & H. Huning’s chief midwestern supplier. Operating the wholesale grocery house of Franz and Nasse, Franz was also one of Louis Huning’s bankers. While Huning accrued interest on his account with Franz—receiving \$225 in interest on \$5,000 over a period of six months, for example—the

³²⁵ Lynn Pierson Doti and Larry Schweikart, *Banking in the American West: From the Gold Rush to Deregulation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 25.

³²⁶ Parish, *The Charles Iffeld Company*, 54.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

latter also received commission fees for coordinating his client's procurements. From 31 January to 12 August 1878, Huning sent \$16,570.22 to his St. Louis agent. The relationship appears to have taken a new turn by August, for Franz received \$13,000 in a note that was due to him for selling the storehouse to L. & H. Huning. Although the details are vague, the Hunings apparently owed Franz money, and this fiscal obligation apparently put a strain on their business association. After this episode, they conducted no more transactions for another two years.³²⁸

Julius Freudenthal and Company assumed a prominent role as L. & H. Huning's main eastern purchasing agency. The senior partner in the firm, Julius Freudenthal, had also been a close associate of Franz Huning, opening stores together in both Belen and Paraje around 1856. Shortly after Louis and Henry Huning acquired the Belen establishment from Freudenthal in 1864, the latter moved to New York City to found a commission house and facilitate eastern purchases for southwestern merchants.³²⁹ Freudenthal coordinated the majority of the Hunings's wholesale acquisitions from 1878 to 1880, receiving \$281,516.03 from the brothers over a period of three years. With their capital, Freudenthal arranged purchases with Sheldon, Banks, and Company, and H. B. Claflin and Company, two major wholesale grocers in Manhattan, on the Hunings's behalf. As hinterland merchants rarely had any close interaction with manufacturers or metropolitan firms, commission merchants, such as Freudenthal, were the key link that connected hinterland merchants to major supply centers.

³²⁸ Entries for E. D. Franz (St. Louis, Missouri), p. 15, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

³²⁹ Noel Pugach, *Jewish Pioneers of New Mexico: The Freudenthal, Lesinsky, and Solomon Families* (Albuquerque: The New Mexico Jewish Historical Society, 2006), 2–3. Pugach writes that Freudenthal partnered with Fred Huning, but he mistakes Franz Huning for Fred Huning, the son of Louis Huning.

In addition, commission merchants were also bankers, accepting deposits and extending credit to their clientele. The Hunings often sent their surplus capital to Freudenthal, regularly forwarding bank drafts to their agent. At the beginning of 1880, they had over \$30,000 on their account in New York City. In return for paying their middleman a 2.5 percent commission fee, the Hunings garnered interest on their account balance. Another advantage that worked to benefit the Hunings was that they knew their intermediaries, a relationship that allowed them to buy goods on fair terms and avoid unfavorable markup prices. Ordering “bills of merchandise” through Freudenthal, Huning procured dry groceries from Sheldon, Banks, and Co., clothing and textiles from H. B. Claflin and Co., and drugs from Lyon Manufacturing Co. In all, St. Louis and especially New York City were the principal supply centers, and their merchants were responsible for ordering and conducting the export of manufactured items, modern commodities, and consumer goods to the Far Southwest.³³⁰

The goods that purchasing agents acquired on the behalf of their western clients passed through another set of hands before making their final delivery to the buyer. Commission merchant firms, such as Otero, Sellar and Company, and Browne and Manzanares, set up their shops at railroad termini, specializing in “drayage, assembling, and shipping to [the] destination.”³³¹ Daniel Kelly, a descendant of Harry Kelly, who was a clerk for Otero and Sellar and who acquired the business and changed the name to Gross, Kelly and Company with his business partner Jacob Gross in 1902, illustrates “end-of-the-track

³³⁰ Entries for J. Freudenthal and Co. (New York), pp. 5, 176, 262, 346, 710, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

³³¹ Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, 56.

merchandising” during the period: “The business of the pioneer mercantile firm was to make a profit by expediting the products from the eastern suppliers to consumers at the end of the railroad and beyond, in exchange for the raw materials of the hinterland that could be marketed back East.”³³²

This illustration describes how Louis Huning dealt with B. & M., which was used for that purpose from 1878 to 1880. Similar to Freudenthal and Franz, Huning forwarded drafts and cash in exchange for wholesale merchandise. B. & M., simply another purchasing agent for Huning, charged a 2.5 percent commission fee for its services. At the end of 1879 and early months of 1880, Huning consigned sizeable shipments of pelts to the commission house in exchange for manufactured goods. Kelly remarks that these items were later sold to furriers and different manufactures who had an interest in the raw materials of the hinterlands.³³³ By having purchasing agents in New York City and St. Louis, L. & H. Huning had the ability to allocate its surplus capital to purchase merchandise and enable the circulation of goods among western consumers. These economic networks also offered southwestern merchants extended grace periods in paying for merchandise, giving them time to collect goods on their account receivables and locate markets for these products, which were usually army posts. Upon satisfying those conditions, they could then forward drafts and cash to their commission houses to acquire more commodities— a process that kept this entire system of exchange and delivery in continuous motion. In short, this practice captures the *modus operandi* of merchant capitalism: “the merchant buys, transforming his money

³³² Daniel T. Kelly, *The Buffalo Head: A Century of Mercantile Pioneering in the Southwest* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: The Vergara Publishing Company, 1972), 7, 8, 68.

³³³ Entries for Chick and Browne/Browne and Manzanares, pp. 1, 14, 165, 237, 283, 400, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

into commodities, then sells, transforming the same commodities again into money, and so on in constant repetition.”³³⁴

The Large-Scale Trends of L. & H. Huning from 1878 to 1880

At the end of three years, L. & H. Huning’s total sales equaled \$550,382.35. In today’s numbers, this figure would be equivalent to just over \$13.7 million. For a company located neither in Santa Fe nor in Las Vegas, their sales volume was on par with those of some of the larger mercantile establishments in New Mexico. The Huning brothers’ ability to generate this profitable business was due in no small part to their regional vision and operation, for they had an uncanny ability to transcend the narrow confines of Los Lunas and expand in all possible directions.

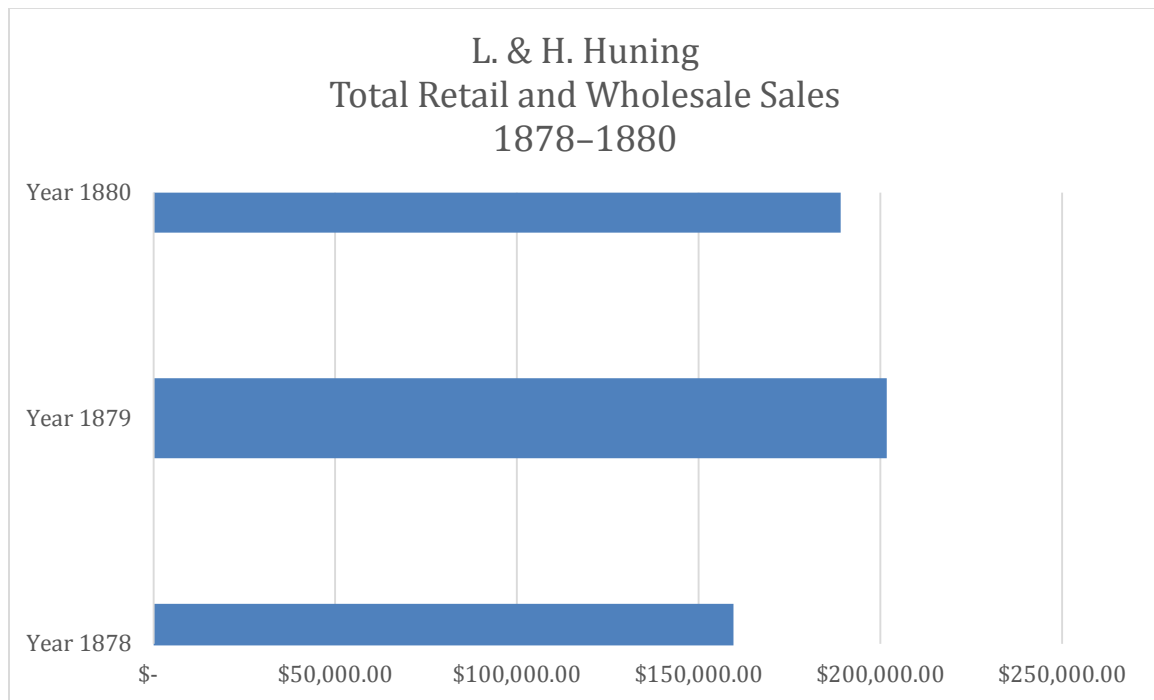


Figure 3.3. L. & H. Huning total retail and wholesale sales, 1878-1880.

³³⁴ Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 3, 417.

In total retail business, they sold \$239,541.72 in merchandise. Their best year in the retail sector was 1878, during which they sold \$84,369.05. Although sales slightly decreased at the end of 1879 to \$81,821.49, sales dropped another 10 percent at the end of 1880 to \$73,351.18. There are at least two possible explanations for this trend. More merchants in the towns of Belen and Socorro (Region 3) had arrived at the end of the decade and retail sales in Los Lunas dropped significantly in 1880.

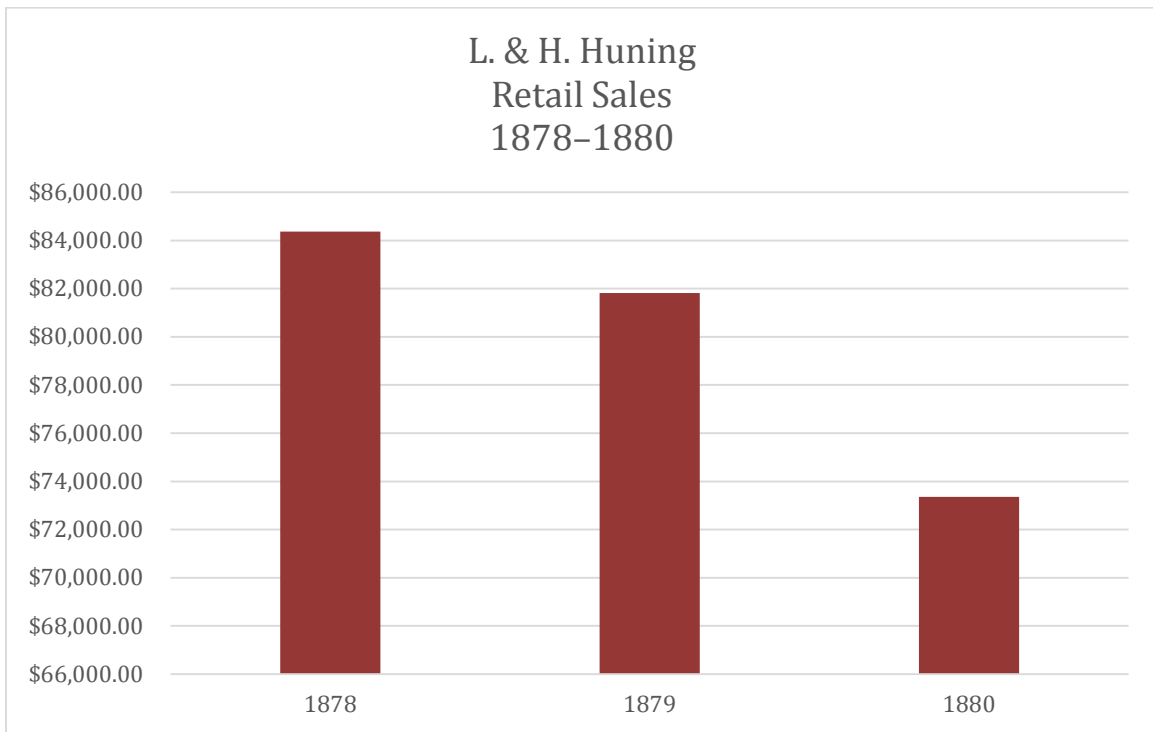


Figure 3.4. L. & H. Huning retail sales, 1878-1880.

In terms of wholesale merchandising, this side of the business grew substantially from the beginning of 1878 to the end of 1879; sales increased from \$75,175.72 to \$119,942.13. This development may be attributed to Jesus Maria Luna's purchases in Region 1, the retention of the wholesale markets in Region 3, and a nearly \$20,000 increase in sales to merchants in Arizona Territory. In 1880 wholesale transactions amounted to \$115,722.78

declining by a meager 3.5 percent. In all, L. & H. Huning sold \$310,840.63 in goods to other merchants throughout New Mexico and Arizona Territories. Since this number was greater than the dollar amount of retail business, this comparison suggests that although the company was a merchandise retail outlet, it was focused more on the wholesale business.

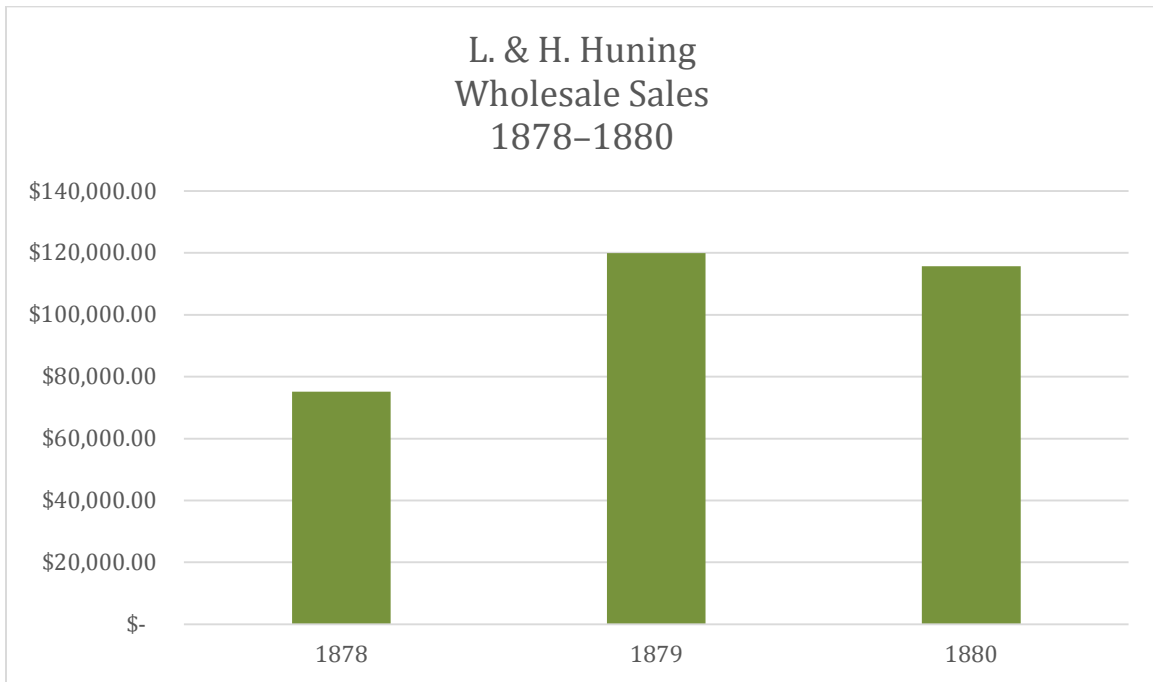


Figure 3.5. L. & H. Huning wholesale sales, 1878-1880.

