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DEPENDENCY FORMATIONS AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY: AN INTERPRETATIVE AND THEORETICAL STUDY OF MODERNIZATION IN NEW MEXICO

The University of Oklahoma PH.D. 1985

University Microfilms International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

DEPENDENCY FORMATIONS AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY: AN INTERPRETATIVE AND THEORETICAL STUDY OF MODERNIZATION IN NEW MEXICO

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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Norman, Oklahoma

1985

DEPENDENCY FORMATIONS AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY: AN INTERPRETATIVE AND THEORETICAL STUDY OF MODERNIZATION IN NEW MEXICO

A DISSERTATION

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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[illegible]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals are due a special acknowledgement both in assisting in the formulation of the focus of this study and in their encouragement. In particular I would like to thank the members of my committee for their comments and suggestions. Dr. Joseph Whitecotton has been my committee chairperson and major supporter. Without his encouragement and suggestions this study would not have been completed. It was in his classroom that I was first introduced to the people and culture of New Mexico and to many of the concepts which the following pages are built upon. In taking the final step it is not without noting his sincere assistance.

Finally, to my wife Sheryl who always knew I could do it, to my son Jeffrey who on more than one occasion asked how much longer, and to my other son Andrew who is young enough not to understand it at all, thank you for sticking with me to the end.

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the factors which underlie the economic development of New Mexico with particular reference to the Spanish population and the period of United States expansion and colonization of this region. A model based upon a world-system approach and dependency formation is developed. It is argued that the development of a class structure, in which the majority of the Spanish population were found at the lower end, came as a result of their participation in what has been termed a modernization process. The analysis suggests that since the sixteenth century New Mexico has been part of a larger system of world-wide economic relationships and it is only within this context that we can interpret and understand the nature of the growth and development of this region.

A detailed history of the factors which affected and changed this region is presented. Utilizing government documents, business records, case studies, and published works, data were collected on the period from the mid-1600's to the late 1940's. Special emphasis was placed on gaining an historical perspective to the colonization of the region by the Spanish and their subsequent relationships with the native populations. Data are also presented on the natural environment, pre-1840's population trends, economic structures, and the socio-cultural characteristics of the Spanish population. The nineteenth century is viewed from the perspective of the conquest of the region by the United States and the subsequent establishment of a foreign social order. Materials on the United States expansion and the status of the Spanish population under United States territorial rule are discussed at length. Special

attention is given here to the economy, demographic patterns, land ownership transformations, wage labor formations, and the political order. Data on the twentieth century focuses on the more specific impact of economic dependency and exploitation at the local village level. Ten case studies including the villages of Guadalupe, Sandoval, Alameda, Concho, Villanueva, Dona Ana, Placitos, Manzano, San José, and El Cerrito are presented as illustrations of this general pattern.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MODERNIZATION AND CHANGE

Introduction

In the following pages a variety of complex interrelationships will be examined which form New Mexico's history from the mid-1600's to the present. The analysis is placed within a specific theoretical context, beginning with a review of a world-system perspective of economic growth and development (cf. Wallerstein 1974a; 1974b; 1979; 1980). The rural Spanish village of New Mexico is viewed not in isolation, but as part of a larger system of state, regional, national and international networks. The relationship of New Mexico Spanish villages to these networks of interaction will be viewed from a number of perspectives. The first is that developed by Frank (1969) in which relationships form "core-periphery" interactions. The expansion of this perspective with reference to "dependency theory" (cf. Cardoso 1977; Chilcote 1975; Corradi 1971; Dos Santos 1970; Gereffi and Evans 1981; Munoz 1981) is also outlined within the general context of specific types of core-periphery structural relations.

An alternative yet similar approach to modernization processes

within the context of a world-system is the theoretical development of "regions of refuge" outlined by Aguirre-Beltran (1979). This concept has been effectively utilized by Hall (1981) in explaining New Mexico's relationship to Spain prior to United States annexation of the Territory in the 1840's.[1] However, during the period of United States expansion, the nature of interactions of groups within the region, nation, and international spheres changed with reference to New Mexico, and the historical data for this time period (1840's to the present) might be more accurately explained by the concept of an "internal colonial" system of socio-economic relationships (Hechter 1975; Knowlton 1972) than by the "region of refuge" concept.

New Mexico was no longer remote either geographically or politically from the core of economic relationships of a foreign power. It was to become an integral part, with perhaps unique characteristics, of an expanding government which swept across the North American continent, although its role in the development of this system would remain marginal or regional. Yet, the structural characteristics which were imposed upon this almost exclusive agrarian society gave it a particularly unique place within this larger system.

> The depressed economic conditions in northern New Mexico are the result, for the most part, of the complex interplay of economic, political, and cultural factors unleashed in New Mexico by the 100 years or more of American occupation. Poverty in this region has not been caused by Spanish-American racial, cultural, or emotional characteristics. It is rather the end product of <u>American colonization</u> [emphasis added] of New Mexico. The Spanish-

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[1]See Hall (1983:582-597) for clarification on the concepts of peripheries, regions of refuge and nonstate societies.

> Americans were trapped in a spider's web of alien economic, political, and legal systems imposed upon them that ignored Spanish-American traditions, customs, needs, and aspirations (Knowlton 1972:28).

Thus, the colonization of New Mexico by Anglos failed to provide for the integration of the indigenous populations. Instead, Spanish and American Indians became part of a colonial society which employed both direct and indirect rule. Consequently, modernizing New Mexico is characterized by an uneven degree of participation by particular groups in a larger political and socio-economic system. This phenomenon occurs not because Spanish-Americans or American Indians were outside of the larger developmental process, but because they were or had become a part of this system. It was the status which these groups assumed vis-a-vis the larger system which defined their potential for development and growth.

The recognition of a larger matrix from which a community draws its existence is hardly a new methodological concept to anthropological studies. As Eric Wolf (1973:50) has pointed out, since the early twenties many anthropologists have focused their attention on studying the interrelationships between communities and larger regions. Wolf goes on to say:

> Yet to date [1973] most anthropologists have hesitated to commit themselves to such a study, even when they have become half-convinced that such a step would be desirable. We have therefore left. . .[this type of]. . .description and analysis to specialists in other disciplines (1973:51).

These words were echoed almost twenty-five years earlier by Julian H. Steward:

> The various kinds of societies whose structure and function are determined by the cultural heritage of the world areas in

> which they exist are sociocultural systems or wholes. A sociocultural system is a unit, the social segments and institutions of which have a significant degree of interrelationship and functional interdependence. Any given sociocultural system, however, is an empirically derived construct which represents a particular kind of society in a particular developmental continuum that is, within a designated world area. Research problems and methods, therefore, have to be adapted to sociocultural systems which are characterized (rather than classified) with reference to two criteria: (1) the cultural tradition which they carry; (2) the relationship of the parts to the whole within the level of development. The first criterion depends upon the principle of cultural relativity. The second requires a theory of sociocultural levels within a developmental continuum (Steward 1950:106-107).

Steward also adds a very important footnote: ". . .it is incorrect to treat each part as though it were an independent whole itself." Although many communities in the past may have been independent sociocultural wholes, they have become incorporated and dependent parts of states and empires in more modern times. Moreover, modernization does not represent simply a mixing of elements such as Indian, Spanish. or Euro-American cultures, nor can it be viewed as a structure of these parts, but consists of a system of interrelated parts quantitatively distinct as well as qualitatively new and more complex.

Too often one finds in the anthropological literature on change and modernization an undue emphasis upon the significance of internal factors as a barrier to one groups participation within a larger system. A striking illustration is Lewis' (1964) "Culture of Poverty." Although this concept has not gained wide-spread acceptance, one should be aware of the implications it has as an extreme explanation for certain sociocultural conditions in a modern society. The author of this concept was attempting to explain "persistent poverty" in a modernized state. He viewed poverty to have developed in a variety of historical contexts,

and to be most commonly found in situations where stratified social and economic systems were breaking down or where one system was being replaced by another, e.g., as in the case of the transition from feudalism to capitalism, or during industrialization (Lewis 1965:151). For Lewis the term "Culture of Poverty" becomes ". . .essentially, a design for living which is passed down from generation to generation." He writes:

> I want to draw attention to the fact that poverty in modern nations is not only a state of economic deprivation, of disorganization, or of the absence of something; it is also something positive in the sense that it has a structure, a rationale, and defense mechanisms without which the poor could hardly carry on. In short, it is a way of life, remarkably stable and persistent, passed down from generation to generation along family lines. The culture of poverty has its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences for its members. It is a dynamic factor which affects participation in the larger national culture and becomes a subculture of its own (Lewis 1964: 149-150).

The culture of poverty has some universal characteristics which, according to Lewis, transcend regional, rural-urban, and national differences. He suggests certain similarities, for example, in family structure, interpersonal relations, time orientations, values, and sense of community. Individuals who make up a culture of poverty may be characterized as having a relatively higher death rate, lower life expectancy, only partial integration in national institutions, and a marginal status for the people living within its boundaries. A low level of literacy and education are also dimensions of this condition. The economic traits include:

> . . .the constant struggle for survival, unemployment and underemployment, low wages, a miscellany of unskilled occupations, child labor, the absence of savings, a chronic shortage of cash, the absence of food reserves in the home, the pattern of frequent

> buying of small quanities of food many times a day as the need arises, the pawning of personal goods, borrowing of local money lenders at usurious rates of interest, spontaneous informal credit devices (tandas), and the use of second-hand clothing and furniture (Lewis: 1964:153).

The social/psychological dimensions which characterize the culture of poverty include overcrowding, a high rate of alcoholism, violence (e.g., both wife and child beating), free unions or consensual marriages, a trend toward "mother-centered" families, authoritarianism, little ability to defer gratification or to plan for the future, as well as a fatalism toward life's situation. In general, some cynicism pervades the members of a culture of poverty which is expressed as a strong resentment toward authority. Individuals who participate in the culture of poverty feel marginal, helpless, dependent, and outside of the mainstream of the dominant society.

Although Lewis was speaking primarily of poverty in Mexico, he also viewed the concept of a "Culture of Poverty" in a broader context and as having a certain cross-cultural application. He wrote:

> The concept of a cross-cultural subculture of poverty enables Americans [and social scientists?] to see that many of the problems thought of as distinctively American or distinctively Negro problems (or those of any other special racial or ethnic group) also exist in countries where there are no distinctive ethnic groups involved. It also suggests that the elimination of physical poverty per se may not be enough to eliminate the culture of poverty which is a whole way of life. One can speak readily about wiping out poverty; but to wipe out a culture or subculture is quite a different matter, for it raises the basic question of respect for cultural differences (Lewis 1964:155).

The factors of "internal causation" (Davis 1978:60) to explain economic stagnation (a "Culture of Poverty" in Lewis' terms) is found in the extreme in the above example. This illustration demonstrates what happens when one studies the community in isolation

from the larger society, and does not consider the interrelationships of the community to larger sociocultural wholes. In order for poverty to exist, another state (i.e., affluence) is presumed. The term poverty implies contrasts. Lewis chooses to focus his analysis on the details of poverty going so far as to claim a certain cultural relativity for this state. He concludes his analysis by raising the issue of respect for "cultural differences." One can only question Lewis' explanation for poverty in that he describes a group in isolation rather than examining the group as a part of a larger system.

Following a conceptual framework which systematically places an emphasis upon a specific group's values, beliefs, and behavior to the exclusion of potential forces from external constraints, Lewis' analysis is selectively modified and rules out any ability to view larger networks of social, political, and economic relationships. Undue emphasis is placed upon "internal causation" as an explanation for a particular group's economic stagnation and this argument raises some significant historical questions. For example, in an article dealing with "Anthropology and Theories of Modernization" Davis has written"

> First [internal causation explanations]. . .do not explain why some nations and sectors which are now generally regarded as 'underdeveloped' economically had histories of quite superior economic performance. In fact, in some of these examples there is little evidence that the fall from some Golden Age of economic prosperity has been accomplished by any corresponding change in attitudes or life goals. Second. . .internal causation interpretations did not predict the enormous interest in increasing material benefits that has characterized the world's populations in general for at least the last few decades. Interest in modernization has so permeated traditional village communities virtually the world over that one concerned scholar has referred to the phenomenon in explosive terms as 'the rural revolution'

> (Halpern 1967). It now seems quite clear that a considerable interest in expanding the scale of economic activity has been present all along in village communities and that conventional anthropological treatments of development problems have been entirely too limited. The process of economic change is an enormously complex phenomenon that cannot be investigated at all well by such conventional anthropological methods as the solitary ethnographer who confines his research [and methodology] to such arbitrary units as village communities (Davis 1978:60).

Davis also points out in his article that the emphasis on internal causation is represented in the works of a number of well-known anthropologists (e.g., Dalton 1969; Foster 1969; Nash 1966; Spicer 1952). This emphasis, be it the "substantivism" of Dalton or the "image of limited good" model of Foster focuses on the cultural and social traditions of the community, which are seen as "barriers to change." In summary he writes:

> . . .Anthropology in the past has generally tended to emphasize the view that the cultures of traditional communities are different from those of the West in ways which produce in individuals those attitudes and economic activities which are quite different from parallel developments in industrialized societies, and that these have operated sharply to restrict economic growth. Therefore, it is these cultural and social factors which must be emphasized in adequate explanations of the failure of such societies to modernize and which must somehow be altered if growth is to occur (Davis 1978:59).

In general, the above examples correctly show how a large portion of anthropological inquiry is relatively microscopic and limited to no larger dimension than a village, town, or social class. According to Geertz (1963:4) one result of this situation is:

> . . .that anthropological studies of development have tended to consist of a set of more or less disconnected examples of the various social forces which 'somehow' play a part in development with little or no indication as to how they play this part or how they effect the over-all functioning of economy [or are related to modernization processes].

The trend among social scientists to place perhaps too much of an

emphasis upon the contrasts of various societies has its specific examples in studies dealing with the Spanish-American in New Mexico. For example, Whitecotton (1976:124) describes these social scientists as being:

> . . .armed with a rural-urban dichotomization of society [they] directed their attention toward detailing the inevitable movements of Spanish-Americans toward the urban, secularized, and individualized pole of this continuum. The breakdown of the rural community and its culture, the expansion of urban settlements and values, conflicts between Spanish-American and Anglo cultures, social mobility, and the impact of wage labor and market economies on the Spanish-American village are themes that dominate the sociological literature of the 1930's and 1940's.

He goes on to note that the anthropologists who followed the sociologists sought to explain the character of the village lifeways of Spanish-American culture, and to provide summaries of the more striking changes which were occuring in these so-called "traditional" societies. For the most part, however, the explanations which were offered, and indeed the conceptual framework used by the anthropologists who worked in New Mexico were based on dichotomies drawn between traditional and modern society and were based on the character of transitional phases in a process termed modernization. Their research was concerned with delineating traditional behavior norms, values, and beliefs, and institutions of the Spanish-American and how the rural population stood in relation to the larger society. This approach remains today. Edward Dozier's comments on the character of Mexican-Americans, for example, illustrates the way in which the residue of an historical tradition can filter into one's thinking and can lead to studies which still begin with the premise of traditional/modern contrasts. Dozier writes:

> All Mexican-American [he includes Spanish-American] groups in the Southwest have a fairly recent 'peasant' background despite their present locations in predominantly urban areas. This does not

> mean that Mexican-Americans are urban peasants, but that historic roots in a peasant culture continue to have important influences [emphasis added] on contemporary Mexican-American society and culture (Dozier 1969:140).

When an anthropologist looks at society he does so with certain specific considerations in mind. The above illustration points to some of those considerations and to the direction in which they lead. On the one hand, a great deal of the anthropological literature has been concerned with detailing traditional and historical patterns. Within this perspective the ethnographer has contributed to the preservation of a great deal of historical data and provided the discipline with a wealth of conceptual insight as to the nature of the dynamics of community, society and cultural lifeways of groups throughout the world at various socio-cultural levels. On the other hand, the emphasis placed upon the isolated autonomous tribe, peasant village, or ethnic group within a larger society has led to some difficulties, as for example, when attention is turned towards systems of much greater complexity. The scale of investigation is far larger than the usual scale of traditional ethnography. In some instances the response to this "new" subject matter has been to seek an explanation of change with some "old" concepts. For example, it has been suggested by at least one anthropologist that a large number of the current studies by anthropologists dealing with complex societies seek "the folk in the modern." Anthropologists

> . . .assaulted 'communities' hoping there to find encapsulations of larger cultures. Seeking the residues of the 'little tradition' in complex (heterogenous) societies and cultures, they studied 'intermediates,' 'peasants' and 'ethnics.' The world became divided into the residues of the primitive world now 'part-societies and part-cultures,' and the residues of cultural

> distinctiveness, those partially escaping the homogenizing process of modernity, the 'old ethnics' (Whitecotton 1976:125).

An important issue in this study is the way in which one categorizes the relationships among the groups populating the New Mexico region. While the reader will find in this study references to Spanish and Anglo "cultural" expressions as well as statements describing "traditional" patterns of behavior, these generalizations are intended to represent only starting points that are valuable in that we have an initial mechanism (cultural groups) from which to begin our inquiry. This is an important qualification and is therefore elaborated on below.

From the dependency and world-system theoretical perspective, which is used for this study, the use of the term "tradition" refers to sets of conditions or patterns which exist within a specific historical time frame. Similarly, the concept of "culture" (or "cultures") is useful only in so far as it denotes historical conditions rather than attributes of particular groups. One might argue that such terms are merely organizational constructs or identifying markers which distinguish groups from one another in varying degrees at particular points in time. The juxtaposition of these groups into distinctive units or cultures however, creates a false representation of the conditions which existed between groups and certainly does not address the crucial questions of the causes and courses of the transformations which were occurring at particular points in time within a world-system of economic development.

The established view that one may conceive of the autonomy of cultural wholes simply distorts the reality of history. As Wolf (1984:394) points out: ". . .the notion of the static primitive isolate can be sustained

only as long as one abjures any interest in history." In other words, the view of cultural autonomy creates a false perspective of our subject giving an impression of contrasting types which have actually no reality and would perhaps bring superficial closure to our study.

This study does not deny the existence of certain distinctive attributes of the groups which populated the New Mexico region. It does, however, present the aggregate population as representing a response to the changing circumstances and pressures of a new economic and political order. It is argued that there were a number of general historical processes which occurred and which generated new responses from each "cultural" grouping. When the term culture is used it refers to adaptations on the part of groups (at a particular point in time) to specific historical conditions.

Modernization: Stages of Growth

Modernization as defined by Webster's (1975) dictionary is a state or characteristic peculiar to "modern times." It is an act, practice, attitude, or idiom at a particular point in time. It can be conceived of as a condition or quality. It is also the process of becoming or assuming characteristics associated with the life styles within modern times. This state of either becoming or being modern is reflected through the cultural character of the modern society and provides certain plateaus from which one could measure the degree of a particular group's stage at a point in time in the process of becoming or being modern. Implied, is of course, the idea that there are societies, or, for that matter whole nations, which are less modern, underdeveloped or

simply out of the mainstream of this general system of growth. Modernization is thus conceptualized as a directional phenomenon and represents a model for change. It is a western concept, and when comparisons are drawn between the modern and underdeveloped world they represent no more than a statement as to the position of one society (the modern state) in relation to another (usually less developed).

Social scientists (including anthropologists) as was pointed out earlier have agreed with the above ideas about modernization in that they frequently have made comparisons in their writings between "big" and "little" traditions, studied "peasants in complex societies," or written on the dichotomies of the "urban-rural" setting and the "transition" from one form to another.

In terms of more recent concepts of modernization processes W.W. Rostow (1960) is perhaps the best example of post-traditional stages of evolutionary economic development. His central theme is that the sequences of development in modern industrial societies can be described as passing through five analytical stages: (1) "traditional society"; (2) "the preconditions for take-off"; (3) "the take-off"; (4) "the drive to maturity"; and (5) "the age of high mass consumption." The first stage (traditional society) is a stage of "primitive" or limited production, primarily subsistence agriculture. The social structure of traditional society is rigidly hierarchical and based upon family, clan, or tribal groupings. In Rostow's words traditional society is ". . .one whose structure is developed within limited production functions [subsistence agriculture, non-market exchange, and pre-cash economy] based on pre-Newtonian science and technology, and on pre-

Newtonian attitudes toward the physical world. . ." (Rostow 1960:4). In order for the pre-conditions for take-off to occur certain changes must take place in the basic social structure, political system, and techniques of production. Rostow regards the latter, i.e., pre-conditions for take-off, as the "transitional" period which functions to overcome obstacles to economic growth found in "primitive societies." The conditions which must be met to advance to the take-off stage include: the elimination of rigid class lines or castes; increasing abilities to control the environment; a shift in agriculture beyond subsistence; a decline in the birth rate (to increase the ratio of productive members of society); and an increase in per capita income. He also includes investment in more modern types of production and the development of national unity. This take-off stage marks the development of high growth potential with a support system of necessary political, social, and institutional reinforcement. Growth here becomes a "normal" condition and is self-reinforcing. The take-off is typified by a high rate of productive investment with primarily capital investment in high growth manufacturing industries.

During the next stage (the drive for maturity) modern forms of technology extend into all segments of the economy. There is high domestic rates of production and a demand for imports such as raw materials. During this period also the country begins to enter the "international economy."

The final stage is the "age of mass consumption." Here the society shifts its production to "durable consumer goods and services." Mass consumption, as the term implies, goes well beyond production for

necessities. In this stage one can see the development of social welfare systems, rapid urbanization, and the development of skilled and technical workers.

Rostow (1960) was attempting to "bring modern economic theory to bear on economic history and relating economic to political and social forces in the working of whole societies." He states as his basic questions, which his theory goes on to answer:

> Under what impulses did traditional, agricultural societies begin the process of their modernizations? When and how did regular growth come to be a built-in feature of each society? What forces drove the process of sustained growth alone and determined its contours? What common social and political features of growth process may be discerned at each stage? And in which direction did the uniqueness of each society express itself at each stage? What forces have determined the relations between the more developed and less developed areas (Rostow 1960:2).

The above ideas on the nature of modernization raise two major issues with reference to this current study. The first is whether or not Rostow's scheme is able to describe and explain the nature of modernization processes. The second issue relates to the anthropologist's response to Rostowian economics in particular and modernization theory in general.

The Rostowian staging theory of modernization lumps together all traditional societies, and it is this point which is of concern to the anthropologist. This is one of the major weaknesses of Rostowian theory from the anthropologist's perspective in that the singular categorization of societies as a type means little (cf. Dalton and Bohannan 1961:397-400). The failure to treat traditional societies within the context of providing a macro-theory of social-cultural (economic) change is a major omission by Rostow, and the negative

EVOLUTIONARY MODEL OF CHANGE AND MODERNIZATION PROCESS

ILLUSTRATION I

Age of Mass Consumption

Production shift to durable goods and services, production beyond necessity, development of social services, rapid urbanization, social welfare system, skilled labor force, etc.

Drive for Maturity

International economy entrance, high domestic production rates, demand for raw material imports, technological and modern forms of production.

Take-Off

High growth rates of production, investment, development of infrastructure of political, social and institutional support and reinforcement of the system.

Transitional Period

A period of overcoming obstacles to growth, e.g., elimination of a rigid class or caste structure(s), increase control of environment, decline in birth rates to provide for a greater ratio of productive members of society, a shift away from subsistence agriculture, etc.

TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

response by anthropologist's was predictable.

In more general terms Rostow's version of modernization theory raised significant questions concerning the nature of economic change and the general dynamics of growth and development. It has been some twenty years since Rostow presented his thesis. However, as yet the anthropologist has failed to adequately address, or develop an alternative model, which would provide a coherent explanation of the transformations which take place in traditional society as a result of modernization.

The history of the Spanish in New Mexico presents us with a variety of data for the reconstruction of the dynamics of traditional Spanish culture in this region and the adaptations which took place as a result of annexation into a developing modern industrial state. Since the 1840's New Mexico has been part of the United States development, yet the populations of the state (i.e., specifically the Spanish-Americans) have participated in varying degrees and in different ways than modernization theory might have predicted. In Rostowian terms New Mexico has failed to reach "take-off"! According to his stages this area remains at the very least "traditional" or perhaps at most transitional (i.e., in a "precondition" mode) even after almost 150 years of participation within a structure which represents the archetype of the modernization process.

A variety of potential explanations for this situation can be posited. One explanation is that the Spanish-American culture found in New Mexico has yet to fully prepare and/or modify itself to the extent that it provides the necessary alterations in its social structure,

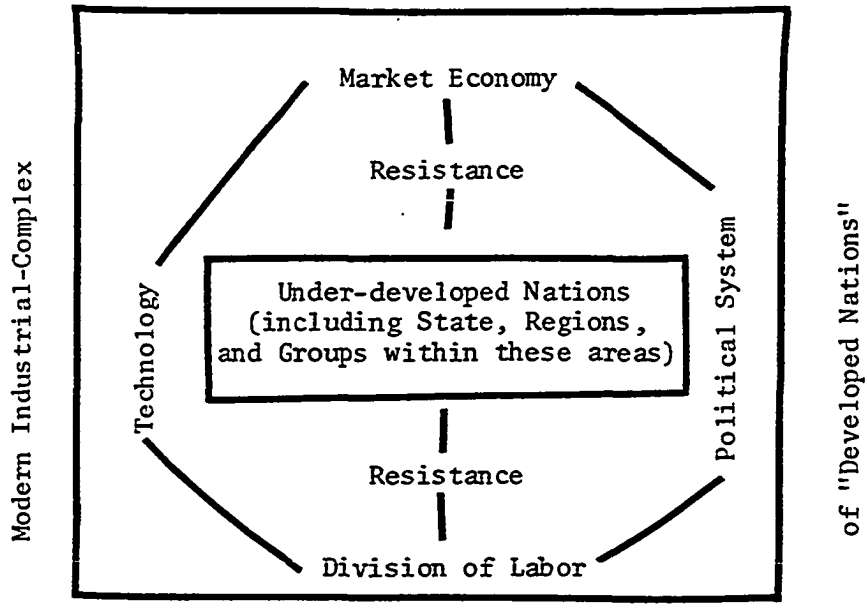
political systems, and techniques of production to provide for sustained growth. Here the concepts of "part-societies," "urban peasants," or "sub-cultures" might be used to characterize the role of this group within the larger socio-economic system. On the other hand, alterations in basic social and cultural forms are not the only factors promoting the modernization process. Cultural persistence is tempered in its effect by other factors which constrain and modify participation and relationships in the modernization process. In the case of the Spanish socio-cultural system one can argue that the framework of the indigenous economy has been dismantled and replaced with a market system, a cash economy, the sale of labor, and new modes of production based upon modern technology. However, development stagnated and large gaps in the economic structure have remained between the Spanish and Anglo population of New Mexico.

A second approach distinct from an "evolutionary" perspective, yet part of the general theoretical framework of theories such as this, is the "diffusionist" approach. Proponents of this perspective (Lerner 1958; Moore 1960; Nash 1963) suggest that cultural change and economic development are the result of a transfer of cultural elements from modern societies to the less developed or traditional societies of the non-modern world. Change takes place because it is promoted by diffusion and acculturation. A society's position, then, as part-society, traditional, or underdeveloped is a reflection of its resistance to or acceptance of change. The concept of "dual societies" enters here in that frequently this sort of perspective views parts of the indigenous system as somehow outside of the national society, and

thus marginal to the major social, economic, or technological factors of a developed or developing society.

ILLUSTRATION II

THE DIFFUSIONAL MODEL OF CHANGE AND MODERNIZATION PROCESS



These two generalized views on modernization (i.e., evolution and diffusion) which have been briefly outlined above are representative of past and current models of economic development and social change. There are however alternative models which should be considered.

The World-System Approach

One of the major difficulties of modernization theory is where it begins. For the evolutionalist, history began with the Industrial Revolution in Europe and blossomed with the development of North America in the form of unchecked economic and technological growth. This process is viewed as almost teleological by its proponents in that

its history (i.e., the stages of western development) forms the basis for analysis of the less-developed or traditional societies of the rest of the world. One is told that if conditions are right others too can expect to experience similar changes and reach full potential. The diffusionist, on the other hand, is not as optimistic about the internal workings of less-developed or traditional societies and sees the potential for growth in the society's ability to adopt new institutions, similar to those found in the modern developed industrialized nations. Neither view of development and change begins with the premise of a system of interrelationships at a world level.

The world-system concept as an analytic and comparative method for the study of development and change is perhaps best known through the writing of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974a; 1974b; 1976; 1979; 1980).

In the development of the concept of a world-system Wallerstein (1974b:8) states his major objective as an attempt ". . .to describe the world-system at a certain level of abstraction, that of the evolution of structures of the whole system." In setting forth sequences of this system he outlines four major historical "epochs." The first is the origin of a world-system, founded in Europe and covering a period of roughly 1450-1640. The second period, a period of consolidation, corresponds to a time period between 1640-1815. The third period, which represents the "conversion of the World-economy into a global enterprise," primarily made possible through the technological transformation of modern industrialism, covers the period 1815-1917. The final period, 1917 to present, recognizes the "revolutionary tensions" this conversion or "consolidation" has provoked.

It is important that one realize that Wallerstein distinguished two forms of world-system. He states:

> There have in fact, up to now, been two basic forms of world-systems. Since in one form the prototype is the unified political system, we shall call this the 'world-empire', by contrast with the other type which is precisely defined by the continuing absence of such political unity, the 'world-economy' (Wallerstein 1979:156).

There is a third type in the history of mankind's development which Wallerstein calls "mini-system." This type consists of situations in which a society is small in physical scope, and one in which the economic boundaries are identical to political and cultural boundaries. He also sees these groups as short-lived and outside our range of "empirical knowledge" since no historical records exist which would show how these groups functioned. As such he questions the validity of many ethnographic descriptions of such social forms especially to the extent that such forms represent autonomous systems. Wallerstein writes:

> . . .I am sceptical that the units studied [by the anthropologist] were truly autonomous systems, since one of the preconditions of most such study has in fact been imperial control of the area studied by a larger political entity which in turn existed within a far wider division of labor (Wallerstein 1979:157).

Expressed differently, the many societies which are described as closed in the ethnographic present are, from the perspective of a world-system, societies which are part (in varying degrees) of a larger system.

In very broad terms the creation of a world-economy evolved through a number of stages which included, among others, the expansion of the geographical size of the world's central core areas; the development of a variety of methods of labor control both in terms of

different products and different zones of the world-economy; and the creation of strong state machineries within what became the "core-states of the capitalist world-economy" (Wallerstein 1974b:29).

According to Wallerstein, a world-system is a social system which has boundaries, structures, groups, rules, etc. The world-system may be weak, stable, or it may change through time. A social system is largely self-contained, the dynamics of its development are primarily internal. Ideally if social systems were cut-off from all external forces they would by the definition of "self-containment" continue to function. However, most entities that have heretofore been described as social systems, self-contained units such as tribes, communities, the nation-state, are not total systems. Prior to the modern era world-economies were unstable and tended to either go out of existence or become converted into empires which also ultimately failed. The modern era (the past 500 years) witnessed the development of a world-economy defined in its mode of production as "capitalist." One of the key attributes of capitalism is that it is able to operate within an "arena" in which the economic mode is greater than any political entity can control.

A key defining factor of a world-system according to Wallerstein is an "extensive" division of labor, both in terms of occupational and geographical dimensions. Economic tasks are unevenly distributed in a world-economy. While ecological conditions play a role here, this division results primarily from one group's ability to exploit the labor of others and to gain a larger share of the surplus. The reinforcing mechanism for this division of labor is concentrated in specific core

areas of the world-economy. These core areas or core states have available to them a strong political structure which gives rise, in part, to the creation of a "cultural-national" identity and legitimizes a larger system both within the state's boundaries and at the world-system level, e.g., to be anti-capitalistic is to be anti-American. The ideological stance of a core area then serves to reinforce and justify not only a social system within the core area, but also justifies the relationships within the larger world-system as a whole.

In contrast to the "core-state" areas, which have a strong state system and a national identity (ideology), are "peripheral" areas. In the latter the state is usually weak, or nonexistent (i.e., in a colonial situation) or has a low degree of autonomy (i.e., a neo-colonial situation). There are also "semiperipheral" areas which are somewhere in between the core and periphery with respect to the nature and complexity of economic activities, level of development of state machinery, cultural identity as a nation-state, etc. These middle areas are part of the structure of a world-economy and often act as a buffer zone between the core and peripheral areas.

The basic structure of the world-economy is hierarchical in nature. The more highly skilled and capitalized levels are found in the core areas. The capitalist world-system rewards skill (eigher technological or human), and thus the system serves to reinforce a division of labor and provides a sort of built-in geographical maldistribution both within the core state and on a world scale. This maldistribution not only occurs in labor terms, but also in terms of capital accumulation. An illustration is the relation of some countries as producers of raw

materials to others who form a central core for the production of finished goods. As an example of the internal structure of a core state one might think of the centralization of industry in the northern states of the United States in contrast to the agriculturally based economies of the southwestern United States at the turn of the century.

The system Wallerstein discusses is one in which the gap between the core and peripheral areas tends to be always expanding by the nature of its very development. The core areas are not exempt from the pressures of other developing core areas which may challenge their supremacy over time. History has shown this process as, for example, in the history of Europe and the United States.

In the above outline of Wallerstein's world-system concept the stage is set for a closer look at the nature of modernization and change within a larger context. If one follows his reasoning, change occurs only within the confines of a system of "world" development; and in the modern world, specifically, a capitalist world-system. In general, Wallerstein has argued for a theory which views underdeveloped areas not as isolated areas, but as parts of a wider system which defines their position within a structure of world-systems. This view of the "modern" world is quite different in terms of its implications for change from the other modernization theory. If an underdeveloped nation or region is structurally part of a larger "world" network, then how could change or modernization be explained through stages, or, be brought about through the diffusion to underdeveloped areas or importation of characteristics of the advanced core areas of the so-called developed world? What are the implications of this world-system approach to the

study of change within these structures (societies and cultures) of the system?

The Core-Periphery Structures

Two basic generalizations stem from the development of a strategy which begins with viewing the components of change and modernization from a world-system approach. The first, although it should be obvious but has not always been so, points out simply that it is impossible to discuss the internal systems (economic, political, social) of a given area without reference to relationships to outside forces definable in terms of core and peripheral structures. Second, the use of world-system theory has brought into question the general assumptions of the developmental approach to change and modernization processes. World-system theory has its roots partly in an approach called dependency theory (see Chirot and Hall 1982; Hall 1983). The latter has a number of generally agreed upon dimensions. (1) The term dependence refers to a situation in which the economies of certain countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of other countries (Dos Santo 1970). (2) Development and underdevelopment refer to both sides of a single coin. Modernization consists of a process which includes both development and underdevelopment (Frank 1971; 1967). (3) Thus, to characterize underdevelopment as a precapitalist or pre-modern natural stage is a mistake. Underdevelopment is not an evolutionary stage in the modernization processes, but rather is a result of its relationship to the centers of growth as a periphery (Chilcote 1975:12). (4) Dependency theorists claim that the subordinate relationships

extend not only to external relationships, but to internal subordination of the social structure, ideological beliefs and cultural elements of the dependent society (Bath and Jones 1976:5). The commonality which defines dependency theory has been further summarized by Jackson, Russett, Snidal and Sylvan (1979:13). They state:

> All of the authors agree that to understand the economic, political, and social conditions of a peripheral society those conditions must be viewed systematically, as derivatives of a single set of class relations in each society. Moreover, they all agree that the boundaries of the system within which we can comprehend the situation of the periphery must include the advanced industrial core, and further, that it is the history [emphasis in original] of contact between core and periphery that must be included. All share the view that a wide range of economic, political and social conditions can be explained by the interaction of the forces of global capitalism and the internal dynamics of class relations. In other words, foreign penetration and external dependence lead to structural distortions in peripheral economies which, in turn, lead to intense class conflict. . .in dependent societies. This gives rise to a common concern, if of varying intensity, with class relations, structure, and conflict in peripheral societies.

The above authors show how the modeling process should be constructed using dependency theory. That is,

> Dependency theory has never been a statement of a mechanistic relationship whereby the external linkages of the peripheral state are either the sole or even the direct determinant of all of its internal situation. Rather it embodies a complex argument that these external factors operate both in combination with and through existing internal aspects to shape the future progress of the peripheral society. Thus to say that inequality is the 'result' of, say, foreign investment, is to obscure and ignore the domestic political, economic, and social factors that are crucial to this relation. We cannot reduce a broadbased statement such as 'dependent situations lead to inequality' to the simple claim that 'external relations cause inequality' without reference to all of those factors that define and describe a dependent situation (Jackson, Russett, Snidal and Sylvan 1979:19-20).

In essence, then, the use of the dependency model does not preclude an historical analysis of the traditional society with respect to its

internal dimensions, but rather calls for a detailing of traditional patterns in combination with external forces to arrive at valid generalizations about the nature of change and modernization within a specific area. This approach gives us a systematic comparison and description of the various dependency relationships which define a particular society within the larger theoretical context of the general framework of dependency theory. The contextual relationships detailed in the case study approach, such as that used by the anthropologist, implies "micro-level" analysis and provides an analysis of the underlying structures in traditional society and their relationship to a larger system of interaction.

The studies which detail the mechanisms of dependency have taken a variety of directions from models of metropolitan-satellite relationships (Frank 1971; 1967), to multi-types of dependency at different points in history (Dos Santos 1970), to developmental dependency within the dependent nations themselves (Cardoso 1973), and to the transformation and shift of a dependent area to one of semi-dependency (Gereffi and Evans 1981). A common theme among them is the way these authors "frame" the question of change and modernization, i.e., they begin from the assumption of underdevelopment as part of a system of dependent relationships. In reality dependency theory is a conceptual framework made up of concepts and suggested linkages which address a wide range of problem areas in the intellectual development of the developmental equation. As a result, as one author has put it: ". . .the literature [is] in part counter-paradigmatic in its origins--an alternative way to model or represent the causes, consequences, and persistence of under-

development" (Fagan 1977:7).

A Region of Refuge

Recently some theorists have questioned how regions which are outside of national boundaries (such as frontier regions), fit the scheme of world-system theory. The answer has been the introduction of a concept termed a "Region of Refuge" (Aguirre-Beltran 1979; Hall 1981). Hall has attempted to characterize the history of New Mexico from the time of Spanish contact until United States annexation utilizing this concept. While finding world-system theory fundamental to the analysis of this region's history, Hall does not conceptualize the region's development as explained with reference to such units as peripherial or semi-peripherial regions. A region of refuge refers ". . .to regions which are marginal to the state and only weakly articulated with the state economy" (Hall 1981:22). So defined the region of refuge forms a sort of "oasis" for local groups influenced in part by the world-system, yet marginal, since the region is weakly articulated with the larger system. In other words, while one area might exhibit a dependent role and be analyzed from its position as a satellite, other areas may experience variations in their connections to the world-system such that at times their position to this system is irrelevant. In general the theme of a region of refuge is one which, in my view, overlaps the region with a world-system, yet fails to articulate the importance of this on-going system to the development of groups within it. By definition a region of refuge depends upon its existence through ". . .continued weak articulation to the surrounding state." Its preservation is conditioned

upon this relative articulation. That is not to say that the proponents of a region of refuge view these areas as merely strongholds of times past or enclaves of "traditional" societies within the modern world; rather the continued existence of traditional cultural forms is viewed as a result of its continued role as a region of refuge. That is,

> While a region of refuge acts as something of a preserve for older structures of relations, it is a mistake to attribute such preservation to tradition. Rather, the preservation is due to replication and maintenance of older conditions. The old structure is reproduced because the conditions which initially produced it are maintained (Hall 1981:22).

Therefore, by its nature:

> The internal structure of a region of refuge is inherently fragile since it depends in large part on continued weak articulation to the surrounding state. Should the strength of state articulation change, relations within the region would be altered (Hall 1981:22).

Internal Colonialism

The concept of "internal colonialism" deals with the characteristics of the structures of dependence within a developed region. This perspective is useful for sharpening the conceptual framework being developed for the analysis of persistent Spanish-American cultural identity in New Mexico and this group's relationship to the larger society. The discussion centers around two major works. The first is that of Bonilla and Girling (1973) and provides a set of conceptual tools to explain ethnic relationships in the United States. The second is Hechter's (1975) work which deals with the Celtic region as an example of internal colonialism in British national development. Both of the above attempt to define and utilize dependency theory as it relates to cultural and ethnic group interactions within developed nations or the

so-called "core" areas of the world-system.

Conceptually internal colonialism is nothing more than the domestic face of a world-economic system. With colonialism came the domination, by foreign powers, of vast areas of the world's (e.g., Africa, Latin America, Asia) territories. However, territorial domination is not a definition of colonialism. It is only the stage. More important are the institutional characteristics of a general structure and process of domination and exploitation (O'Dell 1967:8). The development of a concept of internal colonialism is an attempt to refine the institutional nature of exploitation and domination. It is methodologically a view which seeks to explain:

> The cultural and ideological homogenization [of world-wide capitalism as] being pursued not by a single nation but by an integrated system of different national sectors, committed to a specific form of socio-economic organization (Dagnio 1973: 135).

As a general historical process colonialism (in its classical usage) includes the forceful conquest of indigenous populations. For example, in the United States the indigenous populations included the American Indian and Spanish-American. Both groups experienced the impact of colonial expansion. The American Indian was subject to immense deprivations in this process ranging from forced loss of land, to genocide, to imprisonment on reservations. With the era of "Manifest Destiny" the Spanish-Americans were brought under the rule of the United States. Clearly on the North American continent territorial expansion was not an act of bringing civilization to the conquered peoples; it was motivated by specific interests just as was colonial expansion throughout the world. The groups which were seizing colonies were seeking self

interests and attempting to gain greater profits and power. As a general system, colonialism made vast contributions to the development of capitalism:

> The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the begining of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production (Marx 1954:75).

While the primary motives of colonialism were economic monopoly the consequences extended from the economic sectors to include a domination of other sectors, e.g., political and cultural spheres. While colonialism initially may be viewed as a form of economic domination, the nature of its monopolistic characteristics permeates the colony and extends ultimately to include the political and social structures of the society it enters.

> In this sense colonialism can best be understood as a complex social system which affects all aspects of the society it enters. Indigenous economies were destroyed or reconstituted to serve the financial needs of the colonizing center nations. Colonial labor forces were subjected to the dictates of the colonizer and transported to work-sites controlled by their new masters. Sometimes these sites were within their native lands. In other instances, such as with African slaves, colonial labor forces were moved across vast stretches of land and water to work in the mines and plantations of the colonizer. At the same time, cultural and ideological forms of domination were contrived. Non-western conceptions of man and nature, the order of the universe, definitions of beauty, good and evil, and the structure of thought were subordinated to the domination of western forms of thought and culture (Bailey and Flores 1973:152).

Under such conditions:

> . . .the ontological expression 'to be' becomes 'to be like' for the colonized and 'to be like' is simply 'to be like the oppressor.' In this way the process of colonization produces the cultural and ideological mechanisms that serve to socialize among the colonized an acquiescence to their condition and that maintains the social arrangements necessary for continued economic exploitation (Bailey

and Flores 1973:153).

The colonial legacy thus impacts and enhances the current dependency of the underdeveloped nations and continues to define a set of relationships between the developed and underdeveloped nations of the world.

The transformation from an external colonial status to an internal colonial status occurs when the dominated group is given equal rights. In the United States, for example, Blacks, American Indians and Spanish-Americans were declared equal under the law at different points in our history. This new legal status did not, however, free these groups from the ideological and cultural characteristics of the colonizing state. Nor has it meant, except on an individual basis, that these populations would share equally in the fruits of the nation as a whole. Although free and equal under the law, inequality persists. The implications of the internal colonial perspective are that while minorities are freed they are still captives of the American ideological and cultural system. Self-identity as a member of a specific sub-group (e.g., American Indian, Spanish-American, Afro-American) is denied while the socio-economic conditions of domination by a foreign culture continue to create a situation in which these groups (as groups) have the lowest educational rates, the highest mortality rates, greater unemployment and fewer opportunities than white Americans.

A key component of the internal colonial model is the role of ideology. Culture is viewed by Bonilla and Girling as the outward manifestation of man's "mental production." That is:

> The ways in which he expresses his relationship to reality, to nature and to other men. Within this comprehensive framework, we include a number of institutions and systems of abstraction

> that can also be seen as 'cultural fields' or 'regions': art, science, technology, religion, tradition, folklore, mass media, education, advertising, law, political values and also a set of broader values and attitudes (Bonilla and Girling 1973:139).

They go on to point out that within the internal colonial environment the culture becomes fragmented by specific cleavages. Of primary significance in this area are class conflicts, i.e., the expression of dominant and dominated groups. In a class society there are two forms of cultural expression, e.g., dominant and dominated groups see reality in different ways. They live different lives due to their material condition. It ". . .is important [however] to keep clear that the cultural expression of the dominated are subordinated, i.e., always framed and limited by the dominant culture within the society" (Bonilla and Girling 1973:139). In other words, the ideological manifestations of the dominated class is itself a distortion and represents an expression of the dominated group role within the system of class relations. In this respect the ideology of the dominated represents a distorted reality or more precisely the reality of a general system of class exploitation. From this perspective terms such as "acculturation," "assimilation," and "change" have little explanatory value. The internal dimensions (the infrastructure of society) in an internal colonial environment functions to reinforce inequality and domination. In this sense the modernization process creates inequality. It sets in motion a system of subordination of groups, and reinforces a class society in which culturally distinctive groups, e.g., Blacks, Spanish-Americans and the American Indian share a common thread of lower class citizenship. While some would stress the distinctiveness of cultural groups (Lewis 1964; Moynihan 1965) and the manner in which

the "cultural" values and institutions of sub-groups conflict with modern society (i.e., inhibit grow); the internal colonial perspective views these characteristics as providing the stage for a class society. Modernization is not a process of evolutionary sequences for sub-groups within the developed and underdeveloped nations, it is a system of predictable inequalities (set in motion by specific forms of economic growth) and reinforced by the cultural values of the so-called modern society.

The idea that modernization creates advanced and less advanced groups, that it functions to deny ethnic or cultural groups access to resources and power, and that it functions to reinforce a class society has been further developed by Hechter (1979; 1978; 1975).

> Far from maintaining that increased core-periphery contact results in social structural convergence, the internal colonial model posits an altogether different relationship between these regions. The core is seen to dominate the periphery politically and to exploit it materially. The internal colonial model does not predict national development following industrialization, except under exceptional circumstances (Hechter 1975:9).

The characteristics of this model as developed by Hechter (1975) may be sketched as follows: Hechter, in general, further argues that the uneven nature of the modernization process creates advanced and less advanced groups. As a consequence we see an unequal distribution of resources and power between groups. The dominant socio-economic core areas will seek to "monopolize" and "stabilize" their advantages through such mechanisms as the existing stratification system. It will attempt to regulate the allocation of high prestige social roles reserving them for its own members. Thus, members of the dominated or less advanced groups are denied access to specific roles in the dominant society. In

essence a system of social stratification is created in which ethnic or cultural identities of the dominated group are associated with a distinctive set of social interactions. In this manner members of the dominated group come to categorize themselves and others with reference to a range of prescribed roles and behavior. "They are aided in this categorization by the presence of visible signs, or cultural markers, which are seen to characterize both groups" (Hechter 1975:10).

The above perspective raises an essential question as to the starting point for assessing the implications of modernization at the level of inter-group relationships. That is, has the marginal position of distinctive ethnic or cultural groups come about as the result of some sort of "peripheral acculturation"--a stage in the general scheme of modernization? Or, is this peripheral status the result of an on-going process which has its origins in the very system which has been conceived as the path for development?

Summary

In the above review of the different approaches toward modernization and change an attempt has been made to outline a number of possible approaches. It should be clear that the literature is divided as to the significant factors which should be emphasized when one approaches the subject. The literature on modernization and cultural change would fill volumes. In organizing this review an attempt has been made to seek out two general themes: (1) A perspective which finds in modernization a structure of domination which negates equality for all; And (2) a perspective which views modernization as a natural and evolutionary process in which all may ultimately share. In the following pages of

this study the data will be organized so that the validity of both approaches can be tested. Thus, not only will the experiences of Spanish-Americans in New Mexico since United States annexation be reconstructed and documented, but the explanations for stability and change will be assessed. Clearly the latter goal requires moving outside the confines of the Spanish-American cultural system to larger spheres of influence which have shaped its role in American society.

CHAPTER II

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

In the first chapter it was pointed out that one uses a dependency model to argue methodologically for an historical treatment of a society's development within the larger context of external developmental forces. The model requires a detailing of societal patterns in combination with external forces in order to arrive at a valid generalization about the nature of change and modernization processes. Thus, while this study deals with the American period (beginning in the 1840's) the early history of the region cannot be ignored. The stage for subsequent events began with Spanish occupation of this region during the sixteenth century as part of an expanding world-system. The sketch that follows provides an historical introduction to the region. The details of Spanish expansion into this region also provide historical continuity for the development of a world-system of economic and political expansion.

Spanish-Indian Relations

Spanish-Indian relations, beginning with the journey of Coronado in 1540, dominate the early years of New Mexico's history. Spain's intrusion into this area of modern day New Mexico was born of a great

misunderstanding that claimed a frightful toll of lives and property over the two centuries which followed. Spain mistakenly believed that within the lands to the north were Indian villages of great wealth (cf. John 1974:4). Although this idea was to be proven wrong by the exploits of such men as Coronado and Espéjo, the Spanish continued to press into New Mexico over the centuries and eventually established permanent settlements.

The highlights of Spanish intrusion and Spanish-Indian relationships may be outlined as follows. In 1540 Mendoza organized the Coronado expedition, which was mobilized on February 23, 1540, at Compostella. The expedition reached Cibola and a battle at the Zuni Pueblo of Hawikuh ensued. In the same year Hernando Alvarado visited the Province of Cieuye and established winter quarters for the army at Tiguex. In 1541 Coronado started toward the pueblo of Pecos and then moved onto the "buffalo" plains (present day eastern New Mexico and western Kansas). Later in the same year he returned to the Province of Tiguex. In 1542 Coronado's men returned to New Spain. Sheep were left at Cieuyé by Coronado's soldiers. Late in the year Coronado arrived in Mexico City and gave a report to Mendoza. In July of 1581 another expedition, led by Rodríguez and Captain Chamuscado traveled up the Rio Grande to the pueblo of Puara, near Bernalillo, New Mexico. In 1582 Antonio de Espéjo led an expedition in search of Rodríguez and his companions and visited many of the pueblos. In July 1590 the expedition of Castaño de Sosa took place. Similarly, in 1594 another expedition took place led by Leiva and Bonilla into the area of modern day New Mexico.

In 1595 the viceroy of New Spain contracted Juan de Oñate to colonize New Mexico for the Crown. In 1596 Oñate began his march and in 1598 he took formal possession of New Mexico for the Crown of Spain. By July of the same year he had reached the pueblo of Caypa (San Juan) where he established a headquarters. Here he began building irrigation ditches and a church. In 1600 he established another headquarters at San Gabriel. In 1606 he established the Villa of Santa Fe, erecting a governor's palace and numerous churches. Don Pedro de Peralto became Governor and Captain General of the province of New Mexico in 1608. At the same time Fr. Francisco de Escobar was put in charge of missions, succeeding Fr. Juan de Escalonia. In 1618 Fr. Gerónimo Zárate-Salmeron began work in New Mexico. In 1621 the Custodia for the conversion of San Pablo was established. Don Felipe Zotylo became governor in 1628 and Fr. Alonzo de Benavides was appointed Custodia of the province. In 1629 Don Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto became Governor and Captain General. More than twenty individuals held this post from 1629 to 1679.

On August 10, 1680 the Pueblo rebellion occurred and the Spaniards were driven out of New Mexico to El Paso. Although some reconquest was attempted over the next few years it was not until 1691 that a systematic reconquest was carried out under the leadership of Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon, the newly appointed Governor and Captain General of New Mexico. On August 21, 1692, General De Vargas set out for New Mexico. He reached Santa Fe during the same year and the Indians yielded peacefully. De Vargas visited all the pueblos of the area and returned to El Paso. From here, on October 13, 1693, he again

left for New Mexico with seventy families; and approximately 100 soldiers. Seventeen friars also made the trip at this time. On December 16, 1693, he entered Santa Fe once more. In 1695 the Franciscan missions were again established and the Villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada was founded. In 1696 De Vargas put down a Pueblo revolution and he ordered the Indian leaders shot. Vargas was killed on April 4, 1696 while he was on a campaign against the Apache. In 1705, Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdez, now Governor and Captain General of New Mexico founded the Villa of Albuquerque (Twitchell 1911:425-429).