The total sales volume might suggest the same amount in dollar returns, but appearances are illusory. In a cash-deprived region, merchants had to face the harsh realities of collecting on their customers' accounts. At the end of 1877, the retail customers owed \$40,684.34. At the end of 1880, this value increased to \$76,117.47 (see Appendix 3.5). Likewise, the debt that merchants owed L. & H. Huning increased 241 percent from \$33,328.83 at the end of 1877 to \$80,353.36 in December 1880 (see Appendix 3.6). Including notes that two merchants gave to their creditor in lieu of cash, this total actually

amounted to \$97,714.20. In other words, the Hunings only collected on 68 percent of their wholesale and retail sales over three years.

This problem was compounded by way of distribution of cash loans and advances to customers. The company's banking practices grew directly out of regional conditions, as conventional banks were wary of extending loans to farmers, freighters, and laborers. L. & H. Huning advanced \$63,413.63 (see Appendix 3.3) to its customers over three years, and nearly half was lent to Jesus Maria Luna of Los Lunas. To resolve the issues of customer debt in special cases, the mercantile assigned interest to customers who deferred payment. At the end of 1880, the store received \$9,351.87 (see Appendix 3.4) in interest income, of which \$6,748.13 was attributed to Dumas Provencher of San Rafael.

Despite the fluctuations in annual sales and mushrooming customer debt, L. & H. Huning experienced significant commercial expansion from 1878 to 1880. The business had indeed come of age from its narrow economy of scale in the early 1870s. Military supply contracts provided the main catalyst to the store's growth. Increased agrarian production, the construction of gristmills, and an elaborate freighting network throughout eastern Arizona and New Mexico—all these activities came about as a consequence of federal spending in the Far Southwest. L. & H. Huning's customers were beneficiaries of these subsidies in one form or another, either by growing produce for the contractors or freighting it to far-flung military posts.

This study concludes, however, that military contracts were mostly unprofitable for the contractor. In most cases, the Hunings made pennies or half-pennies on the pound of the products they sold to the quartermaster and commissary departments. In other words, supply contracts did not always generate profits. But they did serve an important function, for they

were in essence a cash source, a means by which to convert raw materials into specie. In so doing, they allowed merchants to accumulate cash, send drafts to their commission merchants, and maintain the flow of merchandise into the region from New York City and St. Louis. On the whole, German and Anglo merchants were often the beneficiaries of the supply-contract system, as they brokered arrangements between Hispano producers and the military authorities.

Upon close financial analysis of the customer accounts receivables and invoice books, this study has also determined that wholesale and retail sales were hardly the cornerstones of the Huning brothers' wealth. Many of their customers lacked the ability to pay for their purchases and often deferred payment to an indefinite future date. But customer indebtedness could ultimately work to their advantage for long-term success in the Far Southwest, and the Hunings recognized that they had to carry large sums of receivables. In accounting terms, accounts receivables are an asset, and debt was also a powerful instrument in the hands of smart merchants, burdening the money-poor majority of the population. In the capitalist system of production and in the American legal system, debtors were held liable for their insolvencies. In the end, customer indebtedness was an entryway into a substantial wool and sheep inventory for the Huning brothers. They gravitated toward the wool business, one of the most profitable enterprises in the region in the early 1880s. Through customer debt, they used merchandising as an economically legal way to accumulate their sheep and wool inventory.

The Drive for Wool

When the railroad arrived in 1880, the first phase of merchant capitalism, according to William Parish, was complete. The new transportation technology brought about the

second iteration of this economic system—increased specialization. Beginning to invest in wool and landholdings, merchants also gravitated toward wholesaling and using the regional banking system for mercantile financing. Indeed, Parish grasps the ways in which the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad altered the activities of New Mexican merchants, but he fails to notice that some merchants were more farsighted than others. For instance, Parish writes, “The established mercantile capitalist in the larger centers had resisted the temptation, as late as 1885, to invest, substantially, either in the ownership of livestock or in the business of wool and sheep contracting.”³³⁵ This generalization is false. This chapter has shown that L. & H. Huning had already begun wholesaling, acquiring land, and using regional banks in the late 1870s. The final section of the chapter will demonstrate that some merchants, such as the Hunings, turned their attention to wool as early as 1875. The Hunings were astute to realize that this export commodity, not merchandising and government contracting, assured profits in eastern markets, especially in the early 1880s. The Hunings not only reacted to changes in the mercantile economy of New Mexico, but they were visionaries who looked beyond the immediate horizon into the future of the U.S. wool industry. The wool commodity was attractive to them for three principal reasons: it was a means to reduce the accounts receivables; it was held ubiquitously by their customers in the form of sheep; and it was a venture that could generate positive returns.

Sheep had traditionally been used as a medium of exchange in New Mexico, and wealthy Hispano families had dominated the trade since the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth century. In 1875, Louis Huning obtained his first ample herd of sheep. No invoice books or ledgers exist for that year, but it is safe to speculate that Huning entered

³³⁵ Parish, *The Charles Iffeld Company*, 109–13.

sheep husbandry as a default measure due to a liquidity problem inherent merchant capitalism—he needed to collect hard assets that could somehow be converted into cash. J. Francisco Chaves, Antonio Jose Luna, Miguel and Toribio Romero, Mariano Baca, Jesus Maria Luna, Henry Connelly Jr., and Dumas Provencher conveyed some of their sheep holdings to Huning in the late 1870s. These individuals, among others, were customers who borrowed money and used store credit to finance their purchases of store merchandise. Consequently, they incurred substantial debts at the store. An adept practitioner of merchant capitalism, Louis Huning accepted their sheep in lieu of cash payment. According to a sheep journal in 1878, Huning owned 29,125 ewes, 350 lambs, and 223 bucks (rams). Henrika Huning claims that the number was much higher: 82,000 head of sheep. Although it is difficult to reconcile these conflicting figures, Henrika’s estimate appears more accurate, for L. & H. Huning shipped over one million pounds of wool in 1880 alone (see Exhibit 3.4 for sheep journal). It is possible that a few of Louis Huning’s sheep journals were lost.³³⁶

Once Huning amassed his herd of sheep by the end of 1878, he faced more challenges—how was he to manage the vast herds and prepare the wool product for market? He implemented a variation of the partido system, what Parish labels “debt financing.” In effect, Huning leased sheep to some of his customers (*partidarios*) and established a benchmark on how much wool the borrower was obligated to return to him, and this number probably included payment of interest. All his partidarios were store debtors. According to the sheep journal, customers of various classes entered into partido contracts: Santiago Luna, Jesus Mason, Demetrio Ballejos, Tomas Sandoval, Mariano Baca, Henry Connelly Jr., Cisto

³³⁶ Alvar Ward Carlson, “New Mexico’s Sheep Industry, 1850–1900: Its Role in the History of the Territory,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 44, no. 1 (January 1969): 26; Journal of Sheep Purchased, 1875–1884, p. 5, item 2, box 2, HMCR, CSWR; and Drew, *Henrika Busch Huning*, 2.

Chavez, Clemente Silva, and Felipe Peralta were partidarios in the early 1880s. There were probably more contracts, but they no longer exist. The contracts identify the partidario, the number of sheep rented, the expected return of wool in pounds, and the date of delivery. Three agreements illustrate this practice. At the beginning of the sheep season in May 1880, Huning leased to Demetrio Ballejos, one of his clerks, 4,498 ewes. Required to deliver 8,996 pounds of wool (2 pounds per head), Ballejos conveyed 4,750 pounds in late May, 3,152 pounds in mid-July, and 94 pounds at the end of August. Mariano Baca from La Joya, likewise, borrowed 1,110 ewes and owed 2,220 pounds of wool to his lessor. He fulfilled the contract in May 1880. Felipe Peralta, the prominent merchant in La Joya, was also a partidario, renting 3,338 ewes and returning 6,676 pounds of wool on 17 July 1880.³³⁷

The implications of the modified partido system were threefold. There were no direct labor costs, risk was transferred from lessor to lessee, and the owner absolved himself from direct participation in managing the herds. By the time that 1880 arrived, Huning had a vast sheep empire, a nearly cost-free labor pool of shepherds, and customers who supplied him with the product as a direct result of their debts. That year was the perfect opportunity to offset the large customers whose debts had been growing on his books and to turn his accounts receivables into cash profits.

The wool journal highlights L. & H. Huning's shipments of wool, hides, and pelts from 24 May 1880 to December 1880. Freightling these commodities with a wagon train and a skilled team of regional freighters to the railroad terminus throughout most of the year, Huning began using the new Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway in August. The Coates

³³⁷ Carlson, "New Mexico's Sheep Industry," 36; Parish, *The Charles Ifeld Company*, 154; and Journal of Sheep Purchased, 1875–1884, p. 6–13, item 2, box 2, HMCR, CSWR.

Brothers and the Gregg Brothers, two wool commission merchant houses that operated out of Philadelphia, were the largest purchasers of Huning wool. A nineteenth-century civic history of Philadelphia's leading industries states:

[The Coates Bros.] Warerooms are at Nos. 127 and 129 Market Street, Nos. 103 and 105 Church Street, Nos. 116 and 118 Church Street, with additional storage rooms at Nos. 240 and 242 North Front Street. These buildings are especially adapted to handling and showing wool, and are lighted in the most approved manner. Their storage capacity is about three million pounds at one time, and considering the amount that is continually coming in, being sold, and going out of these stores, the quantity that is annually handled in them is very large. Two of these stores are used for wool from the more eastern states. Two others contain territorial wools almost exclusively. Some are devoted to Colorado and *New Mexican wools*.

The majority of the "New Mexican wools" likely originated from L. & H. Huning, which obtained them through *partidos* with its customers. In addition, the Gregg Brothers were active in recruiting southwestern merchants to work on a commission basis and send wool to their warerooms in Philadelphia.³³⁸

The year 1880 was a peak year for wool prices nationwide. That year, New Mexico produced 4,019,188 pounds of wool and 2,088,831 sheep grazed throughout the territory. Here was a ripe opportunity to exploit a market, and Huning received, on average, 25 cents per pound of wool sent to the eastern commission merchants. In 1880, he consigned 1,001,277 pounds of white wool to eastern buyers, amounting to \$250,306.75 in revenues. Incurring roughly 4.2 cents per pound in railroad expenses and paying the Philadelphia buyers a 6 percent commission fee on average, L. & H. Huning probably made a profit of about \$148,176.50, nearly \$3.4 million in 2015 U.S. dollars. The proceeds from the sales

³³⁸ L. & H. Huning Journal for Wool, Hides, and Pelts, p. 2–9, item 8, box 9, HMCR, CSWR; "Coates Brothers" *Pennsylvania Historical Review, Gazetteer, Post-office, Express, and Telegraph Guide: City of Philadelphia: Leading Merchants and Manufacturers* (Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Company, 1886), 164, italics added; and Parish, *The Charles Ifeld Company*, 135.

were sent from Philadelphia to the commission house of Julius Freudenthal in Manhattan (see Exhibit 3.5 for wool shipments).³³⁹

Conclusion

In some ways the German merchant capitalist in 1880 resembled the New Mexican *patron* of the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, who owned substantial herds of sheep and had access to cheap labor. But the times had indeed changed. Large-scale merchandising had become a method for wealth creation in the post-Civil War era. Its success required a regional monopoly in wholesale and retail markets, cash flow from the federal government, and a system that offered credit and loans in exchange for produce, sheep, and wool. The Hunings had the right networks, connections, and resources to transform these products into currency, and in the case of wool, profits. A much-more-intricate system than most historians have assumed, merchant capitalism by 1880 supplanted the once dominant Hispano livestock-based and land-based capital and, in the process, appropriated the latter forms of wealth for its own ends. By combining wholesale and retail merchandising, banking, freighting, milling, and government contracting, the mercantile house had become a symbol of economic power in the hinterlands and foreshadowed the changes that industrial and corporate capitalism would bring about throughout the territory in the late-nineteenth century. The Huning brothers attained mastery of wealth-creation in a rugged and stubborn region that, on the surface, offered no such promises. In the end, their economic savvy made them into some of the most influential merchants in the Arizona and New Mexico territories.

³³⁹ Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company*, 136; L. & H. Huning Journal for Wool, Hides, and Pelts, pp. 2–9, item 8, box 9, HMCR, CSWR; and Entries for Freudenthal and Co. (New York), pp. 5, 176, 262, 346, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable/Payable, 1878–1880, folder 6, box 13, *ibid.*

Conclusion

When Louis and Henry Huning terminated their partnership on 18 August 1888, it must have been bittersweet. For nearly thirty years, they had conducted business together in Arizona and New Mexico Territories, both enduring the hardships and enjoying the fortunes of the mercantile business. Conflicting stories abound for the dissolution of L. & H. Huning. The descendants of Louis Huning claim that the brothers decided to divide the spoils of their commercial empire in a poker game. Given that both men were frugal, this scenario is extremely unlikely but has taken on mythical proportions in the local histories of Los Lunas and Show Low. Jane Stump, a historian of Arizona, claims that that “court records in St. John’s clearly reveal that Louis used company funds for personal expenses, so Henry asked that the court arbitrate, dissolve the partnership and divide the property.” Stump does not elaborate on Louis’s alleged misuses of company funds and cites no tangible evidence to substantiate her claim.

From my examination of the business archives, Louis Huning was prudent in his purchasing habits. The more likely explanation would suggest that the partnership became cumbersome and one-sided, as Louis Huning ran the business in Los Lunas while Henry Huning spent his days ranching in Show Low. The older Huning may have resented his younger brother, as the former bore the burdens of running the business while the latter preferred life on the frontier in Arizona Territory. When the profits were flowing in the wool business in the early 1880s, Louis Huning may have decided to buy out his younger brother’s interest in the company.³⁴⁰

³⁴⁰ Jane Barr Stump, *Show Low Dreams: A History of Show Low, Arizona, and Fort Apache from 1200–1903* (Bloomington, Ind.: Xlibris Corporation, 2009), 123; and Quitclaim Deed from Henry Huning to

According to the probate records in Apache County, Louis Huning assumed control of the hard assets in New Mexico, and Henry Huning received \$50,000 in cash for his fifty percent interest in the company. Louis received full ownership of lands located in Socorro, Bernalillo, and Valencia Counties, including interests in the San Clemente Land Grant; an “undivided portion” of the Tome Grant; tracts in the Belen and Casa Colorada Grants; an orchard in Tome; Champions Mill in Los Chavez; fifteen hundred acres of land “near the old Fort Wingate” (the former lands of Dumas Provencher); interests in the Antonio Sedillo Grant (formerly held by J. Francisco Chaves); and land parcels in the Huning Highland Addition and Atlantic and Pacific Addition in Albuquerque. Louis’s will provides more detail on the total acreage of his real property: he held 74,283 acres when he died in 1901.³⁴¹

Although Louis Huning had amassed extensive landholdings and large herds of sheep, he encountered hard times in the mid-1880s. Jack Huning, his grandson, claims that his grandfather experienced financial difficulties as a result of the Cleveland administration’s reduction of the wool tariff. Elaborating on this political and economic issue, William Parish writes, “Grover Cleveland’s election, however, and his messages to Congress in 1885 and 1887, which had come on top of a slight reduction in wool excises in 1883, threw the dampest kind of a blanket on any hopes the wool growers would otherwise have had.” Jack Huning adds that the family has “been Republican ever since.” A high tariff, however, was not enough to save the company from ruin.

Louis Huning, 18 August 1888, Apache County, Arizona Territory, Huning Limited Liability Partnership, private archive.

³⁴¹ Last Will and Testament of Louis Huning, 13 December 1913, Los Lunas, New Mexico, Probate Records, Valencia County Courthouse; and Quitclaim Deed from Henry Huning to Louis Huning, 18 August 1888, Apache County, Arizona Territory, Huning Limited Liability Partnership, private archive.

The downturn of his fortunes likely resulted from multiple factors, including the end of the Indian Wars in 1886 (no more supply contracts), the closure of frontier posts, the decline of wool and rise of cotton, and cheaper grains imported from Kansas via the railroad. According to Darlis Miller, “For the army, the arrival of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe in New Mexico heralded important changes in the system of supply: transportation costs declined, wagon hauls grew shorter, and cheaper Kansas grain supplanted the local product.” Starting in 1881, Kansas contractors were directly competing with long-established government contractors in New Mexico and Arizona. Miller notes that all New Mexico bids for corn, oats, bran, and hay were rejected in 1883. In 1885, the commissary and quartermaster departments were importing nearly all their stores and products from outside New Mexico. The Hunings were fortunate to retain their contracts with Fort Apache, a relatively isolated post, during the first half of the 1880s, but the end of the Apache Wars brought their custom of supplying Fort Apache to an end. With the close of the Indian Wars, Sec. of War Redfield Proctor and Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield started to close down frontier forts and consolidate small garrisons into larger ones. Historian Edward D. Coffman states that in 1891, “the army had eliminated one fourth of its posts.”³⁴²

Visiting the Los Lunas merchant in 1889, a reporter from the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican* observed: “This busy merchant [Louis Huning], still conducting a large country trade, is now the owner of extensive grants, 50,000 sheep and 5,000 cattle. *It was once the center of trade for Valencia County to Arizona and of two-thirds of the Socorro County.* The rows of buildings, [are] now closed except for a bar and billiard saloon on one side of the

³⁴² Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers*, 321, 325–26; and Edward D. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 346.

plaza, and the long tavern on the other side.” The mercantile was no longer the juggernaut that it was before. Strapped for cash in the early 1890s, Louis Huning took out a \$25,000 loan for a cattle investment. An article in the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican* in 1892 indicates that the Mandell Brothers from Albuquerque “bought out L. Huning’s Los Lunas store, paying \$25,000 therefor [sic].” Expecting to recoup his investment, Huning was mistaken. The financial panic of 1893, coupled with one of the worst western droughts in history, proved to be his economic downfall. Although the details are unclear, the family regained ownership of the mercantile before Louis’s death in 1901. In 1903, Henry Huning sold his ranch in Show Low and moved to California. While visiting the Huning-Fergusson family in 1922, Henry died in Albuquerque at Huning Castle near the Albuquerque Plaza.³⁴³

With the assistance of his mother, Henrika Huning, and his brother-in-law, Walter Connell, Fred D. Huning, the son of Louis Huning, re-opened the Huning Mercantile in 1902. The family continued to engage in merchandising for most of the twentieth century and diversified into ranching. In 1917, Fred Huning acquired the San Clemente Land Grant and was instrumental in promoting the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District in central New Mexico in the mid-1920s. In 1935, he entered the cattle business. Jack Huning, after receiving a degree in animal husbandry and agriculture from Colorado State University, expanded the cattle interests in 1950, leaving sheep ranching altogether in 1962. The Huning Mercantile Company officially closed its doors in 1994. Since then, Louis Huning, the great-grandson of Louis Huning and mayor of Los Lunas from 1982 to 2009, and Nancy

³⁴³ John “Jack” Huning, interview by Patty Guggino, 2006, University of New Mexico Digital Collections; Parish, *The Charles Ifeld Company*, 143; *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 10 August 1889, italics added; Doug Johns, email to the author, 6 June 2015. Johns compiled, researched, and appraised the Huning Mercantile Company collection for the University of New Mexico’s Center for Southwest Research in 2014; “Territorial Tips,” *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 29 September 1892; and “Henry Huning Dies after a Brief Illness,” *Albuquerque Journal*, 27 March 1922, p. 3.

Schmierbach, daughter of Jack Huning, have administered the Huning Limited Liability Partnership, an entity that manages the family's landholdings throughout Valencia County and focuses on land and real-estate development on the west side of Los Lunas.³⁴⁴

A cursory twentieth-century history of the Huning family demonstrates that the family created a legacy and established a permanent community presence. This feat, no doubt, stems from the relationships that Louis Huning cultivated with the citizens of Los Lunas and the Rio Abajo during the early era of merchant capitalism. The conclusion of this thesis compares the strategies of different nineteenth-century merchants in the American Southwest and the greater region, exploring their similarities, differences, and legacies.

After the U.S.-Mexico War, Anglo merchants arrived in South Texas, acting as intermediaries between Tejanos and U.S. authorities. Similar to the Hunings, they relied on the U.S. Army quartermaster system to expand their mercantile interests. As Montejano indicates, they were the “architects of development” and harbingers of market relations. Marrying into prominent Tejano families, these merchants acquired landholdings and appropriated debt peonage for their ranching endeavors. The elite Tejanos relied on them for liquid capital in ways similar to Rio Abajo stock raisers who frequently borrowed loans and used credit at L. & H. Huning. This peace structure between Anglos and Tejanos, however, broke down at the beginning of the twentieth century with the arrival of the railroads, the introduction of large-scale commercial agriculture, and the imposition of the land enclosure.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ John “Jack” Huning, interview by Patty Guggino, 2006, University of New Mexico Digital Collections.

³⁴⁵ David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836–1986*, 25, 41, 48, 81, 95, 103.

In 1834, the Bent Brothers established Bent's Fort in present-day La Junta, Colorado. Historian Anne Hyde remarks that they "transformed the Southern Plains into a trading haven." The Bents's trading post on the U.S.-Mexico border on the Arkansas River opened up trade networks with Pueblo, Ute, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians. William Bent "had made familial relationships with the Cheyenne, American, and Mexican elites. His most important connections were with the Cheyennes. By 1838, Bent and his wife Owl Woman, daughter of an important Cheyenne chief, were the central business and social leaders of the region." Similar to the Anglo merchants in South Texas, the Bents married into powerful local families. This era of relatively peaceful economic relations, however, gave way during the Colorado gold rush in 1859 when Denver immediately soared to significance in the extractive, transportation, commercial, and financial industries. According to historian Kathleen Brosnan, Denver's "big three"—Jerome Chaffee, David Moffat, and Eben Smith—"organized more than one hundred mining ventures. [They] invested their own money, recruited outside capital, and utilized personal ties to financial institutions to dominate almost every Rocky Mountain mining district." Brosnan also points out that Denver residents clamored for the removal of the Arapahos and Cheyennes to make way for intensive agriculture. After the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, settlers transplanted new crops and livestock to the region, displacing native peoples and supplanting traditional ecosystems. Denver, similar to South Texas, erupted in violence after industrial and corporate capitalism displaced the earlier systems of cross-cultural trade established by merchants such as the Bent brothers.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶ Anne Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families: A New History of the North American West, 1800–1860*, 152, 156, 162; Kathleen A. Brosnan, *Uniting Mountain and Plain: Cities, Law, and Environmental Change along the Front Range* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 27, 36.

In 1885, the copper borderlands in Arizona, in addition, became a site of violence and labor discontent after the Phelps Dodge Company bought out the mining claims of Zeckendorf and Steinfeld, a pair of Tucson merchants, in the border town of Bisbee. Historian Samuel Truett observes, “Bisbee’s future therefore lay not with nifty prospectors or frontier merchants, but rather with engineers and capitalists, people who could more clearly see the pieces of this evolving industrial puzzle.” As race and class divided residents in the mining village in Bisbee, the industrialization of its countryside along the U.S.-Mexico border brought about new socio-economic inequalities. Sonorans, Apaches, and other indigenous groups served as cheap labor, working in deplorable conditions in the mines. Their grievances set the stage for a strike in Cananea in 1906 and foreshadowed the Mexican Revolution by four years. Analogous to the Anglo merchants in South Texas and the Bents in Colorado, the Arizona frontier merchants operated on a smaller scale and were less exploitative altogether than the Phelps Dodge Company.³⁴⁷

These examples suggest that merchant capitalism, although driven by profits from market exchanges, was ultimately capitalism with a human face. In other words, merchant capitalism brought social value to communities in contrast to industrial capitalism, which exploited labor, extracted natural resources, and incited social and economic discontent among wage laborers. Merchants who sojourned into the Far Southwest could not risk violently exploiting the people they engaged and conducted business with on a daily and face-to-face basis. Unlike the industrial and corporate capitalists of South Texas, Denver, and southern Arizona, New Mexican merchant capitalists established roots in their communities,

³⁴⁷ Samuel Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 67–68.

earned fair reputations, adapted to New Mexican culture, provided economic services, employed neighbors and customers, and spawned multi-generational family businesses.

Following the end of the Indian Wars into the twentieth century, merchants found ways to adapt to New Mexico's changing economic landscape. As a practice, merchant capitalism lasted well into the twentieth century and came to its final conclusion in the post-World War II years. Like the Hunings, many of the early German Jewish merchants faced these new challenges and discovered means to turn a profit without the aide of army contracts. The Bibo/Seligman family operated the Bernalillo Mercantile Company into the new century and remained a magnet to customers "from the surrounding areas and from Indian pueblos including Sandia, Santa Ana, Zia, Santo Domingo, and even San Felipe and Jemez." Likewise, the Wertheim family of Fort Sumner also achieved longevity. During the Great Depression, Max Wertheim, a relative of the Seligmans, relocated his store from Porter to Fort Sumner to sell goods and services to laborers working on New Deal projects in the region. As Las Vegas faded in importance, in 1911 the Charles Iffeld Company entered the wholesale business and opened up a large branch store in Albuquerque, a burgeoning urban center, and ventured into rural communities such as Gallup and Santa Rosa. Merchants generally formed close bonds with their respective communities and kept those rural economies afloat. Their presence spearheaded rural New Mexico's transition into the modern age.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸ Henry Tobias and Sarah R. Payne, *Jewish Pioneers of New Mexico: The Seligman Family* (Albuquerque: The New Mexico Jewish Historical Society, 2005), 10; Durwood Ball, *Jewish Pioneers of New Mexico: The Wertheim Family of Fort Sumner* (Albuquerque: The New Mexico Jewish Historical Society, 2005), 11; and Henry Tobias and Sarah R. Payne, *Jewish Pioneers of New Mexico: The Iffeld and Nordhaus Families* (Albuquerque: The New Mexico Jewish Historical Society, 2005), 7.

Formed in 1867, Otero, Sellar, and Company, which became Gross, Blackwell, and Company in 1881, and Gross, Kelly, and Company in 1902, lasted to 1954. Originally a commission merchant firm that moved with the railroad terminus in the 1860s and 1870s, it developed into a wholesale grocery and hardware company with branches in Albuquerque, Gallup, and small towns across New Mexico in the twentieth century. In 1954, the company was sold to the Kimbell Company from Fort Worth, Texas. Daniel Kelly, a past president and chairman of the board at the time of liquidation, explained: “During World War II the economy of New Mexico became increasingly supported by federal payrolls, bringing an influx of money and freeing consumers from their former dependency on the credit available from local merchants. I have often thought that had Hank Kelly and Bob Gross, Jr., been there, they probably would have joined Bud [Kelly] in forming a *third-generation leadership* team that might well have carried Gross, Kelly, and Company into the new era of merchandising.”³⁴⁹ The Charles Ifeld Company shared a similar fate in 1959, also selling out to the Fort Worth wholesale chain. During and after their tenure, the Kelly and Ifeld families, like many other families that descended from territorial merchants, contributed to the social, economic, and cultural development in New Mexico. Some families like the Spiegelbergs, however, moved from New Mexico after it was no longer profitable.

But what makes the merchant capitalists distinct as a class of businessmen? They made New Mexico their home, learned Spanish, forged direct relationships with the Hispanos, and promoted community development. Although this picture might suggest that merchants were inherently benevolent and put the interests of the New Mexican people above lining their pocketbooks, that image would be disingenuous and inaccurate. Extending

³⁴⁹ Daniel Kelly, *The Buffalo Head*, 246, 258, italics added.

credit and loans to their customers for land, sheep, and wool holdings, coaxing some of those individuals into partido contracts, and pursuing aggressive collection policies—these methods were practiced all too often. Merchants, consequently, replaced the Hispano patrons in the economic hierarchy and created new social and economic dependencies in a changing capitalist landscape. According to the rules of the Anglo capitalist marketplace, their business methods were legitimate, legal, and prudent.

The deeper irony is that twentieth-century national wholesale businesses, such as Kimbell Company, Piggly-Wiggly, and Wal-Mart, overwhelmed the independent wholesalers in the way that the German merchant capitalists had once displaced Hispano merchants. Although there is an apparent shift from merchant capitalism in the nineteenth-century to full-fledged industrial capitalism in the post–World War II era, a link in the capitalist chain unites them: merchant capitalism provided the foundation for these ongoing market revolutions. Even though merchants constrained social progress with practices such as partido contracts, they simultaneously pushed economic development forward into the modern era. Merchant capitalism, seemingly one-dimensional, defies simple binary constructions.

Revisiting the Thesis’s Core Arguments and Their Implications for Future Histories

Following the U.S.-Mexico War, New Mexico’s political economy underwent a significant change. No longer a peripheral province of Mexico, the region became a site of U.S. conquest and consolidation. German and German Jewish merchants, perhaps consciously, timed their arrival at this critical transitional moment. They saw commercial opportunity where others saw an economic desert. Frontier historians have celebrated these merchants as self-made men starting out with little capital and rising to stratospheric heights

as a result of their labors, foresight, and industry. Without undermining their achievements, certain elements had to be in place for profit-making. The U.S. Army, federal authorities and agencies, influential Hispanos, and an agricultural society were all necessary for the rise of merchant capitalism in the Far Southwest.

When Hispano sheep ranchers saw German and German Jewish “outsiders” converging on the merchandising trade, they reacted in a rational way. Seizing a narrow window of opportunity during and after the California gold rush, they drove their herds to California and reaped lucrative financial rewards. What they did with their profits has often escaped attention of previous historians. Defying the stereotype of the lazy and idle New Mexican, they invested their profits in merchandising. However, why did the Luna, Jaramillo, and Romero families fail in merchandising when Erhardt Franz and the Huning brothers succeeded? The Hispano and German merchants held different notions of the marketplace. The former adhered to debt peonage, deeply rooted in New Mexican society, while the latter created new markets for produce and introduced credit allowances. The dissolution of debt peonage and Indian slavery in New Mexico in 1867 further solidified this transition to the open market. Former peons could now find sources of credit and goods at a local mercantile in lieu of a patron. Liberating the lower rungs of society from the powerful patron, merchant-capital defeated land-based capital. In the Rio Abajo, the Hunings exercised their new economic power by monopolizing the mercantile and milling industries, and by checking potential competitors. The Hunings, however, were careful to avoid alienating the local residents—their customers—and did so by offering generous credit terms and cash loans. Although the Hispano merchants may have resented these newcomers for thwarting

their mercantile ambitions, their contempt went largely unnoticed, for they became L. & H. Huning's most voluminous and valuable customers.

Given that supply contracts did not always yield profits for contractors, their role in developing the territorial economy calls for re-assessment and further interrogation. Did the federal government know that it was subsidizing territorial agriculture? Was it promoting economic integration and paving the way for New Mexico's path to statehood? Was economic development a bulwark of stability in a "lawless" region? These questions exceed the scope of this thesis, but new findings enrich the discussion of army contracting.

Historians can now place agricultural production, merchandising on the Santa Fe Trail, and contracting on the same plane. Indeed, cash flow and eastern drafts from the federal government kept mercantiles afloat by providing the means for businesses to convert customer produce into currency and to maintain liquidity in the hinterlands. No other institution or transaction could have supported frontier merchants in the same capacity.