It seems a valid generalization to state that: Spanish-Indian relations of this time period were rather one-sided in that the Spanish were engaged primarily in exploring New Mexico for the benefit of the Spanish Crown and for the profits which such ventures might bring to individual explorers. For example, although the area consisted of countless small and diverse Indian communities, the Spanish came expecting to find villages of great wealth which they could claim for Spain. In effect, the sixteenth century Spanish explorers did claim the Indians as "vassals" of the Crown and Church. They superimposed the province of New Mexico upon the Indian communities. Although during this early period the Viceroy Mendoza had attempted to check the excessive powers of the conquistadors, the idea of possible riches in New Mexico was accepted with great excitment and it was this motive which forshadowed Spanish-Indian relations and many of the future expeditions and attempts at settlement.

Pueblo wealth, which the Spanish sought, consisted not of

gold, but of stored foodstuffs, such as corn, stored three or four years against the possibility of drought, and accumulated textiles, used in trade. The Indian's fields were planted with crops of cotton. Flocks of turkeys were kept for their feathers. There were no temples filled with gold. Instead, Spanish explorers found settled agricultural communities and bands of nomadic Indians.

John (1975:4-6), basing her generalizations upon works by Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America; Edward P. Dozier, "Rio Grande Pueblos" in Perspectivities in American Indian Culture Change, (ed.) Edward H. Spicer; Elsie Clews Parsons, Pueblo Indian Religion; Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest; and William Whitman, "San Ildefonso of New Mexico," in Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, (ed.), Ralph Linton, describes their society as follows:

> Compared with camps of wandering Indians, pueblos were veritable citadels: multi-storied stone or adobe blocks of dwellings, centered upon the plazas where focused the community lives of populations ranging from four hundred to two thousand. The compact village structure lent itself not only to defense but to the cooperative way of life fundamental to Pueblo agriculture. The people of each village shared the labor of the fields and the religious observances they believed essential to their common enterprise. Together the people of the pueblos observed ceaseless rounds of inherited ceremonials to propitiate the ruling spirits of their universe. Properly done, these rituals assured the pleasant, orderly life, the fertility of crops and people, and the protection from violence and sorcery, which was the sum of the villagers' desires.
>
> Those sober, egalitarian societies, built upon principles of harmony among themselves and with the spirits of their universe, vested principal leadership in village headmen, whose duties were primarily religious. So important were their spiritual responsibilities that no quarrels could be brought before them, lest disharmony mar rapport of village with spirit world. To be involved in conflict, even if the right, tarnished a man's reputation. To seek leadership was considered bad form and could provoke accusations of witchcraft. Such total subordination of individual feelings to group interests cost heavy stress to some individuals, especially those of more ambitious, assertive

> temperaments. For all their surface harmony, Pueblo communities were gravely vulnerable in their lack of leadership in secular matters and in the absence of realistic ways to accommodate dissension within the group. Latent strife could splinter villages at times of crisis.

In 1581 Fr. Agustín Rodríguez left for New Mexico with Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and twenty-eight other individuals. This was a force much smaller than the earlier Coronado expedition, and armed with the Law of 1573, which specified the investigation and emphazied pacification rather than conquest of New Mexico. The expedition explored the area from Zuni to the buffalo plains east of the Pecos River, and the Galisteo Basin. Ultimately the Spanish soldiers returned leaving the friars to suffer martyrdom.

Other unauthorized expeditions were to take place over the next few years which culminated in the 1595 contract given to Oñate for colonization. For example, numerous individuals took part in the Indian slave trade. In 1590 Gaspar Costaño de Sosa went to New Mexico and seized many Indians and sent them south to pay his debts for supplies. Sosa was the Lieutenant Governor of Nuevo León.

Although Coronado's expedition papers stated clearly the conditions in New Mexico, and described it as a cold, sterile land that would never yield a profit, and would cost a fortune to colonize, the Crown chose to colonize the area, apparently accepting other exaggerated reports of vast fields of cotton and rich silver and gold mines.

In 1583 Felipe II instructed his viceroy in New Spain to appoint a suitable person "to reduce the Indians of New Mexico under the principles of the Law of 1573, at no expense to the Crown" (John 1975: 33). In 1595 the contract was, as indicated earlier, given to Don Juan

de Oñate. He left for New Mexico in 1598.

> From the outset, Oñate's ambitions conflicted with the law of 1573 and with the whole spirit of the reform movement. He wanted power to allot both land and Indians in encomienda and to reserve for himself thirty square leagues with their Indian residents. He also demanded the right to levy from the Indians tribute payable in fruits of the land. Viceroy Velasco denied Oñate any powers of privileges exceeding the Law of 1573. Velasco's successor, the Count of Monterrey, stipulated that Oñate could grant encomiendas only on a provisional basis; he must account to the viceroy within three years for all grants and obtain approval to make them permanent (John 1975:38).

Furthermore, Oñate's new settlers:

> . . .were themselves a motley crowd: a few men of substantial wealth and social standing, several more of moderate means and aspirations, and many footloose adventurers who brought to the enterprise little more than their own horses and armaments. Some men lacked even those, but attached themselves to the service of Oñate or some other ranking member who would outfit them (John 1975:39).

Oñate followed the 1594 trail of Espéjo, entering New Mexico at El Paso. He crossed into the Rio Grande Valley having experienced no opposition from the Indians. By July, he was at the Indian village of Ohke on the east bank of the Rio Grande, which he renamed, San Juan de los Caballeros. This was a temporary camp, and he soon moved across the Rio Grande to the village of Yuqueyunque, where he founded the first European settlement of San Gabriel (Schroeder and Jenkins 1974:19). He concluded his conquest by 1599 after taking the rebellious pueblo of Ácoma.

By 1608 the difficulties and complaints of early settlers caused Oñate to fall into "official disfavor." In the same year he was replaced as Governor by Pedro de Peralta, and in 1610 Peralta moved the capital to Santa Fe. At this time the Palace of the Governors was built, and the traditional Spanish plaza was laid out in the center of

the new villa.

From 1610 to 1680, the Spanish colonists of New Mexico settled and established haciendas along the Rio Grande and its tributaries from Socorro to Taos.

The Franciscan Order of Friars Minor introduced stock raising and new crafts to the pueblos, and supervised the building of mission churches. They introduced the method to the Indians of "sun-dried adobe bricks and stone construction" (Schroeder and Jenkins 1974:20).

In spite of the laws guaranteeing just treatment of the Indians as royal vassals, the Pueblos were mistreated, and ultimately resentment and conditions for revolt resulted.

By the 1640's the Spanish were coming under attack by the now skillful horsemen, the plains Apache, who migrated from the east and attacked outlying Spanish settlements. By 1680, the stone missions of Quarai, Abó and Gran Quivira (southeast of Albuquerque) were deserted and many of the villages to the east of the Rio Grande valley were decimated.

In August of 1680, under the leadership of Popé, a San Juan Indian living at Taos, along with Naranjo and other pueblos united in a revolt. The Franciscans and settlers in the outlying areas were massacred. Some survived and fled to Santa Fe and south to the area of present day Albuquerque. The Indians laid seige to the Palace of the Governors, and the lack of water and food ultimately forced the Spanish (led by governor Otermín) to retreat south. At the same time the settlers in the south, in Rio Abajo, retreated accompanied by loyal Piro allies from the pueblos of Alamillo, Senecú, and Socorro, along

with some Tiwas. They joined with the Santa Fe group near El Paso and crossed the river where they set up a new headquarters near the Manso Indian mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Both Otermín and his successor, Domingo Jironza Petríz de Cruzate, attempted to recapture New Mexico, but without success.

The revolting Indians established their headquarters in the Palace of the Governors. Popé tried to keep the Indians united, but the pueblos were too strong, and with the various rivalries they soon fought amongst themselves, and with the Apache who had joined them in revolt.

In 1691, Captain General Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de León y Contreras succeeded Cruzate as governor of New Mexico and began a systematic reconquest of the area. In 1692 his small army left El Paso, moved up the Rio Grande, taking pueblos as they moved along the way. By September, he had reestablished Spanish authority in Santa Fe without fighting a single battle. They secured the northern pueblos, moved westward and pacified the Hopi villages, ultimately returning to El Paso during the early part of 1693. Early in the same year he returned to Santa Fe with colonists and Franciscans to resettle the area. By 1696 all Pueblo resistance was broken. New Mexico became the northern frontier outpost of the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

Under the Law Code of Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias Vargas made the first recorded settlement for the new Villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada in 1695. Santa Cruz quickly became the administrative center for the area north of Santa Fe throughout the Spanish and early Mexican periods of New Mexico's history.

Prior to the establishment of the Villa of Santa Cruz the Tano

pueblos of San Cristobal and San Lázaro had been forced out of the Galisteo Basin by Apaches, and were relocated opposite each other on the Santa Cruz River. This was the site chosen by Vargas as the plaza for the new villa. Vargas ordered San Lazáro to relocate at Yuqueyunque and to San Cristobal at Chimayó.

During the revolt and reconquest, shifts of Indian populations occurred. Inter-tribal hostilities caused the Keres Pueblos, for example, to take refuge on the high mesas. With reoccupation, Vargas returned them to their former villages, between Santa Fe and the Bernalillo area. The Zuni's merged into one village. The Piros and Isletas who had gone with the Spanish to El Paso stayed and were given land in the area. The Tiva of Sandia, Puaray and Alamenda, who stayed in New Mexico when the Spanish fled, were forced to flee to the Hopi because of attacks by the Keres and Jémez. Sandia was reestablished in 1748. The revolts of 1696 caused large numbers of Indians to flee. The Tewa of Jacona and Cuyamungue north of Santa Fe, as well as Tano San Lázaro and San Cristobol, were permanently abandoned (Schroeder and Jenkins 1974:24).

Throughout the early period, Spanish-Indian relations resulted in many changes in the Indian way of life. For example, the population in 1600 was possibly 30,000; but by the time of the revolt it was estimated at no more than 16,000 (Hackett and Shelby 1942). According to Edward P. Dozier (1970), new diseases such as smallpox, as well as forced labor, and Indian migrations out of the area cut the population to less than half of its previous level. The number of settlements were drastically reduced. The revolt also took its toll in

Indian lives. De Vargas executed many Indians when he took the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe.

The revolt of 1680 has been described by Zeleny as the "chief event of New Mexico's early history," yet:

> In spite of this violent outbreak, within twelve years the reconquest of the country by the Spanish was affected. . .and the colony re-established. The Pueblo Indians were so thoroughly subdued that no great peril from them was again confronted (Zeleny 1974:17-18).

While the reconquest marked the establishment of Spanish colonial rule in this area it did not, however, lead to an intensive settlement of the region. New Mexico, as a Spanish outpost, tended to be neglected by the Crown. It had, however, as will be seen below, assumed a role in the world-system.

The boundaries of New Mexico were ill-defined throughout the Spanish period and thus provided the Crown with a claim to unlimited territory in the trans-Mississippi West region and a buffer zone to the north of Mexico (Beck 1969:19; Zeleny 1974:20-21). "The name on the maps of New Spain is applied to the whole area between Lousiana Territory and the region of Alta California, and extended on the northwest into an undefined limit" (Zeleny 1974:21).

The role of New Mexico as a protective zone against foreign expansion into Spanish Colonial America is a significant factor in the treatment of the early history of this region. The frontier policies of Spain toward this region throughout the Colonial Period (1598-1821) tended on the one hand to isolate the Spanish citizens who settled the area, while on the other led to an interplay of international and domestic conflicts tied to economic and territorial expansion. As a

colonial power Spain extended the social forces of a developing European based economy into the Americas. The underlying historical processes of economic expansion and domination of geographical regions outside of Europe marked the beginning of a world economic system. While New Mexico was far removed from the central political powers of Europe, it nevertheless came to be dominated by the policies of foreign governments. These policies defined the historical relationships between the Spanish colony and Europe as well as the developmental sequences of relationships with the indigenous Indian populations of the region, Mexico, and finally, the United States.

The Indian populations (e.g., Apache, Navajo, Pueblo, Utes, Comanche) were subjected to an intense effort by the Spanish to "induce dependency" (Hall 1981:114). Outright conquest was the first approach. When this failed the weight of economic dependency was employed. Citing from sources (Worcester 1951; Simons 1968) which described this general process Hall (1981:115) provides the following summary of the underlying ideology.

> Behind this seemingly simple presentation of goods to friendly tribes lay a devious motive which seems to have been part of Spanish thinking from the earliest days of conquest in the New World. When force of arms failed to overcome enemy Indians, a second more effective plan could be adopted. No less an exalted person than Viceroy Bernardo de Galvez expressed it thus in the year 1786:
>
> 'The interest in commerce binds and narrows the desires of man; and it is my wish to establish trade with the Indians. . . They should be made accustomed to the use of our foods, drinks, arms, and clothing, and they should become greedy for the possession of land. Even if in the beginning we are not successful in achieving these ends, as they require much time, this course will put us on the path to eventual success' (Worcester 1951).
>
> 'By this strategem the Indians could be made economically

> dependent upon the Spaniards and would be forced to live in peace since war would cut off the supply of goods which for them had become a necessity' (Simmons 1968:144).

Viceroy Bernardo de Galez's statement does not apply simply to the Indian populations. Almost 100 years later Bancroft (1889:412) suggests this strategem as a theme for American occupation and domination of the Spanish populations of New Mexico. He writes:

> . . .doubtless, certain prominent traders had been at work virtually as secret agents of the government at Washington, which from their reports had come to believe that the New Mexicans after long years of so-called oppression, had retained but a nominal allegiance to Mexico. . .that prominent officials were already disposed, or might be influenced by certain appeals to their love of gain, or ambitions of office, to submit without struggle to the inveitable [sic].

Throughout the Spanish Colonial period the question of Indian policy was guided by the desire to achieve an environment which would allow for economic development of the region. The creation of a stable New Mexico frontier would reduce the costs to Spain and create a situation of increased revenues for the Crown. Stability through control of the frontier population by the Crown extended beyond Spanish-Indian relations to the civil settlements themselves. Spanish settlers, unlike American frontiersmen, were precluded from traveling freely within the frontier regions. So severe were these restrictions that if a Spanish settler left his land grant for more than three months he lost it. The government allowed movement only by consent.

> Unlike frontier Anglo-Americans, Spaniards and mixed bloods were not free to leave their communities on business, for health reasons, to visit relatives or friends, or simply to start life anew in another location. To move at all, they were required to petition for and obtain an official government permit, which specified who they were, where they were going, for what purpose, and how long they intended to remain. Persons without authorized permits were arrested and prosecuted as criminals. In this way

> Spanish officials maintained some semblance of control over frontier regions, especially the civil settlements (Jones 1979: 147).

The Spanish attitude toward the Indian was reflected in general as one of "saving" souls and a philosophical and political disposition which justified the King's right to rule in the Americas. The tyranny of the indigenous populations, their paganistic practices and their vices were more than reason to justify Spanish conquest according to the royal administrators who governed the colonies. After all, the most kingly of virtues was liberality and the King of Spain was more liberal than other monarchs, and subsequently in need of more resources to pursue his liberality. The natives had no legitimate sovereign and practiced unnatural vices. What greater justification could be brought to argue for Spanish conquest (Parry 1940:64-65)?

The above overview of the early exploration of New Mexico has been presented as a preliminary statement. In the sections which follow the socio-cultural dimensions of the Spanish community will be discussed. For almost two centuries New Mexico developed as the northern most frontier of New Spain.

The Natural Environment

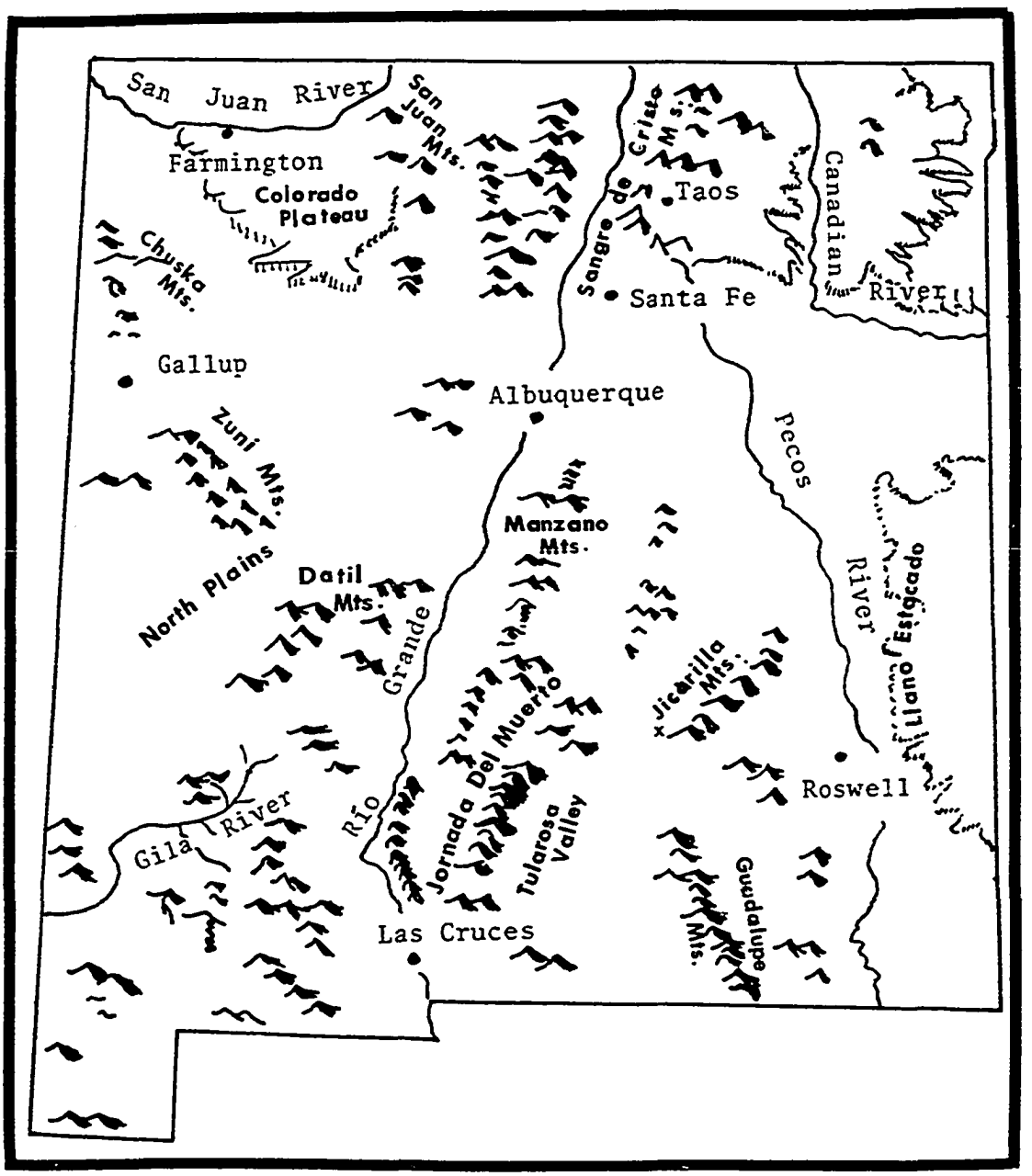
The natural environment of New Mexico represents an extraordinarily varied climate, life zones, and geography. The region, for the most part, has an extreme shortage of water and an abundance of sunshine. Most of the area is either arid or semiarid. Yet, the populations which have inhabited the region adapted to its harshness and developed a variety of agricultural pursuits. In this section the general nature of the environment is outlined. In subsequent sections the

relationship of the environment to Spanish cultural patterns will be detailed. Specific environments such as the arid or semiarid regions of New Mexico require certain adjustments from the human populations which inhabit them. Population size and density, resource development, subsistence activities, and a wide range of human activity, are patterned by the interchange of human populations and the natural environment. It is important therefore in considering processes of change to have an overview of the physical environment of this region. Throughout New Mexico's history the Indian, Spanish, and Anglo have had to make adjustments to the often harsh characteristics of the natural environment.

The region, for the most part, has a great deal of diversity in terms of the general environment, i.e., ". . .within the space of a few miles, just as one passes from an almost tropic climate into an artic one, due to the many abrupt transitions from plain to plateau, up mountains and down again" (Carmondy, et. al. 1947:5). The land features of New Mexico represent millions of years in the geologic record of the region's development. A complex web of ecological variations, including the Rockies and the Plains, are crosscut by many plateau and valley basins. The Rockies split the area and form two primary ranges. To the west this range consists of the San Juan and Jemez Mountains and to the east the Sangre de Cristo Mountains (see Map I). In the Sangre de Cristo Mountain range one finds the two highest mountain peaks, Wheeler and Truchas, rising to a height of 13,000 feet. The two ranges are separated by a plateau approximately 150 miles wide. It should be noted that although mountain ranges and

MAP I

NEW MEXICO



valleys can be found throughout the area they are not all similar in size, extent, or origin. For example, in the north the San Juan and Jemez and the Sangre de Cristo Mountains are an extension of the southern Rockies. Many of the valley areas of this region were once volcanic centers which collapsed for one reason or another forming "calderas" or depressions often ten to twelve miles wide. Other valley and mountain areas of the region were formed by uplifting, massive ice flows, lava flows, and shifts in the earth's surface.

To the east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountain range are two other plateau regions (the Las Vagas and Raton plateaus) which are bordered on the north by the Trinidad Escarpment and to the south and east by the Canadian Escarpment. To the west of the San Juan and Jemez Mountains is the Colorado Plateau, bounded on the western edge by the Chuska Mountains. To the south of the Colorado Plateau one encounters the Cebolleta and Zuni Mountain ranges. Below the North Plains the Gallo and Mogollon Mountains rise and ultimately drop-off to the southern boundary of New Mexico. Other mountain ranges west of the Rio Grande and south of the Colorado Plateau include: the Ladron, Bear, Datil, Saliz, San Mateo, Diablo, Pinos Altros, Black, Cook, Cedar, and Peloncillo Mountains. Just to the south of the Canadian Escarpment (which is extremely flat) the Llano Estacado and Mescalero Ridge run southwest dropping into the Pecos Valley, which runs from the base of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in a southern direction. The Pecos Valley is outlined on the west by the Sacramento and Guadalupe Mountains. The Tularosa Valley begins just to the west of the Sacramento range and is broken by numerous mesas until it reaches the

Rio Grande Valley which runs north and south cutting the area into almost two equal parts. The Rio Grande Valley begins in the plateau region between the San Juan and Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and is bounded in the central part of the state by the Manzanos Sandias and Cebolleta Mountains (cf. Beck 1962; Beck and Haase 1969).

From the above description it is obvious that the land area of New Mexico represents a wide range of extremely diverse geologic formations. According to Carmondy, et. al. (1947): ". . .every period of the geologic timetable is represented. . ." Sandstone, limestone, and shale are found in the southern portion of the region; a result of the area being occassionally submerged during the Cambrian, Ordovician, Silurian, Devonian and Mississippian Ages of the Paleozoic Era. During the Permian Period (which marks the close of the Paleozoic Era) marine and terrestrial deposits were laid down creating salt, gypsum, and potash accumulations. During the subsequent Mesozoic Era, specifically during Triassic and Jurassic times, deposits by wind, rivers, and lakes were made. The region was submerged for the final time during the Cretaceous Period. Toward the end of this period, where land had risen, vegetation accumulated and formed the all important coal beds found within the boundaries of current day New Mexico. The close of the Mesozoic Era is marked by the "Laramide Revolution" which was typified by uplifting and displacement of land forms. During the Cenozoic Period a great deal of change occurred on the earth's surface. High land areas within this region were subjected to erosion processes and volcanic activity during this time period. The latter activity accompanied the laying down of most of the area's ore deposits

during the Cenozoic Era. Within the Pleistocene Period glaciers appeared in the mountain valleys of the higher regions.

The development of the basic land forms and the occurrence and distribution of the numerous mineral deposits make the area unique. The effects of erosion, flowing water and rain, volcanic activities, glaciation, and the deformation of the land surface through the processes of intrusions and extrusions (volcanic activity and uplifting) have shaped the land and created an environment which is extremely harsh yet very fertile and productive.

The topographic relief is directly related to the degree of rainfall and temperature variations. It also accounts for the six different life zones which are present within the area. These zones are: the Lower Sonoran (below 4,500 feet), Upper Sonoran (4,500 to 8,500 feet), Transition (7,000 to 9,500 feet), Canadian (8,500 to 9,500 feet), Hudsonian (9,500 to 11,500 feet), and the Arctic-Alpine (above 11,500 feet). Each of these zones have their own unique types of plant and animal life. The region contains six of the seven life zones to be found in North America.

Many forms of plant life exist in this region. This is primarily due to the variations in elevation, precipitation, length of growing periods, temperature, and the nature of the soils. The natural vegetation is important for many reasons.

> In the vegetation, one has a clinical chart that tells much about the soil and its fertility and deficiencies; the influences of altitude, climate and growing seasons; how land has been managed; what can be done to improve it; and the kinds of crops that should thrive under cultivation where particular wild plants grow. Vegetation shows the delicate balance between the natural forces that build and those that tear down, including the physical

> relation to soils and runoff that must be preserved in all efforts to conserve land and water resources.
>
> Forest lands supply lumber and serve as a natural reservoir for most of the water supply, and are. . .summer grazing grounds. Woodlands supply farm, ranch, and town with fence posts, poles, and are important for range use. Desert-shrub areas have major importance for winter grazing (United States Department of Agriculture 1941:6).

New Mexico has been subdivided into six vegetation types by Hunter, Cockerill and Pingrey (1939:27-29). These types include: (1) Semidesert Shrub, (2) Semidesert Grass, (3) Short Grass, (4) Oak Shrub, (5) Woodland, and (6) Forest.

The Semidesert Shrub area covers the lower plains, mesas, and the river valleys. Rainfall within the Semidesert Shrub area averages no more than nine inches annually. This type occurs primarily in modern day Socorro, Eddy, Otero, Sierra, Dona Ana, Hidalgo, and Luna Counties. The vegetation which is found in this area consists for the most part of the creosote bush, blackbrush, mesquite, soapweed, and chamiza. (Soapweed is a common name for the yucca plant. The native American Indian and the Spanish have both used this plant to make soap suds in place of soap.) Most of the vegetation within the Semidesert Shrub type is very unsatisfactory for grazing purposes. Except where the chamiza is found, the carrying capacity for one head of beef is, for example, 150 acres. Where the chamiza grows in abundance the grazing capacity is high (Hunter, Cockerill, and Pingrey 1939:27). The soils of this area are also very poor and shallow.

The Semidesert Grass type is found in the above mentioned counties of the Semidesert Shrub areas and also in San Juan, Bernalillo, Grant, and Valencia Counties. Precipitation within this area also averages a maximum of nine inches annually. The following shrubs are common to

this type: jujube, acacia, ocotillo, Spanish bayonet, desert willow, thread leaf sage, and the screwbean. This type of vegetation also occurs in the Semidesert Shrub areas. The more valuable grasses, which can be found on the mesas and higher plains, within this second type (i.e., Semidesert Grasses) include: black grama, dropseeds, and bush muhly. With this type of vegetation the carrying capacity for the land is about twice that of the shrub areas. That is, only 50 to 80 acres are required to sustain a single cow. On the flats and in the basins of the Semidesert Grass areas one finds suitable summer feed for cattle. Tobosa, alkali, vine-mesquite, and burro are the more typical grasses found here.

The Short Grass type represents the very best range land areas to be found within the area. The carrying capacity here ranges from 20 to 60 acres per cow. The Short Grass areas take in a great deal of the land area to the east of the Rio Grande and South of the Rocky Mountains. Union, Harding, Quay, Curry, Roosevelt, De Bacca, Guadalupe, Chaves, Eddy, the southern portion of Santa Fe, and Lincoln Counties are the primary areas in which this type can be found. The Short Grass type (which includes tall grasses also) may be found to a limited extent in San Juan, Sandoval, McKinley, Bernalillo, Valencia, Catron, Sierra, Socorro, Taos, Colfax, San Miguel, and Lea Counties. A short grass variety called the blue grama is the primary feed forage of this area. Other forage grasses found in the area include: buffalo, black, hairy and side-oat gramas. Other species which are not used for forage, but are to be found include galleta grass, red three-awn, hairy triodia, soapweed, snakeweed, and alkali sacaton.

The Short Grass type is a secondary stage in the vegetation cover of this area. It has been replacing the tallgrasses which are included in the same areas as the Short Grass type. David Meriwether, who was the Territorial Governor of New Mexico from 1853 to 1857, described these tall-grasses in his autobiography (Griffen 1966). He states that on one of his journeys into the territory the grasses were so tall that they had to cut their way through. In another instance Meriwether recorded having taken special precautions in the selection of a suitable camp site because of the possibility of fire from these tall-grasses. The transformation from tall to short grasses is a result of natural fires, stock overgrazing, and the general effects of plowing the land for dry farming. The implications of these changes will be detailed in a later chapter of this study. The short-grasses are preferred for grazing; however, the long-grasses are able to maintain higher qualities of growth during severe winters and during drought conditions. The tall-grasses consist primarily of the following types: three-awn grasses, small soapweed, thread leaf, certain annual weeds, and big and little bluestem grasses.

The Oak Shrub type is found in the southeastern portion of New Mexico. Specifically, it is confined to Eddy, Lea, southern Roosevelt, and western Chaves Counties. This type of vegetation area is characterized by a low shrubby growth of shinnery oak. One also finds feather and prairie grasses, the three-awn grasses, soapweed, and thread leaf sage in this area. Approximately 90 acres are required per cow per year. The area does not support yearlong grazing and requires supplementary feeding, usually in the form of alfalfa hay.

The Woodland type occurs at elevations of from 5,000 to 7,500 feet. Precipitation ranges here from twelve to fifteen inches annually. The grazing capacity is approximately 70 acres per cow. Within this area the chief tree growth is the pinon and three or four varieties of evergreen oaks. The primary grasses are blue grama, galleta, Texas Timothy, side-oats, hairy and black gramas, and muhly grasses. One also finds saltbushes, beargrass, and willows here. The Woodland type is found in Rio Arriba, Taos, Colfax, Mora, Guadalupe, Santa Fe, Sandoval, western Bernalillo, Torrance, Lincoln, Otero, Socorro, Catron, Grant, and Valencia Counties. It is also to be found in the western and southwestern edge of Harding County.

The Forest type includes much of the land above 7,500 feet in elevation. From this elevation ranging to approximately 9,000 feet one encounters the ponderosa pine. The Douglas and white furs, and quaking aspen range from 9,000 to 10,500 feet in elevation. The Engelmann spruce appears as a common timber at the upper ranges. The timber line occurs at approximately 11,000 feet. Other species of flora which appear within the Forest type of vegetation are: blue grama (lower elevations), pinegrass, mountain muhly, wild currants, antelope bush, thinbleberry, and willows. This area is used for grazing primarily in the summer and early fall months. Calculated on a yearlong basis it requires approximately 90 acres of forest type vegetation to support one cow. This type of cover occurs in the higher elevations of the state and can be found in varying degrees of representation within the following counties: Rio Arriba, Taos, Colfax, Mora, Harding, San Miguel, Santa Fe, Sandoval, San Juan, McKinley, Valencia, Bernalillo,

Catron, Socorro, Grant, Sierra, Otero, and Lincoln. It is also found in the extreme southwestern tip of Eddy County. Precipitation varies within this type from fifteen to twenty inches or more annually.

Beyond the Forest area lies what is termed the Alpine Zone. It represents a very small area, occurring on the mountain peaks of the New Mexico landscape. Here one finds such plant life as dwarf alpine flowers, saxifrages, rushes, sedges, and the alpine larkspur. There are no trees within the Alpine Zone. This zone is important to the area in that it retains moisture (in the form of snow) usually until the late summer months when it melts and thus provides water for the lower elevations.

Much of the native plant life of this region was used by both Indian and Spanish settlers. No less than 210 native plants have been identified as sources of the general food supply of the Indian in the region. Castetter (1935:8) states that the Spanish upon their arrival: ". . .considerably supplemented this list with wheat, oats, barley, chile, onions, chick-peas, peas, new varieties of beans, melons, peaches, apricots, cabbage, lettuce, radishes, carrots, cucumbers, etc. . . .while the English speaking people introduced no plants of importance." Since the arrival of the Spanish the use of native plants has declined although some are still in use as foods, medicines, or as aspects of special ceremonies (Bancroft 1883; Standley 1912).

The broad spectrum of the New Mexico vegetation zones has given rise to a wide variety of animal life within the area. Man played an important role here by introducing many new species. Cattle, sheep, horses, and numerous fowl were brought in with the Spanish settlers.

Some of the more typical wild fauna to be found throughout the area include: bear, barbary sheep, elk, antelope, quail, pheasant, sage hens, pigeons, doves, hawks and numerous other small birds, white tail and mule deer, wild and domestic turkey, duck, geese, trout, and a wide variety of warm water fish.

Castañeda, who accompanied Coronado on his first trip to New Mexico, mentions the variety of fauna to be found in this region. He recorded seeing buffalo, large numbers of cranes, wild geese, starlings, and wild turkeys. The feathers of these turkeys were used by the Indians for robes and dresses. J.W. Albert who mapped the area in 1846-47 for the United States Army (cf. Galvin 1956), added to the list of species to be found within the territory.

Numerous new forms of domesticated animal life have been introduced into the New Mexico environment over the centuries. Cattle and sheep have been two of the outstanding and most important examples. E. H. Wentworth (1939:15) in an article detailing "The Advent of Sheep in New Mexico", states: the Coronado expedition (in 1540) brought with it ". . .5,000 sheep, 150 cattle, and unnumbered swine and mules. . . ." The record is not completely clear however as to how many were left behind when Coronado returned to the south. Lansing B. Bloom (1927:229) states that when Coronado withdrew in April, 1542 sheep were left behind with Fr. Luis de Escalona. Quite possibly as early as this the Pueblo may have acquired a knowledge of the use of wool and the method of maintaining domesticated flocks of sheep. Clearly sheep were successfully being raised in northern Mexico by the end of the sixteenth century. In 1598 Don Juan de Oñate left for New

Mexico with almost 3,000 head of sheep. Wentworth (1939) maintains that it was Onate who firmly established the sheep industry in New Mexico. That is, in those areas along the Rio Grande where Onate established settlements, the sheep industry gained a foothold.

Apparently the sheep which were brought into New Mexico were of distinctly low quality (Wentworth 1939; Forbes 1919). Two classes of sheep existed in Spain at the time of the Coronado Expedition, i.e., merinos and chaurros. The merinos were transhumantes. The chaurros were estantes or "stationary flocks." The former because of their migrations produced the best fleece (living under the most ideal conditions year-long). The latter (chaurros) were less productive. They were of low quality and had much coarser fleece, yielding only one to two pounds of very coarse wool per season. Compared to the Spanish highland breed, the low-land chaurros were an inferior breed. It was this breed (the chaurros) which was brought to the New World and ultimately formed the basic breeding stock which established the New Mexico sheep industry.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the sheep industry dominated the region. Bartoleme de Baca, the Spanish Governor, had two million head of sheep, which were herded by 2,700 peones. The first governor of New Mexico under the Mexican Republic is said to have had one million head of sheep (Russell 1938:5). As the industry evolved more and more sheep were owned by fewer and fewer families. By the end of the 1800's more than three-fourths of the total sheep population within New Mexico were controlled by less than twenty families. The impact of this development within the economy of the region had far-reaching effects with respect to the overall social

system. A landlord-tenant system was created in which the peon was subordinate to a small number of large sheep owners. In effect a patrón-client relationship evolved. The specifics of this sytem will be discussed in greater detail below.

As was pointed out earlier, when Francisco Vasquez de Coronado first traveled in the area which is modern day New Mexico he brought with him horses, sheep, and cattle. Some of these animals undoubtedly were taken by Indians and certainly others escaped. In 1598 Juan de Oñate realized the potential of this region as cattle country when he saw the vast herds of bison which existed on the open ranges. In fact, the Spanish first tried to domesticate the bison. However, this practice proved very quickly to be extremely impractical and was discontinued for a variety of reasons (Thompson 1942).

By 1680 cattle were to be found in New Mexico, but the pueblo revolt during this year cut short the development of the industry. By 1693 Santa Fe was refounded and settlements at Santa Cruz de la Cañada and Albuquerque were soon established. Permanent settlements marked the beginning of the eighteenth century, and also the beginning of an increase in the growth of the cattle and sheep population in New Mexico.

Early Population Trends

The early Spanish populations of New Mexico were small and consisted of military men (and their families), missionaries, and a relatively small number of frontier settlers. Prior to the Indian revolt of 1680 a statement by Vetancur ". . .shows a population of 24,000 Spaniards and Christian Indians" of whom it would seem the former represented no more than 2,400 (Bancroft 1962:172). After the

reconquest a document dated May 1697: ". . .indicates that the number of settlers, heads of families, in the province, including new-comers, was 313. This [figure] did not include the soldiers; and the total so-called Spanish population was probably not less than 1,500" (Bancroft 1962:221). According to Bancroft's (1889) publication, which was based on extensive archival research, the population of Spaniards in 1750 had probably reached slightly more than 4,000.

By 1760 the Spanish population (see Table I) had exceeded 7,000. At the turn of the century this figure had grown to slightly more than 18,000.

At the time of New Mexico's annexation to the United States, the Spanish population was approximately 80,000. A report on the population, which was compiled in 1844, detailing the number of Spanish inhabitants by partidos sets out the following figures: Santa Fe 12,500, San Miguel 18,800, Santa Ana 10,500, Rio Arriba 15,000, Taos 14,200, Valencia 20,000, and Bernalillo 8,204 (Bancroft 1962:342).

The early population figures vary considerably with respect to absolute numbers. The most important generalization to be drawn from both Tables I and II is the observation of a general trend in the increase of the Spanish population of the region: from slightly more than 18,000 in 1799 to 80,000 in the 1840's.

The population distribution of the Spanish initially centered around the early Indian pueblos. Throughout the history of the region, (certainly through the 1880's), the general conditions between the settlers (Spanish or Anglo) and the Indian populations tended to define settlement patterns. The physical environment also provided certain

TABLE I

POPULATION IN NEW MEXICO: 1760-1799

Settlement	1760		1793		1799	
	Spanish	Indian	Spanish	Indian	Spanish	Indian
Albuquerque	1,814	...	1,650	...	4,020	603
Santa Fe	1,285	...	2,419	...	4,194	314
La Canada	1,515	316	1,650	...	7,351	1,079
Abiquiu	617	166	1,147	216	...	...
Taos	160	505	403	518	1,351	782
Picuries	208	328	1,310	254	...	...
San Juan	575	316	2,173	260	...	...
Santa Clara	277	257	635	139	...	...
San Ildefonso	30	484	...	240	...	...
Pujuaque	...	99	308	53	...	...
Nambe	118	204	...	155	...	...
Tesuque	...	232	...	200	...	...
Pecos & Galisteo	...	509	...	152	...	...
Cochiti	140	450	720	720	...	...
Santo Domingo	...	424	...	650	...	...
San Felipe	...	458	...	532	...	...
Jemes	...	373	375	485	298	1,166
Cia	...	568	...	275	...	...
Santa Ana	...	404	...	356	...	...
Sandia (Alameda)	222	291	810	304	1,490	1,513
Isleta, Tome, Belen	620	304	2,680	410	...	...
Acoma	...	1,052	10	820	...	...
Laguna	85	600	6	668	15	1,559
Zuni	...	664	10	1,935	7	2,716
Total:	7,666	9,104	16,156	9,275	18,826	9,732

Source: Hubert H. Bancroft, 1962:279.

limitations as well as opportunities for the spatial distribution of populations. In the former case the threat of Indian raids and the Spaniards ability to make peace with the various Indian groups led to a series of settlement expansions and retreats; depending on the general conditions of relationships between these two groups.

TABLE II

POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO: 1794[1]

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Totals
Spanish	7,502	5,912	2,153	1,763	17,330
Indian	4,343	4,267	1,539	1,219	11,368
Castas[2]	1,941	1,601	792	1,224	5,558
Totals	13,786	11,780	4,484	4,206	34,256

New Mexico was the most northern of Spanish colonies and was certainly the least populated throughout the Spanish Colonial period. Yet, the settlements played a vital role in Spanish foreign policy. The threat to these settlements by the Indian weakened the Spanish foothold in the richer mining areas of the Interior Provinces. In addition to the threat of Indian attacks, the need to protect its provinces from Russian, French, and English expansion in North America led to the establishment of military posts (Presidios) all along the frontier

[1]Hubert H. Bancroft, 1962:280.

[2]Castas referred to mixed Spanish and Indian individuals, but in this case represents perhaps Negro mixes according to Bancroft (1960:280).

corridor. Stability, in terms of permanent settlements, would come only after the threat of Indian raids was disposed of. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, Spain took steps to either eliminate the Indian or to make peace. The steps included increased trade to win the loyalty of some groups (e.g., Commanche) and military expeditions (e.g., against the Apache). The Interior Provinces were also reorganized under a system of military as well as civil authority to deal with the Indian problem. The former was to act independent of the civil government, yet their authority was deemed to be primarily military. That is,

> His chief duty was to reorganize and systematize frontier defenses, and to wage war as required against the hostile tribes. He was given power over the other branches merely to avoid obstacles or controversies which might interfere with the successful performance of his martial duties. He was expected to delegate freely his power in civil matters to non-military officials (Worcester 1951: 19).

Apparently this defensive frontier policy by the military was successful in that the Spanish population stabilized and was able to expand over the two centuries preceeding United States annexation. Oñate had brought approximately 600 settlers to the region in 1598. By the time of the Pueblo revolt (1680) this figure had grown to almost 3,000. Vargas in his reconquest brought one hundred soldiers and seventy families with him in 1693. By 1752 the population had reached almost 3,500. At the turn of the century the population of New Mexico had swelled to 20,000 and by 1817 had reached almost 30,000 (Jones 1979:129).

The basic settlement patterns of the Spanish tended to evolve and expand from the central area of the Rio Grande. Jones' description of the Albuquerque jurisdiction in 1790 is typical of the way the Spanish

population grew around a central area and dispersed into the rural countryside.

> The Albuquerque jurisdiction included six plazas of the villa itself, with a total of 248 families listed, and twenty-five outlying plazas, along with one Indian pueblo, San Agustín de Isleta, where 103 Indian and 8 Spanish families were individually listed. Other settlements in the Albuquerque district included San Antonio, Atrisco, Valencia, San Fernando de las Silvas, Tomé, San Ysidro de Paxarito, Los Padillas, San Antonio de los Lentes, Los Chaves (six plazas alone), Belén (three plazas), San Antonio de los Trujillos de Belén, Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Belén, and San Antonio del Sabinal (Jones 1979:128).

As was indicated above, Spanish settlement patterns during the early era of the Colonial period were dispersed in a few communities along the Rio Grande Valley. With the passing of time, increased population, and the diminishing threat of Indian raids settlements expanded into the outlying areas of the region, e.g., ". . .to Abiquiú, Laguna, San Miguel del Vado, and the mountain communities of the Sangre de Cristo range" (Jones 1979:131). Spatial patterns of settlements took on a more dispersed character toward the latter half of the Colonial period. The increase in population by the time of the late 1800's, as well as more peaceful Indian relations, brought opportunities for an increase in the development of large ranching enterprises (haciendas).

Intermarriage was a common practice among the Spanish settlers. This mixing, more than new European migrations, provided for an increase in population. The increases in population of New Mexico came as a result of progeny from mixed Spanish/Indian relationships. Migrations from Spain to New Mexico during the period were very small in number. While it was pointed out earlier that movement was restricted within the provinces individuals nevertheless did migrate into New Mexico

from the other provinces such as Paso del Norte, Chihuahua, central New Spain, and Mexico City. At the close of the Colonial period the population of New Mexico represented as many individuals as were located in all of Texas, Baja California or Alta California. From the villas of Santa Fe, La Canada, and Albuquerque surrounding settlements grew and developed the region economically.

The Economic Structure

Oñate, in a report to the viceroy, touched upon the value of the northern frontiers to Spain and the Crown. He wrote:

> First, the great wealth which the mines have begun to reveal and the great number of them in this land, whence proceed the royal fifths and profits. Second, the certainty of the proximity of the South Sea, whose trade with Piru [Peru], New Spain, and China is not to be depreciated, for it will give birth in time to advantageous and continuous duties. Third, the increase of vassals and tributes, which will increase not only the rents, but his renown and dominion as well, (if it be possible that our king these can increase). Fourth, the wealth of abundant salines. . . mountains of brimstone. . .I will not mention the founding of so many republics [sic], the many offices, their quittances, vacancies, provisions, etc., the wealth of the wool and hides of buffalo, and many other things. . .(Wellman 1954:73).

While Oñate's remarks were optimistic in tone and written in support for his own activities they do provide a general statement on the economic significance of this new territory to the King and his administrative network which consisted of nobles, merchants and a mass of commoners. The wealth of colonial America provided profits for the Crown, land for the taking, new titles for the ambitious, commerce, taxes and perhaps the hope of opportunities for the masses to pursue upward mobility in the otherwise "frozen class structure of the Spanish Empire" (Hall 1981: 34).

New Mexico did not, however, provide the Spanish Crown with the riches of such areas as the Valley of Mexico or those found in the mines of what is today the area of Chihuahua. The industries of New Mexico were agriculture, trade, and eventually stock-raising. The nomadic and settled Indian populations were not as easily pacified and thus required greater efforts to control than in other regions of New Spain (both in terms of funds from the Crown and in military personnel). Resources for this task were always in short supply in the northern province.

The colonial society of New Mexico was primarily made up of clergy, military personnel, administrators, farmers, artisans, traders, general laborers, weavers, and individuals occupied in stock-raising. In 1790, for example, farming, weaving, day labor, stock-raising, and trades were the dominant occupations in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Santa Cruz de la Canada, and Alameda (Jones 1979:133). Farmers were in the majority with day laborers and weavers following in order. Individuals listed as artisans or stock-raising workers equalled less than fifteen per cent of the total population.

Theoretically land in New Mexico belonged to the Spanish Crown. The concept of homesteading was not the manner in which settlements were established in New Mexico. The Spanish Crown and later the Mexican government gave the land to individuals and groups for the purpose of developing unoccupied lands on the frontier, and for protecting Spanish footholds against foreign expansion. During the Spanish Colonial period there were three basic types of land grants: (1) Proprietary grants, (2) Community grants, and (3) Sitio grants. The proprietary grant was given to an individual. The community grants were awarded to groups of

ten or more families to establish communities. They were also designated to pueblo communities as Indian land grants. The sitio was a ranch grant ". . .which varied in size from one square league during the Colonial period to hundreds of thousands of acres during the Mexican period" (Williams and McAllister 1981:36). Conflicts over Anglo and Hispanic land customs mark a very important theme and will be returned to in subsequent chapters. We deal with it here as background to future developments. The table below shows the distribution of land grants and their type from 1689 to 1852.

TABLE III

SPANISH AND MEXICAN LAND GRANTS IN NEW MEXICO: 1689-1852[1]

Type of Grant	Number of these types	Dates Covered	Total Acreage
Spanish Indian Grants	20	1689-1793	556,122
Spanish Grants	96	1766-1823	4,733,673
Mexican Grants	25	1832-1852	5,022,812

During the Colonial period a total of 116 grants were made covering slightly more than six and a quarter million acres. These grants were distributed over a period of 150 years. During the Mexican era, which covered only twenty years, twenty-five grants were made totaling just over five million acres. During this short period Mexico awarded

[1]Williams and McAllister, 1981:36-37.

close to the total acreage which the Spanish had given throughout their 150 years of colonization of the region.

Writing on the general characteristics of both the Spanish and Mexican land grants Leonard (1943:vii-viii) describes them in the following manner:

> The original Spanish and Mexican land grants were characterized by extensive size, a careless and often complete lack of surveys, poor and obscure titles and a total disregard for definite boundaries. Lands were classified into two main groups: the common or grazing lands which were vested in entire settlements and the irrigable tracts which were distributed and assigned to individual families.

Land, its distribution and ownership, was an important element in the economic structure of the region. It provided a subsistence mode of production for the Spanish settlements. It was also the hope for a few to riches which would bring their heirs upward mobility when they returned to Spain. And, for a few, it provided the base for establishing power and wealth within the local economy.

The system of land tenure as part of the developing economic structure of the frontier requires further elaboration. Some writers (Gonzalez 1969; Zeleny 1944) have defined the economic character of the New Mexico system of land tenure as essentially "feudal" and imply that a structure existed within New Mexico similar to the social, political, and economic system of medieval Europe. Certainly there is a distinction to be drawn between those who "work" the land and those who "own" the land. And, inequalities in the structure of the New Mexico frontier society may be traced to the development and distribution of this basic resource. That is, in New Mexico land was granted as in the feudal European structure to individuals in return for military service

or for the performance of other duties to the Spanish Crown. The system of land distribution gave rise also to specific types of relationships among groups, e.g., a patrón-peón pattern. Yet, the frontier society of New Mexico and indeed the structure of land acquisition unlike the classical feudal system of Europe provided a certain fluidness (Hall 1982:83-92). Spain maintained a dependent structure within the frontier region, however, through its claim that all land ultimately belonged to the Crown.

Within this general framework, as was pointed out above, land distribution took different forms and was not limited to a necessarily selected group of individuals. The community grants, which were located primarily along the fertile river valleys such as the Rio Grande and Pacos, and their tributaries in northern New Mexico, form an important aspect of New Mexico's early economic development.

The typical community grant consisted of the following characteristics: a village site with a plaza, church, and residential area. Housing sites and irrigation land were distributed by specific lots. Each family of the community received title to the residential site and the irrigated land as well as certain rights to common land which provided timber and grazing for livestock. These villages developed primarily as self-sufficient and independent agricultural communities. The villages were settled and grants awarded through official permission. Settlers received special tax exemptions and other favors such as the right to possess arms. Spanish control was maintained over these settlements through the restriction of village movements and individual travel. Although many of these communities did not survive, i.e.,

frequent Indian hostilities destroyed many villages, they came to represent the basic settlement pattern throughout the Spanish and Mexican period in northern New Mexico.

Knowlton (1970:7-8) points out that the community grants were an important type within the general structure of the development of this region. He writes:

> Once the grant was made, the cooperating families selected a village site, chose house lots, built a communal irrigation system, and divided among themselves the available irrigated farm lands. Each family owned its own house lot and croplands. The rest of the land in the grant was held in communal ownership known as the ejido [common land]. Every village family had the right to utilize the natural resources of the ejido and it could not be sold or otherwise alienated from the village.

In the history of land tenure in New Mexico the community grant became the cornerstone of village life and the rights of ownership were passed on from generation to generation. The economy of these villages throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods was comprised of subsistence agriculture, trade with the Indians, livestock production, and handicrafts. The villages came to represent cooperative groups tied together through marriage and kinship bonds as well as the isolation of the frontier society. The compadrazgo system (cf. Mintz and Wolf 1953) also served to strengthen the individual's identification with a specific village. The relationships among families through the compadrazgo system provided for the creation of patrón-client ties between individuals and a powerful "godfather" like figure.

The sitio grant, in contrast to the community grant, differed both in size and in the nature of labor which developed to maintain it. The sitio grant was given to an individual to develop, and its economy

was based on livestock ranching. These grants were developed in the range land areas of the eastern parts of New Mexico as well as throughout other portions of the region. The individuals who owned these grants were in many respects powerful men in that the large sitio grant led to control both politically and economically over the residents by the owners. That is, this upper class of land owners drew their laborers from the Spanish population and Indian slaves. The former could not move freely until their indebtedness was paid. In this system the debts of the fathers were inherited by the next generation. This system was also extended to villages surrounding the sitio land grant in that residents often worked for the grant owners and also acquired debts to the land owners.

The individuals who acquired these grants received hereditary title to the land. They were required to live on the land and received the grant as a reward for military, economic, or political service to Spain. "In the course of time as descendants of the original grantee multiplied, many sitios became in essence community grants" (Knowlton 1963:3). The Spanish kinship system provided for all children to inherit equally. Thus, over many generations the large sitio grants and proprietary grants came, in many instances, to resemble village communities.

The third type of grant, the proprietary grant, was given to prominent individuals:

> . . .to thicken the zones of settlement or to establish villages and ranches at strategic locations [on the frontier]. The recipients of proprietary grants promised, in exchange for the land, to secure settlers, build a church, put in an irrigation system and provide military protection (Knowlton 1972:6).

The proprietor became the patrón of the village community and maintained

economic control as well as the right to call the villagers to assist him militarily. These sorts of grants were in many instances located in areas where frequent Indian raids took place. Subsequently this characteristic led to the abandonment and relocation of many proprietary village sites.

The general characteristic of the colonial economy was principally agricultural, i.e., stockraising and farming. There were also a variety of skilled tradesmen and some forms of rudimentary commerce. The trades included masons, blacksmiths, silversmiths, tailors, weavers, carpenters, etc. (Jones 1979:133). Both Indian and Spanish were employed as servants, both voluntarily and involuntarily. The latter were usually drawn from the Indian populations, e.g., Apache, Navajos, Utes, etc. Females constituted a majority of the servants in the colonial society.