The contract system fostered the ascendancy of the middleman in the territorial economy, and he attracted labor and raw materials from within his commercial domain, converted them into commodities, and sold them in the marketplace. Merchants became the ties that bound Washington, D.C., to the small-scale farmer and freighter on the frontier of the Far Southwest. To be sure, supply contracts provided a much-needed shot in the arm for local production. Regional mercantile and contract monopolies, such as L. & H. Huning's operation in the Rio Abajo, were a natural product of this economic landscape. Although monopolies can hinder production and economic advancement, the Huning monopoly led to the first systematic organization of the Rio Abajo economy. L. & H. Huning helped shape a market for surplus crops and provided jobs for Hispanic and Anglo freighters and laborers.

While the Hispano patron had been an informal mechanism for ordering the economy, he was now eclipsed by the merchant. Champions Mill and the birth of the milling industry in the 1870s inaugurated and routinized exchanges between producers and middlemen.

Throughout the 1870s and first half of the 1880s, army and some Indian-reservation supply contracts were the engine for the Rio Abajo economy. Without the army's campaigns against the Apaches and Navajos, these economic transformations might not have taken place.

Retailing, wholesaling, issuing credit and loans, milling, freighting, and government contracting were all parts of an interrelated whole in the merchant capitalist enterprise. In the early and middle phases of this research, the sources of L. & H. Huning's profits were elusive. It appeared that their expenses outweighed their revenues. The mosaic began to emerge when seemingly different facets of the business were pieced together. "The drive for monetary exchange," as Parish calls it, compelled merchants to engage in diverse business activities and expand their interests across broad geographical spaces. The picture began to sharpen when the business records were placed in the context of region and class. The business channeled merchandise to various areas in New Mexico and Arizona, and this practice gave the Hunings access to a wide array of producers and freighters for the military market. That was one method to attain currency. These customers, retail and wholesale, relied extensively on store credit. As we saw in chapter 3, L. & H. Huning, collecting on only 68 percent of its sales, saw its accounts receivables increase substantially from the end of 1878 to the close of 1880. Aware that many of these individuals owned land and sheep, L. & H. Huning exercised legitimate claims on those assets. Exploiting the partido system, it entered the wool business at the perfect time in the early 1880s. The store had seen little profit in the early and mid-1870s, but 1880 was the year in which its fortunes turned and the

company realized major dividends by commodifying wool and selling it to industrialists in Philadelphia. The different strands of the merchant capitalism, seemingly disconnected, were essential threads for wealth creation in the Far Southwest.³⁵⁰

Harkening back to Marx's definition of merchant capitalism—"the merchant buys, transforming his money into commodities, then sells, transforming the same commodities again into money, and so on in constant repetition"—an analysis of the practice reveals its historical elegance. Acquiring cash flow from procuring wheat and barley for army contracts, coupled with additional financing from eastern commission merchants, the Hunings were able to import and obtain eastern commodities and sell them on credit. Selling imported goods on credit in a cash-short economy, L. & H. Huning transformed these commodities into accounts receivables on its ledger books. The assets of store debtors, such as land and wool, became store inventory to resolve indebtedness. Having access to eastern buyers and a low-cost labor supply to manage the sheep herds and extract their wool, the Hunings transformed these commodities into money. Most importantly, their investment returned more money than the original principal did. In short, this system was the merchant capitalist's model of operation in New Mexico during the 1870s and 1880s.³⁵¹

The findings of this thesis also enrich the abstract framework of merchant capitalism. Adam Smith categorically reduced mercantile activities to buying cheap and selling dear. His definition is too simplistic and perhaps ahistorical. For frontier merchants, buying at wholesale cost from the East and selling at retail markup prices in the hinterland were not a plan for assured profits if they could not collect on those transactions. Hence, merchants

³⁵⁰ William Parish, *The Charles Ifield Company*, 44.

³⁵¹ Marx, *Capital*, vol. 3, 417.

employed credit and secured hard assets from their customers to pay their notes. Philadelphia merchants would have balked had frontier merchants tried to sell wool above fair market value. What made this system effective and lucrative was the region's abundance of land, wool, low-cost labor, and an available market for wool in the East. Generalizing in Smith's terms ultimately overlooks the historical contingency of markets. Contradicting Max Weber's notion that merchants were irrational and highly speculative, the merchant capitalist system was entirely predicated on rational self-interest, which employed an orderly system of debits and credits to guarantee profits. Although Weber had the highly exploitative and state-backed Dutch-East India Company in mind, nineteenth-century merchant capitalism adopted the virtues of industrial capitalism and applied them to peripheral areas. Merchants exercised restraint and practiced self-discipline by making profit-seeking a righteous pursuit. Merchant capitalism initially freed peons from the hold of their patrons, but it became patron-like in character when it began carrying those debts and that bad debt became excessive.

Indeed, merchant capitalism prefigured capitalist integration brought on by the railroads, the New Deal programs of the 1930s, and the military-industrial complex during the Cold-War. Capitalism indeed has an evolving history in the Rio Abajo that can be traced back to early frontier merchants who initiated the first formal exchanges in the region. While those same merchants might have foreshadowed later developments by promoting productivity and engendering economic organization, they also perpetuated social and economic inequalities inherited from the Spanish and Mexican periods. While this thesis is limited to a case study, historians may consider addressing and engaging these frameworks, themes, and historical dynamics in future studies devoted to the subject.

In economic terms, 1880 was both a watershed and a sign of continuity in New Mexico history. The railroads marked New Mexico's entry to the age of industrial capital in earnest, but industrial transformation also preserved the legacies and structures bequeathed from merchant capitalism. The modest relationships of exchange and capitalist consolidation that frontier merchants initiated in an earlier age became more highly developed and complex during New Mexico's early years as a state, the New Deal programs during the Great Depression, the construction of military bases in the second-half of the twentieth century, the expansion of Albuquerque's real-estate and service industries in the 1970s and 1980s, and the current wave of techno-capitalism taking hold across the state. The L. & H. Huning Mercantile Company was the germ of capitalism in the Rio Abajo, and capitalism, for better or for worse, continues to affect the lives of New Mexicans just as it did in a bygone era.

Appendix 3.1 continued

Name	Residence	Occupation	Region	1st	2nd	3rd	4th					1st	2nd	3rd	4th					Year
				Quarter 1878	Quarter 1878	Quarter 1878	Quarter 1878	Year 1878	Quarter 1879	Quarter 1879	Quarter 1879	Quarter 1879	Year 1879	Quarter 1880	Quarter 1880	Quarter 1880	Quarter 1880	Year 1880	Year 1880	Year Totals
Gallegos, Jose Maria	Alamillo/Socorro, NM	Laborer	3	3.50	297.66	324.47	1228.13	1853.76	8.90	897.98	1776.09	255.92	2938.89	1732.15	10.65	189.75	0.00	1932.55	6,725.20	
Aragon y Chavez, Jose	Belen, NM	Unknown	3	0.00	0.00	31.10	45.75	76.85	39.25	0.00	27.85	0.00	67.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	143.95	
Baca y Castillo, Miguel	Belen, NM	Unknown	3	2.40	0.00	4.00	0.87	7.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.27	
Baca y Ortiz, Jesus Maria	Belen, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	115.65	103.56	219.21	5.25	2.65	85.01	0.90	93.81	313.02	
Garcia, Vivian	Belen, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	151.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	151.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	151.03	0.00	
Gutierrez, Calletano	Belen, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	26.17	0.00	26.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	26.17	
Leyens and Duncckegny (empl)	Belen, NM	Winemakers	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	44.19	210.75	105.75	0.00	360.69	360.69		
Moore, Robert	Belen, NM	Belen	3	0.00	0.00	20.76	55.93	76.69	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	76.69	
Ortiz, Ramon	Belen, NM	Unknown	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.85	14.85	59.85	
Paulet, E. Reverend	Belen, NM	Priest	3	6.30	0.37	114.30	560.70	681.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	681.67	
Sanchez y Luna, Jesus Maria	Belen, NM	Freighter	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	121.97	179.30	140.52	441.79	22.15	53.50	246.57	78.30	400.52	842.31	
Sanchez, Juan de Jesus	Belen, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	12.00	0.00	0.00	12.00	0.00	20.00	28.75	0.00	48.75	166.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	166.50	227.25	
Torrez, Pedro	Belen, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-	
Chavez y Baca, Juan	Casa Colorada, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	
Chavez, Pablo	Casa Colorada, NM	Farmer	3	307.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	307.76	1.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	309.51	
Montoya, Vicente	Casa Colorada, NM	Farmer	3	109.87	59.85	251.05	0.00	420.77	15.00	272.04	0.00	0.00	287.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	707.81	
Saiz, Jose	Casa Colorada, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.65	15.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.65	
Saiz, Pilar	Casa Colorada, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.75	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.75	
Luna, Patrocinio	Jarales, NM	Sheriff of Valencia County	3	560.08	40.30	67.00	172.35	839.73	233.90	184.76	153.22	306.14	878.02	376.75	206.80	261.85	159.59	1004.99	2,722.74	
Baca, Mariano	La Joya, NM	Farmer	3	243.06	383.28	555.69	561.02	1743.05	110.74	666.88	330.97	268.19	1376.78	301.49	209.20	676.91	218.53	1406.19	4,526.02	
Baca, Tomas	La Joya, NM	Farmer	3	47.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	47.24	34.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	34.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	82.21	
Barela, Juan Jose	La Joya, NM	Unknown	3	14.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.00	
Contreras, Alvinio	La Joya, NM	Farmer	3	363.76	697.04	1452.06	366.46	2879.32	216.58	376.06	734.39	812.86	2139.89	352.44	670.40	277.93	514.57	1815.34	6,834.55	
Contreras, Canuto	La Joya, NM	Laborer	3	10.00	176.14	0.00	0.00	186.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	186.14	
Contreras, Matias	La Joya, NM	Farmer	3	38.84	0.00	0.00	0.00	38.84	0.00	0.00	926.38	97.74	1024.12	0.00	1110.46	4.80	551.05	1666.31	2,729.27	
Contreras, Pedro	La Joya, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	1.55	0.00	0.00	1.55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.20	0.20	1.75	
Martinez, Epifanio	La Joya, NM	Freighter	3	0.00	31.07	136.42	43.25	210.74	0.00	28.75	44.60	63.60	136.95	0.00	11.65	52.95	71.60	136.20	483.89	
Peralta, Jose Domingo	La Joya, NM	Laborer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	106.90	106.90	65.71	221.93	81.00	112.60	481.24	0.00	31.33	0.00	0.00	31.33	619.47	
Romero y Jaramillo, Francisco	La Joya, NM	Unknown	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	42.86	0.00	0.00	42.86	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	42.86	
Salas, Miguel	La Joya, NM	Farmer	3	166.24	99.24	205.67	289.45	760.60	95.69	84.52	126.21	18.95	325.37	0.00	88.10	0.00	0.00	88.10	1,174.07	
Salas, Teodoro	La Joya, NM	Laborer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	24.95	10.85	0.00	35.80	0.00	28.85	0.00	0.00	28.85	64.65	
Tafoya, Antonio	La Joya, NM	Laborer	3	0.00	34.64	82.40	57.00	174.04	109.23	59.65	47.70	56.90	273.48	28.75	92.20	0.00	0.00	120.95	568.47	
Pino, Gabriel	La Joyita, NM	Farmer	3	10.00	0.00	0.00	295.08	305.08	45.85	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.85	0.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	6.00	356.93	
Tafoya, Luiz	La Joyita, NM	Farmer	3	255.11	205.57	300.51	339.97	1101.16	166.87	182.14	227.69	218.24	794.94	0.00	17.15	0.00	0.00	17.15	1,913.25	
Pino, Manuel	La Joyita, Socorro, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	26.30	0.00	0.00	3.00	29.30	6.25	6.00	54.31	72.45	139.01	168.31	
Aragon, Jose Rafael	Las Nutrias, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	10.25	142.65	152.90	128.40	111.34	114.55	0.00	354.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	507.19	
Romero, Francisco	Las Nutrias, NM	Laborer	3	0.00	0.00	32.85	105.69	138.54	113.17	7.00	0.00	0.00	120.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	258.71	
Sanchez, Vicente	Las Nutrias, NM	Laborer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-	
Bourgignon, Phillip	Lemitar, NM	Unknown	3	21.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.40	
Montoya y Silba, Juan	Polvadera/Socorro, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	454.82	248.03	702.85	44.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	44.50	747.35	
Sanchez, Donaciano	Pueblitos/Jarales, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.94	1.94	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.94	
Armijo, Felipe	Sabinal, NM	Huning Employee	3	0.00	14.95	0.00	0.00	14.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.95	
Barela y Baca, Juan	Sabinal, NM	Farmer	3	204.90	189.73	380.01	110.97	885.61	149.45	11.80	257.90	217.03	636.18	116.55	280.34	123.70	201.42	722.01	2,243.80	
Pacheco, Juan Jose	Sabinal, NM	Farmer	3	39.94	45.88	0.00	231.44	317.26	260.40	214.73	0.00	1.25	476.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	793.64	
Rolly, Reverend	Sabinal, NM	Priest	3	44.10	0.00	10.50	2.50	57.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	57.10	
Sanchez y Montoya, Juan de	Sabinal, NM	Freighter	3	0.00	88.10	181.38	92.65	362.13	58.30	112.95	173.05	88.85	433.15	9.25	10.65	146.00	226.80	392.70	1,187.98	
Sanchez, Jose Lino	Sabinal, NM	Freighter	3	22.90	554.17	0.00	207.98	785.05	33.95	20.09	169.50	267.21	490.75	52.80	70.20	208.80	28.50	331.80	1,607.60	
Layser, Simon	San Marcial, NM		3	84.32	0.00	0.60	0.00	84.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	84.92	
Pino, Francisco Antonio	San Marcial, NM	Laborer	3	0.00	5.50	369.96	42.55	418.01	189.01	285.68	0.00	248.25	722.94	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1,140.95	
Ballejos, Pedro	Socorro, NM	Carpenter	3	7.75	9.10	51.83	93.17	161.85	0.00	7.00	36.45	96.40	139.85	0.00	2.15	20.54	22.69	324.39	0.00	
Bernard, Reverend B.	Socorro, NM	Priest	3	67.75	0.00	175.61	12.50	255.86	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	255.86	
Luna, Melquiades	Socorro, NM	Unknown	3	19.60	33.13	42.22	86.43	181.38	67.27	38.67	51.30	0.00	157.24	0.00	30.40	0.00	0.00	30.40	369.02	
Montoya, Jose Andres	Socorro, NM	Farmer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	341.97	341.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	341.97	
Saiz, Jose Seferino	Socorro, NM	Laborer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1149.66	1149.66	1.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.50	1,151.16	
Saiz, Luis	Socorro, NM	Laborer	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	73.10	93.10	40.50	1.00	0.00	13.90	55.40	148.50	
				2,650.82	2,979.27	4,826.81	5,271.79	15,728.69	2,369.72	3,993.75	6,088.22	5,191.91	17,643.60	3,301.02	3,148.28	2,436.48	2,173.20	11,030.54	44,402.83	

Appendix 3.1 continued

Name	Residence	Occupation	Region	1st Quarter 1878	2nd Quarter 1878	3rd Quarter 1878	4th Quarter 1878	Year 1878	1st Quarter 1879	2nd Quarter 1879	3rd Quarter 1879	4th Quarter 1879	Year 1879	1st Quarter 1880	2nd Quarter 1880	3rd Quarter 1880	4th Quarter 1880	Year 1880	Year Totals
Hawley, C.B.	Albuquerque, NM	Unknown	4	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.50	13.30	22.80	22.80
Poole, William	Albuquerque, NM	Unknown	4	28.95	0.00	0.00	5.00	33.95	0.00	14.00	0.00	0.00	14.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	47.95
Post, Thom D.	Albuquerque, NM	Hotel Keeper	4	22.50	22.50	22.50	0.00	67.50	0.00	13.50	0.00	0.00	13.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	81.00
Whiting, Harry R.	Albuquerque, NM	Public Notary	4	36.07	21.50	213.51	19.35	290.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	290.43
Kelley, John T.	Bernalillo, NM	Depot Porter	4	712.08	1194.62	839.32	160.41	2906.43	138.39	57.27	54.21	86.75	336.62	109.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	109.45	3,352.50
Kaysler, A.	Isleta, NM	Clerk	4	0.00	0.13	40.12	8.50	48.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	48.75
Chavez y Gabaldon, Vicente	Los Padillas, NM	Unknown	4	71.05	46.05	212.72	42.84	372.66	92.95	83.84	71.80	47.95	296.54	93.42	13.80	65.85	0.00	173.07	842.27
Chavez, Vicente	Los Padillas, NM	Farmer	4	273.04	29.00	116.62	359.63	778.29	106.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	106.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	884.31
Padilla y Chavez, Florentino	Pajarito, Bernalillo, NM	Laborer	4	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	17.50	0.00	17.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	17.50
				1143.69	1313.80	1444.79	595.73	4498.01	337.36	168.61	143.51	134.70	784.18	202.87	13.80	75.35	13.30	305.32	5,587.51
Apodaca, Jose Rafael	Cebolleta, NM	Sheep Raiser	5	594.95	1972.97	50.75	1602.96	4221.63	0.00	1905.10	155.10	1165.01	3225.21	54.00	47.82	1437.95	968.04	2507.81	9,954.65
Bruno, Father J.B.	Cebolleta, NM	Priest	5	0.00	57.00	10.00	30.00	97.00	4.25	0.00	3.00	28.00	35.25	0.00	0.00	63.49	0.00	63.49	195.74
Lucero, Antonio (run away)	Cebolleta, NM	Farmer	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.50	139.13	146.63	157.80	12.25	0.00	0.00	170.05	316.68
Mejicano y Marino, Cisto	Cebolleta, NM	Sheep Raiser	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	91.51	742.75	834.26	0.00	0.00	378.25	196.86	575.11	1,409.37
Mason, Jesus	Cubero, NM	Farmer	5	0.00	408.52	95.20	1335.88	1839.60	21.00	888.84	9.50	92.50	1011.84	1349.26	315.15	1038.01	989.23	3691.65	6,543.09
McBride, Hugh	Cubero, NM	Laborer	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	128.00	133.85	62.20	0.00	324.05	324.05
Miller, W.	Cubero, NM	Unknown	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	113.75	113.75	0.00	5.50	0.00	0.00	5.50	16.50	22.40	105.56	0.00	144.46	263.71
Pino, Narciso	Cubero, NM	Sheep Raiser	5	56.72	473.02	233.90	1316.67	2080.31	408.47	415.39	5.80	607.29	1436.95	124.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	124.06	3,641.32
Chavez, Jose de la Cruz	Rito Quemado, NM	Unknown	5	29.80	0.15	33.50	129.81	193.26	11.30	57.35	145.54	66.11	280.30	0.00	0.00	740.29	142.06	882.35	1,355.91
Trujillo, Celso	Rito Quemado, NM	Unknown	5	82.38	0.00	143.05	393.11	618.54	34.05	21.60	600.07	93.17	748.89	155.75	69.00	227.00	275.46	727.21	2,094.64
Baca, Remulo	San Mateo, NM	Unknown	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.00	37.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.00
Padilla y Marino, Jose	San Mateo, NM	Unknown	5	0.00	14.00	282.05	341.13	637.18	154.76	12.00	528.44	406.79	1101.99	434.28	179.30	1027.86	384.11	2025.55	3,764.72
Sandoval, Tomas	San Mateo, NM	Sheep Raiser	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	27.23	0.00	27.23	0.00	0.00	29.85	0.00	29.85	57.08
Telles, Jose Leon	San Rafael, NM	Sheep Raiser	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2109.50	2270.44	4379.94	4,379.94
				763.85	2925.66	848.45	5300.31	9838.27	633.83	3305.78	1573.69	3340.75	8854.05	2419.65	779.77	7219.96	5226.20	15645.58	34,337.90
Sanchez y Baca, Ramon	Manzano, NM	Freighter	6	0.00	36.80	123.93	0.00	160.73	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	160.73
				0.00	36.80	123.93	0.00	160.73	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	160.73
Padilla, Casimiro	Apache County, AZ	Farmer	7	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	40.20	0.00	0.00	30.00	70.20	0.00	281.67	561.52	59.45	902.64	972.84
Frank, Henry	Fort Apache, AZ	Unknown	7	0.00	239.36	0.00	0.00	239.36	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	239.36
Simson, James	Fort Apache, AZ	Unknown	7	0.00	27.50	0.00	0.00	27.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	87.40	99.94	0.00	0.00	187.34	214.84
Fries, George	Fort Stanton, NM	Unknown	7	0.00	21.45	0.00	0.00	21.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.45
Kelley, Patrick M.	Fort Tularosa, NM	Farmer	7	136.60	0.00	2157.56	0.00	2294.16	0.00	60.53	1353.76	391.92	1806.21	0.00	338.69	546.26	26.30	911.25	5,011.62
				136.60	288.31	2157.56	0.00	2582.47	40.20	60.53	1353.76	421.92	1876.41	87.40	720.30	1107.78	85.75	2001.23	6,460.11
McCarthy, M.	Randalville, AZ	Unknown	8	145.60	278.58	0.00	0.00	424.18	11.49	0.00	0.00	17.90	29.39	31.15	47.15	52.40	0.00	130.70	584.27
Baca, Francisco	Round Valley, AZ	Farmer	8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	362.85	0.00	145.00	507.85	0.00	0.00	173.20	9.00	182.20	690.05
Baca, Jose Maria	Round Valley, AZ	Farmer	8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	183.75	0.00	217.07	400.82	331.86	0.00	598.24	492.15	1422.25	1,823.07
Cooley, C.E.	Show Low, AZ	Farmer	8	0.00	0.00	120.00	741.05	861.05	78.28	224.10	646.25	671.13	1619.76	1609.13	25.00	531.88	358.86	2524.87	5,005.68
Barth, Morris	St. Johns, Apache County, AZ	Stock Raiser	8	25.00	128.04	245.96	45.00	444.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	444.00
Barth, Solomon	St. Johns, Apache County, AZ	Stock Raiser	8	0.00	0.00	526.59	0.00	526.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	526.59
Padilla, Trinidad	St. Johns, Apache County, AZ	Farmer	8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	75.13	28.28	69.10	172.51	137.32	4.50	0.00	0.00	141.82	314.33
				170.60	406.62	892.55	786.05	2255.82	89.77	845.83	674.53	1120.20	2730.33	2109.46	76.65	1355.72	860.01	4401.84	9,387.99
Hubbell Jr., Sydney A.	Las Vegas, NM	Clerk	9	7.60	76.85	1.80	0.00	86.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	86.25
Rouquillo, E.N.	Las Vegas, NM	Attomey	9	56.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	56.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	56.00
Vallejos, Narciso	Rito Colorado, NM	Unknown	9	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	356.47	356.47	356.47
Leroux, W.W.	San Miguel, NM		9	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	2.50	0.00	4.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.50
				63.60	76.85	1.80	0.00	142.25	0.00	2.00	2.50	0.00	4.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	356.47	356.47	503.22
								Total 1878	\$ 84,369.05				Total 1879	\$81,821.49			Total 1880	\$ 73,351.18	\$ 239,541.72

Appendix 3.3: Cash Loans, 1878–1880

NAME	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Year 1878	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Year 1879	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Year 1880	1878-1880 Totals	
	1878	1878	1878	1878		1879	1879	1879	1879		1879	1880	1880	1880			1880
Aguirre, Juan Jose (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	4.00	2.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.11	5.11	20.00	0.00	40.00	50.00	110.00	121.11
Apodaca, Jose Rafael (Cebolleta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.50	2.50	2.50
Aragon, Manuel (Valencia, NM)	0.00	3.00	0.00	50.00	53.00	0.00	90.00	0.00	0.00	90.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	143.00
Aragon, Jesus (Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	132.39	132.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	341.00	341.00	473.39
Aragon, Juan de Jesus (Peralta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.25	0.00	1.25	0.00	1.25	0.00	0.00	134.76	134.76	136.01
Archuleta, Agustin (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	75.70	7.50	45.00	128.20	133.20
Armijo, Felipe (Sabinal, NM)	0.00	0.00	7.42	0.00	7.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.42
Artiaga, Manuel (Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	101.46	0.00	101.46	5.00	2.50	42.50	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	151.46
Ashton and Deyly	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08
Baca y Barela, Jose (Los Enlames/Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	17.00	37.00	37.00
Baca y Carrillo, Jose (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	20.00	20.00
Baca y Ortiz, Jesus Maria (Belen, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	220.00	220.00	37.80	14.75	60.00	0.00	112.55	332.55	
Baca, Dionicio (Springerville, AZ)	0.00	0.00	0.00	500.00	500.00	44.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	44.50	93.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	93.22	637.72	
Baca, Enrique (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.00
Ballejos, Demetrio (Los Lunas, NM)	37.00	0.00	16.00	0.00	53.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.50	37.20	3.00	0.00	46.70	99.70
Baca, Jose Maria (Round Valley, AZ)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	152.25	152.25	152.25
Baca, Juan Jose (Socorro, NM)	0.00	296.38	0.00	0.00	296.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	296.38
Baca, Lazaro (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00
Baca, Leandro (Socorro, NM)	0.00	150.00	0.00	0.00	150.00	0.00	5.15	0.00	5.15	5.15	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	205.15	
Baca, Mariano (La Joya, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.85	1.85	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	40.00	8.00	25.00	73.00	74.85	
Baca, Octaviano (Tome, NM)	9.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	14.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	19.00	
Baca, Pedro A. (Socorro, NM)	0.00	192.47	0.00	0.00	192.47	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	192.47	
Baca, Remulo (San Mateo, NM/current Cibola County, NM)	0.00	0.00	900.00	0.00	900.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	900.00
Baca, Tomas (La Joya, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ballejos, Pedro (Socorro, NM)	7.65	0.00	0.00	11.50	19.15	0.00	0.00	1.20	0.00	1.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.35
Barela y Baca, Juan (Sabinal, NM)	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	38.00	23.00	8.00	69.00	89.00	
Becker, Julius (Apache County, AZ)	0.00	0.00	125.10	60.00	185.10	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	205.10
Bernard, Reverend B. (Socorro, NM)	0.00	0.00	4.50	0.00	4.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.50
Carrasco, Narciso (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	15.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	0.00	29.00	0.00	29.00	49.00	
Castillo y Baca, Francisco (Los Lunas, NM)	12.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.00	0.00	16.00	0.00	0.00	16.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	28.00
Castillo, Jose (Los Lunas, NM)	175.00	2.50	14.50	1.25	193.25	1.00	1.25	0.00	0.00	2.25	0.00	0.00	23.50	0.00	23.50	219.00	
Chavez y Gabaldon, Vicente (Los Padillas, NM-current Bernalillo County, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	30.00	0.00	30.00	80.00	
Chavez y Romero, Juan Jose (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.10	0.00	0.00	10.10	0.00	0.00	115.00	0.00	115.00	125.10	
Chavez, Eduardo (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	19.50	0.00	5.00	0.00	24.50	
Chavez, Francisco Antonio (Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.69	33.69	0.00	20.00	5.45	0.00	25.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	59.14	
Chavez, Higinio (Peralta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.59	0.00	165.20	215.79	215.79	
Chavez, Jacobo (Valencia, NM)	0.00	1.75	4.53	8.00	14.28	31.50	9.00	5.30	27.46	73.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	87.57	
Chavez, Jesus Maria (Valencia, NM)	18.00	2.25	0.00	60.00	80.25	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.50	8.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.15	88.90	
Chavez, Julian (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	48.00	0.00	48.00	48.00	
Chavez y Armijo, Francisco (Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	225.00	87.60	0.00	312.60	312.60	
Chavez, Jose Francisco (Los Pinos, NM)	272.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	272.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.90	273.90	
Chavez, Jose G (Valencia, NM)	0.00	3.35	0.00	0.00	3.35	100.00	38.06	0.00	0.00	138.06	1.85	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.85	143.26	
Chavez y Chavez, Jose (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	
Colomo y Martin, Rosalio (St. John Village, Apache Co., AZ)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	289.47	304.47	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	354.47	
Connelly, Henry (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	1.00	100.00	0.00	101.00	5.50	0.00	0.50	6.00	12.00	12.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	16.00	129.00	
Connelly, Julian P. (Peralta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	15.00	
Contreras, Alvino (La Joya, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	60.00	3.00	25.00	88.00	88.00	
Contreras, Canuto (La Joya, NM)	0.00	45.00	0.00	0.00	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.00	
Cordero, Juan (Los Lentos, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	
Costigan, Robert, M.D. (Los Lunas, NM)	40.00	30.00	23.00	31.77	124.77	350.00	0.50	47.79	0.00	398.29	22.25	0.00	16.00	0.00	38.25	561.31	
Cubero Store (Grants, NM)	0.00	30.00	0.00	0.00	30.00	84.00	0.00	0.00	114.00	0.00	76.30	75.16	0.00	151.46	265.46		
Dearmond, Alex (Cubero, NM)	5.00	5.50	3.15	6.15	19.80	127.75	0.00	0.00	97.75	225.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	245.30	
Frayre, Berardo (Randallville/Ft. Apache, AZ)	180.00	57.40	427.00	461.00	1125.40	222.80	0.00	18.00	240.80	6.00	0.00	85.00	0.00	91.00	1457.20		
Fries, George (Fort Stanton, NM)	37.21	0.00	36.10	0.00	73.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	73.31	
Funke, Louis (Los Lunas, NM)	3.10	1.20	59.25	50.25	113.80	254.06	445.92	0.00	112.45	812.43	85.69	106.58	316.65	296.55	805.47	1731.70	
Gabaldon, Doroteo (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	18.00	12.00	50.00	56.00	
Gabaldon, Jose (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.25	0.00	6.25	6.25	
Gabaldon, Justo (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.97	0.97	0.97	
Gabaldon, Rafael (Los Gabaldones/Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.20	0.00	6.00	7.20	12.20	