Prior to the revolt of 1680 the frontier province of New Mexico was developed through grants in which the Pueblo Indian was subjugated both economically and otherwise through the system of encomienda. The early Spaniards who initiated the discovery and settlement of the region were given permits to claim groups of Pueblos from which they collected taxes or tribute in the form of labor, grain, cotton, buffalo hides, buckskins, blankets, and so on. In return for this grant the Spanish encomenderos were expected to defend the area with their Indian subjects against unfriendly Indians such as the Apache (Jones 1979:136-137). After the reconquest (from the eighteenth century forward) there were no encomenderos in New Mexico.

Although transportation and communication were difficult in the frontier regions, a network of trade evolved from New Mexico to

Chihuahua during the latter part of the eighteenth century. While the wealth which Spain had hoped to gain in minerals was never developed, except in the southwest copper area of the territory, annual caravans traversed the area. Caravans from Nueva Vizcaya brought items to the area and sold them at high prices to the Spanish settlers. "Merchants set the value for commodities and developed near monopolies of commerce with Spanish communites and within them" (Jones 1979:142). All imports were taxed by the government in Chihuahua.

In Taos and Abiquiu trading fairs were common toward the close of the eighteenth century. Items such as buffalo hides, Indian slaves, tobacco, guns, horses, corn, knives, etc. were traded between the Indians, colonists, and merchants. Items came from the French on the Great Plains through the Indian to the colonial settlements and from areas to the south such as Michoacán, Querétaro, Mexico City, Puebla and Jalapa. Summarizing the nature of the balance of trade Hall (1982: 80) states: "Although New Mexico did not supply funds for the royal coffers in Mexico City or Madrid, it certainly enriched the purses of the merchants. . . ." "They were able to capitalize on their privileged position as middlemen. . . ." Citing Moorhead (1958:29) this author gives the following summary of the significance of trade to the south:

> The. . .mining center of Chihuahua became the regional metropolis, and the merchants of that city exerted a commercial tyranny over the New Mexicans that was relieved only by the collapse of the Spanish controls and the arrival from across the eastern plains of foreign merchants (Hall 1982:81).

Spanish Social Structures

The relative isolation of many of the villages from the more

central areas such as Santa Fe and Albuquerque as well as the remoteness of each village from the other led to a certain independence in terms of the village economy and social structure. Above, the nature of the different types of settlements were noted and described, e.g., the community, sitio, and proprietary grants. In this section an overview of the colonial Spanish social structure is presented.

In general terms the social structure of the village community was based in large part upon communal labor and mutual aid. These two factors,

> . . .seem to have been the primary bases upon which the social structure of these agricultural villages was founded. Together the settlers built houses, maintained irrigation ditches, grazed their livestock, cared for their sick, buried their dead, and celebrated the holy days of the Catholic religion. Neglected by both church and state, each village developed a relatively autonomous system for maintaining law and order, socializing the children, perpetuating the faith and their culture in general (Gonzalez 1969:41).

Marriage patterns, social ties, the household unit and the extended family, inheritance patterns, leadership and politics developed within the general context of this relative isolation. Yet, beyond this circumstance of isolation there remained a partial dependence upon the early Spanish traditions. The Spanish villager's social existance centered on raising crops within the community grants, developing livestock on the larger landholdings or on the smaller ranchos and communal lands of the town.

The extended family formed the basic social unit of the New Mexico frontier society. "Heads of families might be either men or women, married or single persons, widows and widowers" (Jones 1979:132). Typically the head of a household was male. Many households consisted of

a nuclear family and their relatives as well as servants and adopted members of the extended family. Jones (1979:133) provides the following example as illustrative of the nature of the family in colonial New Mexico toward the end of the 1700's:

> Comandate Juan Candalaria, Spaniard, weaver, 53 years old, married to Bárbara García, Spaniard, 50 years old, one legitimate son 23 years old, two daughters - one 14 years old and the other 11 years old. Two male nephews, Spaniards, one 17 years old and the other 14 years old. One male orphan, coyote, 23 years old. A female Indian servant 26 years old. Her three legitimate sons - one 11 years old, another 7 years old, another 4 years old. A female orphan, Spaniard, 4 years old.

While some families were small the majority were similar to the above example and constituted the basic core around which the economy and social structure evolved. The mode of production, primarily a farming enterprise, as well as the natural environment placed certain constraints upon the settlements particularly in the northern valleys. A few settlements, such as Santa Fe and Albuquerque provided a wider range of activities for the artisan or trader, but primarily the majority of Spanish settlers were small farmers.

Land in the northern villages of the Rio Grande Valley was developed by these individual families with the extended family forming the basis of the economic and social environment of the colonial society. Land was the primary measure of an individual's wealth. As was pointed out above land was given both to individuals and to groups, e.g., the community grant. In both instances the recipients were expected to develop the area and to maintain residency for a specified number of years. Land transfers occurred through both sales and inheritance. In the former the exchange was measured in pesos, but transactions were

finalized with goods-in-kind, e.g., livestock, garments, wool, etc. Barter was the primary form of exchange in the colonial society.

Inheritance as a form of gaining rights to land was an important dimension in maintaining the community social structure. Spanish law according to Atencio (1964) favored primogenity. Fergusson (1940) suggests equal inheritance existed within Spanish colonial society. Both Gonzales (1969) and Perrigo (1960) suggest that the practice of dividing land equally among all heirs has its origins in the "Mexican" period. Primogenity would have functioned well during the colonial period when land was abundant. By giving land to the eldest son the younger sons would have been forced to relocate and establish new villages in the relatively open spaces of the frontier. Regardless of the validity of primogenity, equal inheritance patterns became the norm for the transfer of land. In part this practice led to overpopulation and the creation of smaller holdings which could not sustain a family sufficiently to provide a livelihood.

Distinct from the smaller villages along the Rio Grande and northern regions were the large land holdings. Here the distribution of land remained until United States annexation, primarily in the hands of a few. The distinction between land ownership concentrated in the hands of a few as opposed to divisions of land among many families is an important factor in the economic and social structure of the Spanish population of New Mexico. Large grants, such as the San Miguel del Bado or Maxwell land grant, reflect the enormity of the holdings which some were able to acquire. The former exceeded three hundred thousand acres and the latter more than one million acres.

Under Spanish law the community grant was given to groups of families to hold in common. This land remained, both during the Spanish and Mexican periods, under the ownership of the Crown or Republic. Land was also given to individual families in the form of a tract of irrigated land and household lots. This system prevailed both on the large grants and in the smaller village settlements of the northern valleys.

As was pointed out above land could be sold or disposed of through inheritance. Under both Spanish law and under the Republic the common lands could not be sold because of the pattern of dual ownership. The irrigated lands could be disposed of by their owners. Leonard (1943: 142) states: "Under this system of dual ownership the people. . .developed a personal interest and attachment to the irrigated land that was never approached in their interest in the grazing [common] lands." This attachment in terms of individual ownership rights is an important characteristic of the Spanish traditional lifeways. It was a "social relationship between the population and the land."

While the residents of the larger grants were allowed equal rights to the common village lands, many of the larger grants were actually operated by a small number of individuals. For example, as the sheep industry grew in importance a situation evolved called the partido system. This system was one in which a few large owners rented sheep to smaller operators. The relationship has been described as analogous to the sharecropping system which developed in the rural south. Under this system the small operator received a specified number of sheep to be kept under his care. At the end of the year the owner expected to receive in return the number of sheep which he had originally rented

plus a specified number of additional lambs. Gregg describes the partido system in the following manner:

> . . .there were extensive proprietors who had their ranchos over half the province, in some cases amounting to from three to five hundred thousand head of sheep. The custom has usually been to farm out the ewes to the rancheros, who make a return of twenty per cent upon the stock in merchantable carneros--a term applied to sheep generally, and particularly to wethers fit for market (Gregg 1954:134).

The author goes on to describe the state of the industry, its economic impact for a few and the significance for the general population. His comments are worth noting in detail.

> Sheep may be reckoned the staple production of New Mexico, and the principal article of exportation. Between ten and twenty years ago, [Gregg was writing in 1844] about 200,000 head were annually driven to the southern markets; indeed, it is asserted, that, during the most flourishing times, as many as 500,000 were exported in one year. This trade has constituted a profitable business to some. . .(Gregg 1954:134).

The rise of the livestock industry in New Mexico seems to have created two types of social institutions. The first, described above, was the partido system; the second was the patrón system. Some (Hawley and Senter 1946) suggest that the latter system was a typical Spanish institution and that it had its origins in early Spanish institutions transferred to New Mexico by the Spanish settlers. Gonzales (1969:45) argues that the patrón system (if it existed) was a result of large land grants which were made during the Mexican period which, with the development of the livestock industry, provided the necessity for new social forms at the expense of the lower class.

Both systems of social relationships seem to have given rise, at least for a period in the history of the region, to a class distinction based upon economic status. The patrón was an individual who extended

credit, in general looked out for the villagers well-being, encouraged good resource management, attended weddings and baptisms, provided medical assistance, and in general always held the "interest and comfort [of his workers] at heart" (Gonzales 1969:48).

Above a distinction was made as to the differences in the types of settlement patterns which evolved in New Mexico, i.e., the large land grant holdings and the smaller village holdings or communal settlements. It was suggested that each type gave rise to a different pattern of leadership and power. This distinction with respect to the patrón-peón system is elaborated on by Knowlton (1962:12-17). According to Knowlton the large landowners were responsible for the economic well-being of the peón. The patrón cared for the families of the peones and provided them with employment. He attended to the needs of the community, the orphaned, sick, or widowed. In return the patrón was given absolute loyalty and obedience by the peones. These sorts of social groupings were isolated and formed a nucleus community. In the patrón-peón system power, both politically and economically, centered on the wealthy who, through their control of land, were able to manipulate village labor for their own economic gains. This type of "debt peonage" was primarily found in the cattle and sheep ranching areas of eastern and southern New Mexico.

The second type appeared most frequently in the northern mountain villages of the region. As was pointed out above these areas differed from the larger land holdings in the region in that they consisted primarily of relatively small village agricultural communities in which the individual owned a plot of irrigated land and held rights in a

common village grazing area. The definition of individual leadership and political power here focused on an individual's ability to command respect, loyalty, and provide employment opportunities for the residents of the community. This village "big man" was an individual who gained his prestige and power through manipulating his resources to not only enhance his social status, but the general well-being of the community.

Overlying the individual patterns of leadership and power were the state and church. The latter meant the Roman Catholic Church: no other was tolerated by the Spanish or Mexican governments. The church was in many ways an institution which profoundly influenced not only the spiritual elements of the Spanish society but provided a continuity which fostered strong family ties, a devotion to one's community and an attitude of solidarity among its individual members. The church was, in the village, the best kept building and there were always volunteers to assist in any needed repairs. In the local village the social environment revolved around the teaching of the church. The only formal education until the late 1800's was through the local church. Most of the social events (fiestas) of the village also centered around the church, e.g., a baptism, or the celebration of a particular holy day. Widespread homage was paid to these occasions with the calendar divided into special festive seasons such as the patrón saints day of all farmers, San Isidro, or the annual fiesta in honor of Nuestra Señora la Virgen Santissima de Guadalupe (Jones 1979:160).

At a higher level the church played a role not only in the individual Spaniard's daily life, but also in the general character of the development of the colonial territory. The Catholic Church and

clergy are well represented in the history of New Mexico's exploration and conquest. Frequently the clergy were leaders of expeditions or the vanguard of new settlements. Franciscans accompanied Oñate and assisted in maping and recording the resources found in this new land. It was the Franciscans who pushed for further exploration and settlement particularly in the northern areas of New Mexico. They established a wide mission system and with a small income from the Spanish treasury developed a generally self-supporting group of settlements among the Pueblo. The clergy's efforts were met with resistance in their attempts to establish religious controls over the Indian populations. This was particularly the case among the Navajo and Apache. Albeit, in general during the seventeenth century missions flourished. It was not until the latter part of the seventeenth century that feuds between the Spanish governors and the church authorities, a shift among the Pueblos in terms of their attitudes toward the missionaries, rumors of Indian labor misuse, and a policy of intensified Indian pacification by the Spanish state authorities led to the "Pueblo Revolt." With the Vargas reconquest came a campaign, after the revolt, by the missionaries to establish new settlements. For a period they were successful in both their missionary activities and in the general process of developing the land and native labor force. Their work extended throughout the Spanish empire of North America by the middle of the eighteenth century.

In the 1750's the tide began to turn against the church and the missionary activities which had developed throughout the area. That is, a series of events enabled the Spanish government to shift its

attention away from maintaining their borders to the internal control of the Spanish southwest. Hough (1982:173-174) describes this shift as follows:

> The 1750's and 1760's brought a series of setbacks to Catholic influence in the Southwest. In 1750 the Pima Indians revolted against the Jesuits. It was never clear whether the revolt's real cause lay in the Jesuit's cruel treatment of the Indians or in the Governor's policies, but the Jesuits never again exerted real control over the Indians. In the middle 1760's, the end of the Seven Years War in Europe resulted in transferral of control over the Louisiana Territory to the Spanish. Since the French were no longer a threat to Mexico, the Spanish could economize their support of missions. In 1767, after some conflict between Jesuits and new policies of the Spanish Empire, all Jesuits were expelled. Property was seized by the government, and many missions were secularized by distributing land and animals among converts and turning buildings into parish churches as opposed to missions.

Missionary activities and the general influence of the church did not end with the expulsion of the Jesuits. New missions continued to develop and in general the influence of the church cannot be overemphasized, although it was weakened by a history of conflict both with the Spanish civil authorities and the Indian populations. Its impact over the three hundred years of Spanish control contributed to self-supporting communities and brought a pastoral economy to the Navajo in the form of sheep herding, weaving, and ranching, new agricultural products and techniques, the development of a new merchant and artisan class, and a folk Catholicism. In part, the isolation of the Spanish communities and the blend between Spanish and Indian culture developed a unique role for the church in New Mexico. Lamar (1966) states that the Catholic religion in the early part of the nineteenth century was a "permissive, simplistic, and even decadent by some standards, but still a powerful influence on its adherents." He

describes the role of the priests as follows:

> The. . .priests who ministered to the state as often as not dominated their communities and seriously threatened the power of any political authority beyond the community to influence local affairs. These priests simplified their services, retained many medieval Catholic customs, and allowed many Indian rituals to mingle with their practices and beliefs. The geographical immensity of the area they were supposed to serve and their own lack of formal training and supervision meant there was a scarcity of priestly services, and common law marriage, unbaptized children, and general ignorance of church teaching was widespread. However, geographical isolation also made them relatively immune to outside control, and in their insulated areas they developed supreme authority, from performance of the rites of birth, political and economic affairs. They often extracted fear and labor from parishioners. Celibacy was not usually observed (Lamar 1966).

The impact of religion in general on the Hispanic society in New Mexico has been described by McWilliams as a mechanism for integrating and preserving the cohesiveness of the culture. He writes:

> The religion of the villager has also been a factor making for social isolation since it has always been a central, unifying, cohesive force in their culture. Jealous of their loyalties, it has deeply penetrated every aspect of their existence and has been a powerful shield against intrusive alien influences. The color of its pageantry, the mystery of its rituals, and the dramatic character of its ceremonies have always been potent attractions to lonely settlers in a forgotten world. Under the circumstances, its value as pure entertainment has been, perhaps, the principal explanation of its survival and dominant influence (McWilliams 1968:64).

In New Mexico there were only a handful of clergy to administer to the population. The absence, therefore, of formally trained religious leaders coupled with the isolation of most of the communities gave rise to the development of a folk system of religion. This structure helped preserve a tradition of song, folklore, customs, and beliefs concerning health, disease and healing, witchcraft and a variety of other practices which formed the cultural traits of the Hispanic community (Gonzalez 1967).

The civil authority which governed New Mexico during the Colonial Period was complex and followed an (ideal) chain of command and authority from the local level to the King of Spain. Hall (1982:158) provides the following summary of this structure. The head of state was the King of Spain. Reporting directly to the King was the Council of the Indies, the Viceroy, the Commandant General, and the Audiencia of Guadalajara. The Governor of New Mexico reported to the Commandant Inspector which was in turn responsible to the Commandant General and the Audencia of Guadalajara. Under the direct authority of the Governor of New Mexico were the Alcalde Mayores and the Teniente Alcalde. While this scheme was indeed extraordinarily complex and ultimately very legalistic, its translation at the local levels often "jettisoned" much of its structure. For example, Lamar (1966:31) points out that:

> In the regular Spanish towns or villages political authority was centered in an alcalde or alcalde mayor, who acted as a justice of the peace, a mayor, a probate judge, and sometimes as a militia captain. In turn these local officials came under the jurisdiction of the district alcaldes or prefect in New Mexico. The more populated areas of New Spain, large towns or villas often had an elaborate muncipal council or ayuntamiento, but in New Mexico only Santa Fe and Albuquerque appear to have had some form of a regular city government.

The internal colonies also went through a number of changes and reorganization under a succession of Viceroys. New commands were created, divided, or consolidated under the various appointed Viceroys. Hall (1982:159) provides an illustration of the complexity of the management of the Provincias Internas in the following statement:

> In 1786 the Commandant General. . .was made immediately subject to the authority of the Viceroy. . ., who divided the region into three commands. The succeeding Viceroy. . .reorganized the Provincias Internas into two divisions. Provincias Internas del Poniente. . .included the Californias, Sonora,

> Nueva Vizcaya (modern Chihuahua) and New Mexico; Provincias Internas del Oriente. . .included Texas, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Nuevo Santander (modern Tamaulipas). This division lasted until 1791 when a royal order reunited the provinces under a single command. The Californias, Nuevo Leon and Nuevo Santander were restored to the Viceroyalty, and the new Provincias Internas were composed of Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, Texas and Coahuila. Then in 1804 a royal order restored the divisions of 1787, but implementation was delayed until 1812 by the Napoleonic wars. Sinalao was added to the west region, and the new Commandant General was ordered by the Viceroy to move his headquarters from Durango to Chihuahua.

Corruption in government was also a problem encountered throughout the Colonial Empire of Spain. At one point a withholding tax was imposed on all new Governors in anticipation of future shortages brought about by the administration. In general throughout the Spanish era the administration of the provinces was in more or less turmoil brought about through shifts in command, appointments with varying and often new levels of authority, bureaucratic squabbles, uncertainties in Europe and on the borders of the Spanish colonies from the encroachment of Americans and the various waring Indian groups within the territory.

Socialization Patterns

The life-style of the early colonists combined with the adaptations required in a new environment, and contacts with the various Indian population created a unique cultural pattern and social mechanism designed to transmit these traits from generation to generation. The daily routine of a primarily agricultural life-style on the frontier, and the isolation, brought a limited range of new ideas and tended to reinforce the maintenance of the cultural values which the early settlers brought with them from Spain. For example, sixteenth century Spanish was the mother tongue and became the language of the region. However,

the colonists adapted or borrowed indigenous native words into their vocabulary. This "archaic" form of Spanish persisted into the twentieth century in some of the more remote mountain villages of the region.

Formal education was almost non-existent throughout the Colonial Period. Yet, there is some evidence that a formal educational system existed at least on a very limited level. While the majority of the population was illiterate one finds teachers listed on census roles in the late 1700's in both Santa Fe and in Albuquerque (Jones 1979:138). Inventories of the possessions of both missionaries and governors indicate that they owned books. A missionary in 1776 observed the teaching of Christian doctrine in pueblo schools and the existence of 256 books in the school library (Jones 1979:139). The majority of settlers however did not receive any sort of formal education. The child learned from the parents and in doing the tasks required of all members of the family.

The colonial society gave rise to a wide variety of art expression, e.g., the professional santeros, who carved religious items and traveled from village to village selling and creating their images. Other forms of art expression developed in the area of painting, weaving, music, drama, and in the classical Hispanic architecture.

The life cycle in the village communities of New Mexico revolved around a subsistence agricultural production. There is indication that the settlers who returned with Vargas in 1693 were seasoned to frontier life and represented "several generations of Hispanic adaptation to a New World environment" (Swadesh 1974:21).

Early settlements represented social patterns of joint family groupings. A single dwelling with multiple rooms built around a central

patio courtyard was the hub of social and economic activities. Swadesh (1974:141) provides us with an interesting view of the composition of these houses in the 1820's with her summary on inheritance. She writes:

> Multiroomed adobe houses were divided between the heirs of a family, a particularly large room even being divided among several heirs by a certain number of ceiling beams. An heir might keep a part, renting it or saving it for his own lodging during occasional trips to the community where the house stood.

The early Spanish settlements represented a fraternal network of kin related members of the community. In general land was divided equally among all heirs and as generations passed closely related families worked units of land beside their relatives. This basic composition of social interaction provided the pattern for defining social networks, community and individual identification, and the general cycle of life for most Hispanics. Residence patterns for the male were flexible and included living with the husband's family (vivilocal), taking up residence with the wife's family (uxorilocal), or simply moving to an unoccupied area and establishing a new residence (neolocal).

> Either of the first two choices was common in the early years of marriage. Even when neolocal residence had been established from the start, the need for assistance during and after birth of children brought young couples back under a parental roof for extended periods during childbearing years. Neolocal residence was often established only well after the formation of the family of proceration (Swadesh 1974:148).

The work in the community required a great deal of mutual support and cooperation on the part of each family. From an early age the child assisted with this work and as he grew the obligations increased. The son was expected to work with his father, and in some cases he was "hired" out as a farm laborer, e.g., under the partido system as a herder. In return, the child was expected to care for his parents when

they reached old age.

An individual's identification with a particular community represented a closed network of kinsmen. The outsider remained such until a tie of kinship could be established. The individual's identity was first with his kin group and with the extended group which defined his community. The generations of families who were the descendants of the early settlers came to think of themselves as of Spanish ancestory, and over the years developed a strong identity for this historical claim apart from the Mexican population.

Knowledge And Belief Systems

This section provides a brief overview of the values, attitudes, and ideologies which developed as part of the cultural heritage of colonial New Mexican society.

The hardships of the land and the never ending efforts to provide a livelihood on the frontier are indeed a tribute to the Spanish settler's constitution. The attitudes and values which evolved within the society from this relationship to the environment formed patterns for life and gave the individual a reality of self-reliance and a guage by which to measure his success. His system of land use, politics, economics, concept of ownership, religious beliefs, kinship structure, etc. were the result of his sixteenth century Spanish heritage and over 300 years of adapting to life in a region which required of the individual a constant effort to struggle to exist. The early settlers came to the New Mexico region primarily to obtain land: to gain the status of hidalgo. A man's wealth and status depended upon his ownership of land.

All land owners in the area took pride, whether they owned large or small parcels, in their status of hidalgos. As Jones (1979:252) points out:

> They. . .[the Spanish settler]. . .had a real sense of identification with their environment, and consequently their land, whether communally or individually owned, was of great importance to them. It served as a form of security for those who originally received the grant and cultivated it or grazed livestock on it. In fact, the land along with the crops and stock constituted the major possessions that parents enjoyed during their lifetimes and could pass on to their children. Their struggle for survival stamped the paisanos with energy and a temperament of their own. They learned to work for themselves on their own properties and thereby developed self-reliance, a felling of independence, and identification with their own domains.

The standard life-style for the majority of the population was simple and evolved around strong values for family, community and hard work. Their material possessions were few and necessarily primitive.

While most of the population was hard working, the region was not without its share of criminals and "vagabonds." Census reports from the late eighteen hundreds, for example, indicate a sizable number of unemployed (sin oficios), particularly in the northern parts of New Mexico (Jones 1979:250). Punishment for crimes (e.g., murder, livestock theft, rape, prostitution, indebtedness, drunkenness, hersey, etc.) was swift and ranged from the death penalty to whippings, loss of property and fines.

The question of one's social status and classification appears to have been modified in the Spanish society of New Mexico with each passing generation. The population was initially divided between Indio and Español. In the early years the latter group consisted of a few nobility, colonists, government officials, soldiers, and missionaries. Some social distance existed between these groups. For example, administrative

reports tended to point out an apparent gap between the administrators and the mass of settlers who were described as "rustic," "uncouth," and "obstinate" (Swadesh 1974:25). While certain social distinctions were made between and among the various groups within the New Mexico province these distinctions appear not to have solidified into an open system of ethnic or racial classification.

> Class distinctions did not, as a general rule, seem as marked on the frontier as they were elsewhere in New Spain and South America. . .the foreign born became a decided minority on the frontier, more so with each passing generation as racial and class distinctions became less marked. 'Spaniard' came to mean any one of Spanish heritage or of 'civilized' life style. There were mixed bloods of all classifications and kinds, who, along with the Spaniards, became part of the over-all generic category known as '*gente de razon*.' Differentiation by color was apparent in the use of various terms to describe mixed bloods: '*mestizo*' usually meant a mixture of Indian and Spaniard originally, but came to mean a mixed blood who appeared white; *color quebrado*, or 'broken color,' was used for people who showed in their appearance some nonwhite ancestry. Negroes and Indians living according to the Spanish way of life were accepted into the majority group, leaving only the unpacified Indians as a separate class in the last half century of Spanish occupation (Jones 1979: 246).

The colonial society was a devout Catholic society, and, lacking a sufficient number of clergy, developed its own brotherhoods (*cofradias*) which took on the responsibilities of administering religious services and other related activities.

The brotherhood of *Penitentes* was such an institution which was well developed by the end of the nineteenth century in many of the New Mexico northern villages. The brotherhood concerned itself with such activities as prayer services and a variety of religious activities in the absence of priests. They organized holy day activities. While the *Penitente* brotherhood became known (in a popular sense) for their

excesses of corporal punishment, as a social institution they fulfilled an important role in the absence of church representatives. They provided prayer services, maintained religious observances in isolated villages, extended service to the families of the dead such as assisting with ploughing, and in general assisted in maintaining the activities of the community in times of stress and need. While the representatives of the Church disavowed the Penitente brotherhood it continued to provide a social function for the community. Following the Colonial Period the Church continued to deny the organization a status, and in fact denied church services and sacraments to those who continued to follow or participate in the brotherhood. Many Penitentes, feeling betrayed by the Church, would later become Presbyterians. The territorial legislature gave the Penitentes the status of a benevolent society in 1861.

Social Environment

When the Spanish arrived in New Mexico they were confronted by a variety of indigenous native cultural groups. While these groups (e.g., Apache, Ute, Navajos, Pueblo, etc.) did not provide Spain with the riches of gold and silver, they nevertheless played an important role in Spain's expansion and establishment of permanent colonies within the region. As a colonial power Spain was attempting to expand, as the preceeding pages have shown, her influence into yet another geographical area of the world. The subjegation of these native cultures represented, therefore, a means to achieving this goal. While Spanish foreign policy acknowledged the "rights" of the native populations it nevertheless was guided by the desire to create an environment which would increase

revenues and power for the Crown.

The relationships between the Spanish and native populations of New Mexico during the Colonial era can only be fully understood within a context of local, regional and international developments. At the international level Spain was attempting to solidify its role among the European nations as a major power by the acquisition and colonization of the Americas. At the regional level the New Mexico frontier came to represent a buffer zone for Spain's control of the region beyond the Mississippi which was ultimately threatened by a new power, the Americans. At the local level were the individual Spanish settlements adapting to the environment, interacting with the native populations and in general developing a foothold which evolved its own unique set of socio-cultural characteristics.

It was this cultural tradition that would not be forgotten by its people, and which would become a segment in the history of the American frontier, and ultimately a state within the Union.

The historical stage had been set. The weaving of the fabric of the Hispanic culture in North America was complete. Its incorporation and transformation into a segment of the American society, except for a brief interlude as part of the Mexican Republic, was about to begin. The history of this development is one of change and conflict, of unequal distribution of wealth and exploitation of the Spanish speaking people of New Mexico. It is a history of cultural values and of ethnic relationships between the Spanish and Anglo-American within the broader context of the developemnt of a modern state.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY AND EXPLOITATION WITHIN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN VILLAGE

United States Expansion Into New Mexico

While the year 1848 marks the official United States claim to New Mexico, as provided for in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Americans had been expanding to the Southwest for more than a half century. American expansionism has a history which dates to the War of Independence. The acquisition of Florida and the Louisiana Purchase during the Spanish Colonial period clearly signaled the intentions of the new American Republic. Two explanations can be offered for the annexation of the Southwestern Territory. Prior to the Mexican War the Americans had been exposed to and developed a general interest in expanding the United States. The closing of the Mississippi by the Spanish awakened this interest further as did the long debate and final absorption of Texas into the Union. Prior to the War with Mexico there developed among many Americans an attitude of strong support for the economic desirability, necessity and invitability of expanding their borders. At the same time Fuller (1936:160) points out:

> . . .in order to rationalize [the] land-grabbing tendencies of the Anglo-Saxons in America, propagandists had succeeded in

> instilling in the minds of many people a number of shibboleths which could always be drawn to support practically any scheme of expansion. The catchwords in the expansionist vocabulary included such phrases or ideas as manifest destiny, extension of religious and political freedom, and the checkmating of European machinations in the new world.

The motive in the acquisition of New Mexico is given the following summary by Lamar (1966:63):

> It was not an expression of land hunger or slavery extension; and it was only partly prompted by that vaguer expansionist sentiment called Manifest Destiny. Rather, American conquest meant regularizing and securing rich trade and safe transportation routes for a previously erratic, uncertain enterprise. It was in short, a conquest of merchants [with the assistance of the U.S. Army] who worried little about extending the glories of free government to their captive customers.

This point is echoed by Fhrenbacher (1969:123) in his summary of the opening of this region in the early 1800's.

> A different kind of enterprise, begun in the 1820's, linked the American frontier with the old Spanish borderlands of the Southwest. This was the trade between Missouri and Santa Fe, carried by wagon trains that plodded westward to exchange a variety of goods for New Mexican silver, furs, and mules. By the early 1840's, annual shipments were worth a half million dollars, and the wagons had marked out the important Santa Fe Trail, soon to become a highway of American conquest.

It should also be pointed out as does Barrera (1979:16-17) that the United States was only on the brink of industrialization and there remained some question of her ability to develop as a major economic force in world markets. Prior to the 1830's the United States was marked by a regionalism in economic development. The West produced foodstuffs, urban areas were small, the industrialization of the northeast was at an incipient stage, and the south was becoming more and more of a single crop producer of cotton. During the early 1800's the United States lacked strong internal markets and its export sector

was weak. However, with an increase in the 1830's for U.S. exports the infrastructure of the economy saw major transformations. The increase in profits resulting from export trade brought increased demands for regional integration. The growth in manufacturing and investment of profits from textiles, particularly in the northeast, supported the development of other forms of industrial products and further stimulated trade and accelerated the growth of urban industrial centers. With this growth in the east came a strong demand for western products. This economic stimulation increased the need to develop greater networks of communication with the western territories and the areas of the pacific.

The conquest of the western United States marks not only an expansion of the territorial boundaries of the Republic, but also the beginning of the development of a process which propelled the United States into a period of economic and technological growth unsurpassed by any other nation in the world.

The above suggests that the American expansion into the Southwest had several motives. The first was a general trend which sought to solidify the geographical boundaries of America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The second was the importance of this area to the general growth and development of the economy of the United States.

Until the conclusion of the War with Mexico the boundaries of the United States were limited in this region, yet inroads had been made in terms of the expansion of the economic sectors into the territories held first by Spain and then by Mexico. The conclusion of the Mexican War brought about a permanent settlement to the question of who would control this area and develop its resources. The Americans had stopped

short of claiming all of northern Mexico in their expansion, but in concluding the War they annexed the American Southwest and assured their territorial dominance in North America.

The Transition to Spanish-American Status

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo provided for the bestowing of American citizenship on any Hispanic living in the ceded New Mexico territory. Thus on May 30, 1848, the date of formal ratification of the treaty, the Spanish-American status was formally bestowed by the United States Congress and as such granted the full rights of citizenship to this population.

The impact of this new status and the Spanish population's reaction deserves some elaboration. A number of important elements of the treaty stand out. The first was the question of citizenship for Mexicans living in the territory (i.e., inhabitants of New Mexico and California). Article VIII of the treaty declared that the Mexican citizen might leave or stay in the territories. They could elect to maintain Mexican citizenship or become United States citizens. But they would be required to make a choice. If a formal choice was not declared within one year from the date of the treaty, they would automatically become United States citizens. Their rights to property were also assured under this article notwithstanding their choice of citizenship. Article VIII formally reads as follows:

> Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the

> proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or change whatever.
>
> Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories, may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shll be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.
>
> In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy, with respect to it, guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to the citizens of the United States (United States Senate 1848).

The question of maintaining the rights in land grants by Mexico and presumably those made by Spain was addressed in Article X of the treaty. The rights of grant holders were to be respected by the United States government.

> All grants of land made by the Mexican government, or by the competent authorities, in territories previously appertaining to Mexico, and remaining for the future within the limits of the United States, shall be respected as valid, to the same extent that the same grants would be valid if the said territories had remained within the limits of Mexico (United States Senate 1848).

The treaty also provided certain protections for the Catholic Church and her possessions in the territories. Article IX states in part:

> The same most ample guaranty shall be enjoyed by all ecclesiastics and religious corporations or communities, as well as in the discharge of the office of their ministry as in the enjoyment of their property of every kind, whether individual or corporate (United States Senate 1848).

The United States also agreed to protect the liberty of the people in the territories from the Indian tribes both in respect to the settlers safety from raids and in terms of keeping the tribes at peace with one another. The Mexicans in the new territory were assured of their

political rights, i.e., ". . .their condition shall be on an equality with that of the inhabitants of the other territories of the United States, and at least equally good as that of the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Floridas, when these provinces, by transfer from the French republic and the crown of Spain, became territories of the United States" (Zeleny 1974:112).

While New Mexico became a formal possession of the United States in 1848, it acquired status of a territory in 1850. During the intervening years it was controlled by military officials. The Organic Act of the Territory of New Mexico provided New Mexico with a territorial civil government. The general population with respect to self-government was thus restricted to that afforded any other territory of the United States. Full participation would not come for another sixty years when statehood was finally granted to New Mexico.

Zeleny points out that while the question of slavery and the claim of Texas (cf. Binkley 1932:158) to New Mexico's eastern border were intertwined in the resolution of New Mexico's status, the major issues seemed to be ". . .in part due to skepticism as to the advisability of granting full civil rights to a people largely illiterate and of an alien culture" (Zeleny 1974:118). She adds:

> The Roman Catholic faith of the Native New Mexicans was another basis for objections raised in the U.S. Congress to the granting of statehood. The country was at that time [mid-1800's] overwhelmingly Protestant, and fearful of Roman Catholic influences on national affairs (Zeleny 1974:118).

By no means was there a placid acceptance of United States domination and annexation of the territory in New Mexico. Revolts occurred against the military during 1846-47. In one instance a plot

was organized among the leading Mexican citizens of Santa Fe, but the conspiracy was given away and resulted in only a minor number of arrests by the American military government. A second plot in 1847, centered in Taos, resuled in the killing of Charles Bent, the appointed civil governor. A number of other Americans were also murdered at the same time as the attack on Bent's home. The insurgents were made up of Pueblo Indians, Mexicans of the town of Taos and included some of the smaller villages surrounding the area. However, the uprising was short-lived and resulted in a large loss of life for the participants both during and after their attacks. More than thirty of the conspirators were hanged and many more were flogged. The result of these attempts at revolt tended to increase the intolerance on both sides for confidance and friendliness.

The Territorial Economy

The expansion of American economic interests into the New Mexico territory began well before its formal annexation in the mid-1800's. The acquisition of New Mexico was but part of an expansionist movement which included extending acquisition activities to the "Pacific frontage" in California. It is in this general context that New Mexico's economic development is tied to the larger sphere of regional developments throughout the United States and America's growing position as a participant in international commercial enterprise.

Trade by New England merchants in the early 1800's had extended not only to the European markets but also toward the Pacific markets. However, participation in this trade required that merchant ships

travel around the Horn to obtain goods from the northwestern seaboard. The western seaboard was also tied to the lucrative China trade. To the American merchant the potential for profits from the Orient seemed staggering. This was a period of growth in American economic influence. Graebner's description of Hawaii and the Yankee influences in the Pacific suggests the nature of U.S. economic expansion at the world level in the early 1800's. He writes:

> Hawaii was a piece of New England in mid-Pacific. Boston merchants had linked the trade of these islands with California, Canton, and the south Pacific. 'Honolulu,' writes Samuel E. Morison, 'with whalemen and merchant sailors rolling through its streets, shops fitted with Lowell shirtings, New England rum and Yankee notions, orthodox missionaries living in frame houses brought around the Horn, and a neoclassic meeting-house built out of coral blocks, was becoming as Yankee as New Bedford' (Graebner 1955:7).

The same motives which brought the Americans to the South Pacific were extended by New England merchants to the southwest. This was a period of American commercial and colonial expansion and New Mexico stood on the pathway. The Santa Fe Trail was part of the road to the Pacific and traders, merchants, and trappers made the trip from St. Louis and Independence to Santa Fe and on along the Old Spanish Trail to California a profitable enterprise. A New York merchant, Philip Hone, in 1847 described the hub of this activity in St. Louis in the following manner:

> [There were]. . .fifty large steamboats butted against the wharves, taking on and discharging cargo over their bows. As far as the eye could see, he recalled, the docks were piled high with barrels of flour, bags of corn, hogsheads of tobacco, and the products of American industry soon to be lodged in the stores and warehouses of the growing city. . .facing the river was a range of limestone warehouses four stories high and beyond them several streets of wholesale and retail establishments, shops and artisans and tradesmen, and new elegant houses of brick and

stone (Graebner 1955:9).

The importance of the development of trade in the general growth of the United States economy cannot be over-emphasized, particularly in reference to the early settlement and development of the New Mexico territory. Competition for the markets in Santa Fe has its beginnings in the Spanish Colonial Period. The protection of its internal provinces from the encroachment of United States expansion defined in part New Mexico's role within the colonial structure of New Spain. It was also inevitable that the American trader would capture and dominate the market. As Parish (1961:4) points out:

> He had [the American trader] the advantage of superiority in variety and quality of domestic and imported goods brought at competitively low costs to St. Louis by barge and on to Independence by steamboat. To be sure, it was farther to Santa Fe from Independence than from Chihauhua in Old Mexico, but the merchants in the latter place were handicapped in acquiring the bulk of their stock by long overland treks either from Durango, a manufacturing center some 400 miles to the south, or from several times that distance through the ocean ports of entry, namely, Vera Cruz on the Atlantic or Acapulco on the Pacific.

While the American traders had to deal with Indian hostilities, tariffs and taxes, as well as out-and-out bribery to maintain this trade, the quality of the goods such as furs, buffalo rugs, gold, silver, Mexican blankets, mules, and animal skins and high mark-ups (as much as 100%) made this a very profitable and substantial venture. All trade during the early period of its development was conducted through barter. Items from the east were traded for the raw materials of the province. Gregg describes the profits which a successful year in 1838 brought to a group of American traders.

> On the 4th of April, 1838, we departed from Santa Fe. Our little party was found to consist of twenty-three Americans, with

> twelve Mexican servants. . . .The principal proprietors carried between them about $150,000 in specie and bullion, being for the most part the proceeds of the previous year's adventure (1958: 214).

This early traffic in trade provided not only a market for goods in Santa Fe, but supplied many of the Mexican traders with merchandise which was transported to Chihuahua. Initially the southern trade was carried out by Mexican merchant/traders, however, some Americans also sought out this area by directly making trips to Chihuahua to sell their goods (Moorhead 1958:82).

The impact on the local economy of trade in the first half of the nineteenth century was varied and subject in many instances to interpretation, i.e., the American or Mexican. There were a number of New Mexicans who developed successful trading enterprises. Many of the ricos (rich men) of the New Mexico Province were able to use their wealth as land owners and maintain their traditional status by engaging in the growing trade with the United States. However, the greatest economic gain from this trade was realized primarily by those in the east. While it is impossible to establish money values in an accurate sense (cf. Moorhead 1958:186-87) some feel for its importance can be gained from the following figures: $180,000 in profits for 1824; $200,000 in 1829; $100,000 in 1832 and $200,000 in 1834 for a single trading company (Moorhead 1958).

Parish (1961) has defined these early traders as "petty capitalists". That is, while profits were certainly accumulated through trade in the market places of New Mexico these early merchants fell short of establishing a strong marketing system. The trader who traversed the Santa Fe

Trail was extremely transient and narrow in his marketing of eastern goods. While he preferred the profits of retailing he often sold his inventory wholesale. The trader/merchant of the first half of the nineteenth century in New Mexico left little except his goods. It was not until the second half of the century that the full weight of the American capitalist system was felt in the territory and that a transformation occurred in the basic economic structure of the region. These changes were to occur in a variety of circumstances and affected the total socio-economic environment of the territory.

In the following sections of this chapter the major factors which brought about these changes will be outlined. In the following chapter the impact of these transformations will be discussed with reference to a number of specific Spanish-American communities within the area.

The basic transformations which occurred in New Mexico Territory during the second half of the nineteenth century consisted of the following.

1. The creation of a capitalist economy.
2. A major shift in the basic demographic structure of the region.
3. A transformation in the nature of labor relations.
4. An increase in the transportation networks.
5. Shifts in the nature of production, especially in the agricultural sectors.
6. The establishment of a new politcal order.
7. And, a restructuring of land rights and patterns of ownership.

Each of these developments are discussed separately, however, they are all interrelated dimensions of a general process of socio-economic

change, growth, and development within the region.

The Development of Mercantilism

It was indicated earlier that the motives for United States expansion into New Mexico Territory were primarily economic. While Manifest Destiny and the extension of American values and liberties may have been vocalized, this was merely a veneer used to gain popular support for an otherwise extensive push to open new avenues for the further growth of the American economic sectors. It was not until the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century that American entrepreneurs entered the territory with the motivation of establishing a new economic order. This general restructuring of the territorial economy has been described by Parish (1961) as a ". . .transition from Petty to Mercantile Capitalism." His analysis of the development of the successful Charles Ilfeld Company provides a sketch of the general transformations in the economic structure during this time period.

Prior to the decade of the 1850's the markets of Taos and Santa Fe appear to have had the character of periodicity (cf. Belshaw 1965) and lacked specificity other than serving as a focal point for exchange. Few of the local residents earned a living from participation in exchange transactions. This was due, in part, to the market area (cf. Skinner 1964) which extended south into Mexico and east to Independence and St. Louis.

> In 1800. . .few people earned their livelihood from the income of the community. Santa Fe was a town, socially and politically, but from an economic point of view it was still a village. People lived as an organization but their income came directly from the ground. The wealth and influence was in the hands of the ricos,

> the rich owners of the large cattle and sheep ranges. . . .(Parish 1961:8).

The development of a dependency relationship to the market system for the local population came as a result of an influx of "petty capitalists" who set up permanent shops and offered merchandise on a year round basis. By the mid-1850's and 1860's these sedentary merchants had established themselves and were purchasing local productions and employing local residents in their enterprises as subcontractors or primary producers of raw materials, e.g., chili, beans and grains.

The entrepreneurial activities of the Ilfeld Company extended their influence through controls on production, e.g., Ilfeld was heavily involved with the sheep industry and used the traditional partido system to control products which were destined for eastern markets. The methods were time-tested. That is:

> The people who raise sheep and wool need goods to support themselves and their industry. They need credit [emphasis added] for this. We shall make certain that they get this from us, for if they obtain it elsewhere, we will lose control over the amount of total credit they will receive. Past experience does not suggest that self-discipline will hold their credit appetites within bounds. We expect to control their total business for as long a period as we can, and certainly that will be at least until they repay their obligations to us (Parish 1961:194).

This new breed of capitalist merchant had come to New Mexico to stay and they invested their profits in developing their commercial interests within the territory rather than in seasonal profits and a return trip to the east. They also would replace the petty capitalist by investing heavily in the development of a variety of business enterprises. For example, the company of Elsberg and Amberg, who opened their business in Santa Fe in 1864 built a large commercial

house in Santa Fe which dominated the plaza. The Gazette described the new center of trade in the following manner:

> It is by far the most commodious and elegant building in New Mexico. . .[It] is two stories high, 90 feet front, 130 feet in depth, with a portal around the entire front and side. . . .In its construction was consumed the enormous amount of 300,000 feet of lumber, 150,000 adobes, and 90 kegs of nails. The corner store occupied by the latter [Elsberg and Amberg] firm is 24 feet by 31, with a wareroom attached 33 feet wide and 80 feet deep, and has a commodious and spacious cellar. The upper story. . .is laid out for private apartments and warerooms (Parish 1961:9).

The newspaper article also notes that the lumber came from their own mill. The new mercantile business man invested in a diversity of economic enterprises. In addition to owning the most "elegant" trading house in Santa Fe, Elsberg and Amberg, for example, owned a lumber mill, a transportation company, various mining companies and held merchandise stock in both Mexico (Chihuahua) and New Mexico.

The mercantile capitalist system prospered because of the merchant's ability to control cash flows and their ability to purchase products from local villagers and ranching sources and to resell these products for cash to sources such as the U.S. Army. Finished products such as dresses, shoes, calico, sugar, soap, razors, hats, etc. were purchased for cash from sources in the east or from merchant wholesalers in closer proximity to the frontier such as St. Louis. While notes of credit were extended, the merchant constantly had to maintain a strong cash balance in order to maintain his favorable position within the local economy.

During the Colonial and Mexican Periods and through a large portion of the nineteenth century barter was the primary medium of exchange. The transformation of the mode of exchange to cash, therefore, gave the

advantage to those individuals who could accumulate and control the dollar. The extent that the local population (Spanish-American) was able to accumulate cash was limited. The tradition of barter was well established and there was little need for cash because the local merchant was always willing to extend credit in supplying the needs of the local villagers. This dual system of exchange allowed some surplus but only in the sense of a line of credit on future material goods. The mercantile capitalist however was able to acquire a surplus (for reinvestment) in the form of cash.

The system of barter also provided an opportunity for merchants to see a double profit on their transactions. As the following illustration shows the merchant would purchase products, furs, grains, animals, etc. and in return establish credits against the sale price for these items (which was usually about half their value in retail prices). In so doing the merchant not only saw a profit in selling the products at twice their purchased value for cash, but also from the merchandise which was bartered.

> [The merchant]. . .sold wheat in Santa Fe for $1050 [originally bartered for in Taos]. It was entered as $550 cost and $500 profit. The merchandise bartered for $550 worth of wheat probably yielded another $275 gross profit (Parish 1961:15).

The probable additional yield of $275 was of course the profit on the merchandise which the local producer would draw out through his credit from the original sale.

The local villager could draw cash on their line of credit, but when this occurred it was almost always in very small amounts. Why draw cash when your needs could be served in merchandise?

The mountain areas north of Santa Fe, particularly Taos, provided profits for the mercantile capitalist for approximately thirty years (1850's until the 1870's). The valleys of this northern region produced a high volume of quality grains which were perhaps the best within the territory. Taos in particular had also been the old center for fur trading.

While there is little evidence of the exact nature of the commercial impact on the local Spanish villages during this period certain generalizations may be made. The local economy remained primarily a subsistence economy. The villager engaged in the marketing structure through the sale of any surplus which he might be able to produce. The trade that he participated in consisted of in-kind bartered exchanges. Little cash exchanged hands, and surplus, in the form of profit, was channeled toward the next day's needs through the extention of credit.

A major factor in the lack of this area's continued growth during the mercantile period was its isolation. While the area produced some of the "best" grains in the Territory, the village communities in the north were hard to get to and even more difficult to transport merchandise (bulky crops) out of. The real profits were elsewhere, to the east of the Sangre de Cristo in Mora, Las Vegas and San Miguel County where the largest increase in population was occurring.

Early settlers and merchants had begun to develop this eastern portion of the Territory, particularly the area in and around Mora and Las Vegas. The Mora merchant had prospered primarily because of his closeness to Fort Union and the contracts which the Army provided. To the south was the growing trading center of Las Vegas in San Miguel

County. Las Vegas was strategically located, i.e., it was on the Santa Fe Trail some 70 miles to the east of its terminus; it was an area where a large number of new immigrants were settling; and provided easy accessibility as a route and focal point for the developing cattle and sheep industries. The development of this portion of the Territory represents an important step in the economic growth and general transformation of the regional economy and therefore deserves further elaboration.

A major source of capital for the merchant was his trade with the United States Army. The flow of "greenbacks" from this source came in two ways. The first involved the lucrative business of supplying the forts with such products as grain, lumber, and corn. Ilfeld's company receipts in the early part of the 1870's (i.e., 1871 through 1874) are given for this trade as follows: "lumber $5678; oats $5371; grain $1468; corn $8549: Total, $21,066" (Parish 1961:38). The second manner in which currency was obtained was from the spending of the wages earned by the soldiers stationed at these forts. The practice of double profits was extended here also. That is,

> Inasmuch as these supplies were purchased for the most part from customers indebted to Charles Ilfeld, these contracts amounted to a conversion of otherwise nonliquid accounts into eastern exchange. The profit in the process was twofold, one from the original sale of merchandise and the second from sale of raw materials to the forts (Parish 1961:38).

In supplying these markets with their needs the mercantile capitalist in fact was able to enhance his control over the primary producers and middle men (petty capitalists) and at the same time realize a substantial profit. Ilfeld's practice of placing the farmer, rancher, lumberman, etc. in his debt allowed him to control these groups and basically

limited their economic choices. The degree of this monopoly by the mercantile capitalist, particularly as it was practiced by the Charles Ilfeld Company, represented a general process whereby the smaller producer found himself more and more attached to the larger merchant. Perhaps no where else in the Territory was this trend toward monopoly over the local producer by a few more vividly expressed than in the conflict which erupted over control of the cattle lands in the famous Lincoln County War. At the center of this conflict was the question of who would control the cattle market and the impact which this control by a few cattlemen had on the smaller producers. It provided a focal point, a single market, and created the exploitation which grew from this monopoly held by a few cattlemen. While mercantile capitalism was monopolistic the mercantile capitalist seldom allowed himself to become tied to a single industry.

An important transformation which opened the way for greater growth in this system was the coming of the railroads in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. New Mexico was now tied into a growing system of transportation. The coming of the railroads to New Mexico offered yet another source for increasing cash flows. Not only did the railroads provide transportation for raw materials to eastern markets, discussed below, but in its initial development it provided a more direct impact. The mercantile capitalist was able to obtain another lucrative market by supplying raw materials to the railroads, e.g., lumber needed for construction. The railroad workers (who were paid in cash) also brought a great deal of business to the merchant houses and this resulted in a greater amount of cash being circulated in the Territory.

The growth of the railroads opened the Territory and as was stated

above provided a very profitable source of exchange. As Table IV shows the laying of track in New Mexico reached its peak in 1914. (In fact, there were more track miles at the turn of the century than in 1975.)

TABLE IV

RAILROAD MILEAGE IN NEW MEXICO: 1880-1975[1]

Year	Mileage	Year	Mileage
1880	643	1945	2,583
1890	1,284	1950	2,464
1912	3,002	1963	2,164
1914	3,124	1970	2,046
1926	3,096	1975	1,984
1930	2,981		

The bulk of the trade shipped on the railroads consisted of raw materials, i.e., sheep, cattle, and ores. The building of railroads into the Territory such as the New Mexico & Southern Pacific, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, the Denver and Rio Grande, connected St. Louis and Chicago, to Santa Fe, Las Vegas, Albuquerque, Espanola, and other centers of the Territory into a network of commercial exchange. Until this time the mercantile capitalist had the advantage in competition through the isolation that the region provided. With the railroad the markets were opened to greater competition from outside the Territory and often companys would send representatives directly to the Territory in an attempt to capture a greater direct control on the sources of production. The established mercantile capitalist held

[1]Jerry L. Williams and Paul E. McAllister, 1981:42.