Appendix 3.3 continued

NAME	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Year 1878	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Year 1879	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter	Year 1880	1878-1880 Totals
	1878	1878	1878	1878		1879	1879	1879	1879		1880	1880	1880	1880		
Gallegos, Jose Maria (Alamillo/Socorro, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	84.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	84.22
Garcia de Aragon, Altigracia (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.85	1.85	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.85
Garcia, Agapito (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	10.00	10.75	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	35.75
Garcia, Bartolo (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.50
Garcia, Eusebio (Manzano, NM-current Torrance County, NM)	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	286.00	286.30
Garcia, Marcelino	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	9.50	19.50	4.00	0.00	16.00	0.00	39.50
Gingras, J.A. (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	100.00	5.00	105.00	144.76	0.00	35.00	0.00	179.76	50.25	5.75	62.25	46.10	164.35	449.11
Gobel, Oscar (Belen, NM)	0.00	2335.24	100.00	39.70	139.70	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.50	56.25	55.60	0.00	172.00	283.85	424.05
Gutierrez, Manuel (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	14.00	0.00	19.00	20.00
Gutierrez, Tomas (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.00	45.00	82.00	24.25	0.00	0.00	106.25	0.00	20.00	48.50	0.00	68.50	219.75
Gutierrez, Toribio (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00
Hawley, C.B. (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	143.00	143.00	143.00
Hobbs, O.H. (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.27	9.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.27
Hopkins Jr., L.N. (Fort Wingate, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.00	9.00	0.00	105.25	0.00	3.25	108.50	117.50
Hubbell Jr., Sydney A. (Las Vegas, NM)	17.50	5.00	72.05	0.00	94.55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	94.55
J.L. Johnson and Co. (Santa Fe, NM)	0.00	0.00	81.50	0.00	81.50	0.00	36.30	0.00	0.00	36.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	117.80
Jaramillo, Laureano (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.60	33.60	33.60
Jaramillo, Marcelino (San Juan, AZ)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	10.00	0.00	110.00	0.00	306.25	0.00	21.00	327.25	437.25
Kamps, C. (Los Lunas, NM)	40.00	325.00	72.00	5.00	442.00	201.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	201.00	215.00	41.97	20.00	0.00	276.97	919.97
Kelley, John T. (Bernalillo, NM)	0.00	0.00	10.00	46.00	56.00	25.50	4.00	150.00	102.50	282.00	361.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	361.92	699.92
Kelley, Patrick M. (Fort Tularosa, NM)	0.00	562.54	0.00	0.00	562.54	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	38.00	100.00	20.00	0.00	158.00	720.54
Lacy & Co. (Camp Apache, AZ)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.40	0.00	38.92	44.32	0.00	206.00	0.00	105.36	311.36	355.68
Leyens and Dunckegny (Belen, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	168.75	168.75	0.00	166.56	63.00	0.00	229.56	398.31
Lopez, Antonio (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00
Lucero, Antonio (Cebolleta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.50	17.25	0.00	0.00	20.75	20.75
Lujan, Vicente (Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.35	2.35	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	14.35
Luna y Gabaldon, Antonio Jose (Los Lunas, NM)	300.00	0.00	0.00	193.26	493.26	0.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	505.76
Luna, Federico (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.00	40.00
Luna, Francisco (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00
Luna, J.M. & Bros (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	125.00	20.00	4307.82	4452.82	3021.82	1007.94	3850.85	1519.71	9400.32	1788.25	6235.86	2407.50	3678.10	14109.71	27962.85
Luna, Juan (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.00	46.00	35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	81.00
Luna, Melquiades (Socorro, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	19.03	19.03	25.50	6.00	7.32	0.00	38.82	0.00	30.40	0.00	0.00	30.40	88.25
Luna, Patrocinio (Jarales, NM)	0.00	0.00	76.00	0.00	76.00	17.00	200.00	0.00	0.00	217.00	206.50	4.00	87.75	136.00	434.25	727.25
Luna, Santiago (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	40.00	40.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	41.00
Maestas, Rafael (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	41.00	41.00	0.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	5.00	3.65	0.00	8.65	64.65
Mason, Jesus (Cubero, NM)	0.00	30.20	0.00	0.00	30.20	0.00	101.62	77.75	0.00	179.37	0.00	30.60	0.00	25.00	55.60	265.17
Martinez, Epifanio (La Joya, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	25.00
Martinez, Pedro (Manzano, NM-current Torrance County)	0.00	0.00	1.25	19.00	20.25	0.00	0.00	41.50	0.00	41.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	61.75
McCarthy, M.	18.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.00
McCuiston, Robert (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	150.01	150.01	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.00	12.00	0.00	0.00	12.00	162.26
Mejicano y Marino, Cisto (Cebolleta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	120.00	0.00	120.00	120.00	120.00
Milligan, William R. (Springerville, AZ)	0.00	0.00	0.00	41.50	41.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	41.50
Montoya y Silba, Juan (Polvadera/Socorro, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00
Montoya, Anastasio (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Montoya, Vicente (Casa Colorada, NM)	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00
Neustadt Bros. (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	39.35	0.00	44.35	28.60	145.99	19.85	51.00	245.44	289.79
Niemann, Jennie (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	149.40	149.40	0.00	12.00	0.00	94.00	106.00	2.30	34.73	4.25	1.15	42.43	297.83
Otero, Manuel R. (Peralta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.75	3.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.75
Otero, Ramon (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	12.00	0.00	18.00	33.00
Padilla, Casimiro (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	3.00	3.00
Padilla, Jose Eustaquio (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	13.00	0.00	10.00	23.00	7.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.50	31.50
Padilla, Pablo (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	2.50	8.10	15.60	0.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	6.00	6.00	21.60
Padilla y Marino, Jose (San Mateo, NM-current Cibola County)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	200.00	300.00	300.00	0.00	800.00	800.00
Peralta, Felipe (La Jolla, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	40.00
Peralta y Bro., Felipe (La Joya, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.00	6.00	5.00	60.00	1.00	0.00	66.00	72.00
Perea, Juan Andres (Los Lentes, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	6.00	0.00	8.00	8.00
Pino, Francisco Antonio (San Marcial, NM)	0.00	8.00	0.00	60.00	68.00	52.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	52.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	120.00
Provencher, D (San Rafael, NM)	0.00	124.05	0.00	0.00	124.05	0.00	20.00	76.25	208.94	305.19	185.00	168.33	845.00	5223.00	6421.33	6850.57
Raff, John (Los Lunas, NM)	11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	21.00
Ralliere, J.B., Reverend (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	200.00	0.00	200.00	1.00	16.00	140.65	0.00	157.65	0.00	0.00	150.00	290.00	440.00	797.65

Appendix 3.3 continued

NAME	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter					1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter					1878-1880
	1878	1878	1878	1878	Year 1878	1879	1879	1879	1879	Year 1879	1880	1880	1880	1880	Year 1880	Totals	
Reymund, Numa (Paraje, NM- current Socorro County, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	272.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	272.00	272.00	
Rolly, Reverend (Sabinal, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	97.83	0.00	0.00	97.83	97.83	
Romero, Manfor (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	
Romero, Manuel (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	23.47	8.20	0.00	31.67	31.67	
Romero, Toribio (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	40.00	0.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	90.00	
Romero, Valentin (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	25.75	53.50	0.00	79.25	57.00	6.50	128.25	22.00	213.75	26.00	87.13	26.00	193.55	332.68	625.68	
Saiz, Jose (Casa Colorada, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	103.05	103.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	103.05	
Saiz, Juan (Los Lentos, NM)	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.00	0.00	12.00	32.00	
Salas, Higinio (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	10.00	5.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	80.65	30.00	0.00	110.65	5.00	249.00	55.00	0.00	309.00	434.65	
Salas, Miguel (La Joya, NM)	0.00	0.00	15.00	60.00	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	75.00	
Salas, Pablo (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.10	0.00	0.00	10.10	0.00	5.00	0.00	10.00	15.00	25.10	
Salazar, Antonio (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	251.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	251.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	251.00	
Salazar, Jesus (Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	141.53	141.53	141.53	
Sanchez y Aragon, Jesus H. (Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.35	0.00	3.35	3.35	
Sanchez y Luna, Jesus Maria (Belen, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	22.00	25.00	47.00	47.00	
Sanchez y Montoya, Juan (Los Lecos, NM- Valencia County)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.50	0.00	0.00	31.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.50	
Sanchez y Montoya, Juan de Dios (Sabinal, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	31.50	10.00	0.00	41.50	0.00	0.00	20.00	10.00	30.00	71.50	
Sanchez y Padilla, Marcos (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.33	0.00	15.00	31.33	31.33	
Sanchez, Desiderio (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	74.82	74.82	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	99.82	
Sanchez, Donaciano (Pueblitos/Jarales, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	
Sanchez y Aragon, Francisco (Valencia, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	164.40	164.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	164.40	
Sanchez, Jose Lino (Sabinal, NM)	15.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	30.00	0.00	0.90	25.00	0.00	25.90	112.00	0.00	150.00	0.00	262.00	317.90	
Sanchez, Juan de Jesus (Belen, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	18.00	43.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	63.00	
Sanchez, Justo (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	13.10	0.00	0.00	13.10	0.00	0.00	15.00	0.00	15.00	28.10	
Sedillo, Miguel (Tome, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.00	0.00	0.00	9.00	0.00	8.35	24.50	0.00	32.85	41.85	
Seller, Aaron	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	53.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	53.01	53.01	
Silba, Martha (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	
Silva, Clemente (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	25.00	0.00	82.26	0.00	107.26	108.26	
Speare, F.M. (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	70.00	70.00	79.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	79.05	77.50	129.29	187.15	0.00	393.34	542.39	
Speare, L.M. (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.00	80.00	0.00	110.00	0.00	130.00	7.50	0.00	137.50	247.50	
Poole, William (Albuquerque, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	
Staab, J & Bros. (Santa Fe, NM)	681.11	0.00	122.06	17.28	820.45	0.00	0.00	28.15	160.25	188.40	13.00	90.00	119.71	0.00	222.71	1231.56	
Stone, Paul D. (Peralta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	26.00	0.00	9.45	39.45	39.45	
Stover & Co. (Albuquerque, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	156.75	0.00	156.75	430.34	0.00	0.00	0.00	430.34	587.09	
Tafoya, Antonio (La Joya, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.00	15.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	40.00	65.00	
Tafoya, Luiz (La Joya, NM)	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	
Telles, Jose Leon (San Rafael, NM-current Grants, Cibola County, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	355.00	32.50	387.50	387.50	
Trujillo, Celso (Rito Quemado, NM- current Santa Fe County, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.74	10.74	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	50.00	60.74	
Vallejos, Narciso (Rito Colorado, NM- current Rio Arriba County, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.00	15.00	15.00	
Whittington, Rafael (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	151.50	30.60	0.00	0.00	182.10	184.10	
					13,991.62					16,320.35					33,101.66	63,413.63	

Appendix 3.4: Interest Charged, 1878–1880

NAME	1st	2nd	3rd	4th						1st	2nd	3rd	4th			Total	
	Quarter	Quarter	Quarter	Quarter	Year	1878	1879	1879	1879	1879	Year	1879	1880	1880	1880	1880	1880
Aragon, Manuel (Valencia)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.71	4.71	4.71
Baca, Tomas (La Jolla)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.50	5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.50
Becker, Julius (Apache County, AZ)	22.77	0.00	0.00	0.00	22.77	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	37.70	37.70	60.47
Chavez y Baca, Jesus (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.25	10.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.25
Chavez y Baca, Juan (Valencia)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.88	21.88	21.88
Chavez, Isabel (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	60.67	60.67	60.67
Chavez, Vicente (Los Padillas)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	24.27	0.00	24.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	24.27
Colomo y Martin, Rosalio (St. John Village, Apache County, AZ)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	104.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	104.30	104.30
Connelly, Henry (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	152.38	0.00	152.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	168.93	43.11	25.86	0.00	237.90	390.28	390.28
Cooley, C.E. (Fort Apache, AZ)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.87	3.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.87
Gobel, Oscar (Belen, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	223.46	223.46	223.46	223.46
Gutierrez, Clemente (Los Lentos, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.31	46.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.31
Hopkins Jr., L.N. (Ft. Wingate)	0.00	0.00	0.00	27.00	27.00	0.00	13.00	0.00	0.00	13.00	36.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	36.17	76.17
J.L. Johnson and Co. (Santa Fe, NM)	0.00	0.00	21.00	0.00	21.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.85	9.85	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	30.85
Kayser, A. (Isleta, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.00	0.94	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.94
Lacy & Co.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	311.84	311.84	311.84
Layser, Simon (San Marcial, NM)	0.00	0.00	5.08	0.00	5.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.08
Lujan, Manuel (Torreon, NM-presently in Torrance County, in	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.65	0.00	5.95	24.60	24.60	24.60
Luna, J.M. & Bros (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	313.97	313.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	525.24	525.24	839.21	839.21
Luna, Patrocinio (Jaras, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	184.76	0.00	0.00	184.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.58	18.58	203.34	203.34
Luna, Santiago (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	14.01	0.00	14.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.01	14.01
Montoya y Silba, Juan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.83	4.83	4.83	4.83
Pino y Baca, Jose (Polvadera, Socorro County, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	28.97	28.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	72.35	72.35	101.32	101.32
Poole, William (Albuquerque, NM)	28.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	28.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.29	3.29	32.24	32.24
Provencher, D. (San Rafael, NM)	509.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	509.17	2240.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	2240.90	1695.47	0.00	0.00	2302.59	3998.06	6,748.13	6,748.13
Romero, Valentin (Los Lunas, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00
Sanchez, Justo (Los Chavez, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.99	0.00	11.99	11.99	11.99
Sanchez, Vicente (Las Nutrias, Valencia County, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.96	5.96	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.96
Sichler, John Adam (Los Lentos, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	42.05	42.05	0.00	42.05	0.00	0.00	42.05	84.10	84.10
Torrez, Pedro (Belen, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	0.30
Vigil, Lucia (El Cerro/La Ladera, NM)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	27.49	0.00	27.49	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	27.49	27.49
Whiting, Harry R.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.50	0.00	0.00	3.50	3.50	3.50
					819.88					2968.87					5,743.12	9,531.87	9,531.87

Appendix 3.5: Accounts Receivable: Retail

NAME	Region	12/31/1877	12/31/1878	12/31/1879	12/31/1880
Aguirre, Juan Jose	1	737.57	558.39	373.27	196.90
Aguirre, Nicolas	1	38.54	42.56	32.30	13.33
Archuleta, Agustin	1	284.12	283.82	594.78	1442.85
Artiaga, Manuel	1	269.20	167.25	404.69	458.06
Ballejos, Demetrio	1	1568.03	2735.73	2776.94	3717.65
Carrasco, Narciso	1	222.47	442.71	596.21	413.05
Castillo y Baca, Francisco	1	82.36	175.67	280.23	24.92
Castillo, Jose	1	14.07	346.78	409.95	585.76
Chavez y Baca, Jesus	1	39.65	0.00	0.00	0.00
Chavez y Chavez, Jose	1	0.00	0.00	72.24	78.88
Chavez y Romero, Juan Jose	1	23.67	408.06	539.43	551.87
Chavez, Cisto	1	26.80	-40.66	2.50	2.50
Chavez, Eduardo	1	0.00	0.00	0.00	60.76
Chavez, Feliz	1	0.00	35.60	43.70	25.10
Chavez, Isabel	1	6.50	559.73	866.72	927.39
Chavez, Jose	1	0.00	0.00	82.71	0.00
Chavez, Olojio	1	231.05	37.05	20.80	45.60
Chavez, Vicente	1	109.25	0.00	0.00	0.00
Connelly Jr., Henry	1	379.24	2289.80	4023.53	5225.25
Cordero, Juan	1	82.51	120.78	0.00	0.00
Costigan, Robert, M.D.	1	73.37	297.06	299.10	-5.37
Funke, Louis	1	361.01	402.66	749.85	-347.97
Gabaldon, Antonio	1	0.00	94.48	0.00	1.50
Gabaldon, Doroteo	1	36.68	147.94	148.83	108.18
Gabaldon, Jose	1	13.25	46.70	17.05	0.00
Gabaldon, Justo	1	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.97
Garcia, Agapito	1	16.15	67.48	115.63	99.86
Garcia, Bartolo	1	348.69	916.83	279.33	382.17
Garcia, Marcelino	1	0.00	0.00	182.04	567.67
Gingras, J.A.	1	0.00	0.00	422.04	21.61
Gutierrez, Clemente	1	154.39	154.39	152.75	106.18
Gutierrez, Manuel	1	176.12	59.76	209.90	302.65
Gutierrez, Nacario	1	117.06	75.15	250.80	258.97
Gutierrez, Tomas	1	0.00	45.55	0.00	0.00
Gutierrez, Toribio	1	0.00	121.59	163.04	74.98
Hobbs, O.H.	1	0.00	0.00	36.05	0.00
Kamps, C. (clerk)	1	353.49	26.20	237.42	25.00
Lopez, Antonio	1	17.75	146.98	229.40	74.44
Luna y Gabaldon, Antonio Jose	1	110.75	375.75	3324.52	9224.99

Appendix 3.5 continued

NAME	Region	12/31/1877	12/31/1878	12/31/1879	12/31/1880
Luna, Adolfo	1	457.08	296.86	390.14	360.14
Luna, Federico	1	644.08	117.71	233.84	77.92
Luna, Francisco	1	37.18	0.00	0.50	0.50
Luna, Henry	1	105.10	-34.68	259.22	244.00
Luna, Juan	1	457.67	276.96	103.15	0.00
Luna, Santiago	1	290.68	198.02	53.25	476.74
Maestas, Rafael	1	170.88	118.80	83.27	123.76
McCouston, Robert	1	480.60	142.01	233.58	60.35
Niemann, Jennie	1	0.00	149.40	333.94	491.40
Otero, Ramon	1	349.55	381.75	619.65	491.78
Padilla, Jose Eustaquio	1	435.32	315.01	335.45	0.50
Padilla, Pablo	1	274.86	128.75	108.98	0.00
Perea, Juan Andres	1	30.60	85.81	163.73	190.46
Raff, John	1	250.16	0.00	21.71	15.72
Romero de Jaramillo, Trinidad	1	3.15	4.17	0.55	5.25
Romero, Jose de Jesus	1	123.15	123.80	105.30	105.30
Romero, Jose Maria	1	571.20	586.20	586.20	586.20
Romero, Manfor	1	0.00	0.00	393.25	23.35
Romero, Manuel	1	43.40	124.75	264.00	0.00
Romero, Miguel	1	1469.86	952.19	-0.31	-0.31
Romero, Toribio	1	750.61	379.06	70.70	1879.65
Romero, Valentin	1	1026.15	1581.75	1689.02	1083.54
Saiz, Juan	1	87.50	56.40	26.69	4.09
Salas, Higinio	1	129.35	163.80	213.96	-16.46
Salas, Pablo	1	74.30	180.19	518.09	606.68
Sanchez, Desiderio	1	282.61	80.15	150.85	3.25
Sanchez, Justo	1	0.00	67.25	107.34	131.93
Sichler, John Adam	1	737.96	358.65	268.79	10.00
Silba, Martha	1	11.75	0.00	0.00	0.00
Silva, Clemente	1	182.06	291.44	224.40	1820.88
Speare, F.M.	1	419.43	389.24	1035.77	320.33
Valencia, County of	1	22.30	0.00	111.50	45.95
Vigil, Martin	1	138.70	0.00	1.65	0.00
Whittington, Rafael	1	0.00	0.00	619.51	727.11
		15950.98	18657.23	27265.42	34535.71

Appendix 3.5 continued

NAME	Region	12/31/1877	12/31/1878	12/31/1879	12/31/1880
Aragon, Jesus	2	0.00	0.00	9.90	-42.74
Aragon, Jose Maria	2	64.14	23.94	0.00	3.00
Aragon, Juan de Jesus	2	0.00	21.05	54.02	0.00
Aragon, Manuel	2	0.00	351.95	426.78	272.90
Aragon, Melquiades	2	0.00	0.00	31.60	63.40
Baca y Barela, Jose	2	81.84	54.91	54.91	59.16
Baca y Barela, Jose (Enlames)	2	0.00	0.00	-39.36	0.00
Baca y Carrillo, Jose	2	23.46	51.71	59.81	113.00
Baca, Enrique	2	34.05	163.70	311.39	257.13
Baca, Lazaro	2	0.00	-0.98	25.49	61.44
Baca, Octaviano	2	92.03	70.10	151.56	191.86
Barela, Jose Ignacio	2	0.00	0.00	-88.74	0.00
Barela, Jose Manuel	2	118.08	30.90	149.15	162.98
Castillo, Polonio	2	0.00	0.00	28.55	17.83
Chavez y Armijo, Francisco	2	68.25	77.48	277.11	150.08
Chavez y Baca, Juan	2	18.50	4.00	0.00	0.00
Chavez, Dionico	2	52.56	0.00	7.28	0.00
Chavez, Donaciano	2	0.00	0.00	-41.23	0.00
Chavez, Eulogio	2	0.00	0.00	45.60	27.43
Chavez, Francisco Antonio	2	92.55	118.24	0.00	0.00
Chavez, Higinio	2	0.00	77.24	60.49	113.83
Chavez, Jacobo	2	29.80	76.91	0.00	0.00
Chavez, Jesus Maria	2	220.63	407.16	427.48	200.10
Chavez, Jose Francisco	2	5888.24	7891.77	7827.17	7677.72
Chavez, Jose G	2	16.29	106.16	0.00	0.00
Chavez, Jose Reducindo	2	25.64	145.46	93.95	89.55
Chavez, Teofilo	2	0.00	0.00	52.50	32.50
Connelly, Julian P.	2	0.00	0.00	139.90	480.55
Gabaldon, Rafael	2	0.00	37.13	71.55	471.55
Gallegos y Gonzales, Pablo	2	54.77	103.60	98.90	98.90
Garcia de Aragon, Altagracia	2	0.00	103.00	0.00	0.00
Hunt, J.C.	2	454.12	750.67	750.67	0.00
Jaramillo y Torres, Pablo	2	0.00	0.00	0.00	26.55
Jaramillo, Jose	2	9.75	42.20	25.85	0.22
Jaramillo, Telesfor	2	172.04	0.99	1.50	37.30
Lucero, Jose Maria	2	12.23	5.95	0.00	0.00
Lujan, Manuel	2	76.85	127.35	147.35	81.95
Luna y Chavez, Jose	2	0.00	36.65	34.15	10.15
Montoya, Anastasio	2	0.00	72.10	72.10	115.33

Appendix 3.5 continued

NAME	Region	12/31/1877	12/31/1878	12/31/1879	12/31/1880
Otero, Manuel R.	2	962.17	598.28	550.53	319.16
Pino de Romero, Rumalda	2	0.00	80.55	81.55	1.00
Ralliere, J.B., Reverend	2	1.00	70.58	134.55	708.73
Romero, Placido	2	90.49	133.04	107.87	182.12
Salas, Dionicio	2	0.00	0.00	19.65	33.60
Salas, Jose Lino	2	0.00	13.20	19.98	148.23
Salas, Nicanor	2	0.00	0.00	77.72	163.32
Salazar, Antonio	2	133.20	66.34	826.34	930.44
Salazar, Jesus	2	0.00	0.00	54.15	26.50
Sanchez y Aragon, Francisco	2	0.00	0.00	1.45	7.50
Sanchez y Aragon, Jesus H.	2	0.00	0.00	132.05	0.00
Sanchez y Montoya, Juan	2	0.00	0.00	73.10	4.45
Sanchez y Padilla, Marcos	2	46.71	46.71	97.30	115.61
Sanchez, Jesus Maria	2	54.79	55.16	112.71	112.71
Sedillo, Miguel	2	19.90	323.34	585.13	501.52
Seller, Aaron	2	0.00	0.00	99.20	0.00
Silba, Jose Gabriel	2	78.39	86.89	41.45	58.82
Silva, Jose Procopio	2	0.00	0.00	0.00	22.07
Stanton, A.B.	2	17.83	64.30	0.00	0.00
Stone, Paul D.	2	0.00	0.00	67.10	151.21
Vigil, Lucia	2	32.36	-27.49	0.00	0.00
Zamora, Jose	2	17.20	12.20	17.00	8.10
		9059.86	12474.44	14366.21	14268.76
Aragon y Chavez, Jose	3	0.00	89.28	122.29	122.29
Aragon, Jose Rafael	3	0.00	30.90	0.00	0.00
Baca y Castillo, Miguel	3	36.20	37.07	27.07	27.07
Baca y Ortiz, Jesus Maria	3	0.00	0.00	54.77	723.90
Baca, Mariano	3	3365.29	2178.84	1846.78	2279.97
Baca, Tomas	3	110.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ballejos, Pedro	3	0.00	-25.20	58.20	290.06
Barela y Baca, Juan	3	0.00	154.63	284.00	337.86
Barela, Juan Jose	3	0.00	14.00	14.00	14.00
Bernard, Reverend B.	3	45.50	12.50	12.50	0.00
Bourgignon, Phillip	3	723.13	744.53	744.53	744.53
Chavez y Baca, Juan	3	18.50	4.00	0.00	0.00
Chavez, Pablo	3	89.95	97.71	0.00	0.00
Contreras, Alvino	3	519.31	198.34	446.84	192.42
Contreras, Canuto	3	0.00	15.86	15.86	0.00

Appendix 3.5 continued

NAME	Region	12/31/1877	12/31/1878	12/31/1879	12/31/1880
Contreras, Matias	3	38.84	0.00	653.24	0.00
Contreras, Pedro	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Gallegos, Jose Maria	3	611.96	1454.96	482.93	945.80
Leyens and Dunckegny (employee)	3	0.00	0.00	168.75	-172.75
Luna, Melquiades	3	7.15	68.16	-30.40	0.00
Luna, Patrocinio	3	191.25	705.93	871.35	0.00
Martinez, Epifanio	3	7.69	75.09	125.13	202.69
Montoya y Silba, Juan	3	0.00	0.00	571.24	487.57
Montoya, Jose Andres	3	0.00	0.00	341.97	341.97
Montoya, Vicente	3	41.91	371.50	0.00	0.00
Moore, Robert	3	37.45	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ortiz, Ramon	3	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.85
Pacheco, Juan Jose	3	1568.70	257.28	0.00	0.00
Peralta, Jose Domingo	3	0.00	106.90	105.36	35.49
Pino, Francisco Antonio	3	311.65	288.97	0.00	0.00
Pino, Gabriel	3	697.75	906.23	90.48	6.50
Pino, Manuel	3	0.00	0.00	12.80	103.01
Rolly, Reverend	3	256.36	97.37	0.00	0.00
Romero, Francisco	3	10.31	72.98	193.15	193.15
Saiz, Jose	3	9.25	9.25	0.00	0.00
Saiz, Jose Seferino	3	0.00	0.00	801.66	0.00
Saiz, Luis	3	0.00	0.00	74.26	129.66
Saiz, Pilar	3	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00
Salas, Miguel	3	220.32	371.10	407.40	431.18
Salas, Teodoro	3	0.00	0.00	21.36	47.25
Sanchez y Luna, Jesus Maria	3	0.00	0.00	292.20	487.66
Sanchez y Montoya, Juan de Dios	3	0.00	139.19	199.07	380.47
Sanchez, Donaciano	3	199.65	125.78	0.00	0.00
Sanchez, Jose Lino	3	82.29	158.05	87.67	76.60
Sanchez, Juan de Jesus	3	6.90	0.00	81.78	423.48
Sanchez, Vicente	3	14.17	14.17	3.13	0.00
Tafoya, Antonio	3	0.00	51.07	152.30	338.35
Tafoya, Luiz	3	33.96	359.93	218.81	235.96
Torrez, Pedro	3	47.20	0.00	0.00	0.00
		9302.64	9186.37	9556.48	9440.99
Chavez y Gabaldon, Vicente	4	26.45	56.41	63.97	59.51
Chavez, Vicente	4	248.53	626.53	206.30	206.30
Hawley, C.B.	4	0.00	0.00	0.00	-294.79
Kayser, A.	4	102.56	31.41	32.35	32.35
Kelley, John J	4	1801.60	-23.43	128.34	274.92
Padilla y Chavez, Florentino	4	0.00	0.00	17.50	17.50
Poole, William	4	140.24	45.00	54.00	57.29
Post, Thom D. (ABQ)	4	12.06	44.56	36.06	0.00
Whiting, Harry R.	4	35.75	45.96	45.96	45.96
		2367.19	826.44	584.48	399.04

Appendix 3.5 continued

NAME	Region	12/31/1877	12/31/1878	12/31/1879	12/31/1880
Apodaca, Jose Rafael	5	1855.17	3453.67	3865.18	2880.87
Baca, Remulo, *	5	0.00	23.00	23.00	0.00
Brun, Father J.B.	5	0.00	67.00	31.00	0.00
Chavez, Jose de la Cruz	5	103.35	138.86	[108.7]	97.88
Lucero, Antonio (run away)	5	0.00	0.00	267.58	448.38
Mason, Jesus	5	644.85	1303.79	0.00	887.82
McBride, Hugh	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	294.05
Mejicano y Marino, Cisto	5	0.00	0.00	145.76	392.06
Miller, W.	5	16.00	129.75	0.00	43.41
Padilla y Marino, Jose	5	0.00	96.48	729.17	1918.44
Pino, Narciso	5	56.72	442.10	143.40	117.46
Sandoval, Tomas	5	0.00	0.00	27.23	57.08
Telles, Jose Leon	5	0.00	0.00	0.00	3677.94
Trujillo, Celso	5	0.00	519.91	204.52	379.54
		2676.09	6174.56	5436.84	11194.93
Sanchez y Baca, Ramon	6	53.13	0.00	0.00	0.00
		53.13	0.00	0.00	0.00
Frank, Henry	7	134.71	64.22	37.22	37.22
Fries, George	7	0.00	36.10	36.10	36.10
Kelley, Patrick M.	7	0.00	2787.78	3562.78	4560.66
Padilla, Casimiro	7	0.00	0.00	70.20	496.77
Simson, James	7	27.50	27.50	0.00	-112.91
		162.21	2915.60	3706.30	5017.84
Baca, Francisco	8	0.00	0.00	0.00	182.20
Baca, Jose Maria	8	0.00	0.00	203.90	692.33
Barth, Morris	8	135.11	697.74	169.97	0.00
Lacy & Co.	8	0.00	4371.63	4309.48	5041.23
McCarthy, M.	8	118.61	122.06	54.57	185.28
Padilla, Trinidad	8	0.00	0.00	42.97	4.50
		253.72	5191.43	4780.89	6105.54
J.L. Johnson and Co.	9	784.52	0.00	0.00	0.00
Leroux, W.W.	9	0.00	0.00	82.75	82.75
Rouquillo, E.N.	9	74.00	41.67	41.67	41.67
Vallejos, Narciso	9	0.00	0.00	0.00	71.47
		858.52	41.67	124.42	195.89
Total		40,684.34	55,467.74	65,821.04	81,158.70