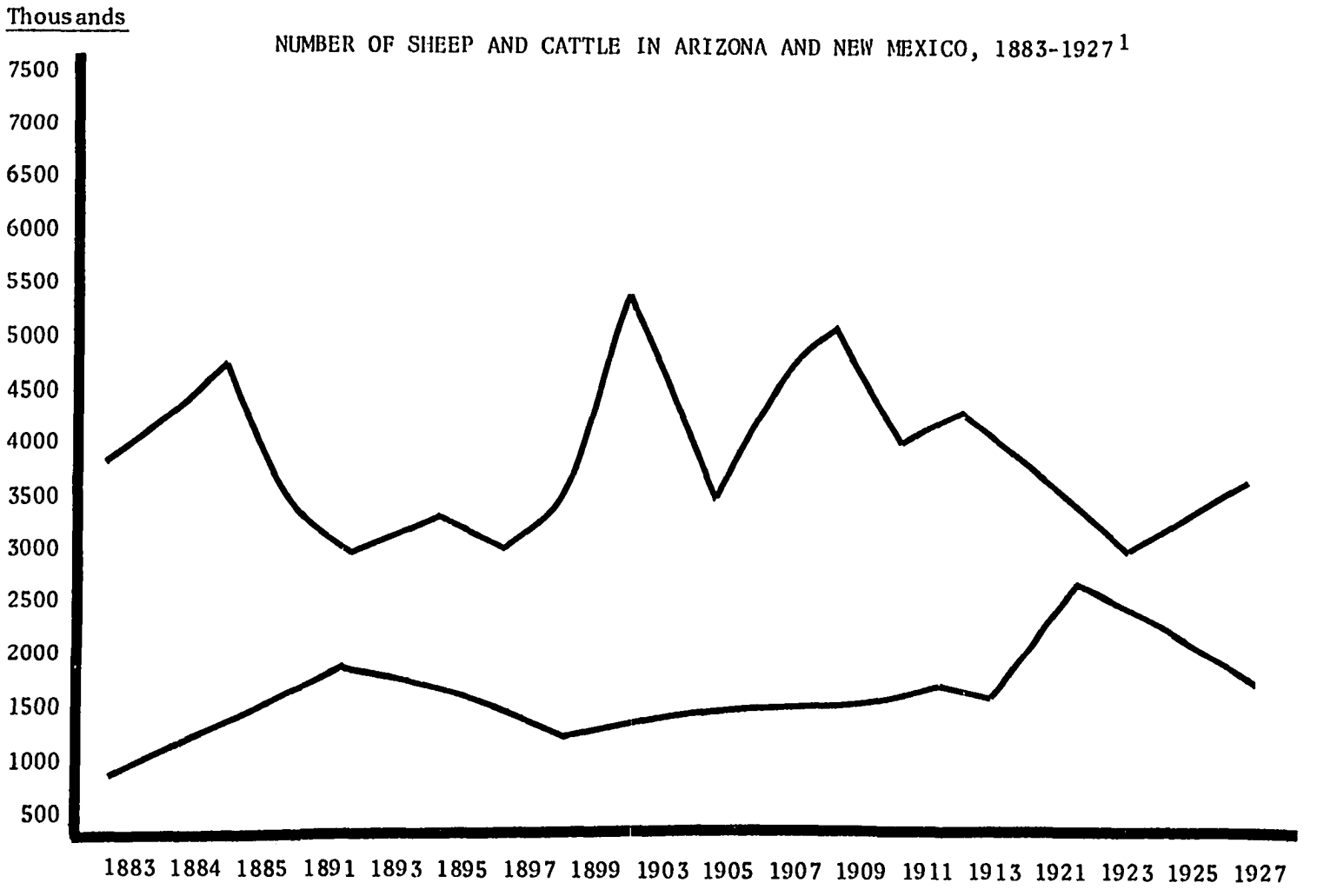
an advantage over these initial encroachments, but the competition would become greater and greater.

The competition for control of local production and markets by the Charles Ilfeld Company in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century reflects the general impact which the expanding American economy would have on the development of the Territory. While the responses outlined below are that of the Ilfeld Company in particular, they represent a general pattern in the growth characteristics of the region. These characteristics include: first, a response toward specialization; second, an attempt to gain greater control over production supplies and demands; and, third, capitalization of the total system from production to distribution (Parish 1961:110).

The Ilfeld Company specialized in the sheep industry. Figure III provides an overview of the growth of this industry from the 1880's until the late 1920's. This growth occurred because of the high demand in eastern markets and in Europe for this product. Another factor which helped encourage the growth of the sheep industry was the protective tariff on wool imports which was in effect from the McKinley era until 1913. Although the market had its ups and downs between 1883 and 1913, inventories never fell below the 1896 figures until Congress repealed the tariff on wool and wool products in 1913. The maintenance of a constant supply would indicate a stable demand over such a long period. One can only wonder about the level at which the local Spanish villager understood the tariff laws and their impact on the prices which they were receiving for sheep production. Certainly Charles Ilfeld did, and he entered the partido system to control the supply.

FIGURE III

NUMBER OF SHEEP AND CATTLE IN ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO, 1883-1927[1]



[1]Source: Parr, V. V., et. al., 1928:13.

The partido system provided for a contract between proprietors in which a specific number of sheep were farmed out to individuals with the expectation that within a given period of time a return in-kind would occur at a fixed rate of stock increase over the initial number of sheep which were provided. Ideally all parties were to gain from this exchange. The system was well established when the Anglo arrived in the mid-nineteenth century. The coming of the railroads and the demand for this product caught the mercantile capitalist's interest in the 1880's. Parish describes the significance of the partido system to the Ilfeld Company in the following passage.

> The partido system, if used on a highly selective basis and carefully supervised to prevent abuses on the part of partidarios, was a sound method of refinancing or funding debts of customers whose account balances with Ilfeld were growing unduly or were not being reduced. Not only could a rancher sell his sheep to Ilfeld to reduce his current debt, but by being permitted to retain these sheep on a rental contract he preserved his earning assets. Thus, if he were an able sheepman, he had the opportunity to improve greatly his financial position over an extended period. The funding of current debt and the preserving of earning assets of selected customers were important objectives of the partido system as adopted by Charles Ilfeld (Parish 1961:154).

The impact on the Spanish-speaking natives was also favorable in that it allowed them to maintain their level of debt (few partidos showed an overall increase on the debt ledger) over time and in a number of instances reduced or eliminated their debt to the Ilfeld Company. The majority of partidos were Spanish-speaking as the records of Ilfeld show, i.e., "The majority of requests for sheep [partido contracts] came from the Spanish-speaking segment of the economy, and. . .he [Ilfeld] reserved this form of contract almost exclusively for native ranchers (Parish 1961:168).

The partido system was based in part on the availability of open grazing areas. The community lands and larger grants fit this system of production well. But throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century this system was challenged. An influx of "sodbusters," government land giveaways, the fencing of range land and, in large measure the simple fact of trying to support too much livestock in a deteriorating range environment led to a drop in the economic feasibility of maintaining the partido system for the mercantile capitalist. The partido system continued to be used by many of the Spanish-Americans and in some instances (as we will see in the next chapter) these individuals were able to profit.

The railroads which connected many of the old settlements, and gave rise to many new ones, ushered in a new way of doing business for the mercantile capitalist. The growth of the mercantile capitalist and his success depended on his location to the centers of growth as well as his ability to control production and a system of exchange which benefited his long-term accumulation of capital. The railroads brought numerous shifts in markets; opened the area to competition from other and now more numerous buyers and suppliers; and, in general, offered alternative credit avenues to the small retailers, farmers, and ranchers.

Ilfeld responded to the shifting markets by introducing "drummers" (traveling salesmen) who traveled throughout the Territory. While this trade was lucrative for Ilfeld competition for markets was strong. The Territorial economy was growing and merchants were now in a position to seek credit from other suppliers, thus limiting Ilfeld's ability to control these businesses.

Ilfeld's response was to invest in country stores. In this fashion he maintained control on local retail sales. By purchasing only from his own wholesale warehouses he was able to control the competition and total transaction network. The maturity of this system came when the company stores were allowed to purchase, at the best available prices, from other wholesalers doing business in New Mexico.

The above case study has provided an overview of the Charles Ilfeld Company's growth from a small trading operation to a modern capitalist enterprise. While generalizations always necessitate some qualifications it appears that the history of this company's development represents, in its responses to the economic environment, a growth pattern which was typical within the Territory throughout this time period. The founders, like other traders, first settled in the Santa Fe and Taos marketing area. The initial growth in the Territorial population occurred in the eastern sections and Ilfeld established his headquarters in Las Vegas in response to this new economic opportunity. Barter had been the traditional mechanism for trade and Ilfeld adapted this system in combination with the new currency. As transportation facilities (i.e., railroads) opened new centers of economic growth and development within the Territory Ilfeld's response was to grow with these new markets. The company in its business practices responded to eastern market demands and actively adjusted its production of goods for these markets. Charles Ilfeld, mercantile capitalist, certainly realized the impact of the federal government and the new political order on his business and he actively sought to influence their representatives in Washington.

The following section takes a closer look at those general trends

which were transforming the Territory.

Developing Demographic Patterns

The second half of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries mark a transformation in the population of New Mexico. From an initial population of 61,547 in 1850 the Territory grew to more than three times this figure by 1900, i.e., 195,310, and tripled yet again in the next fifty years, bringing the total population in 1950 to over 681,000 individuals (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900; 1950). Table V below shows the general increases in the New Mexico Territory by counties from 1850 to 1900. Table VI gives a summary of the population increases for a 100 year period, i.e., 1850 to 1950. The percentage of change for each year is also calculated and presented in this table. Table VII provides a summary of the increase in population with reference to the movement from an almost totally rural population to a situation in 1950 in which the population was almost half urban.

A great deal of caution is necessary in attempting to draw generalizations about population trends when we look at specific counties from the 1850's until the 1920's. As Maps II and III illustrate territorial boundaries changed frequently, and thus what in once census might have represented a particular geographical area did not necessarily represent that same area in a subsequent census. Notwithstanding this general qualification the census figures provide us with an outline of the demographic shifts in the region's population.

Reference to Table VII shows the population in terms of its transformation from a rural area to one in which the population had

TABLE V

NEW MEXICO POPULATION TRENDS: 1850-1900*

	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860	1850
The Territory	195,310	160,282	119,565	91,874	93,516	61,547
Counties						
Arizona[1]	---	---	---	---	6,482	---
Bernalillo	28,630	20,913	17,225	7,591	8,769	7,751
Chaves	4,773[2]	---	---	---	---	---
Colfax	10,150	7,974	3,398	1,992	---	---
Dona Ana	10,187	9,191	7,612	5,864	6,239	---
Eddy	3,229	---	---	---	---	---
Grant	12,883	9,657	4,539	1,143	---	---
Guadalupe	5,429	---	---	---	---	---
Lincoln	4,953	7,081	2,513	1,803	---	---
Mora	10,304	10,618	9,751	8,056	5,506	---
Otero	4,791	---	---	---	---	---
Rio Arriba	13,777	11,534	11,023	9,294	9,849	10,668
San Juan	4,828	1,890	---	---	---	---
San Miguel	22,053	24,204	20,638	16,058	13,714	7,074
Santa Fe	14,658	13,562	10,867	9,699	8,114	7,713
Sierra	3,158	3,630	---	---	---	---
Socorro	12,195	9,569	7,875	6,603	5,787	---
Taos	10,889	9,868	11,029	12,079	14,103	9,507
Union	4,528	---	---	---	---	---
Valencia	13,895	13,876	13,095	9,093	11,321	14,189

[1]Arizona became a separate territory in the 1860's.

[2]First entry of figures indicates decade in which the county was formed.

*Source: United States Census, 1900

TABLE VI

NEW MEXICO POPULATION: 1850-1950[1]

Year	Total Population	Increase from Previous Census	Percentage of Change
1950	681,187	149,369	28.1
1940	531,818	108,501	25.6
1930	423,317	62,967	17.5
1920	360,350	33,049	10.1
1910	327,301	131,991	67.6
1900	195,310	35,028	21.9
1890	160,282	40,717	34.1
1880	119,565	27,691	30.1
1870	91,874	- 1,642[2]	- 1.8
1860	93,516	31,969	51.9
1850	61,547	--	--

shifted to almost 50% urban. While this is a significant transformation the more important shift occurred in the overall percentages of growth between the urban and rural populations. For example, between 1850 and 1900 the Territory averaged a 90% rural population. More importantly however, is the trend in percentages of changes in the two populations. The urban sectors increased from 5.0% in 1850 to 14.0% in 1900 and to 46.2% in 1950. The rural population steadily decreased from 95.0% in 1850 to 86.0% in 1900 to 53.8% in 1950. Of even more significance is the percentage of increase for these years within the two populations. In 1860 the percentage of increased population in the urban centers over the previous figures (i.e., 1850 census) was 2.1%. The increase for this same period in the rural census was 55.9%. In the 1900 census the

[1]United States Census, 1950.

[2]Arizona became a separate territory in the 1860's.

TABLE VII

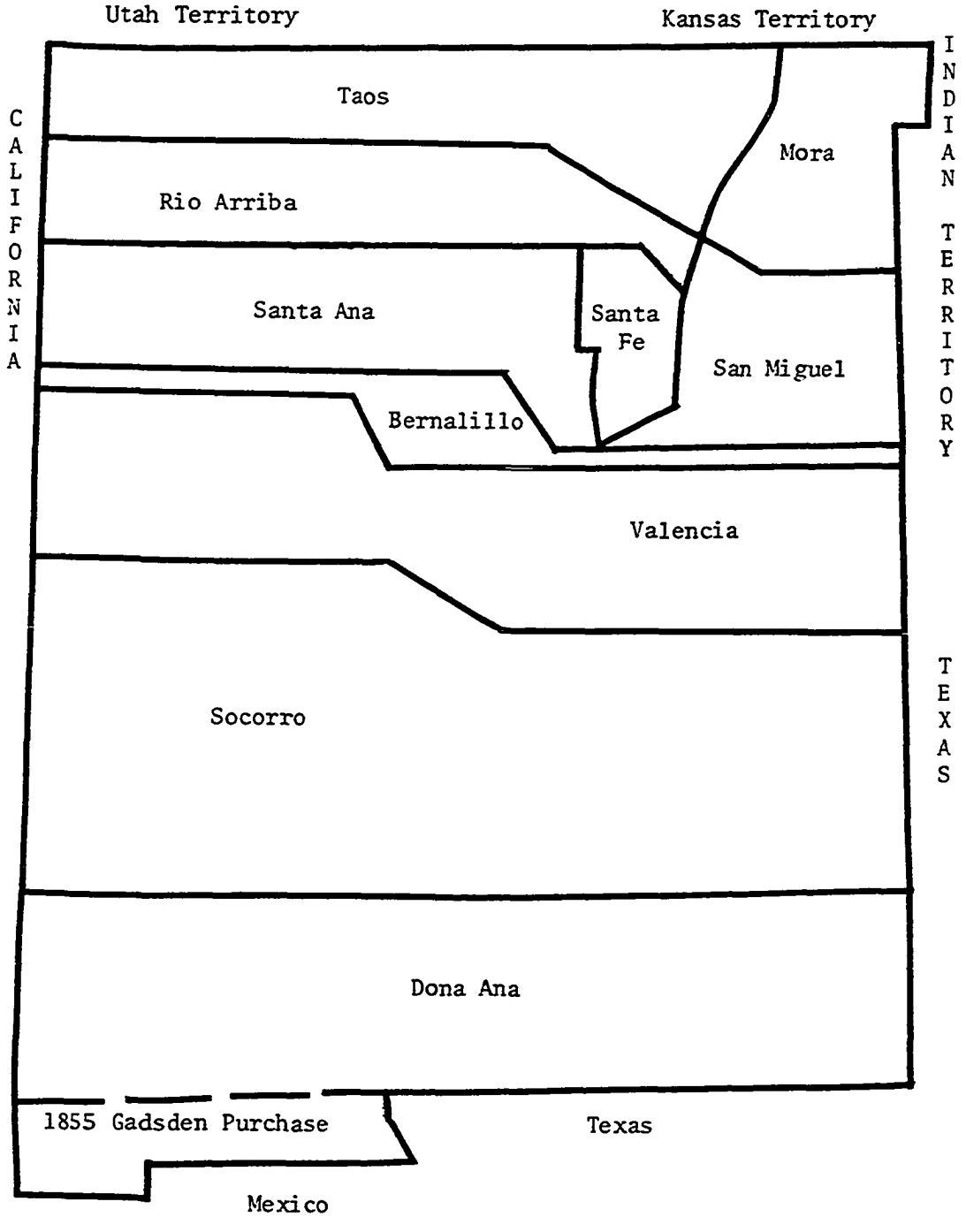
URBAN - RURAL POPULATION FOR NEW MEXICO: 1850-1950

		Urban Population			Rural Population			Totals	
Year	Total Population	Total	Increase	% of Increase	Total	Increase	% of Increase	Urban %	Rural %
1950	681,187	314,636	138,235	78.4	366,551	11,134	3.1	46.2	53.8
1940	531,818	176,401	69,585	65.1	355,417	38,916	12.3	33.2	66.8
1930	423,317	106,816	41,856	64.4	316,501	21,111	7.1	25.2	74.8
1920	360,350	64,960	18,389	39.5	295,390	14,660	5.2	18.0	82.0
1910	327,301	46,571	19,190	70.1	280,730	112,801	67.2	14.2	85.8
1900	195,310	27,381	17,411	174.6	167,929	17,617	11.7	14.0	86.0
1890	160,282	9,970	3,355	50.3	150,312	37,382	38.1	6.2	93.8
1880	119,565	6,635	1,870	39.2	112,930	25,821	29.6	5.5	94.5
1870	91,874	4,765	130	2.8	87,109	-1,772	-2.0	5.2	94.8
1860	93,516	4,635	96	2.1	88,881	31,873	55.9	5.0	95.0
1850	61,547	4,539	---	---	57,008	---	---	7.4	92.6

Source: United States Census, 1950; 1900.

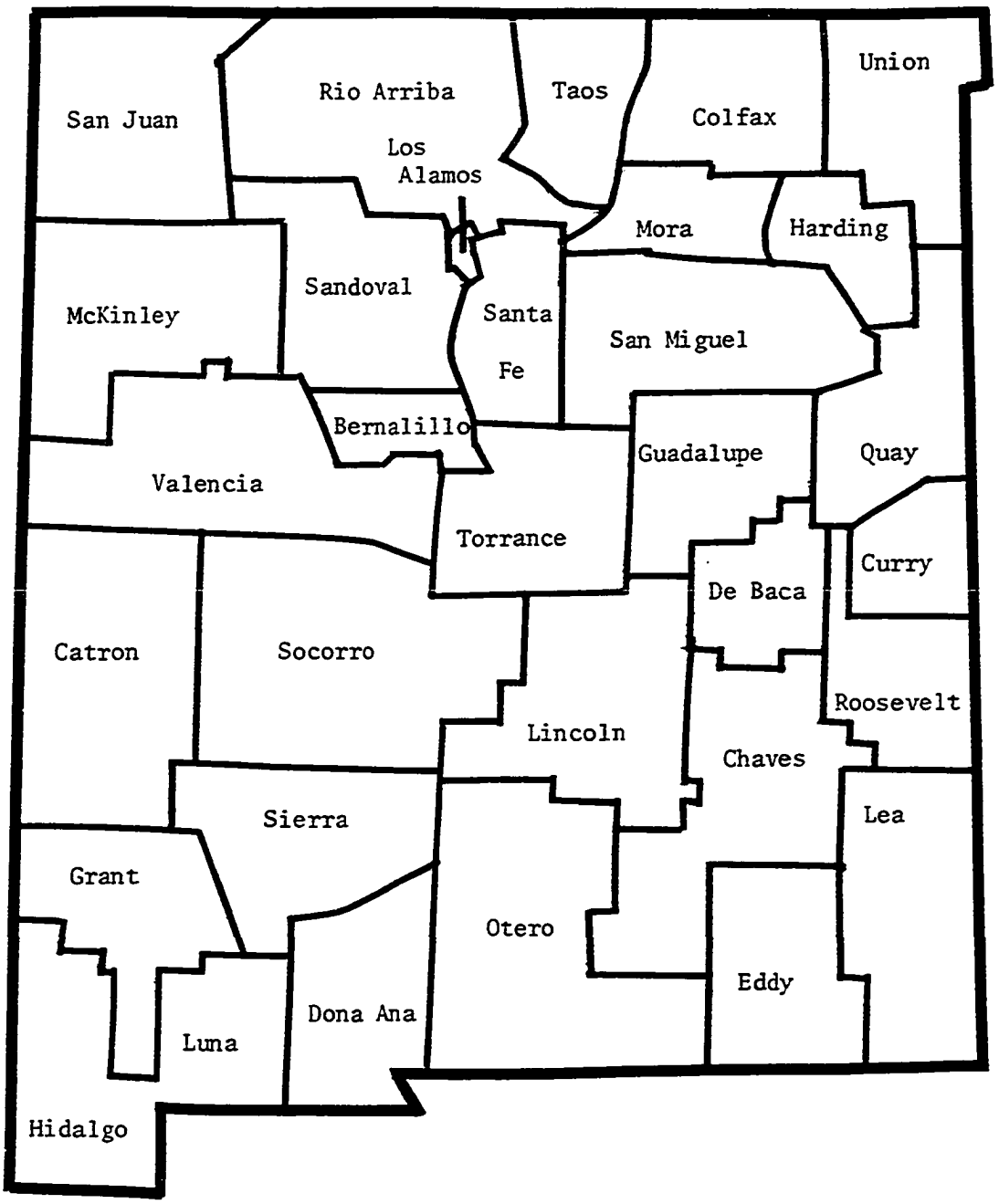
MAP II

NEW MEXICO COUNTIES: 1852-1860



Map III

NEW MEXICO COUNTY BOUNDARIES 1920 - 1970



increase in the urban population was 174.6% over the 1890 census. In contrast the rural sectors represented only an 11.7% increase over 1890 census figures. In 1950 there was a 78% increase over the 1940 urban population and in the rural sectors the increase had dropped to 3.1%. If one averages the percentages of increase from 1850 to 1900 one finds that the urban population increased at an average percentage rate of 53.8% during each census period, while the rural population increased at an average percentage rate of 26.6%. From 1900 to 1950 the average percentage of growth rate was 63.5% for the urban areas, and 16.9% for the rural areas.

From the 1850's to the mid-70's the Anglo population was small in comparison to the Hispanic population. The large influx of Anglos into New Mexico would not occur until the beginning of the 1900's (Culbert 1943; Meing 1971; Nostrand 1980). The 174.6% increase in the general population of the Territory in the 1900 census marks the beginning of the large increase in the Anglo segment of the New Mexico Territory. As can be seen in Table VII the population (both urban and rural) increased by 100,507 from 1850 to 1890. The increase from 1890 to 1910 was 167,019. In this latter twenty year period the population grew at a rate almost twice that of the previous forty years.

Census data on the number of Spanish-Americans within the population prior to 1930 is lacking (Culber 1943:171), as is the annual birth/death rates and the number of migrations out of the area (Calkins 1937:3). The lack of this sort of data and the shifts in the definitions of county boundaries makes it difficult to draw generalizations based on ethnic/racial characteristics of the population within

the Territory. Notwithstanding these qualifications certain trends are apparent, and, when coupled with one's knowledge of historical events within the Territory provide a general pattern in the demographic shifts of the various segments of the population.

Meinig (1971:27) describes the basic patterns in the demographic shifts of this region's population during the latter half of the nineteenth century in the following manner:

> While the basic geopolitical framework was being recurrently redefined in distant Washington, the social geography was being continuously altered by a variety of local movements. Indians, Hispanos, and Anglos were all involved, each in a characteristic pattern. The major general changes were the reduction and confinement of the nomadic Indians to a few reserved remnants of tribal lands; the vigorous spread of the Hispanos broadly beyond the mountain walls of Rio Arriba and the narrow valley of Rio Abajo, a movement which was well under way before the American annexation; and the encroachment of different Anglo groups upon several sides and their strong penetration into certain sectors. By the late 1870's the first two of these movements was essentially over and thereby, despite the continuation and magnification of the third, some of the most basic patterns of the regional social geography had become essentially set.

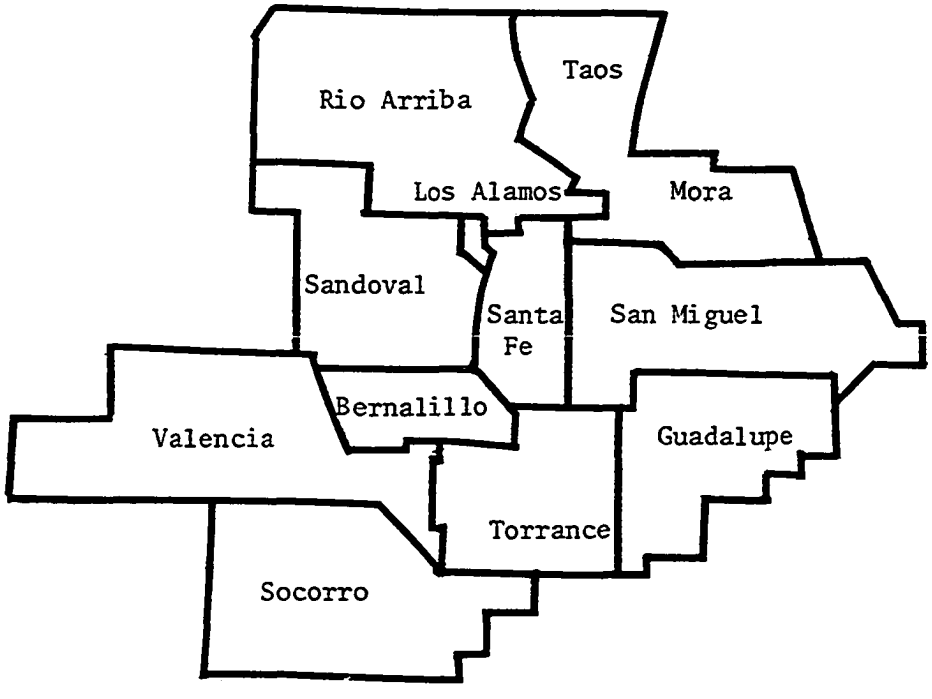
From the time of Mexican Independence until the 1870's the Hispanic population seems to have experienced a good deal of geographical growth within the area, limited only by its relationships to the Indian. As both Meinig (1971) and Nostrand (1980) have illustrated the "Hispano Homeland" during this period was extensive. "By 1900 the Homeland extended into thirty-eight counties in parts of five states and covered 85,000 square miles" (Nostrand 1980:382). In contrast, by the 1930's the Hispano Homeland, defined in terms of its representing a majority population, was limited to eleven counties within the state (see Map IV).

In part, the movement of the Hispanic population away from its

MAP IV

SPANISH-AMERICAN HOMELAND: 1930

NORTHERN AND CENTRAL NEW MEXICO



original settlements along the Rio Grande was the natural result of extending the mode of agricultural production into areas which had not heretofore been populated. Small villages were established in the traditional Hispanic style in the numerous valleys to the east, west, north, and south of the original areas of population such as Taos, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque. Another reason for the shift of Hispanic populations was their relationship to the new Anglo populations. By the 1900's Hispanics were moving into new geographical locales because of what the Anglo offered in terms of employment. One finds Hispanics at the turn of the century working for Anglos as ranch hands, sawmill workers, miners, railroad hands, sheepshearers, haulers, and so on (cf. Nostrand 1980: 395). One of the most frequently listed sources of employment for the Hispanic at the turn of the century was "day laborer" (U.S. Census 1900a).

Further insight into the general population trends and the demographic characteristics of the area can be gained by looking at the changes which occurred within the north central region as opposed to the rest of the New Mexico area. This geographical area (referred to as the Upper Rio Grande Watershed) includes the modern day counties of Taos, Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, Sandoval, Bernalillo, Socorro, and Valencia and was the primary center of early Spanish settlements. Today it contains the strongest concentration of Hispanics in the state.

Calkins (1937:1) places the area's population in the 1850's at "approximately" 54,500. He breaks these figures down by ethnic/racial characteristics as follows:

Of these [54,500] approximately 6,400 were Indians who had

> inhabited the area from prehistoric times, approximately 47,000 were Spanish-Americans whose occupation of the area dated back almost two centuries, and between 1,000 and 1,500 were Anglo-Americans, most of whom had come into the area in the preceding decade.

Table VIII, which was compiled by Calkins (1937:2) from census information, provides a comparison of the population trends for the Upper Rio Grande area to the other regions of the state.

TABLE VIII

NEW MEXICO POPULATION TRENDS, COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE UPPER RIO GRANDE AREA AND THE REMAINDER OF THE STATE: 1850-1930

	Upper Rio Grande Area		Balance of the State	
Year	Rural	Total	Rural	Total
1930	99,967	137,713	216,534	285,604
1920	91,536	113,929	203,854	246,421
1910	87,576	103,668	193,154	223,633
1900	82,203	94,044	85,726	101,266
1890	69,378	79,348	80,934	80,934
1880	64,479	71,114	48,451	48,451
1870	52,193	56,958	34,826	34,826
1860	56,880	61,515	32,001	32,001
1850	54,473	54,473	7,047	7,047

The population increase in the Upper Rio Grande Area rural sector was 83.4% from 1850 to 1930. In contrast the increase in all of the rest of the rural areas (counties outside the Upper Rio Grande Area) was approximately 3000 percent (Calkins 1937:3). The increase in population from 1850 to 1900 in the former was 27,730, or a little more than a 50 percent increase. During this same period the population in the counties outside the Upper Rio Grande Area increased by 209,487

(i.e., from 7,047 rural inhabitants to 216,534).

Calkins' 1937 report on the population of the Upper Rio Grande Area provides us with some comparison of the growth of the three populations in this area. Basing his report on census data from the Indian Service, the State Health Bureau, and School censuses he provides the following figures for 1930: Spanish-Americans 69,874 in the rural areas and 15,563 in the combined urban areas of Santa Fe and Albuquerque; Indians 9,016 (all rural); Anglo-Americans 13,538 in the rural areas and 22,183 in the urban areas. The total for the combined segments (urban/rural) were 85,437 Spanish-Americans, 9,016 American Indians, and 35,721 Anglo-Americans. The 1930 figures compared to the 1850 figures (as cited earlier from Calkins) show a large increase particularly with reference to Anglos. In terms of the Spanish-American population the numbers have almost doubled (i.e., 85,437 in 1930 compared to 47,000 in 1850). The Indian population increased by approximately 25% (i.e., 9,000 compared to 6,400). The Anglo-American population went from 1,100 in 1850 to 35,721 in 1930.

In the 1930's this area had the highest birth rate, the highest overall death and infant mortality rates, and the highest rate of births over deaths within both the region as a whole and the United States. The average annual rate of growth was approximately 2%, which meant that it would increase its population about every 50 years (Calkins 1937: 8-9).

The data contained in this section provides us with some general trends as to the nature of the overall growth patterns in the region's population. While in general terms the data documents a major increase

in the area's population, it is also apparent that these changes were not uniform throughout the area nor did they represent purely a mass immigration by Anglos, although this pattern, once established, did become a major factor in the general population's growth.

At the opening of the American era this region had the largest Spanish-speaking population in the American southwest. The American occupation at first provided few numbers to the population in general and increases in the settlement populations beyond the core Rio Grande area came as a result of the Spanish-speaking population's movement away from this central area and the natural growth which may have represented as much as a doubling of the Spanish population each fifty years. Additionally, although we can only speculate in terms of actual numbers, some of this growth prior to the 1880's certainly came as the off-spring of mixed marriages between Anglo men and Spanish women (Clark 1971:35).

The latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries saw a large expansion of Anglos into the territorial area. It also saw the beginning of a shift in population from the rural sectors toward the developing urban areas. Calkins (1937) suggests that the Upper Rio Grande area had reached its maximuum carrying capacity in 1850. Any population increase therefore would have placed a strain on the majority Spanish population and required some to seek relief from these pressures. Other events were shaping the Spanish-American's response. Unwittingly they were a majority soon to be shaped into a minority within their own land.

Land Ownership Transformations

In the preceding chapter an overview of the importance and nature of land ownership within the traditional Spanish-speaking culture of New Mexico was provided. With the annexation of the territory by the United States a totally new system of land tenure was initiated. The conflicts which arose between the Spanish-American and Anglo-American over land would change the economy so greatly that few Spanish-Americans would be able to maintain themselves through traditional agricultural and stock raising activities. By the 1940's, for example, no more than 10% of the Spanish-American population were completely dependent upon the land for their livelihood (Harper, Cordova and Oberg 1943:69). The shrinkage of the land base of the Spanish-American population also led to the development within this population of wageworkers who more often than not were forced to seek employment outside the immediate locale of the traditional village. The new working class of Spanish-Americans which developed will be examined further in the sections below. They are, however, part of the general transformation which had its origins in the changing patterns of land ownership and distribution brought about through Anglo expansion in the nineteenth century.

Clark Knowlton (1975:59) in testifying before a Subcommittee on Education and Welfare in New Mexico described the differences in attitudes concerning land rights among the Spanish-Americans in the following way:

> Spanish-American concepts of land ownership and land use were, unfortunately, quite different from Anglo-American concepts. The Spanish-Americans regarded the land as the foundation of family existence, the basis of life itself. It was seldom treated as a commercial commodity to be bought and sold. Every family had

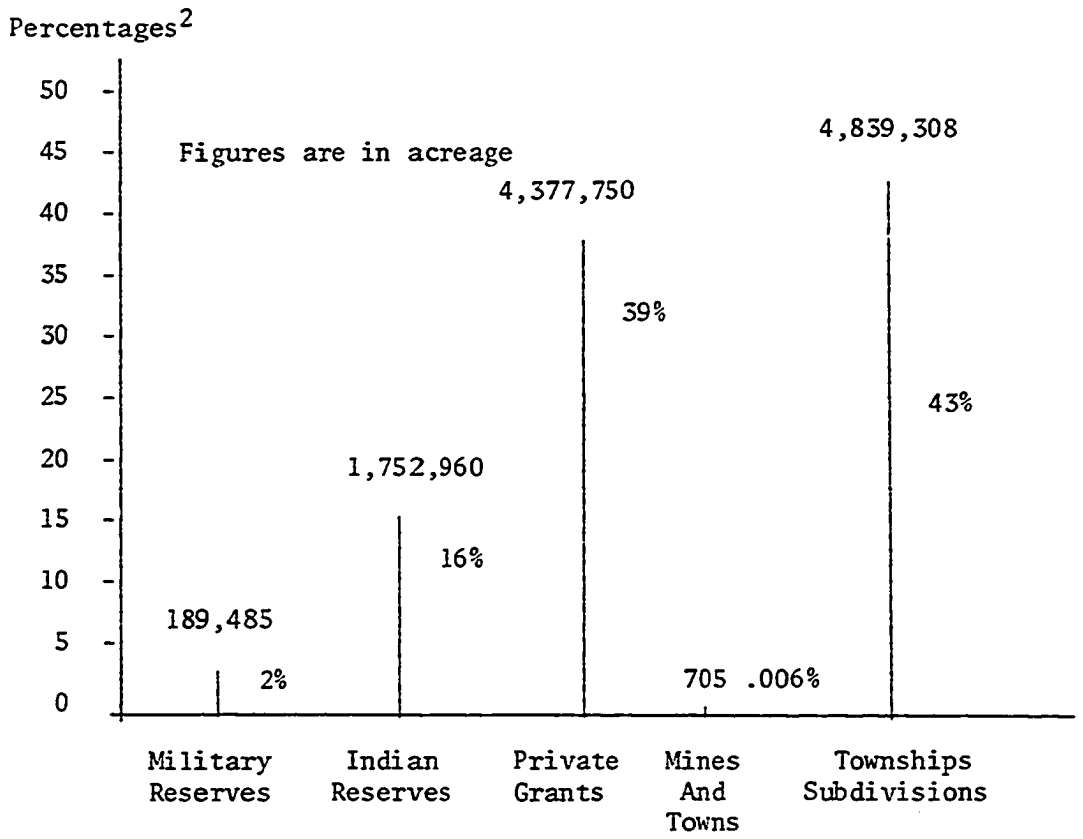
> the right to receive enough land to sustain itself. Any land not being used by another family could be utilized by families in need of land. Most Spanish-American land claims were based upon possession through use and not through registered land titles listed in a public court of law, a county clerk's office or a state or federal land office. If a family had traditionally used a section of land for a number of years, it had the right of ownership as long as it utilized the land. If the family left, the land after a period of years was open for occupancy by another family. Boundaries were vague and indefinite with large acreages in communal village ownership.

Land in this system was easily defined in terms of usufruct rights and family ownership. This was all to change because of a foreign intervention which initiated land transfers through such actions as the Donation Act, the Homestead Act, the Timber Culture Law, the Desert Land Act, the Public Domain Laws, the creation of national forests and Indian reservations, the Coal Land Act, and the Enabling Act. Changes came from special acts of the United States Congress and by Executive Orders. They came through congressional special commissions, federal courts and land commissions. Changes occurred also because of the activities of large companies, the establishment of railroad right-of-ways, and in many instances through cash sales, taxes and corruption (both public and private).

Reference to Tables IX and X provides a general overview of the transition in land distribution within the Territory. By the 1870's the American government, through its Surveyor General's Office, had begun to establish definite boundaries within the Territory. In the 1870's there were 4,377,750 acres of private grants that had been surveyed. This figure represented 39% of the land surveyed in total. (Note that no more than 15% of the total land area of the Territory had been surveyed however.) James K. Proudfit, the Surveyor General of New

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BY TYPES SURVEYED IN NEW MEXICO: 1870[1]

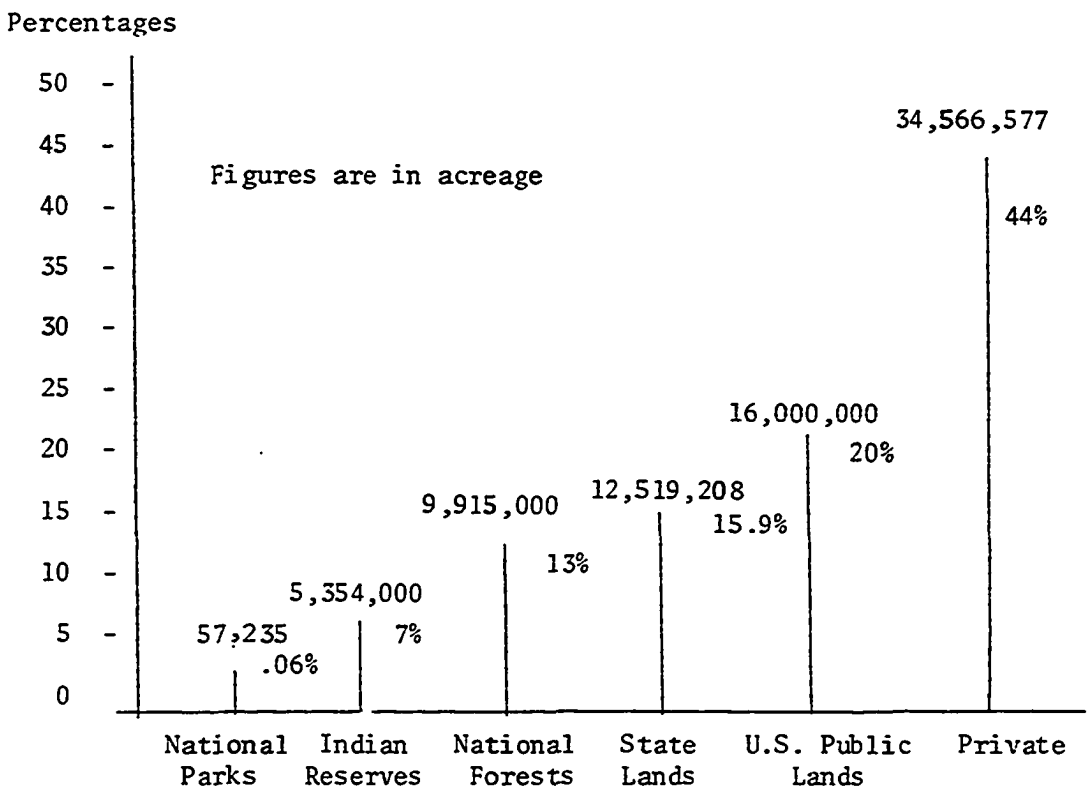


[1]Brevoort, E., 1874.

[2]These figures represent lands surveyed by the 1870's for a total of 11,160,308 acres. It is a small percentage (14.3) of the total which was estimated at 77,568,640 acres or 121,201 square miles.

TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BY TYPES OF OWNERSHIP IN NEW MEXICO: 1935[1]



[1]Horton, L.V, and Rutledge, James L., 1936.

Mexico at this time, speculated that the total private grant figure would not exceed nine to ten million acres. He was very close in that Congress confirmed seven million acres (Harper, Cordova, and Oberg 1943:60; Knowlton 1975). However by 1935 no more than 3,300,000 acres of the original grants were left to the Spanish-American villagers. Table X shows that 34,566,577 acres of land were in private hands in New Mexico. Of these lands less than 10% was in the form of grant lands by 1935. If one compares the total acres left in the hands of the Spanish-American in the form of land grants to the total acres of all categories of ownership one finds in 1935 that less than .05% was left in the form of land grants.

The shrinkage of the land base, brought about through the introduction of capitalist enterprise and increased population (in both Spanish and Anglo residents), provided the mechanism for a transition in the social fabric of the society. Both factors worked to create a structure which stimulated a movement toward wage labor. However, the immediate impact seems to have varied throughout the Territory and across time; although by the mid-1900's the impact of this new socio-economic order seems to have merged and created a similar situation for the majority of Spanish-Americans throughout the area. There appears to have been peripheral sectors in which linkages to the new economic order worked in the favor of some and to the disadvantage of others. There is a great deal of evidence (summarized in greater detail below) that the impact of land loss on the Spanish-American created a labor force which was quite distinct from the social arrangement of economic activities within the traditional society. However, in general, the

impact of land loss resulted in "downward mobility." And, the population of Hispanic origin became second class citizens within a society which claimed to be a "melting pt" for ethnic and racially distinct groups.

The nature of these changes are linked to the general pattern of economic growth and development which was taking place in the American economy during this period. For the American economy the latter half of the nineteenth century was a period of industrial transformation. The period ushered in the modern factory, created an industrial system, saw the completion of a transcontinental railroad system, the chartering of Standard Oil, and a general trend toward larger and larger corporations (Barrera 1979; Gultman 1973). In part the impact of this new "economic arena" was, at least initially, felt by Spanish-Americans through their loss of land.

Under United States authority two basic types of land tenure systems evolved. The first was the division of land based on "private ownership." The second was a division based upon "public domain."

The traditional system of land grants falls under the first category of private land and over time came to represent, as we have indicated above, a small portion of the total land area of the state. Its reduction stems from a variety of factors. The concept of private land holdings was extended to include two other forms of ownership distinct from the grant, homesteads and the purchase of lands held by the government or state in public domain, and the granting of railroad lands to encourage development within the area. By the 1930's the region was divided in such a fashion that less than 15% of the total

land area of the state fell into the category of "private" ownership (see Table X). A report prepared in 1941 by the United States Department of Agriculture set this figure at no more than 29% for the states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, and Utah, and compared this figure to the remaining 17 western states in which more than 71% of the land area was held in private ownership.

The public domain, the second general type of land distribution developed under United States authority, is divided into a number of subtypes generally referred to as either state lands or federal lands. Both the state and federal lands have, from time to time, been offered for sale or lease. In many instances large ranchers would lease public domain areas for the purpose of grazing livestock. In other instances the unrestricted public domain areas were simply taken over by these ranchers. Within the category of public domain are two other important areas which have had an important impact on the area's population and use of the land resources. These two types are national forests and Indian reservations. The national forest lands were also leased for grazing; often times to Anglos rather than to the Spanish villagers who had traditionally utilized these areas adjacent to their communities. A similar situation developed with Indian lands which were also many times simply taken over by Anglo ranchers without regard for the populations living within the reservation boundaries.

As a general rule the transformation in the general pattern of land ownership was typified by an extremely legalistic and complicated procedure which was totally foreign to the Spanish-American population. Little attention was paid to this population's usage of the land, nor

did traditional customs enter into the process. Slight attention was given to familiarizing the Spanish population with the new laws on land registration. The situatuion was so bad that one author (Weber 1973: 157) describes land fraud as the major business of the Territory in the 1880's and 1890's. He writes:

> In New Mexico, the land grant business became the territory's major industry, employing numerous lawyers and enabling one, Thomas B. Catron, to obtain two million acres and post-ownership of four million more. Corruption, centering around land matters, flourished in New Mexico, involving public officials at all levels. . .composed largely of Anglo Americans. . .[although] many upper-class Mexicans swindled lower-class Spanish-Americans as well.

Land claims in New Mexico were first reviewed by the United States Surveyor General for New Mexico. A report on the claims of individual grants was sent to the Congress which held the final power to either confirm or deny. The reports before going to Congress were reviewed by the United States Surveyor General and a recommendation attached. This was quite obviously a long drawn out process and Congress rejected more of the claims or reduced them in size in more cases than they accepted them. A Mr. Ely, from the Committee on Private Land Claims stated in a report to Congress that:

> This remedy has been found inadequate and almost valueless to claimants. The report of the land commission of 1880 stated that 'after a lapse of nearly thirty years more than one thousand claims have been filed with the surveyors-general, of which less than one hundred and fifty have been reported to Congress; and of the number so reported Congress has finally acted upon only seventy one.' It has been well said that 'if this was the working of this law for thirty years, it is obvious that some new legal machinery must be found to perfect the obligations of the Government of the United States under these two Mexican treaties' (House of Representatives 1886).

In response, in 1891 Congress established the Court of Private Land

Claims for New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona which had the power to decide on these grant claims. When the Court had completed its work in 1904 many hundreds of claims would be denied.

While some of the original claims were granted, and Spanish-Americans were occassionally able to assume legal ownership, the battle to retain their lands was not over. During the twentieth century much of this land would be sold to pay taxes or so divided through inheritance that its usefulness as a subsistence base would be lost forever.

Hugh Calkins (1937:5-32), the Regional Conservator of Region Eight of the Soil Conservation Service, has provided us with an illuminating description of the transfer of these grants. The description that follows is taken from his "Notes on Community-Owned Land Grants in New Mexico." His introductory paragraph sets the materials in historical perspective.

> Their loss [of grant lands] is one phase of the process which has been going on continuously since the first invasion of the native non-commercial and non-competitive economy by imperialistic, commercial - competitive American society, a process which has resulted in the progressive narrowing of the resource base of the native population (Calkins 1937:4).

Just how this imperialistic, commercial, competitive society was able to gain control of much of the traditional land grants is illustrated below in the case histories of a number of these grants.

The Canyon De San Diego Grant

The Canyon de San Diego Grant covered approximately 116,000 acres when it was given to a few Spanish families in 1798 by the Spanish Crown. The land is located on the western slope of the Nacimiento Mountains in Sandoval county. The vegetation varies within the area

because of the variations in altitude which range from 6,000 to 9,000 feet (see Chapter II of this study) and includes timber areas and less desireable areas which are extremely rugged, and covered with sparse grass. The grant was recognized by Congress in 1860 and was distributed among twenty families, each holding a portion of the approximately 6,000 acres in the valleys which was tillable, with the remaining acres (approximately 111,000 acres) being held in common ownership. Beginning in the 1870's one of the large sheep owners, Mariano Otero, began using the commonly owned area for grazing his sheep. He purchased some of the individually owned land from the original grantees and claimed, as a result, a share in the common lands. By 1900 Otero claimed that the whole grant belonged to him. When Otero died his family claimed ownership and were going to divide the grant among themselves. The over 200 or so families who then lived on the grant hired a lawyer to prevent the takeover.

The lawyer, a Mr. McMillan, and his assistant, Amado Chavez, took on the responsibility of protecting the heirs. They secured signatures stating that they would receive one half the grant area in fees for settling the matter between the Otero family and the other residents. In the courts it was ruled that 20% of the land could be claimed by the Otero's. The other 80% belonged to the current residents. Forty percent of this land then belonged to McMillan for legal fees.

The division of the land was difficult for the court, so a committee was appointed to recommend the best way of dividing it. The committee which "appears to have included several friends of McMillan," concluded that the best method would be to sell the land and distribute

the sale price on the 20/80 or now 20/40/40 formula of ownership set out by the court in its original decision. The court agreed, and the land was sold. Mr. McMillan was the only bider as it turned out and purchased the land (all 110,000 acres) for 45¢ per acre. After the final settlement on legal costs the 200 or so residents who had originally owned the land were left with very little to share among themselves and McMillan for his efforts now owned (with a local banker who had given him the money to make his bid) 110,000 acres in Sandoval county.

The residents still owned their land in the Canyons since most of these lands were not in question. It was only the majority of the original "communal" lands that were sold. As it turned out McMillan had found a buyer for the land which held a large reserve of timber. The White Pine Timber Company would buy this land if a railroad right-of-way could be obtained from some of the original land grant owners in the Jemez valley. Their trusted lawyer obtained the right-of-way by convincing his former clients that the railroad would bring them sources for jobs. The right-of-way was obtained and the lumber company purchased the original common grant of 110,000 acres from McMillan for $400,000.

While McMillan owned the land he charged the residents for taking firewood at a rate of 20¢ per load. Prior to this the Spanish residents had taken what they needed, it was their common land. When the lumber company took over the price eventually grew to 50¢ per wagon load. Prior to McMillan's take over Otero was the primary user of the grant for grazing his sheep, but the local villagers did use the land for their own herding needs. After McMillan sold the land it was

leased to Anglo livestock operators. The area was heavily overgrazed and by the 1930's was very poor pasture land. In the 1920's the lumber company cut over 100,000 board feet of lumber from the grant. The logging, was done under contract and 90% of the logging was contracted with Anglos. No more than 30% of the cutters were local residents (Calkins 1937).

The Rio Grande Land Grant

In 1869 Miguel E. Pino, President of the Council of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, petitioned the United States asking them (through the Committee on Private Land Claims) to deny the Rio Grande land grant claim (United States Senate 1870). Pino's request was on behalf of the Spanish-Americans living on the grant and is an interesting summary illustration of the complexity of the land grant issues. It also shows how complicated the land grant issues were in that the Claims Court was being asked not to validate the original land claim because if they did, the Spanish-Americans living on the grant lands would lose rather than gain rights to the area in question.

The Rio Grande land grant was located in Taos county, New Mexico. In the mid-1860's three army officers (General James H. Carleton, Colonel N.H. Davis, and Lieutenant A.B. Carey) "surreptitiously" purchased the grant from "a few poor and ignorant persons for the sum of $200. The three army officers pushed to have the original Spanish grant validated by the courts in order to make their purchase legitimate. The 3,000 or so persons who lived on the grant, through Pino, petitioned the Court not to validate the grant, but instead to enact a law giving

them rights to the land which some had lived on for over one hundred years. More importantly all (3,000 residents) had occupied the land for the past ten years and had made major improvements worth several "hundred thousand dollars." Pino summarized the situtation in the following manner.

> Your memorialists would therefore ask your honorable body to pass a law giving the actual settlers, who have occupied, improved, and lived upon the land for the last 10 years, a title to the land so occupied by them, and not confirm an old land grant, the conditions of which have not been complied with by any person except the present actual settlers. . . .(United States Senate 1870).

In this case the three land speculators were attempting to use the courts to validate a Spanish land grant which they had purchased (for $200). The Spanish-Americans attempted to invalidate the purchase by claiming that the grant was not legitimate and that they (by living on the land and making improvements) should be granted title by special law. A similar argument was made by many Anglos in subsequent claims against the Spanish-American, e.g., the Homestead Act, but with the full support of congressional legislation from Washington.

As was pointed out above (and illustrated in this case study) the Spanish-American's attitude toward land rights in which possession through use defined claims was in conflict with the "new" definitions which defined land through registration of titles and legalistic manipulations within the courts.

The Ojo Del Añil Grant

In 1838, Joseph Sutton, a merchant in Santa Fe, petitioned the then civil and military governor, Manuel Armijo, for a grant of land "sixteen

square leagues" lying on both sides of the Pecos River, near Añil spring in San Miguel County. Sutton's stated motive for acquiring this tract of land was for the general economic welfare of the region through the establishment of a woolen factory, the introduction of a "sheep ranch, and otherwise providing employment for the many unemployed Spanish settlers." He expressed these goals to Armijo in the following way:

> I desire nothing more than I do the happiness of the department of New Mexico, whose fortune shall always be my fortune. And being convinced that the pursuit best adapted to the country, on account of its climate and extent, is the raising of Merino sheep, here unknown, and the establishment of a factory for common wollen fabrics, capable of supplying the department, giving employment to many persons now idle, advancing its commerce, and increasing its security, I have entered a suitable tract of the public land, on both banks of the Pecos river, at the place called Ojo del Añil, below the settlement. . .of Agua Negra. I therefore appeal to the patriotic zeal of your excellency, petitioning that you be pleased to adjudge me [this land grant] (House of Representatives 1862:5).

Armijo a year earlier had accepted a loan on behalf of the government in the amount of $1,000 from Sutton. Others, such as James Conklin, testified that they knew Joseph Sutton to have loaned money to the Mexican government in Mexico City. Whether or not the issuing of this grant was related to Sutton's loans to the government in Mexico City, to Armijo himself, or for the general well-being of the province's economic structure, the grant was given to Sutton and the official papers were presented to the United States Surveyor-General as proof of his claim. The surveyor general of New Mexico approved the claim stating that "indeed this grant appears to be an absolute one." The original title papers existed and were substantiated by the testimony of a number of citizens who knew the circumstances of its authorization by the Mexican governor and gave witness thereof.

Sutton had apparently never developed the land and spent a great deal of his time outside the Territory. But, in the original land request, which was finally approved by Mexico, his taking possession of the land was left to his discretion and until such time as the area was free of hostile Indians.

Below is the statement issued in December 1887, more than twenty-five years after Sutton petitioned the United States for validation of his land grant claim.

> No. 45. Ojo del Añil, Jose Sutton, Claimant. Surveyor-General Wilbar, September 25, 1861, recommended confirmation for 16 square leagues. Preliminary survey covers 69,455.55 acres. Surveyor-General Julian recommends rejection of the claim. There was no grant [emphasis added]; The property claimed was never reduced to private property, and there was no occupation or improvement; hence no legal or equitable claim was shown (United States Senate 1887).

In this case Sutton had failed to occupy the area or to make improvements, therefore a claim was not deemed established by the courts. One suspects that the original grant probably was by manipulation, i.e., represented by a payoff to Sutton for his support of the Mexican government. Whether or not this was the case the grant was denied (not because of fraud) but for other technical reasons,". . .United States land laws required residence upon the land (Westphall 1965:19).

The La Joya Grant

The La Joya Grant was located in the northern part of Socorro County. It was divided by the Rio Grande and comprised 272,193 acres when it was given to sixty-seven individuals in 1819 by the Mexican government. "The terms of the grant specified that they were to maintain houses and arms in readiness to defend the caravans and wagon

trains against hostile Indians" (Calkins 1937:22). After U.S. annexation, residents petitioned the Private Land Claims Court for title and the grant was validated in 1901. Shortly after this the residents of the grant set up a governing board to administer the grant. The board decided that each family should receive 4,000 acres for cultivation and the remaining 216,000 acres would be community land. Each individual owner was responsible for the taxes on their land, but the board failed to make any provisions for paying the taxes on the community owned land. By 1920 the delinquent taxes amounted to more than $20,000. Around 1915, 50,000 acres of the community land were leased to an outside cattle company for $1,700. None of this profit seems to have been used to pay back taxes.

In 1918 a Mr. Abeyta who was a real estate agent offered to buy 10,000 acres of the grant for $1.85 per acre. The acreage was sold for a little over $18,000 to Mr. Abeyta. Mr. Abeyta and his partner, a short time later, sold the property to the Ascott Land and Improvement Company out of Texas for $75,000. The profit for Mr. Abeyta and his partner was slightly over $57,000. The board was supposed to use their $18,000 to pay back taxes, but they did not. In fact, no one knew what happened to this money (Calkins 1937:24). The county issued a notice of a tax sale in 1923 but later withdrew the sale. While some money was paid on the taxes over the next few years, a large delinquency accumulated. In 1928 the Socorro County government declared the residents in default and issued a judgement which put the land up for sale once again. The residents fought the sale through the courts, but in 1937 the grant was sold for back taxes to a Mr. Thomas D. Campbell for $76,500 or 35¢ per acre (Calkins 1937:25).

The loss of the community lands, which were used by the villagers for grazing their livestock, drastically constrained the residents' ability to maintain their traditional form of livelihood, i.e., livestock raising.

In this example of a transformation in land ownership patterns a number of factors contributed to change. While the original grant was acknowledged by the Land Claims Court, the residents failed, for a variety of reasons, to organize themselves in a manner which would assure the meeting of the community's obligations to the land, i.e, they failed to pay their taxes. Land speculators were thus able to acquire the grant land at very low prices and make a large profit. There is some indication that the Spanish-American board members, who were supposed to administer the community land, failed in this regard and may have put the profits from sales of parts of the grant in their own pockets. The families who used the community land for grazing paid little attention to its securement, both in terms of meeting tax obligations and in respect to land use, i.e., the land was over utilized for stock by a few families who owned a large number of livestock.

The above examples of the transformation in land ownership provides an overview of a pattern of change which was occurring throughout the Territory. These same situations occurred repeatedly. Thus, the Spanish-Americans, whose socio-economic environment had been established around their system of land ownership, found themselves attempting to follow a traditional system that was no longer functional. This transformation will be detailed in a number of community studies in the following chapter.

Much of the land which was not confirmed by the Land Claims Court reverted to the U.S. government in the form of public domain. For some time the decisions of the courts did not directly impact on the local Spanish villages since they could utilize the public domain. However, by the turn-of-the-century even this option became less possible. As the public domain lands became surveyed they were in many instances opened to homesteading, and by the end of the 1920's almost all of the land area in New Mexico was either held in private ownership or was placed in reserves and controlled by either the federal or state government. In spite of the treaty with Mexico, which provided for maintaining the Spanish population's claims to land, the Anglos dominated the region so effectively that the majority of original claims by the Spanish population were not recognized.

The pace at which this process occurred varied within the Territory. The Spanish population had experienced some growth until the 1870's outward from the Rio Grande. But, with the expansion of Anglo cattlemen and settlers the Spanish population concentrations began to focus again on the same area from which the initial expansion had occurred. The transformations were not totally geographical nor were they totally a transformation in activities, e.g., Spanish herders often worked for Anglo companies. It was however a process which over time created a dominance of the Anglo-American over the Spanish-American.

Table XI provides a number of examples of the Anglo-American mechanisms (i.e., types of allocations) for obtaining land rights throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. The figures do not reflect the total reallocations which took place, however they

do provide a general profile. For example, of the different categories of transfer, cash sales ran a close second to homestead certificates.

TABLE XI

TYPES OF LAND ALLOCATIONS UNDER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SYSTEM OF LAND TENURE IN NEW MEXICO: 1860-1900[1]

Dates	Types of Allocations	Figures in Acres
1879-1894	Desert Land Certificates	139,622
1868-1891	Cash Sales	484,372
1880-1891	Coal Lands	4,189
1870-1891	Mineral and Mill Sites	9,833
1881-1891	Misc. Entries	9,549
1873-1896	Homestead Certificates	549,297
1887-1903	Timber-Culture Certificates	12,937
1870-1884	Donation Certificates	51,989
1879-1891	Soldiers & Sailors Homesteads	8,461
to 1891	State Lands	1,270,149
to 1898	Railroad Right-of-ways	3,590,281

The competition for land between the Anglo-American and the Spanish-American populations led to certain adjustments on the part of this latter population. That is, land loss necessitated the movement into the labor market which, for the most part, meant that the Spanish-American worked as an unskilled laborer in, for example, agriculture, industry, mining, etc. (Zeleny 1974:195). The Spanish-American was at the lower end of the socio-economic hierarchy in this respect and a pattern of subordination evolved with respect to the Spanish-American's participation in the economy of the Territory. We will return to this development, i.e., the formation of a wage labor class of Spanish-

[1]Westphall, Victor, 1965:94, 136-148.

Americans, in detail below.

Development of Transportation

The general development of the territorial economy was dramatically accelerated by an increase in transportation facilities, i.e., the railroads. In specific terms the railroads opened the Territory to eastern and western markets; made the livestock industry more profitable and competitive; brought a great deal of new capital into the developing territorial economy; contributed to the rapid increase in population throughout the Territory; and, offered a source of wage labor.

The development of the railroads required large capital investments. The small Spanish villages stood well outside the complex corporate structure of finance which would so greatly change the territorial economy and the lives of the Spanish- American population. A statement made by a British railroad bondholder illustrated this situation:

> No local interest was represented at our meeting. The people who made the railway, fed it with traffic and lived beside it, were absent from our deliberation. We were the mortgagees but not the customers. [We]. . .were out of touch with the actual business of the line and the requirement of the county (Brayer 1949:274-75).

A great deal of the capital invested in railroad companies which were built in the territories in the late 1800's came from European (primarily British) sources. An article from the London Times which was quoted by Brayer (1949:281) summarizes the investment pattern.

> The eventual success of these great through lines, [the main railroad lines] and the consequent growing prosperity in the regions through which they passed, began to stimulate railway enterprise in all parts of the States, but there has been neither spare capital in the Provinces themselves to undertake the work nor inclination on the part of the money world elsewhere in America to take any share in the new lines projected on all sides. The

> requisite capital not being found at home, the projectors of all such outlying schemes naturally turned their attention abroad. . . .

To accomplish the task of capitalization of railroad construction new companies were formed to actively promote the land and resources of the area. Railroad development throughout New Mexico and other parts of the western United States was linked with land development companies and the establishment of colony settlements, particularly in Colorado and New Mexico. Not only was capital channeled from Europe, but a large number of European immigrants came to the Territory as well.

Another important factor which directly affected the land situation was the granting to railroad companies of right-of-ways. By 1891 the land so designated in New Mexico totaled more than three and one half million acres (Westphall 1965:94).

The railroads also provided a source of wage labor. Clearly, there appears a division of labor in New Mexico along cultural and ethnic lines. For example, the Santa Fe and the Atlantic and Pacific used Irish track layers and paid them at a rate of $2.25 a day. Graders, spikers and iron men received $2.50 a day. The railroads eventually hired "Mexicans" and Indians to work on the roads (Greever 1957:200). The local populations (i.e., the Spanish-Americans) found in the railroads an opportunity to gain employment outside the traditional agricultural sectors of the economy. However, because of the type of employment they were able to obtain on the railroads, i.e., track repair crews, their employment was seasonal and at best temporary.

> Trackmen and their section bosses constituted the largest segment of Santa Fe employees. Although their numbers varied dramatically from summer to winter, they averaged approximately 30 percent of the work force (Ducker 1983:4).

The job of track repair was strictly dominated by unskilled laborers, requiring little ability beyond a strong back. "It was universally considered a most inferior and arduous form of labor"(Ducker 1983:5).

The manner in which the railroad divided its work force and the limiting of the Spanish-American to entry into this work force at only the bottom level, initially at least, provided local opportunities for employment. It did not provide large scale permanent employment, nor did the nature of the work (i.e., track repair) induce mass migrations for employment purposes. The railraod track work force was divided into section gangs which were given responsibility for a specific section of track, normally eight to ten miles. These small section gangs (usually five to ten individuals) worked within this limited geographical area repairing track, shoveling stone, removing weeds, and so on. For their labor they received from $1.00 to $1.25 per day, and the vast majority were paid at a rate of $1.10 per day (Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Payroll Records 1895). In comparison to the other jobs within the railroad system this rate of pay was the lowest and represented one half the standard daily rate paid to Anglos. The latter group dominated all the other professions within the railroad work force.

The development of transportation networks, i.e., the railroads, impacted the local economy in another important way as has been seen in the section on mercantile capitalism. It opened new avenues for marketing the region's production. It also brought money into the local economy which had been heretofore primarily based on exchange through barter. The new transportation systems opened, perhaps slowly at first, the door to wage labor, and in general linked the local territorial economy to the

larger national system on a permanent basis.

The Formation of a Wage Labor Structure

Throughout the preceding sections we have seen that the Spanish-American economy developed around an agricultural base. The Territory was a rural enclave of small villages in which the life-style and basic mode of production centered on the basic structure of the family, the extended family, and the local community. The manner in which this system evolved provided specific patterns for behavior and defined a set of structural relationships both within the village and in terms of the outside world. Under this traditional system of well defined customs for behavior the Spanish villagers sought their livelihood.

With the shift in land ownership brought about through United States annexation, and the introduction of different values toward this resource the Spanish-American population found itself absorbed into a new pattern of economic activities. Throughout the nineteenth century the land base of the Spanish villager was reduced, and by the first half of the twentieth century agriculture could no longer be regarded as the primary source of income for a majority of the population. The vast majority of this once agrarian society would become wage workers. In the process of transformation, the Spanish-American population took on the characteristics of the low-incomed, and became a marginally integrated, low status group within the American economic system as a whole.

The level at which the Spanish population entered the labor market (i.e., as unskilled workers) set the pattern for their participation in

this form of economic activity. An illustration of one of the sources of wage labor and its impact on the Spanish American population toward the end of the nineteenth century can be found within the development of the railroads. The Spanish-American railroad worker did not however enter this larbor market on an even footing with the Anglo. That is, as long as a person was white he could work at any job on the railroad. If he were Indian or Spanish-American his opportunities were limited. A review of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe payroll records for the year 1895 provides an example of the general conditions for the Spanish-American wage worker and his status within this employment sector.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad in July of 1895 had over 2,566 individuals under employment in their New Mexico and Rio Grande divisions. Of these individuals 1,661 were Anglos and 905 had Spanish surnames. Clearly the railroads were a source of employment for many Spanish-Americans in that their numbers represented slightly more than 35% of the total Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe work force in the New Mexico Territory. However, a closer look at the distribution of the Spanish-American wage laborers within this work force reveals that they were employed at the lowest paying levels, and a vast majority worked part-time or on a seasonal bases. Table XII shows the divisions of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe work force by occupations and ethnicity. As can be seen the majority of Spanish-Americans worked within the Track Department. Of the total work force of Spanish-Americans 823 were employed in this department. This figure represents 90.9% of all Spanish-Americans working for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad. Table XIII shows the average salaries for each job division. The

TABLE XII

ATCHISON, TOPEKA & SANTA FE RAILROAD WORK-FORCE IN NEW MEXICO: 1890[1]

Job Divisions	Total Work-Force	Anglo	%	Spanish-Surname	%
Shop Workers	373	342	91.6%	31	8.3%
Conductors, Break-men, Baggagement	352	351	99.7%	1	.3%
Engineers And Firemen	281	280	99.6%	1	.4%
Hostlers, Wipers, Watchmen	437	416	95.0%	21	5.0%
Bridge, Building, And Water Depts.	156	128	82.0%	28	18.0%
Track Department	967	144	65.0%	823	85.1%
Totals	2,566	1,661	65.0%	905	35.0%

[1]Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Payroll Records, 1895.

TABLE XIII

AVERAGE MONTHLY NET-SALARIES BY JOB DIVISIONS AND ETHNICITY

ATCHISON, TOPEKA & SANTA FE RAILROAD IN NEW MEXICO: 1890[1]

Job Divisions	Total Salaries	Salaries-Net Average Yearly	Salaries-Net Average Monthly	Percentage Of Payroll All Job Categories	Labor Force Anglos	Labor Force Spanish
Shop Workers	$18,778	$604.08	$50.34	17.5%	342	31
Conductors, Breakmen, Baggagemen	$20,615	$702.72	$58.56	19.2%	351	1
Engineers And Firemen	$22,128	$944.48	$78.74	21.0%	280	1
Hostlers, Wipers, Watchmen	$20,831	$571.92	$47.66	19.5%	416	21
Bridge, Building, And Water Depts.	$ 5,218	$406.56	$33.88	4.8%	128	28
Track Department	$19,214	$276.00	$23.00	18.0%	144	823
Totals	$106,784			100.0%	1,661	905

[1]Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Payroll Records, 1895

average salaries for each job division. The average figures were arrived at by presuming that each employee worked twelve months of the year. However, as pointed out above the track crews were employed on a seasonal basis, thus their numbers would vary from month to month. In reality the track worker probably averaged one half of the yearly figures given for this category, i.e., his income probably did not exceed $100 to $150 a year. The track division employed a total of 967 individuals with 823 being Spanish-American. In other words, over 85% of the work force in this division were Spanish-American wage laborers. However, of the total dollars expended on wages, this division received just 18% and had the lowest average monthly pay per worker ($23.00) of all the various job divisions. Spanish-Americans were found to make as little as .55¢ per day to a maximum of $1.50 per day in this division. The majority were paid at a rate of $1.10 per day.

As was pointed out above the track crews were assigned to specific sections usually covering eight to ten miles of track. The crews ranged from two individuals to special assignment crews numbering more than fifty individuals. The July 1895 payroll records listed over ninety individual track crews in New Mexico. Each crew consisted of a foreman and laborers. Eighteen Spanish surnamed individuals were listed as foremen. Eighty-two Anglo foremen were listed. Thus, slightly more than 2% of the total Spanish-Americans working in this division were listed as foremen. The Anglo foreman's salaries ranged from $55.00 to $70.00 per month. The Spanish-American foreman's salary was never more than $55.00 per month and some were listed as being paid the prevailing daily rate for laborers of $1.10. Anglos were never found to be working

under a Spanish-American foreman. The men who worked under a Spanish-American foreman all had Spanish surnames. In fact there is no Spanish surnamed individual listed in a supervisory position over Anglos in any of the job divisions.

The second largest concentration of Spanish-Americans (although very small compared to the track crews) was found in the shops located in Las Vegas, Raton, and Trinidad. The thirty-one Spanish-Americans who worked in the shops did so in the following jobs: 1 machinist (paid $2.50 per day, his Anglo counterpart was paid $3.25); 4 ash pit workers ($1.75 per day); 2 sweepers ($1.60 per day); 7 blacksmith helpers ($1.75 per day); 2 car repairmen ($2.00 per day); 1 car inspector, 1 air break inspector, 1 coach inspector (all paid $2.00 per day); 1 washer ($1.75 per day); 2 callers ($1.75 per day); 3 laborers ($1.75 per day); 2 coach cleaners ($2.00 per day); 1 trackman ($1.90 per day); 1 painter's helper ($1.50 per day); and 2 boiler washers ($2.00 per day). With the exception of the machinist all the other Spanish-Americans employed in these three shops worked at the lowest paying jobs. One does find many Anglos doing these same sorts of jobs, but they usually received a slightly higher daily rate of pay or worked more hours than the Spanish-American. There were no Spanish-American foremen listed on the shop payrolls.

The third ranked category where Spanish-Americans worked is in the Bridge, Building and Water Divisions. Again, there are no Spanish-American foreman listed in the payroll records. There were two watchman, one who was paid $5.00 for the month of July; 1 carpenter ($2.00 per day); 1 laborer ($1.10 per day); and an additional twenty-four labor-

ers who were categorized as part time workers. Seven were paid $8.50 for the month. All the Anglo employees appeared to have been full-time employees in these divisions.

There were twenty-one Spanish-Americans working in the category of hostlers, wipers and watchman. They represented only 5% of the work force in this division and primarily worked as laborers or wipers. None were listed as hostlers. This person guided the locomotives into and out of the roundhouses; the wiper on the other hand had the dirty job of removing grit and oil from the engines. In the final two divisions (i.e., conductors, baggagemen, breakmen, engineers and firemen) only two Spanish-Americans were found out of a total of 641 employees. One was a breakman working out of the Socorro Division and the other was a fireman on a locomotive. The latter had the task of keeping the boiler in the engine stocked with coal which often times meant shoveling as much as "five tons" a day to keep the firebox full.

The above example of the participation of the Spanish-American in the wage labor system provides an illustration of this group's marginal role in the developing Anglo economy. While the Spanish-American was able to participate in the general growth of the economy, his status as an unskilled worker limited his opportunities and the semi or skilled jobs were chiefly occupied by Anglos. Of the 2,566 employees of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad only one Spanish-surnamed individual was listed as a skilled (machinist) worker. This situation would change in the twentieth century somewhat, but so also would the role of the railroads in the general economy of the United States.

The New Political Structure

The development of a new political order in New Mexico is a history of local, territorial, and federal politics; it is a profile of power and elite group formation; and, it is a history of the shaping of new political habits and attitudes toward the role of government in the lives of the Spanish-American population. It is also a history of the traditional aristocracy, perhaps represented by a few hundred families (Ganaway 1976:12) and the new Anglo elite within the American population (Hall 1982:293). Finally, it is a history of opposition between the native population and the Anglo as to how to best Americanize the Territory (Lamar 1966:101). In this final section some of the themes of this new political order are outlined.

The attitudes of the Anglo population toward the Spanish-American and their social and political institutions were far from being responsive or respectful towards a different set of values. Rather, the general Anglo attitude was that if New Mexico was to become americanized the best and most effective approach was to put Americans into key political and judicial offices. A report written in 1852 and submitted to Washington by Colonel E.V. Sumner summarizes this feeling on the part of most American political administrators and Anglo businessmen within the Territory.

> The New Mexicans are thoroughly debased and totally incapable of self-government, and there is no latent quality about them that can ever make them respectable. They have more Indian blood than Spanish, and in some respects are below the Pueblo Indians, for they are not as honest or as industrious. . . .No civil Government emanating from the Government of the United States can be maintained here without the aid of a military force; in fact, without its being virtually a military government. . . .All branches of civil government have equally failed--the executive for want of

> power, the judiciary from the total incapacity and want of principle in juries; and the legislative from want of knowledge (Lamar 1966: 94).

Another American expressed a similar view of the general native population's character, but found in the "pure Castilian," a far different character.

> The race, as a whole, is and has been for centuries at a standstill. The same agricultural implements that their remote ancestors used, they cling to tenaciously, resisting all innovations. . . .In short, a population almost, if not absolutely, impervious to progress either in business, science, education, or religion. Far different is the case with the families of pure castilian blood, who own most of the livestock found in the territory" (Ganaway 1976:3).

The American appointed governors quickly found that political power and control of the mass population was in the hands of these "pure Castilians", or more accurately, the ricos. The political "cliques" (Hall 1982) which came to dominate New Mexico both economically and politically throughout the nineteenth century represented for the most part wealthy members of both the Anglo and Spanish populations. In fact, they often worked together to exploit both groups (Anglo-Americans and Spanish-Americans) for their own political and economic gains.

The Territorial government was divided by ethnic lines. The Spanish-American dominated the state legislature and distributed the spoils of office in a patronage system. The Anglos on the other hand received almost all of the appointed governmental positions which in many ways gave them an advantage and control over a larger area of the Territory's political and economic activities. During the early years of the territorial legislature control was in the hands of a few prominent Spanish American families (Zeleny 1974:207). The lower class Spanish-American had no voice in the early territorial political

structure.

The divisions in politics were usually drawn along economic lines such as control of lucrative appointments and government supply contracts. Ethnic issues tended to focus on election of delegates to Congress. For example, in one of the early elections one party attacked its opposition calling them the "Anglo-American" party and made their slogan "The People against the authorities" (Ganaway 1976:51). In this case the "opposition" party consisted of an all Anglo membership, whereas the other party consisted of a slate of two Anglos and two Spanish-Americans (Weightman and Messerny, and Baca and Alvarez).

The election of a Spanish-American to political office did not necessarily provide representation for this group's interests, particularly the masses. One Spanish-American who served in Washington, for example, married a southern lady and in general associated with representatives from this geographical area. Subsequently, he became a strong voice in an attempt to make slavery a law in the New Mexico Territory.

One of the more illustrative examples of both Anglo and Spanish corruption comes from the history of what came to be known as the "Santa Fe Ring." This group of Anglo businessmen, lawyers, and governmental appointed officials traded assurances of land grant titles to the Spanish-American ricos in exchange for their help in defrauding other Spanish-American claims to land grants. At one point this system appears to have been active throughout the whole Territory and many Spanish ricos appear as prominent members of this land fraud system.

In general throughout the territorial period (statehood came in

1912) the political system was controlled by Anglos. A small group of Spanish-Americans participated in the territorial government, but they did not represent the general population. The machine politics and the "party bosses" (Zeleny 1974) manipulated the issues and distributed the spoils. Even when a Spanish-American (e.g., Miguel A. Otero) was appointed to the territorial governorship prior to statehood the situation did not change. For example,

> Otero. . .organized a political machine 'so powerful that even the appointment of a notary public was considered in some localities a great favor and mark of political recognition.' Many prominent men. . .flocked to the standard. . .to come under the protection of this machine. . .Otero did not appear to favor members of the Spanish-American group to any extent, for he had 'warm friends,' in both groups (Zeleny 1974:216-17).

During the first decade of the twentieth century a new era of political relationships were established between the Spanish-Americans and the Anglos through the granting of statehood to New Mexico. New Mexico was now on an equal footing with the other states of the nation and guaranteed full rights for all its citizens under the Federal constitution of the United States. But then again, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo had guaranteed these rights too.

CHAPTER IV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: CONQUEST AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

In this chapter the nature of dependency at the village level will be examined. Ten community case studies are presented which include the villages of Guadalupe, Sandoval, Alameda, Concho, Villanueva, Dona Ana, Placitos, Manzano, San José, and El Cerrito. One can see in these case studies that while the rates of change and the specific local adaptations may have varied, most Spanish villagers were at a disadvantage in their attempts to adjust to the Anglo system of economic and social interaction.

The Village of Guadalupe

Location. The village of Guadalupe was located approximately seventy-five miles to the northwest of the Rio Grande within the Puerco River Valley and had a population of less than two hundred people at the time of Walter's (1938) study. The village covered approximately seven square miles along both sides of the river. Guadalupe was very isolated from any centers of Anglo population, the nearest being in the Rio Grande Valley some forty miles to the east. The residents of Guadalupe referred to themselves as "la isla" (the island). The reason for this was that the village was cutoff from the north and south by a

series of mesitas making travel almost impossible in these directions. Lying on the west bank of the river, and there being no bridge, the only approach was by foot across the Puerco River. The Puerco Valley had two other villages within the immediate locale of Guadalupe in the late 1930's. To the north was Cabezón with a population of approximately 300 individuals. The people of Guadalupe referred to Cabezón as a "metropolis and center of sophistication." Cabezón, unlike Guadalupe, had telephones, automobiles, two gas stations, a post office, and a general store. Between Guadalupe and Cabezón could be found a number of ranchitos scattered along the twelve mile distance between the two settlements. People from Guadalupe would occasionally visit Cabezón, e.g., to visit relatives or to pick up the mail. The people of Cabezón described the residents of Guadalupe as "rustic." Four miles to the south of Guadalupe was the village of Casa Salazar or the home of the Salazar family. The residents of Guadalupe had blood ties to this community.

The Community. Guadalupe itself was referred to as "the central plaza by the residents of the area. A road leading from the plaza was dotted with adobe homesites. In traditional Spanish fashion the casas of Guadalupe occupied a number of dwellings within a placita (a plaza or town). In Guadalupe there were forty-one casas occupying eleven dwelling houses in the town or placita. There were twenty-one farmsteads located around the central plaza which formed individual placitas.

Located within the plaza proper was a Catholic chapel which was serviced by an itinerant priest. The church had been built and was maintained by local residents. Services in the church were sporadic

depending on the ability of the priest to make the trip to the village.

In addition to the church, Guadalupe had a two-room school house where classes through the ninth grade were taught. The curriculum was taught by three teachers in 1939 and had a total of forty-eight children enrolled.[1] There was one additional public building, a dance hall, which was owned by the Sais family. This family rented the building to villagers for special occasions. There were a few other buildings in the plaza, but they were in a state of decay and not being used at the time of Walter's study.

The village was surrounded by farms (ranchitos) located on the level portions of the valley above a deep gorge cut by the Puerco River.

Population. Walter (1938:144) provides us with the following data on the population growth of Guadalupe, Casa Salazar, and Cabezón from 1900 to 1937.

Community	1900	1910	1920	1930	1937
Guadalupe	268	280	244	196	187
Casa Salazar	310	318	176	64	18
Cabezón	212	209	199	215	202
Totals	790	807	619	475	407

[1]Walter (1938:140) points out that almost 25% of the students dropped out from the fourth to the sixth grades between the years 1930 to 1937 because they were needed to work in the fields. Sixty per cent dropped out to obtain wage work to help the family, and no more than 5% went on to high schools at Bernalillo or Santa Fe.

In 1937 Guadalupe had forty-one families consisting of a total population of 187. The residents were grouped, as was pointed out above, into units called casas or households. These casas consisted of the parents and their immediate offspring, and perhaps cousins, uncles, aunts, and pseudo-family members such as the godfather and godmother.

There was a disproportionate number of older people in the village, the younger members leaving for opportunities elsewhere. From the early 1880's to the turn-of-the-century some immigration into Guadalupe and the Rio Grande Valley occurred. During this period land was cheap and available for homesteading. In the period 1900 to 1920 the population remained quite stable. Around the beginning of the 1920's, however, a process of emigration from the region occurred. For example, in 1918 half the population of Casa Salazar moved away and many residents of Guadalupe and Cabezón followed suit. The primary reason given for leaving was ". . .that they [could] no longer make a living from their farms" (Walter 1938:143). In addition to the permanent movement of population, many of the young people would leave the village on a seasonal basis to obtain temporary employment, e.g., to work in Albuquerque as unskilled laborers or in Kansas and Colorado in the fields at harvest time.

Economic Patterns. The basic economic unit, as well as the center of social life, revolved around the individual farmsteads. Each of these farms was worked by a family unit composed of several casas. Each farm was self-sufficient and produced the basic food needs of the families. The farms did not employ laborers and typically contained a few acres of tillable land, as well as some pasture and waste land.

The waste land, because of erosion, was gaining in acreage. In the past the valley lands were irrigated from the waters of the Puerco. There were also small streams which flowed from the Puerco and water was also drawn from these small streams to irrigate the land. The latter are nothing more than dry arroyos today (circa 1930's). The Upper Puerco Valley had some reputation during the nineteenth century as a grain and orchard center. Grains and fruits were grown in abundance and sold to distant markets. However, with the introduction of large numbers of sheep in the first two decades of the twentieth century the region was quickly depleted of its grass cover. The river erosion which followed and the loss of the valley's grass cover transformed the region so drastically that irrigation became possible only in a few limited areas, and a shift to dry farming was made. The orchards died out and each year hundreds of previously productive irrigated lands were washed away by the river. Walter describes the impact of overgrazing by Anglo ranchers as devastating on the production of surplus agriculture for markets and describes the Spanish rancho as a now basically subsistence form of agriculture. He writes:

> The farms are now subsistence homesteads for the most part, producing only enough chili, corn, beans, and squash for local consumption and barely enough feed to carry the livestock through mild winters. The United States Bureau of the Census reports the average crop failure for the region for the period from 1920 to 1930, at 59 per cent. In drought years, food, including such staple items as beans and chili, must be imported for the people. In long winters, alfalfa and grain must be brought in for the livestock. From local prosperity, the situation has changed in a generation, to one of precarious, hand-to-mouth existence on the brink of bankruptcy" (Walter 1938:96).

While grain crops once supplied the population with "cash" crops, by the 1930's livestock (i.e., cattle) was the only unit of production

which offered a source of income. The size of the herds ranged from twelve to one hundred and twenty head. The care of these herds was primarily the responsibility of the young men and boys within the family. They drove the herds to pastures in the north during the summer, returning them to the ranchitos in the winter. Some of the cattle were sold or bartered for supplies and others were kept for domestic needs. Cash sales of livestock came once or twice a year at Cabezón when buyers from Denver and Albuquerque would come to bid on cattle.

The majority of income came, however, not from the sale of cattle but from wage labor both locally with the federal government or from relatives living in urban centers in New Mexico or in other states. Typically a son would send money home. In one family which Walter thought typical, cash expenditures for one year totaled $1,463.00. The income for the same year was $1,485.00. The source of this income came from: sales of livestock and hides $465.00, wages from cash labor with the Civil Conservation Corps $520.00, and, $500.00 in cash sent from a relative working in California.

The economic pattern of the village had changed drastically over the years. That is, little activity was now centered locally since most of the transactions occurred outside the village. The center of economic activity was once with the local grocery store owned by Salas. But by the mid-1930's the centers of economic exchange had shifted to cash sales in Cabezón or Albuquerque or with catalog sales in distant places. There were no commercial institutions in Guadalupe in the 1930's. At one time, during the late 1800's, Guadalupe had furniture

makers, a blacksmith, a wood carver, candle and soap makers, a lawyer, and two seamstresses as well as a veterinarian.

The only source of cash sales locally, of any significance, came through sales with the itinerant peddlers. These peddlers would sell or exchange groceries, clothing, and "luxuries" to the local villagers for cash or products, e.g., hides, wool, or livestock "on the hoof." However, this latter economic exchange was limited and represented no more than perhaps a third of the sources of income for the villagers (Walter 1938:11).

Land Ownership. Land titles were usually in the hands of the older men or women (viejos or viejas) and they held authority in the decisions and activities of the ranchito. The inheritance patterns among the Spanish villagers of Guadalupe called for equal shares divided among all the children. This system led to a breaking up of the larger land holdings but by the 1930's the land was being given to the eldest son with some smaller shares being given to siblings. Those who had moved away usually sold their shares to the eldest son so that in reality the farms were maintaining their size for any given casa in the 1930's.

Family Organization. In terms of family organizations a set pattern was maintained. Work roles were well defined along sex lines and among age groups. According to Walter the only overt conflict which he observed was between the elders (who demanded total authority) and the younger men who were "restless and discontented with the life in Guadalupe" (Walter 1938:119). The residents of the town maintained the traditional patterns of respect for members of the family and neighbors.

Girls in Guadalupe were expected to marry young. The husband was usually ten years older than his wife. A choice of mate was left to the individual involved, but suggestions were frequently offered. The arrangements for a marriage were made by the families and the father of the groom formally made the marriage request for his son to the father of the potential bride. The father of the bride assumed the responsibility of setting the date and inviting all the realtives. The ceremony was performed by the priest in the community church. The couple after marriage resided with either couple's family.

Religion. All the people of Guadalupe were "devout" Catholics. Devotion to the Church was the expected norm for all residents. All homes contained religious items such as crucifixes, religious pictures, and rosaries. Everyone attended mass when it was said. Some of the families were able to send their children to a Catholic boarding school in Albuquerque or Santa Fe. This was the goal of all families, but only the more fortunate were able to do this. The events of the Church such as Lent and Christmas were major traditional events and were observed as community holidays. At one time the Penitentes were active in Guadalupe, however by the early 1920's the order had lost its membership through the death of its older members and a reluctance on the part of younger men to join or to see a need for its activities.

Political Organization. The governmental organization of the village was quite simple. There were two elected offices in the village area. One was the justice of the peace and the other was a constable. Both men commanded the respect of the villagers and both, as was the village mayordomo ("ditch boss"), were under the authority

of the jefe político. All residents were expected to give "unquestioning obedience" to the jefe político, who in return provided favors which he was able to obtain from the county and state political leaders. The leadership of the jefe político was being challenged by young men (democrats) in the village at the time of Walter's study. The patronage system was beginning to be disrupted in Guadalupe as a result of shifts in state politics and the shifts in the 1920's and 1930's to greater federal controls. The shift in control to the federal government in Washington made patronage more difficult to control at the state and local levels.

Social Activities. Dances were the chief form of entertainment and provided a focal point for community gatherings. The women and children would gossip on these occasions, the young men and women taking advantage of the opportunity for mixing, and the men would talk politics. The young women at these gatherings were always under the observing eye of the chaperone.

The villagers had no radios and received no newspapers. The only printed material to come into the village was a Catholic newsletter and a monthly paper from the Soil Conservation Service. While English was taught in the school, Spanish was the language of communication in the village. What books were found were all in Spanish and the subject matter was folk tales and poems.

Weddings were an occasion for fiestas by the well-to-do families of the village. The whole community, relatives of the bride and groom, and neighbors would spend the day feasting. Wakes and funerals also

served to bring members of the community together. Guadalupe held one community fiesta each year on November 19th. It began with a mass and christenings. In some years a carnival would visit on this day and in others horse racing would occur. This event was an activity for all the residents and often brought others from the region into the community.

Summary. In general, the villagers felt that their community was being neglected by the state and federal government. They did not hold the "new deal" programs of the 1930's in very high regard, i.e., ". . .they believe[d] that the free spending of money on public works projects and relief [were] bad for the people, who, they [said] are rapidly losing their taste for honest labor" (Walter 1938:146).

The village of Guadalupe at the time of Walter's study reflected the shadow of the future. There were empty houses, the young were leaving at the first opportunity, and the village was quickly becoming a population of old people soon to die as was the village. In place of orchards were dry arroyos. Where there were once fields of grains, cactus and weeds now stood. What was left of the land was being carried down the Puerco River. The people of Guadalupe seemed however to accept the advances of modernization with a certain optimism for the future. In summarizing this attitude Walter's wrote:

> They look upon assimilation into the English-speaking culture as inevitable, and do not appear to regret the necessity, believing it will mean better wages, higher living standards, and greater security. This attitude contrasts with attitudes found in communities closer to English-speaking centers. There is no conscious resistance in Guadalupe to the advance of civilization, and they are ready to adopt any innovation they can understand and afford (Walter 1938:149).

The Village of Sandoval (Corrales)

Location. The village of Sandoval was primarily a farm community located thirteen miles north of Albuquerque in one of the most fertile areas of the Rio Grande Valley. The village ran for five miles along a county road located on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Alameda was located approximately three miles from Sandoval on the east bank of the Rio Grande. The community was divided by the Sandoval and Bernalillo County line. The majority of the population of Sandoval were located in Sandoval County, but this division divided the community in two important ways. That is, its political unity was broken and the village children attended schools in two different locations. Those in Sandoval County attended school in Sandoval, those in Benralillo County attended school in Alameda. This division also meant that the legal business of the community was also located in two different county seats, i.e., the county seat for Bernalillo was located in Albuquerque; the center of government of Sandoval County was in the town of Bernalillo.

The Community. At the time of Walter's study (circa 1930's) most of the Spanish farm land was located in the least productive areas of the valley away from the sources of good irrigation. An expensive land reclamation project in the 1920's resulted in land lost by the Spanish-Americans in that they were unable to pay the taxes which were imposed on all the land owners to pay for the project. Taxes and an inability to pay off loans with high interest rates led to the sale of even more land at low rates to the Anglo farmers. By the mid-1930's many of the Spanish-American community members were now being hired by the Anglos to work on their farms. The attitudes of these new employers toward the

Spanish-American laborer was that they were "lazy and ignorant" peones who could never compete successfully in the agricultural economy of the valley. Walter (1938:157) expresses the attitude of the Anglo toward the Spanish through the words of a local French farmer in the valley.

> All they [Spanish-Americans] are good for is to get borrachos (drunk) and work for white men when they are sober enough. They are going to lose all their land because they are too lazy and shiftless to work it; and they spend every nickel they get for wine so they can never pay their taxes. The sooner the country gets rid of them the better it will be for everybody.

Quite obviously an attitude existed which placed the Spanish-American resident of Sandoval at the lower end of the socio-cultural value system of the Anglo. For various reasons the local villagers of Sandoval had lost their lands and thus were also at the lower end of the economic structure of the community.

Like the community of Guadalupe many of the Spanish-Americans were moving away from the Sandoval community. They did so not because their land had become unproductive, but because it had been taken from them by the Anglos. Thus, while Sandoval was a farm community and very successful in its production of agricultural products the impact of this economic success was not reflected in the Spanish-American community to any great extent. The primary fruits of the valley, i.e., land and what it produced, were controlled by the Anglos.

The general land conditions in this section of the Rio Grande Valley were extremely productive. The irrigation canals were kept in good repair and the conservancy controlled the water flows so that there were fewer flooding problems. Each year more and more land was placed under production. There was, however, little cooperation among the

residents of the valley and Walter (1938:178) points out that an attitude existed of always trying to better one's neighbor in whatever was attempted. Numerous cooperatives were attempted in the valley by the villagers but these were almost always blocked by the larger Anglo farmers who preferred the competition of the "free" enterprise system to the traditional system of cooperation.

Population. The community of Sandoval had a population of approximately 600 individuals in the 1930's. There was a great deal of immigration and emigration in Sandoval. The new immigrants were Anglos who were purchasing tax delinquent Spanish lands or buying other lands for development. The emigration was primarily comprised of the younger Spanish residents who sought more permanent employment in places like Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and out-of-state. By the late 1930's almost one out of two residents in the community were non-Spanish and while population growth had been steady from 311 in 1900 to 660 in 1937 most of the growth was due to increases in the Anglo portion of the population. That is, the 1937 population of Sandoval consisted of 485 Spanish-speaking residents, 100 French and Italian residents, and 75 English-speaking residents (Walter 1938:206).

Economic Patterns. In the 1930's there were eighty-four farms in Sandoval and a total of 576 people. The farms were producing "cash crops" rather than mere subsistence and this meant that cash was brought into the community through farm production. Most of the farms were single family operations, but were much smaller (average size was fifteen acres) than the sixty acre plots in Guadalupe. Production was much more intensive, however, in that 60% of the land was under

cultivation in Sandoval as opposed to 30% in Guadalupe (Walter 1938:159).

The primary cash crops on the farms in Sandoval were apples and grapes. These crops required a great deal of labor, e.g., pruning, spraying for insects, and particularly at harvest time, gathering the fruit and transporting it to markets each day. The non-Spanish farmers were more successful with these products than their Spanish counterparts. That is, the immigrant farmers had extended their grape growing activities into wine manufacturing and thus in the fall they devoted their time to processing wine which they sold during the winter months to the larger centers of population around Sandoval. In contrast, during the fall, many of the unsuccessful Spanish farmers would leave the village in search of wage labor. Some, like the villagers of Guadalupe, would go to the hills to gather pinon nuts and others would cut wood for sale.

The larger farms owned by Anglos were profitable enterprises. The Spanish-American farms tended to "get-along" but offered little opportunity for profit beyond year to year maintenance. Few Spanish-American villagers could report any savings while many of the Anglo families were reported to have significant savings in banks in Albuquerque. Walter (1938:177-178) gives the following comparison of incomes and expenditures between a French immigrant farmstead and a Spanish-American peón class farm family. The French family had a cash income from the sale of apples, wine, and other farm produce totaling $3,100. They also had an income from mortgages ($75) and the wages of a son ($300). The expenditures for the same period for this family totaled $2,750. While the profit was small ($725) it was, nevertheless, profit during a depression year. Before the depression the French farm

was said to see $3,000 yearly profits. The peón farm family had cash income from the sale of fruit and produce of $500. The wages of a son and others in the family came to $800. The total income was $1,300. Cash expenditures for this family exceeded their income by $115. For the French farmer more than 90% of the farm income came from the sale of farm products and a profit was realized. For the Spanish-American family more than 60% of their income came from outside wage labor and the farm failed to see a profit, i.e., it actually went in debt. The French family operated sixty acres and consisted of four adults and four children. The Spanish farm consisted of eighteen acres and had six adults and four small children in the family.

Little livestock was found on the Sandoval farm. What stock that was kept was cared for by the women and younger children. The Sandoval farm was mechanized with trucks and tractors. The latter were used for plowing, sowing, and cultivating. Most of the weeding was still done by hand and required a great deal of labor. Few grain crops were grown and those that were, such as alfalfa, were harvested with power mowers. Compared to Guadalupe, agriculture in Sandoval was much more efficient and intensive, and primarily controlled by the Anglo.

Within the village economy one no longer found the skilled tin and leather makers or wood carvers. All of the skills which were once part of the community economic structure of Sandoval were now performed outside the village and most items were merely purchased in stores rather than crafted at home.

Land Ownership. The farm family in Sandoval was a smaller unit than that which was found in Guadalupe. It averaged five or six persons

compared to ten to twenty in Guadalupe (Walter 1938:188). Each farm dwelling in Sandoval contained a single family rather than the extended family household pattern in Guadalupe. If the family was divided, e.g., by marriage, a new household would be established away from the parent's homestead and it tended to be operated independently of any ties to a parent's farm. When a Spanish-American parent died the land was divided, in Sandoval, into smaller farms, and these became independently operated farmsteads. A single family might own a number of farms within the community. In contrast, within the immigrant population the farm was usually left to a "favorite" son and was thus kept intact.

Many of the Spanish-Americans living in Sandoval were the descendents of families who were attached to a number of haciendas. With the break-up of these haciendas through land sales the peón system of the hacienda was replaced with individual land ownership. By the 1930's most of the Spanish population community had become owners of small farmsteads. Walter (1938:153) saw a certain carryover in the psychology of the peón-patrón system in the village of Sandoval. He writes:

> . . .the old peón ideology of dependence has remained a dominating element. . .[The villagers were] a people lacking in self-reliance and initiative, who would rather have the responsibility and authority for the solution of their problems resting in their patrones than to carry the burden for themselves.

Family Organization. By the 1930's there was an apparent breakdown in the traditional Spanish family structure. In a few of the well-to-do Spanish families the role of the sexes and respect for elders seemed to be maintained. However, in the general Spanish-American population of Sandoval the patriarchal authority was breaking down. In many of the families the women were in charge both in terms of the running of the

family farm and in the handling of family income. The young people, while paying lip service to the traditional roles of authority within the family, tended to exercise their own will and to run their own affairs. Women now were found working in the fields beside men and still performed their traditional labor of maintaining the home, cooking, and caring for the small children.

Yet, for the Spanish-American in Sandoval, family relationships still held a place of importance in the social structure. Most of the Spanish villagers were related by blood or marriage ties. While many children had moved away to places like Colorado and California the families kept in touch. Often cash was sent home from sons to their parents from distant places. On rare occasions parents would travel to these states to visit their children.

In part the changing values toward the family were related to the desire to compete within the Anglo culture. For example, the Spanish-American children within the village were encouraged to complete their education. Some of the Spanish-Americans of the village had become nurses, lawyers, or more often skilled workers in the trades in Albuquerque. One of the more important places for gaining a skilled position and training was with the Santa Fe railroad. Unlike the late 1800's, Spanish-Americans could now be found working in the railroad shops of Albuquerque as machinists, boilermakers, etc. Some of the younger residents had also become school teachers. Many after obtaining these skills were forced to move away in order to obtain employment.

In contrast to the Spanish-American family the structure of the immigrant or Anglo family was less solidified and often parents were at

odds with sons and daughters. Families of these groups were seldom visited. And they only came together in crisis situations, e.g., a death or a case of extreme illness. Children who were away from the village might not be seen or heard from for many years.

Intermarriage between the Spanish-American and Anglo groups did occur, but with very limited frequency in Sandoval. In cases where an intermarriage took place it was between a Spanish women and an Anglo man. The children of these unions were often ridiculed, particularly if they expressed the phenotypical characteristics of the Spanish parent.

Social Activities. According to Walter (1938:192) the young people did not have a great amount of free time from their labor, but certainly had a much greater variety of activities to participate in. The young men traveled in automobiles to parties in adjoining communities such as Alameda or Albuquerque. They also had greater opportunities to meet young women and often drank a great deal when they went out. This behavior often meant that events ended in a great deal of disorder, drunkenness, and fighting. The activities of the young people were usually divided along ethnic lines. The Spanish speaking youth would attend local dances, for example, whereas the non-Spanish youth would not and usually sought entertainment in Albuquerque where they mixed with friends from school.

The *fiesta* was becoming an activity of the past in Sandoval in the 1930's. There remained one community *fiesta* in 1938 and occasionally a private one would be held by a well-to-do family to celebrate a wedding. In the early 1900's Sandoval boasted two annual

fiestas and many of the local residents also traveled to distant villages to participate in others. In the late 1800's the fiestas centered around a variety of economic and religious activities. By the 1930's the village economy was no longer centered in Sandoval, but focused on other town markets. Thus, to the extent that the fiesta represented a day of trading activities, it no longer fulfilled this function for the community. Similarly, entertainment was readily available and accessible therefore diminishing the social function of the fiesta in Sandoval.

Religion. In Sandoval most of the agricultural work was labor intensive. Sunday for most of the villagers was just another workday. While Spanish farmers still attended church in Alameda, the immigrant farmers worked their fields. In the immigrant group all the members of the family could be found on Sundays working in their fields. The Spanish-American men also worked most of the day at their farm chores, but the Spanish women and children took the day off to exchange news and visit with neighbors. All the Spanish-Americans of Sandoval were Catholics. The immigrants seldom paid much attention to religious observances. The fact that the Spanish-American women and children did not work in their fields on Sundays and that the men approached their labor at a much slower pace was, to the immigrant, an indication of their laziness and general inefficiency in farming.

There was an active chapter of Penitentes in Sandoval in the late 1930's. It held its ceremonies during Holy Week but participation was limited to not more than a dozen members. At the turn-of-the-century the brotherhood had more than 100 members and was the dominating force

in the village. By the 1930's its dominance was no longer felt, but most villagers regarded it with some fear and would not talk freely about it or simply denied its existence. The Penitentes chapter of Sandoval had no young members at the time of Walter's study and none seemed interested in its activities.

Summary. As in Guadalupe most of the people were literate in English. Spanish was the language of the old in Sandoval. However, the young used English and it was viewed as an essential step toward economic success and opportunity. In many instances the parents of the Spanish children would only speak English in the home to encourage greater use of this language by the children. Walter found a number of Spanish homes in which English was the only language the children understood.

Contacts with the Anglos brought both change and contrasts in the social behavior of community members toward one another in their everyday lives. Walter (1938:198) summarizes these changes:

> There are contrasting standards and codes of morality among the Spanish speaking people and others in Sandoval. The well-to-do Spanish speaking families emphasize familial duty, loyalty and obedience as the most desirable virtues. The larger peón group places less emphasis upon obedience, but look upon faithfulness to family, loyalty to one's patrón and political party, and industry as the measures of personal worth. The immigrant group stresses industry, thrift, and shrewdness as the qualities chiefly to be admired in human relations. They also give a high rating to courage and stubbornness in argument. The whole village looks upon chastity as a very practical virture which brings its own reward, and violations their own penalties. Most of the people consider honesty too idealistic to have practical value in their codes. It would be all right if others were honest, but as their world is, the practice of honesty merely places one in a position to be exploited by others. Nearly all of the business transactions which involve more than a few dollars, are based on written contracts, and the people of the village are frequently involved in actions growing out of these contracts. Drunkenness among men

> is looked upon as an evil, but a necessary one. Babies learn to sip wine when they are weaned. Children are 'cute' [if] they can drink two or three cans of beer or glasses of wine at a sitting. The chief indictments against heavy drinking arises from the loss of work efficiency which results, and from the cost of purchasing liquor if one does not make his own supply. Even the women admire as a sign of manliness the ability of their suitors or spouses to 'hold their liquor', although women live in constant dread of the fighting, and wife and child beating which are apt to follow over-indulgence by their men.

While inequality was a dimension of the peón-patrón system in Sandoval, there remained in this system a certain reciprocal set of relationships which were well defined along traditional patterns. This system defined specific rights and expectations from both groups. The peón worked the land and provided the labor for the hacienda. In return the patrón provided for the needs of the peón and his family. For generations the patrones represented the major economic and social forces of the community. But, with the coming of the Anglo into the area (particularly railroad workers who saved their wages along with other immigrants and purchased land for farming) a new set of labor relationships evolved. Whereas the traditional system was made up of Spanish-American peón-patrón relationships, the new social order contained individuals of diverse backgrounds. Within this new order the Spanish-speaking resident was perceived to be at the bottom of the social ladder; the new immigrants (Italians, French, and Germans) assumed control of the land and became the economic forces within the community.

Unlike the Spanish-Americans of Guadalupe the Spanish residents of Sandoval were very suspicious and often hostile toward the non-Spanish residents. However, they tended to admire the material life of the Anglos and saw assimilation as desirable in many ways. They felt,

unlike Guadalupe residents, that the state and federal governments had given them a fair share of patronage. On the other hand, the old Spanish patrón class tended to be bitter toward the Anglos and to blame them for their loss of economic and social status. The peón class tended to support the new (Anglo) patrones and maintained a certain loyalty to them. However, the situation was not mutual in that the immigrant held all Spanish-Americans in low esteem and characterized them as lazy, and a hopeless class of people.

The Village of Alameda

Location. The village of Alameda is located on the east side of the Rio Grande approximately nine miles north of Albuquerque. Located along a major highway runing north and south, the village stretched for about two miles along this transportation route. Today (1985) it is a suburb of Albuquerque. Even in 1938 Alameda's southern boundary merged with this city.

The Community. In the late 1930's Alameda contained over one hundred buildings and farm houses. While the homes of the villagers were made of the traditional adobe materials like those in Sandoval and Guadalupe, they were much better kept and most had tin or shingled roofs, unlike the flat roofs in the other two communities. In the southern part of Alameda there were even some of the newer styled homes made of bricks.

The village of Alameda had two filling stations, a camp ground for tourists, a radio station, a beer parlor, two dance halls, two general stores, a public school, a warehouse, a post office, and two churches

(one Catholic and one a Faith Tabernacle Hall). The Faith Tabernacle Hall had been in the community for about two years and was empty. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad ran along the eastern edge of the village and connected Albuquerque and Santa Fe.[1] The Catholic Church was the dominant structure within the village and it represented a center for village unity, setting Alameda off from other communities within the area.

The commercial businesses of Alameda were located on the highway. Because of its location on a major highway Alameda was a village which was far from isolated. Many tourists and trucks came through this community, especially during the summer months.

Population. Walter (1938:236) gives the following figures for the population of Alameda which had steadily increased since the turn-of-the-century. In 1900 there were 675 individuals living in the village; in 1910 there were 740; in 1920 Alameda had a population of 918; in 1930 the figure was 1,006; and in 1938 Walter counted 1,200 residents.