Appendix 3.6: Accounts Receivable: Wholesale

NAME	Region	12/31/1877	12/31/1878	12/31/1879	12/31/1880
Luna, Jesus Maria	1	1,471.48	6,861.41	11,698.21	1,271.09
Neustadt Bros.	1	-	-	-	103.01
Speare, L.M.	1	-	-	3,692.49	3,592.14
		1,471.48	6,861.41	15,390.70	4,966.24
Chavez, Jose E.	2	177.55	694.83	213.63	-
Jaramillo, Laureano	2	59.61	111.40	741.60	688.41
Lujan, Vicente	2	353.70	340.91	473.29	343.35
		590.86	1,147.14	1,428.52	4,144.03
Baca, Juan Jose	3	-	401.24	-	-
Baca, Leandro	3	-	436.84	2,101.23	3,575.67
Baca, Pedro A.	3	-	259.78	-	-
Becker, John	3	94.80	2.00	-	-
Gobel, Oscar	3	-	1,308.63	2,182.02	5,586.28
Gonzales, Ambrosio	3	314.73	1,111.27	560.37	334.23
Peralta y Bro., Felipe	3	-	-	3,519.74	4,782.62
Peralta, Felipe	3	3,669.94	3,191.72	-	-
Pino y Baca, Jose	3	2,821.51	857.20	849.04	341.29
Pino, Leandro	3	1,019.60	-	-	-
Pino, Lucas	3	835.26	519.82	-	-
Reymund, Numa	3	183.78	-	3.00	-
Scholle, F & Co.	3	13.48	36.13	125.31	-
Vigil, Manuel	3	-	-	-	-
		8,953.10	8,124.63	9,340.71	14,620.09
Armijo, Salvador	4	90.99	-	-	-
J.L. Johnson and Co.	4	784.52	-	-	-
Tondre, Josephine	4	3,432.00	3,670.69	232.47	241.35
		4,307.51	3,670.69	232.47	241.35
Dearmond, Alex	5	-	8.02	520.44	571.21
Provencher, Dumas	5	10,909.12	13,969.31	15,345.51	24,870.42
Provencher, Joseph	5	-	74.70	33.74	33.74
		10,909.12	14,052.03	15,899.69	25,475.37
Garcia, Eusebio	6	55.00	18.50	80.02	258.19
Martinez, Pedro	6	2,743.20	4,226.50	6,273.99	5,354.26
		2,798.20	4,245.00	6,354.01	5,612.45
Hopkins Jr., L.N.	7	-	619.40	192.00	58.32
		-	619.40	192.00	58.32
Baca, Dionicio	8	-	5,415.64	12,052.39	11,217.21
Becker, Julius	8	739.99	3,724.27	3,095.33	-
Colomo y Martin, Rosalio	8	-	4,743.89	9,645.46	-
Colomo, Rosalio	8	-	-	-	1.50
Cooley, C.E.	8	39.00	641.05	1500.35	1438.79
Creagh Brothers	8	-	-	711.83	288.57
Frayre, Berardo	8	3,519.57	6,818.58	9,514.31	5,053.70
Jaramillo, Marcelino	8	-	-	3,701.81	2,194.51
		4,298.56	21,343.43	40,221.48	20,194.28
Totals		33,328.83	60,063.73	89,059.58	75,312.13
5/1/1880	Jesus Maria Luna		Note		12000
12/22/1880	Rosalio Colomo		Note		5360.84
			Total		92,672.97

Exhibit 3.1: Account Ledger Sheet

		To bal. fr. old ledger		D. Provencher.		1878			
		531.	10909 12.	March 2	By b. p. notes	180	434 22		
January 17	Notes	19	137 50		Balance		11219 78		
February 5	"	58	10 00						
7	"	62	2 25						
8	"	62	28 00						
22	"	84	44 93 1						
March 2	Trans. p. inter.	100	522 20						
			<u>\$11654 00</u>						<u>\$11654 00</u>
	To balance		11219 78	April 18	By Cash	186	811 30		
18	To Note	127	2 20	May 28	" Sundries	251	146 01		
27	"	140	841 56	June 5	"	276	225 83		
May 5	"	214	696 49	July 12	"	341	621 77		
21	"	236	4 00	Aug 15	By Diff.	402	250 00		
23	"	242	7 00	26	"	426	404 02		
27	"	248	1 00	Sept 27	"	509	1500 00		
28	"	251	25	Oct 5	By freight	528	290 00		
30	"	256	4 75	Nov 11	By Diff.	628	400 00		
June 5	"	276	1 00	Dec 3	"	685	250 00		
8	"	277	1320 32	5	"	692	200 00		
17	Cash	293	124 05		Balance		15095 21		
July 3	Notes	321	25 83						
12	"	341	566 40						
August 23	"	420	42 11						
24	"	423	36 45						
28	"	431	381 40						
Sept 28	"	512	150 00						
October 5	Notes	528	2693 48						
7	Sundries	530	7 50						
November 2	Notes	610	20 00						
Dec 6	"	692	952 16						
1879									
January 25	interest	50	1125 90						
			<u>\$20224 13</u>	1879					<u>\$20224 13</u>
	balance to credit		15095 21	January 30	By Diff.	60	550 00		
Feb 22	to Sundries	110	4 00	Feb 22	" Sundries	110	150 44		
24	"	112	6 48	26	"	118	170 00		
26	"	118	2041 05	March 15	"	167	649 02		
April 26	Notes	249	895 26	April 26	Notes	249	373 43		
June 12	"	357	14 25	July 7	" Sundries	412	94 40		
13	"	361	40 00	18	"	415	513 53		
July 7	"	412	1 40		Balance	496	14440 80		
			<u>\$18097 69</u>						<u>\$18097 69</u>

Account Ledger Sheet of Dumas Provencher, p. 60, L. & H. Huning Accounts Receivable, 1878-1880, folder 6, box 13, HMCR, CSWR.

Exhibit 3.2: General Journal Entries

241

March 17, 1880.

P.O. 1880	594	Patrocínio Luna To José Garcia	10 00	
P.O. 1880	594	Rafael Whittington To Order by Ygnacio Castro	1 00	
		" 11 cans. canned goods 4 th Currente 1 st	4 80	
	595	" Ribbon 20. Whiskey 1 st	1 50	
			7 30	
P.O. 1880	594	Antonio Lucas To José Garcia	1 00	
P.O. 1880	595	Julian P. Connolly To Order to Pedro	10 00	
P.O. 1880	595	Pablo Salas (Los Chaves) To Order to Lina Lorenz 5 th 7 th 1 st 1 st 1 st 1 st 1 st	6 90	
		" Soap 20. Tobacco 20. Cigarettes 1 st	2 00	
P.O. 1880	595	F. M. Spears To Order to Pearce	5 00	
		" 1 Shup 5 th To Error, bank rd 70 of Miguel Remon 1 st	110 00	100 00
	596	By Cash		
P.O. 1880	595	Francisco Anís Chaves To Order to Manuel Serna	10 00	
P.O. 1880	595	County of Valencia To 200 Envelopes	11 00	
P.O. 1880	595	Robert M. Christian To Order to Venezuela Carilla	5 00	
	596	" 50 lbs Beans	0 25	
P.O. 1880	595	Henry Connolly To Order to Antó José Casias	25 00	
P.O. 1880	595	Dr. P. Costigues To Medicines for Del. P. & Landino	1 00	
P.O. 1880	596	B. Cabaldon To 14 lbs Rice	50	

L. & H. Huning Journal 1880, p. 241, folder 1, box 41, HMCR, CSWR.

Exhibit 3.3: 1880 Federal Census of Los Lunas

(7-206.)

Recd Aug 18, 80

A.

Page No. 1

Supervisor's Dist. No. 88

Enumeration Dist. No. 53

Note A.—The Census Year begins June 1, 1870, and ends May 31, 1880.
 Note B.—All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June, 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.
 Note C.—Questions Nos. 13, 14, 22 and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.

SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in Los Lunas, in the County of Valencia, State of New Mexico, enumerated by me on the 1 day of June, 1880.

Shaul Stern

In this family	Serial number of individual	Name of each Person whose place of birth, on the day of enumeration, was ascertained in order of relation	Personal description		Sex	Color	Occupation	Race				Education			Native
			Age	Sex				White	Black	Other	Illiterate	Can read and write	Can't read and write		
1	1	Luna Traugott	29	M	1	1	Shipstair								Sweden
		Annie	27	F	1	1	wife								Sweden
		Marion	10	F	1	1	daughter								Sweden
2	2	Luna Quintanilla	48	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
3	3	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
4	4	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
5	5	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
6	6	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
7	7	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
8	8	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
9	9	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
10	10	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
11	11	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
12	12	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
13	13	Luna Quintanilla	29	F	1	1	Housewife								Spain
		Jose	12	M	1	1	son								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	11	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	10	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	8	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	7	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	5	F	1	1	daughter								Spain
		Luna Quintanilla	3	F	1	1	daughter								Spain

Note D.—In making entries in columns 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, an affirmative mark only will be used—thus, /, except in the case of marital status, column 11, when the letter "D" is to be used.

Note E.—Question No. 12 will only be asked in cases where an affirmative answer has been given either to question 10 or to question 11.

Note F.—Question No. 14 will only be asked in cases where a girl's occupation has been reported in column 13.

Note G.—In column 7 an abbreviation in the name of the month may be used, as Jan., Apr., Dec.

Exhibit 3.4: Sheep Journal

Sheep Bought							Total	Given on hand	Wethers Received
Date	Name	Price	Land	Price	Price	Total Price			
Aug 10	J. W. Deane	1000	175			1000	J. W. Deane	200	
"	"	1750	175	100	175	2025	"	M. B. Ann 572	
"	"	200	175			375	"	S. Tafalla 100	
"	"	200	175			375	Mariano Bona		
"	"	250	250	125	125	1000			
Oct	S. Garcia	120	200			320			
"	"			110	110	430			
"	"	150	200			350			
1874	Kahl O'Keefe	200	200			400	S. Tafalla		
Aug	J. W. Deane	500	150			650	"		
S. C.	Thompson	1000	150			1150	Thompson		
"	"	250	150	12	300	400	J. R. Spodaca		
"	"	1000	175			1175	J. W. Deane		
"	"	2375	150	76	400	2800	J. J. Jackson	dell dell 9/59	
1875	S. Francisco	1500	150			1650	S. Francisco		
March	B. Garcia	600	175			775	B. Garcia		
Aug	"	400	125			525	"		
"	"	600	150			750	"	all dell	
"	"	200	200			400	"		
Aug	S. M. Bona	2500	150			2650	S. Francisco		
"	"	150	150			300	J. R. Spodaca		
"	"	500	150			650	Josue Mason		
Sept	Various	1950	150			2100	Sanctus		
"	"	2238		45		2283	Kalifetralla		
"	"	100				1383	S. Tafalla		
1876	B. Garcia	50	150	50	400	600	B. Garcia	all dell	
Feb	Kahl O'Keefe	750	150			900	Kahl O'Keefe		
1877	"	1000	150			1150	"		
Aug	J. W. Deane	500	150			650	Josue Mason		
"	"	100		125		150	Josue Mason		

Journal of Sheep Purchased, 1875–1884, p. 5, item 2, box 2, HMCR, CSWR.

Exhibit 3.4 continued

Wool sold		Wool sold of various runs		Total	Remarks
Date	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	
	3100 ⁰⁰	446 ⁰⁰		496 ⁰⁰	
	6651	7665 ⁰⁰			
	6162	737 ⁴⁴			
	2880	308 ⁰⁰			
	2670	4267 ⁴⁴			

Remarks:
 Merino
 Baco
 1st
 2nd
 3rd
 4th
 5th
 6th
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 8th
 9th
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 11th
 12th
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 99th
 100th

Journal of Sheep Purchased, 1875-1884, p. 5, item 2, box 2, HMCR, CSWR.

Exhibit 3.5: Wool Shipments

Wool, \$100

Date	By whom Shipped	To whom Shipped	By whom Consignee	Wool		P.L.	Total
				Wt	Value		
1/12	7006	L. S. - L. S. B.	Eastern Wool Co. Phila. Pa.	40	9,196		
	2046			40	9,377		
	509			16	3,172	41,078	
	570			40	9,300		
1/14	699			40	9,260		
	571			40	9,208		
	676			42	9,687		
	749			41	9,790		
1/14	670			39	8,600		
	411			40	9,021		
	500			40	9,407		
	542			40	9,208		
1/17	401			41	9,315		
	478			17	3,896	20	2016
	505			41	9,206		
	579			40	9,000		
1/18	510			38	8,766		
	600			42	9,010		
	300			43	8,609		
	702			40	10,000		
1/20	416	L. S. - L. S. B.	Eastern Wool Co. Phila. Pa.	41	7,100		
	512			40	7,478		
1/21	502			42	7,100		
1/24	600			40	9,074		
	548			42	8,178		
1/24	576			40	8,580		
	412			41	8,500		
	700			40	7,000		
	401			42	8,391		
1/27	600			44	8,720		
	508			40	8,514		
	502			42	8,100		
	538		Jas. B. Plow & Co. U. S.			15	

L. & H. Huning Journal for Wool, Hides, and Pelts, p. 2, item 8, box 9, HMCR, CSWR.

Exhibit 3.5 continued

5

Shipyard.

Date	Hides	R.C. B.J.R. Quincy		✓	Kitt		Remarks
		Chgs	Int		Chgs	Int	
9/16/1870							
9/17/1870							
9/18/1870							
9/19/1870							
9/20/1870							
9/21/1870							
9/22/1870							
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9/28/1870							
9/29/1870							
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10/2/1870							
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10/29/1870							
10/30/1870							
10/31/1870							

Peter told by hunter Bini the 3/18/70

Combing and sorting of 1/2 ton by G. A.

L. & H. Huning Journal for Wool, Hides, and Pelts, p. 5, item 8, box 9, HMCR, CSWR.

Exhibit 3.6: Illustrative Store Price List at L. & H. Huning, 1878–1880

HOUSEHOLD ITEMS		CLOTHING	
Turpentine	0.40	Socks (2 Prs.)	0.25
Matches	0.05	Infant Shoes	0.75
Strainer (Milk)	0.40	Men's Shoes	1.50
Envelopes (200)	4.00	Men's Wool Jacket	2.84
Seltzer	1.25	Boy's Pants	1.25
Baby Carriage	30.00	Men's Hat	1.50
Fan	4.00	Boy's Hat	1.50
Steinway Piano	730.00	Men's Boots	8.00
Winchester Rifle	35.00	Men's Pants (overalls)	8.00
Sharp's Rifle	45.00	Handkerchief	0.50
Winchester Rifle Model 1876	45.00	Boy's Shoes	0.75
2c cartridges for Sharp (Box)	12.00	Hose (6 hrs.)	1.50
4c cartridges for Winchesters (Box)	24.00		
Pistol	24.00		
Cashmere fabric 2 1/4 (yds.)	0.23		
Linen 1/4 yd.	0.15		
Envelopes (Box)	2.25		
Shears	4.25		
GROCERIES & TOBACCO		TOOLS & ACCESSORIES	
Tobacco (pouch)	0.25	Axle Grease	0.60
Sugar (lb)	0.50	Candles	0.50
Coffee (Tin)	1.50	Pencil	0.15
Lard (lb.)	2.75	Nails (LB.)	0.15
Com (lb.)	0.03		
Flour (lb.)	0.60		
Rice (2 lbs.)	0.40	LIVESTOCK & ACCESSORIES	
Candy	0.05	Burro	15.00
Syrup Galloon	2.25	White Wool lb.	0.15
Whiskey (Bottle)	0.50	Black Wool lb.	0.10
Whiskey (GAL.)	4.00	goatskin lb.	0.14
Soap (Bar)	0.50	buckskins lb.	0.50
Mustard (jar)	0.25	pelts lb.	0.05
Cinnamon	0.25	Wagon	120.00
Chewing Tobacco	0.25	Mule	55.00
Beans (lb.)	0.06	Oxen (Yoke)	40.00
Beans (50 lbs.)	2.25		
Nutmeg	0.50		
Yeast Powder	1.00		

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico

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