Population growth in Alameda was, in part, a reflection of the increase in the rate of births over deaths. The infant survival rates were much greater than in the other two communities which Walter studied. A second dimension to the population increases in Alameda, particularly since the 1920's, was attributed to Anglo immigration. In the 1930's there were also increases in the Spanish population through the movement

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[1]At one time the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad had a depot in Alameda. In the 1920's the village was a shipping point for produce and livestock. This depot was closed in the 1930's.

of Spanish-Americans into the area in search of jobs. Although, some of the Spanish residents were leaving the village for jobs elsewhere, most of the Spanish-Americans who worked in Albuquerque, for example, merely traveled back and forth to their jobs each day. By 1980 Alameda was counted as part of the four-hundred thousand plus residents of the standard metropolitan area of Albuquerque (U.S. Census 1980).

Religion. Almost all the Spanish residents of Alameda were devout Catholics. Their homes were decorated with pictures of holy scenes, crucifixes, and other religious items. The Church was very powerful in village affairs, especially when it was controlled by one priest in particular. In fact, until his death this priest held more respect and power than the local jefes políticos and it is said that he was the village patrón. While Alameda was a commercial center, it maintained a strict religious environment (unlike Sandoval). The children regularly received their catechism and often were sent to Catholic schools in Bernalillo or Albuquerque.

Some of the older men were active in the Penitente organization in neighboring Sandoval. Alameda did not have a chapter within the community in the 1930's. At the turn-of-the-century it did have one of the largest Penitente organizations within the region. But, pressures from the Catholic Church and the movement of many younger members out of the community, particularly during WW I, led to its demise.

Economic Patterns. The largest business was a dairy farm which distributed milk to Albuquerque. This business was owned and operated by an Anglo family. With the exception of the dairy farm all of the businesses were owned by the old Spanish patrón class of Alameda.

The 1,200 residents of Alameda were living on a total of 112 farms. Most of these farms were small, ranging from five to ten acres. The average size farm was twenty acres but a few were larger. The land which was under cultivation (about 70% of the farm acreage) was irrigated and had plenty of water through the control placed on it by two conservancy districts.

Walter classified the residents of Alameda into five groups with reference to social and economic status. The first group was the peón class; the second was what he called a marginal group; the third was the patrón class; the fourth was an immigrant group like that found in Sandoval; and the fifth was the English-speaking suburban group. The socio-economic characteristics of each of these class groupings are discussed below.

Approximately half (600 or so) of the residents of Alameda were characterized as peones. This group had large families, averaging ten to twenty persons living in a large building and divided by casas, i.e., clusters of two and three room dwellings. The families of this group had the smallest incomes and were at the bottom of the social ladder within the community. They maintained subsistence gardens and grew corn, beans and chili for their personal use. They had lost most of their land because of rising values and taxes and because of the water fees imposed by the water conservancies. Like the residents of Guadalupe the land was divided and sub-divided through traditional Spanish inheritance patterns. Authority within the family of the peón class followed the traditional pattern and was based on "age grades." Few of the children within this group attended school regularly and most

dropped out early to seek employment. There were high birth rates and death rates among this class. The males within the peón group tended to neglect their farms and would leave the village to seek seasonal work to support their families, usually at unskilled labor wages. Many of the families received welfare or periodic relief. Some worked for the Conservation Corps.

The peón farm was isolated and the owner often worked for his more successful neighbors on their farms. A peón-patrón relationship still existed among this group to the extent that the traditional Spanish patrón was able to respond to this system. The family was the basic unit among the peón class and there were few cases of divorce or family neglect. Walter (1938:219) gives the following yearly budget for a peón family of fourteen living in three casas on a single farmstead who shared family expenses. The total cash income for this farm was $930 for the year. The total expenses were $940. Only $90 came from the sale of the farm's crops. The balance of income came from wage labor, e.g., CCC camps (two sons), farm labor, outside wage labor, and washing done for a suburban family.

Almost all of the members of the peón class over the age of thirty were illiterate in English. Only the young children within this group had some command of the English language; most were only literate in Spanish. The language of the households was Spanish.

The peón class blamed the Anglos for all of their economic and social conflicts. This was particularly the case when it came to explaining the reasons for their loss of land and the breakdown in peón-patrón relationships of the traditional Spanish life-style of the

village. Walter (1938:221) summarized the attitude of the peón class toward the Anglos and their culture with the following statement from one member of this group.

> We used to be happy here, and to have enough for everyone, but the Americans are taking it all away from us. I do not want to go to work for them, but I want to have my own farm here. But everything now costs much money, and we cannot get enough to eat. My father had a big farm, and we all worked hard. We had enough to eat for everybody and for the horses. But now we have only a few acres and there is never enough. Pretty soon we will all be working on the roads and the Americans will own all these farms. And we will be their peones, like in Sandoval.

The marginal class was the largest group of Spanish-Americans in the Alameda socio-economic hierarchy after the peón class. The marginal class represented approximately 400 individuals within Alameda. They lived on small farms and had smaller family units. The heads of these Spanish-American families were usually employed as union workers in skilled jobs in Albuquerque. The men worked full time and used their farms to grow vegetables for the family and some poultry and grain for market. The farm labor within this group was done by the women and younger children. Sometimes members of the peón class were hired by this group as day laborers. The heads of the households did participate in the work of the farm, but their primary work roles were those of wage workers. Their occupations included: taxi drivers, brick layers, printers, carpenters, mechanics, etc.

The farms of the marginal class were valued much higher than those of the peón class in that they were located directly adjoining the highway, therefore having a higher "speculative real estate market" value. Similarly, the homes of this group were in general better kept and had "indoor" toilets, electricity, and a greater number of luxury

items than the homes of the peón class.

The division of labor within the marginal class was less well defined in terms of authority than in the peón class and resulted in greater conflicts between its members. Men drank a great deal and there was greater family disharmony which was represented in separations, divorce, and desertions. The younger children worked on the farms until they were in their teens. Boys of sixteen or seventeen would enter apprenticeships or develop trade skills from their fathers, uncles, or neighbors. Girls often went to school to become bookkeepers and stenographers, or they became domestic servants in the homes of the Anglos in Albuquerque.

The marginal dimension to this class came primarily in the realm of economic opportunities for full time employment. That is, when business was good in Albuquerque the families of the marginal class prospered. But when jobs became tight or non-existent, such as during the depression years, this group experienced difficulties economically. When the economy prospered these families invested in items such as automobiles, radios, and the other expressions of material wealth of the Anglo culture. They did so with credit, and the loss of a job, also meant the loss of these goods. Large numbers of this group were placed on the relief rolls during the depression years.

When Walter studied Alameda in the late 1930's the economic conditions for this class were somewhat prosperous. He gave the following family example budget figures for 1936. Sale of farm products $150; income from wage labor $4,080. The total income was thus $4,230. The expenditures for the same year were $3,360 for items such as food,

taxes, medical expenses, automobile upkeep and payments. The difference between income and expenditures was a plus $870. Some of the excess was used to pay off personal debts from periods of unemployment and some of the income was sent to less fortunate relatives (Walter 1938:224).

A second dimension to this group's marginal status came in their social treatment by Anglos. That is, the members of this class accepted the material wealth of the Anglo society, but they resented the prejudice which was expressed toward them and their Spanish heritage, particularly in the work place of the larger city. Members of this group were strong union supporters and in fact their political alignments to the trade unions took precedence over the dictates of the local jefe político within the village. Most of the members of this class were democrats and took an active role in campaigns for members of this political party.

The third group in the social hierarchy of the Alameda society was the Spanish speaking patrón representing approximately 100 individuals divided among nine family units. While this patrón group was very small in comparison to the number of total village residents, they held great political and economic control. The patrón group held their prestige and power primarily because they were able to maintain controls over jobs for many of the local residents, particularly within the peón class. The patrón class owned almost all the businesses in Alameda. These businesses, located along the highway, not only supplied the local residents, but also were able to attract travelers on the roads. Their shops thus prospered as a "new" type of trade developed (tourism) from increased travel along the highway.

In part this group survived because they were able to adapt to the changes in the economy brought about by the railroad at the turn-of-the-century. That is, they were in a position to profit from the developing economy. For example, the railroad created a demand for land and products. The patrón group was in a position to sell off small parts of their larger holdings of land in the village and was competitive and shrewd enough to see the advantages in investing the profits in other lands (on a speculative basis) and to develop further their economic roles in the control of local business firms. The early period of this century saw Alameda develop as a shipping point for livestock, and the patrón class was able to increase their economic position by controlling the trading and supply houses during this period. By the 1930's some of these families were very wealthy and continued to accumulate profits through the purchasing and selling of small tracts of land for the development of suburban homes.

Most of the patrón families operated large farms in addition to their other commercial businesses in the village. The families of this group were large, averaging from ten to fifteen persons to a family. Three or four generations would reside in a large home which was divided by casas into apartments.

The typical crops raised on the patrones farms were grown for both subsistence and market and included alfalfa, grapes, and corn products. It was on these farms that one found the traditional peón-patrón system. Many peones within the village of Alameda were employed on a yearly basis by the patrones, some were hired on a daily and weekly basis. While ideally the peón received cash wages, the system of extending credit in

lieu of cash was more the practice (Walter 1938:227). In this fashion the peón maintained his traditional role of indebtedness to the patrón who supplied him with his material needs.

The family organization of this group followed the traditional Spanish pattern in that authority was based on age. While the patrón group had adopted the material aspects of the modern society, they still maintained many of the characteristics of the traditional Spanish patrón families. One reason they were able to maintain their identity both in respect to cultural habits and social status within the community was due to their ability to acquire large cash incomes. As Walter (1938: 228) points out: "They. . .appear[ed] to have ample reserves in savings and investments, and many of the Alameda patrones command[ed] great respect among Albuquerque bankers." Walter gives the following budget for the year 1936 for a family unit of eleven within the patrón group. The total cash income for the year was $5,300. Receipts from farm produce sales totaled $800. This family operated one of the filling stations and stores and had $3,000 in income from this business. They also made $1,500 from the sale of real estate. On the expenditure side the total equaled $3,630. Expenses included food, medical treatment, farm equipment, taxes and amusement. A total of $500 was given to peones in the form of food and other types of aid. The excess totaled $1,670. These figures (probably low according to Walter) compared to an excess of $870 (which was a good year) for the marginal class and a minus $10 for a family within the peón group.

Among the patrón class the older members were literate in Spanish only. The middle age groups were usually literate in both Spanish and

English. The younger children were encouraged to master the Anglo language. Almost all of the younger children from the patrón group would finish high school. Many were destined for university and college degrees. The patrón group tended to participate in business outside the village economy and members were often found in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, or Bernalillo conducting business. While there were well-defined blood ties among the patrón families, marriages did occur between this group and the Anglos. Mixed marriages were accepted, and in fact viewed as linkages and alliances for strengthening the patrón classes' economic and social status (Walter 1938:239).

The fourth population which stood as a distinct group, according to Walter, within the Alameda community was the "immigrants." This group like their counterparts in Sandoval arrived around the turn-of-the-century. However, unlike the group of immigrants in Sandoval this group did not replace the patrón class, but rather formed a marginal group of families with respect to the social and economic characteristics of the village. They had little economic power and maintained small farm operations which occasionally hired members of the peón class as laborers. While their farms were productive and profitable they (French and German families) were unable to purchase large areas of land for low prices as was the case in Sandoval. One of the reasons which Walter (1938:231) cites for this situation was that the patrón class of Alameda did not need to sell their land and they were not short of cash supplies as was the patrón group in Sandoval.

There were approximately a dozen immigrant families in Alameda in the 1930's. Most of their farms were devoted to truck gardening and the

production of alfalfa. The average family unit ranged from two to seven persons and few of the original owners were still alive. Their farms had been passed on to second generation sons and daughters. Many of these second generation immigrant families had moved into Albuquerque and worked in mercantile businesses.

Work on the farms was done by members of the family and, as was pointed out above, occasionally supplemented by the hiring of a peón at planting or harvest time. The Spanish residents of Alameda looked down on the immigrant families and this attitude was similar among the immigrant group with respect to Spanish-Americans. However, some intermarriage did occur between these two groups. When this happened neither group accepted this arrangement.

The final or fifth group which was found in the Alameda community in small numbers in the 1930's was the "English speaking suburban residents." This group represented fourteen families in 1936, half of which had come into the community within the previous year. Of this increase Walter (1938:233), with an unknown accuracy for future events, stated that ". . .in the increase there appears to be a constantly mounting rate." That is, the suburban houses, modern and comfortable, would engulf Alameda in the decades ahead. In the late 1930's the Anglo suburban dwellers were a novelty to the community. They mixed among themselves and ignored the Spanish residents. All of their social, economic, and cultural ties were to the city of Albuquerque. The Anglos did not consider themselves as part of the community of Alameda. They planted small gardens around their suburban homes and occasionally hired a Spanish peón to work as a servant or gardener.

While they basically ignored the Spanish, some of the peón class viewed their job related contacts with the Anglo in a similar manner to that of their relationship within the traditional patrón system.

Summary. The Alameda village was the least isolated of the three communities studied by Walter. The residents of Alameda tended to resist the American culture, but accepted the material aspects of its economy. Alameda was a strong religious community and maintained the traditional relationships of the peón-patrón system. It was also a village which had prospered economically, although many, e.g., the peón class, felt the pains of poverty. All the residents of the village did not share equally in the village's economic structure. The one group which seemed to be experiencing the greatest change, in income, values and attitudes, were those villagers who held jobs and made their living through participation in the wage labor system.

The Village of Concho

Location. Sometime around the year 1870 the settlement of Concho in eastern Arizona was established by the Candelaria family. Initially Concho was a trading post. The original founding father had worked as an interpreter and trader with the Navajos and the Apache.

Land Ownership. The Candelaria family occupied a role of "paternity" in the minds of the villagers of Concho. This role existed because the Candelaria family owned all the resources. In the 1930's there was literally no competition in the village economy which centered on sheep herding. The Candelaria family owned almost all the land and two of the three general stores. They controlled all the grazing lands

for a fifty mile radius around Concho and in the village itself they had a monopoly on the house lots. While the family did not collect rent in the village, their ownership presented a clear monopoly to be used.

Economic Pattern. Agriculture was never a prominant dimension of the village economy of Concho. Sheep herding was the major economic activity. Each house had a small subsistence garden. On these small plots they raised chili, beans, and onions. Any surplus was traded at low prices for merchandise to the stores at harvest time and often were sold back to the villagers when the items were out of season and more expensive. The village had a good supply of water for irrigation and since the late 1800's it had been under the control of the Concho Irrigation Corporation, dominated by the Candelaria family. Calkins (1935:9) makes the following statement with respect to the control of this resource.

> Water rights are inalienable from the land and ownership of about 80% of the land in the area effectively establishes the control of the Candelaria family to the Irrigation Corporation. It is difficult to say to what extent and in what direction this control has been exercised. However, this much [was] known that the surplus water [was] diverted and used as stock water by M.A. Candelaria.

When Candelaria decided to settle and establish the Concho trading center he, in addition to supplies, brought with him a flock of sheep from the Albuquerque area. Subsequently, the original Candelaria trading business flourished and so did his sheep raising industry. Candelaria eventually brought in labor from New Mexico Territory to assist him in his business endeavors. Over the years the sheep business developed and came to dominate the business activities of Candelaria.

Ultimately Candelaria's trading activities declined while his sheep ranching interests increased (Calkins 1935:1).

When the founding Candelaria died the business was inherited by his son Juan. Under Juan Candelaria's ownership the trading center took on the character of a "commissary" open to trade with the now large numbers of herders which made up the population of Concho. Virtually the entire village population worked for Juan Candelaria as sheep herders under the partidario contract system. Under this system the 50,000 to 75,000 head of sheep which ranged in the Concho area were tended by Spanish herders on a contract basis. Under the traditional partido system herders were rented sheep and received no wages. The partidarios received 95% of the lambs as payment for their services. All of the wool and 5% of the lambs went to Candelaria. The partidario assumed all costs of the operation, agreed to return a herd the same size to the owner, and also had to outfit himself and his workers (at the Candelaria store). This system was maintained until the late 1920's when payment to the partidarios was changed to wages instead of lambs.

The traditional expectation of the partido contract was that a person could establish his own herd and begin his own system of contracting to increase his personal wealth. Some Concho residents were able to do this. The growth in the demand for sheep also helped, as well as the availability of commercial credit. But in the 1920's the price of sheep in the marketplace dropped sharply and loans were called in. In the mid-1930's the population of sheep had dropped to 20,000 head and they were all owned by the two Candelaria brothers. Those who

had been successful owners and had expanded their operations with credit were now sheep herders once again for the only operators, Manuel and Rosalio Candelaria.

With the drop in demand and price for sheep the residents of Concho were forced to seek other sources of income. This new situation presented limited options for employment and some of the residents left the village to seek employment elsewhere. According to Calkins' study (1935:3) there were three local options for supplemental income in the 1930's. The first was work at McNary about 35 miles from Concho where there was a lumber mill. The mill did not employ Concho residents full time, but it did offer some part time work. Ideally the mill paid at a rate of .24¢ an hour and workers averaged ten hours a day for a total of $2.40. The workers at the McNary Mill were required to live at the mill and were charged $1.00 a day for room whether the person worked or not. Usually the mill worked an employee no more than six hours a day and always kept a surplus of labor around. The result was that if a Concho resident went to the mill his average earnings did not exceed .44¢ per day. According to Calkins (1935:4) the men of Concho would prefer relief rather than the mill, but the agency said they could not avoid work if it was available and still be able to receive relief payments.

A second supplemental work option was on the bean farms located ten to fifteen miles from Concho. This work was very seasonal and offered employment for no more than three to four weeks at harvest time. The wages on these bean farms were at a rate of $2.50 per day. But this wage was not paid in cash, rather at five cents a pound the worker received 50 pounds of beans. In Concho the worker could sell his beans

for 2 1/2¢ a pound to the local stores.

The third option for income for the Concho resident was welfare or relief. During 1934-35 the records of the relief files reflected that 139 families of the 143 families in the village had received relief (Calkins 1935:4). The average amount ranged from $20.00 to $30.00 per month.

The Candelaria family, who owned all the sheep, had perhaps fifteen full time jobs available. However, everyone seemed to be in debt to this family and the jobs were never permanent, but rather shifted from person to person to clean up their bills at the Candelaria family owned stores.

Summary. The economy of Concho posed a number of problems to future development. Since the Candelaria family controlled all the resources, the basic subsistence needs of the villagers were met by (1) indebtedness to this family as laborers, (2) through outside wages and jobs, or (3) through relief. Each of these options appeared to lead back to the Candelaria door. That is, if wages were earned outside the village the necessities were purchased at the Candelaria stores. If wages were given in relief checks a similar situation appeared. In effect, any effort to increase the livelihood base of the villagers by the government seemed to come full circle to the Candelaria family and in fact would have increased their monopoly over the residents of the village.

The Village of Villanueva

Location. The village of Villanueva is located in San Miguel

County in one of the land pockets of the Pecos River. Villanueva was founded by a group of people from Las Vegas in 1816. The area was part of an original land grant made by the Spanish Crown in 1794 known as the San Miguel del Bado Grant. This grant was confirmed in 1901 by the United States Court of Private Land Claims and contained at that time 5,024 acres in a narrow strip along the Pecos River.

The Community. In the late 1930's Villanueva was somewhat isolated from the other villages within the area. According to Calkins (1939:1-2) this inaccessibility had allowed the community to retain a certain "indigenous character." He states:

> Indeed, it appears that the village of Villanueva [was] what the more accessible Spanish-American villages must have been 25 or 30 years ago. The people,. . .are very friendly and courteous. . . .

Land Ownership. The land area in this community was of two types: (1) irrigated lands along the valley floors of the Pecos River, and (2) dry-farm lands on the mesas along either side of the river. The area of irrigated lands totaled 550 acres. One person held more than one hundred acres of this land, the remainder was divided among seventy-six owners and ranged from twenty acres to three or five. The water supply for irrigation agriculture was plentiful. On the mesas dry-farming was practiced. Approximately 600 acres were in cultivation in the dry-farming area in any given year. The major crops were corn and beans. Calkins (1939:3) states that ". . .the villagers of Villanueva [were] in a comparatively favorable situation with regard to the ownership of both cultivated and grazing lands. . ." He gives the following characteristics of ownership. Seventy-seven individuals owned

550 acres of irrigated land; thirty individuals owned 600 acres of dry-farming lands; and forty individuals held over 20,000 acres of grazing lands. The irrigated lands ranged from four to one hundred acres. The dry-farm lands averaged five to fifty acres. And, the grazing land held by individuals ranged from 120 to 6,270 acres (Calkins 1939:11). Besides the individually owned lands there were the Santa Fe National Forest lands and the San Miguel del Bado Grant lands. (The latter had been purchased and was held privately by the Gross Kelly Company.) Both grants were no longer available to the villagers for livestock grazing.

Population. In 1934 there were 110 families in the village and a total population estimated at 450. The population in 1910 was 471; in 1920 the total population was 592; and in 1930 there were 466 individuals living in the community (Calkins 1938:2). All the residents of Villanueva were Spanish-Americans. The average household unit contained four people. Almost three-quarters of the population was over twenty-one years of age.

Economic Pattern. In general the crop yields in this agricultural village had been poor throughout the 1930's and this had a relatively devastating impact on the Villanueva economy. While the irrigation areas produced well, the dry-farm areas, always a risk at best because of the dependence on rainfall, had failed with some consistency throughout the 1930's. As a consequence the residents were forced to mortgage this land, e.g., the Ilfeld Company held mortgages on more than 6,000 acres of the mesa lands. Calkins (1939:5) cites the following crop production statistics for the dry-farm areas: 1934, 600 pounds of beans were produced; 1935, no crop; 1936, no crop; 1937, no crop. In

effect the dry-farm areas produced at best little more than the seed needed for the next year's crop and in some years not even this.

The irrigated land was used for the production of wheat and corn. These two products were about equally distributed in terms of planting. The residents also maintained garden plots and prior to 1920 the villagers engaged in truck gardening. According to the residents, pollution, from an ore mine up-stream brought about a decrease in garden crops and the villagers were forced to discontinue the production of vegetables for market. The sale of agricultural crops brought little cash income into the community. Only small quantities of corn and beans were sold, with the majority of these crop yields being consumed locally. All of the wheat was processed and used by the villagers. Most of the corn crop went to feed livestock.

There were approximately 600 head of cattle and perhaps as many as 150 horses which were owned by the Villanueva villagers in 1938. There were five individuals who owned 145 head of cattle. Their respective herds ranged in size from fifteen to fifty head (Calkins 1939:10). The majority of families owned one to ten head of cattle and a horse or two. The cattle were grazed on individually owned grazing land. This land was not extremely productive and necessitated three to four months of corral feeding of the livestock each year. There were 6,100 head of sheep, divided among six Villanueva families. The partido system of sharecropping of sheep was not practiced in this community. Few villagers were employed locally in sheep herding activities. The four herds of sheep of the village were grazed on owned land and on land which was leased.

Besides privately owned lands other sources of grazing lands for the village livestock were on public domain land (9,440 acres) and state school lands (7,960 acres)(Calkins 1939:11). The latter type were not exclusively available to Villanueva residents, but were shared with a number of other villages located along the Pecos. (El Cerrito was one of these communities and is discussed separately later in this chapter.) These grazing lands were no longer open ranges but were available (in 1938) at a charge to those who wished to utilize them. The privately held grazing areas were in the best condition and the public domain and state school lands in the poorest of conditions. The public domain and school lands consisted of rocky and hilly slopes that would carry no more than one head of cattle per 160 acres.

Thus, by the late 1930's most of the grazing areas in and around the village were extremely overstocked and the condition of the land was very poor. Calkins estimated that the available grazing lands for the Villanueva community could sustain no more than 400 head of livestock. Actually, the village residents owned almost 7,000 head of livestock (Calkins 1939:13). The majority of this stock was in sheep (6,000 head) which had to be moved periodically to other pasture areas. In terms of actual grazing practices, land was at a minimum, providing grazing for twice as many animals as it could hope to support. The impact of this overgrazing was that the land was being destroyed and had reached the point that it could no longer support a village economy based on stock raising.

Summary. The direct result of the land depletion conditions and land transfers came in the form of a transition to wage work employment

for the villagers. In a number of cases families were forced to be placed on the relief rolls or to take loans from the Rural Rehabilitation Service. However, slightly fewer than thirty families within Villanueva fell into the category of relief recipients. The majority of villagers sought work on the large sheep ranches in other locations within the state either on a full time or on a seasonal basis. Approximately one hundred villagers were employed by these sheep operators in other sections of the region. Other villagers followed the trend of migrations to the beet fields of Colorado. The average income for an individual working as a sheepherder was from $25 to $30 per month in 1938 (Calkins 1938:15).

The Villages of Dona Ana and Placitos

Location. The village of Placitos is located along the Rio Grande River in the northern portion of the county near Hatch and includes the hamlets of Rodey and Angostura. Dona Ana is located just north of Las Cruces (the major city in Dona Ana County) and includes the hamlets of Leasburg and Old Picacho. Included in Johansen's study was a third area where the hamlets of Berino and Chamberino are located.

In part the history of the settlements, in what is called the Mesilla Valley, is directly related to the region's physical location. For example, the Chihuahua Trail ran south through Dona Ana County. Also the trade on the Santa Fe Trail, which ran through the county, increased contacts for Dona Ana residents. During the American occupation of the Territory, a stage route was developed which crossed the county, running from San Antonio to California. By the late 1850's Dona Ana County was a point for travel from Texas and St. Louis to San Francisco and San

Diego. In the 1870's the nation was being linked by telegraphy, and in 1879 this network was brought through Dona Ana County on the route to Tucson. The railroad came to the county in the early 1880's with the completion of the Santa Fe tracks through Dona Ana County to El Paso (Johansen 1941:38).

The Community. During the mid-1800's some of the population growth within certain portions of the New Mexico Territory was due to migrations of the Spanish-speaking population from the core settlements in the central region of the Territory. The development of the various communities in Dona Ana County is an example of this population shift. While some mining was attempted in the early 1800's in this area no permanent settlements were established until American occupation in the 1840's. The first significant and successful settlement was made in 1843 at Dona Ana (Johansen 1941:35). Successful attempts at agriculture and development of the land resources did not occur immediately, however, primarily because of the Apache raids which disrupted these pursuits. Once the Indian threat was gone, the boundaries of the county established through the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, and the Arizona Territory question settled, the communities of Dona Ana County were established.[1]

The village resident represented the primary settlement patterns in Dona Ana County. Unlike other parts of the state the majority of the farms were not operated by an individual family living on a homestead. Rather, a large portion of the farms were owned and operated by large

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[1]Part of Dona Ana County was included in the Arizona Territory in 1863 by the United States Congress.

land owners who required many laborers who lived in the village and hamlet communities. Even the small holdings of individual families were not, as a rule, occupied by resident farmers. These smaller operators also tended to live in the villages and hamlets such as Dona Ana and Placita.

Population. In 1910 the total population of Dona Ana County was 12,893. By 1940 this figure had increased to 30,374 (Johansen 1941:48). From 1930 to 1940 there was just over a 10% increase. The largest increases occurred between 1920 and 1930 with the population in these years increasing by 65.9%. The greatest concentration of this population increase was in the urban or village communities.

There were three primary groups within the general population: (1) Anglos, (2) Mexicans, and (3) Spanish-Americans. Johansen (1941:51), basing his figures on data obtained from the United States Department of Health during the 1930's, indicates that the Spanish-American population represented approximately 64% of the total non-Indian population, or 17,736 individuals. These populations were almost totally located along the river valley of the Rio Grande. The population's of Placitas and Dona Ana were 263 and 452 respectively in 1939 (Johansen 1941:55). In 1937 Dona Ana had 103 households and Placitas had 52. These figures yield an average household size of 5.2 for Placitas and 4.4 for Dona Ana (Johansen 1941:227). In the village of Dona Ana 88.6% of the population were Spanish-American and 11.4% were Anglo. In Placitas 81.4% were Spanish-American and 18.6% Anglo. There was no significant difference in the average size of Spanish-American and Anglo households within the two villages. In general the Anglo families had lived in

both villages a much shorter period of time, having settled in the communities ". . .after having failed at endeavors elsewhere" (Johansen 1941:101). For the most part the Anglo residents were of very low economic status in Placitas and Dona Ana.

The Spanish-American population was far less mobile than the Anglo population. For example, of the Anglo population living in the villages and hamlets studied by Johansen, 96% were born outside the state of New Mexico. This figure was just over 32% for the Spanish population. Almost 45% of the Spanish-American residents were born in the village or hamlet in which they currently lived. The majority of Spanish-Americans had lived in the same village for the past thirty to fifty years. Yet, in the 1930's, children were leaving the community. Almost 25% of the children of heads of households had left and moved out-of-state. Ten per cent were living outside of the county and a little over 31% were still residing in Dona Ana County, but had moved outside the local communities.

Land Ownership. Sixty-five per cent of the individuals within the villages and hamlets in Johansen's study were employed in agriculture. Almost 63% of the villagers were classified as non-farm owners or farm and common laborers. Twenty-six Spanish-American heads of households out of 265 owned their own farms. An additional seventeen were tenant farmers (Johansen 1941:109). Forty-five had no occupations and were on relief. Fifteen Spanish-American heads of households were engaged in occupations outside of direct agricultural activities.

While the general tenure pattern of farm land ownership was one of limited ownership for the majority of Spanish-Americans in the late

1930's, approximately two thirds of the families still owned their houses. One fifth of the Spanish dwellings were rented. The remaining homes were used by the Spanish-Americans, but only as long as they worked for the owner or provided services in return for the dwelling (Johansen 1941:113).

Many of the Spanish-American families simply left their land (became absentee owners). In some instances this absenteeism led to land losses because of the failure to pay taxes. In other cases absenteeism meant that the Spanish-American's only tie to the land was that they held title. In general, from the early 1900's, the number of Spanish-American farm owners decreased and many of the original farmsteads were abandoned.

Family Organization. The basic structure of the family had the following characteristics at the time of Johansen's study. Almost 10 per cent of the family households consisted of a husband and wife only. Slightly over one third consisted of a husband, wife, and their children under 16 years of age. Just over 4 per cent of the families consisted of a husband, wife and children over the age of 16 years. No more than one eighth of the households consisted of extended family groupings such as were found in many of the other villages included in this study. Almost 13 per cent of the households were "broken" families, usually headed by a female (Johansen 1941:105).

In the village social fabric family interrelationships formed the core. They formed the basic lines of sociability, resident patterns, and provided the mechanisms of social control. The latter is illustrated in the area of political activities on the part of the villagers. Within

the villages and hamlets such as Dona Ana and Placitos a patriarchal leader controlled the family member's votes in any election. Social status in these communities was a function of age. That is, the viejos were accorded great respect. It was these individuals as the heads of households who could exert control and bring votes in blocks to any election. To the extent that rewards existed, the family viejo was in a position, therefore, to distribute them. However, the realities of the economic system made this situation more of a dinosaur destined for extinction, than a functional mechanism for village solidarity in the late 1930's. Few rewards were available, and the viejos maintained their social status and family controls more out of tradition than their ability to provide rewards.

The impact of Anglo expansion and the developing economic structure impacted on the values and attitudes of the residents of these villages and hamlets in that the younger generations were forced to seek opportunities outside the community and no longer felt that the "head" of the family knew best or could provide for its members. Of these changes in family mores Johansen (1948:135) writes:

> The social changes which have taken place have not only brought about dissatisfaction because of the inability to satisfy new wants and desires. They have also resulted in changes in the family. . .Family mores are less powerful as a means of social control than formerly. Family solidarity is decreasing. Lack of parental control and dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions have developed too rapidly for adaptations to take place, and disintegration has started. The only reason that group solidarity has remained as strong as it has and that more people, especially young people, have not left the centers has been the fact that better opportunities do no seem to present themselves elsewhere.

Education. The general level of educational attainment was low for almost the total Spanish-American population. Johansen (1941:106-

108) cites the following figures for the late 1930's. Slightly fewer than 23% of all Spanish-American heads of households had no formal schooling. For female heads of households the figure was 41.9%. One third of all heads of households among the Spanish-American population of Dona Ana County had received from one to four years of schooling. Another third had received five to eight years of schooling. In the eight villages and hamlets for which Johansen presented data only 3.0% of the male heads of households (i.e., eight men out of 265) had attended school beyond the eighth grade. In contrast, the general educational status of the Anglos was higher. For example, slightly over 6% of the Spanish-American wives of heads of households had attended high school (but not necessarily graduated), whereas individuals within the same category of Anglo wives of heads of households recorded a 30.4% educational status of having attended high school. The school attendance rates for the Spanish-American children were similar to their parents. The average school grade completed was just over sixth. As one looked at the older children the level of grades completed dropped even lower. Very few Spanish-American children continued their education beyond the eighth grade. There was no school in Placitas. The children of this village attended an elementary school in Hatch. The high school was also located in Hatch. The village of Dona Ana had its own elementary school. Those children who went on to high school from Dona Ana had to travel to Las Cruces. Fewer than one out of four students enrolled in high school were Spanish-American. Consequently, almost 20% of the rural farm population of Spanish-Americans in Dona Ana County were illiterate.

Economic Patterns. The economic activities in Dona Ana County were centered along the major transportation networks. Las Cruces was the center for trade and provided the greatest diversity of services for the residents of the area. Hatch, in the northern portion of the county was a second trade center, although Las Cruces provided economic activities for this area as well. The primary flow for economic services in Dona Ana was to Las Cruces; for Placitas it was Hatch.

More than half of all the manufacturing industry in the 1930's in Dona Ana was related to cotton production. There were fifteen cotton gins, one cotton compress company and a cottonseed oil mill. There were also two vegetable canneries located in Hatch as well as a dairy products distribution plant. A similar plant was located in Las Cruces. The remainder of businesses were service oriented, e.g., grocery stores, hardwares, cafes, and gas stations.

The building of the Elephant Butte Reservoir, designed to control the Rio Grande River, gave rise to a more stable agricultural economy (Johansen 1941:38). Before the reservoir was built in 1916 the agricultural economy, which was based on irrigation, was subject to disasters brought about through flooding of the Rio Grande. The irrigation systems were maintained in traditional Spanish style and their construction and maintenance was carried out by each village. There was no attempt to create storage pools, and dry farming was not practical. As a result, great fluctuations occurred in terms of crop successes and failures from year to year. Of this type of irrigation and its effects on the population Johansen (1941:39-40) states:

[This]. . .type of agriculture has affected the distribution of

> the population, the occupational activities of the inhabitants, the type of land tenure, the degree of economic security prevailing among the different classes of people, and the attitudes of many of the people of the area, particularly the Spanish-Americans. These factors in turn are important in interpreting the nature of social organizations in the area and the processes which influence this organization.

In the early 1940's approximately 86,000 acres of land were under irrigation cultivation in Dona Ana County. While a variety of crops were grown, e.g., corn, vegetables, fruit, etc., the primary product was cotton. At the beginning of the 1900's cotton represented no more than 2 per cent of the agricultural products grown in the area. Alfalfa had been the cash crop, but by the late 1920's, almost 70 per cent of the irrigated fields were planted with cotton. While the profits and the extent of cotton production have varied, today one encounters these irrigated fields of cotton within the valley and even within the city limits of Las Cruces.

According to Johansen (1941:42) dairy cattle were the most important source of income after the growing of cotton in the economy of the valley. Milk was sold in the cities of Las Cruces and El Paso. A few chickens were raised for local consumption. There were also a few cattle ranches within the valley. The owners of cattle primarily utilized the public domain lands for grazing.

Cotton production was the most important pursuit, however, on more than three fourths of the farms in the 1920's. The average-size cotton farm was just over 40 acres, and the farms ranged from as small as 15 acres to as large as 1000 acres. However, in the 1930's the smaller farmers were unable to make a suitable living from cotton production alone and many were forced to seek work outside of the farm. This

labor condition stands in contrast to the economic situation at the beginning of the 1900's, for at that time most farmers were able to make a subsistence living from their lands. Few of the farms at that time employed outside laborers. In general they practiced a "mixed" agriculture which was geared toward home consumption with little commercial production. At the beginning of the 1900's the Dona Ana farmers were not subjected to the fluctuations of prices in distant market places because what they sold was primarily for local consumption markets.

The period from approximately 1910 to 1930 brought about major transformations in the economic lifeways of many of the Spanish-American villagers of Dona Ana County. The reclamation projects, e.g., the building of the Elephant Butte Reservoir, and the introduction of cotton as a commercial or cash crop began a process of land losses for the villagers. Farm modernization and subsequent indebtedness, the creation of a wage labor class, and increased share cropping in general brought about a leveling of social class distinctions among the Spanish-Americans, i.e., they became lower class citizens.

The responses by the Spanish-American population and the circumstances which brought them about set this region apart from the other villages summarized in this study. In the other villages one sees a steady decrease in population and a movement away from the local community by many of the residents. In the case of Dona Ana and Placitas, for at least a period of time, there is an increase or consolidation of the otherwise dispersed populations toward these centers of residency. Johansen (1941:45) summarizes the impact of cotton and the irrigation

projects on the Spanish-American population in Dona Ana County in the following way.

> Instead of being farm owners, they became either farm tenants or laborers. Some already lived in the villages but many of the others were forced to move there or to remain on their former farms either as tenents or laborers.

In a report prepared by the Soil Conservation Service (1939:107-109) and cited by Johansen (1941:46) the impact of the irrigation project and cotton production is given the following significance with respect to its role as an "instrumental" factor in changing the region and determinating its relationship to the influences of the industrial state and the world market system.

> Cotton completed the process initiated by the construction of the irrigation project: the process by which the commercially isolated and stable agricultural community of 1900 and 1910 was annexed to a commercial system of industrially organized production and a world market [emphasis added]. In this process the irrigation project may be regarded not as a casual but as an instrumental factor. It was the instrument by which this essentially self-sufficing area was opened to commercial exploitation. The establishment, via the first investment, of a legal claim upon the resources of the area and the labor of its inhabitants, a claim which could not immediately be satisfied, led to the dispossession of the natives, and their replacement by American settlers financed by American capital. These settlers, with cash obligations to meet, and with aspirations toward a mode of living requiring large amounts of cash constituted a new and large market both for the sale of consumption goods and the investment of capital. The dispossessed Spanish-Americans, with no other means of livelihood than the sale of their labor, constituted the necessary cheap labor supply, supplemented by importation of labor from old Mexico. Since they were now to a greater extent dependent upon cash, they constituted an additional market for consumption goods. In addition, a large area not previously under cultivation was subjugated, settled and put to intensive use.

The same report goes on to summarize the nature of the changes which resulted within the society as a result of this general transformation in production.

> The result [was]. . .that the area contains a large but highly stratified population directly dependent upon the land resources, either as farm operators or farm laborers. This population, in consequence of the devotion of the land to the production of cash crops, constitutes a large and presumably profitable market for commercial purveyors of all types of goods, services and capital. A small minority of the resident population [primarily Anglos] has a relatively high living standard but so much insecurity that its activities may be most accurately characterized as gambling, with the stakes high income versus bankruptcy. The great majority of the resident population is supported at a permanently low income level and a high insecurity level (Johansen 1941:47-48).

Summary. Expressions of lower class status, for the Spanish-American, are found in educational opportunities, political power, and in economic terms. Spanish-Americans were paid a very low wage for their labor, received little if any rewards for thier votes, and were isolated from the general opportunities of an education. The result was the development of an attitude, according to Johansen, of inferiority.

> The low economic, social, and political status of the Spanish-Americans, as well as the attitudes of the Anglo-Americans, has created among the former the feeling that they are a subject people and not a people with rights and opportunities accorded to the Anglo-Americans. An attitude of oppression prevails among the Spanish-Americans and as a result they have developed an inferiority-complex although they may not be willing to admit that this is the case (Johansen 1941:187).

While family ties united the residents of the villages, outside influences tended to lead toward village disintegration. The changing economic patterns, represented an increase in economic insecurity and a trend away from self-sufficiency. The rise in public assistance, due to unemployment, further increased the general feeling of inadequacy and resulted in attitudes of dependence on others, particularly the Anglos. New ideas and wants were introduced through contacts with the Anglos and the Spanish-American's inability to satisfy these new material wants also led toward village disorganization. Finally, few needs of the

villagers, in the villages such as Dona Ana and Placitos, were being met locally and most services were obtained elsewhere. This situation further added to the general decline in importance of the local Spanish-American village community in Dona Ana County by the end of the 1930's.

The Spanish-American villages of Dona Ana County reflect the general theme of conflict, both in terms of the changes which had taken place because of cultural conflicts and in terms of the more immediate level of interaction amongst groups, Spanish-Americans versus Anglos. The Spanish-Americans within the villages and hamlets of this area once represented the dominant social order. While they were the majority population they enjoyed political and social control over the region. But with the influx of the Anglo population the Spanish-American's position in the social order changed and they became the dominated class. It was this loss of "social prestige as well as political prestige" and economic status that has set the stage for intensified conflict between the two groups (Johansen 1941:185). The changes in the social order and the new economic status of lower class citizens brought about through the loss of land eliminated self-sufficiency and, in reality, created a "subject" people. New habits, new methods of production, and the general economic conditions had transformed the Spanish-Americans of the county into a consumer population, e.g., they had become chile and corn meal buyers rather than producers. The burden of financial debt, foreclosures, or the simple sale of their land for a price which seemed high at the time, created but two choices for many of the Spanish-Americans, i.e., movement away from the area or tenancy and working as agricultural laborers for others.

The Village of Manzano

Location. The community of Manzano, located on the eastern slope of the Manzano Mountains, is approximately 65 miles southeast of the city of Albuquerque. Manzano is approximately thirty miles southwest of Estancia the county seat for Torrance County. Manzano, located at the seven thousand foot level in elevation, lies on the border between the Transition and Upper Sonoran life zones (cf. Chapter II of this study). A few miles from the village the pine forests begin. As one moves down the Estancia Valley toward Manzano the pines give way to cottonwoods, oak and tamaracks. Beyond these environs begin the grass lands of the Great Plains (Hurt 1941:13-14).

Community. The founding of Manzano dates to quite recent times. An informant indicated to Hurt that the original settlement was established around the beginning of the nineteenth century by people moving into the area from Tomé. The first settlement was located a short distance from the current village site. The inhabitants of this first settlement were driven out by the Indians. By 1824 there was an established village population at Manzano, for a grant petition for individual land rights is on file. The petition was submitted to the Territorial Assembly of Tomé in 1829. Of the significance of this grant petition Hurt (1941: 29-30) writes:

> From this petition it is gathered that the town was settled prior to 1824, when it numbered 160 people. Two of the original land owners were Colonel Bartolome Baca, at one time governor of New Mexico, and Don Antonio José Otero, appointed circuit judge by General S.W. Kearney. This petition gives the first record of what was one of the very bases of Manzano's social and economic system, that of granting free land to the inhabitants. It specified that a person who will not reside in the town with the family belonging to him and who shall remove to another settlement

> shall lose all right he may have acquired to his property. This restriction tended for a while to prevent outsiders from gaining control of the land; it is also noted in this petition that the town has a right to exact communal labor from grant heirs, an institution still existing in Manzano. The petition mentions that permission was granted for construction of a mission.

Manzano was built around a plaza in the traditional Spanish style. A road passed through the center of the community. On one side of this road in the plaza area were located the businesses of the community which consisted of a saloon, a small grocery store, and two general stores. There was also a dance hall and an old church and a monastery. A new school house had been built just outside of the village shortly before Hurt's study, replacing the older structure, which was converted into the dance hall. One of the general stores was owned by a Spanish-American family, the Candelarias. (This family's name appears a number of times in the 1860 census records of the village [cf. appendix III].) The other businesses were owned and operated by a single Anglo family, the Tabets. The Tabet family came to Manzano in 1902. Mr. Tabet was the first Anglo to establish a business in the community and his family was still operating a business in the community in the late 1930's (Hurt 1941:32).

Population. In the mid-1930's the general population characteristics of the Manzano village were described by Hurt (1941:102-105) in the following manner. Of the 366 registered voters 342 were Spanish-American, 11 were Anglos, 8 were Syrians, and 8 were of mixed Spanish-American and French origin. Ninety-six of the Spanish-Americans were born outside of the village, but all were born within New Mexico. All of the Anglo-Americans were born outside of the state. The sex distribution of the

community was almost evenly divided between males and females. In a sample which included 174 households Hurt found 74 households consisting of a husband, wife, and children. The remaining households were composed of single people, widows and widowers and an assorted variety of groupings. The majority of families consisted of a married couple with children. While the extended family arrangement existed, it played a very minor role in the residential settlement patterns of the village. The average size household was 4.52 members.

Family Organization. The family institution remained strong among the villagers of Manzano, although practices had changed over the years, as is evidenced by marriage customs. The traditional Spanish custom which allowed the heads of families to make selections for marriage unions was no longer followed. The institution of marriage was, however, still held in high respect in that there were very few divorces. The Catholic Church and the strong orientation of the villagers toward the family held within the lives of the Manzaneños. Women still tended to choose an older spouse. Individual choice was the norm. While a period of courtship was still practiced, the Anglo automobile was making "dates" a norm and changing the relationships among couples prior to marriage. In terms of the family institution and the impact of the Anglo culture in the mid-1930's Hurt (1941:125) states:

> One of the several phases of Manzano culture -- household and family institutions -- shows the least amount of disintegration. Orphans, unmarried children, and older people without income are taken care of by attachment to functioning households. People live in much the same type of houses as their ancestors. Little improvement could be noted in sanitary facilities. Though many family customs, which in the past contributed to integrity at Manzano, are still adhered to, the hold these folkways formerly had is now noticeably weakened; mores connected with courtship

> and marriage are often observed as an afterthought. The gradual disappearance of local customs can be attributed chiefly to the Anglo-American influence.

Economic Patterns. Changes in the economic patterns of the Estancia Valley began to occur with the influx of Anglos into the valley. The initial movement came with the development of a lumber mill. By the beginning of the 1900's the railroad had come through the valley and increased the number of outsiders doing business in the valley. During this same time period there was also an increase in the non-Spanish population by homesteaders coming into the valley. By the 1930's the population was almost evenly divided in Torrance County between Anglos and Spanish-Americans. The majority of the Anglo population settled either on individual homesteads or in the towns of Mountainair and Estancia. According to Hurt's (1941:34) data very few Anglos actually settled in Manzano. During the greatest period of Anglo movement into the Estancia Valley (1870-1910) Manzano lost in population, i.e., going from a population of 831 in 1860 to a low of 607 in 1910. From 1910 the population of Manzano steadily increased each census year to a total of 802 in 1940.

While the Anglo population increased steadily the Manzano villagers were able to maintain their cultural identity and the changes which occurred were gradual. According to Hurt (1941:35) the most far-reaching change from the Anglo culture was in the economy. A shift from livestock production to a single cash crop, pinto beans, had far-reaching effects on the local economy. With this shift came wage labor and a dependence on outside market prices for the producers in the Estancia Valley. The Spanish bean farmers were in competition not only with one another but

with numerous Anglo-American farmers throughout the southwest. While wage laborers were needed at harvest time, few Manzaneños participated because family members were needed on the Spanish-American farms for the same purpose. Those who did work for wages were paid a low salary (a dollar a day) and were expected to work ten to twelve hours each day (Hurt 1941:37). The cash income for the Spanish-American farmer in Manzano came from the sale of bean production. While some of the production was sold locally, the primary markets were those which were established by the Anglos. Any variations within this market structure therefore had the potential of creating economic difficulties in the village's sources of cash income. In fact, prices did fluctuate, e.g., "During the years 1927 to 1937, the price per hundred pounds of beans [had] varied from $1.25 to $4.75" (Hurt 1941:36). The prices shifted in both directions over this time period.

The Manzano village economy was not always based upon bean production. The concentration in the production of this crop, however, decreased the production of other crops, not only in the Manzano village, but throughout the Estancia Valley in general. Both sheep- and cattle-raising once played an important role in the economy and social structure (e.g., patrón-peón relationships) within the Spanish-American villages of the Estancia Valley. In fact, even in the early 1930's more than a million acres of land within Torrance County were still classified as range or pasture lands. However, the animals which ranged on this land were no longer owned by the Spanish-Americans, but instead were being raised and sold by the Anglos. Thousands of sheep and cattle once were found throughout the area of the Manzano village, but Anglo homesteading, the

deterioration of the range land through over-grazing, the growth of Anglo cattle companies, as well as the shift to dry farming and bean production decreased and ultimately eliminated Spanish-American participation in these industries. In the late 1930's only a few Manzaneños were engaged in animal husbandry. Those who were, did so as temporary laborers for the Anglos in such areas as sheepherding, primarily during the relatively short lambing season. For their work the Spanish-Americans received $20 a month and performed such tasks as guarding the herds from coyotes, herding, and cutting (Hurt 1941:39).

The patrón-peón system was an important dimension in the early history of economic (and social) relationships in the village of Manzano. Hurt (1941:50-51) states that a majority of the Manzano villagers were laborers under this system. The 1860 census (cf. appendix III) records show that 88 individuals (57% of the listed occupations of the residents) were employed as laborers. While the data shows nothing with respect to the category of peón, there was in the local economy no other source of labor employment except with the larger land owners. The census also lists 24 individuals (15%) as being employed as servants. Thirty-eight heads of households were listed as farmers. There was also a gardner, a carpenter, and three merchants. The total number of individuals within these six categories was 155. Perhaps as many as 113 individuals (i.e., laborers, servants, and a gardner) were, in 1860, part of the system of patrón-peón relationships.

Hurt (1941:50) lists the following families as patrones: Sanchez, Lucero, Roble, and Otero. While there are a number of families listed by these surnames in the 1860 census it is apparent which were the

wealthiest. That is, Robles was a merchant; the Otero and Sanchez families were listed as farmers. Each had servants living in their households and their children were the few who had attended school within the last year. Each had listed property values and personal wealth. Indeed, these families formed the upper segments of the village social order during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The patrón-peón system was based on the control of the land by a few Manzaneños. The peón in the Manzano village worked as a laborer primarily on the patrones sheep and cattle ranches. Trade was a source of income for Robles and at least one other (Filimeno Sanchez) was involved in this business as well.

> . . .Filimeno operated many covered wagons throughout the Southwest, hauling supplies. When Manzano was under Mexican rule, he made his fortune trading with Chihuahua City. After the American occupation, he changed his route to Leavenworth, Kansas, and during the gold rush of 1849, drove large herds of livestock to California (Hurt 1941:51).

The peón during this period was paid a wage of three dollars a month. The patrón, as in Robles case, owned the general store and extended credit to the peón. Hurt (1941:52) states that the peones' "hair was clipped to distinguish them from freemen." The primary focus of the economy which supported the peón system was on the cattle and sheep industries.

After United States annexation of New Mexico Territory a few Anglos moved into Manzano. One was a Mr. Johnson, who "ran a refinery near the salt lakes" (Hurt 1941:31). Mr. Johnson's name appears on the 1860 census and this documentation indicates that his assets were $1,700. It does not give an occupation. He was from Virgina. This

same census lists two other Anglos, a Mr. Davidson who was a carpenter and had assets of $125, and a merchant by the name of Beark with assets of $20,000. Both of these men were from Illinois. There was also another merchant, Mr. Robles, from Mexico listed with $1,300 in assets, and yet another merchant with $1,100 worth of assets by the name of Sanchez (U.S. Census 1860, cf. Appendix III). Hurt does not mention these men as merchants, with the exception of Mr. Johnson. Robles name is given as one of the patrones of the village. This information would indicate that by 1860 Manzano had a significantly developed merchant group, including one person with $20,000 in assets.

Hurt (1941:92-95) gives an example of acculturation and culture change in the lives of the Manzaneños with the following examples of the entrepreneural activities of two non-Spanish men who came to Manzano at the beginning of the 1900's. One, a Mr. Tabet, established a mercantile business which gradually became the major business of the community. The other, a Mr. MacKinley, took over the lumber business operated within the Manzano Mountains and became, along with Mr. Tabet, the patrones of the village. It was these two men who came to dominate the sources of wage labor and supplies for the Manzaneños villagers.

The Anglo merchant, Mr. Tabet, came to Manzano in 1902 from Albuquerque. His assets totaled $4,000 at this time. In Manzano he opened a general store and sold $600 in merchandise during his first year of operation. He also made an additional $1,000 in trading and selling hides and pelts. The next year a boom took place in the local economy. A contract for 1,500,000 railroad ties for the Santa Fe Railroad was awarded to a Mr. Romero who operated the wood mills in

the Manzano Mountains. The merchant Tabet saw a great increase in his profits from sales to the mill workers, many of whom were Manzano residents, and his profits jumped to $10,000 over the next year. Tabet developed a lively trade, sending as many as twenty-five wagons at a time and on a regular basis, between Albuquerque and Manzano. Seven years after Tabet's arrival he was heavily involved in the sheep industry, owning in excess of 160,000 head which he grazed in the Manzano area. Tabet's activities and successes had made him one of the major economic powers of the village. In fact, in 1905 he paid the taxes for the Manzano residents who lived on the Manzano Land Grant. In return he collected fees from the Spanish residents who owned the land (Hurt 1941: 94-95). Tabet's activities, as a merchant, sheep ranchers, and money lender put him in the position of the traditional patrón-peón relationship within the village social structure.

The second individual to gain economic control over the lives of the Manzanenos was, as indicated earlier, an Anglo named MacKinley. MacKinley purchased the lumber mills of Romero in 1908. This business and its impact on the Manzano community is described by Hurt (1941:93-94) in the following statement:

> . . .the mills were all small, moving from canyon to canyon in the Manzano Mountains as the supply was exhausted in each location. The best grade lumber was usually contracted for by Gross, Kelly & Company; ties were sold to the Santa Fe Railroad. Other grades of lumber were sold to individuals. The timber was hauled by local Spanish-Americans furnishing their own teams, wagons, and feed and receiving their pay every Saturday night by the thousand board feet hauled. Rarely were the lumber workers without money in their pockets. Until 1932, when the mills were sold to his sons, Mr. MacKinley was one of Manzano's chief employers; nearly all the men of Manzano worked for him at some time.

The work in the lumber mills provided a major source of wage income for the villagers. In the early 1900's the villagers could spend as much as $11,000 on merchandise at the Tabet store during a single fiesta (Hurt 1941:95). Ultimately, however, the lumber supply of the Manzano Mountains was exhausted and by the 1920's MacKinley had moved on.

Summary. In the 1800's the primary sources of economic activities for the Manzano villagers were agriculture and stock raising. Wage labor sources were provided by the lumber industry. When Hurt made his study in the 1930's a new dimension of support had been added to the village economy, i.e., public works and direct relief or welfare programs. Hurt (1941:135) in his summary of 125 household incomes found that ". . .sixty-five percent of the Manzanenos. . .were supported by relief work or relief agencies." The high percentage of households on relief was due to a number of factors. The Anglo had reduced the grazing lands of the villagers by transforming them into agricultural lands; the inheritance patterns further reduced the land available to families in that division over the years made the farms smaller and smaller. While irrigation was practiced little land was actually under cultivation by irrigation. The villagers depended on their dry farm lands for cash crops, but droughts and the lack of modern equipment made these activities nothing more than a marginal subsistence activity. The economic activities of the villagers had gone from self-sufficiency to almost total dependence on the federal government.

By the end of the 1930's almost every family in the village had been on relief at one time or another. Those individuals who were employed by the Works Programs Administration (WPA) tended not to invest

their earnings on improving their farms, but instead made down-payments on cars, purchased radios, and used their money to travel to other places (Hurt 1941:136). Hurt suggests that the WPA programs had changed the villager's attitudes toward work. In effect the relief work program formed an attitude of "dependency" among the villagers toward the federal government. Many farm fields were found lying fallow while the men worked for the government. He also found a great deal of resentment toward the federal government and the Anglos on the part of the Manzanéños. This antagonism was in part a response to the changing economic conditions of the village and in part due to the discrimination which was shown the Spanish population by the Anglos. As a group they were given only certain types of jobs, were viewed as lazy, and unwilling to accept the changes offered by the Anglo system. The Spanish were viewed as living in the past: following traditional lifestyles.

The Village of San José

Location. The community of San José was established some time before 1860 having its origin in a small cluster of individual dwellings located along the Rio Grande to the south of Albuquerque. In 1864 there were "forty of fifty houses and farms scattered along the river"(Waggoner 1941:25). In future years San José would become part of the city of Albuquerque, but in the mid-1800's only a dirt road connected the two communities.

The Community. The community of San José originally had a one-room school house and a community church built by Antonio Sandoval, the village patrón. Don Antonio Sandoval also owned a number of the larger

tracts of land and employed many of the villagers. According to some of the residents of San José, the patrón was a very rich man. Until the coming of the railroad in 1881, which offered an opportunity for wage labor employment, the residents of the village worked for the patrón and/or farmed their individual subsistence acres (Moore 1947:35).

Waggoner (1941:29) gives the following description of the community:

> . . .the old San José can be visualized as a tiny, unimportant rural settlement aloof from Albuquerque, dependent upon its agricultural activities for existence supplemented by earnings from Don Antonio Sandoval as long as he remained the patrón of community, the inhabitants finding life hard but pleasantly peaceful.

By the 1900's this once isolated community could hardly be defined. That is,

> . . .it is only by arbitrarily set boundaries that San Jose is discernible from adjacent Albuquerque. To the west, the railroad tracks, south of Kathryn Avenue to Woodward Road, serve as the western boundary. The northern boundary is Kathryn Avenue, east from the railroad tracks past Elm street. The southern boundary is Woodward Road, east from the railroad tracks to the mesa. The eastern boundary is simply an imaginary line from the terminal points of the north and south boundary lines (Moore 1947:45).

At the beginning of the 1940's San José consisted of a number of residential zones. In the central zone the population was Spanish-American and most who lived in this area were descendants of the original settlers of the village. There was an area of Spanish, Anglo, and Black families and an area where the population consisted almost totally of unemployed Anglos living in cheap housing.

In the central area of the community of San José the features of the village were somewhat characteristic of the original settlement. The homes were constructed of adobe and usually contained no more than

two rooms. Two or three separate living units might be attached forming a single structure in the traditional Spanish style. The oldest residents of San José lived in this area. Cooking and washing were still being done outside in this residential area at the beginning of the 1940's. In the transition area of the community one found Spanish, Anglo, and Black families intermingled. In this zone the streets were lined with individual homes in the Anglo suburban pattern. The fringe area of San José looked like a "shanty" town with homes constructed of any type of material that could be put together to form a shelter. The unemployed lived here, most of whom were Anglos.

In 1947 the resident patterns had changed to some degree. The community still appeared very poor, with its unpaved roads and total lack of improvements. The central area was still definable as well as the fringe areas. The Black community of residents had begun to concentrate their numbers within a central area, however. The central Spanish area, while still primarily consisting of Spanish-speaking residents, was now divided (Moore 1947:47-51). That is, the areas of primarily Spanish residents tended to divide by age groupings and by the existence or lack of homogeneous groupings. Moore (1947:47-48) describes these in the following manner with reference to four types which he called areas A, B, C, and D. These divisions were within the core Spanish residency area and were distinct from the transitional and fringe areas.

Area A was the least homogeneous of the central Spanish-American areas of residency. Kinship ties were weakest here and the residents varied markedly in terms of their ages, e.g., both young and older

families were found in this area. Here bonds of kinship between families were non-existant. Areas B and C varied in terms of degrees of homogeneity rather than in strict divisions of differences such as those found in area A and D of Moore's typology. That is, in general Moore found a high degree of younger Spanish residents each interrelated through bonds of kinship either by blood or marriage. The two areas were bound to one another through these ties. The two areas seem to be the most assimilated to the Anglo culture and were the most active within the San José community itself. The final area (area D) was the oldest section of the community. Most of the residents had lived in this area all of their lives. The population here was one of older people with a few younger residents. This area had a high percentage of relief recipients when compared to the other areas of the Spanish section. "It [was] also the area of greatest maladjustment. . . . Here the ability to adjust [was] almost visibly absent. The elders seem[ed] to be content to live in the past; their children tried to live in the present, but . . .[with] difficulty" (Moore 1947:48).

Population. While the Spanish-Americans were once the majority of the population within the village, by 1946 almost twenty-five per cent of the residents were non-Spanish (i.e., 17.5% were Anglo-Americans and 4.8% were Blacks). In the ten year period which separated Waggoner's (1941) and Moore's (1947) studies, the Spanish-American population, while increasing in absolute size, actually decreased to slightly more than 77% of the community's total population. The Anglo-American represented 17.5% of the San José population in 1946, and Blacks, who were non-existant within the community in 1936, represented 4.8% of the

total in 1946 (Moore 1947:70-71). In a sample of 104 male heads of households in 1946 fewer than 25% were born in San José (Moore 1947:73). Forty-five per cent were born within New Mexico and had moved to San José. Thirty-four per cent of the village population in 1946 were born outside the state of New Mexico. By the late 1940's the demographic characteristics of the community had changed considerably, leaving only a small number of life-long Spanish residents. People now lived in San José because of "cheap rent" or to be near their work place; fewer than 12 per cent indicated the nearness of relatives as a motive for residency, according to Moore (1947:82).

Economic Patterns. The Spanish residents of this hamlet or village, like so many of the other Spanish villages of the Territory, obtained their livelihood from the land. The villagers were subsistence agriculturalists and practiced irrigation farming. A change in the course of the Rio Grande ultimately made irrigation farming impossible. In the 1860's the irrigated lands ran from the river east and the residents made their living from these lands, or as laborers for the local patrón.

Moore (1947:41) points out that the residents of San José were hindered in their agriucltural activities by the land inheritance patterns which divided all land within a family equally among the children. The small strips of land, which were the result of years of divisions, made the villagers dependent on others, i.e., working for Don Antonio Sandoval, or as in the 1880's, the railroad.

Making a living ultimately took the form of being employed as a "day-laborer." This sort of employment opportunity centered on the

railroad. The Spanish-American resident of San José obtained work in the railroad shops, in the "tie plant," or within the meat packing house located near the railroad (Waggoner 1941:66; Moore 1947:53). The alternatives were unemployment, relief, or W.P.A. work projects. Waggoner (1941:66-67) cites the following figures for the mid-1930's and early 1940's within the latter two categories. In 1941 more than half of the men of San José were employed by the W.P.A. at an average wage of $48 per month. In addition, during this same year over 50% of the families in San José were receiving work relief or public assistance. This same author summarized the economic conditions within the community in general in the following manner.

> To the majority of the population of the San José community, life is a business of 'making both ends meet' with very little to relieve its weary monotony. There are now no commercial sources of recreation within the district. Buildings labeled 'skating rink', 'pool hall', 'dance hall', are boarded up and have not been open for over five years, giving evidence that [there were] better times. . . .(Waggoner 1941:67).

Waggoner (1941:73) points out in her conclusions that the expansion of the capitalist economy into the San José community created a segregation system in which San José took on the general economic characteristics of an "urban slum area." She suggests that the historical processes which created this "slum" area were the result of industrial growth which, in the case of San José, created a "residential colony." While San José would ultimately become a low income residential zone of the greater Albuquerque area, the roots of its role in this development lay in its initial position as an economically dependent colony. The coming of the railroad and the Spanish-American's role as a wage worker provided the primary economic mechanisms for a

transformation in the social, cultural, and economic composition of the community. That is, the Spanish-American residents of San José historically entered the capitalist system at the lowest level, i.e., as unskilled laborers.

Family Organization. As San José became a segment of a larger urban environment and experienced basic shifts in the composition and origins of its residents, many of the traditional institutions of the community changed as well. For example, Waggoner (1941:46) wrote "stability in the marriage relation is reflected very strongly. . ." for the period of the 1930's. Moore (1947:89), in contrast, states in his study that "broken families [in the late 1940's] have shown an increase." One conclusion to which this author arrives is that the urbanization process brought an increase in family disorganization through such mechanisms as divorce and desertion. The choice of mates also took on a different pattern than was the tradition for most Spanish-Americans. Whereas in the past marriage partners came from families who knew one another, in the late 1940's fewer than 50% of the marriages within San José took place between families who had ties of kinship or other social interrelationships. The strong bonds of kinship which held the traditional community together were changing and with this change came few associations among families. In fact, many of the younger men and women left the community, marrying individuals from other parts of New Mexico and often from outside of the state.

Religion. Another of the basic institutions of the community to undergo change in terms of its importance to the villagers was the

Church. According to Waggoner (1941:57) the activities of the Church and participation in church activities was marked by a steady decline of importance in the lives of the residents of San José. She writes:

> According to information obtained from members of the clergy in Albuquerque, interest in church activities has declined steadily in San José during the past fifteen years. The church acknowledges partial responsibility for this condition in that the pressure of duties has always prevented the priest, under whose supervision San José came, from devoting sufficient time to the community. Though the nucleus of old residents remains faithful in church attendance, the church has been powerless to work effectively with the large number of families who have moved in and out of San José during the past fifteen years (Waggoner 1941:57).

The sense of community which the Church helped to reinforce through such activities as the annual fiesta to commemorate its Saint's Day (i.e., San José Day), for example, was becoming a thing of the past. What was once an important high point in the year for the Spanish residents of San Jose, celebrated with banquets and dancing, now resembled, as did the institution of the church, a shadow of its original significance to the community. At one point the Catholic Church was the only religious institution within San José, however, by the mid-1940's it was one of eight denominations represented within the community. The variety of religious associations reflected the changing character and composition of the population.

Summary. The coming of the railroad to Albuquerque provided the San José resident with a source of employment. It also marks the beginning of a transformation of the community in terms of its ultimate incorporation as part of the growth of the City of Albuquerque. It meant an increase in the population for this previously rural community. And, finally, it provided a mechanism for the transition

from a community of agriculturalists to a community of laborers dependent on the money they could earn to purchase what they once had grown on their own lands. What once was a distinct community became definable only in relative terms.

When one looks at the summaries which both authors (Waggoner 1941; Moore 1947) presented of the general social and economic conditions of San José in the 1940's one cannot help but make note of the contrasts and similarities among each of the ethnic groups which came to occupy the community. For example, there was a central area wherein the majority of the population were Spanish-American. Around this central area one found a mixture of Spanish, Black, and Anglo populations. The Black community, while intermixed with the other groups in terms of residency, was tending toward the formation of specific residential locations. That is, one segment of the community was moving toward becoming an all Black area. In general there was a certain similarity of economic status which cross cut ethnic lines within San José. Simply put, the various ethnic group members were basically at the same level of economic income: derived primarily from common labor. The Spanish population could no longer rely on agriculture as a means of sustenance. The community's closeness to the city of Albuquerque and the low wages which the residents received for their labor opened San Jose to an infiltration of other low income groups. Gradually, yet almost predictably, the growth of Albuquerque brought not economic growth to San José, but created a population of "distressed" groups definable along lines of ethnic origins, e.g., Blacks and Spanish populations.

The Village of El Cerrito

Location. El Cerrito is located in San Miguel County approximately thirty miles south and west of the town of Las Vegas. El Cerrito is a very isolated community and without detailed directions an outsider would find it difficult to locate. The community itself was located on the Pecos River in one of the land pockets which formed small valleys just large enough for a village and a few small plots of irrigated farm lands.

The Community. The community of El Cerrito was originally part of the San Miguel del Bado land grant. The typical resident of the community owned a small tract of bottom land sufficient only to grow a modest garden which maintained the family. The principle source of agricultural income came from stock raising. The raising of cattle provided profits for the owner and a source of labor income for some of the villagers. Dry-farming was also a source of agricultural activity for a limited number of the villagers until the 1930's.

Population. In 1900 there were 136 people living in El Cerrito, all of whom were Hispanos. In 1935 this figure was 135. During the war years (circa 1940), the villagers began leaving and established permanent residencies in cities such as Albuquerque and Las Vegas, and in other states such as Arizona and Colorado. By 1956 only eight families lived in the village, representing only one-fourth of the population which had resided in El Cerrito in 1940 (Nostrand 1982:111-113).

Land Ownership. According to Leonard and Loomis (1941:3-4) the original El Cerrito grant contained more than 400,000 acres of land.

By the 1940's however, almost all of the land holdings had been lost. All that remained were the smaller, extremely inadequate, irrigated holdings near the Pecos which ". . .were never sufficient in size and capacity to support a family." The loss of these community lands, which supported the livestock industry, came about in a number of ways. The Court of Private Land Claims simply denied claims to ownership, the government took the land and sold it to pay back taxes, lawyer fees (both legitimate and otherwise) took large segments away, and finally, although this is an indirect cause, the local Spanish residents ignored the land because until the 1920's they could make a better living by working for the railroads or selling their labor to large farm industries in the northern beet fields.

Economic Patterns. The relationship between land losses and wage labor in El Cerrito was summarized by Leonard and Loomis (1941:4) in the following statement.

> Although the process of losing this land began several decades ago, the disastrous consequences that finally resulted have been recent. Large tracts of land were being bought and leased during, and before, the 1880's but the people were little concerned. The railroads were building their tracks over the mountains and paying wages far higher than those offered by local sheepmen and cattlemen. Ties upon which the steel rails were laid were in demand at a good price. A man could earn more money cutting and selling ties to the railroad companies in a week than he could earn herding sheep for several months. Nor did the era of prosperity cease when the tracks were completed. Big farmers and labor scouts from the North came into New Mexico soliciting workers for the beet fields and metal works. Old timers say that they were able to choose their work and within certain limits, to name the price.

Thus, in the late 1800's the villagers could freely choose labor activities outside of the traditional agricultural pursuits of the local economy because of greater potential incomes. By the 1900's

this pattern or, more accurately, this opportunity, no longer represented an option to agriculture, instead it was the only alternative for almost all of the male villagers. As Leonard (1943:157) put it:

> When this situation was fully developed there was no alternative for the people but to rely on outside employment. Thus a pattern of seasonal work and seasonal migration began for these people which has continued to the present [1941]. Each seasonal work-peak will now find all but a few of the adult males of El Cerrito away from the village in one of the surrounding states.

In this situation the men of the village might be gone from six to nine months at a time. Leonard states (1943:172) that many of his informants commented on the opportunities which they once had to stay and work in other communities. However, most returned to the village. With the collapse of the economy during the depression years many of the former residents of El Cerrito returned to their home village. All that remained of the village lands were, however, the irrigated lands along the river and these were so divided through inheritance that ownership was measured not in acres, but in yards. All of the "free" community grazing lands on the adjoining mesas were gone or were so divided and inaccesable that agriculture could not support the economic needs of the village. Large cattle companies had bought much of the land surrounding the village. This situation was also complicated by the homesteading of additional areas around the village by Anglo farmers. Both groups fenced their lands and managed to control all but a small portion of the available lands. The Spanish were prohibited by these new owners from even gathering wood from their property. In addition the fencing of the land made it more difficult to reach the few acres still in the possession of some of the villagers. Land a

mile from the village might take ten miles of travel to reach in an effort to get around the fenced areas owned by the Anglos.

Summary. The village of El Cerrito seemed to have come full circle, by the 1940's, in its attempts to cope with the changing environment. Once a self-supporting and isolated community the residents experienced opportunities which took them outside the village. In the interlude the Anglos encircled the village and acquired the lands which once gave the community its social and economic security. When outside opportunities declined the villager found himself an outcast within the traditional agricultural economy. Leonard (1943:155) summarized this condition in the following manner: ". . .the people of El Cerrito. . .literally have become enclosed, first, by a wide expanse of land owned and fenced by outside interest, and, secondly, by an alien culture whose carriers have always considered themselves superior to the 'Mexican'."

The impact of land losses on the village of El Cerrito reached a climax within the second decade of the nineteen hundreds. By the 1950's the residents of the village had no alternative but to rely on outside employment and to leave the village altogether.

Perspectives on the Village Studies: An Alternative View

In this final section it is argued that the data from the ten village studies provides further support to the general thesis that New Mexico was developed as part of a larger world-wide colonial structure. The mid-1800's mark the formal take-over of the region by the United States. Subsequent events brought an internal colonial structure of

socio-economic class distinctions to New Mexico society in which most Spanish-Americans were found to be at the lowest end of the structure. The characteristics of this internal structure provided for a segmenting of the Spanish population within New Mexico society.

Four primary sectors (or types) appear to have developed within the general framework of New Mexico society. (1) A Colonial Sector. Here one finds the majority of the Spanish-American people who worked for the Anglo. Usually unskilled, Spanish-Americans entered this sector at the lowest end. They worked for the Santa Fe Railroad, or Anglo cotton farmers (in Dona Ana County in such communities as Placitos and Dona Ana), or as seasonal laborers in El Cerrito. It is this group which was the most susceptable to the economic forces outside the village and was therefore subject to fluctuations in the American economy. Drawn away from subsistence agriculture, the colonial sector lost land and in times of economic crisis found itself on relief or unemployed. (2) A second type is the marginal sector. This group (best illustrated with the American Indian in New Mexico) was on the marginal line of society and found no place for itself or its culture except within the isolation of the reservation. (3) A third sector which may be seen in the social hierarchy of the New Mexico population is a peripheral sector. In the peripheral sector production remained geared toward the local markets. In this sector, which today has almost disappeared, the members of this group are not outside the system, but rather exist precariously on the peripheral edge of the socio-economic system. (4) The final sector is what may be generalized as an integrated sector. Here one finds individuals (such as in some of the residental areas of San José,

Sandoval, or Alameda) who have theoretically succeeded in the system: although, the ten case studies in this chapter show that few Spanish-Americans fit this fourth category.

The above typology seems to run counter to the conclusions which most of the authors of the various studies presented. The conflict here is not simply one of interpretation of the data, but rather a distinction in basic theoretical approaches to the questions of economic development and change. This is apparent when the underlying themes of each study are examined.

In Walter's (1938) study, for example, he made it very clear that his general theoretical approach to modernization and change was that of diffusionism. Spatial and mechanical factors in this general process accounted for the degrees to which one commity or another (e.g., Sandoval, Guadalupe, Alameda) were located on the "road" (literally) to modernization. It is difficult however, given his own accounts of these communities, not to see that the villages were and had been for a long time, responding to the dynamics of a larger system in areas such as wage labor formations, transformations in land tenure, and basic economic structures. In one sense the three villages were not working toward assimilation, they had already been brought into the larger network and their current status had nothing to do with their "resistance or readiness to accept" new ideas, but instead was directly related to the conditions brought about by the process of incorporation into this network. What Walter's study was describing was not three different levels of assimilation (he implies this), but rather a number of illustrations of the responses on the part of Spanish-American villagers to the current

(circa 1930's) socio-economic relationships as they existed at this particular point in time with reference to the area's role within the United States economy and class structure.

The nature of the economic structure of the local villages had changed drastically over time. This was well illustrated in all three communities in Walter's (1939) study. In Guadalupe there was little economic activity beyond subsistence. By the late 1930's, cattle provided the only source of cash sales, albeit in very limited amounts. Centers of exchange had shifted from the immediate community to places such as Albuquerque and Cabezón. Family incomes depended on wage labor which was very limited within the area. It is informative that Walter's primary thesis as to the nature of modernization, which focuses on communication networks, is not uniformally applied. That is, in the 1930's the conditions are argued to be the result of degrees of resistance or readiness on the part of each village and the ease of communicating (both spatially and mechanically) new cultural traits. Yet, transformations occurred much earlier (which he well documents in his study), which would indicate that the villagers suffered more from the depletion of their lands by large Anglo sheep ranches (particularly in Guadalupe) which had a devastating impact on the land base. Ultimately surplus agricultural production became an impossibility because the land base was destroyed. It is difficult, given these historical circumstances in the area's changing economic activities, to see how "traditional Spanish culture" had anything to do with the creation of a village population which was, by the 1930's, functioning at a poverty level vis-a-vis the Anglo economic structure.

Similar difficulties appear in Walter's (1938) summary on the conditions of the Spanish-American population in the communities of Sandoval and Alameda. Although, his discussion of the development of the "class structure" between the Anglo and Spanish populations is very informative. Putting aside Walter's claim of a residue of "peonage mentality" as an explanation for low economic status, and his continued references to cultural conflicts as the roots for all conflicts, the data on Sandoval and Alameda reflect a number of illustrations of class formation and class conflicts.

Sandoval represents a farm community which in the 1930's had successfully developed its agricultural resources. However, this economic success was not controlled by the Spanish population, but rather was in the hands of the Anglos who had purchased most of the Spanish land holdings. The Spanish residents held only small farmsteads. Walter maintains that much of the conflict in Sandoval was the result of the carryover of a "peón ideology of dependence." He summarized the villagers' attitudes therefore as one of lacking self-reliance and initiative, leaving responsibilities, authority, and problem solving to others. This is a rather ridiculous summary, in that a population without resources would appear dependent on others. If one has no land in an agricultural setting one certainly would appear to be lacking in self-reliance, be without the basic resources for self-initiatives, defer to those with authority, and find it difficult at best, short of leaving the area, to solve these problems.

In describing the village of Alameda Walter (1938) divides the community into a number of classes. Here, certainly more so than in his

descriptions of Sandoval and Guadalupe, he has brought the data into better perspective. However, he still resorted to statements such as the "resistance" of the Spanish population to put aside "traditions." This is strange, although consistent with his emphasis, in that the divisions of the community are clearly described and viewed as forming specific levels of economic status and interaction with the larger economic structures of the developing region. Clearly, one's status in Alameda was shown to be related to the level at which the various groups were able to function within the larger society, e.g., either as small farmers or employed laborers. One suspects however that Walter's five status groups (if less emphasis is placed on "cultural" characteristics) would tend toward a two part class system more accurately described as lower and middle class. In other words, one can see in Alameda both Spanish and Anglo farmers with limited resources, e.g., the Spanish patrón class as well as the French and German immigrant class (in Walter's typology the second and fourth distinctive classes respectively) and both Spanish and Anglo wage workers. Walter did not see this because his definition as to the nature of change sought to establish contrasts between cultural groupings. In Walter's view, Spanish culture, isolation, and certain "traditional or socio-psychological" factors account for the lack of full participation of the Spanish population in the economic growth of New Mexico.

The two studies by Calkins (1935; 1939) on Concho and Villanueva illustrate the direct impact of outside economic forces on the two Spanish villages. Clearly Calkins is concerned with the economic factors which historically changed these communities, bringing about unemployment,

migrations, and the need for federal relief. In the case study on Concho we see a population which had few options in terms of their livelihood. The men of the village could work for wages in the bean fields, work for extremely low wages in a lumber mill, receive government relief checks, or in a number of limited instances be employed by the single family which controlled the area's land resources. Few references are made to Spanish cultural traits. Instead Calkins' outlines the reality of the economic structure and the monopolistic control which one Spanish family was able to extend over the local residents. Clearly, the low economic standards of the Concho villagers was in direct proportion to their indebtedness to this single family and the availability of jobs outside the community. The latter opportunities were limited and when they did exist, paid small wages. The indebtedness to the Candelaria family by most of the villagers tended to have a leveling effect and offset any short range advances. Government relief efforts tended to make their way back to this family through the paying off of old debts. The Spanish residents of Concho seem to be caught in a circular web of few economic opportunities and indebtedness.

Perhaps in one respect Calkins' (1939) summary on the community of Villanueva represents somewhat of an anomaly in that the land base of the village had been to a certain degree maintained by the local residents. He states that the villagers were in a comparatively favorable situation with reference to ownership of grazing and crop land, although a trend existed in which some of the land had been mortgaged to the Ilfeld Company. Other sections around the village were in the public domain or set aside as a National Forest reserve. The Gross Kelly

Company had also acquired some of the land in the general area as well. In Calkins' opinion the greatest threat to the village economy came as a result of over-grazing and the subsequent depletion of the land's carrying capacity. The local villagers, and the Ilfeld and Gross Kelly Companies, simply over-stocked and over-grazed the area, and in the 1930's the land was well on its way to being destroyed. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that the practice of the Ilfeld Company at one point in its development, was to shift to the partido system for the raising of sheep in order to maintain its involvement in the industry and competitiveness in the market. The result, if Villanueva is typical of the impact of this practice at the local level, was to deplete land resources and usher in a transition toward wage work employment outside the local community for many of the Villanueva villagers.

As was pointed out above, Calkins was primarily concerned with the economic forces which had historically shaped the current (1930's) conditions in these two Spanish-American villages. He clearly ties the conditions of low economic status to wage labor, unemployemnt, the exploitation of the natural resources, and to the larger networks of economic activities outside the villages of Concho and Villanueva.

Johansen's (1941) study of Dona Ana county illustrates the impact of outside market forces on the local economy. Specifically, his historical study of the economic conditions and transformations in the local economy provides further evidence for viewing the general characteristics of dependency formations. One must question his assertion that the region was economically independent until the early

1900's, particularly since he clearly indicates the opposite in his discussion of the impact of the Chihuahua Trail, the coming of the railroad, and Dona Ana's location as a center for travel from Texas to St. Louis and west to Arizona and California prior to the 1900's. Notwithstanding this inconsistency he provides a well documented case of the transitions which took place from the beginning of the 1900's to the mid-1940's in terms of economic activities and the subsequent transformations in the Spanish population's lifeways.

The theme of Johansen's (1941) study is that commercialization or modernization in this region did not lead to economic stability for the majority of Spanish-American farmers. Rather, the ultimate outcome was the creation of a lower class Spanish population characterized by debts and foreclosures on their lands. Johansen attributes this situation primarily to the introduction of cotton. Of the ten case studies presented in this chapter Johansen's data and conclusions are perhaps the best illustration of the workings and interrelations of the local region to a world-system perspective.

The study on Manzano by Hurt (1941) provides us with yet another illustration of the changes which occurred as a result of the Anglo takeover of this region. While Hurt provides us with a large amount of data some caution seems appropriate. Hurt gives us the impression, for example, that Spanish and Anglo cultural institutions were static systems, or at least that the Spanish systems could be isolated, described, and viewed as independent rather than interrelated parts of a larger whole. One cannot but feel that Hurt believed that the central issues were ultimately definable in terms of contrasts between a

"traditional" society and a "modern" society rather than viewing each historical setting and defining these situations as a product of the larger networks of socio-economic interactions. When Hurt points out that he will focus on the "disorganization" of Spanish cultural institutions and how they became "submerged" in the Anglo culture he suggests an evolutionary approach. His conclusions reflect a rather one-sided view of the community of Manzano. For example, instead of developing his otherwise well documented statements as to the impact of the Anglo economic structure on the residents of Manzano, he states that the Spanish-American residents were poor money managers, spending their incomes on cars and radios rather than on farm improvements. Hurt maintains that the lack of interest by the Spanish in their farms was due to the federal government's willingness to provide relief checks.

In the studies which were done by Waggoner (1941) and Moore (1947) on the community of San José it is clear that they both viewed modernization as an assimilation process, which over time would incorporate the outsider into the mainstream of Anglo society. Terms such as "maladjustment," "degrees of homogeneity," "core Spanish residency," and "transitional districts" abound throughout both studies. Similarly, both studies attempt to define and then redefine areas of "degrees" of Spanish culture and levels of assimilation. Both authors represent ultimately a view of modernization as one of contrasts between ethnic and cultural groupings. At different points throughout both studies one can find references to the significance of the larger socio-economic systems and at other points in their studies one can actually find perceptive observations as to the issue of class formations. For

instance, Waggoner (1941) clearly sees a general similarity of economic status in San José which "cross-cut ethnic lines." Or, as Moore (1947) observed, the various ethnic group members of San José were basically at the same level of economic income, i.e., poor or unemployed.

The final case study presented in this chapter focuses on the village of El Cerrito. The authors who studied El Cerrito, Leonard and Loomis (1941; 1943), Nostrand (1982), found the economic conditions of El Cerrito to be tied to certain transformations in the work force and to transformations in land ownership patterns. A number of reasons for changes in, for example, the land ownership patterns are given, i.e., the villagers from approximately the 1870's until the 1920's were able to make a better living as laborers and ignored their farm lands. Much of the land was taken away to pay back taxes or legal fees. The federal government also denied many of the original land grant claims of the Spanish residents.

If Leonard and Loomis' historical accounts are accurate, the villagers of El Cerrito appear to have prospered for almost fitty years by placing themselves on the labor market: first, with the railroads and after the turn-of-the-century, obtaining employment in agriculture. For example, Leonard and Loomis (1941) stated that the worker could make more money by cutting ties for the railroads in one week than he could working for months for local sheep and cattlemen. In the early 1900's the demand for agricultural workers was such that ". . .they [the men of El Cerrito]. . .were able to choose their work and within certain limits, to name the price."

It is somewhat difficult to believe entirely the picture which

these two researcher's suggest for El Cerrito. That is, there certainly must have been a great deal of conflict between the villagers and the Anglos in that the former were having their lands taken from them throughout this period, and one cannot believe simply that they did not respond to this situation, nor that the direct impact was only felt in the 1920's. Notwithstanding these reservations, the study by Leonard and Loomis (1941) documents the importance of outside socio-economic forces on El Cerrito. They have provided solid evidence of the relationships of El Cerrito's economic status within a larger system and how it became dependent on a larger network of economic activities outside the local community. This general theme provides the focus to the following and concluding chapter of this study.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of this study a number of questions were posed as to the nature of modernization processes in general. Initially, we noted that two basic approaches were represented in the literature. One model suggested that modernization is a developmental process in which societies evolve through specific stages, ultimately reaching a level which ushers in a new era of economic prosperity and growth, i.e., the modernized state. The alternative model (which this study has followed) suggested that underdevelopment is a part of the modernization process. That is, the status of the less developed or underdeveloped society, region, or nation can only fully be understood if it is viewed as a product of modernization rather than a system which has the potential of independent growth and development.

Two steps are involved in making the assertion that underdevelopment is an integrated dimension of the modernized world. The first step is to view the world as an integrated system. The second step is to establish the common threads which tie this system together on a global scale. Here the common threads are argued to be found in a world-economic system. These two basic assumptions led us to redefine the term modernization. That is, modernization is here viewed as a process in the

creation of a world-system of developed and underdeveloped regions. As was pointed out earlier in this study development and underdevelopment are opposite sides of the same coin.

This study began with a brief historical outline of the sixteenth century expansion of Spain into the New Mexico region. Spain's role in relationship to a more general process of empire building on the part of European nations was discussed. It was argued that during this period (actually it began in the late fifteenth century) that a new European based world-system was being forged and that Spanish colonial expansion was part of this general development. The common element in the formation of this world-system was not a single political entity, but rather had the distinctive feature of a developing world-economy. This was, as Wallerstein (1976:15) has put it ". . .the basic linkage between the parts of the system. . . ." From this viewpoint the Spanish Colonial Period was shown to be first a period of initial transition, and secondly, understandable ultimately only from the perspective of its role within this larger developing world-economy.

The events which would bring the area of modern day New Mexico into this system of world-economic development began when Coronado surveyed this region in 1540. Clearly, Coronado's motives were that of seeking riches. Although Spaniards never found the sort of wealth they were seeking for themselves and the Spanish Crown, eventually they established permanent settlements and the region became the northern most frontier of Spain in the New World.

In the establishment of these settlements by the Spanish there appear certain similarities to the subsequent take-over of the area by

the Anglo populations three centuries later. For instance, the Spanish, like the Anglo, appear to have disregarded the native's claims to the land, i.e., they alloted the native's lands to themselves. This sort of treatment of the native population led to numerous rebellions and on more than one occasion the Spanish were driven out of their settlements. The Spanish, however, continued to establish and reestablish their claim to the land, ultimately becoming the dominant group.

Throughout the Spanish Colonial Period (1598-1821) the New Mexico region held two important roles for the Spanish Crown. First, it was a zone of protection against foreign expansion. This purpose ultimately failed. Secondly, the region was to be developed economically to increase revenues. Ultimately, this goal failed also in that most of the information suggests that the New Mexico colony was a constant drain on the Crown's resources. It is also important to note that while economic and political developments appeared simultaneously during the early history of the region, these factors did not necessarily impact the area with the same degree of importance.

The economic conditions of the masses during the Spanish Colonial Period can hardly be summarized as a golden era of social equality and economic opportunity. Most members of this frontier society were classified as "commoners," farmers and laborers. While the colonial society appeared to allow a certain degree of mobility in that land could be obtained through such forms as the community grant, the sitio grant, and the proprietary grant, in reality strong controls were maintained over the Spanish colonists. All the land, and its allocation, belonged, theoretically at least, to the Spanish Crown.

Different types of land allocations served to strengthen the basic social divisions within the Spanish colony of New Mexico. For example, the sitio system made a few men economically well off. They also became very powerful particularly because of their economic control over the individuals who worked for them. This class of land owners drew their laborers from the Spanish population and also from Indian slaves. The The sitio system, in effect, created a class of indebted workers who were not free to move until their debt was cleared. Often times this meant that many generations served the same family as debts transferred from generation to generation. A similar situation evolved with the proprietary grants. In this case the proprietor became the patrón of the village, controlled the village economy, and was able to call the villagers into military service for the protection of the area.

The structure of land ownership suggests that over the years a large number of grants came to be controlled by a small number of individuals. This process appears to have increased with the development of the sheep industry in the region. For example, by the beginning of the 1800's, over half of the province was estimated to be engaged in the sheep industry and it was controlled by a small handful of men. The sheep industry was developed by these few men through a system of extending credit, called the partido system, in which sheep were farmed out to local rancheros with the expectation that a return of at least twenty per cent would be gained.

In the villages which were founded through the community grant system one found that the basic structure of the village centered on individually owned areas and common community lands. In general these

small villages were located along the Rio Grande or in the many valley regions, particularly in the northern sections of New Mexico. The village economy was based on subsistence agriculture and livestock production. The latter was on a much smaller scale than that which was found on the sitio land grant. We have seen that over the years these small villages came to represent cooperative groupings tied together through bonds of marriage and kinship.

The individuals who gained economic power in the Spanish colony of New Mexico where those who were able to obtain large areas of land and effectively exploit the resources and population for their personal profits. In addition to the large land owners, a second group to profit from the colonial system were the merchants who were able to gain economically through their roles as middlemen.

Within this general context New Mexico developed under Spanish rule until in the early 1800's when it became a part of the new Republic of Mexico. In the 1840's this territory would shift in ownership to the United States. While a great deal of space has not been devoted to the impact of Mexican rule in this study basic and important changes did occur.

A major impact was in the general area of the allocation of individual land grants. In Chapter III of this study it was pointed out, for example, that as much land was given to individuals through the granting system during the Mexican era (covering twenty-five years) as was given during the whole colonial period. During the Mexican era twenty-five grants totaling slightly more than five million acres were awarded. In many respects these grants simply increased the status of

the ricos.

The final treaty between the United States and Mexico over possession of the New Mexico Territory declared that any grants which Mexico had made to individuals would be protected and honored by the United States. One suspects that the references to land grants in this treaty were not there to protect the general citizen, but were there to assure the status of the ricos after the finalizing of the treaty. At any rate, the accumulated wealth of this small segment of the Spanish population, would be used to establish their position in the Territorial society and could be invested in the growing commerce between the United States and New Mexico.

It was shown that United States expansion into the New Mexico region began well before the final take-over in the 1840's. The nature of this expansion was argued to have been part of a general policy on the part of the American government, and was driven by economic interests. The American conquest brought secure trade routes to the Pacific and stability to the centers of economic activity within the growing United States economy. The evidence suggests that indeed the conquest of the west was a conquest by merchants. Throughout the seventeen and early eighteen hundreds the United States was gearing up to assume a central role in the world-economy and thus needed to expand not only to develop economically, but to secure additional territory.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the United States was characterized by a regionalism in terms of economic development. Industrialism was in its beginning stages and world trade was weak. However, in a few short decades America began to develop her role in

world trade. Centers of manufacturing and investment grew in the northern cities and with this growth came a demand to strengthen the infrastructure and networks of America's internal market systems. The stimulus of economic forces in investment capital, trade, and manufacturing all combined to lead America toward a policy of expansion to secure the continued growth of the nation and an increasing role in the world-economy. The Americans had entered into this developing world-system and now scrambled for control of economic resources just as the Europeans had done in Africa, Asia, and in the Americas. This was a period of American commercial and colonial expansion and New Mexico stood on the pathway as it once had for the Spanish.

In attempting to define the significant characteristics of United States expansion in New Mexico and the impact of this situation on the Spanish population, a number of general factors have been suggested to have had a major influence. These characteristics were: the creation of a capitalist economy, shifts in the demographic characteristics of the population, transformations in the nature of labor, increased networks of transportation, shifts in the nature of production, the establishment of a new political order, and finally, a restructuring of land rights and ownership patterns. Each of these factors, it is argued, contributed, in varying degrees, to the creation of a population which by the 1940's could be described as living at a poverty level and, which, in many ways, represented the lowest level of the American socio-economic status system. In addition, these general influences transformed the nature of the individual Spanish villages.

The first transformation was economic and resulted from the Anglo

penetration of the region. It would be incorrect to imply that capitalism had its origins in the 1800's. A market system, investments, trade, speculation, etc. were all characteristics of the economic structure prior to the 1800's. However, the reader will recall that it was argued that the American entrepreneur did not enter New Mexico with the intent of establishing a permanent economic order until the second half of the nineteenth century. Although major settlements, such as Santa Fe and Taos, were exchange ceneters, in reality they provided nothing more than a location for what were at best periodic markets. Furthermore, few local residents earned a living from entrepreneurial activities prior to the 1850's primarily because the market areas were to the south in Mexico and to the east in Independence and St. Louis. It was also pointed out that most of the wealth and therefore speculative capital at this time was in the hands of a few rich cattle and sheep ranch owners.

By the mid-1850's and 1860's a new trend was begun in which a small number of merchants established themselves in the major centers of population. They in turn began to promote local production based upon external as well as internal market demands, such as those created by the presence of the United States Army. The profits from these businesses were reinvested in the Territorial economy. For example, the Ilfeld Company, which began as a trading company, invested its profits in the cattle and sheep industry and hired local workers. The Elsberg and Amberg Company built commercial houses, lumber mills, and invested in mining companies within the Territory. The economic order began to evolve through stages of profit making, reinvestment, and finally

consolidation along the lines of the larger American economy, which in its own right was assuming a position of dominance within the larger world-economy.

The merchant class, which over time was able to obtain and control most of the cash flow within the early Territorial economy, solidified its power further in that when opportunities arose they had the necessary investment capital to move forward. The Ilfeld Company, late in its history, while still maintaining a mercantile house, had moved into the field of investments by establishing a bank. It also had developed a sheep business through the partido system. Data from the village of El Cerrito suggest that a number of these villagers worked for this company as laborers. In this particular case the villagers of El Cerrito responded to this situation and for a period, in fact, were able to profit by selling their labor to the highest bidder. Through time, however, the sheep industry became less profitable, thus limiting sources of opportunities for the villagers.

In contrast to the mercantile capitalists like Ilfeld, Elsberg and Amberg, were the few large ranchers who were tied to a single unit of production, i.e., either cattle or sheep. Evidence has been presented that this industry was developed and controlled by a few large land owners, both Spanish and Anglo. Because of their monopoly many of the smaller producers were exploited by these larger enterprises. Almost all of the communities in this study were affected by a few ranchers who monopolized the sheep and cattle industry of the Territory. Dona Ana and Placitos are perhaps the only exceptions. Yet, a single crop, cotton, had similar effects on the Spanish villagers of these two

communities. Overall, however, cattle, sheep, and cotton prices in addition to being controlled initially by a small number of large producers, ultimately were subject to the fluctuations of larger market controls located in the east and later were affected by imports from other countries.

The growth and development of the Territorial economy accelerated greatly once advancements were made in transportation, i.e., the extension of market networks through the coming of the railroad. The railroad offered a means of moving products to markets and provided a source of wage labor. The data on the expansion of the railroad and the production of sheep and cattle (see Table IV and Figure III in Chapter III) show that both industries peaked between the years 1899 and 1905. By the 1920's sheep and cattle sales had declined drastically. The railroads from 1920 forward began abandoning lines.

The railroads, in addition to opening new markets and making the cattle and sheep business more profitable and therefore more competitive, contributed at least indirectly to an increase in the Territorial population. They also brought the corporate interests of high finance into the general economic structure of the region. European investors made large investments in New Mexico to finance the railroads and land companies which encouraged migrations from Europe to this region. The American government, to encourage investment, granted railroads large sections of land to develop. By the 1890's more than three and one-half million acres in New Mexico had been "granted" to the railroads.

The data on the villages of Sandoval and Alameda reflect the direct and indirect impact of the development of transportation. Certainly

their location in relation to Albuquerque played a role in their development not so much in terms of some rural/urban contrasts, as in terms of the area's economic development. Alameda, for example, in the late 1800's and early 1900's was a shipping point for livestock and had a railroad depot. The railroad opened expanding markets for the agricultural products produced in Alameda. In yet another instance, the community of San José was totally absorbed by Albuquerque, a major terminus for the railroad. In the case of Manzano we saw also that the railroad brought a boc. to the village economy. Local villagers were able, for at least a short time, to obtain employment in the surrounding lumber mills which were producing ties for the railroad. We found that the major profits went to two Anglos and an Hispanic businessman who, when these opportunities dwindled, moved elsewhere.

Those villagers who worked directly for the railroad did so for low wages in comparison to their Anglo co-workers. They were unskilled, or hired at this level, and perhaps more importantly, maintained at this level in their jobs. They received the lowest pay and worked at the hardest jobs, e.g., as track repairers and track layers.

The trend toward wage labor, away from subsistence agriculture, has been shown to be a significant process in the region's economic structure and within each village. This process was tied to a variety of factors which were coalescing and nature of production which was drastically changing. Subsistence agriculture gave way to pinto bean production in Manzano and to cotton production in Dona Ana and Placitos. In Guadalupe, El Cerrito, and Concho the local economy became oriented toward sheep and cattle. Although these industries did not provide

equal opportunities for all of those who were employed in this pursuit. For the most part most of the villagers worked for a small number of large producers. Some of these large producers were Spanish, but the majority were Anglos who had populated the area after the 1840's and who had acquired large portions of the land suitable for livestock raising.

Increases in population brought competition for the lands upon which the Spanish socio-economic system had been built. Not only did it shrink the area in which the Spanish population remained the majority (i.e., to the north central portion of the state), but it also had devastating effects on the environment. In addition, Anglo ranchers and Spanish villagers simply over utilized the limited resources and literally destroyed much of the land base by overgrazing. As a result, by the beginning of the twentieth century no more than a very small percentage of the New Mexican population could rely on agriculture as a primary source of income. The impact of diminished land resources can be seen in the basic shifts in the population which went from an almost totally rural population in 1850, to a New Mexico which by the 1950 census was divided almost equally between rural and urban inhabitants. Spanish-Americans over-all were basically transformed from a population of agriculturalists to a population which in the 1940's represented no more than 10 per cent of the agricultural sector of the state.

From the very beginning of United States expansion into New Mexico the system of land ownership changed. We have seen that in every village case study presented that increasingly fewer residents came to own land and even a smaller number were able to support themselves from the land.

The fraud, sale, and government take over of lands were so important to the changes which took place in the socio-economic structure of the Spanish-American villages that it is appropriate to summarize the changes which were taking place in specific villages.

The village of Guadalupe consisted basically of subsistence homesteads in the 1940's and at one point appears to have been "well off" in that it had a general store, furniture makers, seamstresses, a lawyer, blacksmith, etc. This was during the late 1800's. By the 1930's this was all gone. The young were leaving the village and its population now consisted of a disproportionate number of old people. The reason for this change was that agriculture was no longer profitable. In the early 1900's the land around Guadalupe had been primarily used for sheep herding by a few Anglo ranchers who either bought or rented the valley land. This led to the subsequent erosion of the soils basically rendering the once fertile valley unproductive. By the late 1930's the residents obtained most of their income from wage labor or from relatives living elsewhere in New Mexico or in other states.

The changes which we observed in the village of Sandoval suggest that in this village too, the Anglo assumed a dominant role in the socio-economic hierarchy by gaining control of the majority of land resources, putting the villagers into a position of second class citizenship. The Anglos were able to accumulate cash surpluses and reinvest their profits in land surrounding Sandoval. By the 1930's the Spanish-Americans had been pushed to the least productive areas of the valley and the Anglos controlled the highly productive agricultural areas of the community. Taxes and expensive land reclamation projects forced many of the

villagers to sell their land even though in the valley around Sandoval the land remained very productive. However, as we have seen, many of the Spanish moved out because the Anglos had acquired their lands. As a result the remaining Spanish-American farms had become, by the late 1930's, subsistence oriented while Anglo farms were geared toward cash crops and produced large surpluses. This situation developed not because the Spanish villager lacked initiative, (which Walter implied as stemming from "psychological dependence" on a patrón), but rather because the villagers had lost their productive lands, and could not therefore produce a large surplus. In general, they therefore were forced to seek employment either on the larger Anglo farms or elsewhere within the state. Those Spanish-Americans of Sandoval who stayed had to work longer and more days of the week just to make ends meet on what remained of the land they now controlled.

The discontinuities in the socio-economic structures of the village of Alameda provides yet another example of the segmentation of New Mexico society. As was pointed out earlier, Alameda developed as a commercial center. In the late 1930's all of the businesses in Alameda were owned by the old Spanish patrón class. This group had managed to keep their lands and had made investments in the businesses of the village. With their profits, like the Anglo in Sandoval. they had purchased other farms and in this manner maintained a level of economic success and attained the highest status in the village structure of socio-economic relationships. The lowest group in the socio-economic hierarchy were the Spanish residents who had lost their land because of taxes and

water fees for water imposed by the local water conservancies. Over one half of the village residents in 1938 fit this description. They still tried to maintain themselves as farmers, but most of the land which they once owned had been lost and at best they now represented subsistence agriculturalists. They supplemented their agricultural activities with wage labor on farms owned by others and occasionally worked for the patrones. Another group of the residents of Alameda maintained their farms by hiring from the peón group and by using family members as laborers. In this group, termed a marginal class, the heads of the households usually held full time jobs in Albuquerque. While their incomes were supplemented with agricultural production, their economic security depended upon the availability of jobs in the union shops within the city. This marginal class represented almost half of the village population in the late 1930's.

In addition to these three groups there were two Anglo populations living in the Alameda area. One, an immigrant group, contained about a dozen people. They owned a few small farms, but unlike the immigrants to Sandoval, they had not been able to purchase large areas of the village's farm land because the patrones had been able to consolidate their land holdings.

The other group was making inroads in the Alameda community in the late 1930's and were urban dwellers who had moved out to the "rustic" countryside. They bought small parcels of land, built modern homes, and hired some Spanish-American servants. They planted gardens in their back yards and otherwise ignored the villagers.

The village of Concho began as a trading center in Apache country.

Over time the individual who founded it expanded his business activities to include sheep raising. Herders were recruited from New Mexico and the sheep business came to dominate the economic activities of the settlement. At one point there were in excess of 50,000 head of sheep in the area which were being tended by Spanish-Americans who were under contract to the founding family of Concho. Under this partido system the herders received no wages. Instead a contract specified that the herder could rent a number of sheep and that the owner was in turn to be given all the wool and 5% of the lambs. Presumably the herders were free to sell the remaining lambs for profit. The majority of the risk, of course, came with the individual who rented the sheep, since they had to agree to return the original herd.

All the residents of the settlement of Concho were involved in the partido system. However, in the 1920's, the partido system gave way to a system of wages. The only two herd owners in the 1920's were two brothers from the original founding family. In this situation of a depressed market, owners became herders once again, but this time for wages. Ultimately, most of the residents of Concho were forced to seek employment elsewhere. The economy of Concho was built on the raising of sheep and what other work was available was only part time in a lumber mill or seasonal in the nearby bean fields at low wages. The only other alternatives were to leave the village or accept government relief payments.

In the late 1930's approximately 500 acres of land were under irrigation and 600 acres were dry-farmed in the village of Villanueva. One individual owned 100 acres of the available irrigated lands and the

rest was divided among twenty families. In addition to the agricultural lands there were approximately 20,000 acres of grazing lands. These acres were owned by forty individuals.

In general, agricultural yields provided not much more than the seed necessary for the next year's planting. The range land was overstocked and its carrying capacity was about one-half less than the current (circa 1930's) number of sheep and cattle being grazed on the land. Sheep had played a role in the economy of the village in years past, although the partido system was not practiced in Villanueva. Many of the villagers worked as herders in areas away from the village. At one time much more land was available for herding. However, the federal government took some of the land for a National Forest, the original San Miguel del Bado grant was purchased by the Gross Kelly Company, other areas were placed in the public domain, and some land had been mortgaged (due to crop failures) to the Ilfeld Company.

The result of these land losses and the general depletion of the once fertile soils through over-grazing forced the villagers to seek wage labor employment in other regions such as the beet fields of Colorado or as employees of large sheep ranchers in other parts of New Mexico. Approximately one out of every five villagers left Villanueva during the year to participate in these alternative sources of employment.

The villages of Dona Ana and Placitos are in the southern part of the state, and until the beginning of the 1900's, depended upon diversified subsistence agriculture in which irrigated lands were planted with a variety of crops. The general area in which Dona Ana and Placitos

were located was at one point a center for travel south along the Chihuahua Trail and provided a northern connection to the Santa Fe Trail. The railroad came into the area in the 1880's.

At the beginning of the 1900's cotton production was almost insignificant in the local economy, but by the 1920's approximately 70% of the irrigated lands were planted with this crop. Moreover, as the shift was made to cotton production, outside market forces began to play a role in the ability of smaller farmers to make a living from cotton production alone. The smaller farmers (usually the Spanish-American farmers) were forced to seek other sources of income, i.e., wage labor. Commercialization and modernization of farming practices to produce cotton competitively brought indebtedness to many of the Spanish-Americans and ultimately resulted in the sale of their land to pay off these debts. By the early 1940's no more than one out of four of the residents of the two villages owned farm land, although, sixty-five per cent of the population of Dona Ana and Placitos were engaged in agriculture as a livelihood, usually as laborers or as tenant farmers.

In the villages of Dona Ana and Placitos cotton as the primary cash crop brought change to the local economy. In Manzano the shift was to pinto bean production. Like the other villages in this study Manzano depended upon agriculture as a source of livelihood for its residents. The village of Manzano was established in the 1820's with a population of approximately 160 people. Shortly after United States annexation of the Territory, a number of Anglos moved into the Estancia Valley (where Manzano was located) and apparently became very successful as merchants. For example, one of these merchants was listed as having

$20,000 in assets in the 1860 census. In the early 1900's the railroad had reached the valley and many more Anglos moved into this region. By the 1930's the population was almost equally divided between Anglos and Spanish-Americans.

While the villagers once participated in sheep and cattle production, the Anglos, soon took control of the industry. At one point, in the early history of Manzano, thousands of sheep and cattle were found throughout the valley. However, homesteading, the deterioration of the range land by over-grazing, the development of large Anglo cattle companies, and a subsequent shift to pinto bean production eliminated most Spanish-American participation in the local economy. In the 1930's only a few Manzanenos worked with sheep and cattle and they did so as temporary laborers for the Anglo owners. Many tried to make a living from pino bean production, but the impact of outside market prices for beans, as well as local and regional competition in production, made this activity very risky and most Manzano bean producers did not compete well.

The village of San José was literally swallowed up by the developing city of Albuquerque. Established some time before 1860, initially San Jose was a small community of agriculturalists who practiced irrigation farming. Most of the residents were subsistence farmers who occasionally worked for the local patrón. This patrón provided the only source of income for the villagers until the coming of the railroad in 1881.

For the majority of Spanish-Americans this change meant being employed as day laborers. The Spanish-Americans of San José worked for the railroad or in the meat packing plants which developed close to the railroad transportation networks.

Throughout the 1930's and into the 1940's a majority of San José residents were unemployed. Our data indicated that over one-half of the Spanish-American population of this community worked for the W.P.A. and a similar percentage were on relief rolls. No longer able to practice agriculture and with limited job opportunities, the community of San José became a pocket of poverty within the City of Albuquerque. By the late 1940's unemployed Blacks and Anglos also were found within San José. The community had become a grouping of racially mixed populations with almost all of the residents classified at the lowest end of the economic ladder. The impact of industrial growth and development provided the mechanisms for creating in San José a community of residents who lived on the fringe of poverty.

Many of the general historical processes have been found to have had similar effects on the majority of Spanish-American villagers in New Mexico. The village of El Cerrito was no exception. The land grant played a major role in the lives of the villagers of El Cerrito. El Cerrito was originally part of a large grant (500,000 acres). The villagers had practiced irrigation agriculture and the livestock industry had at one point played a major role in the local village economy. However, through a number of mechanisms, e.g., denial of the people's land claims by the Court of Private Land Claims, government foreclosures for tax debts, lawyer's fees, and indirectly through participation in wage labor outside the village, these lands were lost. By the 1930's, the villagers of El Cerrito were left with only small holdings along the Pecos River which could hardly support even basic subsistence needs.

The economic prosperity offered by the railroad's development meant that a man in El Cerrito could earn more in a month working for the railroad than he could earn in a year working for local sheep and cattlemen. When wage labor opportunities with the railroad dropped off at the turn-of-the-century, a need for agricultural workers in the beet fields of Colorado filled in the gap and provided continued opportunities for the residents of El Cerrito to obtain wage employment. However, with the depression the El Cerrito villagers found fewer opportunities for wage labor. What began as an option to agricultural pursuits had by this time become the only source of income for the villagers (circa 1920's).

Legitimatizing the general characterisitcs of the economic structure of New Mexico was the United States government. As a force in economic expansion, the United States brought its military and constitutional powers to bear on the groups who lived in this region. The military, in some instances, simply sought to eliminate any opposition to American expansion. It fought the American Indian and the Republic of Mexico, defeating the latter and finally imprisoning the former on reservations. The judicial system of the United States time and again supported the economic exploitation of the region by denying the land claims of the Spanish population, through grants to large businesses such as the railroads and land developers, and by simply designating much of the land area as national forest or placing it under the public domain. In numerous places in this study we have seen quite clearly that expansion by the United States was motivated by economic forces and that the government's role was that of supporting economic

interests.

At the beginning of this study it was suggested that the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico had experienced a situation in which they, as a group, were to become second-class citizens. The general theme which appears is one of subordination to an economic system which developed over the centuries as part of an expanding world-economy. This expanding economic system filtered into the most remote Hispano settlements and brought with it a situation of dependency and exploitation.

We have seen that the economic growth and development which took place did not provide the sort of direction which a developmental model of modernization suggests. Economic development did not provide lasting opportunities except in a few limited situations where some Hispanos were successful. In general, while development created certain advancements, it also brought a leveling of the society with respect to social classes and most Spanish-Americans came to represent the bottom segments of this socio-economic structure.

The processes which created the situation of lower class status and exploitation of the majority of Hispanos in New Mexico have been documented in this study as a reflection of the world-economic system which developed, expanded, and ultimately engulfed this region. We have seen that American annexation was an extension of this developing world-system and marked a change in the articulation of the region to market forces and the centers of power in the United States. The reorientation within the geopolitical boundaries of the United States reshaped the basic social fabric of New Mexican society in general and brought about a variety of conflicts and reorganization of the structure

of cultural, social, and economic interactions.

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APPENDIX I

POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO COUNTIES: 1930-1950

POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO COUNTIES: 1930-1950*

	Total Population			% of Increase		Urban		Rural	
	1950	1940	1930	1940 to 1950	1930 to 1940	1950	1940	1950	1940
State:	681,187	531,818	423,317	28.1	25.6	341,889	176,401	366,551	355,417
Counties:									
Bernalillo	145,673	69,391	45,430	109.9	52.7	98,815	35,449	48,858	33,943
Catron	3,533	4,881	3,282	-27.6	48.7	n/a	n/a	3,533	4,881
Chaves	40,605	23,980	19,549	69.3	22.7	25,738	13,482	14,867	10,498
Colfax	16,761	18,718	19,157	-10.5	-2.3	8,241	7,607	8,520	11,111
Curry	23,351	18,159	15,809	28.6	14.9	17,318	10,065	6,033	8,094
DeBaca	3,464	3,725	2,893	-7.0	28.8	n/a	n/a	3,464	3,725
Dona Ana	39,557	30,411	27,455	30.1	10.8	12,325	8,385	27,232	22,026
Eddy	40,640	24,311	15,842	67.2	53.5	26,219	11,187	14,421	13,124
Grant	21,649	20,050	19,050	8.0	5.2	7,022	5,044	14,627	15,006
Guadalupe	6,772	8,646	7,027	-21.7	23.0	n/a	n/a	6,772	8,646

Harding	3,013	4,374	4,421	-31.1	-1.1	n/a	n/a	3,013	4,374
Hidalgo	5,095	4,821	5,023	5.7	-4.0	3,525	3,101	1,570	1,720
Lea	30,717	21,154	6,144	45.2	244.3	17,009	10,619	13,708	10,535
Lincoln	7,409	8,557	7,198	-13.4	18.9	n/a	n/a	7,409	8,557
Los Alamos	10,476	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9,934	n/a	542	n/a
Luna	8,753	6,457	6,247	35.6	3.4	5,672	3,608	3,081	2,849
McKinley	27,451	23,641	20,643	16.1	14.5	9,133	7,041	18,318	16,600
Mora	8,720	10,981	10,322	-20.6	6.4	n/a	n/a	8,720	10,981
Otero	14,909	10,522	9,779	41.7	7.6	6,783	3,950	8,126	6,572
Quay	13,971	12,111	10,828	15.4	11.8	8,419	6,194	5,552	5,917
Rio Arriba	24,997	25,352	21,381	-1.4	18.6	n/a	n/a	24,997	25,352
Roosevelt	16,409	14,549	11,109	12.8	31.0	8,112	5,104	8,297	9,445
Sandoval	12,438	13,898	11,144	-10.5	24.7	n/a	n/a	12,438	13,898
San Juan	18,292	17,115	14,701	6.9	16.4	3,637	n/a	14,655	17,115
San Miguel	26,512	27,910	23,636	-5.0	18.1	13,763	12,362	12,749	15,548
Santa Fe	38,153	30,826	19,567	23.8	57.5	27,998	20,325	10,155	10,501
Sierra	7,186	6,962	5,184	3.2	34.3	4,563	2,940	2,623	4,022
Socorro	9,670	11,422	9,611	-15.3	18.8	4,334	3,712	5,336	7,710

Taos	17,146	18,528	14,394	-7.5	28.7	n/a	n/a	17,146	18,528
Torrance	8,012	11,026	9,269	-27.3	19.0	n/a	n/a	8,012	11,026
Union	7,372	9,095	11,036	-18.9	-17.6	3,515	3,188	3,857	5,907
Valencia	22,481	20,245	16,186	11.0	25.1	4,495	3,038	17,986	17,207

*United States Census, 1950

APPENDIX II

U.S. CENSUS OF NEW MEXICO: 1860

UNPUBLISHED CENSUS SCHEDULES: VILLAGE OF EL CERRITO

U.S. CENSUS OF NEW MEXICO: 1860
UNPUBLISHED CENSUS SCHEDULES: VILLAGE OF MANZANO

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
447	421	M	30	Laborer			NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	26				NM	-	1	Chavez
448	422	M	21	Laborer			NM	-	-	Gurale
		F	17				NM	-	-	Gurale
		M	2				NM	-	-	Gurale
449	423	M	29	Laborer			NM	-	1	Garcia
		F	28				NM	-	-	Peralta
		M	7				NM	-	-	Garcia
		M	5				NM	-	-	Garcia
450	424	F	45				NM	-	1	Miraball
451	425	M	55	Laborer	$350	$295	NM	-	1	Montoya
		M	23				NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	18				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	15				NM	-	-	Montoya
452	426	M	27	Laborer	$500	$490	NM	-	-	Salar
		F	19				NM	-	-	Salar
		F	4				NM	-	-	Salar
		F	2				NM	-	-	Salar
453	427	M	60	Farmer			NM	-	1	Baca
		F	42				NM	-	1	Baca

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
454	428	M	63	Laborer			NM	-	1	Romero
		F	50				NM	-	1	Luieas
		M	14				NM	-	-	Romero
		M	9				NM	-	-	Romero
455	429	F	35				NM	-	-	Salar
		M	14				NM	-	-	Maes
		M	9				NM	-	-	Maes
		M	8				NM	-	-	Maes
		F	10				NM	-	-	Maes
456	430	F	48				NM	-	-	Padilla
		M	21				NM	-	-	Padilla
457	431	M	50				NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	25				NM	-	1	Chavez
		M	3				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	4/12				NM	-	-	Chavez
458	432	M	32	Laborer			NM	-	1	Martin
		F	20				NM	-	-	Martin
		M	6				NM	-	-	Martin
		F	3				NM	-	-	Martin
		M	4				NM	-	-	Martin
		M	2				NM	-	-	Martin
459	[Unoccupied]									
460	433	M	29	Laborer			NM	-	1	Romero
		F	28				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	9				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	4				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	10/12				NM	-	-	Romero

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
461	434	F	18				NM	-	-	Sirneros
		M	2				NM	-	-	Sirneros
462	435	M	27	Farmer	$300	$200	NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	25				NM	-	1	Chavez
463	436	F	40				NM	-	1	Montoya
		M	24				NM	-	1	Chavez
		M	22				NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	20				NM	-	1	Chavez
		M	3				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	1				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	1				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	8				NM	-	-	Chavez
464	437	M	34	Laborer	$500	$235	NM	-	-	Maldonado
		F	29				NM	-	-	Maldonado
		M	13				NM	-	-	Maldonado
		F	11				NM	-	-	Maldonado
465	438	M	30	Laborer			NM	-	1	Parada
		F	26				NM	-	-	Parada
		M	4				NM	-	-	Parada
466	439	M	50	Farmer	$300	$200	NM	-	1	Garcia
		F	36				NM	-	1	Garcia
		F	11				NM	-	-	Garcia
		M	13				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	4/12				NM	-	-	Garcia
467	440	M	29	Laborer			NM	-	-	Serna
		F	25				NM	-	-	Serna
		M	3				NM	-	-	Serna

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
468	441	M	30				NM	-	-	Furrile
		F	27				NM	-	-	Furrile
		F	2				NM	-	-	Furrile
469	442	M	50				NM	-	-	Salar
		F	30				NM	-	-	Salar
		M	4				NM	-	-	Salar
		F	2				NM	-	-	Salar
470	443	M	39	Farmer			NM	-	1	Serna
		F	29				NM	-	1	Serna
		M	16				NM	-	-	Serna
		F	2				NM	-	-	Serna
471	444	F	70				NM	-	1	Padilla
		F	35				NM	-	1	Padilla
		F	20				NM	-	-	Bentura
		M	14				NM	-	-	Bentura
472	445	M	39	Laborer			NM	-	1	Serna
		F	32				NM	-	1	Serna
		M	10				NM	-	-	Serna
		M	8				NM	-	-	Serna
		F	4				NM	-	-	Serna
473	446	M	60				NM	-	1	Ortega
		F	40				NM	-	1	Ortega
		M	20				NM	-	-	Ortega
		F	8				NM	-	-	Ortega
		F	2				NM	-	-	Ortega
474	447	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Gonzales
		F	38				NM	-	1	Gonzales
		F	20				NM	-	1	Gonzales

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
		M	16				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		M	25	Laborer			NM	-	1	Gonzales
		F	12				NM	-	-	Gonzales
475	448	M	35	Laborer	$50	$50	NM	-	1	Zamora
		F	30				NM	-	1	Zamora
		F	5				NM	-	-	Zamora
		F	4				NM	-	-	Zamora
		F	6/12				NM	-	-	Zamora
476	449	M	30	Laborer			NM	-	1	Gomez
		F	26				NM	-	1	Gomez
		M	9				NM	-	-	Gomez
		M	5				NM	-	-	Gomez
477	450	F	40	Farmer			NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	37				NM	-	-	Sanchez
478	451	F	40				NM	-	1	Aragon
		M	21				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	19				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	16				NM	-	-	Sanchez
479	452	M	40	Farmer	$100	$100	NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	33				NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	16				NM	1	-	Sanchez
		F	17				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	8				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	5				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	11	Servant			NM	-	-	Montoya

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
480	453	M	33	Laborer			NM	-	-	Olona
		F	24		$500	$300	NM	-	-	Olona
		M	28	Servant			NM	-	1	Portillo
		M	35	Servant			NM	-	1	Leiva
		M	28				NM	-	1	Olona
481	454	M	37	Laborer			NM	-	1	Sedillo
		F	29				NM	-	1	Zamora
		F	15				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	12				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	9				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	7				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	6				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	3				NM	-	-	Sedillo
482	455	M	50	Farmer	$150	$150	NM	-	-	Simions
483	456	M	32	Laborer			NM	-	-	Velasquez
		F	39				NM	-	1	Velasquez
		M	13				NM	-	-	Velasquez
		M	11				NM	-	-	Velasquez
		F	5				NM	-	-	Velasquez
484	457	M	40	Farmer			NM	-	1	Mirabal
		F	40				NM	-	1	Mirabal
		F	11				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		M	14				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		F	7				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		M	6				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		M	3				NM	-	-	Mirabal

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
485	458	M	90				NM	-	1	Martin
486	459	M	57	Laborer	$300	$140	NM	-	1	Romero
		F	45				NM	-	1	Romero
		F	21				NM	-	1	Romero
		M	18				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	14				NM	-	-	Romero
		M	12				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	4				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	3				NM	-	-	Romero
487	460	M	25	Laborer			NM	-	1	Romero
		F	19				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	2				NM	-	-	Romero
		M	3/12				NM	-	-	Romero
488	[Unoccupied]									
489	461	F	76				NM	-	1	Baca
490	462	M	35	Laborer			NM	-	1	Quintana
		F	32				NM	-	-	Quintana
		M	12				NM	-	-	Quintana
		F	3				NM	-	-	Quintana
491	463	M	40	Farmer	$1,500	$7,260	NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	27				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	3				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	11	Servant			NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	35				NM	-	1	Faramillo
		M	17				NM	-	-	Montano

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
492	464	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Sanchez y Lerma
		F	29				NM	-	1	Sanchez y Lerma
		F	9				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	5				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	2				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	22				NM	-	-	Gonzalez
		F	16				NM	-	-	Sanchez
493	465	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Gallegos
		F	31				NM	-	1	Torres
		F	17				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	12				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	11				NM	-	-	Chavez
494	466	M	27	Laborer	$300	$250	NM	-	1	Torres
		F	28				NM	-	1	Torres
		M	7				NM	-	-	Torres
		F	4				NM	-	-	Torres
		F	2				NM	-	-	Torres
495	467	F	24				NM	-	-	Ballina
496	468	M	80	Laborer			NM	-	1	Cartillo
		F	50				NM	-	-	Cartillo
		F	18				NM	-	-	Cartillo
		M	15				NM	-	-	Cartillo
		M	5				NM	-	-	Cartillo
		F	3				NM	-	-	Cartillo
497	469	F	55				NM	-	-	Perca
498	470	M	23	Laborer			NM	-	-	Maldonado
		F	14				NM	-	-	Maldonado
		F	2/12				NM	-	-	Maldonado

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
499	471	F	34				NM	-	1	Montoya
		M	20				NM	-	1	Maldonado
500	472	M	35	Farmer			NM	-	1	Garcia
		F	29				NM	-	1	Garcia
		M	9				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	8				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	6				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	4				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	1				NM	-	-	Garcia
501	473	M	25	Farmer			NM	-	1	Padilla
		F	16	[Married this year]			NM	-	-	Padilla
502	474	F	40				NM	-	1	Zamora
		M	70				NM	-	1	Velasquez
		F	16				NM	-	-	Zamora
503	[Unoccupied]									
504	475	M	33	Laborer			NM	-	1	Padilla
		F	27				NM	-	1	Padilla
		M	11				NM	-	-	Padilla
505	476	M	29				NM	-	1	Padilla
		F	20	[Married this year]			NM	-	-	Padilla
506	477	M	32	Farmer			NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	30				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	14				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	11				NM	-	-	Garcia
		M	10				NM	-	-	Garcia
		M	7				NM	-	-	Garcia
		M	5				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	2				NM	-	-	Garcia

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
507	478	F	31				NM	-	-	Frufeque
508	479	M	56	Laborer	$100		NM	-	-	Sirneros
		F	27				NM	-	-	Sirneros
509	480	F	46				NM	-	-	Ulibarri
		F	23				NM	-	-	Ulibarri
		M	6				NM	-	-	Carabafal
		M	6/12				NM	-	-	Carabafal
510	481	F	19				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	1				NM	-	-	Romero
511	482	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Romero
		F	38				NM	-	-	Romero
512	483	M	37	Farmer			NM	-	-	Romero
513	484	M	30		$350	$300	NM	-	1	Romero
		F	41				NM	-	1	Romero
		F	15				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	12				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	8				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	4				NM	-	-	Romero
514	485	M	24	Laborer			NM	-	1	Carrillo
		F	16				NM	-	-	Carrillo
515	486	F	35				NM	-	1	Mirabal
		M	16				NM	-	-	Mirabal

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
516	487	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Mirabal
		F	35				NM	-	1	Mirabal
		M	14				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		M	12				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		M	8				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		M	6				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		F	3				NM	-	-	Mirabal
517	488	F	46				NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	80				NM	-	1	Chavez
518	489	F	24				NM	-	1	Herrera
		F	11				NM	-	-	Herrera
		M	8				NM	-	-	Herrera
		M	7				NM	-	-	Herrera
519	490	M	25				France	1	-	Miller
		F	19				NM	-	-	Miller
		F	4/12				NM	-	-	Miller
520	491	F	80				NM	-	1	Maldonado
		F	40				NM	-	-	Maldonado
		M	16				NM	-	-	Maldonado
521	492	F	40				NM	-	1	Garcia
		M	26				NM	-	1	Garcia
		M	23				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	12				NM	-	-	Garcia
522	493	M	29	Laborer			NM	-	1	Sirneros
		F	24				NM	-	1	Sanchez
		M	2				NM	-	-	Sirneros

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
523	494	M	60	Laborer	$100	$100	NM	-	1	Sirneros
		F	40				NM	-	-	Sirneros
		M	18				NM	-	-	Sirneros
		M	16				NM	-	-	Sirneros
524	495	M	24	Laborer			NM	-	1	Zamora
		F	24				NM	-	1	Zamora
		M	5				NM	-	-	Zamora
		F	1				NM	-	-	Zamora
525	496	M	65	Laborer	$600	$400	NM	-	1	Herrera
		F	25				NM	-	1	Herrera
		M	10				NM	-	-	Herrera
		F	3				NM	-	-	Herrera
526	497	M	18				NM	-	-	Luiras
		F	25	[Married this year]			NM	-	1	Luiras
527	498	M	47	Farmer	$1,300	$3,000	NM	-	1	Santiago Otero
		F	37				NM	-	1	Santiago Otero
		M	19				NM	1	-	Santiago Otero
		M	16				NM	1	-	Santiago Otero
		F	12				NM	-	-	Santiago Otero
		M	4				NM	-	-	Santiago Otero
		F	2				NM	-	-	Santiago Otero
		M	25	Servant			NM	-	1	Zamora
		F	14	Servant			NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	22	Servant			NM	-	1	Gurule
		M	31	Servant			NM	-	1	Panaque
528	499	M	60	Farmer	$100	$200	NM	-	1	Apodaca
		F	69				NM	-	1	Apodaca
		F	17				NM	-	-	Apodaca

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
529	500	M	35	Farmer			NM	-	-	Otero
		F	38				NM	-	1	Otero
		M	14				NM	1	-	Otero
		F	10				NM	1	-	Otero
		M	6				NM	-	-	Otero
		M	3				NM	-	-	Otero
		M	2/12				NM	-	-	Otero
		M	18				NM	-	-	Serna
530	501	M	30	Laborer	$100	$200	NM	-	1	Torres
		F	26				NM	-	1	Torres
		F	9				NM	-	-	Torres
		F	4				NM	-	-	Torres
		M	3				NM	-	-	Torres
		F	28				NM	-	1	Chavez
531	[Unoccupied]									
532	[Unoccupied]									
533	[Unoccupied]									
534	502	M	24	Farmer	$200	$612	NM	-	-	Otero
		F	24				NM	-	-	Otero
		F	8				NM	-	-	Otero
		M	2				NM	-	-	Otero
		M	4/12				NM	-	-	Otero
		F	25	Servant			NM	-	-	Torres
		M	26	Servant			NM	-	-	Balverde
		M	12	Servant			NM	-	-	Ortega
		M	28	Servant			NM	-	-	Anaya
		M	25	Servant			NM	-	-	Salazar

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
535	503	M	51	Farmer	$700	$170	NM	-	-	Lueras
		F	38				NM	-	1	Lueras
		M	15				NM	-	-	Lueras
		F	13				NM	-	-	Lueras
		M	7				NM	-	-	Lueras
		M	5				NM	-	-	Lueras
		M	3				NM	-	-	Lueras
		F	4/12				NM	-	-	Lueras
536	504	M	23	Farmer	$300	$250	NM	-	-	Otero
		F	25	[Married this year]			NM	-	-	Otero
537	505	M	35			$100	NM	-	1	Aragon
		F	39				NM	-	1	Aragon
		M	24				NM	-	1	Aragon
		M	13				NM	-	-	Aragon
		M	9				NM	-	-	Aragon
		F	8				NM	-	-	Aragon
		F	6				NM	-	-	Aragon
		M	5				NM	-	-	Aragon
		M	4				NM	-	-	Aragon
538	506	M	25			$50	NM	-	1	Candelaria
		F	23				NM	-	1	Candelaria
		F	6				NM	-	-	Candelaria
		M	5				NM	-	-	CAndelaria
539	507	F	50				NM	-	1	Sabedra

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
540	508	M	35		$400	$2,000	NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	31				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	9				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	13				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	16	Servant			NM	-	-	Garcia
		M	18				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	26	Servant			NM	-	1	Lavato
541	509	M	30	Laborer			NM	-	1	Medina
		F	35				NM	-	1	Medina
		M	12				NM	-	-	Medina
		M	12				NM	-	-	Medina
		F	10				NM	-	-	Medina
		F	7				NM	-	-	Medina
		F	60				NM	-	1	Romero
542	510	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Labadi
		F	40				NM	-	-	Labadi
		M	22				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	11				NM	-	-	Labadi
		F	28				NM	-	-	Labadi
543	511	F	50				NM	-	1	Herrera
		F	19				NM	-	-	Herrera
		M	15				NM	-	-	Herrera
		M	13				NM	-	-	Herrera
		F	11				NM	-	-	Herrera
		F	2				NM	-	-	Herrera
544	512	M	26				NM	-	-	Gonzalas

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
545	513	M	50			$100	NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	35				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	23				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	20				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	19				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	12				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	11				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	10				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	5				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	4				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	3				NM	-	-	Sanchez
546	514	F	60				NM	-	1	Rinanidez
		F	50				NM	-	1	Trufillo
		F	24				NM	-	1	Chavez
		M	18				NM	-	-	Trufillo
547	515	F	24				NM	-	1	Rallefos
		M	8				NM	-	-	Rallefos
548	516	F	54				NM	-	1	Rallefos
		F	18				NM	-	-	Rallefos
549	517	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Herrera
		F	33				NM	-	1	Herrera
		M	12				NM	-	-	Herrera
		F	10				NM	-	-	Herrera

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
550	518	M	50	Farmer		$100	NM	-	1	Romero y Baca
		F	34				NM	-	1	Romero y Baca
		M	19				NM	1	-	Romero
		M	14				NM	1	-	Romero
		F	9				NM	1	-	Romero
551	519	M	30	Laborer		$100	NM	-	1	Benavidez
		F	30				NM	-	1	Benavidez
		F	6				NM	1	-	Benavidez
		F	4				NM	-	-	Benavidez
		M	2				NM	-	-	Benavidez
552	520	F	40				NM	-	1	Benanidez
553	521	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Perea
		F	40				NM	-	1	Perea
		F	25				NM	-	1	Perea
		F	6				NM	-	-	Perea
554	522	M	22				NM	-	1	Candelaria
		F	20				NM	-	-	Candelaria
		M	8				NM	-	-	Candelaria
555	523	M	57	Farmer			Mexico	-	-	Ladron de Quevara
		F	46				NM	-	1	Torres
		F	14				NM	-	-	Quebara
		M	4				NM	-	-	Quebara
556	524	M	22				NM	-	-	Quebara
		F	23	[Married this year]			NM	-	-	Quebara

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
557	525	M	26	Laborer			NM	-	1	Carrillo
		F	22				NM	-	-	Marquez
		M	5				NM	-	-	Carrillo
		M	3				NM	-	-	Carrillo
		F	70				NM	-	1	Salar
		M	19				NM	-	-	Salar
558	526	F	35				NM	-	1	Sedillo
		M	20				NM	-	1	Sedillo
		F	18				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	13				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	8				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	6				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	4				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	6/12				NM	-	-	Sedillo
559	527	M	23	Laborer		$300	NM	-	-	Sanchez y Chevez
		F	19				NM	-	-	Sanchez y Chevez
560	528	M	71	Laborer			NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	18				NM	-	-	Montoya
561	[Unoccupied]									
562	[Unoccupied]									
563	[Unoccupied]									
564	[Unoccupied]									
565	529	F	40				NM	-	1	Gonzales
		F	19				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		M	6/12				NM	-	-	Suneros

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
566	530	M	41	Farmer	$500	$1,250	NM	-	-	Padilla
		F	26				NM	-	1	Padilla
		M	20	Laborer			NM	1	-	Padilla
		M	17				NM	-	-	Padilla
		F	9				NM	1	-	Padilla
		F	8				NM	-	-	Padilla
		F	5				NM	-	-	Padilla
		M	3				NM	-	-	Padilla
567	[Unoccupied]									
568	531	M	70				NM	-	-	Sedillo
569	532	M	29	Farmer	$200	$150	NM	-	1	Sedillo
		F	15				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	1/12				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	26	Servant			NM	-	-	Marquez
		F	8				NM	-	-	Marquez
570	[Unoccupied]									
571	533	M	25	Laborer			NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	29				NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	12				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	6				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	5				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	14				NM	-	-	Garcia

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
572	534	M	27				NM	-	1	Gallegos
		F	27				NM	-	1	Gallegos
		M	12				NM	-	-	Gallegos
		M	9				NM	-	-	Gallegos
		M	1				NM	-	-	Gallegos
573	535	M	28	Laborer			NM	-	1	Martin
		F	25				NM	-	1	Martin
		F	5				NM	-	-	Martin
		M	4				NM	-	-	Martin
		F	3				NM	-	-	Martin
574	536	F	30				NM	-	1	Candelaria
		M	16				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	15				NM	-	-	Romero
		M	11				NM	-	-	Romero
		M	7				NM	-	-	Romero
		M	4				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	1				NM	-	-	Romero
575	537	M	21	Laborer			NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	19				NM	-	1	Benavidez
576	538	M	24	Laborer			NM	-	-	Martin
		F	16				NM	-	-	Martin
		M	2				NM	-	-	Martin
577	539	M	28	Laborer			NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	24				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	4				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	3				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	6/12				NM	-	-	Sedillo

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
578	540	M	22	Laborer			NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	18				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	4				NM	-	-	Sedillo
579	541	M	32				NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	15				NM	-	-	Sanchez
580	542	M	80	Farmer		$100	NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	60				NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	25				NM	-	1	Chavez
581	543	M	80	Laborer			NM	-	-	Otero
		F	25				NM	-	-	Albina
582	[Unoccupied]									
583	544	M	63				NM	-	1	Griego
		F	60				NM	-	-	Padilla
		M	18				NM	-	-	Padilla
		M	14				NM	-	-	Griego
584	545	M	29	Laborer			NM	-	1	Sedillo
		F	22				NM	-	1	Sedillo
		M	10				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	2				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		F	1				NM	-	-	Sedillo
585	546	M	26	Laborer			NM	-	1	Sais
		F	21				NM	-	-	Sais
		F	8				NM	-	-	Trufillo
		M	6				NM	-	-	Sais
		M	3				NM	-	-	Sais
		F	2				NM	-	-	Sais

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
586	547	M	35	Laborer			NM	-	1	Zamora
		F	32				NM	-	-	Zamora
		F	12				NM	-	-	Zamora
		F	10				NM	-	-	Zamora
587	548	M	28	Laborer			NM	-	1	Romero
		F	26				NM	-	1	Romero
		F	9				NM	-	-	Romero
		F	7				NM	-	-	Romero
		M	3				NM	-	-	Romero
588	[Unoccupied									
589	549	M	50	Laborer			NM	-	1	Parras
		F	40				NM	-	-	Parras
590	550	M	26	Laborer			NM	-	1	Faramillo
		F	26				NM	-	-	Faramillo
		M	3				NM	-	-	Faramillo
591	551	M	58	Laborer			NM	-	1	Serna
		F	41				NM	-	1	Serna
		M	18				NM	-	-	Serna
592	552	M	45	Laborer			NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	36				NM	-	1	Romero
		M	16				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	10				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	9				NM	-	-	Montoya
		F	7				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	6				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	5				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	2				NM	-	-	Montoya

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
593	[Unoccupied]									
594	553	F	40				NM	-	1	Sedillo
		F	20				NM	-	1	Sedillo
		F	10				NM	-	-	Sedillo
		M	7				NM	-	-	Sedillo
595	554	M	32	Day Labor			NM	-	1	Furrieta
		F	28				NM	-	1	Furrieta
		F	15				NM	-	-	Furrieta
		F	13				NM	-	-	Furrieta
		F	9				NM	-	-	Furrieta
		F	3				NM	-	-	Furrieta
		F	2				NM	-	-	Furrieta
596	[Unoccupied]									
596	555	M	70	Farmer			NM	-	-	Tafoya
		F	45				NM	-	-	Tafoya
598	556	M	60	Farm Labor		$100	NM	-	-	Salar
		F	40				NM	-	-	Salar
		F	20				NM	-	-	Salar
		M	17				NM	-	-	Salar
		F	11				NM	-	-	Montoya
599	557	F	60				NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	55				NM	-	1	Sanchez
600	558	M	80	Laborer			NM	-	1	Velarquez
		F	75				NM	-	1	Gurule

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
601	559	M	60	Laborer			NM	-	1	Gurule
		F	60				NM	-	1	Gurule
		M	17				NM	-	-	Gurule
		F	6				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	4				NM	-	-	Chavez
602	560	F	36				NM	-	-	Maldonado
		M	15				NM	-	-	Zamora
		M	12				NM	-	-	Manuel
		F	6				NM	-	-	Zamora
		M	3				NM	-	-	Zamora
603	561	M	35	Farmer		$100	NM	-	1	Otero
		F	27				NM	-	1	Otero
		F	9				NM	-	-	Otero
		F	3				NM	-	-	Otero
		F	1/12				NM	-	-	Otero
604	562	M	21	Laborer		$100	NM	-	-	Martin
		F	20				NM	-	1	Martin
		M	24				NM	-	1	Luiero
605	563	M	37	Day Labor			NM	-	-	Delgado
		F	8				NM	-	-	Delgado
		M	8				NM	-	-	Delgado
		F	4				NM	-	-	Delgado

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
606	564	M	50	Laborer			NM	-	1	Aldas
		F	45				NM	-	1	Aldas
		F	15				NM	-	-	Aldas
		M	12				NM	-	-	Aldas
		F	5				NM	-	-	Aldas
		F	3				NM	-	-	Aldas
607	565	M	49	Laborer			NM	-	-	Peria
		F	28				NM	-	-	Peria
		M	1				NM	-	-	Peria
		M	5				NM	-	-	Peria
		F	3				NM	-	-	Peria
608	566	M	35	Farmer			NM	-	-	Trufillo
		F	29				NM	-	-	Trufillo
		M	12				NM	-	-	Trufillo
		F	8				NM	-	-	Trufillo
		F	10				NM	-	-	Trufillo
609	567	M	40	Gardener			NM	-	-	Trufillo
		F	30				NM	-	-	Trufillo
		M	19				NM	-	-	Trufillo
		F	13				NM	-	-	Trufillo
610	568	F	35				NM	-	1	Trufillo
		M	17	Laborer			NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	15	Laborer			NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	11	Laborer			NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	7				NM	-	-	Sanchez

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
611	569	M	25	Laborer			NM	-	1	Torres
		F	22				NM	-	1	Torres
		F	3				NM	-	-	Torres
612	570	M	28	Laborer			NM	-	1	Gamlia
		F	28				NM	-	1	Gamlia
		M	6				NM	-	-	Gamlia
613	571	M	35	Laborer			NM	-	1	Lufan
		F	30				NM	-	1	Lufan
		F	14				NM	-	-	Lufan
		F	12				NM	-	-	Lufan
		M	4				NM	-	-	Lufan
614	572	F	65				NM	-	1	Sanchez
		M	12				NM	-	-	Salazar
		F	17				NM	-	-	Salazar
615	573	F	50				NM	-	1	Gonzales
		F	30				NM	-	1	Baca
		M	14				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	8				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		F	7				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		M	2				NM	-	-	Baca

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
616	574	M	35	Laborer			NM	-	1	Baca
		F	47				NM	-	1	Baca
		M	23				NM	-	-	Baca
		M	15				NM	-	-	Luiero
		F	10				NM	-	-	Luiero
		F	3				NM	-	-	Luiero
617	575	M	40				NM	-	1	Lopez
		F	30				NM	-	-	Lopez
		M	14				NM	-	-	Lopez
		M	15				NM	-	-	Lopez
		M	8				NM	1	-	Lopez
		M	12				NM	-	-	Lopez
		M	4				NM	-	-	Lopez
618	576	M	60	Farmer		$500	NM	-	1	Luerar
		F	45				NM	-	1	Lopez
		M	14				NM	-	-	Lopez
		F	13				NM	-	-	Luerar
		F	12				NM	-	-	Luerar
		M	9				NM	-	-	Luerar
		M	7				NM	-	-	Luerar
		F	2				NM	-	-	Luerar
619	577	M	58	Farmer			NM	-	-	Gonzales
		F	39				NM	-	1	Gonzales
		M	17				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		F	5				NM	-	-	Gonzales

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
620	578	M	29	Laborer			NM	-	1	Torres
		F	28				NM	-	1	Torres
		M	6				NM	-	-	Torres
621	579	M	39	Farmer			NM	-	1	Herrira
		F	19				NM	-	-	Herrira
		F	9/12				NM	-	-	Herrira
		M	7				NM	-	-	Herrira
		F	10				NM	-	-	Herrira
622	[Unoccupied]									
623	580	M	50	Farm Labor			NM	-	1	Farin
		F	40				NM	-	1	Farin
		M	21				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	18				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	3				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	7				NM	-	-	Chavez
624	581	M	50	Laborer			NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	40				NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	16				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	6				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	3				NM	-	-	Montoya
625	582	M	45	Laborer	$300	$1,100	NM	-	1	Padilla
		F	38				NM	-	1	Padilla
		M	17				NM	-	-	Padilla
		F	10				NM	-	-	Padilla
626	583	M	24	Farmer			NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	14	[Married this year]			NM	-	-	Sanchez

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
627	584	M	43	Farm Labor			NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	35				NM	-	1	Sanchez
628	585	M	29				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		F	20				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		M	2				NM	-	-	Gonzales
629	586	M	50	Laborer			NM	-	1	Marquez
		F	50				NM	-	1	Marquez
		M	24	Laborer			NM	-	1	Marquez
		M	11				NM	-	-	Marquez
		M	9				NM	-	-	Marquez
		M	3				NM	-	-	Marquez
630	587	F	19				NM	-	-	Marquez
		M	7/12				NM	-	-	Marquez
631	588	M	26	Laborer			NM	-	1	Galligos
		F	17				NM	-	-	Galligos
632	589	M	60	Laborer			NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	46				NM	-	1	Chavez
		M	16	Laborer			NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	15				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	12				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	8				NM	-	-	Chavez
633	590	M	36	Laborer			NM	-	1	Fatiya
		M	11				NM	-	-	Fatiya
		F	6				NM	-	-	Fatiya
		F	4				NM	-	-	Fatiya

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
634	591	M	50	Farmer	$300	$250	NM	-	1	Sirna
		F	25				NM	-	1	Sirna
		M	12				NM	-	-	Sirna
		F	8				NM	-	-	Sirna
		F	5				NM	-	-	Sirna
		F	1				NM	-	-	Sirna
635	592	M	60	Laborer			NM	-	1	Sirna
		F	60				NM	-	1	Sirna
		F	19				NM	-	-	Sirna
		M	16				NM	-	-	Sirna
		M	7				NM	-	-	Sirna
636	593	M	48	Farm Labor	$200	$300	NM	-	-	Sirna
		F	30				NM	-	-	Sirna
		M	18				NM	-	-	Sirna
		M	14				NM	-	-	Sirna
		M	12				NM	-	-	Sirna
		F	10				NM	-	-	Sirna
		F	6				NM	-	-	Sirna
		F	4				NM	-	-	Sirna

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
637	594	F	40	Farmer			NM	-	-	Gomes
		M	25	Farmer			NM	-	-	Serna
		F	11				NM	-	-	Serna
		M	16				NM	-	-	Serna
		F	14				NM	-	-	Serna
		F	13				NM	-	-	Serna
		F	10				NM	-	-	Serna
		F	9				NM	-	-	Serna
		F	8				NM	-	-	Serna
638	595	M	31	Laborer			NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	26				NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	12				NM	-	-	Montoya
639	596	M	40	Laborer			NM	-	1	Griego
		F	17				NM	-	-	Mirabal
		M	3				NM	-	-	Griego
		M	8/12				NM	-	-	Griego
640	597	M	60	Farmer	$300	$400	NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	40				NM	-	1	Montoya
		M	14				NM	-	-	Montoya

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
641	598	M	60	Farmer	$300	$680	NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	48				NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	20				NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	19				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	18				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	14				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	10				NM	-	-	Montoya
		F	10				NM	-	-	Montoya
		F	3				NM	-	-	Montoya
		F	8/12				NM	-	-	Montoya
642	599	F	26				NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	8				NM	-	-	Montoya
643	600	M	35	Laborer			NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	20				NM	-	1	Chavez
644	601	M	60	Farmer			NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	18				NM	-	-	Chavez
		F	12				NM	-	-	Chavez
645	602	M	61	Farmer			NM	-	1	Peralta
		F	36				NM	-	1	Peralta
		M	15				NM	-	-	Peralta
		M	14				NM	-	-	Peralta
		F	12				NM	-	-	Peralta
		M	6				NM	-	-	Peralta

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Prefession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
646	603	M	64	Farmer			NM	-	1	Chavez
		M	38				NM	-	1	Chavez
		F	18				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	17				NM	-	-	Chavez
		M	14				NM	-	-	Chavez
647	604	M	80	Farmer	$700	$850	NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	70				NM	-	1	Sanchez
		M	15				NM	-	-	Sirneros
648	605	M	55		$300	$310	NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	42				NM	-	1	Sanchez
		F	19				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	18				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	17				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		M	13				NM	-	-	Sanchez
649	606	M	27	Merchant	$600	$500	NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	25				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	9				NM	1	-	Sanchez
		M	7				NM	1	-	Sanchez
		M	5				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	3				NM	-	-	Sanchez
		F	6/12				NM	-	-	Sanchez
650	607	M	33		$700	$1,000	Virginia	-	-	Johnson
		M	38	Carpenter	$50	$75	Illinois	-	-	Davidson
		M	25	Merchant	$7,000	$13,000	Illinois	-	-	Beark

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Prefession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
651	608	M	40	Merchant	$200	$1,100	Mexico	-	-	Robles

End of Census

Source: United States Bureau of the Census. Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Micro-Copy No. 653, roll 713, New Mexico, Volume 2 (1-356) 1967. The National Archives, National Archives and Records Service. Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration.

APPENDIX III

U.S. CENSUS OF NEW MEXICO: 1860

UNPUBLISHED CENSUS SCHEDULES: VILLAGE OF MANZANO

U.S. CENSUS OF NEW MEXICO: 1860
UNPUBLISHED CENSUS SCHEDULES: VILLAGE OF EL CERRITO

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
1763	72	M	55	Farmer	$1,700	$2,000	NM	-	-	Alareo
		F	45				NM	-	1	Alareo
		M	11				NM	1	-	Alareo
	73	M	30	Servant			NM	-	1	Ortega
		F	27				NM	-	1	Ortega
		F	5				NM	-	-	Ortega
		M	2				NM	-	-	Ortega
		M	1				NM	-	-	Ortega
	74	M	56	Farm Labor			NM	-	1	Mondragon
		F	28	Cook			NM	-	1	Tahoyo
1764	75	F	80	Farmer	$1,000	$4,000	NM	-	1	Gararnillio
		M	11				NM	1	-	Gararnillio
1765	76	M	37	Day Labor			NM	-	-	Garduno
		F	22				NM	-	-	Garduno
		F	3				NM	-	-	Garduno
		M	2				NM	-	-	Garduno
		F	1				NM	-	-	Garduno
		F	29	Cook			NM	-	-	Zaraimillo
1766	77	M	40	Shepherd			NM	-	1	Trasyillo
		F	28				NM	-	1	Trasyillo
		F	8				NM	-	-	Trasyillo
		M	5				NM	-	-	Trasyillo
	78	M	60				NM	-	-	Olguin

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
1767	79	F	40	Laborer	$250	$100	NM	-	1	Mares
		M	28				NM	-	-	Mares
1768	80	M	38	Farmer	$1,200	$1,600	NM	-	1	Quissana
		F	30				NM	-	-	Quissana
		M	15	Laborer			NM	-	-	Quissana
		F	10				NM	-	-	Quissana
		F	8				NM	-	-	Quissana
		F	5				NM	-	-	Quissana
		M	3				NM	-	-	Quissana
		F	5/12				NM	-	-	Quissana
1769	81	F	40	Servant			NM	-	-	Saen
		M	5				NM	-	-	Saen
1770	82	M	50	Day Labor			NM	-	1	Garcia
		F	41				NM	-	-	Garcia
		M	9				NM	-	-	Garcia
		M	7				NM	-	-	Garcia
1771	83	F	70	Laborer	$200	$100	NM	-	1	Garcia
		M	20				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	40	Washerwomen			NM	-	-	Macuna
		M	3				NM	-	-	Macuna
		F	1				NM	-	-	Macuna
1772	84	M	42	Laborer	$120		NM	-	1	Bovali
		F	30				NM	-	1	Bovali
		M	12	Shepherd			NM	-	-	Bovali
		M	11				NM	-	-	Bovali
		F	4				NM	-	-	Bovali
		F	2				NM	-	-	Bovali

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
1773	85	M	39	Laborer	$100		NM	-	1	Garcia
		F	32				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	9				NM	-	-	Garcia
		F	2				NM	-	-	Garcia
1774	86	M	22	Laborer	$200		NM	-	1	Mares
		M	10				NM	-	-	Mares
		M	6				NM	-	-	Mares
		M	3				NM	-	-	Mares
1775	87	F	32				NM	-	-	Martins
		F	3/12				NM	-	-	Martins
1776	88	M	28	Day Labor			NM	-	1	Tenoris
		F	22				NM	-	1	Tenoris
		F	7				NM	-	-	Tenoris
		F	5				NM	-	-	Tenoris
		M	4/12				NM	-	-	Tenoris
		F	59				NM	-	-	Lobabo
1777	89	F	50	Washerwomen			NM	-	1	Herrera
		F	12				NM	-	-	Herrera
		M	7				NM	-	-	Herrera
1778	90	M	22	Day Labor			NM	-	1	Archineque
		F	21				NM	-	-	Archineque
1779	91	M	36	Laborer	$200		NM	-	-	Jimenez
		F	20				NM	-	-	Jimenez
		M	3				NM	-	-	Jimenez
		M	9/12				NM	-	-	Jimenez

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
1780	92	M	42	Farmer	$1,000	$600	NM	-	1	Saen
		F	40				NM	-	-	Estrada
		F	20				NM	-	-	Saen
		M	18	Laborer			NM	-	-	Saen
		F	15				NM	-	-	Saen
		F	12				NM	-	-	Saen
		M	9				NM	-	-	Saen
		M	8				NM	-	-	Saen
		M	7				NM	-	-	Saen
		M	4				NM	-	-	Saen
		M	1/12				NM	-	-	Saen
1781	93	M	23	Laborer	$100	$100	NM	-	1	Quintana
		F	16	[Married this year]			NM	-	-	Quintana
		M	5/12				NM	-	-	Quintana
1782	94	M	70	Laborer	$200	$150	NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	36				NM	-	1	Montoya
		F	12				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	7				NM	-	-	Montoya
		F	5				NM	-	-	Montoya
		M	3				NM	-	-	Montoya
		F	1				NM	-	-	Montoya
1783	95	M	50	Day Labor			NM	-	1	Parras
		F	19				NM	-	-	Parras
		F	8				NM	-	-	Parras
		F	5				NM	-	-	Parras
		F	4				NM	-	-	Parras

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
1784	96	M	50	Day Labor			NM	-	1	Favela
		F	40				NM	-	-	Tenorio
		F	9				NM	-	-	Mes
		F	7				NM	-	-	Mes
1785	97	M	28	Day Labor	$100		NM	-	1	Garcia
		F	25	Laborer	$160		NM	-	1	Salazar
		F	21				NM	-	1	Salazar
1786	98	M	56	Laborer	$250		NM	-	1	Marques
		F	47				NM	-	1	Marques
		M	11				NM	-	-	Marques
		F	8				NM	-	-	Marques
		F	5				NM	-	-	Marques
		F	3				NM	-	-	Marques
1787	99	M	21	Laborer	$100	$80	NM	-	1	Marques
		F	19				NM	-	-	Marques
1788	100	M	25	Laborer	$100		NM	-	1	Rel
		F	20				NM	-	-	Rel
1789	101	M	56	Laborer	$300		NM	-	1	Marranares
		F	32				NM	-	1	Marranares
		M	14	Day Labor			NM	-	-	Marranares
		M	17				NM	-	-	Marranares
		M	9				NM	-	-	Marranares
		F	7				NM	-	-	Marranares
		F	4				NM	-	-	Marranares
		F	2				NM	-	-	Marranares
		F	7/12				NM	-	-	Marranares

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
1790	102	M	25	Day Labor			NM	-	1	Ortega
		F	18				NM	-	-	Ortega
		F	6				NM	-	-	Ortega
		M	3				NM	-	-	Ortega
		M	1				NM	-	-	Ortega
		F	7				NM	-	-	Salazar
		M	2				NM	-	-	Salazar
1791	103	M	23	Day Labor			NM	-	1	Duran
		F	25				NM	-	1	Duran
		F	11				NM	-	-	Duran
		M	14	Shepherd			NM	-	-	Duran
		F	10				NM	-	-	Duran
		M	8				NM	-	-	Duran
		M	6				NM	-	-	Duran
		M	5				NM	-	-	Duran
		M	3				NM	-	-	Duran
		F	3/12				NM	-	-	Duran
1792	104	M	19	Day Labor			NM	-	-	Arahinaque
		F	15	[Married within this year]			NM	-	-	Arahinaque
1793	105	F	60	Washerwomen			NM	-	1	Garcia
		F	65	Seamstress			NM	-	1	Montoya
1794	106	M	70	Musician	$400	$650	NM	-	1	Gonzales
		F	29				NM	-	1	Gonzales
		F	8				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		F	5				NM	-	-	Gonzales
		F	2				NM	-	-	Gonzales

Dwelling	Family	Sex	Age	Profession Over Age 15	Value of Estate Owned: Real Estate	Value of Estate Owned: Personal Estate	Place Of Birth	Attended School Within Year	Over 20 Cannot Read Or Write	Surname
1795	107	M	29	Shepherd			NM	-	1	Ibesher
		F	24				NM	-	1	Ibesher
		M	10				NM	-	-	Ibesher
		F	6				NM	-	-	Ibesher
		F	4				NM	-	-	Ibesher
		F	1				NM	-	-	Ibesher
1796	108	M	19	Day Labor			NM	-	-	Reynosa
		F	17				NM	-	-	Reynosa
		M	6/12				NM	-	-	Reynosa

End of Census

Source: United States Bureau of the Census. Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. National Archives Microfilm Publications, Micro-Copy No. 653, roll 713, New Mexico, Volume 2 (1-356) 1967. The National Archives. National Archives and Records Service. Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration.

APPENDIX IV

HOUSING WATER SUPPLY, MEDIAN VALUE, AND CONDITIONS IN NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, AND COLORADO FOR SPANISH-SURNAME AND WHITE POPULATION 1950

HOUSING WATER SUPPLY:
PER CENT OF HOUSING WITH NO PIPED RUNNING WATER IN
NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, AND COLORADO-1950*

State	Percentages			
	Total	Urban	Rural Nonfarm	Rural Farm
New Mexico:				
Spanish Surname	54.9	32.4	67.8	78.8
White Population.	16.4	5.1	27.3	42.0
Colorado:				
Spanish Surname	43.3	18.6	65.6	79.8
White Population.	15.4	2.7	28.6	46.5
Arizona:				
Spanish Surname	25.2	18.8	32.1	54.8
White Population.	8.9	3.6	13.5	28.2

*Source: Robert H. Talbert, Spanish Name People in the Southwest, 1955:81.

HOUSING BY MEDIAN VALUE IN NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA, AND COLORADO FOR SPANISH-SURNAME AND TOTAL POPULATION-1950*

State	Median Value	
	Urban (Dollars)	Rural Nonfarm
New Mexico:		
Spanish Surname	$3,533	$1,594
Total Population	7,105	2,578
Colorado:		
Spanish Surname	$3,465	$1,308
Total Population	8,105	2,578
Arizona:		
Spanish Surname	$2,727	$1,628
Total Population	6,475	4,597

*Source: Robert H. Talbert, Spanish Name People in the Southwest, 1955:77.

HOUSING CONDITIONS (DILAPIDATED):
PER CENT OF HOUSING CLASSED AS DILAPIDATED IN NEW MEXICO,
ARIZONA, AND COLORADO FOR SPANISH-SURNAME AND WHITE POPULATION-1950*

State	Percentages			
	Total	Urban	Rural Nonfarm	Rural Farm
New Mexico:				
Spanish Surname	19.6	18.2	20.4	20.9
White Population.	7.5	5.6	9.7	12.3
Colorado:				
Spanish Surname	24.3	22.7	28.2	20.9
White Population.	6.3	4.6	9.8	11.1
Arizona:				
Spanish Surname	32.4	29.9	35.0	43.8
White Population.	8.6	6.5	11.0	15.4

*Source: Robert H. Talber, Spanish Name People in the Southwest, 1955:79.